

A USAGE-BASED INVESTIGATION OF CONVERBIAL CONSTRUCTIONS  
IN HERITAGE SPEAKERS' TURKISH SPOKEN IN THE NETHERLANDS

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## ABSTRACT

### A USAGE-BASED INVESTIGATION OF CONVERBIAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN HERITAGE SPEAKERS' TURKISH LIVING IN THE NETHERLANDS

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This study presents an analysis of contact-induced language change process concerning clausal subordination in the Turkish variety spoken in the Netherlands (henceforth, Dutch Turkish). This study also aims at investigating whether the converbial constructions are prone to language change in the speech perception and production of the first and second generations of Dutch-Turkish speakers within the framework of usage-based linguistics (Barlow & Kemmer, 2000). According to usage-based linguistics, there is an “intimate relation between linguistic structures and instances of use of language” (Kemmer & Barlow, 2006, p. 2) which suggests that a more direct relation is considered to exist between one’s language experience and abstract representations in grammar. In other words, linguistic representations are strongly connected to ‘usage events’ in the speaker’s linguistic system. The study aims to answer the following research questions:

Is the use of converbial constructions by the 2nd generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers subject to contact-induced language change in the Netherlands?

Are the converbial constructions produced by the 2nd generation bilingual speakers conventional?

Is there a difference in term of perception of most-frequently used converbial constructions between three speaker groups?

In order to answer these questions, this study encompasses a mixed method research design utilizing semi-structured interviews and a grammaticality judgment task (GJT) applied to three groups of participants: Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers with 1st generation background (N=11), Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers with 2nd generation background (N=12) and a control group of Turkish monolingual speakers (N=12). The rationale behind including two generations into the study lies on the assumption that if converbial constructions are considered as a sign of language change, a difference between two generations will be revealed due to the differences in their exposure and use of language, which are ensured via a language background questionnaire.

Our findings reveal that the participants' perceptions and speech production of converbial constructions indicate a linguistic change in converbial constructions in the aspects frequency of use of converbs, and unconventional usages of converbs in non-finite constructions.

**Keywords:** Usage-based linguistics, contact-induced language change, Dutch-Turkish, converbs

## ÖZ

### TÜRKÇE MİRAS DİL KONUŞURLARINDA KULLANIM TABANLI DİLBİLİM KURAMI BAĞLAMINDA ULAÇ YAPILARININ KULLANIMI

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Bu çalışma Hollanda’da yaşayan Türkçe-Hollandaca iki dilli bireyler tarafından konuşulan Türkçe değişkesinde kullanılan altsıralamalı *tüm* ulaç yapılarını incelemektedir. Çalışmada *dil değinimi* (language contact) olgusu, dil konuşurlarının dilsel deneyimleri sonucunda oluşan dil kullanımlarının önemini vurgulayan *kullanım tabanlı dilbilim* (usage-based linguistics) kuramı çerçevesinde incelenecektir. Barlow ve Kemmer’in (2000) dil yeterliği ve dilin zihinsel temsili (mental representation) ile dil kullanımının yakın ilişki içerisinde olduğunu görüşüne benimseyerek, bu çalışma kapsamında Hollandaca-Türkçe iki dilli bireylerin kullandığı Türkçede ulaç yapıları incelenmekte ve bu iki dilli ortamda Türkçe ulaç yapılarının, Hollandacanın etkisiyle, dilbilgisel bir değişim içinde olup olmadığı sorgulanmaktadır. Çalışmada aşağıdaki araştırma sorularına cevap aranmıştır:

Hollanda’da yaşayan ikinci nesil Hollandaca-Türkçe konuşan iki dilli bireylerin kullandığı ulaç yapıları temas kaynaklı dil değişimine eğilimli midir?

İkinci nesil iki dilli bireylerin kullandığı ulaç yapıları tek dilli bireylerle uyumlu mudur?

Üç katılımcı grup arasında algı açısından en çok kullanılan ulaçlar açısından bir farklılık var mıdır?

Bu araştırma sorularını cevaplayabilmek için Hollandaca-Türkçe iki dilli ve Türkçe tek dilli katılımcılardan yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ve dilbilgisellik karar testi aracılığıyla veri toplanmıştır. Üç farklı katılımcı grubundan veri toplanmıştır. Grup 1’de yer alan 11 katılımcı Hollanda’ya çalışmak amaçlı giden birinci nesil Hollandaca-Türkçe iki dilli bireylerden oluşurken Grup 2’deki katılımcılar Hollanda’da doğup büyüyen ve ikinci nesil(+) içerisinde değerlendiren 12 ikidilliden oluşmaktadır. Hollanda’da toplanan verinin karşılaştırılması amacıyla Türkiye’de katılımcıların göç ettikleri illerdeki 11 tek dilli Türkçe konuşurundan da veri toplanmıştır. Çalışmada kullanılan veriler; ulaç kullanım biçimleri ve dilbilgisel doğruluk algısı bağlamında inceleneceğinden öncelikle beş Türkçe-Hollandaca iki dilli ve beş Türkçe tek dilli katılımcının günlük yaşamları içerisinde, farklı dilsel bağlamlarda, kullandıkları sözlü iletişimleri ses-kaydı yapılarak toplanmıştır. Elde edilen yaklaşık 33 saatlik ses kaydı EXMARaLDA (Schmidt, 2004; 2014) veri çözümleme yazılımına aktarılmış ve dilsel çözümlenmeleri yapılmıştır. Her iki grup katılımcıların kullandıkları ulaçlı yapıların kullanım biçimleri incelenmiş ve kullanım oranlarını saptamak amacıyla kullanım sıklığı analizleri yapılmıştır. Katılımcıların zihinsel temsilinde bu yapılarla ilgili dilbilgisel doğruluk algılarını ölçmek amacıyla bir *dilbilgisellik karar testi* hazırlanmış ve her iki grup katılımcıya uygulanmıştır. Elde edilen verilerin analizi için istatistik yazılım programı SPSS kullanılmıştır. Elde edilen bulgular neticesinde Hollanda’da yaşayan Hollandaca-Türkçe iki dilli bireylerin kullanım bağlamında ulaçlı yapıların Türkçe tek dilli katılımcılara göre daha az kullandıkları ve dilbilgisel doğruluk algısı bağlamında ise devam eden değişim-odaklı bir değişimin var olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Kullanım tabanlı dilbilim, Değinin kaynaklı dil değışimi,  
Hollandaca-Türkçe, ulaç yapıları

To My Beloved Parents Neziye (Fenziye) and Mustafa AKKUŞ

Who Always Done More Than I Deserve

&

My Beloved Niece Miraycan'ım

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|          |                                   |
|----------|-----------------------------------|
| ∅        | empty element                     |
| 1Pl.     | first person plural               |
| 1Pl.Opt. | first person plural optative      |
| 1Sg.     | first person singular             |
| 1Sg.Opt. | first person singular optative    |
| 2Pl.     | second person plural              |
| 2Pl.Imp. | second person plural imperative   |
| 2Sg.     | second person singular            |
| 2Sg.Imp. | second person singular imperative |
| 2Sg.Opt. | second person singular optative   |
| 3Pl.     | third person plural               |
| 3Pl.Imp. | third person singular imperative  |
| 3Sg.     | third person singular             |
| 3Sg.Imp. | third person singular imperative  |
| 3Sg.Opt. | third person singular optative    |
| ABIL     | abilitative                       |
| ABL      | ablative                          |
| ACC      | accusative                        |
| ADJ      | adjective                         |
| ADV      | adverb                            |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| ANom                                   | action nominalization   |
| AOR                                    | aorist  |
| CAN                                    | abilitative   |
| CAUS                                   | causative   |
| COM                                    | comitative  |
| COMPL                                  | complementizer  |
| COND                                   | conditional   |
| COP                                    | copula  |
| CONV                                   | converb   |
| DAT                                    | dative  |
| DEF                                    | definiteness Marker   |
| DIM                                    | diminutive  |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> Gen.BDTSC<br>subcorpus | 1st generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker<br>subcorpus             |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> Gen.BDTSC<br>subcorpus | 1 <sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch Turkish speaker<br>subcorpus |
| <i>EXMARaLDA</i>                       | Extensible Markup Language for Discourse<br>Annotation                  |
| F                                      | female  |
| FNom                                   | factive nominalization  |
| FUT                                    | future  |
| GEN                                    | genitive  |

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| H       | hearer  |
| HIAT    | Halbinterpretative Arbeitstranskriptionen       |
| IMP     | imperative                                      |
| INF     | infinitive                                      |
| INST    | instrumental                                    |
| INT     | interrogative                                   |
| INTR    | intransitive                                    |
| LF      | <i>Lingua Franca</i>                            |
| LaRa    | <i>Lingua Receptiva</i>                         |
| LOC     | locative  |
| M       | male  |
| METU    | Middle East Technical University                |
| NarPast | narrative past                                  |
| NEG     | negative  |
| Nom     | nominalization                                  |
| ObjP    | object participle                               |
| OPT     | optative  |
| P       | person  |
| Part    | participle                                      |
| PF      | perfect tense                                   |
| PILaD   | Functional Pragmatic Index of Language Distance |

|       |                                     |
|-------|-------------------------------------|
| Pl    | plural                              |
| POSS  | possessive                          |
| Pres  | present simple                      |
| Prog  | progressive                         |
| Prog  | progressive                         |
| Ques  | question                            |
| REL   | relativizer                         |
| ReLan | Languages of Regional Communication |
| ReLF  | Regional Lingua Franca              |
| RM    | Receptive Multilingualism           |
| Sg.   | singular                            |
| s.o.  | someone                             |

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| s.th.    | something   |
| SOV      | subject-object-verb order   |
| SubjPart | subject participle  |
| THSC     | the 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker corpus |
| Tk.      | token   |
| TMSC     | Turkish monolingual speaker corpus                                    |
| V        | verb  |
| VP       | verb phrase   |

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Time changes all things; there is no reason why language should escape this universal law (Saussure, *A Course in General Linguistics*, 1915/1966)

#### 1.0. Presentation

This chapter introduces the background to the study, purpose of the study, research questions with an overview of the methodology employed in the study, followed by significance of the study, and definition of terms.

#### 1.1. Background to the Study

Language contact is an undisputed fact of the globalized world as a result of the growing mobilization opportunities of diverse language-speaking communities led by migration, expanding global trade, and recent developments in communication technologies. As a result, it is not unusual for a variety of language-speaking speech communities to come into contact. So do the languages they inherited.

The precise figure of the languages spoken in the world has been a controversial issue in academic circles, and the “estimates vary as to how many languages are spoken” (Wei, 2000, p. 2). In *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language*, Crystal (1987) reports that there are circa 6000 languages in the world. However, according to the 20<sup>th</sup> Edition of *Ethnologue* (2018), it is documented that there are 7,099 living languages worldwide. These languages have massively been in contact as a result of “interrelations between individuals, groups, institutions and societies who use different languages” (House & Rehbein, 2004, p. 1), which leads us to the discussions of the development of bi-/multilingualism and/or language contact in multilingual contexts. According to the recent estimates, approximately half of the world population is estimated to be bi/multilingual (Grosjean, 1982). Among many other

factors, migration is considered as the most important factor entailing the process of multilingualism. As for the reasons of migration, wars and their consequences can be stated as the most important ones. For instance, in 2018, the year in which this dissertation was written, Turkey was hosting a number of 3.5 million Syrian refugees who left their homes because of the Syrian war. In addition to the consequences of wars, since the World War II, people have migrated from developing and/or underdeveloped countries to more industrialized and developed Western countries for better life and labor opportunities. As a result of that migration wave, new “bilingual communities of migrant origin” have occurred in most of the developed Western countries (Grosjean, 1982). For instance, now, Arabic is spoken in Arabic-French bilingual communities of migrant origin in France. Likewise, Turkish is spoken in Turkish-German bilingual communities in Germany, and it is spoken by Dutch-Turkish bilingual communities in the Netherlands.

In multilingual contexts, interlocutors come into contact with one another in the complicated network of social, cultural and psychological demands of acquiring other spoken and/or written language systems and modes of communication on a daily basis. (García, Bartlett & Kleifgen, 2007). Thus, by investigating how multilingual speakers from different communities and linguistic backgrounds make use of various languages in their daily lives, it is possible to learn a lot about language variation and language contact (House & Rehbein, 2004).

Language contact has been defined in a variety of ways by different researchers. In the simplest definition, according to Thomason (2001), language contact is “the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time” (p. 1). However, this definition sounds too simplistic on the grounds that it does not suggest any interaction between interlocutors. In more comprehensive and broader terms, language contact comprises “face-to-face interactions among groups of speakers, at least some of whom speak more than one language in a particular geographical locality” (Thomason, 2001, p. 3).

In multilingual contexts where speakers of different languages come in contact there are four possible communication modes that can be used by mono-/bi-/multilingual speakers. As Backus, Marácz & ten Thije (2011) point out, in multilingual contexts, interlocutors can make use of a *Lingua Franca* (House, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2005), a *Regional Lingua Franca* (Janssens, Mamadouh & Marácz, 2011), *code-switching* (in which interlocutors make use of two or more languages in the same communicative event) (Grosjean, 1982) and *Lingua Receptiva* or *Receptive Multilingualism* (in which each interlocutor speaks his/her own language and respectively understands his/her partner) (Zeevaert & ten Thije, 2007). Multilingual communication occurs when one or a combination of these models are used in the same communication. House and Rehbein (2004) describe the characteristics of multilingual communication as ‘the use of several languages for the common purposes of participants, multilingual individuals who use language(s) to realize these purposes, diverse language systems which interact for these purposes and multilingual communication structures, whose purposes make individuals use several languages’ (p. 1). One of the outcomes of language contact and followingly, multilingual communication is varying degrees of language change.

The most widespread result of language contact is language change. Language contact may result in either unidirectional impact on the less dominant language, or it may lead to bidirectional impact in balanced bilingual contexts. Normally, but not always, socially or politically dominant language influences relatively the less dominated one in language contact situations (Myers-Scotton, 2002). Even though some researchers in the language contact literature (Haugen, 1953; Johanson, 2002; Weinreich, 1953) suggest that lexical items are more subject to language change, Thomason (2001) states that “all aspects of language structure are subject to transfer from one language to another, given the right mix of social and linguistic circumstances” (p. 11). As Siemund (2008) clearly puts out, “[W]e know that languages can influence one another in a situation of contact, but predicting the outcome of a language contact situation remains an immensely challenging task” (p. 3). In Turkic contact situations, Karaim (a Turkic language spoken in present-day Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine), for

instance, has been heavily influenced by Slavic phonology, morphology and syntax. Another Turkic language, Gagauz (spoken in present-day Moldova and Romania), has altered from typically Turkic Subject±Object±Verb (SOV) word order to a Subject±Verb±Object (SVO) pattern, under the influence of neighboring Indo-European languages (see Johanson, 2002). Here, such contact-induced language change instances can be multiplied limitlessly.

Language change studies and monographs generally specialize in two aspects of language change: (a) synchronic (individual and societal), and (b) diachronic within the framework of “a formal, self-contained, finite set of rules and principles that label, and pretend to be able to predict, each and every outcome of language contact” (Matras, 2009, p. 3). For diachronic analysis, for instance, Nørgård-Sørensen (2014) analyzes the language change phenomenon in the light of a notion of usage-based linguistics, an empty distinction, which is the conventionalization of less motivated distinction of expression. As a marker of number, for instance, Old High German umlauted versus non-umlauted vowel, analyzing if there is a stage of an empty distinction triggering any change in Old High German sound system. As for the synchronic investigation, Gipper (2014) studies the impact of interactional structure as a driving force in the emerging semantic extension on some Yurakaré (an indigenous language spoken in Bolivia) lexical items. As a result of usage, Gipper (2014) considers the mirative interpretation of some Yurakaré inflectional morphemes as a semantic extension of the inferential marker =*tiba*.

One of the characteristics of the studies on language change is that they mainly adopt a structural perspective (Johanson, 2002; Sankoff & Poplack, 1981; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Weinreich, 1953, 1964), mainly focusing on the effect of contact of two (or more) languages and on the outcomes of the languages’ structural properties. Distinct language contact constellations foster and facilitate lexical and structural outcomes unidirectionally or bidirectionally (Winford, 2003). It should be noted that it is actually the interlocutors speaking different language varieties who have come into contact with one another, thus contact-induced language change has recently been investigated from cognitive and usage-based perspectives who has the potential to

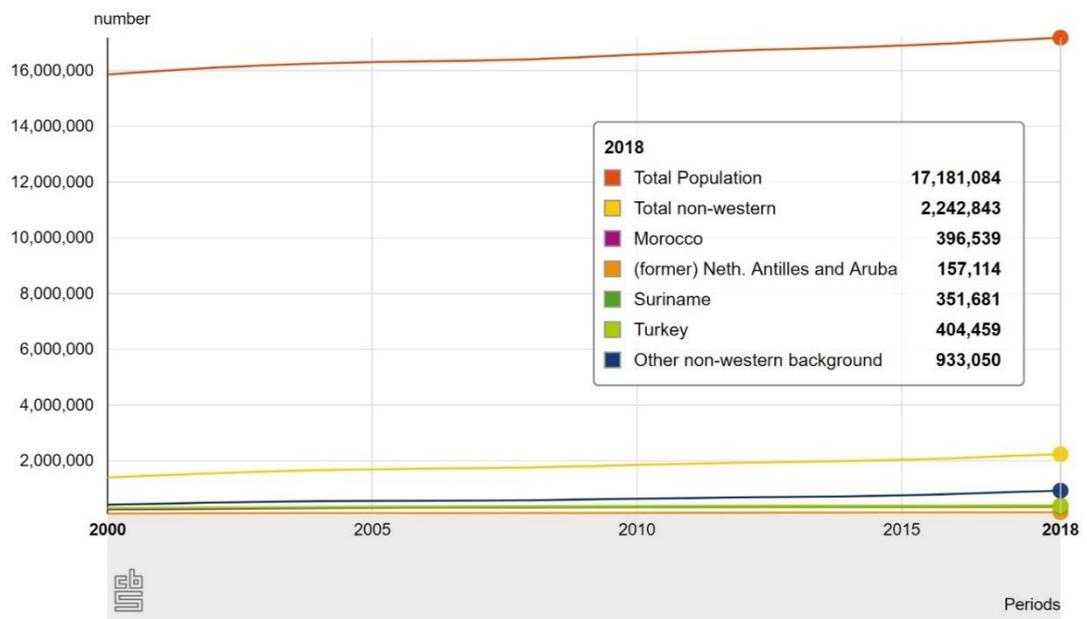
produce limitless patterns in distinctive speech events. Usage-based linguistics views language and its use as functional and social activities, and it also regards communication as a goal-driven interaction (Kemmer & Barlow, 2006). The usage-based framework concentrates on the impact of usage on language structure (Langacker, 1991). Thus the frequency of use of certain units and linguistic elements during the act of speaking is assumed to be highly consequential in order to interpret and determine “how easily they are activated in the minds of speakers” (Demirçay, 2017, p. 53). In this study, language contact of Turkish and Dutch will be investigated within the framework of usage-based linguistics.

Most studies conducted in immigrant contexts include immigrant children who are labelled as ‘second-generation heritage speakers’ in the studies (see Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013). There is a hot academic debate on how ‘heritage speakers should be defined and what characteristics makes heritage speakers differ from other bilingual groups in the literature (Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013; Dabrowska, 2013; Kupisch, 2013; Meisel, 2013; Muysken, 2013; Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014). Yet, heritage speakers are defined as “early simultaneous or early sequential bilinguals who are relatively unbalanced in their two languages, as they are dominant in their L2” (Van Rijswijk, 2016, p. 19). One of the characteristics of heritage speakers is their inheritance of first language (L1) from their parents in spite of the fact that these speakers are “born and raised in a society in which a different language is the majority language” (Van Rijswijk, 2016, p. 1). This majority language, which basically becomes their second language, turns out to be their dominant language. What is clear about Dutch-Turkish language contact situation is that Dutch serves as the dominant language which is spoken by the majority of speech communities in the Netherlands. In a study conducted by Extra, Yağmur, & Van der Avoird (2004), it is reported by many second generation heritage speakers of Turkish that Dutch is their dominant language which supports the argument that there is a clear status and dominance asymmetry between Turkish and Dutch languages. The reason behind it presumably lie on the fact that Dutch is the language of education and the majority of the population in the Netherlands (Van Rijswijk, 2016). The immigrant

Dutch-Turkish bilingual speech community (*Turkse Nederlanders* in Dutch; Eng. ‘Turkish Dutch’) is reported for its relatively high language maintenance figures (Backus, 2013; Dođruöz & Backus, 2007, 2009; Extra, Yađmur, & Van der Avoird, 2004) even though existing reports asserting that there is a clear status and language dominance asymmetry between the two languages and the community is under constant pressure to shift to Dutch (Dođruöz & Backus, 2009).

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the converbial constructions within the framework of usage-based linguistics in Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers. As stated earlier, migration is one of triggering factors of language contact. After WWII, most Western European countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, France etc. began to encounter a labour shortage by the mid-1950s, which turned out to be even more serious during the early 1960s. Parallel with the economic growth of some other Western European countries like Germany, the Netherlands experienced a tremendous industrial growth that led to a need for more workers for their growing industries. In the meantime, Turkey was wrestling with a bunch of financial problems such as unemployment, high population rates, low Gross National Product (GNP) and low Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Yađmur, 2002). Thus, the Netherlands started negotiations with Turkey to import labour force, and signed a “recruitment agreement” to solve their labour shortage problem on 19 August 1964. Since then, for the first and next generations (heritage language speakers), Turkish has become an immigrant minority language in the Netherlands for half a century now.

**Table 1.** Overall demographic information including Dutch and any kind of immigrant groups



Overall demographic information including Dutch and any kind of immigrant groups (Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, etc.) is presented in Table 1.

In a detailed analysis of the population of the Netherlands, demographic statistics regarding Turkish immigrant population can be followed in Table 2 which displays that the number of heritage speakers has gradually been increasing, particularly for the second generation Dutch-Turkish speakers.

**Table 2.** Demographic Information of the Turks living in the Netherlands

| Origin | Periods | Total persons<br>Number | Persons: 1 <sup>st</sup><br>generation<br>background | Persons: 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation background |  |                                       |
|--------|---------|-------------------------|--|--|--|---------------------------------------|
|        |         |                         |  | Total 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>gen.                  | 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen.: one<br>parent born<br>abroad | 2nd gen.: both<br>parents born abroad |
| Turkey | 1996    | 271.514                 | 167.248  | 104.266  | 7.976  | 96.290                                |
|        | 2000    | 308.890                 | 177.754  | 131.136  | 12.644   | 118.492                               |
|        | 2005    | 358.846                 | 195.678  | 163.168  | 22.323   | 140.845                               |
|        | 2010    | 383.957                 | 196.385  | 187.572  | 33.962   | 153.610                               |
|        | 2005    | 396.555                 | 192.311  | 202.244  | 45.224   | 159.020                               |
|        | 2016    | 397.471                 | 190.621  | 206.850  | 47.405   | 159.445                               |
|        | 2017    | 404.367                 | 190.331  | 210.036  | 49,733   | 160,303                               |
| 2018   | 404,459 | 191.513                 | 212.946  | 51,899   | 161,047  |                                       |

This study focuses on Dutch-Turkish contact in which there is a clear asymmetrical relationship between two languages in terms of language use patterns. While Dutch serves as the dominant language in almost all domains of social sphere, Turkish is only confined to home and immigrant community. What makes Dutch-Turkish language contact situation distinctive is that it is a straightforward case in the sense that it is a two-language setting, suggesting that it does not encompass complicated communication patterns which are common in complex language contact situations such as Sprachbund. It should also be noted that Turkish and Dutch are not genetically related, meaning Turkish being a Turkic language and Dutch being an Indo-European language. The focus of this study will be the use of Turkish converbs in Dutch-Turkish contact setting. The study will investigate whether the use of Turkish converbial constructions suggest a piece of evidence for the argument that Turkish “undergoes contact-induced changes in both lexicon and grammar” (Doğruöz & Backus, 2009, p. 87).

Within the framework of contact-induced language change, the use of Turkish adverbial clauses, i.e. converbial constructions by immigrant heritage speakers has yet to be scrutinized thoroughly in spite of the fact that there are a few studies focusing on this issue (Onar Valk, 2015 for Dutch-Turkish; Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015 for German-Turkish bilinguals’ use).

Onar Valk (2015) investigates the Dutch-Turkish bilinguals’ production of non-finite subordinate clauses as a part of her study, and she eventually concludes that the adverbial clauses comprising converbs such as *-ArAk* and *-Ip* are produced more often than the other adverbial types. The study reports that the reason behind the high frequency of *-ArAk* and *-Ip* may lie on the fact that these converbs are not inflected for tense, case or person. Thus they are considered as being less complex or simpler (p. 156 *et passim*).

These findings are congruent with the conclusions drawn by Rehbein & Herkenrath (2015), which argue that the basic syntactic and semantic features of converbs are –in

their terms- “loosened” as a result of language contact in German-Turkish bilingual children’s Turkish (p. 494).

This study provides a three-fold contribution to the existing literature. First of all, this study serves as a contribution to the discussion with a synchronic perspective focusing on the intergenerational differences (two generations of Dutch-Turkish bilinguals’ use and perception of converbial constructions) in contact-induced language change in an immigrant context. Secondly, the use and perception of converbial constructions have been analyzed within the framework of usage-based linguistics, which is a research gap in the literature of contact-induced language change.

## **1.2. Research Questions**

Based on the studies conducted upon contact linguistics and in conformity with the scope outlined above, this study aims at answering the following questions.

1. Is the use of converbial constructions by the 2nd generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers subject to contact-induced language change in the Netherlands?
  - 1.1. Is there a difference between Turkish monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers’ use of converbial constructions in Turkish in terms of frequency of use?
  - 1.2. Is there a difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers’ use of converbial constructions in terms of frequency of use?
  - 1.3. Is there a difference between Turkish monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers’ use of converbial constructions in Turkish in terms of pattern of use?
  - 1.4. Is there a difference between 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers’ use of converbial constructions in terms of pattern of use?

1.5. Is there a difference between Turkish monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' perception of converbial constructions?

### **1.3. Overview of Methodology**

The aim of this study is to investigate the converbial constructions used by Dutch-Turkish bilinguals living in the Netherlands. In order to answer the research questions presented above, this study adopts a mixed method research approach and Usage-based linguistics as its theoretical framework.

The participants of the study were categorized into three groups. These groups were basically formed depending on their generational background and on whether they are monolingual or bilingual language speakers. A total of 35 Turkish monolingual and Dutch-Turkish bilingual (1<sup>st</sup> generation and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers, who will also be referred to as heritage speakers) interactants were selected through convenience sampling technique. Group 1 consisted of eleven 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers who migrated to the Netherlands, marrying a Netherlands-born Turkish partner. They acquired Turkish as their native tongue in Turkey, and learned Dutch in second language environment in the Netherlands after their arrival. They are not fluent speakers of Dutch in comparison to their children and grandchildren (Backus, 1996, Broeder & Extra, 1995). Group 2 encompassed twelve 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers who were born in the Netherlands and were exposed to both Turkish and Dutch from birth. They are regarded as balanced bilinguals who have regular contact with Dutch from their schooling onwards. In inter-group interactions (see Backus, 1996) heritage speakers often speak Dutch or switch between Turkish and Dutch based on their communicative needs. The rationale behind including these two generations into the study lied on the assumption that if morpho-syntactic features are vulnerable to language contact in heritage speakers' speech, a divergence on the use and perception of converbial constructions between two generations would be expected in comparison to monolingual Turkish speakers.

The last group, Group 3, consisted of twelve Turkish monolinguals as the control group since the data gathered from the non-contact language variety plays an important role in assessing the extent of contact in contact-induced language change research (cf. Backus, 2004, Dabrowska, 2004).

As for data collection, first of all, a language background questionnaire was given to the participants to be informed about their linguistic and generational backgrounds. Generational background is employed here to define whether an immigrant was born in Turkey or in the Netherlands. The immigrants who were born in Turkey and acquired Turkish as their native tongue are counted as members of the first-generation. On the other hand, those who were born in the Netherlands and acquired Turkish and Dutch, to some extent simultaneously, are considered as members of the second-generation. Secondly, in order to examine whether and how the participants use converbial constructions in Turkish, spontaneous daily speech conversations of the two Dutch-Turkish bilingual groups and that of Turkish monolingual group were audio-recorded. 28 hours of the recordings were transcribed utilizing the computer program EXMARaLDA (Schmidt, 2004, 2014) and analyzed within the framework of usage-based linguistics.

Furthermore, in order for the investigation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' perception of converbial constructions a grammaticality judgment task (GJT) was developed. The task was applied both to the Dutch-Turkish bilingual and Turkish monolingual participants.

#### **1.4. Significance of the Study**

This study carries a three-fold significance. First of all, contact-induced language change has long been a matter of both synchronic and diachronic researches. To date, most Turkic varieties have overwhelmingly been investigated through diachronic language change lens (Csató, 1994; Doerfer, 1989). This study is a step in adding a synchronic perspective on contact-induced language change in an immigrant context. By examining the frequency of use and patterns of converbial constructions produced by Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers from different generations in comparison with

monolingual Turkish speakers without any special focus on diachronic aspects of structural change, this study adopts a synchronic perspective.

Secondly, for nearly sixty-odd years, contact linguists have been adopting a structuralist framework, which has directed them to concentrate on the structural domains that control contact-induced language change (Johanson, 2002; Sankoff & Poplack, 1981; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Weinreich, 1964). Analysis of cognitive and usage-based mechanisms stressing the outcomes of contact-induced language change and bilingualism seem to have been neglected (Demirçay, 2017). In this dissertation, having the aim to fill this gap in literature, two generations of Dutch-Turkish bilinguals' use and perception of converbial constructions have been analyzed within the frameworks of usage-based linguistics. As its name suggests, usage-based linguistics stresses the significance of language use, "revolving around one's linguistic experiences" (Backus, Demirçay & Sevinç, 2013) and views linguistic competence as comprising an integrated inventory of units which may differ in terms of complexity and schematicity (Bybee, 2010; Croft, 2000, Tomasello, 2003). This view differs from the structuralist view of language in the sense that usage-based linguistics does not see language as being made up of clearly distinct areas of study such as lexicon, morphology, syntax and semantics (Croft & Cruse, 2004; Langacker, 2008). Structuralist approaches to language view contact-induced language change as an outcome of interface between separate "systems" given their genetic characteristics. They are neither concerned on the effect of *cognitive* aspect of language perception and language use nor driving social factors such as unidirectionality and asymmetrical relationship. Besides that, they are not concerned with what happens to bilingual individuals cognitively and psychologically at the very moment of speaking. Therefore, existing studies with a structuralist approach does not zoom on in the individual characteristics and communicative needs of bilingual speakers during their language use (see Myers-Scotton, 2002 as an example).

In addition, there is a mutual interplay between grammar and usage within the usage-based linguistic framework, which means that usage has an effect on linguistic patterns and structures. However, determining the degree of effect is a big question. Moreover,

there is an “intimate relation between linguistic structures and instances of use of language” (Kemmer & Barlow, 2006, p. 2). That is to say, there is a more direct relation between one’s language experience and abstract representations in grammar. One of the most crucial factors effecting this relation is *frequency of use* in usage-based linguistics, which is motivated by the fact that if a language unit or pattern is frequently used, it means that this unit is (highly) entrenched.

In contact-induced language change studies employing usage-based linguistics as a framework, the status of a change is measured by “the degree of entrenchment in the linguistic competence of speakers and extrapolating from the degree of conventionality in the speech community” in order to analyze the degree of *conventionalization* (Backus, 2013). Congruent with these explanations, even though the existing research conducted on contact-induced language change between Dutch and Turkish spoken in the Netherlands is scarce (see Demirçay, 2012, 2017; Dođruöz & Backus, 2009; Onar Valk, 2015; Van Rijswijk, 2016), existing studies reveal that there is a gradual divergence of the use of non-finite subordination among Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers from Turkish spoken in Turkey (Onar Valk, 2015). However, such studies mainly rely on the language productions of the bilinguals which in turn raises a question concerning whether the revealed changes can be considered as signs of contact-induced language change. In order to contribute to this discussion, this study questions whether different generations of Dutch-Turkish bilinguals diverge from one another and also from the Turkish monolinguals in their perception of converbials.

### **1.5. Definitions of Terms**

*Code-copying* – is a model which “views different degrees of copying: an item has material, semantic, combinational and frequential properties that can be copied entirely (corresponds to lexical borrowing) or partially (corresponds to ‘loan morphosyntax’, ‘loan semantics’, etc.). The two types of copying are referred to as global and selective copying respectively. In this light, some units may prove to be

attractive for global copying and yet some for selective copying” (Backus & Verschik, 2008).

*Contact-induced change* - “any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation is due at least in part to language contact” (Thomason, 2001, p. 62).

*Contact-induced grammaticalization* – “a grammaticalization process that is due to the influence of one language on another” (Heine & Kuteva, 2003, p. 533).

*Converb* – is employed “to describe a dependent verb form traditionally known in the literature by the labels gerund, adverbial participle, and absolute construction (in European, and particularly Romance, languages), gérondif (specifically in French), conjunctive or absolutive participle (in South Asian languages) and deepriçastie (in Russian, and in descriptions of languages of the Caucasus, Northern Asia, and Central Asia)” (Coupe, 2006, 145).

*Converbial construction (n.)* – “a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination. Another way of putting it is that converbs are verbal adverbs, just like participles are verbal adjectives” (Haspelmath, 1995: 3).

*Entrenchment* – means that “repeated encounter of a unit leaves memory traces that stabilize the more often this unit recurs. Entrenchment is involved in psychological processes such as routinization and automatization, and applies to smaller units like words as well as “prepackaged” larger units or constructions, if they can be retrieved without attention to detail (Behrens, 2009, p. 386).

*Frequential copying* means that “frequential patterns of Model Code elements can be copied onto Basic Code elements, leading to increased or decreased use of the latter” (Johanson, 2002, p. 74).

*Grammaticalization* – “a process leading from lexical to grammatical and from grammatical to more grammatical forms, and since the development of grammatical forms is shaped by constructions as well as larger context settings, the study of

grammaticalization is also concerned with constructions and larger discourse units” (Heine & Kuteva, 2005, p. 14).

*Language contact* – “face-to-face interactions among groups of speakers, at least some of whom speak more than one language in a particular geographical locality” (Thomason, 2001, p. 3).

*Usage-based linguistics* – “is built-up from usage events of particular symbolic units. With increasing linguistic experience, more abstract linguistic patterns may evolve, but still the assumption is that these more abstract patterns are grounded in usage.” (Behrens, 2009, pp. 385-6).

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0. Presentation**

This chapter will focus on exploring three domains: concept of bilingualism, contact-induced language change as an outcome of bilingualism and usage-based linguistics as the theoretical framework of the present study.

#### **2.1. The Concept of Bilingualism**

A basic concern in the literature of bilingualism is related with who can be labelled as a “bilingual” person. Generally speaking, “there is no agreed-upon definition of bilingualism among researchers” (Butler & Hakuta, 2006, p. 114). In this respect, it seems that there is a competence spectrum of two (or more) languages from diverse viewpoints. In the earlier literature, for instance, definition of bilingualism was restricted to equal proficiency of two languages (Edwards, 2006). American structural linguist Bloomfield (1933) defines a bilingual person who has “native-like control of two languages (p. 56). Besides, Weinreich (1953) explicates bilingualism as “the practice of alternately using two languages” (p. 1). With the recent contributions and discussions introduced by scholars from a variety of fields such as psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, these definitions have been broadened and somehow altered as to content and meaning. One of the reasons for such an alteration lies behind the fact that these definitions might be too simplistic and one-dimensional in order to explain the underlying cognitive and social mechanisms of bilingualism. From a psycholinguistic point of view, for instance, the order of acquisition/learning second/additional language(s), the age of acquisition/learning, “psychotypological issues and genetical relatedness between the first and additional language(s), even the orthographic similarities/differences between the first and second languages” (Kaffash

Khosh, 2015) may have an impact on the acquisition/learning and using the additional languages. Sociolinguistically speaking, in contact situations for instance, social factors such as “the intensity of contact, its duration, the power of prestige relationships between the two language communities and patterns of interaction between them, the number of speakers each languages has, and the attitudes of the speakers may affect learning/acquisition of additional languages” (cf. Johanson, 2002; Thomason, 2001; Winford, 2003). Taking these varying viewpoints into account, factors such as individual differences, context and purpose are taken into consideration to create much more comprehensive, multi-dimensional and meaningful definitions of bilingualism.

In this sense, Grosjean (2006) presents six areas of differences among bilinguals which direct focus on language use and language user:

1. Language history and language relationship: Which languages (and language skills) were acquired, when and how? Was the cultural context same or different? What was the pattern of language use? What is the linguistic relationship between the bilingual’s languages?
2. Language stability: Are one or several languages still being acquired? Is the bilingual in the process of restructuring (maybe even losing) a language or language skill because of a change of linguistic environment? Has a certain stability being reached?
3. Function of languages: Which languages (and language skills) are used currently, in what context, for what purpose and to what extent?
4. Language proficiency: What is the bilingual’s proficiency in each of the four skills in each language?
5. Language modes: How often and for how long is the bilingual in a monolingual mode (i.e. when only one language is active) and in a bilingual mode (i.e. when both languages are active)? When in a bilingual mode, how much code switching and borrowing is taking place?
6. Biographical data: What is the bilingual’s age, sex, socio-economic and educational status, etc.? (pp. 34-35).

**Table 3.** Typology of bilingualism (Butler & Hakuta, 2006 as cited Kaffash Khosh, 2015)

| Typology   | Point of focus (Dimension)                                       | Characteristics of SLA   | Possible outcomes   | Related issues and educational implications  |
|--|--|--|---|--|
| Balanced Dominant                                    | Relationship between proficiencies in two languages              | Functional differences; related to age factor  | Differences in proficiencies in L1 and L2: achieving equal level of proficiency in L2 with L1 (balanced); L2 proficiency varies but not the same as L1 (dominant) | Conceptualizing and assessing one's language proficiency; Cummins's threshold hypothesis and interdependent hypothesis; semilingualism                             |
| Compound Coordinate Subordinate                      | Organization of linguistic codes and meaning unit(s)             | Functional differences; differences in form-meaning mapping                          | Differences in semantic representation and information processing for L1 and L2   | Difficulties with operationalizing distinctions and testing differences  |
| Early Simultaneous Sequential Late                   | Age of acquisition   | Maturational differences; schooling differences                                      | Attainment of L2 proficiency varies by age of acquisition; L1 proficiency is not addressed  | Neurolinguistic differences (?); critical period hypothesis  |
| Incipient Receptive Productive                       | Functional ability   | Functional and motivational differences  | Different proficiencies in L1 and L2 in different domains   |  |
| Additive Subtractive                                 | Effect of L2 learning on the retention of L1                     | L2 as enrichment with or without loss of L1; status of a language in a given context | L2 as enrichment without loss of L1 (additive); L1 is replaced by L2 (subtractive)  | Social status of individual groups and the social value of their L1 greatly influences the retention of L1; support for literacy in L1 and L2 literacy Development |
| Elite Folk Circumstantial Elective                   | Language status and learning environment; literacy support of L1 | Differences in language status and value of bilingualism                             | No or little additive value of L1 as a language minority status (folk); additive value of L2 (elite)  | Support for literacy in L1 and L2 literacy development   |
| Bicultural L1 Monocultural L2 Acultural Deculturated | Cultural identity  | Differences in acculturation process   | Cultural identity shaped by two cultures (bicultural); identity in one culture; loss of L1 culture  | High bilingual competence does not necessarily coincide with dual identity   |

Considering these six areas of differences among bilinguals, it is now possible to talk about different types of bilingualism, as listed in Table 3.

There seems to have taken place a paradigm shift in all language-related fields of study in the 1960s. Bilingualism was no exception. According to Dewaele, Housen and Wei (2003), an important reason behind this shift is acknowledgement of the fact that bilingualism is the norm across the globe and “[i]t is only since that time .[1980s], research has actually started to systematically process its findings theoretically” (Dewaele, et al. 2003, p. 3).

In this sense, as Kaffash Khosh (2015) states, “considering different cognitive, developmental and social dimensions of acquiring/learning an additional language and bearing in mind the many variety classified by Grosjean (2006), classifying all the individuals under the universal term of bi-/multilingualism is misleading” (p. 18). Each and every bilingual speaker is unique in each language constellation in which specific constructs such as intergenerational differences, idiolectal variation, etc.

Since the main concern of this study is to investigate a contact-induced language context, the literature review is limited to usage-based aspects of bilingualism as the chief predictors of contact induced language change, first, with a slight touch on bilingualism debate in the Netherlands, and then with special emphasis on Turkish as a heritage language in the Netherlands.

## **2.2. *Bilingualism debate in the Netherlands with a special reference to Turkish***

Bilingualism plays an important role in cognitive and social development of individuals in multilingual societies, yet it appears to be disregarded in immigrant contexts with regard to first (thus heritage) language. During identity construction the first language, with all its competences (i.e. intercultural, pragmatic, linguistic etc.) is essential, since in case of an underdevelopment of these competences one might experience difficulties in interpersonal communication which hinders access to the society. This type of underdevelopment is named initially as *semilingualism*, meaning being “unable to acquire the linguistic skill appropriate to her/his original capacity in

any language” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1978, p. 223). The researcher discusses that being competent in one’s L1 helps a child to develop a ‘sound individual identity’ in social and educational spheres in immigrant minorities. However, this analysis is borne out by the widespread reports of ‘subtractive bilingualism’ among younger Turks (Akoğlu & Yağmur, 2016; Yağmur, 2007, 2017). Since ‘semilingualism’ is misleading in the sense that it implies a sort of deficiency in language acquisition/learning, the notions of “heritage language speaker” and “bilingualism” will be utilized in this study.

In immigrant context, immigrants’ children are labelled as ‘second-generation heritage speakers’ (see Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013). There is a hot academic debate on how ‘heritage speaker’ should be defined and what characteristics makes heritage speaker different from other bilingual groups in the literature (see Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013; Dabrowska, 2013; Kupisch, 2013; Meisel, 2013; Muysken, 2013; Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014). Yet, heritage speakers are defined as “early simultaneous or early sequential bilinguals who are relatively unbalanced in their two languages, as they are dominant in their L2” (Van Rijswijk, 2016, p. 19). One of the characteristics of heritage speakers is their inheritance of first language (L1) from their parents in spite of the fact that these speakers are “born and raised in a society in which a different language is the majority language” (Van Rijswijk, 2016, p. 1). This majority language, which basically becomes their second language, turns out to be their dominant language. What is clear about Dutch-Turkish language contact situation is that Dutch serves as dominant language which is spoken by the majority of speech community in the Netherlands. In a study conducted by Extra, Yağmur and Van der Avoird (2004), it is reported by many second generation heritage speakers of Turkish that Dutch is their dominant language, supporting the argument that there is a clear status and dominance asymmetry between Turkish and Dutch languages. The reason behind it lies on the fact that Dutch is the language of the speech community and medium of instruction in education in the Netherlands (Van Rijswijk, 2016). Even though the immigrant Dutch-Turkish bilingual speech community (*Turkse Nederlanders* in Dutch; ‘Turkish Dutch’ in English) is reported for its relatively high language maintenance figures (Backus, 2013; Doğruöz &

Backus, 2007, 2009; Extra, Yağmur, & Van der Avoird, 2004), existing reports asserts that there is a clear status and language dominance asymmetry between the two languages and the community is under constant pressure to shift to Dutch (Doğruöz & Backus, 2009).

In the existing literature regarding the bilingual development and language dominance of bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers in the Netherlands, it can be stated that bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' language proficiency on both Turkish and Dutch are investigated with regard to language use and language dominance in Yağmur's study (2007). A total of 8686 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker children whose age ranges from 4 to 17 participated in the study. The database is representative in the sense that the data are collected from all major states in which Turkish people reside in the Netherlands. The findings of the study assert that when Turkish and Dutch proficiency of bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker children is examined, an unexpected situation arises. Turkish proficiency of heritage speaker children who start schooling at 4-5 years old appears to decrease to the lowest point when they become 10-11 years old. Yet their proficiency in Turkish starts improving at the age of 14-15 and Turkish proficiency reaches at its peak point approximately at the age of 16-17. On the other hand, at the age of 4-5, Dutch proficiency of bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker children is very low since the family language in Dutch-Turkish speech community is predominantly Turkish. After starting schooling, however, their Dutch proficiency reaches its climax when they are around 10-11 years old. Interestingly, from this age on, Dutch proficiency has a tendency to decrease.

In another study conducted by Akoğlu and Yağmur (2016), first-language skills of the immigrant bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker children in a Dutch submersion education context is studied. The study questions whether there is a difference regarding Turkish language skills such as phonological, lexical etc. between Turkish heritage speakers who are Dutch-Turkish bilinguals and reside in the Netherlands and the monolingual Turkish speaker children living in Turkey. There are a total of 60 participants, half of whom form the bilingual group, and the Turkish heritage speakers growing up in the Netherlands. Their age range is reported to be 67.35 months. The monolingual group

constitutes 30 participants whose age range is 66.93 months. The results of the study reveal that Turkish heritage speaker children in a submersion education context fall behind their monolingual peers in terms of their first language skills. Likewise, Dutch language skills of Turkish heritage speaker children is lower, and as Schwartz (2014) suggests, heritage speaker children does not show the same patterns regarding their first and second language skills.

In line with the study presented above, Backus and Yağmur (2017) conducted a study investigating whether there is a correlation with regards to the pragmatic skills of Turkish heritage speaker children and monolingual Turkish-speaking children living in Turkey. As for the participants of the study, for the heritage speaker group, 30 Dutch-Turkish bilingual speaker children from three cities of the Netherlands whose age range is 67.35 months took the instruments. Monolingual group also comprises 30 participants who are monolingual Turkish speakers and their age range is 66.93 months. The findings show that there is a significant difference between monolingual and heritage groups in terms of their socio-pragmatic skills. It is concluded that Turkish heritage speakers' pragmatic norms and ways of speaking diverge from their monolingual peers. As suggested by Backus and Yağmur (2017), one reason might be related to the fact that dominant Dutch language influences ways of speaking Turkish, which is a common observation in the contexts of contact-induced language change (Demirçay, 2017).

The contact-induced language change in the Netherlands is to some extent straightforward from the perspective of Doğruöz (2007):

- (1) Dutch-Turkish contact is a simple two-language setting, thus avoiding the complex interaction patterns typical of, for example, a Sprachbund.
- (2) [T]here is a clear status and dominance asymmetry (Myers-Scotton, 2002) between the two languages making sure the borrowing is in one direction (i.e. Dutch to Turkish) only.
- (3) [T]he languages are typologically very different, which makes it relatively easy to determine whether a particular characteristic is of Turkish or Dutch origin (p.5).

The socially dominant Dutch language, which is also a typologically distant language to Turkish, triggers a unidirectional influence on the spoken Turkish variety in the Netherlands.

### **2.3. Turkish as a Heritage Language**

The term ‘heritage language’ has emerged as a linguistic construct as a result of widespread bi-/multi-lingual communication. Among many other social factors, migration is considered as a crucial triggering factor entailing the process of multilingualism. In other words, as a result of migration, new “bilingual communities of migrant origin” have emerged in a variety of host countries. For instance, now, Turkish is spoken in Turkish-German bilingual speech communities of migrant origin in Germany. Recently, the language that those “bilingual communities of migrant origin” speak has been named as “heritage language” (e.g., Benmamoun, Montrul & Polinsky, 2013, Kondo-Brown, 2003; Montrul, 2011, 2018; Polinsky, 2008; Valdés, 2005; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). On the other hand, in a broad sense, heritage language refers to “a socio-politically minority language, acquired as a first language during the first years of life, as in sequential bilinguals, or simultaneously with the majority language since birth, as in simultaneous bilinguals” (Montrul, 2018). Congruently, the ones who speak this ‘inherited’ language in addition to the dominant language of the host society is defined as ‘heritage speakers’. The introduction of the notion ‘heritage speaker’ is motivated by the development of language programs for the teaching of immigrant languages in the USA and Canada (Valdés, 2005; Valdés, Fishman, Chávez, Pérez, 2008). Heritage speakers are defined to have acquired more than two languages “in early childhood and are not necessarily balanced bilinguals” (van Rijswijk, 2016). However, there are a variety of factors affecting as to how these bilinguals are defined. In the existing literature, a number of researchers have discussed this heterogeneity (Aalberse & Muysken, 2013; Kupisch, 2013; Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014). However, a stricter definition is needed in order to provide explanations for any differences or similarities in contact-induced linguistic change between heritage speakers and other bilingual groups (van Rijswijk, 2016). In this regard, an assemblage of Benmamoun et al.’s (2013) definition and van Rijswijk’s

criteria is employed in congruent with the aim of the present study. According to this definition, (i) heritage speakers are unbalanced bilingual speakers, (ii) they become dominant in the majority language of the society starting from their adolescence, (iii) their first and family language is an immigrant language, (iv) heritage speakers do not fully acquire the L1, and (v) heritage speakers had no or limited formal schooling in their L1.

#### **2.4. Theoretical Framework - *Languages in Contact*: Contact-induced Language Change and Contact Linguistics**

Since the publication of Weinreich's colossal work entitled *Languages in Contact* (1953), there has been an upsurge of interest in the field of language contact and in the introduction and application of new theories and methods to the analysis of contact-induced language change from a variety of perspectives. Among these, one can name general ones such as language maintenance, language shift (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988) and more specific ones on bilingual mixed languages (Matras, 2000), code-switching (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Auer, 1995), language attrition (Schmidt, 2011), creoles and pidgins (Winford, 2003). However, in the field of contact linguistics, there seems to be no "one-and-only" answer to the following questions: *Why do languages change?, how far the influence go and what triggers change in a language system?* (Croft, 2000; Johanson, 2002).

There is currently much discussion about how we may answer such questions with respect to language contact and contact-induced language change as stated by Johanson (2002) "language contact research is still far from able to clearly answer questions even so general in nature" (p.1).

In linguistics, conventionally, since the advent of structuralism, languages have been defined as systems, so in language contact studies, the formal approach has been to view different languages as different systems and language contact as the metaphor of two systems coming into contact and influencing one another. That is basically a metaphor, and languages can not come into actual contact with one another physically. But it is noteworthy to state that metaphors are legitimate, but the question is whether

they are useful to answer the most fundamental questions regarding language contact. In this case, this metaphor is not entirely useful in the sense that it has distracted the field of contact linguistics over a long period of time from the actual fundamental issues of what language contact is about. Basically, language contact is about language communities who speak in different ways, and these communities actually do come into contact with one another perhaps not wholesale basis but at least individuals from these communities. And language contact is all about individuals from at least two communities, being able to develop language skills to be able to communicate with both communities. Sometimes it is the whole community whose members are viewed as bilinguals but language contact is basically about bilingual individuals in a speech community in language contact situations. Then, what happens to these individuals? They develop a repertoire of linguistic structures which allows them to communicate in diverse and distinct situations. The more they make use of their linguistic repertoires which embrace ready and applicable linguistic structures, the more they become proficient and creative in using these linguistic structures for communication in various contexts. Needless to say, developing such an ability requires time and also linguistic socialization (Matras, 2010). It is a skill that needs to be acquired and strengthened by means of what Matras (2010) refers to as socialization in the community. Meanwhile, there are also lapses, which refer to unconventional usages in speech production. Once a speaker acquires this ability to set the mental demarcation line between the languages in contact, at times lapses occur. These lapses are interesting for language contact phenomena.

Individual bilingual (or multilingual) speaker actually does not appear to have separate language systems in her/his brain. Rather, the repertoire that the individual speaker has remains active at all times (Matras, 2010). As a result of this, there is a constant effort to activate this skill to navigate bilingual's multilingual repertoire, thus to maintain either mental demarcation line or to shift this mental demarcation line by 'crossing' it. 'Crossing the line' leads to possible linguistic outcomes of language contact. Here the question arises as to what extent this crossing is intentional but not arbitrary (ibid.). In order to understand the interplay between internal and external

factors playing a role in contact settings, some theoretical explanations have been put forward by contact linguists such as Winford (2003), and Matras (2010).

According to Matras (2010), there are by and large three dimensions that allow the speaker to navigate the mental demarcation line negotiating the linguistic repertoire. These dimensions pull in different directions and language contact is a product of these factors negotiated over and over again. According to the Figure 1, the first dimension is the need to maintain a context-bound selection of forms from the repertoire, that is to say, to use the appropriate language in the appropriate context.

In the interplay of factors in communication in language contact settings, if the speaker gets new means of expression that are more nuanced or adequate or to be able to label things that are not labelled in the other language, then the speaker may want to make use of them rather than maintaining his/her communication in certain settings. Thus the speaker needs to balance things off. A classic example is cultural loans. There are places in the world where people may not know what a 'boomerang' is. So they copy it from the model language. Similarly, there is a potential in the grammar not in the sense that some grammar is impoverished but in the sense that some nuances might be expressed in different ways. So the speaker might want to resort to that full expressive potential of the repertoire but that needs to be balanced off against the need to be understood and to be accepted. Finally, there is also a drive to reduce the hurdles to achieve efficient communication.

In this section, in order to contribute to the discussion of contact-induced language change questions, the factors triggering and leading to language change and causes of change are discussed. However, theoretically speaking, among contact linguists there seems to be a consensus on the fact that changeability is one of the characteristics all the languages share universally (Croft, 2000, 2006; Milroy, 2003; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Weinreich, 1964;). In other words, change is inevitable for languages. Table 4 summarizes the major linguistic causes and outcomes of language contact.

**Table 4.** Major causes and outcomes of language contact (Winford, 2003)

(A) *Language maintenance*

I Borrowing situations

| Degree of contact | Linguistic results                         | Examples  |
|-------------------|--|---|
| Casual            | Lexical borrowing on                       | Modern English<br>Borrowing from<br>French, e.g., <i>ballet</i> |
| Moderate          | Lexical and slight structural<br>borrowing | Latin influence<br>on Early<br>English, etc.                    |
| Intense           | Moderate structural<br>Borrowing           | German<br>influence on<br>Romansh                               |

II Convergence situations

| Type of contact                                     | Linguistic results                           | Examples   |
|---|--|--|
| Contiguous geographical<br>location                 | Moderate structural<br>diffusion             | Sprachbünde,                                       |
| Intra-community<br>multilingualism                  | Heavy structural diffusion                   | Marathi/<br>Kannada                                |
| Intense pressure on a<br>minority group             | Heavy structural diffusion                   | Turkish<br>influence<br>on Asian<br>Minor<br>Greek |
| Intense inter-community<br>Contact (trade, exogamy) | Heavy lexical and/or<br>structural diffusion | Arnhem<br>Land                                     |

**Table 4.** (cont'd)

| (B) Language shift  |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| Type of shift   | Linguistic results (substratum)  | Examples  |
| Rapid and complete<br>(by minority group)                             | Little or no substratum<br>interference in TL  | Urban<br>immigrant<br>groups<br>shifting to<br>English in<br>US         |
| Rapid shift by larger<br>French<br>or prestigious minority<br>English | Slight to moderate substratum<br>interference in TL  | Norman<br>shift to<br>in England  |
| Shift by indigenous<br>English<br>community to imported<br>language   | Moderate to heavy substratum<br>interference   | Shift to<br>by Irish<br>speakers in<br>Ireland<br>(Hiberno-<br>English) |
| (C) Language creation (new contact languages)                         |  |   |
| Type  | Characteristics  |   |
| Bilingual mixed<br>languages  | Akin to cases of maintenance, involving<br>incorporation of large portions of an external<br>vocabulary into a maintained grammatical frame  |   |
| Pidgins<br>mutual   | Highly reduced lingua francas that involve<br>accommodation and simplification; employed in<br>restricted functions such as trade  |   |
| Creoles   | Akin to cases of both maintenance and shift, with<br>grammars shaped by varying degrees of<br>superstate and substrate influence, and<br>vocabulary drawn mostly from the superstate<br>source |   |

Linguists (in particular historical linguists) define four causes of change: (1) drift which means an internal change triggered by structural imbalances (2) dialect borrowing, (3) foreign interference, and (4) deliberate decision (Johanson, 2002; Matras 2010; Thomason, 2001). In this list, dialect borrowing and foreign interference can be classified together as interference-related cases of externally-induced language change. The fact that languages could influence one another in a contact situation is a well-known construct, however “predicting the outcome of a language contact situation remains an immensely challenging task” (Siemund, 2008, p. 3). Nevertheless, there are some classifications for the possible outcomes of language contact situations. On the one hand, Winford (2003) categorizes three types of outcomes of language contact: (1) language maintenance, (2) complete language shift, and (3) creation of new contact (mixed) languages. On the other, major linguistic results and outcomes of language contact triggered by contact induced mechanisms. In this regard, in borrowing situations, lexical and structural items can be borrowed with regards to degree and intensity of contact. However, type of contact in convergence situations might lead to either moderate or heavy lexical and/or structural diffusion. If we talk about a language shift phenomenon, type of shift has an impact on substratum influence ranging from slight to heavy interference. In some extreme contact situations, some new contact languages, i.e. pidgins, creoles, and bilingual mixed languages can be formed as a result of linguistic contact.

In addition to the factors and outcomes of language contact, there have been some attempts to propose various language contact typologies as predictors of kinds and degrees of change, effects on the recipient language structure, mechanisms of contact-induced change. In the literature of contact linguistics, a well-known typology comprising both internally-induced and externally-induced factors triggering contact-induced language change was suggested by Thomason (2001). According to Thomason’s (2001) typology, there are social factors (intensity of contact, presence vs. absence of imperfect learning, speakers’ attitudes), linguistic factors (universal markedness, typological distance etc.), effects of dominant language on the recipient

language (loss/addition of features, etc.), and mechanisms of contact-induced language change (code-switching/alternation, negotiation, etc.) (cf. p. 60).

Thomason (2001) defines language change as a result of language contact and states that “any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation is due at least in part to language contact” (p. 62). This definition of contact-induced language change is too broad in that it comprises two different kinds of contact-induced changes: (a) direct importations from the model language, and (b) indirect contact effects (attrition processes and later changes triggered by an earlier direct importation) which is summarized in Table 5:

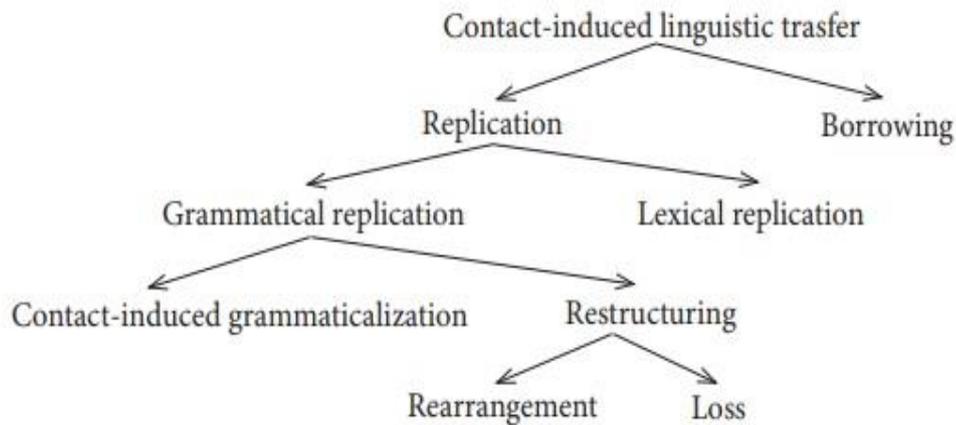
**Table 5.** Categories of contact-induced change (Thomason, 2001)

|   |                                 |  |
|---|---------------------------------|--|
| <b>Direct importations from the source language</b> | <b>Indirect Contact effects</b> |  |
|   | <b>Attrition processes</b>      | <b>Later changes triggered by an earlier direct importations</b> |

As for the implications for the languages in contact, contact-induced language change might theoretically have an influence on basically each and every linguistic element (see Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). According to Heine (2008), “it manifests itself in the transfer of linguistic material from one language to another, typically involving the following kinds of transfer:

- (1) kinds of linguistic transfer
  - a. Form, that is, sounds or combinations of sounds,
  - b. Meanings (including grammatical meanings) or combinations of meanings,
  - c. Form-meaning units or combinations of form-meaning units,
  - d. Syntactic relations, that is, the order of meaningful elements,
  - e. Any combination of (a) through (d) (p. 36).

In Figure 1, main types of contact-induced linguistic transfer is presented.



**Figure 1.** Main types of contact-induced linguistic transfer (Heine, 2008)

According to Heine’s diagram presented above, there are two main types of contact-induced transfer: (1) borrowing, and (2) *replication*. Replication also has two sub-types: (1) lexical replication, and (2) *grammatical replication*. Likewise, grammatical replication leads either to restructuring or to *contact-induced grammaticalization* (Heine, 2008), which can be equal to refer to the notion of *conventionalization* of some linguistic structures influenced by language contact.

In a casual contact situation, (bilingual) for instance, speakers of a target (or base) language, begin making use of just some specific (exclusively cultural) vocabulary. Tocharian-Old Turkic language contact can be regarded as an example for the outcomes of casual contact. In this contact situation, only a few (cultural) vocabulary items were transferred (or borrowed) into Old Turkic (Erdal, 1991) since Tocharian-Old Turkic bilingualism was not so widespread among Old Turkic-speaking speech communities. Thus, the results of contact-induced linguistic transfer remain confined to just very few lexical items.

In a more intensive contact situation, however, language contact leads to an increase in lexical *borrowing* and/or in (*lexical* or *grammatical*) *replication*. Any sort of grammatical replication is regarded as a result of intensive contact between source and target languages. Intensive language contact between Turkic varieties of Iran and

Iranian languages spreading over a millennium encompasses grammatical replications in terms of subordination (an increase in the frequency of use with regard to *ki* constructions in finite clauses) in Kashkay (Csató, 2005; Kuribayashi, 2012), Khalaj (Kıral, 2000), Iranian (South) Azerbaijani (Kıral, 2001). Similarly, Menz (2006) reports a decrease (i.e. language attrition) in the use of converbial constructions in Gagauz language spoken in Moldova, as a result of its language contact with neighbouring dominant Slavic languages. Instead, bilingual Gagauz speakers make use of finite constructions under the heavy influence of Slavic language:

(1) Gagauz language

|             |              |            |                    |                     |               |              |
|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>Açan</i> | <i>gördü</i> | <i>ani</i> | <i>şindensoram</i> | <i>yumuşadım</i>    | <i>braktı</i> | <i>beni.</i> |
| When        | see-PST3Sg.  | that       | at last            | become weak-PST1Sg. |               | ACC.         |

“*When he saw that I had become weak at last, he let me go*”. (Menz, 2006, p. 150).

The heavier the influence becomes, the more structural change happens to occur in base language in the case of overwhelming extensive cultural pressure from donor-language speech community. This process leads to *contact-induced grammaticalization* which is defined as “a grammaticalization process that is due to the influence of one language on another” (Heine & Kuteva, 2003, p. 533). For example, due to heavy influence of Indo-Iranian languages, even though it has yet been a full-fledged feature, a grammaticalized topic marker {+(y)*āki*}, originated from Kurdish, is reported to be prevalent in Kashkay which makes it unique among all Turkic languages (Kuribayashi, 2012, p. 317):

(2) Kashkay language

|                  |           |                |              |            |
|------------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>Kişi-yaki</i> | <i>ke</i> | <i>ad-ı</i>    | <i>Hasan</i> | <i>ne.</i> |
| Man-TOP.         | that      | name-POSS.3sg. | Hasan        | COP.       |

“*The person whose name is Hasan*”. (Kuribayashi, 2012, p. 312).

This reframing leads to a process named restructuring that might trigger a linguistic loss or rearrangement/massive grammatical replacement in linguistic features. There are some factors affecting the intensity of contact-induced language change.

Language change might be triggered by internally-induced or externally-induced factors. Needless to say, it is a common assumption that externally-induced change is supposed to be identical to contact-induced language change suggesting that it only includes *copying* and/or *borrowing* from an ‘external’ language. But it turns out not to be the case all the time. It seems that these two types of processes, that is, external and internal causations, at times may converge, complement one another in triggering a grammatical change and create a sort of system in which they operate simultaneously (Onar Valk, 2015). That is to say, an amalgam of external and internal driving forces plays a significant role in contact-induced language change. This amalgam is referred to *multiple causation* (Thomason, 2001).

#### **2.4.1. An amalgam of *external* and *internal* driving forces in contact-induced language change**

Commonly, contact induced language change comes in two types: internally induced and externally induced (Heine & Kuteva, 2005; Johanson, 2002; Thomason, 2001). In the case of language contact, the driving cause for language change is mostly externally induced. For the initiation of change process, an act of *innovation* (or *actuation*) is supposed to take place at a specific time and place. Is it enough for an innovation to be produced by only a speaker? This question triggers another one: *What makes these innovations linguistically (relatively) permanent changes in the language?* It is quite a possibility for innovations to be produced by the speakers who are merely tipsy, or rather fatigued, or nonnative, or “even just verbally inept” (Thomason, 2010, p. 33). In this respect, “for an innovation to reach the state of ‘completed change’, it needs to diffuse in the language through a propagation stage” (i.e. diffusion; Croft, 2000, p. 4). Therefore, language change is a process in which a lexical or structural change begins at the moment of innovation.

There has been no “one-fits-all” model explaining all language contact situations in the literature of language contact (Siemund, 2008). There are some rigorous attempts, though. One of the most cited models is Johanson’s *code-copying* framework (2002).

Johanson (2002) establishes a descriptive framework of certain language contact situations to explain the underlying mechanisms of contact-induced language change. In Johanson's framework, the underlying process of describing contact-induced language change phenomenon roughly has identical theoretical notions compared to the previous ones (cf. Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Weinreich, 1953). For instance, as in all other language change frameworks, there is a model, source or donor language, which is referred to as *model code*, and replica language is named as the *basic code*. There is always a source language and a target language in the process of linguistic transfer.

Within his framework, Johanson (2002) consciously makes use of the term *copying*, corresponding to Haugen's (1989) use of 'borrowing', to Weinreich's ([1953] 1964) notion 'interference' or to Heine and Kuteva's (2005) terms 'transfer' as well as 'replication'. As can be inferred from the plethora of terms to address the name to the process of adopting linguistic elements from one language to the other, there appears to be a terminological chaos in the literature. On top of it, most of these terms such as borrowing and interference have been conceived as misleading (see Johanson, 2002). That is why Johanson (2002) intentionally prefers to use his pivotal *copying* term. As "borrowing" implies the act of "giving" a kind of loan which has an underlying assumption that it needs to be taken back in a given time, "*copying*" which reflects the permanence of the linguistic material copied and adopted into a language has been used throughout this study.

In Johanson's framework, the underlying process of describing contact-induced language change phenomenon roughly has identical theoretical notions compared to the previous ones (cf. Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Weinreich, 1953). For instance, as in all other language change frameworks, there is a model, source or donor language, which is referred to as *model code* and the replica language is named as the *basic code*. There is always a source language and a target language in the process of linguistic transfer.

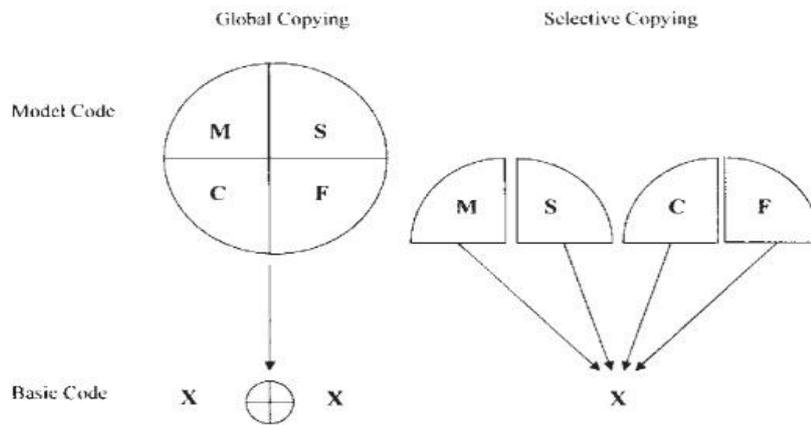
But it is noteworthy to state the fact that what makes Johanson’s (2002) framework different from the others is the distinction of three types of copying: *Globalkopieren* (*global copying*), *Teilstrukturkopieren* (*selective copying*) and *Mischkopieren* (*mixed copying*). Global copying is defined as a process of copying or importing a unit or linguistic element *globally*, as a whole, from a model code to a basic one. It also implies the “insertion of a copy of whole morphemes or morpheme sequences, whole ‘globes’ of material, semantic, combinational and frequential properties, into the Basic Code” (Johanson, 2002b, p. 263). In this type of copying, four properties of a linguistic element are adopted and adapted as a “global block”: structural, semantic, combinational and frequential properties (Johanson, 1998; 2002a, 2002b, 2008). For instance, Turkish global copies are adopted in Laz(uri) language system as a global block which means that structural, semantic combinational and frequential properties with phonological adaptations are adopted as a whole. To give a specific example, as in all Kartvelian languages, in the Laz(uri) language, nouns, exclusively, end with the vowel [i]. Therefore, when Turkish loanwords that do not end with a vowel are transmitted into the Laz language system, the vowel [i] is added to the end of the word. Table 6 presents examples of this phonological adaptation with all linguistic properties including semantic, combinational, categorical ones. In selective copying, however, only some of these properties are copied in the recipient language.

**Table 6.** Global Copying in Laz language (Akkuş, 2019, p. 858)

|     | Turkish | Laz      | English     | Source         |
|-----|---------|----------|-------------|----------------|
| (1) | yaz     | yazi     | ‘summer’    | A Laz poem     |
| (2) | dost    | dosti    | ‘friend’    | A Laz song     |
| (3) | genç    | genci    | ‘youngster’ | A Laz song     |
| (4) | padişah | padişahi | ‘sultan’    | A Laz anecdote |
| (5) | pirinç  | pirinci  | ‘rice’      | A Laz poem     |

In selective copying, only individual selected properties (structural, semantic, combinational or frequential) of the block are copied from the model code to the basic code. Selective copying also has two types: *material* and *grammatical copying*. Material copying means the copying of phonic properties of model code units to the basic code units (Johanson, 2002). However, grammatical copying consists of three

properties combined: combinational, semantic and frequential copying. Frequential copying means that “frequential patterns of Model Code elements can be copied onto Basic Code elements, leading to increased or decreased use of the latter” (Johanson, 2002, p. 74). In order to visualize the framework, the synoptic representation of global and selective copying is shown below:



M = Material properties (substance); S = Semantic properties (also including pragmatic meanings); C = Combinational properties (in syntax and word structure); F = Frequential properties; X = elements of a Basic Code.

**Figure 2:** Synoptic representation of Global and Selective Copying (extracted from Johanson, 2008, p. 65)

In terms of selective copying, Matras & Tufan (2007) provide an example from a prolonged language contact situation in the Balkans: Macedonian Turkish and Macedonian. In this example, Gostivar Macedonian Turkish serves as the basic code in which the change of the interrogative particle *ne* to a relativizer is reported (see Example 3a). This sort of copying is reported to be an example of selective copying in the sense that structural, semantic and combinational properties of a unit from the model code (Macedonian) *što* are copied onto the basic code (Gostivar Macedonian Turkish).

(3) a. Gostivar Macedonian Turkish

*O kışçe ne gel-di biz-de şimdiyaşa-r Stambol-da.*  
 that girl.DIM REL come-PAST 1PL-LOC now live-Pres.3sg Istanbul-LOC

b. Macedonian

*Devoj-če-to*                    *što*    *dojde* *kaj*    *nas*    *sega*    *živee*    *vo*    *İstanbul.*  
girl.DIM-DEF                **REL**    came    at        us        now    live.3sg in Istanbul

c. Turkey-Turkish

*Biz-e*                    *gel-en*                    *kız*    *şimdi*                    *İstanbul-da*    *yaşı-yor.*  
1PL-DAT                **come-SubjP**    girl    now                    Istanbul-LOC live-Pr.Prog.3sg

*“The girl that came to (visit) us now lives in Istanbul”.*

But what factors determine that “certain” units or linguistic elements are globally or selectively copiable and the others are not. In addition to this question, what makes some of those units including their material shape and properties of meaning, combination and frequency fairly immune to copying and replacement? The answers to such questions might lie behind the following terms: *attractiveness* and/or *vulnerability*.

In the case of an external causation, in which the unconventionality is copied from an external language, it is still not well explained why “certain structural features are *attractive* in the absolute sense that they especially lend themselves to copying” (Johanson, 2002, p. 2) but not others. Keller (1994) states that there seems to be an invisible hand leading to language change.

Johanson coined one of his pivotal notions: “attractiveness” in contact-induced language change within his code-copying framework in 1993. In this framework, attractiveness shortly refers to means that some linguistic elements that are more prone to be copied, hence more attractive, than others. Likewise, some linguistic elements can be resistant to copying and replacement of any element from another language than others.

In relation to this issue, in his *code-copying* framework, Johanson (2002) reports on his speculations

- (i) that structural features can be attractive per se,
- (ii) that their attractiveness is relativized by the typological relations between the given contact languages, and
- (iii) that social factors ultimately determine the extent to which attractiveness leads to influence (Johanson, 2002, pp. 2-3).

In addition to approving Johanson's list, Thomason (2001) also adds another linguistic factor that may have an impact on the copying process:

- (iv) The degree to which features are integrated into the linguistic system

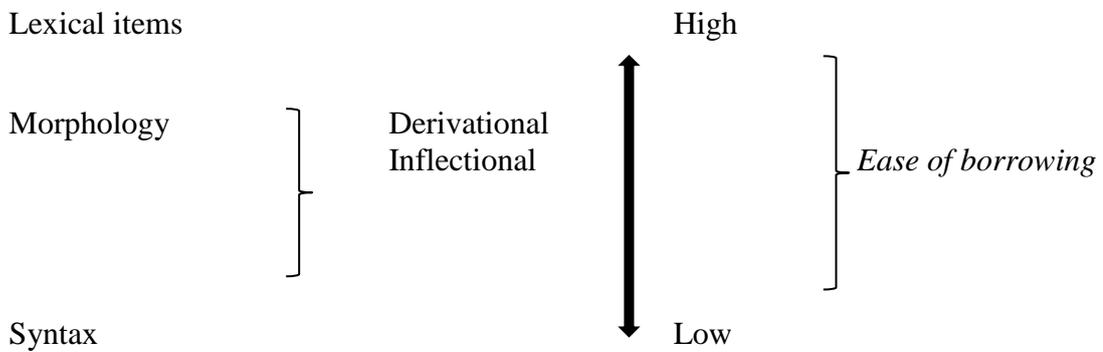
More recently, particularly in language attrition studies (see Tsimpli, 2007; Schmid, 2013) Johanson's notion of "attractiveness", is replaced with the term *vulnerability*, also suggesting that some foreign linguistic elements are more prone and less immune to copying and replacement than others in language contact situations.

Herein, a crucial question arises: what is the underlying mechanism for some structures being more vulnerable to copying and replacement than others in certain language contact situations? Needless to say, there is no agreed-upon answer to this question and what is more there are contradictory perspectives as to which stage contact-induced language change emerges. According to Stolz & Stolz (1996), Ross (2001) and Matras (2009), language change in bilingual discourse starts with complex clauses such as adverbial clauses. After complex clauses, it progresses to simple forms such as phrases and words (Matras, 2009, p. 244).

In congruent with this view, Aikhenvald (2002) also emphasizes the fact that the clause is the basic "unit of speech processing" and diffusion passes from "larger units" to smaller ones (p. 60). Similarly, Croft (2000) employs *utterance* as the main unit of copying. So, language change triggered and motivated by language contact begins with the copying of such entities (Croft, 2000). According to this view, syntax itself is highly vulnerable in language contact situations (Heine, 2005).

On the contrary, Silva-Corvalán (1994) claims that language change is a 'simplification' process in linguistic elements, and such simplifications first emerge in the morphology and proceeds in the lexicon and at last in syntax. However, in Romaine's (1995) *hierarchy of borrowing* scale syntax is considered to be the most

immune linguistic element to copying and replacement of language as shown in the schema (see Figure 3).



**Figure 3.** Hierarchy of borrowing (adapted from Onar Valk, 2015, p. 24)

Congruent with Romaine’s (1995) hierarchy of borrowing, Dođruöz (2007) and Dođruöz and Backus (2007, 2009) confirm that syntax is reported to be the most immune linguistic aspect (cf. Onar Valk, 2015) in their Dutch-Turkish bilingual data. The aim of the study conducted by Dođruöz (2007) is to investigate if there was an increase in left-branching structures in comparison to the non-contact (Turkey Turkish) variety. Based on data analysis, she ended up with the conclusion that there is no statistically significant difference between the contact and non-contact varieties. It is concluded that the total number of right-branching constructions in sentence structures outnumbers that of left-branching ones.

All these explanations lead us to deal with another crucial question: What indicators help us to determine the aspects of *vulnerability/attractiveness* or *ease of copying* of a certain linguistic structure or element? and how can a linguistic change be detected?

Apparently, it is not easy to answer such overwhelming questions given the variation in the characteristics of sociolinguistic settings and in typological profiles of the language pairs under investigation in the current literature.

In contact-induced language change studies, a more objective and “transparent” (Haspelmath, 2006) term, *frequency of use* has been suggested to reinstate the term

“markedness” for its being vague as it has various meanings such as difficulty, complexity, abnormality, etc. The usage-based framework concentrates on the impact of usage on language structure (Langacker, 1991). Thus the frequency of use of certain units and linguistic elements during the act of speaking is assumed to be highly consequential in order to interpret and determine “how easily they are activated in the minds of speakers” (Demirçay, 2017, p. 53). Language change generally comprises a “mere” deviation in frequency of use “rather than complete loss of forms or the adoption of completely new forms (Demirçay, 2017, p. 53). Therefore, the frequency of use also plays a significant role in both the model and replica languages during the copying process according to Johanson’s (2002) code-copying framework. All of these explanations give priority to the fact that the frequency of use has determinative roles and outcomes to account for language change.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy to state that social and psychological factors governing language use play an important role in determining the frequency of certain words or structures during the act of speaking.

In some language change situations, even though two different linguistic constructions coexist, there might occur a change in the frequency of use of such constructions. Menz (2006), for instance, point out that there is a decrease in the use of converbial constructions in Gagauz language spoken in Moldova, as a result of its language contact with neighbouring dominant Slavic languages. Instead, bilingual Gagauz speakers make use of finite constructions under the heavy influence of Slavic language. But, it does not necessarily mean that non-finite converbial constructions are invulnerable to contact-induced language change. On the contrary, they coexist with the contact-induced innovative finite constructions in Gagauz. With respect to the *frequency of use*, Johanson (2002) also theorizes his findings within code-copying terminology: *frequential copying* meaning “frequential patterns of Model Code elements can be copied onto Basic Code elements, leading to increased or decreased use of the latter” (p. 74). In other words, the frequency of use of a unit or linguistic element may decrease for the benefit of the other (Johanson, 2002, p. 74). Such a conspicuous case can be traced in South Azerbaijani variety spoken in Iran (Kıral,

2001). It is probable to come across non-finite subordinate clauses in reported speech, relative clauses, converbial constructions as a well-known Turkic feature. On the other side, heavy contact-induced finite constructions with *ki* (originated from Persian *ke*), and *tâ* (again originated from Persian *tâ*) coexist with non-finite constructions as non-finite constructions are resistant to language contact to a great extent (Menz, 2006). This linguistic symbiosis between linguistic patterns from typologically distant languages is supposed to be continuously strengthened, thus conventionalized by speakers in a speech community in everyday language use. Here, it should be noted that there is always a possibility for either structure to be weakened by driving social forces or intense contact which might even lead to structural loss in the end. Old English provides a striking example regarding the loss of one of copula systems in Old English. From the earliest records, all English dialects are reported to have had two copulas, each of which has “present indicative paradigm” (Vennemann, 2010, p. 389) as presented below:

(4) Old English

| s-paradigm      | b-paradigm  |                     |
|-----------------|-------------|---------------------|
| <i>eom</i>      | <i>bēo</i>  | ‘(I) am’            |
| <i>eart</i>     | <i>bist</i> | ‘(thou) art’        |
| <i>is</i>       | <i>biþ</i>  | ‘(he/she/it) is’    |
| <i>sind(on)</i> | <i>bēoþ</i> | ‘(we/you/they) are’ |

(Vennemann, 2010, p. 389)

Eventually, Vennemann (2010) reported that *b-paradigm* was completely lost in the English of Shakespeare and of Chaucer due to less use and more exposure to *s-paradigm*. It is evident that *s-paradigm* was used so frequently that it was conventionalized within the Old English-speaking community, and it has been in use for centuries in Contemporary English.

This process of *conventionalization* is based on *frequency of use* and *entrenchment* which are intertwined in the contexts of language change from a usage-based perspective. According to Croft (2000), there are three means in language contact situations. First of all, in *normal replication*, members of a speech community consider the linguistic constructions and patterns of which a speaker makes use within

a conversation *normal*. Secondly, in *altered replication* (also known as *innovation*), an unusual and innovative structure is used by the speaker. Last but not least, when such an innovative structure is used by other members of the speech community in their conversations, it means that this completely new structure is proliferated. This process is called *propagation* (Croft, 2000).

The most fundamental mechanism that directs the process of propagation is referred to *entrenchment* (Backus, 2014). When more and more speakers in a speech community start using a linguistic structure, it becomes more *entrenched*, which triggers its use in the possible future encounters and scenarios. Even though a linguistic form or structure is considered as an unusual and new element by members of a speech community, it might become so entrenched that it becomes *conventionalized* for that part of the community. What is significant in the processes of entrenchment and conventionalization is the frequency of use of certain linguistic structures. Naturally, idiolects and social factors such as family language policies, conversational context, etc. may also have an impact on language use and on the processes of entrenchment and conventionalization (Demirçay, 2017). The process involves the homogenization of linguistic structures and patterns as they spread from one individual to another, thus from one speech community to another. Another Turkic language, Karaim with a tentative historical background, might provide a unequivocal and concrete example for an intense language contact situation. Unlike most of the Turkic languages, according to Csató (1994), the canonical word order is predominantly Subject-Verb-Object in Karaim and that language, has been heavily contact-influenced by dominant neighbouring Slavic languages (i.e. Lithuanian, Polish and Russian) for over six centuries. The following utterance, in Example 5, depicts a non-Turkic syntactic feature due to language contact:

(5) Karaim language

|                   |             |             |                      |                 |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| <i>B'ir fornu</i> | <i>maya</i> | <i>b'ir</i> | <i>k'el't'ir'd'i</i> | <i>portveyn</i> |
| one time:ACC      | I:DAT       | one         | bring:PST3Sg.        | portwine        |

|           |              |            |           |              |           |              |             |
|-----------|--------------|------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>da</i> | <i>aytat</i> | <i>k'i</i> | <i>iç</i> | <i>aytat</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>astrı</i> | <i>sav.</i> |
| and       | say:PRS      | that       | drink:IMP | say:PRS      | this      | very         | healthy     |

“Once somebody brought me portwine and said: ‘Drink it, he said: ‘This is very healthy”.

Csató (1998, p. 83)

Typologically, Karaim language belongs to Kipchak branch of Turkic language family. After Karaim speech community migrated westwards from the Ukrainian Steppe in the Middle Ages, they settled down in the territory what is called Lithuania today. Since then, they have been surrounded by dominant Slavic languages whose canonical word order is Subject-Verb-Object. A group of Karaim speech community began acquiring neighbouring languages for communicative purposes which led to the development of a (more or less widespread) bilingualism among Karaim-speaking people and increased language contact (Csató, 1994). Thus, individual entrenched use of contact-induced word order (SOV in this case) might have spread among speech community so and respectively conventionalized.

Apart from *propagation*, *entrenchment* and *conventionalization*, Heine & Kuteva (2006) explain language change with the concepts *contact-induced grammaticalization* in relation to contributing internal and external factors to the process of change. Contact, in this case, has two possible outcomes: (1) it either initiates a grammatical change which may be internally-driven without a contact, or (2) contact facilitates an continuing grammatical change (Heine & Kuteva, 2006) which leads to *grammatical replication*. The following example, provided by Ramat (1998), gives a brief and comprehensive account of the situation. In Indo-European languages, “be” or “become” are predominantly used as auxiliaries, “with the main verb being encoded as a perfect participle form or some equivalent of it” (Heine & Kuteva, 2010, p. 97). However, as exemplified by Ramat (1998), Italian, the Bavarian dialect of German, and Rhaeto-Romance (Ladin) all use another periphrastic passive structure as a result of the grammatical replication of the verb “come” to a passive auxiliary:

(6) The Alpine “come”-passive

a. Ladin (Rhaeto-Romance)

|      |          |               |     |        |       |
|------|----------|---------------|-----|--------|-------|
| “Cò  | vain     | fabricheda    | la  | scuola | nouva |
| here | come:PRS | build:PST3Sg. | the | school | new   |

b. Italian

|      |          |               |     |        |       |
|------|----------|---------------|-----|--------|-------|
| Qui  | viene    | costruita     | la  | scuola | nouva |
| here | come:PRS | build:PST3Sg. | the | school | new   |

c. Bavarian (German)

|      |               |     |        |        |        |
|------|---------------|-----|--------|--------|--------|
| “Dà  | kummt         | de  | nei(e) | Schul  | gebaut |
| here | come:PRS      | the | new    | school |        |
|      | build:PST3Sg. |     |        |        |        |

“Here the new school is being constructed”.

Ramat (1998, pp. 227-8)

By and large, Heine and Kuteva’s (2003; 2006) *grammatical replication* roughly corresponds to Haugen’s (1950) grammatical calquing and/or loanshift, Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) interference, Corne’s (1999) congruence, Myers-Scotton’s (2002) code-switching, convergence, or attrition and Winford’s (2003) structural borrowing terms. This varying terminology gives us a brief account on how earlier studies framed the same notions and concepts under different naming. In this regard, Heine and Kuteva’s (2003; 2006) *replication* framework is no exception, which investigates language change from almost the same points of view, but using different terms for the almost same notions and concepts. One of the characteristic features that differs in *replication* framework is that there is a sharp differentiation between borrowing and replication in this model. Borrowing is only restricted to what Johanson (2002) refers to as ‘global copying’ while replication roughly corresponds to ‘selective copying’ in *code-copying* framework. Heine and Kuteva (2006) also distinguish different types of *replication*: *grammatical* and *lexical* replication. Lexical replication comprises loan translations and context generalizations (or semantic extensions). On the other hand, grammatical replication is further divided into *contact-induced grammaticalization* and *restructuring*. Since

this study aims at focusing on syntactic domain of converbial constructions, grammatical replication will be discussed in detail.

(*Contact-induced*) *grammaticalization* or (*grammatical*) *replication* is defined as “a process whereby a language, called the replica language (R), creates a new grammatical structure (Rx) on the model of some structure (Mx) of another language, called the model language (M)” (Heine & Kuteva, 2006, p. 49). Contact-induced grammaticalization is even further subdivided into two: *ordinary* and *replica grammaticalization*. According to Heine and Kuteva’s (2006) model, there are four criteria or parameters of grammaticalization as can be seen below:

- (a) extension (or context generalization): use in new contexts suggests new meanings,
- (b) desemantization (or ‘semantic bleaching’), i.e. loss in meaning content,
- (c) decategorialization, i.e. loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms, and
- (d) erosion (or ‘phonetic reduction’), i.e. loss in phonetic substance (p. 58).

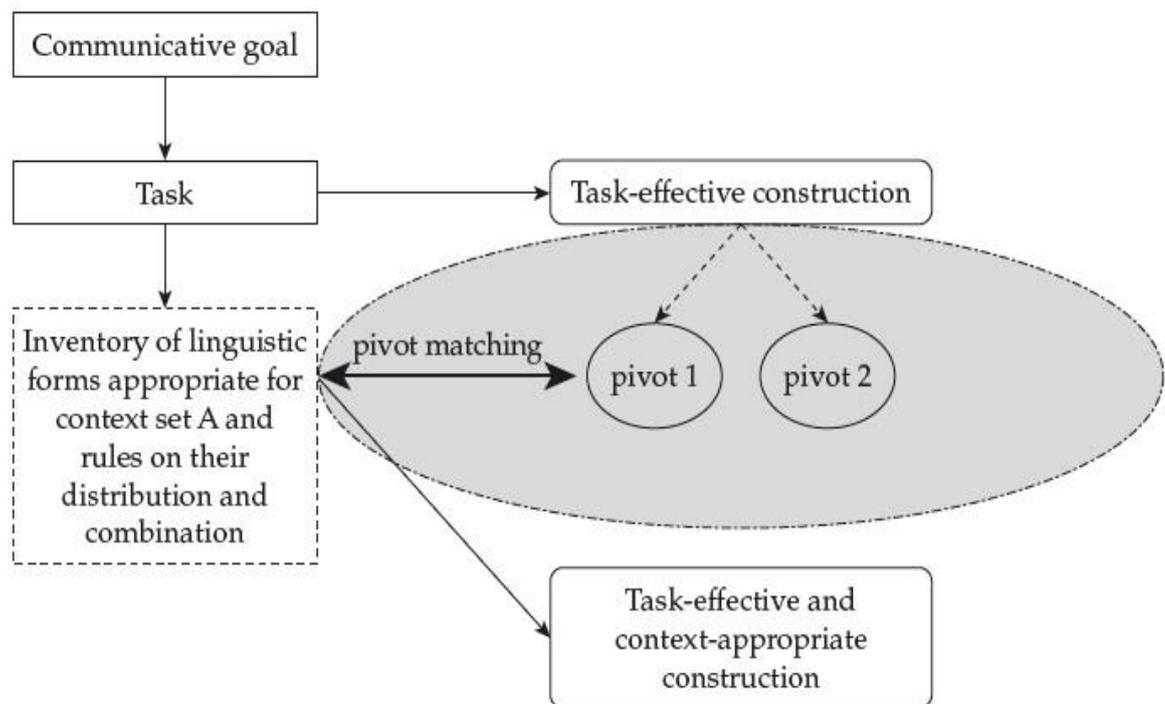
These parameters might operate together in grammaticalization process to create a language change triggered and motivated by language contact.

Heine and Kuteva (2003) give a comprehensive account of grammaticalization by distinguishing *ordinary* and *replica* categories of *grammaticalization*. According to this approach, in the ‘ordinary’ grammaticalization, first of all, users of language R realize that there exists a grammatical category Mx in language M. Then by making use of their language R, speakers build up a correspondent category Rx. By doing so, speakers make use of universal strategies of grammaticalization to build up Rx, using construction Ry. By and by, speakers develop construction Ry to Rx and grammaticalize it as such. The distinction between ordinary and replica grammaticalization starts when speakers make use of universal strategies of grammaticalization to build up Rx, using construction Ry. In replica grammaticalization, speakers replicate a grammaticalization process that they infer has emerged in the model language instead of a grammatical concept by using universal strategies of grammaticalization. However, as it is almost beyond the bounds of

possibility to conclude the boundaries of distinctions from a single study, this distinction will be ignored. To solve this distinction ‘problem’, Heine and Kuteva (2003) suggest an alternative analysis: *polysemy copying*. Polysemy copying is referred to as “an abrupt rather than a gradual change, and it tends to be associated with lexical rather than grammatical replication” (Heine, 2012, p. 126) which corresponds to Matras’ (2009) *pattern replication* (PAT).

Having examined the *replication* account developed by Heine and Kuteva (2006), next section will discuss models or a model of (structural) replication proposed by Matras (2009).

The most recent and comprehensive framework of language contact which was developed by Matras (2009) introduces the notions of *pattern replication* (PAT), *matter replication* (MAT) along with the significant mechanism of *pivot-matching*. This framework employs the term “language convergence”, meaning “an increase in similarities between two languages at any level: lexical, phonological, typological” (cf. Silva-Corvalán, 1994, pp. 4-5). In his framework, Matras (2010) distinguishes two types of replications: *matter* and *pattern replication*. *Matter* corresponds to the direct replication of “the concrete phonological shape of morphemes and word-forms” (p. 68), and linguistic *patterns* are regarded as the types of constructions that include “a specific mapping relation of meaning to form, or a structural relation among two or more word forms, expressed for instance through their position” (p. 68). For the explanation of matter and pattern replication, Matras’ (2009) framework introduces the following processing mechanism leading to replications: *pivot-matching* (Matras & Sakel, 2007, p. 830), corresponding to a sort of *convergence* mechanism, as visually depicted in Figure 4 below:



**Figure 4.** Pivot-matching in pattern replication (Matras, 2009)

According to this task-schema, in a communication setting, first of all, bilinguals need to accomplish a particular ‘communicative goal’ for which, bilinguals make use of all the features assembled in their linguistic repertoire. (Here, it is the assumption that the bilingual is able to reach the linguistic repertoire without any difficulty). Bilingual speakers, firstly, realize that there exists a grammatical unit (such as a morpheme, a meaning or a structural aspect) in the model language in a communicative context, and deconstructs this construction by detaching its pivotal features. After the detachment process, “this construction “pivot” is then matched to the inventory of context-appropriate forms” (Matras, 2010, p. 72). Then bilinguals come up with a correspondent category, matching it with an identical category in the replica language with the same role assignment. However, it is worthy emphasizing that the newly matched category and its assigned roles might develop some different features which might not have any correspondence in the model language. Such kind of spontaneous, momentary and *abrupt* developments bring about innovative and creative constructions in the replica language, which has the risk of not being accepted by the

interlocutor(s). The innovations that are uttered spontaneously by single bilingual speakers are less likely to be propagated, entrenched hence conventionalized in a bilingual speech community.

Matras' (2009) processing mechanism of *pivot-matching* resembles what Heine and Kuteva (2003; 2006) refer to as (contact-induced) *grammaticalization*. All the language contact frameworks, notions and concepts discussed in this section share some common characteristics in the sense that terms and labels of contact-induced mechanisms triggered by driving linguistic forces overlap each other since they all claim to describe similar linguistic factors. For this very reason, an amalgam of these overlapping terms and notions are used in order to explain the underlying mechanisms for Dutch-Turkish language encounter.

Such contact-induced mechanism models and theories in connection with *usage-based* conception of language has lately been discussed from different angles in contact-induced language change studies (cf. Backus, 2015a, 2015b; Coussé & Von Mengden, 2014; Hayase, 2014; Zeige, 2014).

### **2.5. A Usage-Based Framework in Contact-Induced Language Change**

The usage-based account of language, as its name suggests, is basically concerned with the effect of language use on language units, patterns or structures. The term *usage based* was first coined by Langacker (1987) in his seminal book entitled *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Vol. I: Theoretical Prerequisites* in which he introduces the term 'usage-based model' in order to "highlight a methodological and theoretical contrast between Cognitive and Generative Linguistics" (Von Mengden & Coussé, 2014, p. 2). Langacker (1988) then elaborates his notion of usage-based to challenge the Generative Linguistics:

"In describing cognitive grammar as a "usage-based model of language structure, I have in mind the "maximalist", non-reductive, and "bottom-up" character of the general approach (as compared to the minimalist, reductive, and top-down spirit of the generative tradition" (p. 131).

"Bottom-up", in the description, emphasizes the fact that usage-based data are of crucial significance for the mental and exemplary representations compared to the

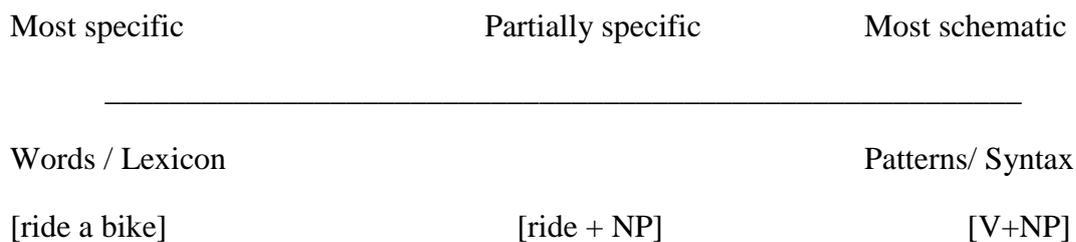
generative understanding which claims that these representations occur in “some” language faculty. Cognitive grammar has been developed as a reaction to generative grammar, and it is one of the pioneering and challenging theoretical framework that unequivocally and comprehensively criticizing the generative methodology and a plethora of theoretical assumptions suggested in generative linguistics (Mukherjee, 2005; Von Mengden & Coussé, 2014). For instance, Langacker (2000) claims that generative grammar itself undergoes the so called ‘rule/list fallacy’: “Traditionally, in generative accounts, the instantiating expressions would be excluded from the grammar on grounds of economy” (p. 2). In other words, in the Minimalist Program, there is a maximally economical model that must be established on “a computational procedure and a lexicon” (Chomsky, 2000, p. 120). However, according to Langacker (2000), this separation leads to the abovementioned rule/list fallacy. In order to overcome this fallacy, he proposes an alternative model in order for the incorporation of the rules and and instantiating expressions. In his alternative model, namely cognitive grammar (later known as Cognitive Linguistics), language is constituted by units which possess both a form and a meaning. The focus is neither on the form nor the meaning. This account of language theoretically focuses on the integration of the two (Backus, 2013). Nevertheless, Langacker keeps hold of some important notions introduced by generative grammar. One of the most crucial common ground is the assumption that the patterns that shape the linguistic system are placed in “human cognition (hence *Cognitive Linguistics*)” (Von Mengden & Coussé, 2014, p. 2).

The most significant contrastive theoretical novelty of usage-based approach is based on the idea that mental representations originate from language use rather than from some language faculty. Kemmer and Barlow (2000) elaborate on the contrastive nature of usage-based approach by categorizing its characteristic features:

- an intimate relation between linguistic structures and instances of use of language,
- the importance of frequency,
- comprehension and production as integral, rather than peripheral, to the linguistic system,
- focus on the role of learning and experience in language acquisition,

- linguistic representations as emergent, rather than as fixed entities,
- importance of usage data in theory construction and description,
- the intimate relation between usage, synchronic variation and diachronic change,
- the interconnectedness of the linguistic system with non-linguistic cognitive systems,
- the crucial role of context in the operation of the linguistic system (pp. viii-xxii)

First of all, according to the usage-based linguistic account, there is a mutual interplay between grammar and usage. The crucial question here is how (much) language use has an impact on linguistic structure. This question is linked to the underlying presupposition of the cognitivist account that grammar is placed in human cognition and that this grammar is mainly shaped in the chain of usage events during speaker-hearer interaction. “It is assumed that the mapping of structure and usage in production and usage in production and comprehension is not ‘flawless’, so that structure is open variation, and hence to change” (von Mengden & Coussé, 2014, p. 4). These linguistic structures might be specific (content and concrete) or schematic (grammatical and abstract), and be simple (just one unit) or complex (a unit consisting of more than one unit) which are linked with usage. This lexicon-syntax continuum is referred to as ‘the Specificity Continuum (see Figure 5 below):



**Figure 5.** Specificity continuum (Doğruöz & Backus, 2009, p. 44)

As indicated in Figure 5, cognitive grammar sees lexicon and syntax as dependent domains on a linear continuum that encompasses all language units. In this view, highly specific units (such as idioms or chunks whose parts cannot be changed) which are placed at the specific end in the continuum are lexical units. Partially specific units (partially stable partially changeable) are placed in between most specific (lexicon) and most schematic (syntax) ends. At last, highly schematic constructions whose parts

can be changed by other lexical items such as [V+NP] are placed at the schematic end (Doğruöz & Backus, 2009).

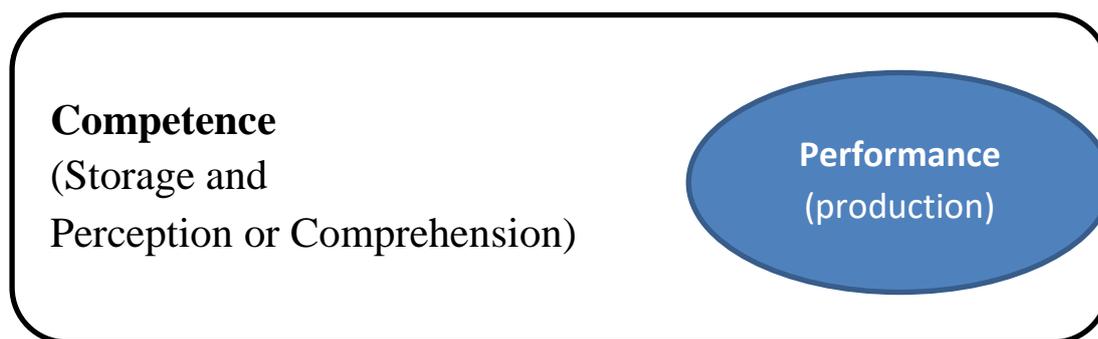
Secondly, according to this account, there is an “intimate relation between linguistic structures and instances of use of language” (Kemmer & Barlow, 2006, p. 2) which suggests that a more direct relation is considered to exist between one’s language experience and abstract representations in grammar. In other words, linguistic representations are strongly connected to ‘usage events’ in the speaker’s linguistic system. These usage events and linguistic structures mutually influence one another in constant flux. As Kemmer and Barlow (2006) put it, “usage events are crucial to the ongoing structuring and operation of the linguistic system. Language productions are not only products of the speaker’s linguistic system, but they also provide input for other speakers’ systems (as well as, reflexively, for the speaker’s own), not just in initial acquisition but in language use throughout life. Thus, usage events play a double role in the system: they both result from, and also shape, the linguistic system itself in a kind of feedback loop” (p. 3).

As there is a relationship between use of linguistics units and language experiences, *frequency of use* is conceived as a fundamental factor in usage-based linguistics. Frequency of use of a certain linguistic unit is both an outcome and a driving force of the system, thus it has a prime role in usage-based linguistics (Bybee, 1988; Haiman 1991, 1994; Kemmer & Barlow, 2006). If a language unit or pattern is used frequently, it means that this unit is entrenched, i.e. cognitively routinized, and that high frequency of the unit has an impact on the processing of the unit. The fundamental role of frequency of use leads to a sharp distinction between usage-based linguistics and other approaches in the sense that in usage based models frequency is an important construct, “unconnected with speakers’ linguistic knowledge” (Kemmer & Barlow, 2006, p. 4).

*Frequency of use* is significant in the process which results in high entrenchment. There is a direct correlation between the two: “The higher the frequency of use, the stronger the entrenchment level a unit acquires” (Onar Valk, 2015, p. 54). The level

of entrenchment is essentially based on a procedure of cognitive routinization, automaticization or habituation. Even though there is a relative interplay between type and token frequency, they play different roles in this procedure in the sense that “high token frequency leads to entrenchment by leaving strong memory traces, whereas type variation leads to abstraction” (Behrens, 2009, p. 399). Regardless of the type of frequency, it should be noted that whenever a language unit is used by a speaker, its abstract representation is entrenched, implying the fundamental role of frequency of use (Bybee, 2010). This process makes the linguistic unit available for possible use in future encounters (Taylor, 2012), implying that the high frequency of use of lexical items and linguistic constructions in a language contact situation has an impact on their entrenchment levels in the bilingual speaker’s mental representation. Meanwhile, the native correspondent of the linguistic unit starts to be used less or it is not used by the speaker at all, meaning that its entrenchment level declines.

In addition to the frequency of use, according to the usage-based account of language, there is no sharp distinction between *competence* and *performance* for performance is considered as a construct within the speaker’s competence. In other words, competence and performance are by no means defined separately, they are rather to be viewed as integral, as shown in Figure 6 below:



**Figure 6.** Linguistic Competence (Kemmer & Barlow, 2000)

In this regard, generative linguistics and usage-based linguistics hold different points of view in defining the constructs of competence and performance. The fundamental differentiation between the two accounts stems from whether there is a sharp distinction between competence and performance. While generative linguistics views

a sharp distinction between the two, usage-based linguistics sees them integral to the linguistic system. Radford (2004) defines competence as “the native speaker’s tacit knowledge of his or her language”, and performance as “what people actually say or understand by what someone else says on a given occasion” (p. 7). The second distinction is that usage-based account of language does not conceive competence as ‘steady’, on the contrary, it is viewed as ‘dynamic’ since one’s competence is continuously reshaped by linguistic experience and usage. However, in generative linguistics, competence is viewed steady: “the steady state is one’s mature linguistic competence” (Chomsky, 1995, p. 14).

When it comes to the interplay between the *cognitive process* going on in the bilingual speaker’s mental representation and contact-induced language change, Bybee’s (2010) *exemplar representation* provides a satisfactory explanation:

Exemplar representations are rich memory representations; they contain, at least potentially, all the information a language user can perceive in a linguistic experience. This information consists of phonetic detail, including redundant and variable features the lexical items and constructions used, the meaning, inferences made from this meaning and from the context, and properties of the socialphysical and linguistic context (p. 14).

In exemplar representation theory, each and every piece of experience is of crucial significance in the never-ending process of matching token(s) of new linguistic experience with existing ones. During this matching process, recurred linguistic experiences lead to contributing to the durability of the exemplars. In the case of contact-induced language change, the usage based linguistic framework is utilized in the current study since there is an interplay between linguistic constructions and instances of language use along with frequency of use. Moreover, as perception (i.e. competence) and production are viewed as integral to the linguistic system, usage-based linguistic analysis as a framework plays a significant role in analyzing instances of language use in this specific language change situation. On top of it, usage-based linguistics views “linguistic representations as emergent” at the time of speaking (Kemmer & Barlow, 2000). The relation between linguistic system and non-linguistic cognitive systems exert an influence on the language usages.

## 2.6. A Review of Studies on Language Change Using Usage Based Approaches

Language change has not extensively been studied within a usage-based framework until recently. Earliest few studies on usage-based approaches to linguistic change encompass Indo-European languages such as Polish, German and Russian (Nørgård-Sørensen, 2014), Danish (Heltoft, 2014), French (Kragh & Schøsler, 2014), English (Hayase, 2014), Dutch (Backus, 2015a), and an indigenous language, Yurakaré (Gipper, 2014). These studies can be categorized into two main themes: (i) the role of use and linguistic pattern in language change, and (ii) the role of usage-based framework in semantic change.

Concerning the first category, to start with, Kragh and Schøsler (2014) investigate the underlying assumptions behind the development of French deictic relative construction with perception verbs as in *Je vois Pierre qui arrive* ‘I see Pierre coming’, in terms of reanalysis and gramma(ticaliza)tion of constructions. This kind of developing deictic relative constructions is presented as a divergence from ordinary French relative clause as it violates “the relationship of interdependence with the antecedent, a so-called nexus relation” (pp. 16-17). However, Kragh and Schøsler (2014) explain that the ordinary relative clause is semantically loosened in the symbol field, which means that there occur ambiguous innovative constructions, from which deictic relative constructions are said to be emerged and used in their spontaneous usages. After strong entrenchment, thus maybe conventionalization, interlocutors transfer such structures to written language.

Similarly, Heltoft (2014) explores the semantic change of Danish indirect object constructions by distinguishing linguistic content from their conceptual structure, with a special focus on the intimate relationship between usage and structure. Analyzing a corpus entitled Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur, he identifies and analyzes the changes occurring in the semantic field. As a result, Heltoft (2014) concludes that there is strong evidence that the construction type of the verbs *bebrejde* ‘reproach’ and *gifte sig* ‘marry’ are transferred from one construction type to the other as a consequence of usage-oriented mechanisms such as reanalysis and analogy.

Nørgård-Sørensen (2014), in his study entitled *Filling empty distinctions of expression with content: Usage-motivated assignment of grammatical meaning*, investigates the language change phenomenon in the light of a notion of usage-based linguistics, an empty distinction, which is referred to as the conventionalization of less motivated distinction of expression. As a marker of number, for instance, Old High German had umlauted versus non-umlauted vowels. It is analyzed whether there has been a stage of an empty distinction triggering any change in Old High German sound system. Similarly, the inflectional morpheme system for the nominative plural of Polish masculine nouns are reported to be a sophisticated innovation as a result of an empty distinction stage occurring in speakers' usage, suggesting that there is evidence to hypothesize for a transition in the phase of grammaticalization process in language change.

From a contact-induced language change perspective, Onar Valk and Backus (2013) study how Turkish heritage speakers' usage of subordinate clauses diverges from that of Turkish monolingual speakers. For this purpose, the speakers' spontaneous speeches on bilingual and monolingual modes are recorded, and a sentence recall task is conducted. In total, there are 14 bilinguals in spontaneous group conversations whose age ranges between 18 to 35. In addition to the bilingual group, 27 Turkish monolinguals participate in the monolingual spontaneous group conversations. The results indicate that the Dutch-Turkish bilinguals predominantly use finite subordinate clauses, particularly in reported speech structures as a result of Dutch language contact. On the other hand, the researchers report that the monolingual speakers mainly make use of non-finite constructions in their speeches, suggesting the interplay between the fundamental processes such as usage, reanalysis, structure and conventionalization in the sense of usage-based linguistics.

On the other hand, with regard to the second category of studies, that is the role of usage-based framework in semantic change, Gipper (2014) studies the impact of interactional structure as a driving force in the emerging semantic extension on some Yurakaré (an indigenous language spoken in Bolivia) lexical items. As a result of

usage, Gipper (2014) considers the mirative interpretation of some Yurakaré inflectional morphemes as a semantic extension of the inferential marker =*tiba*.

In another study, Hayase (2014) investigates one of the prescriptively ignored participle, namely dangling participial construction, in English in spite of the fact that it is widely used in both spoken and (relatively more formal) written languages, taking British National Corpus as his source of instances.

(7) a. “*Arriving at the park office early in the morning*, things looked grim at first.

b. *Walking along the foot of the crag to the right*, the area of golden stalactites forming the Secteur Maelstrom is equally impressive”.

(Hayase, 2014, p. 117)

In the study, the process of conventionalization of dangling participial construction is stated to be strengthened by the usage, entrenchment as a result of frequency of use, pragmatic strengthening and interaction between speaker and hearer in dialogic context.

## **2.7. A Review of Studies on Contact-Induced Language Change in Dutch and German Context**

Contact-induced language change has been investigated in a variety of contexts: migration (e.g. immigrant languages in Europe such as Turkish, Arabic etc.), colonial influences (e.g. Spanish, Dutch, English in the Americas and Down Under, i.e. New Zealand and Australia), national minorities (e.g. Laz language in Turkey; Basque language in Spain and France) or languages spoken in a Sprachbau (e.g. Caucasian languages in the Caucasus). In this section, studies that focus on contact-induced language change in Turkish in Dutch and German contexts are given. The reason to concentrate of these two contexts relies on initially the fact that Dutch context is the context of the present research. As for including studies conducted in German context, among the factors for language contact and change, labour migration appears to be one of many triggering factors in contact setting in which people speaking various languages move to another (more prosperous and developed) country to have better

opportunities which consequently leads to bilingualism over generations among immigrant speech communities (Demirçay, 2017). In this regard, language contact situations among Spanish-speaking speech communities in the USA (Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Lipski, 2009) have been extensively and comprehensively studied. In Australia, immigrant languages such as Macedonian, Croatian, Dutch, Hungarian etc. have been studied by a variety of scholars (Clyne & Pauwels, 1995; De Bot & Clyne, 1994; Hlavac 2003, Kipp, etc). When it comes to European context in terms of contact-induced language change, immigrant bilinguals in Europe have also been investigated extensively: South Asian languages in Britain (Alladina & Edwards, 1991; Canagarajah, 2006; Lawson & Sachdev, 2004), and Turkish and Moroccan Arabic in Germany and the Netherlands (Backus, 1996; Boeschoten & Verhoeven, 1987; Extra & Verhoeven, 1999; Extra & Yağmur, 2010; Nortier, 1990; Pfaff, 1993; Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015).

Turkish as an immigrant/heritage language has been studied in Western Europe, in countries such as Germany and the Netherlands, (see for example Backus 1996, 2004). The studies examining Turkish language in these contexts initially focused on the first generation, and then moved onto the second generation (Backus, 1996) including children (Pfaff, 1991) and adolescents (Jørgensen, 2003). Many studies look not only at linguistic aspects of bilingualism but also at the social meaning of language choice and identity formation aspects (Extra & Yağmur, 2010; Kallmeyer & Keim, 2003; Lytra & Jørgensen, 2008; Vedder & Virta, 2005). While some studies focus on the bilingual speech of speakers including code-switching, insertions, and loan translations (Backus, 1996; Türker, 2000), more recent ones have also focused on structural language change (Doğruöz & Backus, 2007; Onar-Valk, 2015; Şahin, 2015; Verhoeven & Boeschoten, 1986).

In one of the earlier studies focusing on structural language change in the case of Dutch-Turkish contact, Turkish word order structure is investigated in the sphere of acquisition studies. In this regard, Verhoeven and Boeschoten (1986) investigate the process of first-language acquisition of 16 Dutch-Turkish bilingual children whose age range differs from 4 to 8 years old. On the basis of the assumption that language

development involves the acquisition of distinct subskills in differential patternings, the development of lexical, morphosyntactic, and pragmatic abilities is investigated separately. The longitudinal data are compared with cross-sectional the monolingual language data of 16 5- and 7-years-old children in Turkey. As for the data collection instruments, a spontaneous speech task, a sentence imitation test, and a productive vocabulary test are conducted. Research findings show that the acquisition of first-language skills by Turkish children in the age range of 4 to 8 years in the Netherlands is stated to be stagnated as a result of contact-induced language change. Bilingual children are shown to prefer analytical types of subordination (using finite subordinate clauses) and to make limited use of nonfinite, synthetic, subordinate clauses compared to monolingual children in Turkey.

Doğruöz and Backus (2007) investigate word order change in Turkish variety spoken by adolescents in the Netherlands (NL-Turkish) as a result of language contact. As is put forward in the existing literature, Turkish is an OV language but also allows scrambling (including VO) in certain pragmatic contexts (see Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1984). However, Dutch is VO in main clauses. In order to investigate whether there is a change in the word order of bilingual Turkish, two kinds of data were collected. The first group consists of Dutch-Turkish bilingual informants. Interviews were held with eight informants between the ages of 18 – 25, either born in the Netherlands or migrated before the age of six. The data were collected through one-on-one or group interviews. All the Dutch-Turkish bilingual participants defined themselves as “native-like speakers” of Dutch. However, they report that their proficiency in Turkish is not as high as their Dutch proficiency. In addition to data from the Dutch-Turkish bilinguals, Turkish monolingual control data are collected from five informants whose age range between 18 and 30 years old. The findings of the research indicate some deviations in the information structure characteristics of VO structures and sometimes these seem to be due to Dutch influence.

In the existing literature regarding bilingual development and language dominance of Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers in the Netherlands, in Yağmur’s (2007) study, in which Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers’ language proficiency on both Turkish and

Dutch are investigated with regard to language use and language dominance through a language dominance and use questionnaire. A total of 8686 bilingual speaker children whose age differs from 4 to 17 participate in the study. The database is representative in the sense that data is collected from all major states in which Turkish people reside. The findings of the study assert that when Turkish and Dutch proficiency of Turkish heritage speaker children is examined, an unexpected situation arises. Turkish proficiency of the bilingual children who start schooling at 4-5 years old appears to decrease to the lowest point when they become 10-11 years old. Yet their proficiency in Turkish starts improving at the age of 14-15 and Turkish proficiency reaches at its peak point approximately at the age of 16-17. On the other hand, at the age of 4-5, Dutch proficiency of the bilingual children is very low since the family language in Dutch-Turkish speech community is predominantly Turkish. After starting schooling, however, their Dutch proficiency reaches its climax when they are around 10-11 years old. Interestingly, from this age on, Dutch proficiency has a tendency to decrease. One reason may lie on the fact that among all immigrant and minority speech communities living in the Netherlands, Turkish speech community members predominantly maintain their heritage language, and show high ethnolinguistic vitality figures.

With regard to the contact-induced language change on Turkish subordinate clauses, Onar Valk and Backus (2013) study specifically on how Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers' use of subordinate clauses diverge from monolingual speakers. For this purpose spontaneous speeches on bilingual and monolingual modes are recorded, and a sentence recall task is conducted. In total, there are 14 bilinguals in spontaneous group conversations whose age ranges between 18 to 35. In addition to bilingual group, 27 Turkish monolinguals participate in the monolingual spontaneous group conversations. The results indicate that Dutch-Turkish bilinguals predominantly use finite subordinate clauses, particularly in reported speech structures as a result of Dutch language contact. On the other hand, monolingual speakers mainly make use of non-finite constructions.

Congruent with the study presented above, Onar-Valk (2015) conducts another study which investigates the Dutch influence on the subordinate structures, and syntax of complex clauses in Dutch-Turkish. The data are collected through production (natural usage and experimental) data – from recordings of spontaneous bilingual speech, spontaneous one-on-one speech, elicited speech – and an elicited imitation task, and compares the findings with those of a conventionality judgment task elicited through a rating task and a forced-choice task. In the bilingual mode, there are 14 bilinguals in spontaneous group conversations whereas 27 informants participate in the monolingual spontaneous group conversations. The study indicates that subordination in complex clauses in NL-Turkish diverges from the conventions of Turkey-Turkish.

From a contact-induced language change perspective, Şahin (2015) investigates the Dutch influence on Turkish case-marking in NL-Turkish. The data are collected through spontaneous conversations in one-on-one interviews with 26 Dutch-Turkish bilinguals and 3 monolinguals. The results support the previous findings in the sense that there seems to occur “isolated examples of unconventionality”, but syntactically speaking, it is concluded that there is not a systematic contact-induced language change.

In another study conducted by Akoğlu and Yağmur (2016), first-language skills of immigrant Turkish heritage speaker children in a Dutch submersion education context is studied by questioning if there is a difference in terms of first language skills such as phonological, lexical etc. between Turkish heritage speakers who are Dutch-Turkish bilingual and reside in the Netherlands and monolingual Turkish speaker children living in Turkey. There are a total of 60 participants, half of whom form the bilingual group, and they are the Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers growing up in the Netherlands. Their age range is reported to be 67.35 months. The monolingual group consists of 30 participants whose age range is 66.93 months. The results of the study reveal that Turkish heritage speaker children in a submersion education context falls behind their monolingual peers in terms of first language skills. Similarly, Dutch language skills of NL-Turkish bilingual children is lower.

In line with the study presented above, Backus and Yağmur (2017) conduct a study investigating if there is a correlation in terms of pragmatic skills between Dutch-Turkish bilingual Turkish heritage speaker children and monolingual Turkish-speaking children living in Turkey. As for participants of the study, the researchers formed two groups: a monolingual and a bilingual group. As for the bilingual group 30 Dutch-Turkish bilingual Turkish heritage speaker children from three cities of the Netherlands whose age range is 67.35 months took the instruments. The monolingual group also comprises 30 participants who are monolingual Turkish speakers and their age range is 66.93 months. The findings show that there is a significant difference between the monolingual and bilingual groups in terms of their socio-pragmatic skills. The researchers conclude that the bilingual Turkish heritage speakers' pragmatic norms and ways of speaking diverge from their monolingual peers. As suggested by Backus & Yağmur (2017), one reason might lie behind the fact that dominant Dutch language could influence Turkish way of speaking as it is common in the contexts of contact-induced language change.

While some contact outcomes will be common to all immigration settings, it may be useful to pay extra attention to what happens Turkish in Germany which confronts similar social context as in the Netherlands. In Germany, the population is made up of people from a variety of backgrounds like most of the Western European countries (the Netherlands, France, etc.). The latest statistics show that about 23% of the German population (19.3 million out of 83 million total population) is made up of people with a non-German background (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017). This group includes people with a refugee background from the countries in the Middle East (Syria, Iraq, etc.) or Central Asia (Afghanistan), as well as labor migrants and their descendants from various Mediterranean countries. People with Turkish background makes up the largest group with 1.5 million population. The other big group is labelled 'other non-Westerners' (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017) including Syrian and Afghani backgrounds.

With regard to the studies on structural language change as a result of contact with German language, Pfaff (1991) carries out a study on subsystems of nominal reference

in Turkish used by German-Turkish bilingual children, aged 4 to 9 in Berlin, Germany. As for data collection tools, semi-structured experimental interviews for spontaneous speech production are gathered in two different projects, namely EKMAUS and KITA (cf. *ibid.* 102). The findings of the study indicate that there appeared to be an ongoing and relatively slight change in Turkish variety spoken by German-Turkish bilingual children.

In a complementary study, Pfaff (1993) investigates 4 bilinguals' use of nominal and verbal morphology, case marking, etc. As to how they comply with the monolinguals' patterns. The results show that 'Turkish dominant' bilinguals utilize Turkish inflectional morphology to a great extent similar to that of their Turkish monolingual peers, meaning that their use of inflectional morphology is reported to be almost unrecognizable in monolingual standards. These findings are congruent with the results presented by Pfaff (1991).

Similarly, Herkenrath, Karakoç and Rehbein (2003) conduct a study on the formal and common basic characteristics of Turkish interrogative elements as subordinators from a contact-induced language change perspective. In their study, speech production data is used as the data collection instrument. In this regard, there are two groups of children informants (aged 4 to 13): a German-Turkish bilingual group (N=5) and a Turkish monolingual group (N=5). On the analysis of the data, Herkenrath et al. (2003) conclude that the interrogative elements are utilized creatively and productively by bilingual speakers compared to Turkish monolingual speakers, suggesting that it might lead towards a new Turkish variety in Germany.

Furthermore, Rehbein, Herkenrath and Karakoç (2009) extend the scope of their research and contribute to the discussion by investigating the areas of connectivity (such as deictic/phoric expressions, *wh*-constructions, coordination, aspect, evidentiality, particles, etc.) in Turkish used by 36 German Turkish bilingual children, 20 Turkish monolingual children, and 5 monolingual German children, covering an age range from 4 to 14 in bilingual speech production data in the corpora situated in a larger context in SKOBI and ENDFAS projects. Based on their findings, Rehbein et

al. (2009) refer to the variety going under an ongoing change as “catalyzed contact language” due to the fact that it is “the offspring of a multilingual communication of its own” (p. 196), stressing the creative aspects.

Besides, concerning the morpho-syntactic analysis of bilinguals’ Turkish as a result of language contact, Treffers-Dallers, Özsoy, and Van Hout (2007) analyze complex embeddings (noun clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses) in three different groups of German-Turkish bilinguals (Bielefeld group), and a Turkish monolingual control group. Bilingual group consist of three sub-groups:

- (i) The Bielefeld group is a group of Turkish-German bilingual students who were born and raised in Germany. They were approximately 20 years of age at the time of recording (May 1994).
- (ii) The Bursa group is a group of Turkish-German bilingual students who were born and raised in Germany but went back to Turkey with their parents at approximately the age of thirteen. At the time of recording (November 1993) these returnees were 20 years old on average and had been back in Turkey for 7 years and 8 months.
- (iii) The Üsküdar group is a group of recent returnees, who are attending a so-called Anadolu lisesi in Istanbul. They were sixteen years old on average at the time of recording (November 1994) and thus a little bit younger than the other two bilingual groups.

As for the monolingual control group (the Marmara group), they are students, born and raised in Turkey. They are all around 20 years old on average at the time of recording (January/February 1995). As the findings of their spoken interaction and scores collected through a Syntactic Complexity Index indicate, there is a discrepancy between the groups who had least contact with Turkey-Turkish and the ones who had more contact.

On the features of Turkish pronominal system and pro-drop parameter from a pragmatic perspective as a result of German contact, Sağın Şimşek (2009) investigates the bilingual spoken data (video-recordings) in the ENDFAS and SKOBI projects with

four bilingual children, covering an age range from 4 to 8 compared to four monolingual Turkish children at the same age range. In this study, it is concluded that a statistically significant difference occurred between the monolingual and bilingual informants in terms of the use of pro-drop parameter, meaning that German-Turkish bilingual informants make use of overt subject pronouns much more than their monolingual peers. Such a difference contributes to the discussion about the contact-induced language change in German-Turkish bilingual speech. Congruent with these findings, Sağın Şimşek (2011) extends her investigation on the subject use of 58 German-Turkish bilingual children, covering an age range from 14-17, focusing on the spoken (recording in class environment) and written data (composition). On the analysis of both spoken and written data, it is concluded that German-Turkish bilinguals appears to make more mistakes in their speeches compared to their compositions due to different natures of spontaneous speech production and planned written production. The study also indicates that linguistic change in the domains of syntactic and pragmatic interfaces are induced probably owing to German language contact.

As a contribution to the studies presented above regarding pro-drop parameter and subject use, Bayram, Rothman, Iverson, Kupisch, Miller, Puig-Mayenco and Westergaard (2017) focus on the differences in use without deficiencies in linguistic competence in terms of passive voice used in Turkish and German by German-Turkish bilingual speakers in Germany. A structured elicitation task for production is distributed to twenty-two German-Turkish bilinguals, aged 10 to 15 years old and twenty aged-matched Turkish monolinguals in Turkey. The findings of the study show that all bilinguals have representation for passive voice in both German and Turkish in their mental grammars. The only factor affecting results is stated to be literacy, meaning that literacy in L1 affected Turkish passive voice use positively.

Concerning the contact-induced change on morpho-syntactic features of subordination in bilingual Turkish speech, Herkenrath (2014) investigates the spoken corpora compiled within the scope of two projects, namely SKOBI and ENDFAS. The informants are categorized roughly into three groups: (i) 36 German-Turkish bilingual

children (4-14 years), (ii) 20 Turkish monolingual children (4-14 years) and (iii) 5 German monolingual children. The transcribed spoken data is used for data analysis. In this study, Herkenrath (2014) scrutinizes the frequency of use of nominalizer –*DIK* and its divergent forms used by bilingual informants compared to that of monolinguals. The findings indicate that German-Turkish bilinguals make use of –*DIK* construction less than their monolingual peers in terms of the frequency of use. Moreover, whenever they use such structures, the range of forms are much more limited compared to that of monolingual use. In another study conducted by Rehbein & Herkenrath (2015), the aim is to explore the use of converbial constructions from a language contact viewpoint. As in Herkenrath (2014), this study also uses the ENDFAS-SKOBI as its database which consists of spoken data collected from Turkish monolingual children and German Turkish bilingual children, aged from 4 to 9. The data are both quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed in terms of use and frequency of converbial constructions. Rehbein & Herkenrath (2015) conclude that the basic syntactic and semantic features of converbs are –in their terms- “loosened” as a result of language contact in German-Turkish bilingual children’s speech in terms of frequency of use and forms of converbial constructions(p. 494).

In a recent quantitative study conducted by Iefremenko and Schroeder (2019) entitled *Göçmen Türkçesinde Cümle Birleştirme: Pilot Çalışma* (Clause-linking in Turkish as a Heritage Language: A Pilot Study), the heritage speakers’ language uses in official and unofficial contexts are investigated in terms of clause-linking types in heritage speakers’ Turkish in two different contexts: Germany and the United States. As for participants, three Turkish heritage speakers (who were also bilingual) in each country participate in the study, and four monolingual Turkish speakers also involve as a control group in the study. It is concluded that monolingual Turkish speakers tend to use non-finite subordinate clauses rather than their finite equivalents while Turkish heritage speakers overwhelmingly make use of coordinative clauses. Interestingly, even though Turkish heritage speakers make use of non-finite converbial constructions in a limited number, these converbial endings are restricted to a few simplex converbial suffixes, mostly *-Ip* and *-Inca*.

## 2.8. PART II: Converbial Constructions

### 2.8.1. Subordination in Turkish

In Turkish, there are simple sentences that have only a main clause as indicated in Example (8), and complex sentences as in Example (9), and Example (10) that encompass a matrix (or main) clause and one or more subordinate clauses (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; cf. Diessel, 2001).

- (8) Yine söz-üm-ü dinlememişsin.  
again word-POSS.-ACC. listen-NEG-PST-2Sg  
'You do not listen to my advice once again.'

- (9) Görüyorum *ki* yine sözümü dinlememişsin.  
see-Prog.-1sg that again word-poss-ACC listen-NEG-Asp.-2PSg.  
'I see that you do not listen to my advice once again.'

Turkish complex sentences allow to form both finite (8) and non-finite (9) clauses. *Finiteness* in Turkish subordination means that the predicate of the subordinate clause is finite while *non-finiteness* refers to a subordinate clause that comprises a subordinator ending (suffix) attached to a non-finite verbal predicate (Kornfilt, 1997). In other words, finite Turkish clauses mostly employ some lexical items or particles such as *ki* 'which, who, that' (see Example 8). However, besides *ki*, some other subordinators such as *diye* 'that', *mi* 'question particle', clitic *da* 'also, too, but', etc. can also be used to juxtapose subordinate clause to main clause.

Turkish non-finite clauses, on the other hand, mostly employ endings such as *-Ip*, *-Inca*, *-ArAk*, *ken*, *-An*, *-AsI* etc.

- (10) Fatma bağır-*ınca* Ali uyan-dı.  
Fatma call-CONV Ali wake up:Past.3Sg.  
'When Fatma shouted, Ali woke up.'

As can be inferred from the complex sentence (10), it is possible to form non-finite subordinate clauses in Turkish (see Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 1997 for

detailed information). However, there are some basic criteria to count a construction as a subordinate clause with an adverbial function. At this point the term adverb comes into play. The basic criterion of counting a construction as an adverbial is that it is to be syntactically connected to a main clause, and that the subordinate clause, which functions as an adverb, should have a modification relationship with the main clause. In this relationship, adverbial construction modifies the main clause in terms of tense, reason, manner, condition etc.

### 2.8.1.1. Types of Non-finite Subordination in Turkish

Göksel and Kerslake (2005) state that there are three non-finite subordination types regarding their functions in the sentence in Turkish: (a) *complement* (or *verbal nouns*), (b) *relative* (or *participles*), and (c) *converbial* (or *adverbial*) clauses. Non-finiteness refers to a subordinate clause comprises a subordinator ending that is attached to a non-finite verbal predicate. Non-finite constructions are used for all these three types (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005):

(a) ***Verbal nouns or complement clauses*** are noun clauses which serve as subjects or objects in a main clause as in Example 11:

- (11) İstanbul'-a git-tiğ-in-i duy-du-m.  
 Istanbul-DAT go-NOM-2Sg.Poss-ACC hear-Past-1sg  
*'I heard that you have been to Istanbul.'*

(b) ***Participles, verbal adjectives or relative clauses*** serve as adjectival noun modifiers which act like simple adjectives in Turkish. They are placed before nouns (see Example 12).

- (12) [Şurada otur-an kadın] Ankara'-da yaş-ıyor.  
 there sit-SubjP woman Ankara-DAT live-Prog.3sg  
*'The woman who is sitting right there lives in Ankara.'*

(c) *Converbial (or adverbial) clause* is defined as “non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination” (Haspelmath, 1995, p. 3).

- (13) Ali kapı-yı çek-ip çık-tı.  
Ali door-ACC. pull.CONV. get out.Past.3Psg  
“Ali closed the door and left.”

The term ‘converbial construction’ (or clause) is employed rather than a more general declension ‘adverbial’ in this research as suggested by Haspelmath (1995), and Rehbein and Herkenrath (2015).

### 2.8.1.2. Converbial Constructions: Definition

A *converb* is defined as “a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination” (Haspelmath, 1995, p. 3). Scholars point at a terminological difference between the terms “adverb(ial)” and “converbial” in the existing literature (Haspelmath, 1995). Adverbials are categorized “on the basis of the kind of meaning they express, such as time (answering the question ‘When?’), place (‘Where?’), and manner (‘How?’)” (Crystal, 1992, p. 8). The term ‘converb’ in Turkish, on the other hand, refers to the non-finite construction formed with certain ‘bare’ suffixes such as *-Ip*, *-InçA*, *-ArAk* etc. In other words, while *converb* is a morphological designation, *adverbial construction* is basically functional.

Although *converbs* have extensively been investigated widely in individual languages such as Hungarian (de Groot, 1995), Japanese (Alpatov & Podleskaya, 1995), Evenki (Nedjalkov, 1995), and Turkic (Johanson, 1995), literature on *converbs* with respect to the contact-induced language change research is scarce.

According to Haspelmath (1995), until recently *converbs* were not categorized as a “valid grammatical” entity due to the fact that Greek and Latin languages, on which descriptive grammatical categories have extensively been based, do not have *converbs*. In the existing literature on *converbial constructions*, there are relatively high number of terms and classifications for ‘*converbs*’, i.e., the predicates of *adverbial clauses*. Among several terms, ‘*deverbal adverbs*’, ‘*adverbials*’,

‘gerundives’, ‘gerundia’, and ‘converbs’ can be presented as examples here. In Turkish literature, *ulak* (Deny, 1941, p. 424); *bağ-eylem* (Gencan, 1966, p. 443); *ulaç* (Hatiboğlu, 1982, p. 153; Atabay, Özel & Çam, 2003, p. 111); *gerundium* (Ergin, 1972, p. 582); *zarf-fiil* (Banguoğlu, 2007, p. 427; Korkmaz, 2007, p.983), and *belirteç tümcecikleri* (Çetintaş-Yıldırım, 2010). The common point of these definitions is that these constructions do not go into verb inflection and do not specify person and time. However, in the utterance “*Tezimi yazmaya başladım başlayalı, uyku düzenim bozuldu*” (I have difficulty in sleeping since I started writing my PhD dissertation), the segment “*başladım başlayalı*” (since I started) goes into both the verbal inflection and subject-verb agreement. Similarly, in the example “*Sen ağladığında benim gönlüm sel alır*” (When you cry, I feel down), the segment “*ağladığında*” (when you cry), which has a possessive marker, marks the person. Such constructions function as adverbs since they affect the temporal aspect of the utterance.

Besides the terminological confusion, not surprisingly, there is an upsurge of definitions for them. According to Korkmaz (2007), for example, *converbs* are defined as nonfinite units which serve as adverbs in a sentence. They are categorized into three subsections: (i) ‘core’ converbs e.g. *-ArAk*, *-Ip* etc., (ii) converbs which are constructed by attaching some suffixes to verbal adjectives e.g. *-AcAğInA*, etc., and (iii) converbs which are constructionally different, e.g. *-DI mI*, etc. (pp. 983-984 *et passim*). To exemplify the terminological upsurge, some examples are presented below:

The term “converb” has been defined differently in Turkish grammars. To start with, in the translation of Deny's grammar, Ali Ulvi Elöve (1941) prefers to use the terms “*katmaçlık siyga*” and “*ulamlık siyga*” (*ulak*, *ulaç* ‘gerondif’) and states that they function as second-degree verb constructions with temporal, causal, and manner functions (1941). Ergin (1972) defines converbial endings as “gerundia” or “converbs”, which are morphological complex suffixes that do not themselves appear with tense and person agreement (p. 338). Gencan (1966), Hatiboğlu (1982), and Atabay *et al.* (2003) prefer to use the linguistic term “*ulaç*”, and Gencan (1966) defines ‘*ulaç*’ as a subordinator which links a proposition (or clause) to another clause.

As it can be seen, in these reference books, scholars make use of different terms (e.g. *ulak*, *ulaç*, *gerundium*, *converb*) for the same linguistic concept and define it in almost the same way. The focus of traditional grammars, published from a philological perspective, is the etymological exploration of converbial suffixes. These studies are of significance as they attempt to shed light on the morphological and etymological aspects of converbial constructions. After Deny (1941), Ergin (1972) and Gencan (1966), many other Turkish monographs and grammars appear to repeat the previous findings which are Koç (1990); Hengirmen (1998), Delice (2003), Tiger (2004), Bayraktar (2004), Korkmaz (2007), Karahan (2010) and Karaağaç (2012) among the others. Within the scope of modern linguistic theories, Turkish grammars (including chapters devoted to subordination in Turkish) have extensively been published since 1960s (cf. Swift, 1963; Boeschoeten & Verhoeven, 1991; Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005, 2011). In Swift (1963), subordinate clauses are examined under the title of *Subordinate or Modifying Predicates*. In sentences, the subordinate clauses are stated to be positioned as topic and linked to the main clause in a variety of aspects (temporal, manner, purpose etc.). However, *-İp* converbial ending is mostly examined under the heading of coordinate clauses.

Treffers-Daller, Özsoy and Van Hout (2007), however, take the discussion a step further, by arguing that there is a clear distinction between postpositional clauses (e.g. *-DIK*-poss. *takdirde* ‘if’ in (v) above), and ‘converbs’. They are categorized into two groups, too: converbs “whose verbs are marked for agreement” (p. 255) and the ones “whose verbs are not marked for agreement” (*ibid.*). Those which are attached to the subordinate verb stems with special suffixes are classified as converbs, e.g. suffixes, *-İp*, *-İncA*, *-ken* and *-ArAk*. In addition to the explanations above, certain aspects of morpho-syntactic forms and functions of converbial constructions in Turkey Turkish along with other Turkic languages are extensively examined from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives (see Aydemir, 2009; Csató, 1993; Çetintaş-Yıldırım, 2010; Johanson, 1988, 1991, 1995; Mundy, 1954; Schulz, 1978; Şenlik, 2006; Turan, 1998, 2000; Uğurlu, 1994). In a study, *Gerundialsätze im Mamlukturkischen*, Uğurlu (1994) investigates the forms and functions of converbial endings in a diachronic perspective.

Similarly, Turan (2000) explores the aspects of adverbial clauses in his monograph entitled *Adverbs and Adverbial Constructions in Old Anatolian Turkish*. In a synchronic study *Konverbien im Tuwinischen: Einer Untersuchung unter Kausalität*, Aydemir (2009) studies the converbial construction of a Turkic language from Siberian (Northeastern) branch.

Converbs in some European languages are employed with a variety of “European-induced” terms: “‘gerund’, ‘gérondif’, ‘participle’”, and the Russian label *deepričastie* (Деепричастие) (Haspelmath, 1995, p. 2). This “unambiguous term”, which is believed to be a type of infinitive, or participle, has been employed to the converb-rich languages of Caucasus and Turkic-speaking countries in the Central Asia. Thus, as expected, studies on converbs originally occurred in Russian philology and linguistics (see Čeremisina, 1977; Meščaninov, 1945; Nedjalkov, 1990; Nedjalkov & Nedjalkov, 1987). The term *converb* itself is coined by Altaicist Gustaf John Ramstedt (1903), having its root in Altaic linguistics, especially in Mongolic branch (Khalkha Mongolian). However, it is Nedjalkov and Nedjalkov (1987) who introduce the term in a typological sense.

Throughout the paper, as converbial conjunctions display highly different conjugation patterns, *converbial ending* will be utilized instead of the terms *converb* and *converbial suffix* whenever needed, as suggested by Gračanin-Yüksek (2015). Gračanin-Yüksek (2015) investigates the morpho-syntactic difference between manner-oriented converbial ending *-mAdAn* and temporal converbial ending *-mAdAn önce*, and throughout her analysis, she uses the term *converbial ending* due to the morphologically complex nature of such constructions which means that converbial constructions which are constructed with a postposition shape discourse relations in an utterance in which this construction encompassing a postposition is named *complex subordinator*, and conceived as a connectivity device in the discourse (Zeyrek & Webber, 2008). However, converbs which only possess a suffix are classified as *simplex subordinators* (*ibid.*).

### 2.8.1.3. Converbial Constructions: Classifications

Similar to its definition, there seems to be a controversy as to how converbs should be classified and categorized in the existing literature. Since the majority of converbs have various meaning relations between clauses, there are a number of classifications of converbs contrasting with one another.

As for the morpho-syntactic forms and functions of converbs, to this date, there seems to be a traditional look at converbs in descriptive Turkish grammar books in which converbs are defined as “bridging constructions” and “clause-linking devices” (Banguoğlu, 2007; Deny, 1941; Ergin, 1972; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Korkmaz, 2007; Kornfilt, 1997). To exemplify one of traditional classifications of gerundium “zarf-fiil”, Banguoğlu’s classification (2007) is presented: (i) clause-linking gerundium “ulama zarf-fiilleri”, (ii) manner gerundium “hal zarf-fiilleri”, (iii) concession gerundium “karşıtlama zarf-fiilleri”, (iv) temporal gerundium “zaman zarf-fiilleri”, (v) causal gerundium “sebeup zarf-fiilleri”, and (vi) comparative gerundium “karşılaştırma zarf-fiilleri” (pp. 427-440) .

In Kornfilt (1991), subordinate clauses are classified according to their semantic features such as (i) tense, (ii) manner, (iii) purpose, (iv) reason & result, (v) condition, (vi) comparison, (vii) equality, and (viii) location. *-Ip* converb is not included in this classification, but is examined under the heading of coordination, and it is emphasized that this converb has an and-coordinating function as exemplified in Example 14:

- (14) Hasan iş-e gid-ip ev-e dön-dü.  
Hasan work-DAT. go.CONV. house.DAT. return:PST.3Psg  
“*Hasan went to work and returned home.*”

In Göksel & Kerslake (2005), adverbial clauses are classified into two: (finite), and non-finite adverbial clauses. As in Kornfilt (1991), *-Ip* and *-ArAk* converbs are treated under the heading of *Conjunctions and Coordination*, with the assumption that they mostly function as conjunctives in the sentences.

On the basis of Johanson’s (1995) ‘levels of construction’ concerning a definition of converbs from a diachronic perspective, it is suggested that there are four cardinal levels of converbial constructions with respect to the relationship between the base segment and the converb segment. At Level 1, both the base segment and the converb segment possess a different overt or covert first *actant* of its own, as shown in the example (15),

- (15) ([Fatma]      bağır-*ınca*)    ([Ali]      uyan-dı).  
 Fatma            call-CONV.      Ali                wake up-Past.3sg  
*“When Fatma shouted, Ali woke up.”*

However, at Level 2, as presented in the Example (16), both segments have the same first actant, but this time the base segment encompasses a second predicate:

- (16) [Ahmet      ağla-*ınca*]    rahat-lar.  
 Ahmet            cry-CONV      relax-COP.3PPL.  
*“When Ahmet cries, he gets relaxed.”*

In this case, Johanson (1995) claims that there might be an initiation of “semantic fusion of various degrees” with a developing resistance against the fusion of new linguistic units and elements between the base and converb segments (p. 314).

Similarly, at Level 3, the base segment and the converb segment both have a single actant. This time, semantic fusion seems to be stronger due to the fact that infusion of linguistic elements and units between the base and converb segments is mostly restricted, indicating “a tendency towards lexicalization” (*ibid.*, p. 315), see Examples (17) and (18):

- |                       |          |                     |      |
|-----------------------|----------|---------------------|------|
| (17) yak- <i>ıp</i>   | yık-     | (18) gel- <i>ip</i> | git- |
| burn-CONV             | demolish | come-CONV           | go   |
| <i>‘to devastate’</i> |          | <i>‘to visit’</i>   |      |

At Level 4, the converbs showing aspectual features of intra- or post-terminal origin are widely utilized, i.e., “the converb segment subjunctive plus the base segment verb

stem form a postverb expressing actionality” (*ibid.*, p. 315). Noteworthy to state, this type of converbs are extensively used in Anatolian Turkish dialects (see Example 19).

(19) Ahmet kitab-ı oku-yup duru-yor-du.

Ahmet book-ACC read-CONV stand-Prog-Past.3sg

‘Ahmet was continuously reading the book.’ (Level 4)

‘Ahmet read the book and he was standing.’ (Level 2)

The present study zooms in on the first two levels of construction developed by Johanson (1995) which are (i) both the base segment and the converb segment possess a different overt or covert first actant of its own, as shown in the example, and (ii) both segments have the same first actant, but this time the base segment encompasses a second predicate. As can be inferred from these definitions, converbial constructions are by and large conceptualized as ‘complex constructions’ with distinct syntactic and semantic features “entrenched in the history of the Turkic languages” (Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015, p. 493).

The synchronic studies carried out on Turkish converbs either focus on monolingual Turkish-speaking child language (see Çapan, 2013; Slobin, 1988, 1995), or cross-linguistic analyses of converbs in diverse Turkic (in comparison with other languages e.g. Uralic, Slavic, etc.) languages or dialects (see Acar, 2014; Çetintaş Yıldırım, 2005, 2009; Johanson, 1991; Nedjalkov, 1995; Nevskaya, 2014). From a syntactic point of view, Rehbein and Herkenrath (2015) state that there appears to be “an open but –by default tight relation of the nonfinite converbial syntagma to the next higher finite element” (p. 493). That is to say, the converbial constructions are marked with “a ‘propositional interlocking’ between the symbol fields of the two verbs such that the converbial suffixes implement semantic features to the converbial stems” (*ibid.*, p. 493). As for this converbial syntagma, Table 7 indicates that there are a number of converbial markers for the syntagma which describe (i) *time*, (ii) *manner*, (iii) *purpose and result*, (iv) *cause*, (v) *condition*, (vi) *degree*, (vii) *place*, and (viii) *concession* categories:

**Table 7.** *Converbial categories with converbial endings*

(adapted from Acar, 2014; Çetintaş Yıldırım, 2004; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Gürkan, 2016; Kornfilt, 1997)

|      | <b>Converbial Category</b> | <b>Converbial Endings</b>  |
|------|----------------------------|--|
| i    | Time                       | - <i>(y)Ip</i><br>- <i>XncA(-ya kadar)</i><br>- <i>(X)rken</i><br>- <i>DIK (vakit, etc.)</i> ,<br>- <i>DIkçA</i> ,<br>- <i>DIK-Pers.-Da</i> ,<br>- <i>DIK-tan sonra / önce, etc.</i> |
| ii   | Manner                     | - <i>(y)ArAk</i><br>- <i>(X)rcA(sInA)</i><br>- <i>mAdAn</i><br>- <i>(y)A...-(y)A, etc.</i>   |
| iii  | Purpose and result         | - <i>mA(k) için</i><br>- <i>mAyA, etc.</i>   |
| iv   | Cause                      | - <i>DIK-Pers. için</i><br>- <i>DIK-poss.-DAn (dolayı), etc.</i>   |
| v    | Condition                  | - <i>DIK-poss. takdirde</i><br><i>eğer...-sA, etc.</i>   |
| vi   | Degree                     | - <i>mAktAnsA (comparative)</i><br>- <i>DIK kadar (equative), etc.</i>   |
| vii  | Place                      | - <i>nereye verb-sA</i><br>- <i>DIK-poss. yerde</i>  |
| viii | Concession                 | <i>Verb-Cond. sA + DA</i><br>- <i>mAsInA rağmen</i><br>- <i>DIğI / -(y)AcAğI halde</i>   |

As can be drawn from the table above, most of the converb endings are not inflected for tense, case or person, and do not go into appear with agreement morphology except for *-DIK*, *-(y)AcAk* and *-mA*. These converbial ending categories are studied with a special focus on the ones which are more frequently used in Turkish such as *{-Ip}*, *{-InCA}*, *{-ArAk}*, etc.

After the presenting the classification of converbial construction categories, each converbial category is investigated including each converbial ending type identified in the corpus constructed for the analysis.

### 2.8.1.3.1. Temporal Converbial Constructions

The types of temporal converbial endings which are *-Ip*, *-Inca*, *-ken*, and *-DIK constructions etc.* are frequently used in subordinate clauses and these endings are tabulated in the following table:

**Table 8.** *Temporal converbial endings*

|      |  |
|------|--|
| Time | <i>-Ip</i><br><i>-Inca(-ya kadar)</i><br><i>-ken</i><br><i>-DIK (vakit, etc.)</i> ,<br><i>-Dikça</i> ,<br><i>-DIK-Pers.-Da</i> ,<br><i>-DIK-tan sonra / önce, etc.</i> |
|------|--|

It is a well-known fact that one of the most archaic, productive and frequently used adverbial constructions are formed with temporal converbial endings in historical and contemporary Turkic dialects. In their diachronic investigation of temporal converbial endings, Von Gabain (1974) and Tekin (2016) describe their semantic relations within the overall structure, but they do not propose any classification.

Concerning synchronic analysis of temporal converbial constructions, Koç (1988) defines temporal converbial construction (formed with converbial endings, presented in Table 8) as follows: “a compound sentence containing an adverbial clause in the surface structure is derived from two sentences in the deep structure which have an abstract time element in common” (p. 581). For instance;

#### Surface structure

- (20) ([Fatma]            bağır-ı)            kaçtı).  
           Fatma                call-CONV            run away-PST.3Sg.  
           ‘When Fatma shouted and ran away.’

### Deep structure

- (21) Fatma bağırdı.      Fatma kaçtı.  
Fatma    call-PST.3Sg.      Fatma    run away-PST.3Sg.  
*'Fatma shouted and ran away.'*

The converbial ending *-İp* is a simplex subordinator and used in temporal meaning (20) as a converbial ending. It is also one of the most frequently used (temporal) converbs across historical and modern dialects of Turkic origin (Acar, 2014; Johanson, 1972; Menges, 1995; Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015; Tekin, 2016; Von Gabain, 1941). In the earliest written documents of Turkic, Von Gabain (1974) & Tekin (2016) state that *-İp* has a temporal relation, meaning that the event in subordinate converbial clause takes place before the following event in matrix clause, as exemplified in example (22):

- (22) ...ol      sabıg      al-ıp      yagru    bar-ıp...  
that    word-ACC.      take-CONV.      near      go-CONV.  
*'You believed them and approached to them'.*

Similarly, in terms of modern Turkey Turkish grammar, *-İp* is defined in Kornfilt (1997) as a “verbal conjunction” or “conjunctive adverb” and translated via conjunctions “and” or “and then”, emphasizing its juncture function in discourse. Similarly, Kononov (1956) defines *-İp* as “expressing an action ... that precedes another act.on, characterizing the predicate from the point of view of manner of action, time, reason, or condition” (p. 474). On the other hand, Rehbein and Herkenrath (2015) point out that “*-İp* implements the characteristics of a drift, a (plot) advancement (Johanson, 1994) towards the action expressed in the finite verb; the implementation is specified according to features of a goal, an orientation, or a successful accomplishment towards the finite verb” (p. 494). It is also stated that it possesses a coordinating role and is utilized to express consecutive actions which are not temporally far from one another on time-level basis both from diachronic and synchronic points of view (Menges, 1995; Yarar, 2002). It denotes the meaning of ‘and’ (Johanson refers to the phenomenon as “und-Relation”) expands the discourse

relation apart from some lexicalized forms, formulaic and idiomatic expressions (Acar, 2014).

In addition to the feature of *-Ip* explicated above, it is also one and only converb ending which can be duplicated in discourse relation with a repetition sense.

(23) Cama                      vurup      vurup                      kaçıyordu.  
          window-DAT          hit-CONV hit-CONV                      run:Prog:PST3PSg.

*'S/he was running after continuously hitting the window'*

According to Johanson's (1995) levels of converbs, the base segment and the converb segment both have a single actant for *-Ip*. Semantic fusion seems to be stronger due to the fact that infusion of linguistic elements and units between the base and converb segments is mostly restricted, indicating "a tendency towards lexicalization" (p. 315), or in Csató's terms (2003) "double verb constructions" encompassing both transitive verbs (see 24a) and intransitive motion verbs (see 24b):

(24)a      yak-*ip*          yık-  
          burn-CONV      demolish  
          *'to devastate'*

(24)b      gel-*ip*          git-  
          come-CONV      go  
          *'to visit'*

Double verb constructions are defined as "fixed combinations where the gerund and the finite verb render a conventionalized semantic content" (Bulut, 2014, p. 121). At a further step, the converbs showing aspectual features of intra- or post-terminal origin are widely utilized, i.e., "the converb segment subjunctive plus the base segment verb stem form a postverb expressing actionality" (Johanson, 1995, p. 315). This type of converbs is extensively used in Anatolian Turkish dialects (see Example 25).

(25) Ahmet kitab-ı                      oku-*yup*                      duru-yor-du.  
          Ahmet    book-ACC                      read-CONV.                      stand-Prog-Past.3sg  
          *'Ahmet was continuously reading the book.'* (Level 4)  
          *'Ahmet read the book and he was standing.'* (Level 2)

There occur some ambiguous cases in discourse in which it becomes problematic to draw clear boundaries between the semantic field of converbial ending and its function as in example (26):

- (26) Ayşe para-yı hesap-ın-dan al-ıp transfer et-ti.  
 Ayşe money-ACC account-POSS.ABL take-CONV transfer-Past.3PSg.  
 ‘Ayşe transferred her money from her account’.

In this excerpt, *al-ıp transfer et-* ‘to transfer’ can be coded and evaluated as two different actions *al-* ‘to take’ and *transfer et-* ‘to transfer’ or as a single action ‘*transfer*’.

Another temporal converbial ending **-Inca** which is another frequently used (temporal) converbial ending in Turkish, has been labelled by Kornfilt (1997) as “time adverbializer” (p. xxv). Focusing on its temporal connection in discourse, Slobin (1995) states that the equivalent English translation of this converbial ending would be “when” or “as soon as” (p. 352). Similarly, according to Rehbein and Herkenrath (2015), it “implements the characteristics of a necessary transition (in the sense of an immediate contiguity or a one-after-the-other order of actions or events) to the action expressed in the finite verb; the implementation is specified according to features of a temporal serialization of the actions of converb and finite verb (Nedjalkov, 1995, p. 107) as well as causality” (p. 494). It also constructs a subordinate dependent predication and connects it to the superordinate clause. A type of “temporal-conditional” relation is apparent between subordinate and superordinate clauses (Johanson, 1991, p. 105). In this respect, the event of superordinate clause can only begin when the event of subordinate converbial construction has reached its critical border; suggesting that reaching the critical border of the first event is a precondition for the advent of the second event.

- (27) ([Fatma] bağır-ınca) ([Ali] uyan-dı).  
 Fatma call-CONV. Ali wake up-Past.3PSg.  
 ‘When Fatma shouted, Ali woke up.’

In example (27), first event (shouting) needs to reach its critical border so that the second event (waking up) could begin.

In an utterance having only one actant as in example (28) below, Johanson (1995) claims that there might be an initiation of “semantic fusion of various degrees” with a

developing resistance against the fusion of new linguistic units and elements between the base and converb segments (p. 314).

- (28) Ahmet (A) ağla-yınca rahat-lar.  
 Ahmet cry-CONV relax-COP.3pl  
*'When Ahmet cries, he gets relaxed.'*

**-ken**, a complex converbial ending, is defined by scholars such as Kornfilt (1997), Lewis (1986) and Çetintaş Yıldırım (2004) as denoting a simultaneity between the subordinate converbial clause and the superordinate clause. Even though Gencan (2001) claims that this converbial ending also denotes manner, he does not provide any evidence to support his argument. This converbial ending is morphosyntactically complex in the sense that it co-occurs with the form of aorist (-Ar; -mAz), the prospective marker (-AcAk), and the perfect aspect (-mIş) (see Çetintaş Yıldırım, 2004). For this reason, it differs from the *-Ip* and *-Inca* in terms of morphosyntactic complexity.

Temporal converbial ending **-ken** “implements the characteristics of parallelism and/or contrast to the action expressed in the finite verb; the implementation is specified according to features of a stretching, a duration, or a polarization of the action or event expressed by the converbial symbol field compared to the one of the finite verb, and of temporal parallelism etc.” (Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015, p. 494). It also forms a subordinate dependent predication, and connects the subordinate clause to the superordinate clause. A type of simultaneity relation is constructed between two connected predications. (Aydemir, 2014, p. 35). Such a relation implies that the event of subordinate clause encompassing the converbial construction *-ken* and that of superordinate clause occur almost at the same time, suggesting a simultaneity or overlap relation between the events (Slobin, 1995), as exemplified in example (29):

- (29) Bu kısmı Sinem’i dinlerken yazdım.  
 this part-ACC. Sinem-ACC. listen-CONV. write:PST.3PSg.  
*'I wrote it while I was listening to Sinem.'*

On the other hand, the converbial ending *-ken* implies a polarity (Polarität) between the events of subordinate and superordinate clauses in discourse (see Example 30).

- (30) Herkes sefa sürerken ben tez yazıyordum.  
 Nobody enjoy:Prs.-CONV I dissertation  
 write:Prog.PST.1PSg.  
*I was writing my dissertation while everybody else was having fun.*

Likewise, the converbial endings formed with *-DIK-* morphosyntactically illustrate a great many conjugation patterns, thus they are also classified as ‘complex converbs’ under a general class *-DIK constructions* (see Herkenrath, 2014). Furthermore, they can be constructed with a variety of postpositions, possessive and case markers. This non-finite complex converb class *-DIK* mainly serves as a connector “in utterance-internal connectivity, serving a range of communicative functions in concatenating complex speech. One of the core functions of *-DIK* consists in processing propositional knowledge and integrating it into larger interactional units” (*ibid.*, p. 220). The discursive and connective functions of the complex temporal converbial endings (shaded in light blue) constructed with *-DIK-* have been presented in Table 9:

**Table 9.** The discursive and connective functions of the complex converbial ending *-DIK* (*adapted from Herkenrath, 2014*)

| Syntactic function | Realisation                            | Form                   | English equivalent      |
|--------------------|--|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Complex converbs   | -DIK-POSS.-CASE                        | <i>-DIğIndA</i>        | temporal clause         |
|                    |  | <i>-DIğIndAn</i>       | causal clause           |
|                    | -DIK-CASE                              | <i>-DIkçA</i>          | equative clause         |
|                    | -DIK-POSS.-POP                         | <i>-DIğI için</i>      | causal clause           |
|                    |  | <i>-DIğI kadar</i>     | ‘until’; ‘as far as’    |
|                    |  | <i>-DIğI kadarını</i>  | ‘as much as’            |
|                    |  | <i>-DIğI kadarıyla</i> | ‘until’; ‘as far as’    |
|                    |  | <i>-DIktAn dolayı</i>  | causal clause           |
|                    | -DIK-POSS.-CASE POP                    | <i>-DIğInA göre</i>    | ‘according to’; ‘since’ |
|                    |  | <i>-DIktAn sonra</i>   | temporal clause         |
|                    | -DIK-POSS.-<br>(CASE)- noun-<br>(CASE) | <i>-DIğI halde</i>     | adversative clause      |
|                    |  | <i>-DIğI zaman</i>     | temporal clause         |
|                    |  | <i>-DIğI sürece</i>    | temporal clause         |
|                    |  | <i>-DIğI an</i>        | temporal clause         |

Among the complex aspecto-temporal converbial constructions –*DIK*, forming in combination with case and possessive markers, and postpositions implying specifically a temporal relation with the matrix constructions are (1) in the realization of -*DIK*-Poss.-Case: -*DIğIndA*, (2) that of -*DIK*-Poss.-Pop: -*DIğI gibi*, (3) -*DIK*-Poss.-Case Pop: -*DiktAn sonra*, and (4) -*DIK*-Poss.-(CASE)- noun-(Case): -*DIğI zaman*; -*DIğI sürece*; -*DIğI an*. A number of examples with regard to complex converbial constructions –*DIK*, implying temporal relation have been given in Examples (31), (32), and (33):

- (31) Miray ara-*diği-n-da* o bölüm-ü bitir-mek üzere-ydim.  
 Miray call-*DIK*-Poss.Case that chapter-ACC.finish-NOM. about:COP.Pst1pSg.  
 ‘I was about to finish that chapter when Miray called me’.

All events follow the rules of simultaneity and/or overlapping of their representation within an utterance-internal connectivity in discourse. That is to say, a kind of simultaneity relation is constructed between two connected predications. Such a relation between the event of subordinate clause and that of superordinate construction occur almost at the same time, as exemplified in (32).

- (32) Özlem ofis-e gir-*diği zaman* Sinem telefon-u kapat-tı.  
 Özlem office-DAT.enter-*DIK*-Poss.time Sinem phone-ACC. hang up-PST.3PSg.  
 ‘When Özlem entered into the office, Sinem hung up the phone.’

The event or action of converbial construction with -*DIK*-Poss.- noun: -*DIğI zaman* is connected to the superordinate clause, implementing a parallelism and/or overlapping –and maybe a trace of anteriority- between the events *gir-* “to enter” and *telefonu kapat-* “to hang up the phone”.

Similarly, the converbial construction in combination with -*DIK*-Poss.-Case Pop: -*DiktAn sonra* implements an anteriority relation between non-finite subordinate and finite matrix clauses, exemplified in (33):

- (33) Fatma para-yı al-*dık-tan sonra* defter-e not al-di.  
 Fatma money-ACC. take-*DIK*-Poss.ABL. after notebook-DAT note take-  
 PST3PSg.  
 ‘After Fatma took the money, she took note on the notebook’.

In converbial construction literature, Çetintaş Yıldırım (2004, 2010) investigates temporal converbial endings in terms of the relationship between three stratifications of clause structure i.e. “nucleus”, “core” and “periphery” on the basis of Foley and Van Valin’s (1984) syntactic theory (p. 3). Çetintaş Yıldırım (2010), then, broadens her scope regarding the types of converbial constructions, and studies all (possible) converbial constructions (temporal, causal, conditional etc.) within rhetorical structure theory in which the structures and rhetorical aspects of Turkish converbial endings were classified under the titles of *justify relation*, *circumstance relation*, *contrast relation*, *purpose relation*, *cause cluster etc.*

On the other hand, the use of Turkish converbial constructions by immigrant heritage speakers (2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals) within the framework of contact-induced language change has yet to be scrutinized thoroughly in spite of the fact that there are a few studies focusing on this issue (Onar Valk, 2015 for Dutch-Turkish; Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015 for German-Turkish bilinguals’ use). In this regard, Onar Valk (2015) investigates the Dutch-Turkish bilinguals’ production of non-finite subordinate clauses as a part of her study, and she eventually concludes that the adverbial clauses comprising temporal converbial constructions such as *-IncA* and *-Ip* are produced more often than the other adverbial types. The reason behind the high frequency of *-IncA* and *-Ip* is assumed to lie on the fact that these converbs are not inflected for tense, case or person. Thus, they are considered as being less complex or simpler. These findings are congruent with the conclusions drawn by Herkenrath (2014), and Rehbein and Herkenrath (2015) who suggest that the basic syntactic and semantic features of converbs are –in their terms- “loosened” as a result of language contact in German-Turkish bilingual children’s Turkish (p. 494).

#### **2.8.1.3.2. Manner-oriented Converbial Constructions**

Manner-oriented converbial endings *-ArAk*, *-mAdAn*, *-DIK.POSS. gibi / göre*, *-(y)A...-(y)A* are frequently used in subordinate clauses, as presented in Table 10 below:

**Table 10.** *Manner-oriented converbial endings*

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| Manner | <p>-ArAk<br/> -mAdAn<br/> -cAsInA<br/> -(y)A...-(y)A, etc.</p> |
|--------|--|

Among manner-oriented converbial endings, *-ArAk* is the only simplex subordinator, and it is by far the most commonly used converbial construction (Acar, 2014; Johanson, 1972; Kornfilt, 1997; Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015; Yarar, 2002). As observed in all types of converbial endings in Turkey Turkish, *-ArAk* also constructs a subordinate predication and connects it to the matrix predication, denoting a manner relation between the two. Along with temporal converbial endings, manner-oriented converbial endings *-ArAk*, *-mAdAn* etc. have multiple functions (Csató & Johanson, 1998; Özsoy 1999; Yarar, 2002). Similarly, according to Rehbein & Herkenrath (2015), *-ArAk* converbial ending “implements the characteristics of the way the action expressed in the finite verb is carried out; the implementation is specified according to features of causation, condition, presupposition etc., or according to features of mode, manner etc.” (p. 493) (see example below).

- (34) Elzem listeyi canı-nı dişi-ne tak-arak hazırla-dı.  
Elzem list-ACC. life-ACC. tooth-DAT. Hook-CONV. prepare-PST.3PSg.  
‘Elzem prepared the list by working hard.’

In addition, using the converbial ending *-ArAk*, a frequently-used lexicalized item is formed with *ol-* ‘be’ i.e. *olarak*, a discourse adverbial in idiomatic expressions such as *ilk olarak* ‘first of all’, and *son olarak* ‘finally’, as exemplified (35).

- (35) İlk *ol-arak* asistan liste-si-ni hazırla dım.  
First be-CONV. assistant list-ACC. prepare-PST.1PSg.  
‘First of all, I prepared the assistant list’.

As for another manner-oriented converbial ending *-cAsInA*, its complex morphological structure is as presented below:

**-(A)r-cAsInA**  
AOR-CONV.

Originally, the converbial ending *-cAsInA* is utilized to form adverbs of manner with a negative meaning (Acar, 2014): eg. *ahmakçasına* ‘like a stupid’, *hunharçasına* ‘like a bloodthirsty killer’.

When converbial ending *-(A)rcAsInA* functions as a complex subordinator, it implements the features of the way the event stated in the verb of the superordinate construction is carried out; “the implementation is specified according to features of manner etc” (Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015, p. 494), having the meaning ‘as if’ or ‘like’, as exemplified in (36):

- (36) [Oda-dan çık-mak ist-er-cesine] derin bir iç çek-ti.  
room-ABL. go out-NOM. want-AOR-CONV. deep(ly) a sigh:PST.3PSg.  
*‘S/he sighed deeply as if she wanted to leave the room’.*

*-mAdAn*, on the other hand, appears to have multiple functions in contributing to the connectivity on the levels of discourse, text and utterance (cf. Aydemir, 2014; Gračanin-Yüksek, 2015; Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015). One of its functions is to denote “negative marker” (Gračanin-Yüksek, 2015, p. 26). In such a case, the converbial ending *-mAdAn*, denoting negative marker does not allow the occurrence of the postposition *önce*, and its morphological structure is suggested as follows by Gračanin-Yüksek (2015) based on two inferences “(i) that *-mAdAn* clauses do, but *-mAdAn önce* clauses do not license NPI’s and (ii) that *-mAdAn önce* clauses marginally allow an addition of a negation marker, but *-mAdAn* clauses resist it” (p. 39).

*-mA-dAn*

NEG.-ABL.

- (37) [Saçı-m-ı tara-madan (\*önce)] dışarı çık-ma-m.  
hair-POSS.ACC. comb-NEG-ABL. before out go:NEG.Prs.1PSg.  
*‘I donot go out without combing my hair’.*

On the other hand, when the converbial ending *-mAdAn önce* implements a “temporal antecedence” relation with the superordinate construction, it allows the presence of the postposition *önce* in connecting the subordinate converbial clause to the superordinate construction (Gračanin-Yüksek, 2015, pp. 25-26). For a temporal antecedence relation, see example (38):

- (38) [Orhan Kütahya’-ya git-meden önce] o-na telefon et--tim.  
 Orhan. Kütahya-DAT. go-NEG-ABL. before him phone make:PST.1PSg.  
*“Before Orhan went to Kütahya, I called him”.*

-(y)A ... -(y)A converbial construction is morphosyntactically duplicated in contributing to the connectivity of the nonfinite converbial construction to the finite superordinate clause “in the dimensions of utterance, text and discourse” in relation to manner (Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015), as given in example (39):

- (39) Bu tez-i [gül-e eğlen-e] yaz-dı-m.  
 This dissertation-ACC. laugh-CONV enjoy-CONV. write:PST.1pSg.  
*“I enjoyed writing this dissertation”.*

### 2.8.1.3.3. Purpose-and-result-oriented Converbial Constructions

*-mAk için* and *-mAyA* converbial endings are connected to the matrix clause, implementing a purpose between the events (Kornfilt, 1997; Yazar, 2002).

**Table 11.** *Purpose-and-result-oriented converbial endings*

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| Purpose complex converbs | <i>-mAk için</i><br><i>-mAyA, etc.</i> |
|--------------------------|--|

As Kornfilt (1997) puts it, “the postposition *çin* ‘for’ takes as a complement either an infinitival clause (when matrix and subordinate subjects are co-referential) or a subordinate clause with the action nominalizer *-mA...*” (p. 73). For an example of the converbial ending *-mAk için*, see example (40):

- (40) [Veri-yi çözümle-mek için] çok uğraş-tı-m.  
 Data-ACC. transcribe-Inf. for very strive:PST.1pSg.  
 'I strived for transcribing for the data'.

#### 2.8.1.3.4. Causal Converbial Constructions

Causal forms of converbial endings are (1) *-DIK-Poss.-POP*, (2) *-DIK-Poss. için*, and (3) *-DIK-Poss.-DAn dolayı* (see Table 12). In these constructions, the converbial endings possess the factive nominalizer *-DIK*, meaning *because* as exemplified in (41) and (42) :

- (41) Emre [doğum gün-ü-nü kutla-dığı-m için] çok mutlu ol-du.  
 Emre birthday-Poss.3Sg.ACC. celebrate-DIK-Poss.1Sg. for veryhappy be:PST.3PSg.  
 'Emre got very happy because I celebrated his birthday'.

**Table 12.** Cause-oriented converbial endings

| Syntactic function   | Realisation     | Form                         | English equivalent |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| COMPLEX CONV. CONST. | -DIK-POSS.-CASE | <i>-DIK-Poss.-POP</i>        | causal clause      |
|                      | -DIK-POSS.-POP  | <i>-DIK-Poss. İçin</i>       | causal clause      |
|                      |                 | <i>-DIK-Poss.-DAn dolayı</i> | causal clause      |

- (42) Emre [doğum gün-ü-nü kutla-dığı-m-dan dolayı] çok mutlu oldu.  
 Emre birthday-3Sg.ACC. celebrate-DIK.Poss.1Sg.ABL because very  
 happybe:PST.3PSg.

'Emre got very happy because I celebrated his birthday'.

#### 2.8.1.3.5. Conditional converbial constructions

Conditional converbial constructions are formed with (1) *-DIK-Poss. takdirde*, and (2) with (*eğer*) ... *-sA* (the postclitic copular morpheme sequence) (see Table 13).

**Table 13.** Conditional converbial endings

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| Condition | <i>-DIK-poss. takdirde</i><br>( <i>eğer</i> )...-sA etc. |
|-----------|--|

- (43) Emre [doğum gün-ü-nü kutl-ar-sam] çok mutlu ol-acak.  
 Emre birthday-Poss.3Sg. ACC. celebrate-AOR.-COND.-1PSg. very happy be:Fut.3PSg.  
*'Emre will get very happy if I celebrate his birthday'.*

### 2.8.1.3.6. Degree-oriented Converbial Constructions

Degree-oriented converbial constructions are formed with (1) *-mAktAnsA*, and (2) with nominalizer *-DIK kadar* (postposition) (see Table 14).

**Table 14.** Degree-oriented converbial endings

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| Degree | <i>-mAktAnsA</i> (comparative)<br><i>-DIK kadar</i> (equative), etc. |
|--------|--|

The converbial ending *-mAktAnsA* is used in a comparative meaning, and it is attached to either an infinitival or to an action nominalization (44):

- (44) Ahmet [Tahran'-a git-mek-ten-se] Tebriz'-de yaşa-ma-yı tercih et-ti.  
 Ahmet Tehran-DAT. go-Inf.ABL.rather Tebriz-LOC.live-Inf.ACC. prefer:Pst.3PSg.  
*'Rather than having moved to Tehran, Ahmet preferred to live in Tebriz'.*

The converbial ending *-DIK kadar* means 'as much as' in equative meaning as in (45):

- (45) Oyun oyna-dığı-n kadar ders çalış-sa-n, Einstein ol-ur-su-n.  
 game play:-DIK-Poss. PP. lesson work:COND.2PSg.Einsteinbe:AOR.2PSg.  
*'If you study as much as you play games, you could be like Einstein'.*

### 2.8.1.3.7. Place-oriented Converbial Constructions

Place-oriented converbial constructions are formed with (1) *nereye verb-sA* (the postclitic copular morpheme sequence), and (2) with nominalizer *-DIK-Poss. yerde* (postposition) (see Table 15).

**Table 15.** Place-oriented converbial endings

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| Place | <i>nereye verb-sA</i><br><i>-DIK-poss. yerde</i> |
|-------|--|

- (46) [Yasemin'in atan-dığı yer-de] kira-lar yüksek-ti.  
 Yasemin-GEN. be appointed:OBJP.3Sg. place-LOC rent-PL. high.COP.Pst.3PSg.  
*'The rent was expensive in the town to which Yasemin was appointed'.*

### 2.8.1.3.8. Concession-oriented Converbial Constructions

Concession-oriented converbial constructions are formed with (1) Verb-Cond.sA (the postclitic copular morpheme sequence) +dA, (2) -mAsInA rağmen, and (3) -DIĞI / -(y)AcAĞI halde (see Table 16).

**Table 16.** Concession-oriented converbial endings

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| Concession | Verb-Cond. sA + dA<br>-mAsInA rağmen<br>-DIĞI / -(y)AcAĞI halde |
|------------|---|

- (47) Halaçça çözümleme-yi [çok çabala-sa-m da] bitire-me-di-m.  
 Khalaj transcription-ACC. very try-Cond.1PSg.be even finish-Abil.NEG.1PSg.  
*'I could not finish the Khalaj transcription even if I tried hard'.*

- (48) [Sınav-a çok çalış-tığı hal-de] yeterli puan-ı alamadı.  
 Exam-DAT. very study-DIK.Poss even enough grade.ACC.  
 take:NEG.PST.3PSg.  
*'Even though s/he studied hard for the exam, s/he could not get enough grad'.*

### 2.9. Adverbial Subordination in Dutch

Unlike Turkish language, which makes use of both non-finite and finite subordinate clauses to form adverbial clauses, Dutch language utilizes finite construction in subordinate clauses to denote time, manner, cause etc. as in other Germanic languages such as English. In order to describe adverbial constructions in Dutch, Kortmann (1998) lists some criteria and specifies basic characteristics of an adverbial construction as:

First of all, subordination in Dutch is mostly formed with finite constructions as in other Germanic languages, and it also has a canonical position in the subordinate clause, meaning that it is rather unlikely to scramble the order (see example 49):

- (49) [Toen ik de auto raakte], was ik vreselijk druncken.  
 when I the car hit:PST.1PSg. be:PST.1PSg. Ithat terribly drunk.  
*'When I hit the car, I was terribly drunk'*

Subordination in Dutch are also constructed with subordinating conjunctions, such as *dat* 'that', *omdat* 'because, as', *voordat* 'before', *nadat* 'after', *hoewel* 'although', *als* 'if', etc. as exemplified below (50), (51), and (52):

- (50) Ik kon niet gaan werken omdat ik zick was.  
 I could not go to work because I sick be:PST.1PSg.  
*'I could not go to work because I was ill.'*

- (51) Voordat ik je ontmoette, werkte ik bij Burger King.  
 before I you meet:PST.1PSg. work:PST1PSg. I in Burger King.  
*'Before I met you, I was working at Burger King'.*

- (52) Nadat ik wakker werd, ging ik zwemmen.  
 After I awake become:1PSg. go.PST.1PSg. I swimming  
*'After I woke up, I went swimming.'*

After examining all the examples above, one can conclude that subordinate clauses in Dutch can only be formed with finite constructions. However, it is also possible to form embedded clause, followed by some conjunctions such as *om* 'in order to', *zonder* 'in order to' etc. as in English language (Donald, 1981, p. 201), as exemplified in (53) and (54):

- (53) Ik ging naar de universiteit om een goede carrière te hebben.  
 I go:PAST1PSg. to the university in order a good career to have  
*'I went to the university in order to have a good career.'*

- (54) Ik zal het noemen zonder in details *te* treden.  
 I will it mention without in detail to step  
*'I will mention it **without** going into details'.*

There are also exceptional Dutch non-finite constructions, formed with a gerund (i.e. present participle): However, this type of subordination is rather low in frequency and it is also restricted to very few semantic categories such as manner (Kortmann, 1998). In the following example, for instance, *lachend* (laughing) functions as a manner-oriented converbial ending in Dutch language.

- (55) “Gisteravond ging je lachend naar huis.  
 Last night go:PST.2PSg.I you laughing to huis.  
*'You entered home laughing last night'.*

However, *lachend* can treat as a verbal adjective as exemplified in Example (56):

- (56) “Er was een lachend meisje in de bar.  
 there be:PST.3PSg.I a laugh-ing girl in the bar.  
*'There was a laughing girl in the bar.*

These examples show that there has been no specific grammaticalized morphemes for both verbal adjectives and converbials in Dutch yet. It is also evident that the converbial usage seems to be limited to “manner-oriented” semantic category. Moreover, converbial meaning can be identified with contextual clues in the utterances. On the other hand, Turkish has a very rich and complex converbial ending system.

Turkish and Dutch languages that are under scrutiny here differ from one another morphosyntactically in constructing adverbial clauses. While Dutch language is prepositional, Turkish is exclusively postpositional. On top of it, Turkish is an agglutinative and suffixing language, thus utilizing converbial endings in forming adverbial constructions. However, Dutch is prefixing. In addition to that, in terms of

word order pattern, Turkish possesses verb-final word order, “as the pragmatically unmarked constituent order in the simple clause” (Haig, 2006, p. 199). However, Dutch language has SVO word order pattern as most of the Indo-European languages. In the relevant literature, it is also stated that converbial constructions are mostly grammaticalized in agglutinative languages such as Uralic and Altaic languages (Haspelmath, 1995).

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

#### **3.0. Presentation**

This chapter describes the research methodology and design utilized in this study in detail. It presents research objectives, research questions, research design, data collection methods and information about the participants and characteristics of setting. Then the transcription conventions and the data analysis procedures used in this study are presented. It also highlights how (interrater) reliability is ensured in the study.

#### **3.1. Research Objectives**

This study focuses on Dutch-Turkish contact in the Netherlands where Dutch is the native language of the Dutch speech community naturally serves as the dominant language in almost all domains of social sphere and Turkish is the language of the immigrant speech community and mostly confined to home. The major aim of this study is to investigate whether the use of converbial constructions in Turkish as a heritage language is subject to contact-induced language change due to the contact between Turkish and Dutch within the framework of usage-based linguistics.

#### **3.2. Research Questions**

In conformity with the scope outlined above, this study aims at answering the following research questions.

1. Is the use of converbial constructions by the 2nd generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers subject to contact-induced language change in the Netherlands?
  - 1.1. Is there a difference between Turkish monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' use of converbial constructions in Turkish in terms of frequency of use?

- 1.2. Is there a difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' use of converbial constructions in terms of frequency of use?
- 1.3. Is there a difference between Turkish monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' use of converbial constructions in Turkish in terms of pattern of use?
- 1.4. Is there a difference between 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' use of converbial constructions in terms of pattern of use?
- 1.5. Is there a difference between Turkish monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' perception of converbial constructions?

### **3.3. Research Design**

The research design is predominantly adopted on the basis of the underlying theoretical framework which has its root in the philosophical understanding that has a teleological viewpoint towards divergent views on the nature of reality (ontology), and the very nature of knowledge about that reality (epistemology) (Creswell, 2007). In line with its positivist research paradigm, quantitative research assumes that there are universal laws, and they can be unveiled by means of objective and explanatory approach(es). On the other hand, qualitative research views that reality is a multiple construct, which embraces different layers, divergent views, and it can only be investigated in a holistic approach (Creswell, 2007). Similarly, the construct of “reality” is pictured as dynamic and complicated by Denzin and Lincoln (2009).

In this research, mainly qualitative research paradigm is employed along with quantitative data for triangulation and thus to provide a more comprehensive and holistic understanding of the construct being scrutinized, which makes it a mixed method study. Clark and Creswell (2008) classify six different types of mixed method study by taking the following four criteria into account: “implementation, priority, stage of integration and theoretical perspective” (p. 177) which are (1) sequential

explanatory, (2) sequential exploratory, (3) sequential transformative, (4) concurrent triangulation, (5) concurrent nested, and (6) concurrent transformative. As for the research paradigm of the present study, *concurrent nested* design type is selected since qualitative data collection (recorded interviews) is utilized as primary data collection tool, and quantitative data (Grammaticality Judgment Task) is nested in the primary method in order to triangulate the data and to provide a broad perspective in the analysis phase. Since there are both quantitative and qualitative data in the current research, the nesting quantitative data into qualitative one is utilized. Because this supporting (quantitative) method helps answering research questions which are different from the one answered by the qualitative data collection method.

### 3.4. Research Context(s) and Participants

In this study, participants are selected through convenience and snowball samplings from two research contexts, the Netherlands and Turkey. The reason for selecting convenience sampling lies on the idea that the aim of the current study is to reach as many volunteers as possible. In this section the two research contexts, the Netherlands and Turkey, will be presented in detail.

In the Netherlands, with the context under investigation, the most recent demographic statistics regarding Turkish immigrant population can be followed in Table 17. It displays the number of heritage speakers (2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals) which gradually increases, particularly for the second generation Dutch-Turkish speakers.

**Table 17.** Demographic Information of the Turks living in the Netherlands (Retrieved from 2018 CBS Statistics)

| Origin | Period | Total persons<br>Number | Persons: 1st generation background | Persons: 2nd generation background |                                  |                                    |
|--------|--------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
|        |        |                         |                                    | Total 2nd gen.                     | 2nd gen.: one parent born abroad | 2nd gen.: both parents born abroad |
| Turkey | 2018   | 404.459                 | 191.513                            | 212.946                            | 51.899                           | 161.047                            |

According to the most recent demographic statistical figures in 2018, 404,459 people with Turkish background are reported to live in the Netherlands. While 191,513

persons are claimed to have had “1<sup>st</sup> generation background”, 212,946 of the population with Turkish origin are categorized as “2<sup>nd</sup> generation”. Within the scope of this study, these people categorized with “2<sup>nd</sup> generation” background are referred to as “heritage Turkish speakers living in the Netherlands”. As this study is investigating possible aspects of contact-induced language change phenomenon in an immigrant setting, it should be stated that Turkish, as a heritage language, is only confined to home and immigrant community for heritage speakers.

### **3.4.1. Participants and the Researcher**

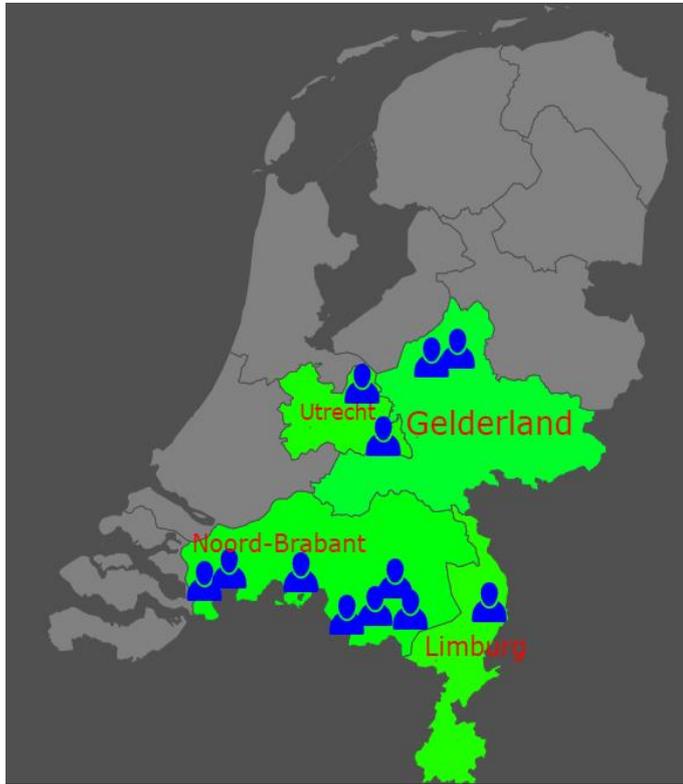
Congruent with the aims and research questions of the study, the following three groups of participants are involved in the study:

- 1) 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers (N=12)
- 2) 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers (N=11)
- 3) Turkish monolingual speakers (N=12)

The main aim of the present study is to investigate the contact-induced language change in converbial constructions used by bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers from different generational backgrounds living in the Netherlands. However, in contact-induced language change studies, any data which are gathered for comparison from a non-contact variety is of great importance (Backus, 2004; Dabrowska, 2004). For this purpose, besides the data gathered from the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers (N=12), two sets of control data were also collected: one set from bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers with the 1<sup>st</sup> generation background (N=11), and the other one from Turkish monolingual speakers in Turkey (N=12).

### 3.4.1.1. The 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers

Dutch-Turkish speakers with 2<sup>nd</sup> generation background who also referred to as



*heritage* speakers interchangeably in this study constitute the experimental group of the study. In order to get in contact with volunteering heritage speaker participants, the researcher tried to find ways to introduce himself to the immigrant Turkish community living in the city of Tilburg

**Figure 8.** Distribution of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals (state capital of Noord-Brabant) in which he worked as a visiting scholar from July 2016 to March 2017. For this purpose, he visited almost all of the Turkish-oriented social centers, civil society organizations (ADD), and even student clubs at Tilburg University etc. He explained the basic aim and scope of the current research, and asked for cooperation in order to conduct interviews with members of speech community with the 1st and 2<sup>nd</sup> (heritage speaker) generation backgrounds. As a starting point, he got into contact with the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers who are university students at Tilburg University in which the researcher was also working as a visiting scholar in the meanwhile. After a while, the researcher expanded his “circle of friends” by being

introduced to other members of speech community with both the 1<sup>st</sup> (their parents mostly) and (relatives, friends etc. even in other Dutch cities) over time. As presented in Figure 8, he had a core “circle of friends” constituting six Tilburgian heritage speakers (2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals), aged 18 to 29 up to then, none of whom had Turkish education before in a Dutch school. It is of crucial significance to state that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers, who are in the second immigrant generation circle, only had chance to acquire and use their first language, with their family members, relatives and Turkish friends. Table 18 presents the demographic information about the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers.

**Table 18.** Demographic information of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers

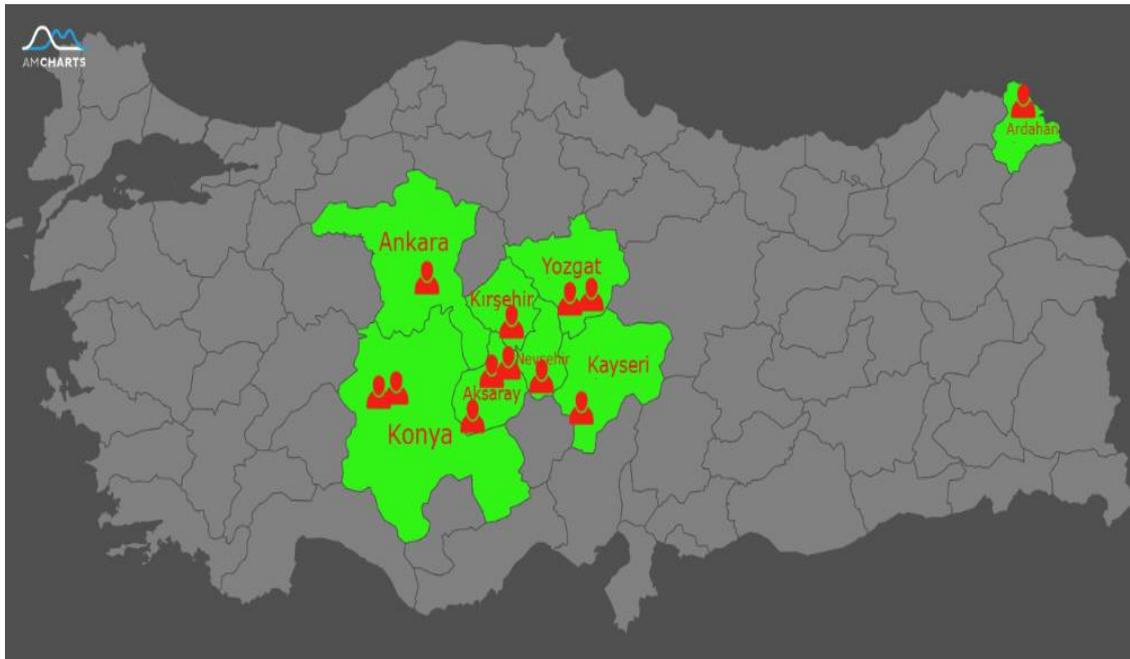
| No  | Participant Pseudo-name | City (birthplace) | City (residency) | State         | Age | Turkish dialect | Educ.  |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|-----|-----------------|--------|
| 1.  | THS_1                   | Arnhem            | Arnhem           | Gelderland    | 26  | Nevşehir        | Higher |
| 2.  | THS_2                   | Tilburg           | Tilburg          | Noord-Brabant | 29  | Yozgat          | Higher |
| 3.  | THS_3                   | Arnhem            | Arnhem           | Gelderland    | 26  | Ankara          | High   |
| 4.  | THS_4                   | Tilburg           | Tilburg          | Noord-Brabant | 27  | Yozgat          | High   |
| 5.  | THS_5                   | Utrecht           | Utrecht          | Utrecht       | 22  | Kırşehir        | Higher |
| 6.  | THS_6                   | Utrecht           | Utrecht          | Utrecht       | 22  | Konya           | Higher |
| 7.  | THS_7                   | Weert             | Weert            | Limburg       | 29  | Ardahan         | Higher |
| 8.  | THS_8                   | Tilburg           | Tilburg          | Noord-Brabant | 18  | Aksaray         | High   |
| 9.  | THS_9                   | Tilburg           | Tilburg          | Noord-Brabant | 18  | Aksaray         | High   |
| 10. | THS_10                  | Eindhoven         | Tilburg          | Noord-Brabant | 28  | Konya           | Higher |
| 11. | THS_11                  | Tilburg           | Eindhoven        | Noord-Brabant | 26  | Kayseri         | Higher |
| 12. | THS_12                  | Tilburg           | Tilburg          | Noord-Brabant | 27  | Aksaray         | Higher |

With the help of his core circle of friends, the researcher expanded his environment and conducted interviews with six other 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers living in other major Dutch cities including Eindhoven, Nijmegen, Arnhem, Weert (in the state of Limburg) and Utrecht (see Figure 8 for geographical distribution). The participants were from a variety of cities [(Tilburg, N=6; Eindhoven,

N=1; Utrecht, N=2; Weert, N=1; and Arnhem, N=2)], and states of the Netherlands (Noord-Brabant, Gelderland, Utrecht and Limburg). Only two of the participants were female, aged 21 to 22 at that time. Ten participants were male, and their age differed from 18 to 29. While eight of the participants were graduates of a higher education program, only four of them graduated from high school. A language background questionnaire (Appendix B) was given to all of the participants in order to have an overall picture of language use in different social contexts and to learn the attitudes of Turkish and Dutch languages and preferences towards these languages.

All the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers considered themselves as Dutch native speakers, however they did not define themselves as “fully-competent” speakers of Turkish. Such an understanding may lie on the fact that they did have difficulty in mostly formal and written contexts (reading newspaper, filling a form in Turkish, etc.). In terms of their socio-economic status, it can be stated that their social and economic profiles were quite akin to one another:

All family members had their origin in Turkey even though they were all born and raised in the Netherlands. When they were asked where they were from, without exception, they identified their origins with the Turkish city where their ancestors came from. Turkish was reported to be spoken as family language among family members (overwhelmingly with (grand-)parents), and with older people with the 1<sup>st</sup> generation background. Thus, these 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers were supposed to be exposed to Turkish variety as a family language associated with the city their parents came from. Figure 9 illustrates these cities on a map of Turkey to visualize the geographical and dialectal variety.



● **Figure 9.** Distribution of Turkish dialect spoken as a family language

Concerning their family language, these participants are reported to speak a Turkish dialect associated with a city in Turkey (Ardahan, N=1; Ankara, N=1; Kırşehir, N=1; Nevşehir, N=1; Kayseri, N=1; Yozgat, N=2; Konya, N=2; Aksaray, N=3) (see Figure 9 for geographical distribution of Turkish dialect spoken as a family language).

- In communicating with their peers, Turkish friends and relatives with the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation background, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers tended to code-switch and code-mix Turkish and Dutch.
- They all had opportunity to be exposed to Turkish via different social media platforms (i.e. YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, etc.), and they enthusiastically followed Turkish agenda.
- They stated that they preferred to spend their summer vacations in Turkey.

#### **3.4.1.2. The 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers**

The rationale behind collecting data from the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals is that they can serve as a control group for determining the contact-induced language change on both frequency of use and function of converbial constructions. Having got into contact with the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers, particularly

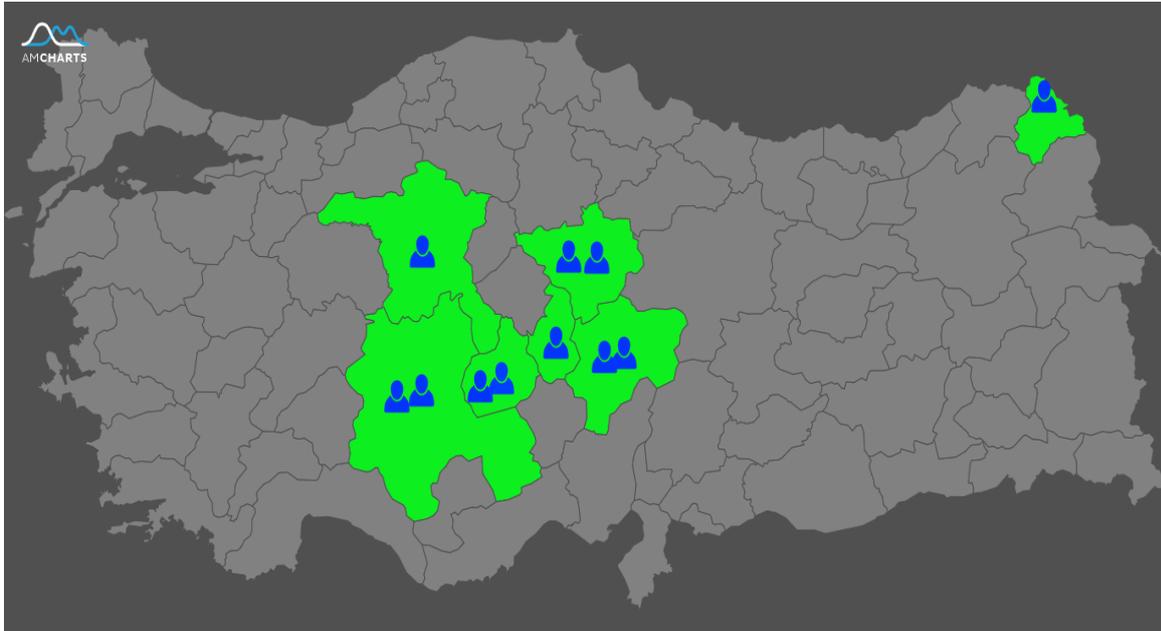
with the Tilburgian circle of friends, the researcher was invited to social meetings like weddings, family dinner, home-visits, etc. During such social events, he asked for cooperation from the parents of heritage speaker participants who are 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers. Eleven 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers accepted to volunteer and to participate in the study. The researcher conducted interviews with eleven 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals who were mostly parents of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers participating in the study. These parents and/or their children mostly chose to live in the neighbourhood in which their children/parents also lived -even though their children got married and moved to their own place. Before holding interview sessions with the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers, the participants were asked to fill in the Language Background Questionnaire (Appendix B) so that the researcher could interpret the language use patterns and preferences.

Table 19 reports the demographic information about the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers in terms of their birthplace, residency (city and state), age, speakers

| No  | Participant Pseudo-name | City (birthplace) | City (residency) | State       | Age | Turkish dialect | Educ.   |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|-----|-----------------|---------|
| 1.  | DTB_1                   | Nevşehir          | Arnhem           | Gelderland  | 51  | Nevşehir        | Second. |
| 2.  | DTB_2                   | Ankara            | Tilburg          | Noord-Brab. | 49  | Ankara          | Second. |
| 3.  | DTB_3                   | Aksaray           | Tilburg          | Gelderland  | 39  | Aksaray         | Higher  |
| 4.  | DTB_4                   | Aksaray           | Tilburg          | Noord-Brab. | 35  | Aksaray         | High    |
| 5.  | DTB_5                   | Kayseri           | Utrecht          | Utrecht     | 44  | Kayseri         | High    |
| 6.  | DTB_6                   | Kayseri           | Utrecht          | Utrecht     | 41  | Kayseri         | Second. |
| 7.  | DTB_7                   | Ardahan           | Weert            | Limburg     | 59  | Ardahan         | Primary |
| 8.  | DTB_8                   | Yozgat            | Tilburg          | Noord-Brab. | 58  | Yozgat          | Primary |
| 9.  | DTB_9                   | Yozgat            | Tilburg          | Noord-Brab. | 52  | Yozgat          | Primary |
| 10. | DTB_10                  | Konya             | Tilburg          | Noord-Brab. | 45  | Konya           | Second. |
| 11. | DTB_11                  | Konya             | Tilburg          | Noord-Brab. | 41  | Konya           | Second. |

With level of parents is reported to be rather low. Only one participant graduated from a higher education institution while seven participants completed their primary and secondary education. It is evident that only two of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers graduated from high school. Four participants were female whose medium of age was

42,25 while age mean of seven male participants was 49,28. Figure 10 displays the distribution of Turkish dialect spoken by the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers.

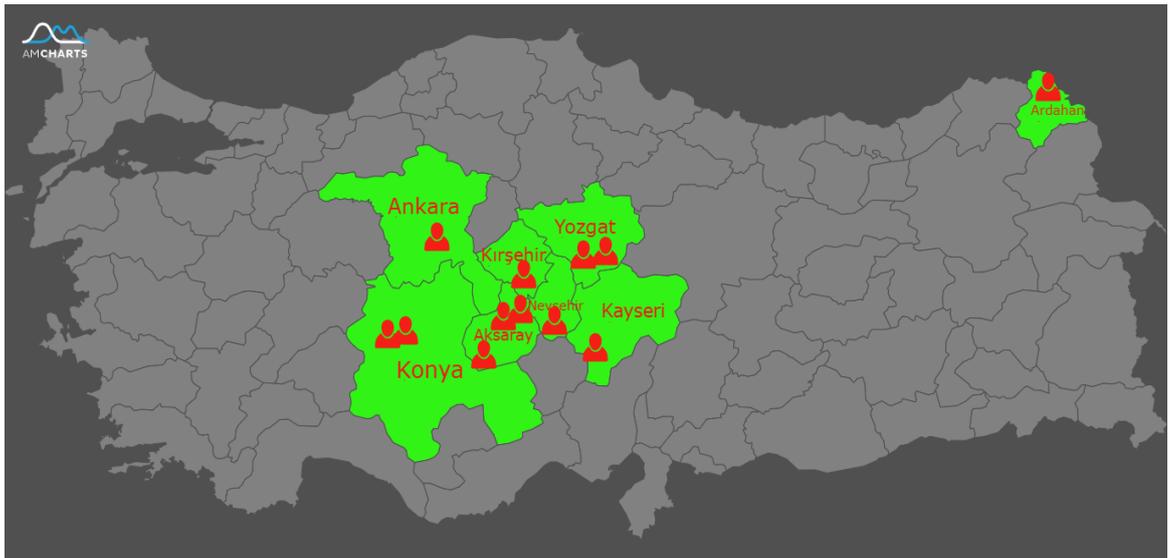


**Figure 10.** Distribution of Turkish dialect spoken by the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers

Concerning the aims of the study, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers were also selected according to the dialects compatible with those of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers (Ardahan, N=1; Ankara, N=1; Nevşehir, N=1; Kayseri, N=2; Yozgat, N=2; Konya, N=2; Aksaray, N=2) (see Figure 10 for geographical distribution of Turkish dialect spoken as a family language). All of the Dutch-Turkish bilinguals arrived as adults, and have always maintained their original dialects.

### 3.4.1.3. The Monolingual Turkish speakers in Turkey

As stated earlier in this chapter, collecting data from a non-contact variety of Turkish is of great significance in order to determine if any possible linguistic change is basically a consequence of language contact. Yet, it is also probable for the more “archaic” variety to go into internal linguistic change. In any case, however, supposedly as once Archimedes ‘needed a place to move the Earth’, a contact linguist requires a non-contact and/or more “archaic” variety, i.e. a reference point, to determine if the linguistic structures scrutinized are unconventional or not. For this purpose, having finished collecting data in the Dutch setting, the researcher went back to Turkey, and carried out fieldwork in eight urban and suburban areas of Aksaray, Ankara, Ardahan, Kayseri, Kırşehir, Konya, Nevşehir and Yozgat. Figure 11 shows the distribution of Turkish monolingual speakers in terms of the dialect they spoke.



**Figure 11.** Distribution of Turkish monolingual speakers

Before returning Turkey, the researcher asked his informants (both the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers and their parents) if it was possible to get in touch with their monolingual cousins and relatives living in Turkey to participate in the fieldwork phase of the study to be carried out in Turkey. They called and asked their relatives and neighbours, and asked for their permissions to give their phone numbers to the researcher for getting in contact to arrange appointments as soon as possible.

Thus, it is not wrong to say that monolingual Turkish participants were accessed through snowball sampling. Even though a great number of informant-to-be volunteered for interviews, the researcher selected only twelve informants whose age, regional and educational background were compatible with heritage speakers in the Netherlands. After arranging appointments, the researcher carried out a set of fieldwork from May 2017 till September 2017 in eight cities with the monolingual Turkish informants whose demographic and educational background information are presented in Table 20.

**Table 20.** Demographic information of the monolingual Turkish speakers

| No  | Participant Pseudo-name | City (birthplace) | City (residency) | Age | Turkish dialect | Educ.  |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----|-----------------|--------|
| 1.  | TM_1                    | Aksaray           | Aksaray          | 23  | Aksaray         | High   |
| 2.  | TM_2                    | Aksaray           | Aksaray          | 26  | Aksaray         | High   |
| 3.  | TM_3                    | Ankara            | Ankara           | 22  | Ankara          | High   |
| 4.  | TM_4                    | Konya             | Konya            | 30  | Konya           | High   |
| 5.  | TM_5                    | Yozgat            | Yozgat           | 25  | Yozgat          | Higher |
| 6.  | TM_6                    | Yozgat            | Yozgat           | 25  | Yozgat          | Higher |
| 7.  | TM_7                    | Ardahan           | Ardahan          | 29  | Ardahan         | Higher |
| 8.  | TM_8                    | Kırşehir          | Kırşehir         | 19  | Kırşehir        | High   |
| 9.  | TM_9                    | Aksaray           | Aksaray          | 21  | Aksaray         | High   |
| 10. | TM_10                   | Konya             | Konya            | 25  | Konya           | Higher |
| 11. | TM_11                   | Kayseri           | Kayseri          | 26  | Kayseri         | Higher |
| 12. | TM_12                   | Nevşehir          | Nevşehir         | 25  | Nevşehir        | Higher |

Table 20 shows that Turkish monolingual participants' age range differed from 19 to 30 at that time. As for the educational background of the participants, six participants were high school graduates, whereas the other half either graduated from a higher education institution or continued their education during the interviews. The monolingual Turkish speakers' age and educational background match those of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker group in the Netherlands. The same language background questionnaire (Appendix B) was also given to all the Turkish monolingual speakers. Even though they had compulsory English courses during their education, they evaluated themselves as “beginner” speakers of English. So, it is possible to assume that there is no “dominant” foreign language influence on their

Turkish. Lastly, the socio-economic backgrounds of the participants were quite similar to one another.

### 3.5. Data Collection Instruments

Since the fundamental focus of the contact-induced language change studies is mostly to describe an ongoing language change situation, to compare the monolingual variety with a “contact” variety in this setting, and to sort out any divergent form and their probable function(s), natural data collection through interviewing is the most frequently used data collection procedure. Following a concurrent nested type research design this study is positioned within the qualitative research paradigm. As Duff (2008) points out, it is essential to have multi-faceted sources of evidence to get a clear picture of the phenomenon under investigation. Within the paradigm of this design type, interviewing as a qualitative data collection method was utilized as the primary data collection method in order to provide rich description and to analyze possible contact-induced language change with regard to converbial use of 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers in comparison with the monolingual Turkish speakers and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals.

**Table 21.** Main Data Collection Instruments

| <b>Main Data Collection Instruments</b>       |  |
|---|--|
| <b>1. Language Background Questionnaire</b>   |  |
| <b>2. Production data</b>                     |  |
| <b>2.1 Spontaneous one-on-one interviews</b>  |  |
| <b>2.2 Spontaneous inter-group interviews</b> |  |
| <b>2.3 Stimulated recall interviews</b>       |  |
| <b>3. Perception data</b>                     |  |
| <b>3.1 Grammaticality judgment task</b>       |  |

As presented in Table 21, the data collection tools consist of spontaneous one-on-one and inter-group interviews triggered by questions formulated within semi-structured interview design in natural environments. In order to triangulate the qualitative interview data, a language background questionnaire and a pilot quantitative data collection instrument (Grammaticality Judgment Task) are also nested in the primary

method. The phases of adapting a language background questionnaire, conducting interviews and developing a grammaticality judgment task are described in detail in the following parts.

### **3.5.1. Language Background Questionnaire**

As the preliminary phase of the study, an adapted “language background” questionnaire developed for a TÜBİTAK research project (Project Number: 110K432), was administered to all parties: the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers, and monolingual Turkish speakers in order to shed light on their language background. Since the purpose of the present study is to investigate the “language change” phenomenon focusing on the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers, i.e. heritage speakers, who were born and raised in a dominantly bilingual community, their language backgrounds are supposed to be questioned in order to have a better understanding of the phenomenon under scrutiny with the light of the informants’ linguistic repertoire. The language background questionnaire was given in Appendix B.

The language background questionnaire consists of four sections. Initially, identification of the languages that the informants were exposed to needs to be clarified. For this purpose, the informants were asked to list the languages their parents and family members could speak in order to identify the languages the informants were exposed to in their immediate environment from birth. After this section, they were provided a table to fill out all the languages they learnt/acquired according to the learning/acquisition order. They were also asked to state the relative age and setting in which they started learning/acquiring those languages. These two sections aim at providing appropriate information about the informants’ linguistic repertoire which is crucial in the analysis and interpretation of linguistic structures with regard to language change as a result of language contact (particularly between genetically remote languages). In order to get an in-depth analysis, the information of informants’ proficiency level also needs to be attained. They were asked to self-evaluate their

proficiency in four linguistic skills (i.e. reading, writing, speaking and listening) for this purpose. The rationale of asking the informants to self-evaluate their proficiency lies behind the fact that it was not feasible to get overall scores of standardized tests in each and every language the informants listed. The other section of the questionnaire aimed at obtaining information about the informants's language use and choice patterns in communicating with their parents, relatives, friends, neighbours, classmates in a variety of given social settings.

### **3.5.2. Interview Questions: A Way to “Trigger Narration” Phase**

Interviewing allows researchers to have an opportunity to perceive what people think about (certain) phenomena, how they feel and how they express their opinions on different topics by yielding direct quotations from them (Patton, 2002). In short, they try to convey their message(s) by making use of a (sort of) *language*. Since the main purpose of contact-induced language change studies is to investigate a “hypothesized” linguistic change in certain linguistic structures during natural conversations with informants, spontaneous speeches gathered through interviewing are widely used in language change studies (cf. Backus, 1996; Demirçay, 2017; Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015; Kiral, 2000; Onar Valk, 2015).

Patton (2002) classifies three different approaches to develop interview questions, which are (i) the informal conversational interviews, (ii) the general interview guide approach, and (iii) the standardized open-ended interview. The structure of interviews may change from semi-structured informal conversational to strictly structured one with standardized questions (Kvale, 1996). In order to allow for novel linguistic structures to emerge in a natural environment, a tentative list of interview questions were prepared before conducting interviews for triggering informants to narrate their experiences and bits and pieces from their (life) stories within semi-structured informal conversational interviews. It was essential that the informants be the ones leading the conversation during interviews, thus the researcher tried his best to make the informants take the turn in conversations and lead it as much as possible. Congruent with the nature of spontaneous and informal conversational (one-on-one

and/or inter-group) interviews, the researcher felt himself free to reformulate his questions and even to ask impromptu ones at the moment of conversational exchange once the researcher felt the informants' enthusiasm to share their ideas on a specific topic. In doing so, the informants are encouraged to express themselves freely and wholeheartedly so that they utter as many linguistic structures as possible. In order to put the informants (both the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish bilinguals) in a monolingual mode (Grosjean, 2001) Dutch context, the researcher asked them to speak in Turkish during interviews as much as possible. In order to trigger their narration(s), the researcher prepared an interview guide to which he could refer in case he had difficulty in finding a relevant topic to continue conversation. In order to prevent such events occur, he prepared a list of questions regarding daily topics such as university life, marriage, family life, etc. (i.e. *Eşin(iz)le nasıl tanıştınız?* 'How did you meet with your partner?'; *Üniversite seçimine nasıl karar verdin(iz)?* 'How did you decide to choose the university?', etc.). In forming the Turkish questions for interview guide, the researcher paid an utmost care and attention by not using any converbial construction(s) in order not to 'trigger' informants' mental lexicon. The interview questions were checked by a PhD candidate, who was studying in the Turkish Language and Literature graduate program, and also checked by an expert in the field of Turkish linguistics. The interview guide was provided in Appendix C. As stated earlier, even though the interviews were held in Turkish, the interview guide was translated into English by a PhD candidate in the English Language Teaching graduate program, and controlled by an English native speaker. The translated version was given in Appendix C as well. Before implementing the interviewing process, two major steps were taken in order to pilot the interview questions. Initially, the interview questions were controlled by two PhD candidates, who were majoring in the field of linguistics in order to ensure that the interview questions did not include any converbial construction(s). In the second phase, interview questions were checked from a 'personal boundary' point of view in order to predict informants' personal boundaries. This was of great importance for the interviewing process since the informants could get offended by a question which might cross their personal boundaries, thus they could decide not to participate in the

interview and leave it. For this purpose, three bilinguals living in Tilburg, the Netherlands were asked to evaluate the formulated interview questions in terms of their “inconvenience” in the speech community. The rationale behind meticulously formulating the interview questions lies behind the fact that the researcher did not have a clear understanding of how the informants could be treated: monocultural or bicultural. After collecting all the evaluations and feedback, the interview questions were modified by paraphrasing, rephrasing and omitting unnecessary parts. By doing so, the researcher finalized the formulation of interview questions in the interview guide.

### **3.5.3. Interviewing Procedures**

The present study employs spontaneous (and semi-structured) conversational interviews in both one-on-one and inter-group. Thus, in the following section, the interviewing process will be described in detail since the fundamental data collection instrument for the present study is interviewing.

#### **3.5.3.1. The Interviewing Network**

In the present study, interviews were held both one-to-one and inter-group conversational interviews. While one-to-one interviewing may correspond to face-to-face interviews, inter-group interviews differ from focus group interview due to the fact that the latter is defined as “using a semi structured group session, moderated by a group leader, held in an informal setting, with the purpose of collecting information on *a designated topic*” (Carey, 1994, p. 226). On the other hand, since this study focuses on *a linguistic phenomenon* rather than *a designated topic* (e.g. teacher belief, experiences, attitudes, etc.), inter-group conversational interviews are selected as the main data collection tool. It should also be stated that these two types of interviewing are widely utilized in the literature of contact-induced language change (Demirçay, 2017; Johanson, 1992, 2002). Inter-group interviewing helps to create a psychologically relax and cosy atmosphere when researcher (in the role of interviewer) and informant(s) (in the role of interviewee) do not know one another

well enough. In addition, inter-group interviewing may contribute to the validity of the data since the number of utterances used in the exchange of ideas may increase in correlation with the number of informants.

Having taken the consent of the participants, both one-to-one and inter-group conversational interviews were audio-recorded. There were three intertwining phases of interviewing. The first two phases took place in the Netherlands while the last one took place in Turkey. The following section will give detailed information about the bilingual and monolingual corpora utilized in the analysis of the present study.

### **3.5.3.2. The Corpora: Second-generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker, first-generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker and Turkish monolingual speaker subcorpora**

Within the scope of the present study, constructing a corpus is of great significance due to the fact that natural spontaneous speech samples are widely used in contact-induced language change studies as the natural data indicate how each linguistic structure or construction is utilized in its specific context (Francis, 1993; McEnergy & Hardie, 2012). In the field of corpus linguistics, however, there are two different viewpoints with regards to the corpus data: (i) corpus-based approach, and (ii) corpus-driven approach. On the one hand, the corpus-based approach views corpus linguistics as a *method* which generally makes use of spoken and/or written corpus data to investigate a linguistic phenomenon. On the other hand, corpus-driven approach does not treat the corpus linguistics as a method, and asserts that it is the *corpus* which needs to be one and only source in linguistic inquiries.

This study is descriptive in nature, and makes use of a corpus consisting of spontaneous natural interviews as the main qualitative data collection tool. For this purpose, the following three sub-corpora of production data are utilized in order to investigate the research aims of the present study:

- (i) 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker subcorpus (THS)
- (ii) 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch Turkish subcorpus (DTBS)

(iii) Turkish monolingual subcorpus (TMS)

The descriptive information of all subcorpora are presented in Table 22 in order to compare the data regarding interview number and informants.

**Table 22.** Descriptive information of subcorpora compared

| <b>Corpus</b>        | <b>F2F Interviews</b> | <b>Interviews (F)</b> | <b>Informants (F)</b> | <b>Duration</b>  |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen. | One-on-one            | 8                     | 3                     | 3h26min          |
| Speakers             | Inter-group           | 14                    | 9                     | 7h48min          |
|                      | <b>TOTAL</b>          | <b>22</b>             | <b>12</b>             | <b>11h14min</b>  |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> Gen. | One-on-one            | 6                     | 3                     | 2h48min          |
| Speakers             | Inter-group           | 12                    | 8                     | 7h15min          |
|                      | <b>TOTAL</b>          | <b>18</b>             | <b>11</b>             | <b>10h3min</b>   |
| Turkish              | One-on-one            | 7                     | 3                     | 3h27min          |
| Monolingual          | Inter-group           | 14                    | 9                     | 8h02min          |
|                      | <b>TOTAL</b>          | <b>21</b>             | <b>12</b>             | <b>11h29min.</b> |
|                      | <i>in toto</i>        | <i>61</i>             | <i>35</i>             | <i>32h47min.</i> |

The interviews were conducted both in face-to-face one-on-one and inter-group design. In the following section, these three subcorpora are described in detail.

**3.5.3.2.1. The second-generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers subcorpus**

The 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker subcorpus data stems from conversations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers aged 18 to 29 living in bilingual speech communities in Tilburg, Eindhoven, Arnhem, Utrecht and Weert in the Netherlands. Table 23 below gives the descriptive information about the interviews, the number of participants and duration of interviews.

**Table 23.** Descriptive information of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers

| <b>F2F Interviews</b> | <b>Interviews (F)</b> | <b>Informants (F)</b> | <b>Duration</b> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| One-on-one            | 8                     | 3                     | 3h26min         |
| Inter-group           | 14                    | 9                     | 7h48min         |
| TOTAL                 | 22                    | 12                    | 11h14min        |

The interviews were conducted both in face-to-face one-on-one and inter-group design. The number of one-on-one interviews is 8 corresponding to 3 hours 26 minutes of spoken data while there are 14 inter-group interviews producing 7 hours 48 minutes of recorded material. As for the informants, twelve 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers participate in one-on-one interviews, out of whom 9 informants take part in face-to-face inter-group interviews. All interviews were audio-taped creating 11 hours 14 minutes of recorded spoken data *in toto*, which were all transcribed afterwards.

### 3.5.3.1.2. The First-Generation Bilingual Dutch-Turkish Speaker

#### Subcorpus

In order to control the use and functions of converbial constructions occurring in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' spoken data, a Dutch-Turkish bilingual dataset was planned to be constructed. For this purpose, a subcorpus was compiled, which consists of conversations of eleven 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers aged 35 to 59 living in bilingual speech communities in Tilburg, Arnhem, Utrecht and Weert in the Netherlands. Table 24 below presents the descriptive information about the interviews, the number of participants and duration of interviews.

**Table 24.** Descriptive information of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers

| <b>F2F Interviews</b> | <b>Interviews (F)</b> | <b>Informants (F)</b> | <b>Duration</b> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| One-on-one            | 6                     | 3                     | 2h48min         |
| Inter-group           | 12                    | 8                     | 7h15min         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>          | <b>18</b>             | <b>11</b>             | <b>10h3min</b>  |

Face to face one-on-one and in group interviews were held in natural contexts such as home visits, dinner tables, cafes etc. As for the number of one-on-one interviews, it encompasses 6 interviews producing 2 hours 48 minutes of recording. On the other hand, 12 inter-group interviews consist of 7 hours 15 minutes of spoken dataset. All

interviews were audio-taped constructing 11 hours 14 minutes of spoken data *in toto*, which were also transcribed afterwards.

### 3.5.3.1.3. Turkish Monolingual Subcorpus

As a second dataset of control group, interviews were conducted with 12 Turkish monolingual speakers whose age, regional and educational background were compatible with the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers in the Netherlands. As in previous two interviewing sessions, the researcher performed as a moderator or facilitator meaning that he directed stimulating interview questions whenever required. As a result of the interviews, a subcorpus of spontaneous Turkish monolingual data were collected from 12 Turkish monolingual speakers aged 19 to 30 living in Aksaray, Ardahan, Ankara, Kayseri, Konya, Kırşehir, Nevşehir and Yozgat. Table 25 indicates the descriptive information about the interviews, the number of participants and duration of interviews.

**Table 25.** Descriptive information of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers

| <b>F2F Interviews</b> | <b>Interviews (F)</b> | <b>Informants (F)</b> | <b>Duration</b> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| One-on-one            | 7                     | 3                     | 3h27min         |
| Inter-group           | 14                    | 9                     | 8h2min          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>          | <b>21</b>             | <b>12</b>             | <b>11h29min</b> |

For the Turkish monolingual subcorpus, face to face one-on-one and in group interviews produce 11 hours 29 minutes of recordings in natural contexts. While the number of one-on-one interviews is 7 corresponding to 3 hours 27 minutes of recording, 14 inter-group interviews construct 8 hours 2 minutes of spoken dataset, all transcribed later by the researcher.

As frequency of use is of crucial significance for the present study, all transcriptions are counted utterance-by-utterance by two researchers in order to provide interrater reliability. As a result of this procedure, it is concluded that database comprises of the following subcorpora:

- (i) 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' subcorpus: **22.163** utterances,
- (ii) 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' subcorpus: **21.822** utterances, and
- (iii) Monolingual Turkish speakers' subcorpus: **23.125** utterances.

#### **3.5.4. Perception Task**

Having gathered the production data through interviewing, nested by a language background questionnaire, and constructed a corpora, a perception task, i.e. *grammaticality judgment task* was developed to reach more robust results by scrutinizing a similar linguistic phenomenon (converbial constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' speeches in this case) from different angles with a battery of lens, i.e. data collection tools. The rationale of constructing a perception task lies behind the fact that even though language production (*performance*) data are of crucial importance to explore contact-induced language change, it simply cannot be guaranteed that all linguistic structures (e.g. all forms of converbial constructions) and language use will occur in the production data. Simply speaking, low *frequency of use* or just coincidence might lead to non-occurrence of some certain structures in language production. In other words, non-occurrence in *performance* (i.e. language production) does not necessarily mean that it is not stored in speaker's linguistic *competence*, either. Therefore, there is a need to find a way to get as much out of the entire linguistic competence as possible. For compensating these gaps and triangulating the language production data, a grammaticality judgment task was developed by the researcher to explore the participants' perception of converbial constructions. The following section will introduce the grammaticality judgment task in detail.

##### **3.5.4.1. Grammaticality Judgment Task**

The *grammaticality judgment task* encompasses a rating task, making use of a Likert scale. It should be noted here that having transcribed bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker groups' spontaneous spoken language production data, 42 task items were developed by taking the attested data into account 12 of which are conventional control items.

These items included the most frequently-occurred converbial suffixes *-Ip*, *-ken*, *-ArAk* and *-IncA* (Johanson, 1995; Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker subcorpus.

Items were either extracted verbatim from the corpus or strictly based on them. 12 unconventional control items and 18 distracters were also constructed and included to the judgment task. After all, the task was checked by an expert. The necessary revisions were made, and for the piloting phase the emended version of the task was administered to four 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers who were not included in the group participated the interviewing process. By taking the participants' interpretations into account, the researcher once again revized and finalized the judgment task. The grammaticality judgment task was presented in Appendix D. Table 26 indicates the distribution of grammatical/conventional, ungrammatical/unconventional and distractor test items.

**Table 26.** The distribution of grammatical, unconventional and distractor test items

| <b>Converbs</b> | <b>Conventional(F)</b> | <b>Unconventional(F)</b> | <b>Distractors</b> |
|-----------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>-Ip</i>      | 3                      | 3                        |                    |
| <i>-ken</i>     | 3                      | 3                        |                    |
| <i>-ArAk</i>    | 3                      | 3                        |                    |
| <i>-IncA</i>    | 3                      | 3                        |                    |
| <b>TOTAL</b>    | 12                     | 12                       | 18                 |

Having finalized the grammaticality judgment task, it was distributed to forty two 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals and sixty five 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers. As for control group, 52 monolingual Turkish speakers also participated in the phase of perception task. The overall results were statistically analyzed and investigated whether any divergence occurred in terms of informants' perception of converbial constructions.

### **3.5.5. Stimulated Recall Interview**

The present study also makes use of a underutilized technique for scrutinizing why informants choose to use certain grammatical structures among various alternatives to

convey their message. In order to have an overall understanding of the phenomenon under investigation, in general, as Dempsey (2010) clearly puts it, “interviewing individuals by playing them audio or audiovisual recordings of their own behavior in social situations and discussing different aspects of those recorded interactions” appears to be a method utilized in social sciences, but rarely used in contact-induced language change studies (p. 349). This interviewing technique allows the researcher to ask the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers why they chose to use certain unconventional conversational constructions (compared to Turkey Turkish), and to understand if these structures were entrenched or conventionalized in the speech community. By doing so, the informants come a step closer to the context and moments in which they spontaneously produce speech. Dempsey (2010) states that this interviewing technique “gives them the chance to listen to or view themselves in action, jog memories, and give answers of ‘I did,’ instead of ‘I might have’” (pp. 349-50).

Having compiled the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker subcorpus, the audio-recordings of interviews were transcribed, and all samples of utterances including conventional or unconventional conversational construction(s) were highlighted. All the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers participating in the interviewing process (N=12) were invited and recorded with an audio-recorder in an office. The informants were asked why they made use of some conventional conversational constructions in specific contexts. The researcher also asked them if they were making use of such structures frequently in their conversations. These recordings were also transcribed, evaluated and utilized in the data analysis procedure whenever needed.

### **3.6. Data Analysis Procedures**

In qualitative studies, as Patton (2002) clearly states, “human factor is the strength and the fundamental weakness of qualitative weakness of qualitative inquiry and analysis – a scientific two-edged sword” (p. 433). For this reason, it is clear that there is no single catholicon that fits with all qualitative inquiries since each and every qualitative

study is *sui generis* in nature. Even though directions and guidelines are available in the existing literature, “the final destination remains unique for each inquirer, known only when – and if – arrived at” (Patton, 2002, p. 432).

This section presents how data have been transcribed and how data analysis procedure has been carried out. This section also discusses how transcribed data have been analyzed, and how certain (conventional or unconventional) conversational constructions have been approached.

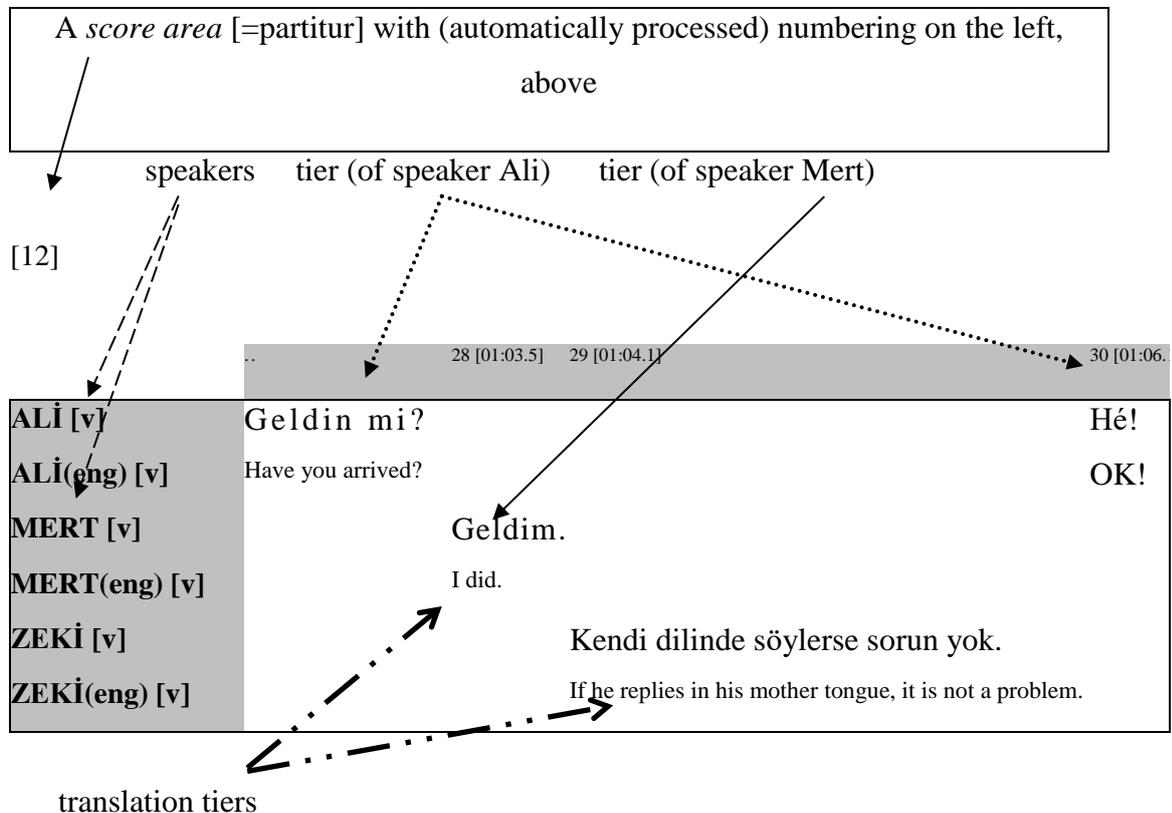
In this regard, first of all, using a transcription convention named *EXMARaLDA*, audio-recordings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers, and monolingual Turkish speakers are transferred into electronic environment.

### **3.6.1. Transcription Convention Software (*EXMARaLDA*)**

As the present study focuses on cross-linguistic aspects, all the audio-recordings were transcribed utterance by utterance utilizing a transcription convention software entitled *EXMARaLDA* (Extensible Markup Language for Discourse Annotation) with utmost accuracy, meaning that it includes indications of moments of pauses, external noises and voices, slips of tongues, hesitation markers, interjections etc. In this regard, the corpora are constructed to have a multi-modal resource, meaning that it employs *EXMARaLDA* tools, developed by Thomas Schmidt at the ‘SFB Mehrsprachigkeit’ (Research Center on Bilingualism) in accordance with an adapted version of HIAT, an acronym of *Halbinterpretative Arbeitstranskriptionen* (Semi-Interpretative Working Transcriptions) transcription conventions (Ehlich, 1992). Such transcription tools allow the researcher to indicate “transcriptions in a time-aligned manner with audio and video files” (Ruhi, Hatipoğlu, Işık-Güler & Eröz-Tuğa, 2010, p. i).

*EXMARaLDA* also represents all the linguistics elements, so to speak, utterances used in oral communication. It is of crucial significance to point out here that there are no corrections and changes on the transcriptions for the authenticity of the data. The

illustration presented below portrays the general characteristics of EXMARaLDA (see Figure 12).



**Figure 12:** Main characteristics of EXMARaLDA (adapted from Akkuş, 2013)

General characteristics of transcriptions by EXMARaLDA are described by Rehbein (2011) as follows:

- (1) spoken language (discourse) is transformed in a written form in score areas abbreviated as ‘partiturs’;
- (2) the multiparty discourse with its diverse speakers is ordered along ‘tiers’ and not along the lines we are familiar of a written/printed text or text program;
- (3) all tiers within a partitur follow the rules of simultaneity of their representation;
- (4) a time line above the partitur indicates the absolute points of time following one after each other which are not to be mistaken as a numbering of utterance segments;
- (5) an utterance related translation is an utterance-by-utterance translation written into the tier(s) immediately under the tier of the original, authentic utterance (:sublinear) (p. 2).

All the transcriptions in the existing corpora are constructed by taking *Spoken Turkish Corpus (STC)*, constructed within the *METU Spoken Turkish Corpus Project* as its model since it is constructed as “a general, computer-based, searchable and annotated corpus of contemporary Turkish spoken all around Turkey” (Ruhi *et al.*, 2010), which is congruent with the aim of constructing the corpora within the scope of the present study. A sample body of original transcriptions were presented in the Appendix E. Pseudo names were used in order to keep anonymity of the participants. The excerpts were categorized and interpreted in terms of their *score areas*, meaning each excerpt table represents a score area (i.e. partitur) in the whole body of the Turkish interview data (see Ruhi *et al.*, 2010). As an explicit example, in the excerpt presented above, the number of score area is 12.

### **3.6.2. Rating Procedure**

Once the spoken corpora were transferred into electronic platform via *EXMARaLDA* tools, and an adapted version of HIAT transcription conventions, transcribed utterances were checked in terms of orthography, punctuation, and integrity of the narratives.

In order to explore the converbial constructions used by the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers, and the monolingual Turkish speakers, and to answer the research questions, the hypothesis that suggests that languages in contact lead to language change in certain domains (see Johanson, 1991, 1995; Matras, 2007; Rehbein, Herkenrath & Karakoç, 2009). Thus, in order to determine how the converbial constructions have been categorized in terms of their syntactic and semantic characteristics, an *interpretive rating team* was established comprising two persons: the researcher and a linguist with a PhD in the field. In order to validate the data and decrease threats to internal credibility such as researcher bias, confirmation bias, structural corroboration, etc., team involvement is utilized in the qualitative data analysis procedure in contact-induced language change studies (Onar Valk, 2015; Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015). The team involvement procedure, which is cyclical rather than linear in nature as described in detail by Biggerstaff and Thompson (2008),

required a number of iterative data interpretation stages in order to discuss the transcribed data thoroughly. The overall iterative stages followed by the transcription stage are presented in the following section.

These iterative stages include interpretation sessions in which the interpretive rating team meet in order to arrive at a conclusion in terms of identification and categorization of converbial constructions. In initial team meeting sessions, the raters discussed what converb means, and they elaborated on the academic debate on divergent categorizations with regards to complex morpho-syntactic nature of converbial constructions in the relevant literature. The reason for having discussions on converbs lies behind the fact that any kind of misinterpretation might have a tremendous influence on the results.

In this initial stage, before each session, members of interpretive rating team were expected to identify and place each and every converbial construction into a table prepared by the researcher, according to the semantic and syntactic features of the converbs. As the *frequency of use* is of crucial significance within the scope of the present study, the raters were also asked to count and write frequency of each converbial construction used during interviews by speakers *in toto* in brackets. In doing so, the transcriptions of all three group of speakers were classified and grouped with regards to their speaker category (i.e. the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (i.e. heritage speaker), the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual or monolingual speaker group). As there were huge amount of transcribed spoken interview data with 35 informants, two raters organized the files for each interview. Having finished the organization phase, they started reading the transcriptions. Once they identified a converbial construction in the data, they evaluated its semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics previously determined in congruence with the research scope in mind, placed it in a relevant box in the table provided by the researcher, and made notes when applicable. This led to a categorization of converbial constructions by grouping them according to their congenerical dimensions such as time, manner, etc., which made it probable for the raters to see the overall picture of the use and proportion of converbial constructions

in the interview data occurring in three different corpora. During this stage, they made notes of their hesitations, questions, and comments on the moot points about the linguistic phenomenon under scrutiny.

The interpretive team took notes on the margin of the print-outs of the transcriptions to discuss with his/her research teammate in the following session as suggested by Smith, Jarman and Osborne (1999). After each interview transcription, each interpretive rater calculated the occurrences and frequency of use of converbial constructions. Such a practice aims at helping the raters to compare their ratings and to calculate the focal distance that occurs between their ratings. It is noteworthy stating here that during the rating stage in the present study, as stated earlier, the unit of analysis was determined as utterance, yet, the focus of the unit was particularly identified as converbial constructions in accordance with the scope of the current study. However, there is a “tight relation of the non-finite converbial syntagma to the next higher finite element – a relation which was described and defined in terms of ‘insertion’ in Rehbein (1999, with reference to Van Valin, 1984) and which contributes to the connectivity in the dimensions of utterance, text and discourse” (Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015, p. 493), text and discourse were also juxtaposed when applicable. Even though, formal syntactically speaking, converbial constructions are categorized as “non-autonomous sententoid” (ibid., p. 493) in the relevant literature, they are inevitably bound to overarching dimensions of the text and discourse. For this reason, the unit of analysis was determined as context-bound, meaning that each and every converbial construction was evaluated in terms of its morpho-syntactic relations with neighbouring grammatical structures, and its semantic relations in the symbol field (Bühler, 1934), which might construct a semantic synthesis with the main clause and/or discourse in a broad sense. During this stage, not surprisingly, there were some instances in which it was probable for the raters to assign a converb to more than one aspect either syntactically or semantically depending on the meaning and interpretation of the utterance, text and discourse. The researcher took notes of such instances in order to ask the informants themselves in stimulated recall interview sessions carried out after the rating stage.

In the following stage, the researcher and the second rater re-read the transcripts in order to explore the converbial constructions from both a morpho-syntactic viewpoint i.e. “connectivity”, and from a semantic dimension such as “interpretative ambiguity” in accordance with the research questions under scrutiny.

Having identified the converbial constructions in the corpora and finished rating them, the rating team held meetings to discuss their ratings in order to assess interrater reliability of the study. The interpretive rating process was dialogical by its very nature due to the fact that the raters discussed their interpretations and evaluations whenever a point of disagreement occurred in terms of rating. In such cases, the raters had discussions to reach a consensus on the converbial constructions that they rated differently. For instance, in the following excerpt, two raters initially identified the converb *-ken* and classified it as manner converb. However, having reassessed what was meant by this unit of analysis selected for the rating with its context, it became obvious to the raters the informant was more likely to use *-ken* as a temporal converb.

[13]

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| <b>INT</b>       | O konuda ne diyeceksin?                        |
| <b>INT [TL]</b>  | that issue-LOC what say-FUT.2P.Sing            |
| <b>TNT [Eng]</b> | <i>What would you say about that issue?</i>    |
| <b>THS</b>       | Şimdi ona <b>gelirken</b> de • pardon da ona   |
| <b>THS [TL]</b>  | no that-DAT come-CONV sorry PART that-DAT      |
| <b>THS [Eng]</b> | <i>Now when I go back to that issue, sorry</i> |

[14]

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <b>THS</b>       | <b>gelirken</b> de biz o iki ülkenin arasını şey’apmayız.   |
| <b>THS [TL]</b>  | come-CONV PART we that two country-GEN between-ACC thing.do.Neg.PrS3P                             |
| <b>THS [Eng]</b> | <i>when I go back to that issue, we do not harm the relationship between those two countries.</i> |

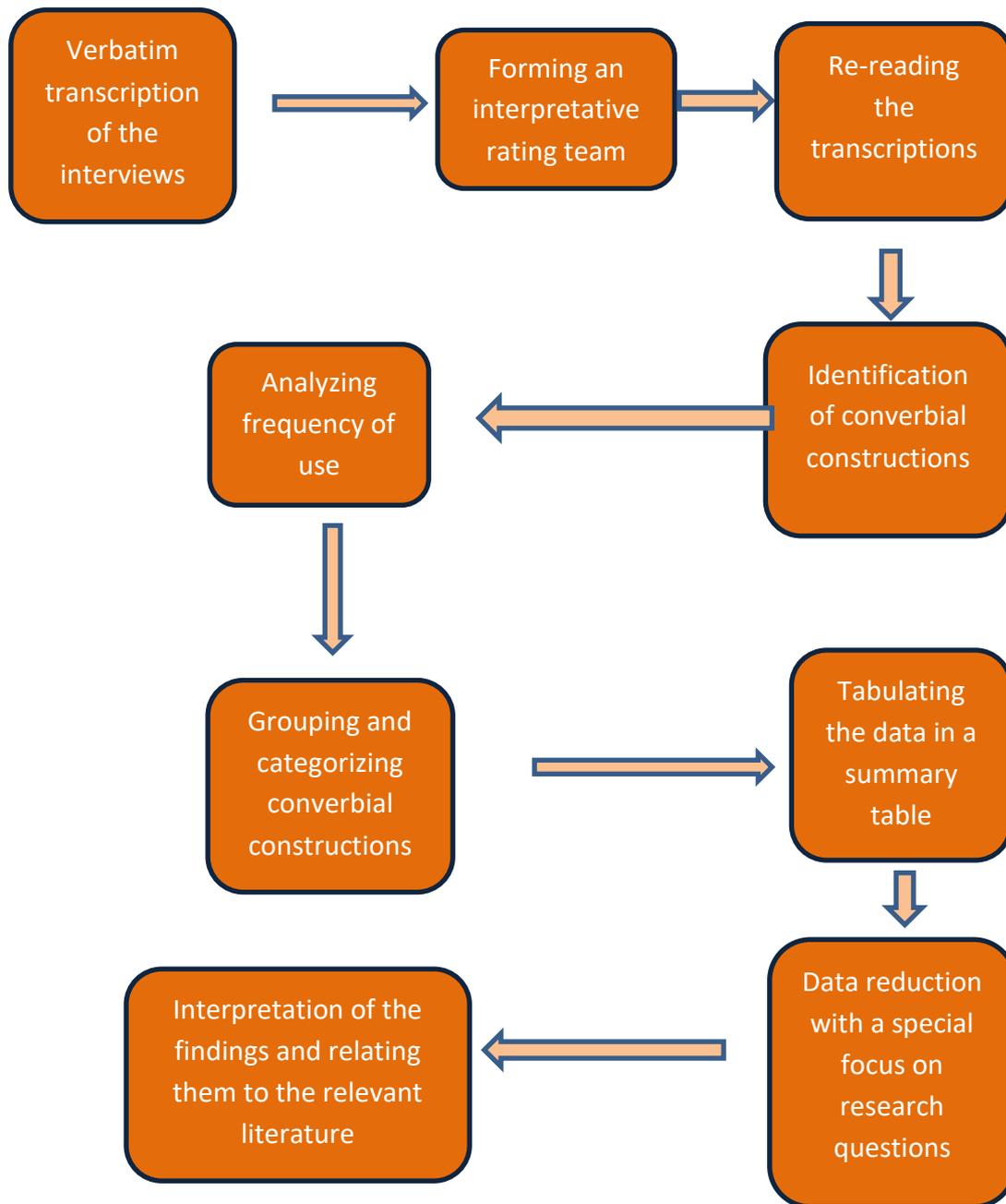
**Figure 13:** An example for rating and interpreting

Having discussed on the use of converb *-ken*, it became apparent to the raters that there seems to be a sign of “loosening” in using temporal converb *-ken* on the grounds that it generally “implements the characteristics of parallelism and/or contrast to the action expressed in the finite verb” (Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015, p. 494). However,

in this utterance, semantically speaking, a converb implementing a temporal serialisation of the actions of converb and finite verb is supposed to be utilized as presented in the following utterance: “Şimdi ona gel**ince**...”, which sounds more conventional in Turkey Turkish.

After discussing different ratings, at the following stage, the raters formed a table describing the morpho-syntactic and semantic features of converbial constructions utilized by the informants. These tables were supported with extracts from the interviews.

As the interpretative data analysis is cyclical rather than linear in nature, a number of iterative data interpretation stages in order to discuss the transcribed data as stated earlier in this chapter. Once the raters encountered any unconventionality in terms of the use of converbial constructions, they were analyzed against the earlier data, with a special focus on the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker corpus. Figure 14 shows the stages of data analysis utilized in the current research.



**Figure 14:** Stages of Data Analysis

### 3.7. Ethical Considerations

Prior to collecting data in the fieldwork, the researcher was well aware of the fact that he was supposed to apply to the Human Research Ethical Committee (İAEK) of METU in order to provide requirements for ethical issues. To do so, the researcher prepared a brief and concise proposal encompassing details about the research such as

the aim of the study, research questions, an estimated number of participants, data collection instruments and hypotheses. The researcher provided the information concentrating on as to how he would ensure that the research would be confidential and how he would avoid violation of any rights. The application that the researcher presented to IAEK was approved by the the Committee with the protocol number 112-ODTÜ-2019 (see Appendix F).

In addition to the approval of IAEK, in the course of data collection, the researcher prepared a consent form for all the heritage speakers of Turkish who participated in any data collection part stating that it was ensured that there would be no harm to their physical and psychological being. It was also emphasized that their personal names and identities would be kept secret. Instead of their real names, the researcher gave pseudo-names for each participant so that any act of violation of participants's rights would be reduced.

## CHAPTER 4

### DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

#### 4.0. Presentation

This chapter presents analysis of the data, interpretation of the findings in congruence with the research questions. The data analyses include *frequency of use* and *grammaticality judgment test results* (quantitative data), along with *the (un)conventional usage* (qualitative data) of converbial constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' language in comparison with data obtained from both the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers' and the monolingual Turkish speakers' sub-corpora.

#### 4.1. Data Analysis Procedure

To start with, all the database encompassing the monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker corpora are analyzed to mark all the converbial endings occurred in the data in order to identify the *frequency of use* of converbial categories, and to identify whether there is any statistically significant difference among the participant groups.

Next, the occurrences of the converbial constructions are thoroughly explored to analyze if there are morphosyntactic deviations from Standard Turkish. In case of deviations, such instances are exemplified and interpreted. In this phase, conventional and unconventional use of converbial endings are also identified by two raters. Unconventional usages of converbs are later examined to see whether they can be counted as traces of language change.

Finally, the data gathered from the grammaticality judgment task were analyzed in order to see whether there is any difference between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation of Dutch-Turkish bilingual and Turkish monolingual participants' perception of converbial endings.

## 4.2. The Data

This study which aims to investigate whether Turkish spoken in the Netherlands is subject to contact-induced language change is based on the data obtained from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers and the monolingual speakers encompassing three subcorpora. The converbial database comprises of (i) the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' subcorpus: **22.163** utterances, (ii) the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' subcorpus: **21.822** utterances, and (iii) the monolingual Turkish speakers' subcorpus: **23.125** utterances.

In order to answer the general research question, the following subquestion is investigated, which is, "Is there a statistical difference between the frequency of use of converbial constructions by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers and the monolingual Turkish speakers and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers?. In doing so, first of all, the overall data obtained from all converbial categories are analyzed, and the results are presented according to their semantic categories. The frequencies of all converbial categories produced by the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers, and Turkish monolinguals are quantified and tabulated according to their semantic categories. Following the presentation of the frequency of use of all converbial categories, percentages of these frequencies are calculated on the basis of the overall utterance numbers for each participant group (i.e. the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual, or monolingual Turkish).

Having illustrated the data, in order to examine whether there is a statistically significant difference among the frequencies of use of three speaker groups, the findings of One-Way ANOVA test are presented. Then, the distribution of frequencies and percentages of converbial categories are examined within each speaker subcorpus (the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals, and Turkish monolinguals), and the findings are tabulated accordingly. Finally, the distribution of (token) frequencies of use of converbial endings identified in each and every category are compared among three speaker groups. After the analysis of overall findings regarding converbial categories,

these phases are employed for the analysis of each converbial category, i.e. temporal, manner, etc. respectively.

#### **4.2.1. The Distribution of All Converbial Categories**

Since the study aims at investigating whether there is contact-induced language change in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker language concerning the converbial constructions, the frequency and percentage data obtained from the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers are presented, as the focus group, in the first row of each table. The second row belongs to the data gathered from the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers subcorpus, and monolingual speaker data are displayed in the third row.

To start with, the frequency of use of each converbial ending and converbial category in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals, and Turkish monolingual data utilized by all groups of speakers is quantified and the distribution is compared to the number of utterance for each group in total as presented in Table 27. *F* refers to the frequency of occurrences (tokens) in the data, and % refers to the number of occurrences per hundred utterances.

**Table 27.** The frequency of use of converbial constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals, and Turkish monolingual data

| Converbial form                      | Token Frequency         |                         |             |             | Frequency per hundred utterance |                      |               |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
|                                      | 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen. Tk | 1 <sup>st</sup> gen. Tk | mono Tk     | Σ           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen.            | 1 <sup>st</sup> gen. | Mono          |
| <i>-InA</i>                          | 69                      | 125                     | 263         | 457         | 0,3113                          | 0,5728               | 1,1372        |
| <i>-Ip</i>                           | 50                      | 93                      | 195         | 338         | 0,2256                          | 0,4261               | 0,8432        |
| <i>-ken</i>                          | 79                      | 117                     | 229         | 425         | 0,3564                          | 0,5361               | 0,9902        |
| <i>-DIK construction</i><br><i>s</i> | 32                      | 69                      | 151         | 252         | 0,1443                          | 0,3161               | 0,6529        |
| <b>Temporal total</b>                | <b>230</b>              | <b>404</b>              | <b>838</b>  | <b>1472</b> | <b>1,0377</b>                   | <b>1,8513</b>        | <b>3,6237</b> |
| <i>-ArAk</i>                         | 29                      | 117                     | 138         | 284         | 0,1308                          | 0,5361               | 0,5967        |
| <i>-mAdAn</i>                        | 32                      | 49                      | 46          | 127         | 0,1443                          | 0,2245               | 0,1989        |
| <i>-cAsInA</i>                       | 0                       | 1                       | 7           | 8           | 0                               | 0,0045               | 0,0302        |
| <i>-yA -yA</i>                       | 2                       | 3                       | 14          | 19          | 0,009                           | 0,0137               | 0,0605        |
| <b>Manner total</b>                  | <b>63</b>               | <b>170</b>              | <b>205</b>  | <b>438</b>  | <b>0,2842</b>                   | <b>0,7790</b>        | <b>0,8864</b> |
| <i>-mAk için</i>                     | 13                      | 15                      | 11          | 39          | 0,0586                          | 0,0687               | 0,0475        |
| <i>-mAyA</i>                         | 16                      | 22                      | 36          | 74          | 0,0721                          | 0,1008               | 0,1556        |
| <b>Purpose total</b>                 | <b>29</b>               | <b>37</b>               | <b>47</b>   | <b>113</b>  | <b>0,1342</b>                   | <b>0,1695</b>        | <b>0,2032</b> |
| <i>DIK Poss. Dan</i>                 | 9                       | 12                      | 10          | 31          | 0,0406                          | 0,0549               | 0,0432        |
| <i>DIK Poss. için</i>                | 17                      | 20                      | 19          | 56          | 0,0767                          | 0,0916               | 0,0821        |
| <i>DIK Poss. Dan dolayı</i>          | 4                       | 9                       | 11          | 24          | 0,018                           | 0,0412               | 0,0475        |
| <b>Causal total</b>                  | <b>30</b>               | <b>41</b>               | <b>40</b>   | <b>111</b>  | <b>0,135</b>                    | <b>0,187</b>         | <b>0,175</b>  |
| <i>DIK Pers. takdirde</i>            | 0                       | 0                       | 2           | 2           | 0                               | 0                    | 0,0086        |
| <i>eğer sA</i>                       | 93                      | 99                      | 107         | 299         | 0,4196                          | 0,4536               | 0,4627        |
| <b>Conditional total</b>             | <b>93</b>               | <b>99</b>               | <b>109</b>  | <b>301</b>  | <b>0,4196</b>                   | <b>0,4536</b>        | <b>0,4713</b> |
| <i>mAktAnsA</i>                      | 0                       | 0                       | 0           | 0           | 0                               | 0                    | 0             |
| <i>DIĞI kadar</i>                    | 0                       | 2                       | 7           | 9           | 0                               | 0,0091               | 0,0302        |
| <b>Degree total</b>                  | <b>0</b>                | <b>2</b>                | <b>7</b>    | <b>9</b>    | <b>0</b>                        | <b>0,0091</b>        | <b>0,0302</b> |
| <i>DIK Poss. yerde</i>               | 2                       | 2                       | 12          | 16          | 0,009                           | 0,0091               | 0,0518        |
| <i>nereye V.-Sa</i>                  | 1                       | 1                       | 1           | 3           | 0,0045                          | 0,0045               | 0,0043        |
| <b>Place total</b>                   | <b>3</b>                | <b>3</b>                | <b>13</b>   | <b>19</b>   | <b>0,0135</b>                   | <b>0,0137</b>        | <b>0,0475</b> |
| <i>V-Cond.+sA dA</i>                 | 3                       | 3                       | 11          | 17          | 0,0135                          | 0,0137               | 0,0475        |
| <i>mAsInA rağmen</i>                 | 2                       | 2                       | 0           | 4           | 0,009                           | 0,0091               | 0             |
| <i>-DIĞI halde</i>                   | 1                       | 3                       | 3           | 7           | 0,0045                          | 0,0137               | 0,0127        |
| <b>Concession total</b>              | <b>6</b>                | <b>8</b>                | <b>14</b>   | <b>28</b>   | <b>0,027</b>                    | <b>0,02</b>          | <b>0,06</b>   |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                         | <b>454</b>              | <b>764</b>              | <b>1273</b> | <b>2491</b> | <b>2,4433</b>                   | <b>3,9211</b>        | <b>5,9171</b> |

The overall results indicate that there was a difference in the frequencies of converbial items between the monolingual and the bilingual participants. The intergenerational analysis reveals that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual language (the heritage language) did not include converbial forms as much as the monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation speakers' languages did. Table 28 also reports the frequency of use of converbial constructions by the three groups of participants in terms of token frequencies and frequency per hundred utterance.

**Table 28.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of overall converbial types according to their (semantic) categories in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual, and the monolingual subcorpora

| Converbials      | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen Bilinguals |               | 1 <sup>st</sup> Gen Bilinguals |               | Monolinguals |               |
|------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
|                  | F                              | %             | F                              | %             | F            | %             |
| Temporal         | 230                            | 1,0377        | 404                            | 1,851         | 838          | 3,623         |
| Manner           | 63                             | 0,284         | 170                            | 0,779         | 205          | 1,8864        |
| Purpose & Result | 29                             | 0,1308        | 37                             | 0,1695        | 47           | 0,2032        |
| Causal           | 30                             | 0,013         | 41                             | 0,187         | 40           | 0,172         |
| Conditional      | 93                             | 0,419         | 99                             | 0,453         | 109          | 0,471         |
| Degree           | 0                              | 0             | 2                              | 0,091         | 7            | 0,030         |
| Place            | 3                              | 0,013         | 3                              | 0,013         | 13           | 0,056         |
| Concession       | 6                              | 0,027         | 8                              | 0,036         | 14           | 0,060         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>     | <b>454</b>                     | <b>2,0484</b> | <b>764</b>                     | <b>3,5010</b> | <b>1273</b>  | <b>5,5048</b> |

Table 28 indicates the figures of the distribution of the frequency of use of converbial constructions belonging to all semantic categories. The table shows that converbial constructions are detected more frequently in the baseline data obtained from the monolingual Turkish speakers with 1273 tokens corresponding to 5,504% in the distribution of monolingual total utterance figures (23,125 utterances). On the other hand, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals' subcorpus, it is found out that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers make use of 454 converbial markers in total, which is equal to 2,0484% within 22,163 utterances. The number of converbial constructions produced by the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers, however, stands between those of the monolingual and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers, that is,

they utilize 764 converbial endings within 21,822 utterances which corresponds to 3,5010%. Overall, these findings indicate that the frequencies of use of converbial constructions produced by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers differ from those of control group speakers, which might tell us that Turkish spoken by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers in the Netherlands is undergoing a contact-induced language change in terms of the frequency of use of converbial constructions.

In order to examine whether there is a statistically significant difference among the frequency of use of three groups for all converbial categories, a One-Way ANOVA test was used.

Table 29 illustrates the statistical analysis for the frequency of use of all converbial constructions in total provided by the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals and Turkish monolinguals.

**Table 29.** A one-way ANOVA results of the distribution of mean frequency of use of all converbial constructions

|              | <b>2nd Gen.</b> | <b>1st Gen.</b> | <b>Monolingual</b> | <b>Sig.</b> |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <b>Total</b> | .17<br>(.09)    | .31<br>(.08)    | .46<br>(.01)       | < .0001     |

*\*Standard deviations are presented in the parantheses.*

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to see whether there is a statistical mean frequency of use difference between the generational backgrounds and monolingual speakers. The results indicate that there is a statistically significant difference among the three groups ( $F(2, 32) = 52.946, p < .0001$ ). These results provide a positive answer to the research question:

Is there a difference between Turkish monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' use of converbial constructions in Turkish in terms of frequency of use?

One-way ANOVA result shows that the 1st generation bilingual speakers make less use of converbial constructions compared to Turkish monolingual speakers. This

result implies a difference in the use of converbial constructions between monolingual Turkish and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers. Likewise, One-Way ANOVA result also answers the following sub-question which is:

Is there a difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers' use of converbial constructions in terms of frequency?

According to the results of the one-way ANOVA, it is concluded that there is a statistically significant difference between the two generations, suggesting that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers appear to use remarkably less converbial constructions compared to the 1<sup>st</sup> generation speakers in the control group.

#### **4.2.2. The Distribution of Frequencies and Percentages of Converbial Categories within Each Speaker Subcorpus**

In addition to the distribution of frequency of all converbial categories and statistical analysis, the distribution of frequencies and percentages of converbial categories are examined within each speaker subcorpus (the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals, and Turkish monolinguals), and the findings are tabulated.

Table 30 indicates the distribution of converbial categories, and quantitative relationship between all converbial categories (temporal, manner-oriented, purpose-and-result-oriented, causal, conditional, degree-oriented, place-oriented and concession-oriented) for the three speaker group: the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals, and Turkish monolinguals. While horizontal axis in the tables refers to the number of occurrences of converbial endings identified in each converbial category (per hundred utterances), vertical axis refers to the speaker group, i.e. the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual, and Turkish monolingual speakers.

**Table 30.** The distribution of frequencies and percentages of temporal converbial category within each speaker subcorpus

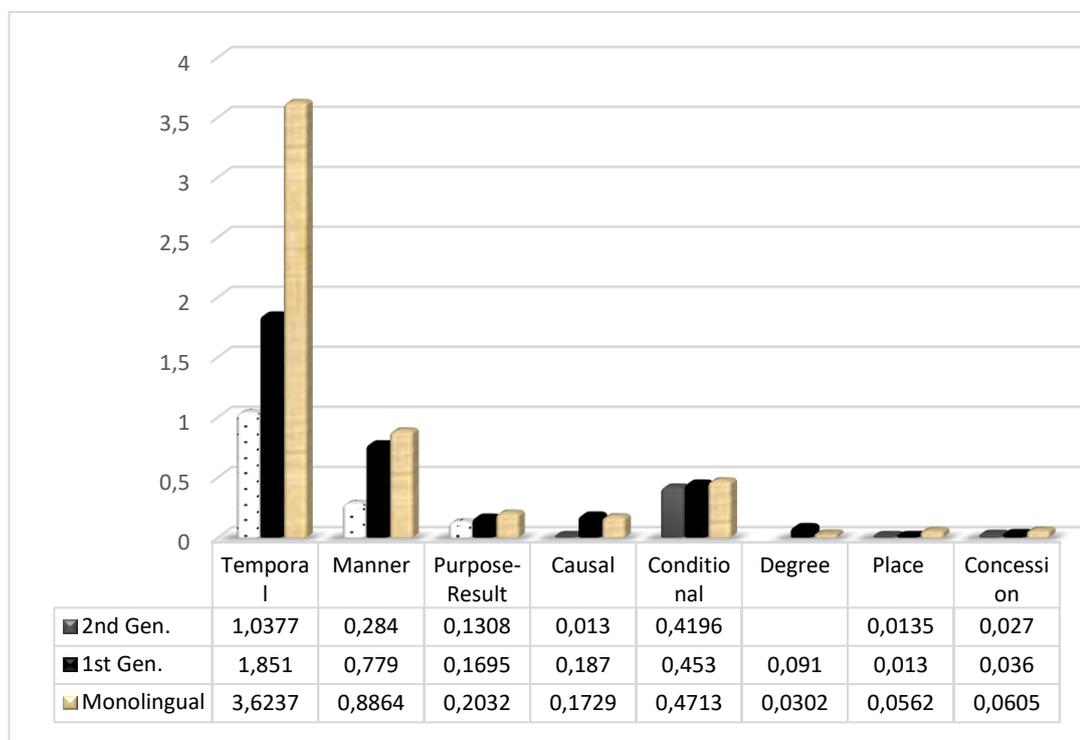
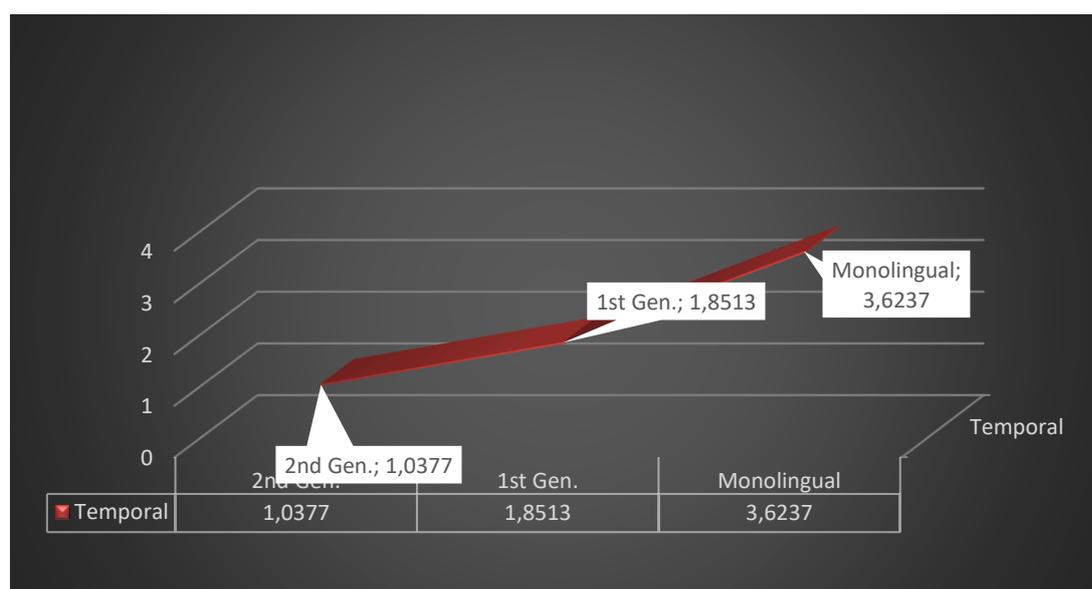


Table 30 illustrates the *frequency of use* of the types of converbial constructions in the three speaker groups' subcorpora. The table shows us that temporal converbial endings are used more than the other converbial endings in all speakers' subcorpora, *seriatim* 1,0377% (F=230) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker subcorpus, 1,8513% (F=404) in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speaker subcorpus, and 3,6237% (F=838) in Turkish monolingual speaker subcorpus. Table 30 shows that there is a difference in frequency of use in the temporal converbial constructions among the three groups. It is also evident that Turkish monolingual speakers make use of the temporal converbial endings remarkably more compared to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers. These results also indicate that there is a difference in the frequency of use of temporal converbial endings between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers and Turkish monolinguals.

#### 4.2.2.1. The Distribution of Frequencies of *Temporal* Converbial Construction among the Three Speakers' Subcorpora

Along with the distribution of the frequencies and percentages of all converbial categories explored among the three speakers' subcorpora (the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals, and Turkish monolinguals), the distribution of (token) frequencies of use of temporal converbial endings in temporal converbial category are compared among the three speaker groups in Figure.15. It should be once noted that while horizontal axis in the table refers to the number of occurrences of temporal converbial endings identified within each subcorpus (per hundred utterances), vertical axis refers to the distribution among the speaker group, i.e. the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual, and Turkish monolingual speakers.

**Figure 15.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of temporal converbial category among the three speaker groups,



The results indicate that there is a difference between the monolingual (3,6237% that corresponds to 838 occurrences), and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals' (1,8513% which is equal to 404 occurrences) use. When it comes to the intergenerational difference between the bilingual speaker groups, it appears that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish speakers remarkably use less temporal converbial constructions (1,0377% which means 230 tokens) compared to the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals' (1,8513%) in terms of token frequency.

Table 31 displays the statistical analysis of the frequency of use of temporal converbial category produced by the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals and Turkish monolinguals.

**Table 31.** The results of one-way ANOVA regarding the distribution of mean frequency of use of temporal converbial constructions

|              | <b>2nd Gen.</b> | <b>1st Gen.</b> | <b>Monolingual</b> | <b>Sig.</b> |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <b>Total</b> | .15<br>(.26)    | .17<br>(.05)    | .32<br>(.01)       | .031        |

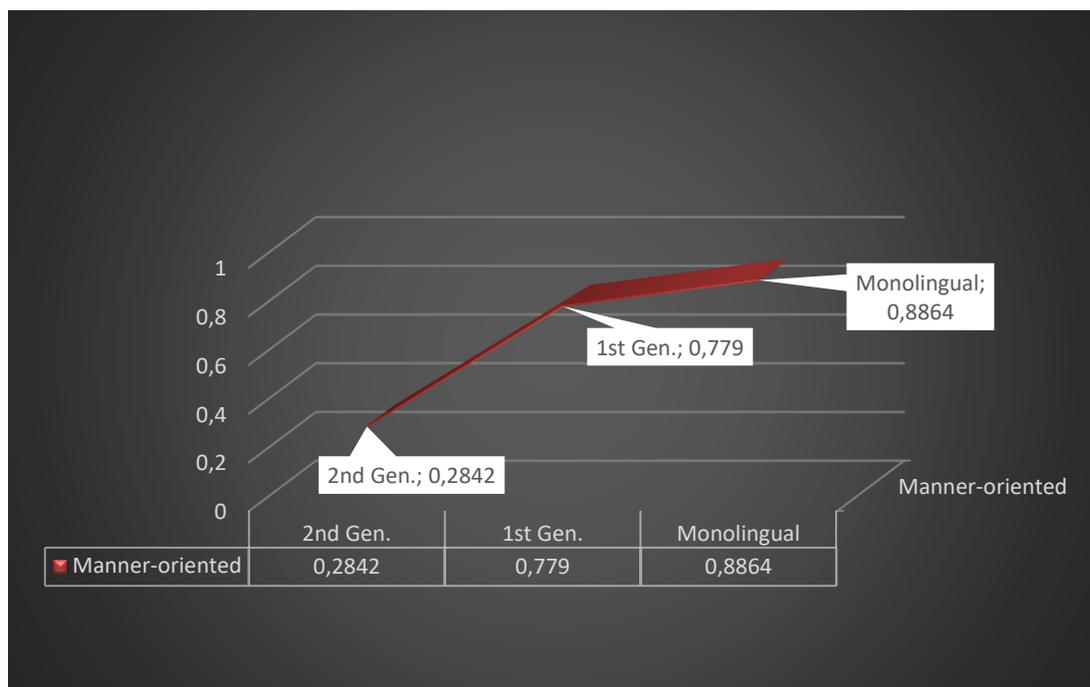
*\*Standard deviations are presented in the parantheses.*

The results of a one-way ANOVA reveal a statistically significant difference among the participant groups ( $F(2, 32) = 3.897, p = .031$ ).

These results show that there is a difference in the use of temporal converbial constructions between monolinguals and bilinguals. Furthermore, the bilingual speakers seem to use converbial constructions differently. It is evident that the heritage language does not include converbial endings as much as the monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers' languages do.

#### **4.2.2.2. The Distribution of Frequencies of *Manner-oriented* Converbial Constructions among the Three Speakers' Subcorpora**

Following the use of temporal converbial categories, the distribution of the frequencies and distribution of manner-oriented converbial category is presented in Figure 16.



**Figure 16.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of manner-oriented converbial category *among* the three speakers' groups

The results indicate that manner-oriented converbial constructions are also frequently used by three speaker groups: 0,2842% (F=63) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speaker subcorpus, 0,779% (F=170) in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speaker subcorpus, and 0,8864% (F=205) in Turkish monolingual speaker subcorpus. With respect to the distribution of frequency, these findings are compatible with those of the temporal converbial constructions in terms of the distribution of the number of occurrences among speaker groups. It is evident that there is a slight difference in the frequency of use of the manner-oriented converbial constructions between the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual data with 170 occurrences corresponding to 0,779% and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data 63 instances (0,2842%). It can be stated that the distribution of manner-oriented converbial endings across all three subcorpora is similar to that of temporal ones. However, this time frequential difference of the use of converbials between the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals and monolinguals is rather low compared to that of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals. These results point at a difference between monolingual and bilingual speakers' use of manner-oriented

converbial constructions. It is also obvious that there is an intergenerational difference between bilingual speakers.

As for the statistical analysis, Table 32 presents one-way ANOVA test results for the frequency of use of manner-oriented converbial construction use.

**Table 32.** The results of one-way ANOVA concerning the distribution of mean frequency of use of manner-oriented converbial constructions

|              | <b>2nd Gen.</b> | <b>1st Gen.</b> | <b>Monolingual</b> | <b>Sig.</b> |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <b>Total</b> | .02<br>(.02)    | .07<br>(.02)    | .07<br>(.002)      | < .0001     |

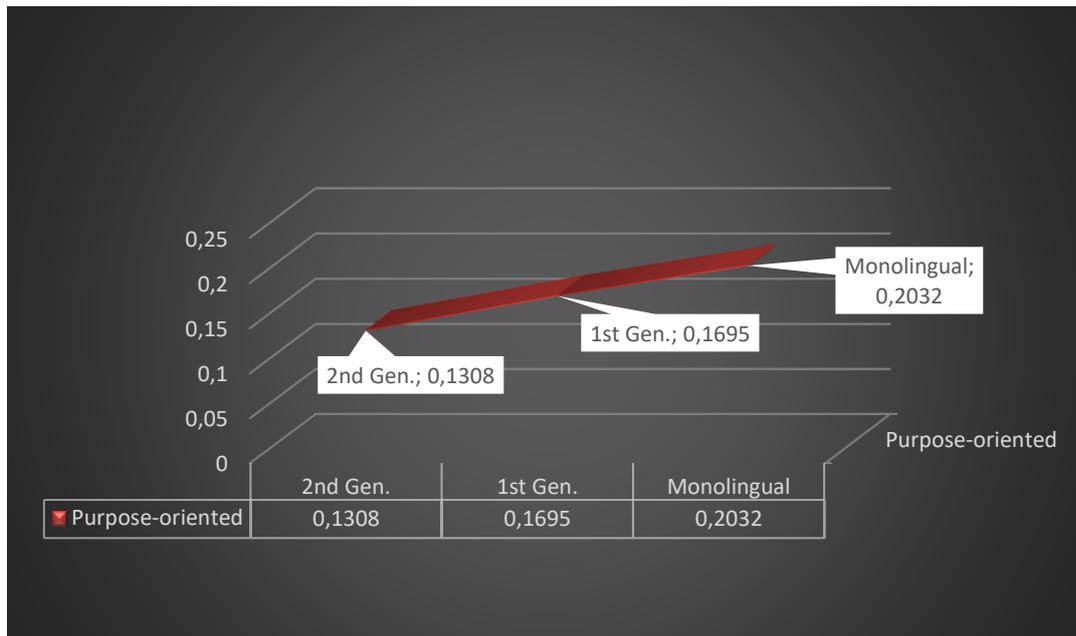
*\*Standard deviations are presented in the parantheses.*

The results of a one-way ANOVA regarding the mean frequency of use of manner-oriented converbial constructions display a statistically significant difference among the three groups ( $F(2, 32) = 39.466, p < .0001$ ).

These results show that there is a difference in the use of the manner-oriented converbial constructions between the monolinguals and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers. It is also evident that there is an intergenerational difference in terms of the *frequency of use*.

#### **4.2.2.3. The Distribution of Dreqencies of *Purpose-and-result-oriented* Converbial Constructions among the Three Subcorpora**

With regard to the purpose-and-result-oriented converbial category, the distribution of *frequencies* among the three speakers' subcorpora (the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals, and Turkish monolinguals) (per hundred utterances) is presented in Figure 17.



**Figure 17.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of purpose-and-manner-oriented converbial category *among* the three speaker groups

When the inter-group distribution of *frequency of use* of purpose-and-result-oriented converbial endings is analyzed, the following conclusion(s) can be drawn (Figure 17).

Turkish monolingual data include 47 occurrences (corresponding to 0,2032%) of manner-oriented converbial endings. When compared to the distribution of frequency in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals' data (0,1695; F=37), it is evident that the distribution of such constructions is higher in monolingual dataset. On the other hand, there is a slight difference in terms of the distribution of purpose-and-result-oriented converbial constructions in the 1<sup>st</sup> (0,1695%; F=37) and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (0,1308%; F=29) bilinguals' languages. In addition to the distribution of frequency of use of purpose-and-result oriented converbial endings, Table 33 present the statistical analysis.

**Table 33.** The results of one-way ANOVA regarding the distribution of mean frequency of use of purpose-and-result-oriented converbial constructions

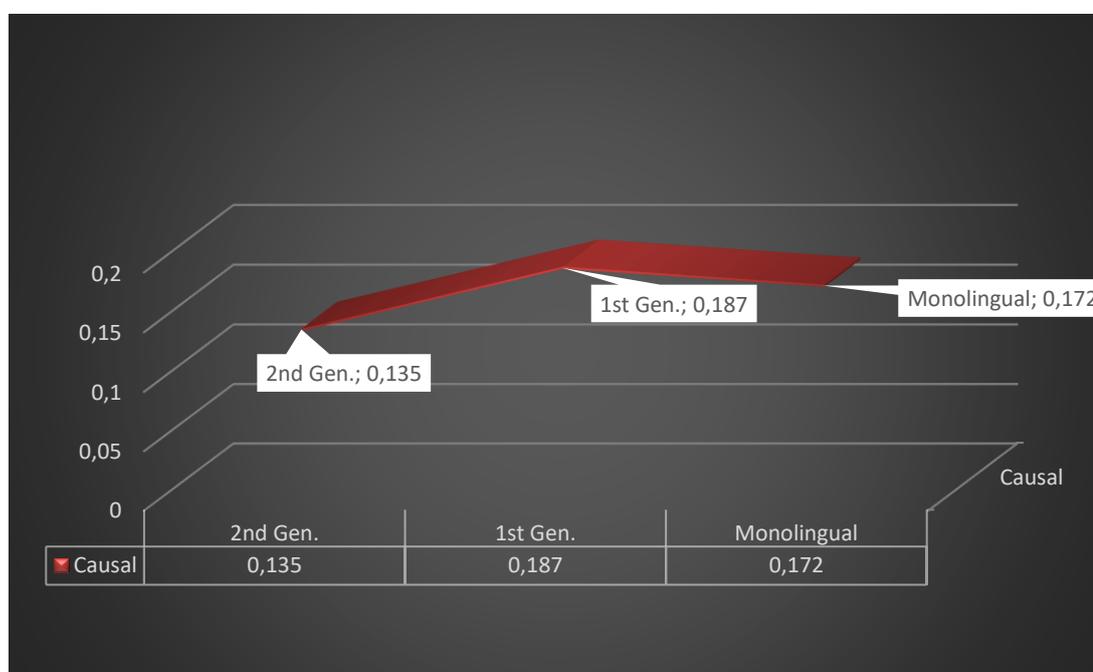
|              | 2nd Gen.     | 1st Gen.     | Monolingual   | Sig. |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------|
| <b>Total</b> | .01<br>(.02) | .02<br>(.01) | .02<br>(.001) | .285 |

\*Standard deviations are presented in the parantheses.

A one-way ANOVA is conducted to test whether there is a difference in the mean frequency of use of purpose-and-result oriented converbials between the tested groups. The results, however, yield non-significant difference among the three groups ( $F(2, 32) = 1.307, p = .285$ ).

#### 4.2.2.4. The Distribution of Frequencies of Causal Converbial Constructions among the Three Subcorpora

Concerning the causal converbial category, Figure 18 illustrates the distribution of frequencies among the three speaker subcorpora.



**Figure 18.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of causal converbial category among the three speaker groups

Concerning the distribution of causal converbial category, the findings show similarity with those of temporal, manner-oriented and purpose-and-result-oriented converbial constructions in the sense that there seems to be a difference between the monolingual (0,172%;  $F=47$ ) and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual (0,187%;  $F=41$ ) languages in terms of the distribution of the frequency. However, intergenerational analysis shows divergence in the distribution of causal converbial endings. The 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual language comprises relatively more causal converbial endings

(0,135%; F=30) than the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual language (0,187%; F=41). Furthermore, it seems that the group that makes the most use of these converbial ending types is again 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers.

Table 34 illustrates the statistical analysis for the frequency of use of causal converbial constructions utilized by the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals and Turkish monolinguals.

**Table 34.** The results of one-way ANOVA regarding the distribution of mean frequency of use of causal converbial constructions

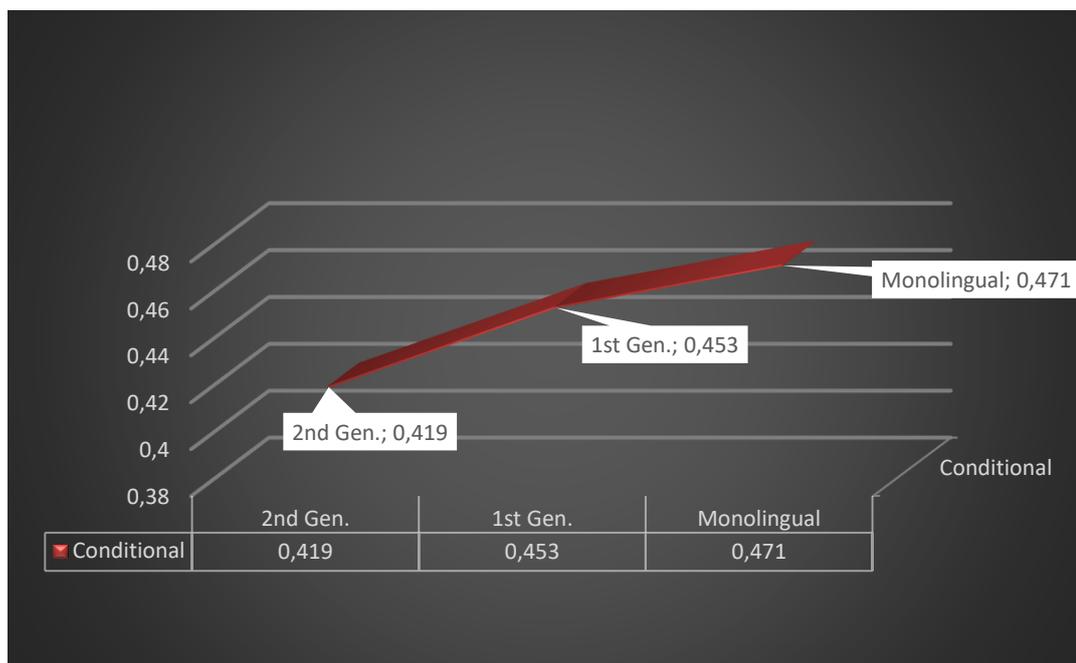
|              | <b>2nd Gen.</b> | <b>1st Gen.</b> | <b>Monolingual</b> | <b>Sig.</b> |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <b>Total</b> | .01<br>(.02)    | .02<br>(.004)   | .01<br>(.002)      | .309        |

*\*Standard deviations are presented in the parantheses.*

The results of a one-way ANOVA indicate that there is no statistically significant difference among the three participant groups regarding the mean frequency of use of causal converbials ( $F(2, 32) = 1.218, p = .309$ ).

#### **4.2.2.5. The Distribution of Frequencies of *Conditional* Converbial Constructions among the Three Speaker Subcorpora**

The distribution of frequencies and distribution of conditional converbial category is displayed in Figure 19.



**Figure 19.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of conditional converbial category among the three speaker groups

The findings reveal that there is a difference regarding the token frequency between the monolingual (0,471% that corresponds to 109 occurrences), and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals' (0,453% which equals to 99 occurrences) use. The data also indicate that there is an intergenerational difference between the bilingual speaker groups. While the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish speakers utilize 93 conditional converbial constructions which correspond to 0,419% of inter-group distribution, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual language data encompass 99 occurrences (0,453%). These results show a slight difference in the use of conditional converbial constructions between the monolingual and the bilingual speakers. There is an intergenerational difference between the bilingual speaker groups. It should also be emphasized that all speaker groups regardless of their backgrounds seem to make use of conditional converbial constructions extensively high. One reason might be related to the fact that there is no other way to form conditional constructions other than using non-finite converbial structures in Turkish. Table 35 presents one-way ANOVA test results for the frequency of use of conditional converbial construction use.

**Table 35.** The results of a one-way ANOVA regarding the distribution of mean frequency of use of conditional converbial constructions

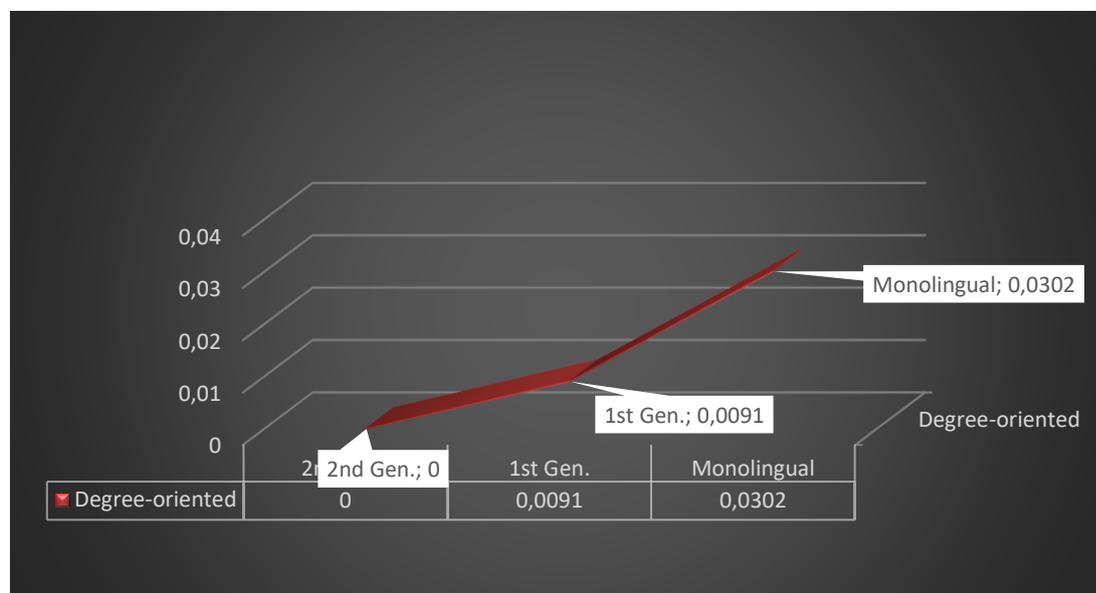
|              | 2nd Gen.     | 1st Gen.      | Monolingual   | Sig. |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|------|
| <b>Total</b> | .03<br>(.03) | .04<br>(.005) | .04<br>(.001) | .480 |

\*Standard deviations are presented in the parantheses.

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to see whether there is a statistical difference between the generational backgrounds and monolingual speakers. The results indicate that there is no significant difference between groups ( $F(2, 32) = .752, p = .480$ ).

#### 4.2.2.6. The Distribution of Frequencies of *Degree-oriented* Converbial Constructions among the Three Speaker Subcorpora

Regarding the degree-oriented converbial category, the distribution of frequencies among the three speaker subcorpora (the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals, and Turkish monolinguals) is displayed in Figure 20.



**Figure 20.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of degree-oriented converbial category among the three speaker groups

The findings show that there is no degree-oriented converbial ending use and occurrence in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers' subcorpus (0%;

F=0). Moreover, it is evident that there is a difference in the use of degree-oriented converbial constructions between Turkish monolingual speaker data (0,0302% which corresponds to 7 occurrences) and that of the 1st generation bilinguals (0,0091% that is equal to 2 occurrences). It should be stated here degree-oriented converbial endings are only used by participants in the control groups in the study.

As for the statistical analysis, Table 36 shows one-way ANOVA test results for the frequency of use of manner-oriented converbial construction use.

**Table 36.** The results of a one-way ANOVA concerning the distribution of mean frequency of use of degree-oriented converbial constructions

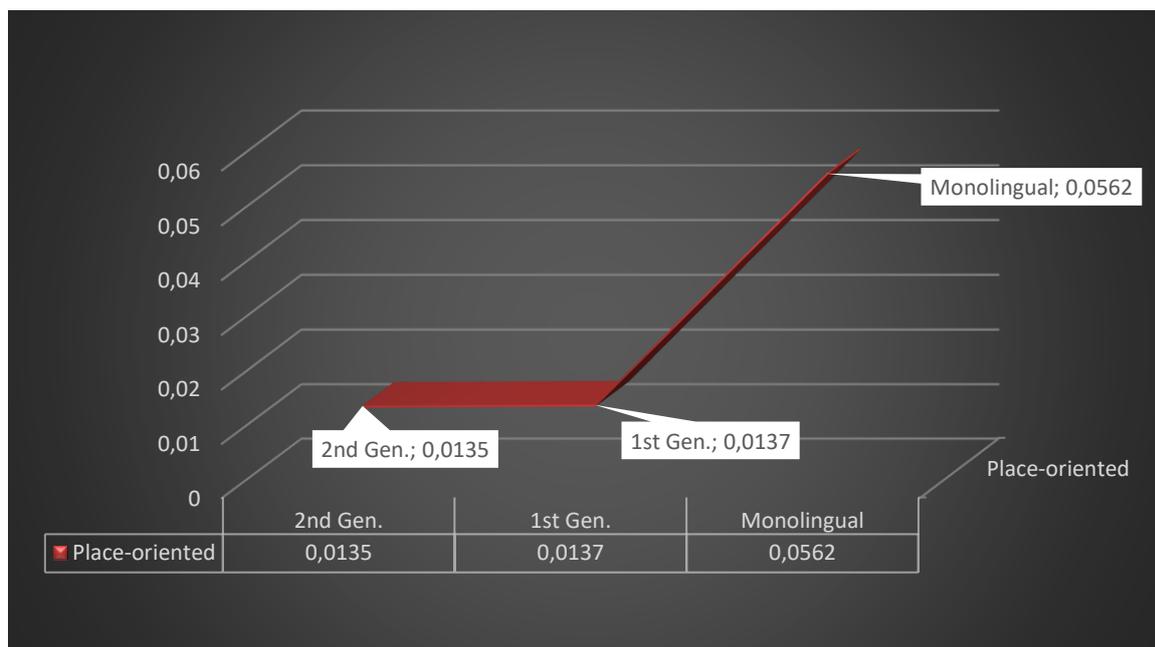
|              | <b>2nd Gen.</b> | <b>1st Gen.</b> | <b>Monolingual</b> | <b>Sig.</b> |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <b>Total</b> | 0<br>(-)        | .001<br>(.003)  | .003<br>(.002)     | .015        |

*\*Standard deviations are presented in the parantheses.*

A one-way ANOVA is conducted to see whether there is a statistical difference between the generational backgrounds and monolingual speakers. The results indicate that there is no significant difference between groups ( $F(2, 32) = 4.845, p = .015$ ).

#### **4.2.2.7. The Distribution of Frequencies of *Place-oriented* Converbial Constructions among the Three Speakers' Subcorpora**

Concerning the place-oriented converbial category, the distribution of frequencies among the three speaker subcorpora is illustrated in the following figure.



**Figure 21.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of place-oriented converbial category among the three speaker groups

The results reveal that there is a difference in the use of place-oriented converbial constructions between the Turkish monolinguals (0,0562% which corresponds to 13 occurrences), and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals (0,0137% which is equal to 3 occurrences) use. When it comes to the intergenerational difference between the bilingual speaker groups, it appears that the occurrence of place-oriented converbial constructions is equally distributed, that is, both groups make use of only 3 place-oriented converbial endings. On the other hand, there is a difference concerning the use of place-oriented converbial constructions between the monolingual and bilingual groups. Table 37 presents one-way ANOVA test results for the frequency of use of place-oriented converbial construction use.

**Table 36.** The results of a one-way ANOVA concerning the distribution of mean frequency of use of place-oriented converbial constructions

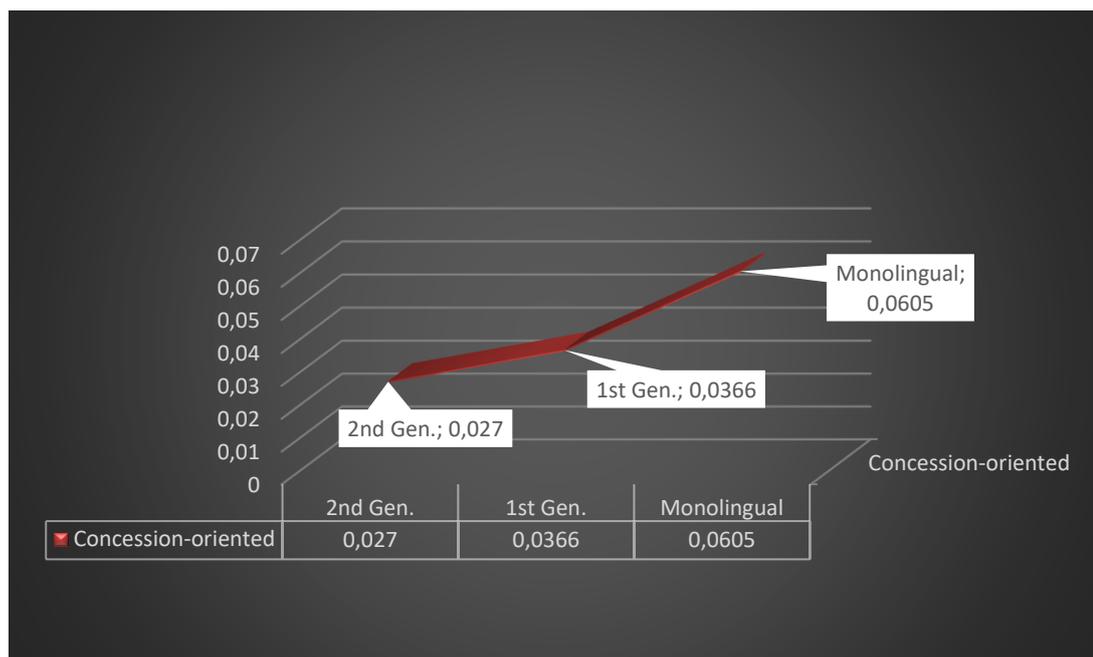
|              | 2nd Gen.       | 1st Gen.       | Monolingual    | Sig. |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------|
| <b>Total</b> | .001<br>(.004) | .001<br>(.003) | .004<br>(.003) | .034 |

\*Standard deviations are presented in the parantheses.

The results show that there is a statistically significant difference between the groups: ( $F(2, 32) = 3.761, p = .034$ ). These results indicate that there is a difference in the use of place-oriented converbial constructions between the monolingual and the bilinguals. The monolinguals make use of such constructions remarkably more compared to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals speakers’.

#### 4.2.2.8. The Distribution of Frequencies of Concession-oriented Converbial Constructions among the Three Speakers’ Subcorpora

When it comes to the concession-oriented converbial category, the distribution of frequencies within each speaker subcorpus (the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals, and Turkish monolinguals) is given in Figure 22.



**Figure 22.** The distribution of frequencies and percentages of concession-oriented converbial category among the three speakers’ subcorpora

The results show that the percentage of use and token frequencies of these constructions in both the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers’ database are 0,0270%, and 0,0366% respectively. In this category, the monolingual speakers’ distribution appears to be higher than the bilingual groups with 14 occurrences corresponding to 0,0605% are detected.

Table 38 illustrates the statistical analysis for the frequency of use of concession-oriented converbial constructions produced by the three participant groups.

**Table 38.** The results of a one-way ANOVA regarding the distribution of mean frequency of use of concession-oriented converbial constructions

|              | <b>2nd Gen.</b> | <b>1st Gen.</b> | <b>Monolingual</b> | <b>Sig.</b> |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <b>Total</b> | .002<br>(.007)  | .003<br>(.005)  | .005<br>(.002)     | .359        |

*\*Standard deviations are presented in the parantheses.*

The results indicate that there is no statistically significant difference among the groups: ( $F(2, 32) = 1.057$ ,  $p = .359$ ). These results show that the three participant groups seem to use these constructions similarly, which also indicates that there is no intergenerational difference in the frequency of use of these converbials.

Overall, when the data analysis of frequency of use of converbial categories among the three speaker groups are concerned, the frequency of use of converbial constructions produced by both the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual groups diverge from that of the monolingual Turkish speaker group. Furthermore, intergenerational analysis indicates that there appears to be a difference with regard to the frequency in most of the converbial construction use in the sense that converbial constructions are remarkably less frequent in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speech. These findings imply an ongoing language change in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual language.

Having focused on the overall distribution of *frequency of use* of all converbial categories, each and every category will be dealt with in accordance with the research questions, and explores the *frequency of use of* converbial endings utilized by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers, in comparison with data from both the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers' and the monolingual Turkish speakers' sub-corpora. After presenting the distribution of frequency of use of each converbial ending, the frequency of unconventional usages are displayed in order to see whether there is any difference among speaker groups. Since the focus of the current study is the analysis of the divergent forms of converbial constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation

bilingual speech, the unconventional usages are exemplified with excerpts for usage-based analysis.

### 4.3. Temporal Converbial Endings

Since one of the most frequently-used converbial category in the present data is temporal converbial endings, the analysis will start with the types of temporal converbial endings. Token frequency is analyzed, and the findings are tabulated in order to analyze whether there is any difference in terms of frequency of use among speaker types (i.e. the monolinguals, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals). Table 39 illustrates the distribution of *frequency of use* of temporal converbial endings in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish.

**Table 39.** Temporal converbial endings –*Inca*, –*Ip*, –*ken*, and –*DIK*- constructions in the three speakers’ corpora; horizontal axis: speaker group, vertical axis: number of occurrences (per hundred utterances)

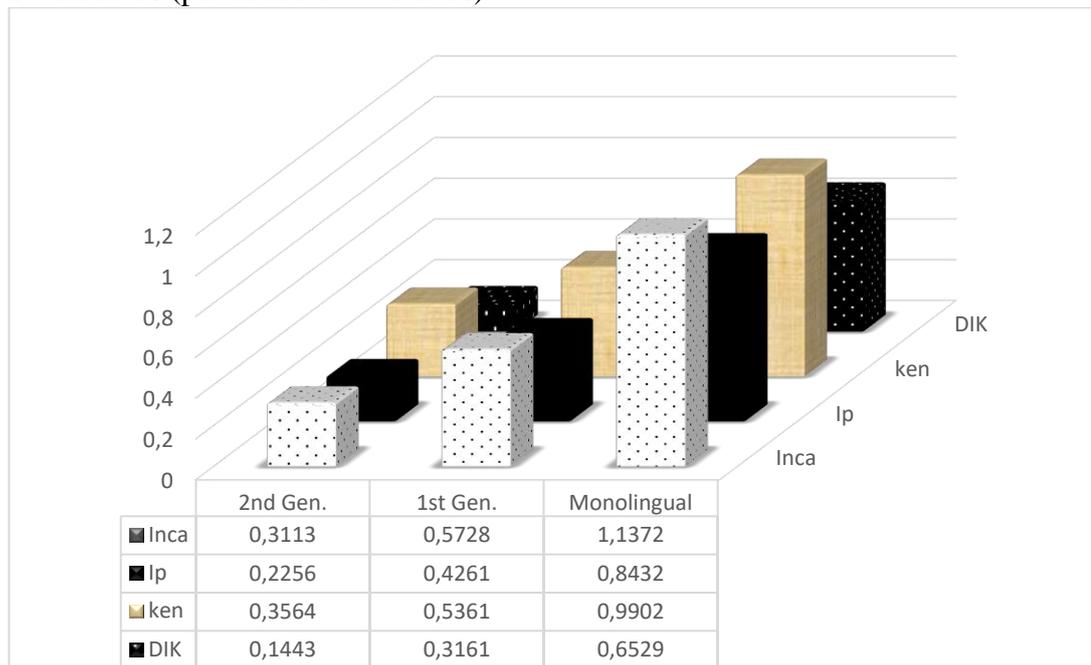


Table 39 presents the distribution of temporal converbial endings. It is seen that the simplex converbial constructions formed with only one converbial ending such as –*Inca* and –*Ip* occur more than the complex converbial endings i.e. –*ken*, –*DIK.Poss.* (*zaman*, etc.), –*DIKça*, –*DIK-Pers.-Da*, etc. in all types of speaker subcorpora.

Temporal converbial constructions formed with simplex temporal converbial endings *-IncA* and *-Ip* encompass 0,5369% (F=119) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation subcorpus, 0,9989% (F=218) in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation subcorpus, and 1,9804% (F=458) in Turkish monolingual subcorpus. On the other hand, the distribution of morphosyntactically complex converbial endings is as follows: 0,5007% (F=111) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation subcorpus, 0,8522% (F=186) in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation subcorpus, and 1,6431% (F=380) in Turkish monolingual subcorpus. It can be concluded from the findings that the distribution of the frequencies of simplex and complex converbial constructions are more or less equally distributed compared to those of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals, and Turkish monolingual speakers. In addition, it is seen that while a morphosyntactically complex converbial ending *-ken* is the most frequently-used construction 0,3564% (F=79) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data, a simplex converbial ending *-IncA* is used by far the most frequently by both Turkish monolingual 1,1372% (F=263) and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers 0,5728% (F=125). Analysis of each converbial ending in the temporal converbial category reveals that not all temporal converbial constructions used in the subcorpora are conventional. Thus, the unconventional usages are analyzed in three speaker subcorpora. This quantitative analysis primarily aims at marking (un)conventionality of the converbials. When converbial constructions are identified by the raters, they are also coded either as conventional or unconventional. Table 40 presents the token frequency of use of unconventional usages of temporal converbial constructions:

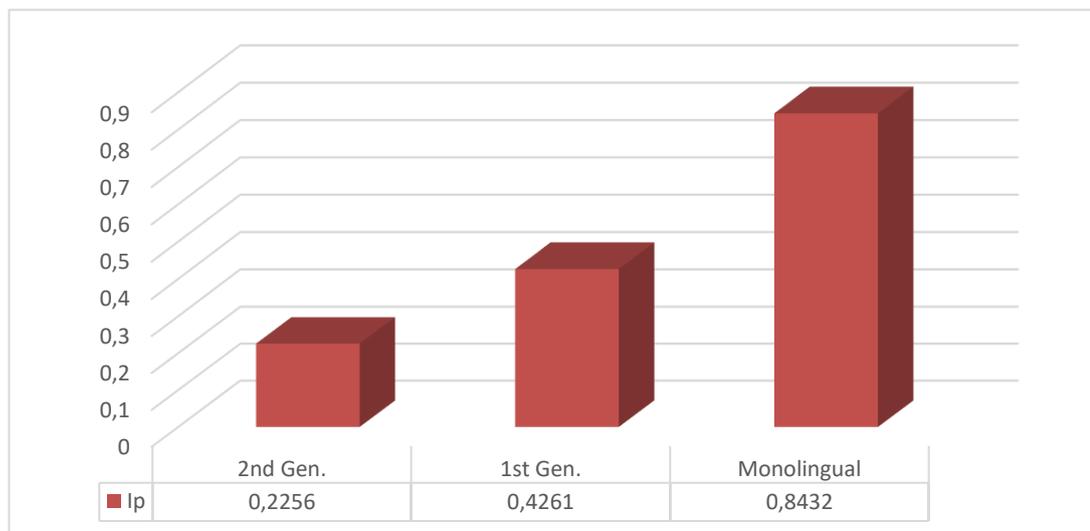
**Table 40.** The *frequency of unconventional usages* of temporal converbial endings among the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals, and the monolingual speakers' subcorpora

| Temporal Converbials      | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen Bilinguals |             | 1 <sup>st</sup> Gen Bilinguals |             | Monolingual speakers |             |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|
|                           | Conv. (F)                      | Unconv. (F) | Conv. (F)                      | Unconv. (F) | Conv. (F)            | Unconv. (F) |
| <i>-IncA</i>              | 66                             | 3           | 123                            | 2           | 263                  | 0           |
| <i>-Ip</i>                | 53                             | 5           | 93                             | 0           | 195                  | 0           |
| <i>-ken</i>               | 77                             | 2           | 117                            | 0           | 229                  | 0           |
| <i>-DIK constructions</i> | 31                             | 1           | 69                             | 0           | 151                  | 0           |
| <b>Total</b>              | 227                            | 11          | 402                            | 2           | 838                  | 0           |

As for the conventionality of the converbial constructions used produced by the three speaker groups, as indicated in Table 40, the raters' evaluation shows that all temporal converbial constructions used by Turkish monolingual speakers are conventional. In the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker subcorpus except for two instances all other uses of temporal converbial constructions are marked as conventional by the raters. However, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data show a different picture. That is, eleven out of 11 usages of temporal converbial endings are coded as unconventional.

#### 4.3.1. *-Ip*: Frequency of Use

*-Ip*, is a morphosyntactically simplex temporal converbial ending, a simplex subordinator, and it “implements the characteristics of a drift, a (plot) advancement (Johanson 1994) towards the action expressed in the finite verb; the implementation is specified according to features of a goal, an orientation, or a successful accomplishment towards the finite verb” (Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015, p. 494). Along with *-Inca*, it is evident from Table 45 that it is one of the most frequently-used converbial ending in temporal category. However, as can be followed from the Figure 23, the *frequency of use* of this converbial ending is not equally distributed among the three subcorpora.



**Figure 23.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Ip*

Figure 23 displays that Turkish monolingual speakers make more use of constructions formed with the simplex converbial ending *-Ip* (F=195) with a ratio of 0,8432% while only 50 *-Ip* occurrences are identified in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' subcorpus, corresponding to 0,2256% within the distribution. The *frequency of use* of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker use remains in medio, 0,4261% which corresponds to 93 occurrences of *-Ip* constructions. One of the reasons behind the high number of *-Ip* converbial ending use might be due to its tendency to semantically fuse with the matrix construction, as stated by Johanson (1995). Since the base segment and the converb segment both have a single actanti, semantic fusion becomes stronger as the infusion of linguistic elements and units between the base and converb segments is mostly restricted, indicating “a tendency towards lexicalization” (*ibid.*, p. 315), as in Example (49):

- |      |                       |          |      |                      |      |
|------|-----------------------|----------|------|----------------------|------|
| (49) | <b>yak-<i>ip</i></b>  | yık-     | (50) | <b>gel-<i>ip</i></b> | git- |
|      | burn-CONV             | demolish |      | come-CONV            | go   |
|      | <i>'to devastate'</i> |          |      | <i>'to visit'</i>    |      |

In addition to that, the temporal converbial ending *-Ip* has a highly duplicated and repetitive nature. As can be seen in the example (51) below, *-Ip* is repetitively and productively used in order to emphasize the meaning, and implicate the serialization of actions.

- |      |  |               |                |                |                    |               |
|------|--|---------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------|
| (51) | Ali  | al- <i>ip</i> | sav- <i>ip</i> | sat- <i>ip</i> | elin-de-ki-ler-i   | kaybet-ti.    |
|      | Ali  | take-CONV.    | get off-CONV.  | sell-CONV.     | hand-POSS.PL.-ACC. | lose.Past.3sg |
|      | <i>'Ali lost all he got by selling and getting out of hand.'</i> |               |                |                |                    |               |

Figure 24 exemplifies an occurrence of consecutive and repetitive usage of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Ip* from Turkish monolingual speech production subcorpus.

(312)

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>TM-5</b> [O zamanlar biz sadece eldekini <i>yiyip içip</i> affedersin <i>sıçıp</i> ]yaşıyoduk.<br><b>TM-5[TL]</b> that time.Pl. we well eat-CONV. drink-CONV. forgive-OPT.2PSg. poop-CONV. live.Prs.Prog.PST.1PPl<br><b>TM-5[Eng]</b> <i>Those times we only enjoyed our lives, eating, drinking and lying down.</i> |   |
| <b>TM-8</b><br><b>TM-8[TL]</b><br><b>TM-8[Eng]</b>  | Öyleydi ((güler))<br>same.PST.3.PSg.<br><i>You are right!</i> |

(313)

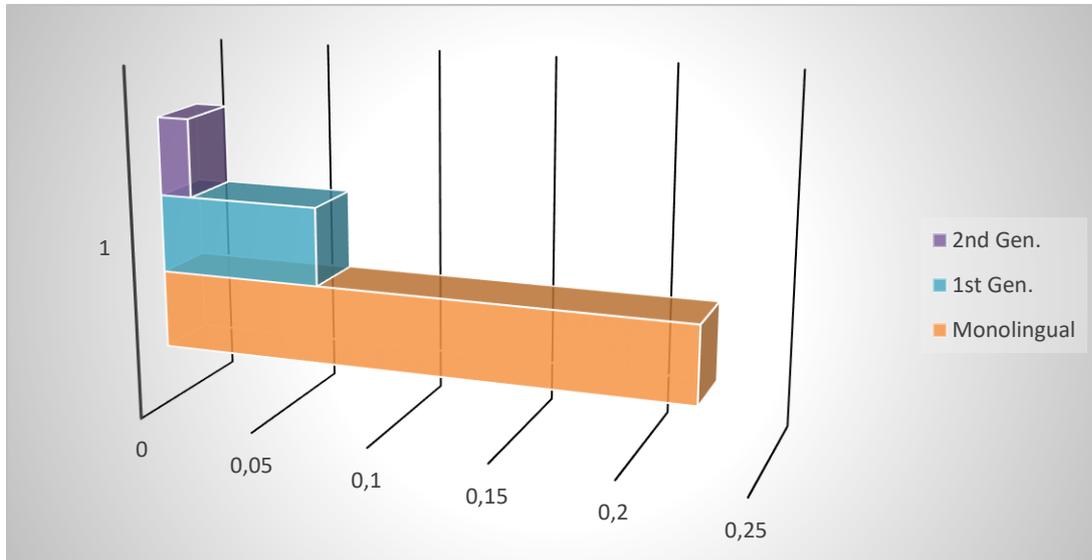
|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>TM-5</b> Kimse de demiyodu ki [ <i>satıp</i> ] savmayın argadaş!<br><b>TM-5[TL]</b> ring-ACC. how take out.PST.3PSg there<br><b>TM-5[Eng]</b> <i>How did he take the ring out there?</i> |   |
| <b>TM-8</b><br><b>TM-8[TL]</b><br><b>TM-8[Eng]</b>  | [Biz hazırı <i>yiyip içip</i> ] zebil ettik annıcan.<br>we ready-ACC. eat-CONV. drink-CONV. waste-PST.1PPl. get.Fut.2PSg.<br><i>We wasted everything, as you can guess.</i> |

**Extract 1.** An extract of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Ip* in Turkish monolingual speaker (sub)corpus (TMSC)

As indicated in the extract above, Turkish monolingual speaker TM-8 talks about his indifference towards life at a specific point in his personal history. In order to make himself clear, he prefers to use some lexicalized items constructed with converbial ending *-Ip* in a sequence [*biz sadece eldekini [yiyip içip affedersin sıçıp]*] (We only enjoyed our lives, by eating, drinking what we have, and -forgive me- lying down). This sort of *serialization of -Ip converb* (i.e. *triplet converbial construction* in this sample) is quite common in monolingual database.

In addition, there are also a considerable number of *-Ip doubling* constructions in the same dataset, e.g. *gelip gidip baş ağrı-* (to be a jerk), *yatıp kalkıp dua et-* (to be grateful), *dönüp dolaşip geri gel-* (to come back to the fold) *etc.* In this regard when the database including all sorts of subcorpora are scanned through in terms of *-Ip doubling*, the findings indicate that such constructions are mostly used by Turkish monolingual speakers and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals.

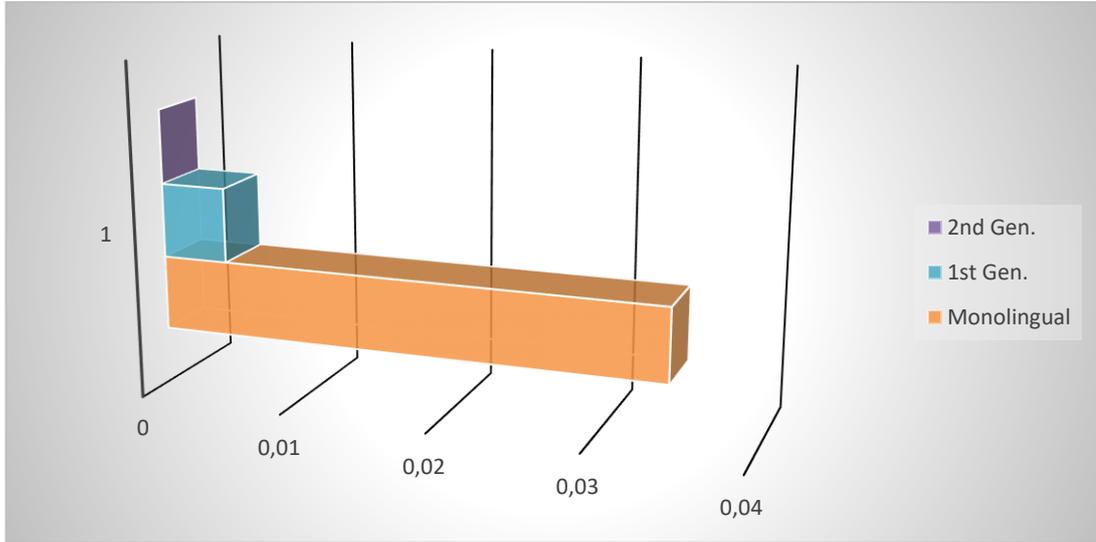
Figure 24 illustrates the distribution of frequency of temporal *-Ip doublings* among the three speaker groups.



**Figure 24.** The distribution of *-Ip doublings* in datasets

Figure 24 reports that comparative analysis between Turkish monolingual speakers (0,2248%, corresponding to 52 occurrences) and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals (0,0687%; F=15) shows a difference in terms of the distribution of *-Ip doubling constructions*. However, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual subcorpus, only 3 instances of *-Ip doublings* are identified which correspond to only 0,0135%. The findings reveal that there seems to be a difference in the distribution of *-Ip doublings* between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speech and the control group data.

More interestingly, when it comes to *the serialization of (triplet) converbialization*, the results of the distribution of frequency of use differ from one another in terms of comparative analysis between speaker groups, as shown in Figure 25 below.



**Figure 25.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of the *serialization of -Ip* among datasets

Comparative analysis shows that there is an apparent difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals' and the monolinguals' frequency of use of *triplet converbialization* (0,0345%, corresponding to 8 instances). The 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers' utterances encompassing converbial constructions are conventional to a great extent, as can be seen in Table 46. Extract 2 presents an extract taken from the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker subcorpus exemplifying a conventional use of *-Ip*.

(38)

**DTB-4** Ben Albert Heijn'a gittim taam mı o gün? *Boodschappen* için.  
**DTB-4[TL]** I Albert Heijn-DAT. go.PST.1PSg. ok INT.Part. that day shopping for  
**DTB-4[Eng]** *I went to Albert Heijn that day OK? For shopping.*

(39)

**DTB-4** *Goudse kaas* istiyo canı, hamile ya! [Ben *kaası alıp*] geldim.  
**DTB-4[TL]** Gouda cheese want-Prs.Prog.3PSg. soul-POSS. pregnant INTj. I cheese-ACC. buy-CONV. come.PST.3PS  
**DTB-4[Eng]** *She desires Gouda as she is pregnant. I bought it and came home.*

(40)

|  |
|--|
| <b>DTB-4</b> Eve girdim ki ne göreyim: bu bayılmış!<br><b>DTB-4 [TL]</b> house-DAT. enter.PST.1PSg. that what see-OPT.1PSg. that faint-INF.3PSg.<br><b>DTB-4 [Eng]</b> <i>When I entered home, I saw that she had fainted.</i> |
|--|

**Extract 2.** An extract of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Ip* in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (DTBSC)

The converbial construction [*Ben kaası alıp*] (After/In buying the cheese) in score area (39) shows a strong morphosyntactic (syntagmatic) relation with the matrix construction *geldim* (I came). The finite predicate comes immediately after the converbial ending *-Ip* construction as in the following example: *Ben kaası alıp geldim* (I bought the cheese and came home). The converbial construction strengthens the syntagmatic relation with the predicate, thereby leading to the conclusion that at least some 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers use converbial ending *-Ip* as Turkish monolingual speakers do. In spite of the fact that there are code-switched lexical items in the utterance, the syntagmatic relation is similar to the monolingual Turkish utterances in terms of the employment of discourse connectivity devices.

As for the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' use of converbial ending *-Ip*, usages show divergence from those of Turkish monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation in discourse. An example displaying divergence and unconventionality for *-Ip* construction is presented in Extract 3:

(326)

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>THS-10</b> <i>Ee moederdag vardı, annem bir koffiezetapparaat beğenmişti ya</i><br><b>THS-10[TL]</b> mothersday be.PST.3PSg. mum-POSS. a coffee machine like-PST.3PSg<br><b>THS-10[Eng]</b> <i>Mother's day was approaching, and mum liked a coffee machine u know.</i> |   |
| <b>THS-3</b><br><b>THS-3[TL]</b><br><b>THS-3[Eng]</b>  | <i>Grijs vardı o mu?</i><br>grey be.PST.3PSg. that Int. Part.<br><i>Is that the grey one?</i> |

(327)

|  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| <b>THS-10</b> <i>Ja, de grijze. [Ben onu ee al- • alıp] en şey eve geri döndüm.</i>                  |                          |
| <b>THS-10[TL]</b> yes the grey I that-ACC. take take-CONV. and well house-DAT. back return.PST.1PSg. |                          |
| <b>THS-10[Eng]</b> <i>Yes, grey one. I bought it and returned home.</i>                              |                          |
| <b>THS-3</b>   | <i>Was moeder thuis?</i> |
| <b>THS-3[TL]</b>   | be.PST.3PSg. mum home    |
| <b>THS-3[Eng]</b>  | <i>Was mum home?</i>     |

(328)

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>THS-10</b> <i>Nee, ze had een afspraak. Ben biliyodum • şey afspraakı vardı.</i>                             |  |
| <b>THS-10[TL]</b> no she have.PST.3PSg. an appointment I know.Prog.Pst. 1PSg. well appointment-ACC. be.PST.3Sg. |  |
| <b>THS-10[Eng]</b> <i>No, she had an appointment. I had known that she had an appointment.</i>                  |  |

**Extract 3.** An extract of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Ip* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

This extract presents an instance of the usage of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Ip* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual subcorpus. Here, interlocutors talk about buying a present, a coffee machine which their mother liked. In Turkey Turkish, as emphasized earlier in this section, there is a strong syntagmatic relationship between simplex non-finite converbial ending *-Ip* and the matrix clause as exemplified in Example 52:

|      |   |           |             |            |        |                  |
|------|---|-----------|-------------|------------|--------|------------------|
| (52) | Ben                                     | o-nu      | al-ıp       | ev-e       | (geri) | dön-dü-m.        |
|      | I                                       | that-ACC. | take-CONV.. | house-DAT. | back   | return.PST.1PSg. |
|      | <i>‘I bought it and returned home’.</i> |           |             |            |        |                  |

However, in the utterance *[Ben onu ee al- • alıp] en şey eve geri döndüm* (I bought it and returned home), there are clear divergent structures regarding the use of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Ip*. First of all, the utterance includes a Dutch coordinating conjunction *en* (and) which also precedes the finite predicate *geri döndüm* (and well I returned home). This type of occurrence is not identified in the monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speech samples, which makes this construction unique to the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual discourse. Thus, it implies an unconventional usage to place a coordinating conjunction immediately after the converbial construction *-Ip [Ben onu ee al- • alıp] en şey eve geri döndüm*. It seems

that the morphosyntactic relation is weakened with the insertion of a coordinating conjunction *en* (and). Furthermore, non-finite *-Ip* morpheme is treated as if it possessed a finite nature, thus indicating a *pseudo finite* nature. *Pseudo-finiteness* refers to the loosening of the non-finite characteristic of the converbial marker, and the converbial ending is apt to form a finite structure.

However, it seems that the construction [*Ben onu ee al- • alıp*] *en şey eve geri döndüm*. (I bought and returned home) substantially follows Dutch syntax:

- (53) Ik kocht het en ging naar huis terug.  
 I buy.PST. it and go.PST. to house back  
*'I bought it and returned home'.*

Turkey Turkish also allows utterances constructed with two finite clauses with the insertion of coordinating conjunctions, e.g. *ve* (and) as exemplified in Example (54):

- (54) Ben o-nu al-dı-m ve ev-e (geri) dön-dü-m.  
 I that-ACC. take-PST. 1PSg. and house-DAT. back  
 return.PST.1PSg.  
*'I bought it and returned home'.*

Extract 4 exemplifies another instance of a possible *pseudo-finiteness* in another temporal converbial construction formed with *-Ip* by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation.

(253)

**THS-4** Çok borçum vardı bankaya, ehm sonra [ben satıp telefonumu] sonra  
**THS-4[TL]**very loan-POSS. be.PST.3PSg. bank-DAT. then I sell-CONV. phone.CONV. then  
**THS-4[Eng]** *I had a lot of loan in bank. Then, after selling my phone, .*

(254)

**THS-4**banklening borçumu verdim. Babam sordu telefonun nerde sordu  
**THS-4[TL]**bank loan-ACC. give.PST.1PSg. dad.POSS. ask.PST.3PSg. phone.POSS. where ask.PST.3PSg.  
**THS-4[Eng]** *I paid my bank loan. My father continuously asked about my phone afterwards.*

**Extract 4.** An extract of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Ip* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

In this extract, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker talks about a difficulty he faced in the past. He tells that he had to sell his phone in order to pay his bank loan. At first glance, there seems to be no divergence of the converbial construction use *Çok borçum vardı bankaya, ehm sonra [ben satıp telefonumu] sonra banklening borçumu verdim.* (I sold my phone. Then, after selling my phone, I paid my bank loan) from equivalent monolingual Turkish structures. Here, the converbial construction is surrounded with a Turkish time adverbial *sonra* (after). That is, following the act of *selling phone* (*satıp telefonumu*), only **after** the completion of the action *selling*, then he drifted and advanced to another plot, i.e. *paying the bank loan* (banklening borçumu verdim). Turkish monolingual structure would be:

- (55) [T]elefon-um-u                      sat-**ıp**                      bank-a borc-um-u (banklening) öde-di-m.  
 I phone-POSS.1PSg.ACC.    sell-CONV.                      loan.POSS.1PSg.ACC.                      pay.PST.1PSg.  
 ‘After selling my phone, I paid my bank loan.’

Its Dutch equivalent can be translated as such:

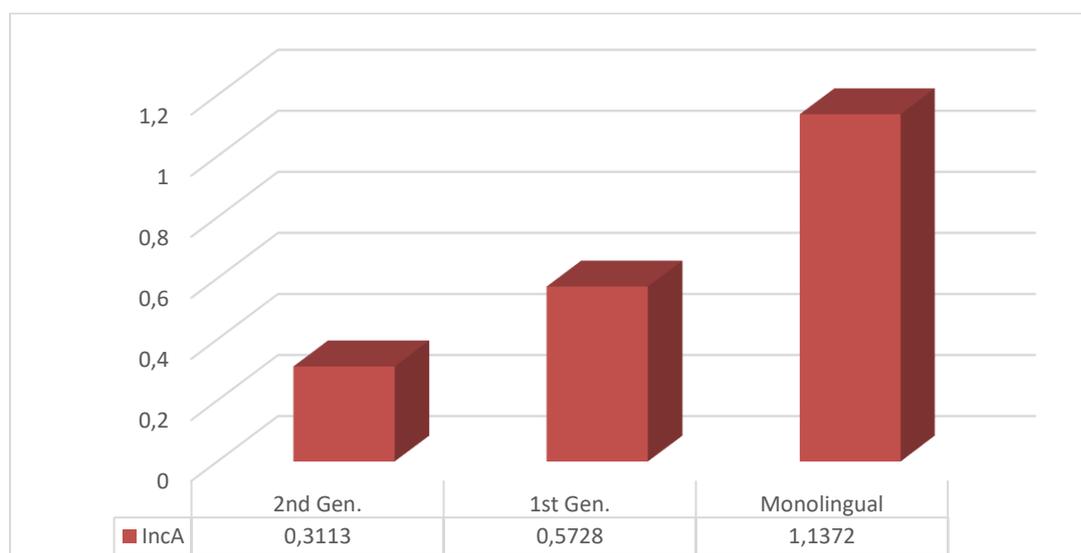
- (56) **Nadat** ik                      mijn                      telefoon                      had                      verkocht, betaalde ik mijn banklening.  
 after    I                      my                      phone                      have.PST.                      sell.PST. pay.PST. I my                      bank loan.  
 ‘After I had sold my phone, I paid my bank loan.’

The use of Turkish time adverbial *sonra* (after) together with *-İp* might be triggered by Dutch language contact. In Dutch language a preposition *nadat* (after) is used to connect two finite clauses in order to express aspecto-temporal features. Thus, even though Turkish time adverbial *sonra* is used after the converbial construction, it functions as if it had a conjunctive feature in interlocking two finite constructions. It is also evident in the extract that *sonra* surrounds the converbial construction in order to strengthen the meaning. This kind of usage is not identified in neither monolingual nor the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speech production, which makes this construction unique to the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speakers’ discourse. As stated earlier, there is a strong syntagmatic relation between converbial ending *-İp* and the finite predicate in Turkish. However, this interlocking and connective relationship appears to be blurred with the insertion of a Turkish coordinating conjunction *sonra* (then). It can also be stated that *-İp* construction in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual language experiences function loss as

a result of loosening its basic propositional interlocking features. In order to compensate this functional loss, a common feature in both Dutch and Turkish languages, i.e. Dutch *nadat* (after) or Turkish *sonra* (after) are utilized by the interlocutors. The insertion of this free morpheme might imply a sort of *pseudo-finiteness* as a result of Dutch language contact.

#### 4.3.2. *-Inca*: Frequency of Use

*-Inca* is a morphosyntactically simplex temporal converbial ending, and it “implements the characteristics of a necessary transition (in the sense of an immediate contiguity or a one-after-the-other order of actions or events) to the action expressed in the finite verb; the implementation is specified according to features of a temporal serialization of the actions of converb and finite verb (Nedjalkov 1995: 107) as well as causality” (p. 494). This simplex converbial ending seems to be frequently produced by the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals, and Turkish monolinguals within temporal category. Figure 26 reports that the frequency of use of this converbial ending is not equally distributed among the three subcorpora:



**Figure 26.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Inca*

The findings indicate that the monolingual Turkish speakers are the ones who make the most use of constructions formed with the simple converbial ending with *-IncA*, 263 tokens with a ratio of 1,1372% while only 69 occurrences of *-IncA* constructions are identified in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual subcorpus, corresponding to 0,3113% in the distribution. The *frequency* of *-IncA* constructions in the data of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers remains in medio, 0,5728% which corresponds to 125 occurrences in total. The results show that there is intergenerational difference in the frequency of use between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual groups, *seriatim* 0,3113%, and 0,5728. When the difference in the frequency between Turkish monolinguals and the bilinguals is concerned, it is clear that there is a difference. That is, while the distribution is much higher in the monolingual dataset (1,1372%), this ratio is 0,5728 in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation subcorpus.

In order to discuss the differences in the frequency of use of monolingual and bilingual speakers' converbial constructions, a few extracts from all types of spoken subcorpora with a special focus on unconventional usages activated by contact-induced mechanisms are presented in the following figures. To start with, Extract 5 illustrates an extract from Turkish monolingual speaker dataset.

(143)

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p><b>TM-1</b> Sinemada mı teklif ettiydi?<br/> <b>TM-1[TL]</b> cinema-LOC. ENC. propose.PST.3PSg<br/> <b>TM-1[Eng]</b> <i>Did he propose at the cinema?</i></p> |  |
| <p><b>TM-2</b><br/> <b>TM-2[TL]</b><br/> <b>TM-2[Eng]</b></p>  | <p>He he! Sinemaya götürdü bi' gün.<br/> Yes! cinema-DAT. take.PST.3PSg. a day<br/> <i>One day he took me to the cinema.</i></p> |

(144)

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p><b>TM-1</b> Yüzüğü nasıl çıkardı orada?<br/> <b>TM-1[TL]</b> ring-ACC. how take out.PST.3PSg there<br/> <b>TM-1[Eng]</b> <i>How did he take the ring out there?</i></p> |  |
|--|--|

TM-2

TM-2[TL]

TM-2[Eng]

[Zeki dizinin üstüne çöküncü]

Zeki knee-GEN on.POSS.DAT. kneel-CONV

*When Zeki kneeled down,*

(145)

TM-2 şok oldum zati. • • Alım al, morum mor oldu haa ((güler))

TM-2[TL] surprised be.PST.1PSg. already but red-POSS. red purple.POSS. purple become.PST.3PSg.

TM-2[Eng] *I already got what was going on. But I was so shocked that I got flushed.*

**Extract 5.** An extract of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Inca* in Turkish monolingual speaker (sub)corpus (TMSC)

In this excerpt Turkish monolingual speaker TM-2 tries to explain how her husband proposes her. In doing so, first, she utters her husband's name, (Zeki), and states that he kneeled down, which is a signal of a marriage proposal. Upon providing a brief background by stating that her husband took her to the sinema, TM-1 directs a question "Yüzüğü nasıl çıkardı orada?" (How did he take the ring out there?). In order to answer this question, Turkish monolingual speaker uses the converbial construction [Zeki dizinin üstüne çöküncü...] şok oldum zati... (When Zeki kneeled down, I was shocked), which implicates a necessary transition (in the sense of an immediate contiguity or a one-after-the-other order of actions or events) to the action expressed in the finite verb. Extract 6 also exemplifies another occurrence of *-Inca* from Turkish monolingual speaker dataset.

(179)

TM-7 O okulun baççesinde • bi' bakdım güzelce bi' gız. • Vuruldum tabi.

TM-7[TL] that school-GEN. garden-POSS.DAT. one look.PST.1PSg. nice a girl hit.Pass.PST.1PSg.

TM-7[Eng] *I saw that beautiful girl in the schoolyard. I fell in love with her.*

(180)

TM-7 [Ben gızı görüncü] aqlım yirinden çıkdı. Dedim bu gız

TM-7[TL] girl-ACC. see-CONV. Mind-POSS. place-POSS.ABL. get out.PST.3PSg. Say.PST.1PSg. that girl

TM-7[Eng] *When I saw that girl, I lost my mind. I asked myself who*

(181)

|  |
|--|
| <b>TM-7</b> kim yav? Ben niye görmemişim hiç? ((öksürür)) • • ((güler))<br><b>TM-7[TL]</b> who INT. I why see-NEG.EV.1PSg. ever<br><b>TM-7[Eng]</b> <i>that girl was. Why have not I seen her?</i> |
|--|

**Extract 6.** An extract of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Inca* in Turkish monolingual speaker (sub)corpus (TMSC)

Extract 6 presents an instance of the temporal converbial ending *-Inca* in which Turkish monolingual interlocutor tells how he met his wife. He says that he saw his wife in a school garden for the first time [*Ben gızı görünce*] *aglım yirinden çıktı* (When I saw that girl, I lost my mind), and he reformulates and utters the topic at the very beginning of the utterance. As in *-Ip* construction, there is also a strong syntagmatic relation between converbial ending *-Inca* and the finite predicate in monolingual Turkish. This syntagmatic relation strengthens the interlocking and connectivity mechanisms of such constructions with in connecting the superordinate clause. When it comes to the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers' usage of the following extracts from the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual subcorpus are illustrated:

(483)

|   |
|---|
| <b>DTB-4</b> Çocukları eşlerimiz yetiştiriyorlar. ((2s.)) <i>nu hier</i> ikimiz de<br><b>DTB-4[TL]</b> child-Pl-ACC. spouse-Pl.POSS. bring up Prs.Prog.3PPl. now here both Part.<br><b>DTB-4[Eng]</b> <i>Our wives bring our children up. Now here we both try hard</i> |
|---|

(484)

|   |
|---|
| <b>DTB-4</b> çabalıyok. Eşim ben de çalışıyorum diyo. • Yalan diil yalan diil.<br><b>DTB-4 [TL]</b> try.Prs.Prog.1PPl. wife-POSS. I too work.Prs.Prog.1PSg. say.Prs.Prog.1PSg. lie not<br><b>DTB-4 [Eng]</b> <i>to do so. My wife says that I work too. It is true. It is true.</i> |
|---|

(485)

**DTB-4** Ama [ben eve gelincek] yardım ediyom • • az çok.

**DTB-4 [TL]** but I home-DAT. come-CONV. help do.Prs.Prog.1PSg. little much

**DTB-4 [Eng]** *But when I get home, I help her to some extent.*

**Extract 7.** An extract of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Inca* in Dutch-Turkish bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (DTBSC)

In Extract 7, starting from the score area 483, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker DTB-4 talks about the chores that he faces in his daily life in the Netherlands. He states that his wife complains about the fact that she works and does the chores with difficulty on her own. In order to defend himself, he states that when he gets back to home, he somehow helps her, uttering *Ama [ben eve gelincek] yardım ediyom • • az çok...* (But when I get home, I help her to some extent) which includes a converbial construction. The utterance follows the monolingual Turkish pattern in that this simplex converbial ending connects the subordinate clause to the superordinate clause in a strong syntagmatic relation.

Another extract from the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual subcorpus presents another example of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Inca* (Extract 8). In this extract, the converbial construction presents a sample of “unconventionality” in the “morphosyntactic structure” of the utterance.

(622)

**DTB-7** Soruyu cevaplarkene diyo ki aa diyo ki *voorzitter* arıyo • •

**DTB-7[TL]** question-ACC answer-CONV. say.Prs.Prog.3PSg. that . say.Prs.Prog.3PSg. that president

**DTB-7[Eng]** *While he answers the question, he says that the president is calling.*

(623)

**DTB-7** bi' dakika *voorzitter* arıyo ona cevap veriyim diyo. O hau

**DTB-7 [TL]** one minute president call.Prs.Prog. 3PSg. him answer.OPT.1PSg. say.Prs.Prog.3PSg. that

**DTB-7 [Eng]** *One minute the president is calling. He says that I should take that.*

(624)

|   |
|---|
| <b>DTB-7</b> [o telefona cevap ver <b>inincek</b> ] bi' hallere giriyo ki...              |
| <b>DTB-7 [TL]</b> that telephone-DAT. answer-CONV. a situation.Pl. go.Prs.Prog.3PSg. that |
| <b>DTB-7 [Eng]</b> <i>When he answers the phone, he becomes so annoying that...</i>       |

**Extract 8.** An extract of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Inca* in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (DTBSC)

*Frequency of use* of such unconventional usages, uttered by two 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers correspond to 2 occurrences (out of 125 tokens) in the subcorpus. When the monolingual spoken subcorpus is scanned, no identical instance of *-Inca* form has been identified in the datasets.

As for the 2nd generation bilingual speech, the unconventional usages which show divergence from those of Turkish monolinguals are identified and presented as follows. Extract 9 exemplifies such an instance:

(183)

|   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| <b>THS-8</b> Annemiz bizi neynen ehm neynen döverdi?                  |                         |
| <b>THS-8[TL]</b> mum.POSS. us what.INST. what.INST. hit.AOR.PPST.3PSg |                         |
| <b>THS-8[Eng]</b> <i>With what did our mum hit us?</i>                |                         |
| <b>THS-9</b>  | <i>Pantoffel mi?</i>    |
| <b>THS-9[TL]</b>  | Slipper Int. Part.      |
| <b>THS-9[Eng]</b>   | <i>Is that slipper?</i> |

(184)

|  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| <b>THS-8</b> <i>Ja, je wist het. [Mehmet abi bunu öyren<b>ince</b>] ehm en gülecek?</i>      |                          |
| <b>THS-8[TL]</b> yes you know.PST.2PSg. Mehmet abi this-ACC. learn-CONV. and laugh.Fut.3PSg. |                          |
| <b>THS-8[Eng]</b> <i>Yes, you knew it. When Mehmet abi hears about it, he will enjoy it.</i> |                          |
| <b>THS-9</b>   | <i>Ja, ja ((laughs))</i> |
| <b>THS-9[TL]</b>   | yes yes                  |
| <b>THS-9[Eng]</b>  | <i>Yes! Yes!</i>         |

(185)

|  |
|--|
| <b>THS-9</b> <i>Kijk, kijk! bu kaartı bitirince ehm <b>en</b> bunları alalım, OK?</i>        |
| <b>THS-9[TL]</b> look.IMP. look.IMP. this card.ACC. finish.CONV. and these take.OPT.3PPI. OK |
| <b>THS-9[Eng]</b> <i>Look, look! After finishing this card, let's take those, OK?</i>        |

**Extract 9.** An extract of simplex temporal converbial ending *-Inca* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

In this extract, score area 183 indicates the temporal converbial ending *-Inca* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speaker data. Both the converbial construction, formed with temporal converbial ending *-Inca*, *Mehmet abi bunu öğrenince*, (When Mehmet abi hears about it) and the finite predicate *gülecek* (he will burst into laugh) indicate a number of deviations in terms of the syntagmatic relation between the converbial construction and finite predicate. It is evident that the topic of the utterance *Mehmet abi bunu öğrenince* (When Mehmet abi hears about it) opens a route for the linguistic act of laughing *gülecek* (he will burst into laugh). However, unlike the control data, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual subcorpus a deviation occurs in that the interlocutors make use of the Dutch conjunction *en* between the converbial construction and the superordinate clause, and thereby constructs and functions somehow as a *pseudo-finite* structure by inserting a conjunction which interlocks two finite constructions. Conventional Turkish monolingual structures could be formed with a non-finite converbial clause *-Inca*, and finite superordinate clause as in 56(a) or it is also possible to connect two finite clauses with coordinating conjunctions as in 56(b):

(56)a Mehmet abi bu-nu öğren-*ince* gül-ecek.  
Mehmet brother this-ACC. learn-CONV. laugh.FUT.3Sg.  
'Mehmet abi will learn it then he will burst into laugh'.

or

(56)b Mehmet abi bu-nu öğren-ecek ve (sonra) gül-ecek.  
Mehmet brother this-ACC. learn-FUT.3Sg. and (then) laugh.FUT.3Sg.  
'Mehmet abi will learn it and burst into laugh'.

In Dutch, however, it is possible to connect the two finite clauses with a conjunction as exemplified in (57):

- (57) Mehmet abi zal het leren en dan lachen.  
 Mehmet brother will it learn and then laugh  
*'Mehmet abi will learn it and then burst into laugh.'*

The insertion of Dutch coordinating conjunction might be activated as a result of contact-induced mechanism triggered by Dutch language contact. It is seen in the excerpt that *en* (and) is inserted between the converbial construction and matrix construction. This kind of usage is not identified in control data. This usage constaints the strong morphosyntactic interlocking feature of *-IncA*. In other words, the interlocking and connective relationship appears to be blurred with the insertion of a Dutch coordinating conjunction *en* (and) which can be referred to a sort of *pseudo-finiteness* as a result of Dutch language contact. This leads to function loosening in that Dutch conjenction appears to trigger a pseudo-finite usage in the converbial construction. Extract 10 also presents another unconventional *-IncA* usage taken from the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual subcorpus:

(253)

**THS-4** *Taal okulu vardı Eindhoven'da ben güçükkene. Derse giderdik.*  
**THS-4[TL]** tongue school-ACC. be.PST.3PSg. Eindhoven-LOC. I little-PART. Class-DAT. go.AOR.PST.3PSg.  
**THS-4[Eng]** *There was a language school in Eindhoven when I was young. We went there.*

(254)

**THS-4** [Ben alınca dersi] öyrendim Türkçeyi eyice böyle • ehm şey  
**THS-4[TL]** I take-CONV. class-ACC. learn.PST.3PSg. Turkish-ACC. well like .INTj. thing  
**THS-4[Eng]** *When I took that class, I learnt Turkish well ehm well*

(255)

**THS-4** konuşabiliyom eyi yani sonra •• annadın mı?. Öyle işte! ••  
**THS-4[TL]** speak-ABIL-PRS.Prog.1PSg. well I mean then understand.PST.2PSg. like that  
**THS-4[Eng]** *I can speak Turkish that well. Did you get it? Like that!*

**Extract 10.** An extract of simplex temporal converbial ending *-IncA* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

In Extract 10, beginning from score area 253, THS-4 talks about his exposure to Turkish language at a language school in Eindhoven when he was a child. After this background information, he states that when he took Turkish courses there, he started speaking Turkish fluently and accurately. Here, a Turkish time adverbial *sonra* (after) does not come immediately after the converbial construction. On the other hand, this usage implies a sort of loosening influence on Turkish utterance.

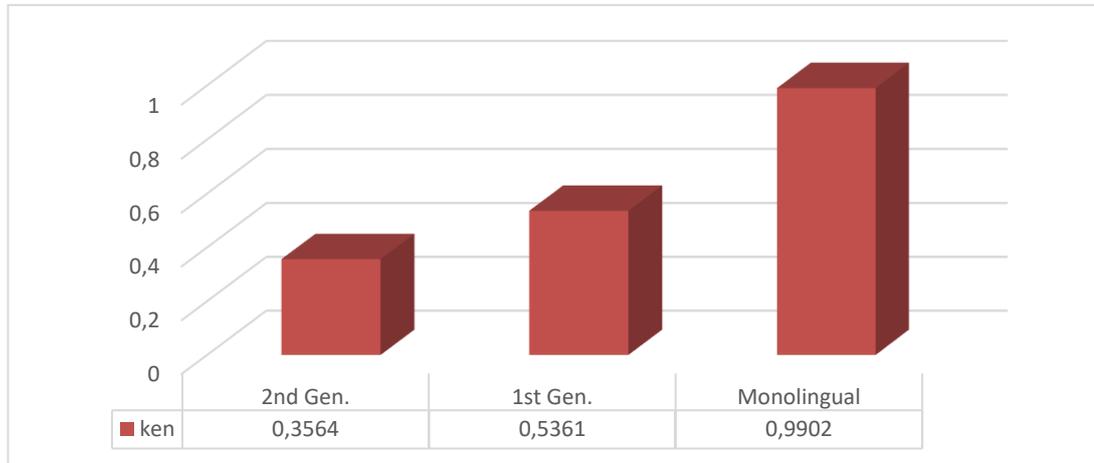
Overall, in the samples exemplified above, a linguistic convergence of non-finite structure *-IncA* and a finite predicate is grammatically connected. Thus, the converbial construction may be strengthened, with a Dutch conjunction *en* (and). It is evident that *-IncA* is not used with any conjunction such as *en* (and) and alike. It is seen that it characterizes a sort of serialization, and in synchronic and diachronic analysis in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data and “implements the characteristics of a necessary transition (in the sense of an immediate contiguity or a one-after-the-other order of actions or events) to the action expressed in the finite verb” (Rehbein, 2015, p. 494).

#### **4.3.3. *-ken*: Frequency of Use**

Unlike simple converbial endings *-IncA* and *-Ip*, *-ken* is regarded as a complex temporal converbial ending, and it “implements the characteristics of parallelism and/or contrast to the action expressed in the finite verb; the implementation is specified according to features of a stretching, a duration, or a polarization of the action or event expressed by the converbial symbol field compared to the one of the finite verb, and of temporal parallelism etc.” (Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015, p. 494). It forms a subordinate dependent predication, and connects the subordinate clause to the superordinate clause. Two connected predications construct a type of simultaneity relation in discourse (Aydemir, 2014, p. 35). Such a relation implies that the event of subordinate clause encompassing the converbial construction *-ken* and that of superordinate clause occur almost at the same time, suggesting a simultaneity or overlap between the events (Slobin, 1995), as exemplified in example

(58) Bu k1sm-1 Sinem'-i dinl-er-ken yaz-d1-m.  
 this part-ACC. Sinem-ACC. listen-AOR-CONV. write:PST.3PSg.  
 'I wrote it while I was listening to Sinem.'

Figure 27 reveals the distribution of converbial ending *-ken* among the three speaker groups' subcorpora and it is evident that the complex converbial ending *-ken* is frequently used by the three speaker groups.



**Figure 27.** The distribution comparison of *frequency of use* of complex temporal converbial ending *-ken*

The results indicate that the *frequency of use* of this complex temporal converbial ending is not equally distributed among the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual, and Turkish monolingual speakers' subcorpora. It is the monolingual speaker data which consist of the most frequent use of *-ken* converbial constructions 229 tokens corresponding to 0,9902%. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual subcorpus, 79 occurrences are identified, corresponding to the ratio of 0,3564% regarding the distribution. The *frequency of use* of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers remains in medio, 0,5361% which is equal to 117 occurrences of *-ken* constructions. The comparison between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' *frequency of use* of *-ken* converbial construction (0,3564%) and that of monolingual speakers' (0,9902%) shows a difference. However, the difference between the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speaker subcorpus (0,5361%) and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker data

(0,3564%) seems to be low. It is evident that Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers make more use of morphosyntactically complex converbial construction *-ken* compared to simplex converbial constructions identified in the overall distribution of temporal data.

Some samples of *-ken* from all three subcorpora are presented regarding the patterns of both conventional and unconventional usages. Initially, Extract 11 illustrates a conventional sample of *-ken* from Turkish monolingual subcorpus.

(17)

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| <b>TM-2</b>       | [Bu, baççeyi <i>gazarkene</i> ] gazmiyi fortuma vurdu, su fortumuna ((güler)).                  |
| <b>TM-2[TL]</b>   | that time.Pl. we well eat-CONV. drink-CONV. forgive-OPT.2PSg. poop-CONV. live.Prs.Prog.PST.1PPI |
| <b>TM-2[Eng]</b>  | <i>While he was digging the garden, he hit the hose, water hose with digger</i>                 |
| <b>TM-11</b>      | Anlatma ayıp ya!  |
| <b>TM-11[TL]</b>  | tell-NEG. shame INTj.   |
| <b>TM-11[Eng]</b> | <i>Shame on you, don't tell it!</i>   |

(18)

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <b>TM-2</b>      | Fortuma denk geldi gazma. Bunun üstü başı cırcı bık oldu hep. |
| <b>TM-2[TL]</b>  | ring-ACC. how take out.PST.3PSg there                         |
| <b>TM-2[Eng]</b> | <i>How did he take the ring out there?</i>                    |

**Extract 11.** An extract of complex temporal converbial ending *-ken* in Turkish monolingual speaker (sub)corpus (TMSC)

As indicated in the extract above, Turkish monolingual speaker TM-2 talks about a funny incident when he was with TM-11 in their garden in the near past. In order to express the temporal parallelism of actions *kazmak* (to dig) and *vurmak* (to hit), the monolingual interlocutor uses the complex converbial ending *-ken* in the following utterance [*Bu, baççeyi gazarkene*] *gazmiyi fortuma vurdu, su fortumuna* (While he was digging the garden, he hit the hose, water hose with a digger).

The 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers' use of temporal converbial ending *-ken* shows similarity to those of conventional use of Turkish monolingual structures. Extract 12 presents a sample from the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers' subcorpus.

(498)

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>DTB-9</b>       | Yoo yoo, [ben <i>afspraak</i> 'a <i>gidekene</i> ] garşılaştık ya. Hatırladın? |
| <b>DTB-9 [TL]</b>  | no no I appointment:DAT. go-CONV. meet.PST.1PPl. Int. remember.PST.2PSg.       |
| <b>DTB-9 [Eng]</b> | <i>No no, while we were going for an appointment we saw one another.</i>       |
| <b>DTB-1</b>       | Yooo!  |
| <b>DTB-1 [TL]</b>  | no   |
| <b>DTB-1 [Eng]</b> | <i>No!</i>   |

(499)

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>DTB-9</b>       | Pazar günü ne <i>afspraak</i> 'ı yau! Dernekte deil miydik olum?                             |
| <b>DTB-9 [TL]</b>  | sunday day.ACC. what appointment.ACC. Int. association.LOC. not Int.Part.PST.1PPl. son.Poss. |
| <b>DTB-9 [Eng]</b> | <i>There is no appointment on Sunday! Weren't we in the association building?</i>            |

(500)

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| <b>DTB-9</b>       | [Sen Ali'yle <i>pişpirik oynarkene</i> ] gafana vurduydum ya hatta!     |
| <b>DTB-9 [TL]</b>  | house-DAT. enter.PST.1PSg. that what see-OPT.1PSg. that faint-INF.3PSg. |
| <b>DTB-9 [Eng]</b> | <i>When I entered home, I saw that she had fainted.</i>                 |

**Extract 12.** An extract of complex temporal converbial ending *-ken* in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (DTBSC)

The converbial constructions [*ben afspraak'a gidekene*] (While I was going to an appointment) and [*Sen Ali'yle pişpirik oynarkene*] (While you were playing card with Ali) in Figure 39 emphasize a temporal parallelism between the actions stated in their finite predicates and converbial subordinate clauses, e.g. *gitmek* (to go) and [*g*]*arşılaşmak* (to come across) for the first utterance. Due to the temporal parallelism expressed in the utterances, there is a strong syntagmatic relation with the finite predicates, e.g. *garşılaştık* (came across) and converbial constructions, e.g. *gideken*, which shows a clear similarity with monolingual equivalents as exemplified in Figure 38. There is a reference to the actions occurring at the same time for both constructions.

Unlike the monolingual Turkish and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual group speech production, a number of unconventional usages are identified in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' subcorpus, one of which is presented in Extract 13:

(66)

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>INTE</b>        | O konuda ne diyeceksin?                          |
| <b>INTE [TL]</b>   | that issue-LOC what say-FUT.2P.Sing              |
| <b>INTE [Eng]</b>  | <i>What would you say about that issue?</i>      |
| <b>THS-10</b>      | Şimdi [ona <i>gelirken</i> ] de • pardon da [ona |
| <b>THS-10[TL]</b>  | now that-DAT come-CONV sorry PART that-DAT       |
| <b>THS-10[Eng]</b> | <i>Now when I go back to that issue, sorry</i>   |

(67)

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| <b>THS-10</b>       | <i>gelirken</i> ] de biz o iki ülkenin arasını şey'apmayız.                                       |
| <b>THS-10 [TL]</b>  | come-CONV PART we that two country-GEN between-ACC thing.do.Neg.PrS3P                             |
| <b>THS-10 [Eng]</b> | <i>when I go back to that issue, we do not harm the relationship between those two countries.</i> |

**Extract 13.** An extract of complex temporal converbial ending *-ken* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

In Extract 13, the interlocutors talk about a political situation. Meanwhile, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker THS-10 uses *-ken* unconventionally. This pattern is repeatedly used by the interlocutor and is marked as unconventional by the raters.

In this utterance, a converb implementing a temporal serialization of the actions of converb and finite verb is supposed to be utilized as presented in the following utterance: “*Şimdi ona gelince...*” (When I go back to that issue...), which sound more conventional in Turkish. In this regard, there seems to be a sign of weakening in using temporal converb *-ken* compared to the its monolingual equivalents on the grounds that it generally “implements the characteristics of parallelism and/or contrast to the action expressed in the finite verb” (Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015, p. 494).

As observed in the analyses of simplex converbial constructions formed with suffixes *-IncA* and *-Ip*, the insertion of coordinating conjunction(s) has not been identified while using *-ken* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speaker data. Instead, interlocutor produces an unconventional complex temporal converbial construction by avoiding a simplex one. It can be hypothesized that *-ken* as a complex converbial ending is relatively highly entrenched and less invulnerable to contact-induced linguistic change as a grammatical structure. However, when the extracts are examined attentively, there occur unconventional usages only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' speech production.

#### **4.3.4. *-DIK Converbial Constructions: An Umbrella Structure***

A general class categorized as a set of complex converbial endings *-DIK* encompasses a bunch of suffixes, i.e. postpositions, possessive and case markers, which make it morphosyntactically complex. *-DIK* converbial constructions also belong to a set of different semantic categories such as casual, equative, and temporal. Therefore, they also create semantic complexity. In this section, only temporal *-DIK*- converbial constructions are analyzed in compliance with the research questions.

With regard to their functions in discourse, temporal *-DIK*-rooted converbial constructions mainly serve as connectors “in utterance-internal connectivity, serving a range of communicative functions in concatenating complex speech. One of the core functions of *-DIK* consists in processing propositional knowledge and integrating it into larger interactional units” (Herkenrath, 2014., p. 220). Forming in relation with case and possessive markers, and postpositions, *-DIK*-rooted aspecto-temporal converbial constructions imply specifically a temporal relation with the matrix constructions:

- (1) in the realization of -DIK-Poss.-Case: *-DIğIndA*,

The event or action of converbial construction with *-DIK-POSS.-* noun: *-DIğI zaman* is connected to the matrix clause, implementing a parallelism and/or

overlapping –and maybe a trace of anteriority- between the events *gir-* “to enter” and *telefonu kapat-* “to hang up the phone”.

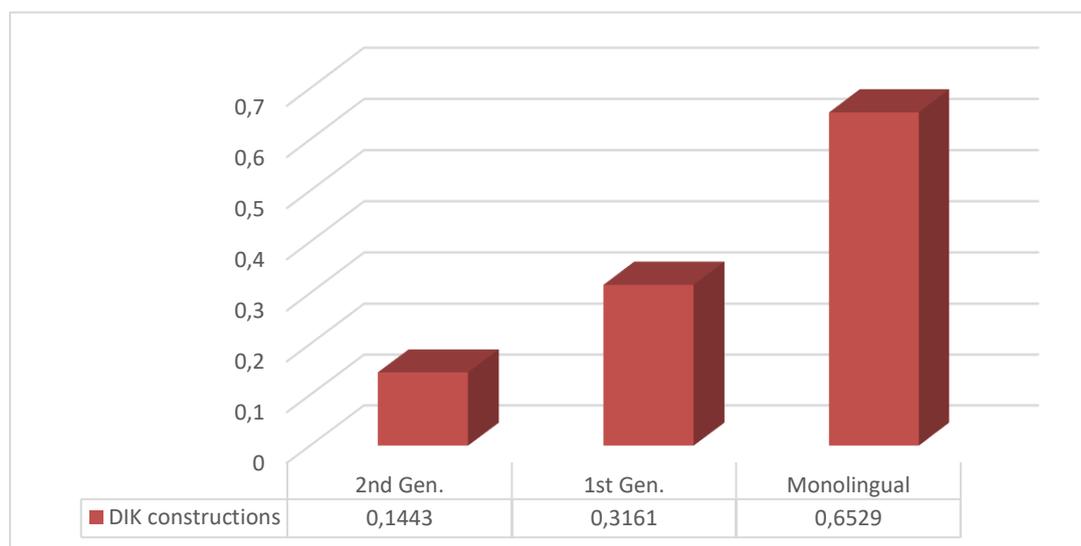
(2) -DIK-Poss.-Case Pop: -*DiktAn sonra*,

The converbial construction in combination with -DIK-POSS.-CASE POP: -*DiktAn sonra* implements an anteriority relation between non-finite subordinate and finite matrix clauses.

and (3) -DIK-Poss.-(Case)- noun-(Case): -*DIđI zaman*; -*DIđI sürece*; -*DIđI an*.

All events in –*DIK*-rooted aspecto-temporal converbial constructions follow the rules of simultaneity and/or overlapping of their representation within an utterance-internal connectivity in discourse. That is to say, a kind of simultaneity relation is constructed between two connected predications.

Figure 28 indicates the distribution of frequency of use of complex temporal converbial ending –*DIK*- converbial constructions in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual, and monolingual speakers’ subcorpora.



**Figure 28.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of complex temporal converbial ending –*DIK*- converbial constructions

Similar to the complex temporal converbial ending *-ken*, the monolingual Turkish speakers are the ones who make the most use of constructions formed with the complex converbial ending *-DIK- constructions*, with a distribution of 0,6529% (F=151). In the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' subcorpus, only 32 *-DIK* occurrences are identified which correspond to 0,1443% in terms of the distribution. Contrary to more frequent occurrence of complex temporal converbial ending *-ken* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speech, *-DIK constructions* are less frequent. When the frequency of use of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speaker data is concerned, the distribution remains in medio, 0,3161% which corresponds to 69 occurrences.

In addition to the general distribution, each subcategory of temporal Table 41 illustrates the distribution of each *-DIK converbial construction*.

**Table 41.** The distribution of each *-DIK construction* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual, and the monolingual subcorpora

| Converbials                              | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen Bilinguals |        | 1 <sup>st</sup> Gen Bilinguals |        | Monolingual speakers |        |
|--|--------------------------------|--------|--------------------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|
|  | F                              | %      | F                              | %      | F                    | %      |
| <i>DIK-Poss.-Case</i>                    | 9                              | 0,0406 | 27                             | 0,1237 | 73                   | 0,3156 |
| <i>-DIK-Poss.-Case Pop</i>               | 11                             | 0,0496 | 23                             | 0,1053 | 48                   | 0,2075 |
| <i>-DIK-Poss.- (Case)- noun- (Case):</i> | 12                             | 0,0541 | 19                             | 0,0870 | 30                   | 0,1297 |

According to the results, there appears to be a difference in the frequency of *-DIK converbial constructions* produced by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers in total (F=32), the distribution of which corresponds to 0,0406% (F=9) for *-DIK-Poss.-Case: -DIğIndA*, 0,0496% (F=11) for *-DIK-Poss.Case.Pop: -DIktAn sonra*, and 0,0541% (F=12) For *-DIK-Poss.(Case).Noun: DIĞI zaman, etc. -DIK-Poss.(Case). Noun* appears to be the most-frequently-used *-DIK* construction utilized by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers.

The results also reveal that both the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals (0,1237%; F=27) and Turkish monolingual speakers (0,3156; F=73) make more use of -DIK-POSS.-CASE:constructions compared to the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers. Furthermore, pairwise analysis shows that temporal converbial constructions, formed with -DIK-Poss.(Case).Noun are less frequently used by the interlocutors in the control groups, i.e. Turkish monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers.

Some samples are presented from all three subcorpora regarding the usages of complex temporal converbial endings –DIK constructions in the following section. Extract 14 presents an instance of –DIK construction in monolingual Turkish subcorpus.

(322)

**TM-9[PRO]**Gırşehir'den Angara'ya çalışmağa gettiğimde] dahaca evli deeldim.  
**TM-9 [TL]** that street-LOC a situation be-Rel-ACC see-Pr.Prog.1P.Sig and him if  
**TM-9[Eng]** *When I went to Ankara from Kırşehir for work, I was single.*

(323)

**TM-9** Anamgil habire “evlen evlen” deyip duruyodu. Bir bayram  
**TM-9[TL]** intervening do-CONV I mean problem be-CONV a tiny a time.1PSig that  
**TM-9[Eng]** *My family always asked me to get married.*

(324)

**TM-9[Gırşehri'ne döndüğümde]** otogarda anamla beni garşılamağa gelmişti Arife  
**TM-9[TL]** spare-NOM.pers.ACC. tongue-DAT bring-PastS.1PSing  
**TM-9[Eng]** *When I got back to Kırşehir, Arife came to the bus terminal with my mum.*

**Extract 14.** An extract of complex temporal converbial ending -DIK-Poss.-Case in Turkish monolingual speaker (sub)corpus (TMSC)

In this extract, Turkish monolingual speaker tells how he meets his wife when he turns back to his hometown, Kırşehir from Ankara in which he works. There is a temporal simultaneity with the actions *dönmek* (to get back) and *karşılamağa gelmek* (to go to

the terminal to welcome him). In order to create a simultaneity and/or overlapping of the representation of actions within an utterance-internal connectivity in discourse, Turkish monolingual speaker utilizes the complex converbial ending *-DIK-Poss.-Case* in the following utterance [*Gırşehir'den Ankara'ya çalışmağa ettiğimde*] *dahaca evli deeldim* (When I went to Ankara from Kırşehir for work, I was single). In this utterance, interlocutor constructs a kind of simultaneity relation between the subordinate converbial clause and matrix predicate. In addition to the simultaneity relation, for expressing the temporal parallelism of actions *gitmek* (to go) and *evli olmak* (be married), monolingual interlocutor uses this construction.

As for the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers' subcorpus, the usage of temporal converbial ending *-DIK-Poss.-Case* displays similarity to those of Turkish monolingual structures. Extract 15 presents a sample in this regard:

(12)

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>DTB-3</b>       | [Işıkları gapatığımda] telefon çaldı acı acı o ağşam.                                      |
| <b>DTB-3[TL]</b>   | light-Pl.ACC. close.-DIK.Poss.Case phone ring.PST.3Sg. pain pain that evening              |
| <b>DTB-3[Eng]</b>  | <i>As soon as I turned the lights off, the phone rang, and I got that it was bad news.</i> |
| <b>DTB-8</b>       | Hm!  |
| <b>DTB-8 [TL]</b>  | INTj.  |
| <b>DTB-8 [Eng]</b> | <i>I see!</i>  |

(13)

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| <b>DTB-3</b>       | Gorktum, amma yine de galdırdım telefonu. Abim                            |
| <b>DTB-3 [TL]</b>  | be afraid.PST.1PSg. but again too rise.PST.1PSg. phobe-ACC. borther.Poss. |
| <b>DTB-3 [Eng]</b> | <i>I was scared, but I managed to take it. It was my elder brother.</i>   |
| <b>DTB-8</b>       | Eee!  |
| <b>DTB-8 [TL]</b>  | INTj.   |
| <b>DTB-8 [Eng]</b> | <i>So!</i>  |

(14)

**DTB-3** konuşamıyordu. Adam bi ağlıyo, bi ağlıyo anlatamam yaa.  
**DTB-3 [TL]** speak.NEG.ABIL.Prs.Prog.3PSg. man a cry.Prs.Prog.3PSg. cry.Prs.Prog.3PSg. explain.NEG.ABIL.Prs.Prog.3PSg  
**DTB-3 [Eng]** *He was crying so heavily that he could not even speak on the phone.*

**Extract 15.** An extract of complex temporal converbial ending *-DIK-Poss.-Case* in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (DTBSC)

In Extract 15, in connecting the discourse in the utterance, the complex temporal converbial construction in the score area (12)[*Işıkları gapattığımda*] (As soon as I turned the lights off) implies a simultaneity and/or overlapping of the representation of actions in the same utterance, which is compatible with those of monolingual usages.

When the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' use of converbial ending *-DIK constructions* are explored through subcorpus, it is seen that a number of unconventional usages are identified. Extract 16 shows an unconventional sample:

(66)

**THS-7** *Voor stage gemeente 'ye gittim. Ik ze eeh şey dedim ee* [ben  
**THS-7 [TL]** for internship municipality-DAT. go:PST.1Sg. I say.PST.1Sg. well say.PST.1Sg. I  
**THS-7 [Eng]** *I went to the municipality for internship. I said that well after graduation,*

(67)

**THS-7** *bitirdik ee bitirdiyim sonra okulu] eeh hızlıcana baan bulmak*  
**THS-7 [TL]** finish-CONV finish.CONV. then school.ACC. Intj. Fast job find-NOM.  
**THS-7 [Eng]** *I would like to find a job as soon as possible.*

(68)

**THS-7** *istiyom. Nişanıyım ya. Eflencem. Sordum ee mesela stage*  
**THS-7 [TL]** want.Prog.1Sg. engaged.COP.1Sg. get married.FUT.1Sg. ask.PST.1Sg. instance internship  
**THS-7 [Eng]** *I am engaged, I will get married soon. I asked them to suppose that when I finish my internship here*

(69)

**THS-7** eeh burada yaptım, *dan* bitti yani burada devam olur mu?  
**THS-7 [TL]** Intj.here do.PST.1Sg. then finish.PST.3Sg. well here continuation be.Pres. Ques  
**THS-7 [Eng]** *here is it possible for me to work in the same position.*

(70)

**THS-7** *Officier dedi yoh bitti ya stage, sonra toepassen yapcan buraya.*  
**THS-7 [TL]** official say.PST.3Sg. no finish.PST.3Sg. internship then apply do.FUT.2Sg. here.  
**THS-7 [Eng]** *Officer told me that after completing my internship, I should apply for it.*

**Extract 16.** An extract complex temporal converbial ending *-DIK-POSS.-Case* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

In Extract 16, THS-7, a 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker, talks about his experiences while looking for an appropriate internship for him. During his speech, he code-switches between Dutch and Turkish to a considerable extent. His speech gives the impression that he has great difficulty in expressing himself fluently which is signalled by his overuse of interjections (see score areas 66 and 67). Score area 67 encompasses a converbial construction (*-DIK.Poss.Case noun:sonra*)-matrix clause [*ben bitirdik ee bitirdiyim sonra okulu*] *eeh hızlıcana baan bulmak istiyom* (After my graduation, I would like to find a job as soon as possible). First of all, the interlocutor here tries to construct a temporal converbial construction with *-DIK construction*. However, apparently, he tries his best to construct it even though he diverges from the monolingual equivalent as presented in Example 59.

(59) (Ben) okul-u bit-ir-dik-ten sonra hemen iş bul-mak isti-yor-um.  
I school-ACC. graduate-AOR.CONV.AB. after fast job find-COMP. want.Prog.1PSg.  
'*After graduating from school, I would like to find a job as soon as possible*'.

The morphosyntactic structure of the aforementioned *-DIK construction* has a complex grammatical structure (*-DIK.Poss.Case noun:sonra*), he could not manage to make use of the ablative case (*-DAn*). He only uses possessive suffix and forms it as follows: *bitirdik ee bitirdiyim sonra* (After my graduation), which is a sign of

divergence from its monolingual equivalent. THS-7 appears not to be able to analytically decompose these endings and use them in conventional sense. He has great difficulty in composing the converbial endings of this highly synthetic construction, thus fails to employ the case ending. In the following discourse, the interlocutor seems to avoid using this morphosyntactically complex converbial ending (-*DIK.Poss.Case noun:sonra*). For instance, in score areas (68-69), *Sordum ee mesela stage, eeh burada yaptım, dan bitti yani burada devam olur mu?* (I asked them to suppose that when I finish my internship here, is it possible for me to work in the same position), the interlocutor uses finite constructions probably to avoid forming a non-finite construction. In Turkish, it is also possible to construct in such cases. *Sordum onlara mesela stajımı burada yaptım, sonra yine burada devam edebilir miyim?* (I asked them to suppose that I did my internship here, then is it still possible for me to continue working here?) However, after having difficulty in constructing a morphologically complex converbial construction, the interlocutor does not use any equivalent structure. Instead, he prefers to make use of finite constructions with functionally-differentiated Dutch functional words. The Dutch equivalent would be as in the following utterance: „*Ik vroeg hen om te veronderstellen dat ik hier stage liep, is het dan nog steeds mogelijk om hier te blijven werken?*“ (I asked them to suppose that I did my internship here, then is it still possible for me to continue working here?). Such finite constructions in Turkish speech might be triggered by the Dutch finite structures and the use of conjunctions such as (*dan* „then“ and *en* „and“). Turkish construction including converbial ending could be formed as follows:

- (60) [Stajı bitirdikten sonra] burada devam edebilir miyim?  
 internship-ACC. complete-AOR.CONV. after here continue.ABIL. Int. Part.  
 ‘After completing my internship, could I continue working here?’

Likewise, in score area (70), THS-7 produces a similar construction, involving finite constructions, but this time they are not connected to one another with a Dutch function word. Instead, semantically equivalent form *sonra* is utilized *Officier dedi yoh bitti ya stage, sonra toepassen yapcan buraya* (Officer told me that after

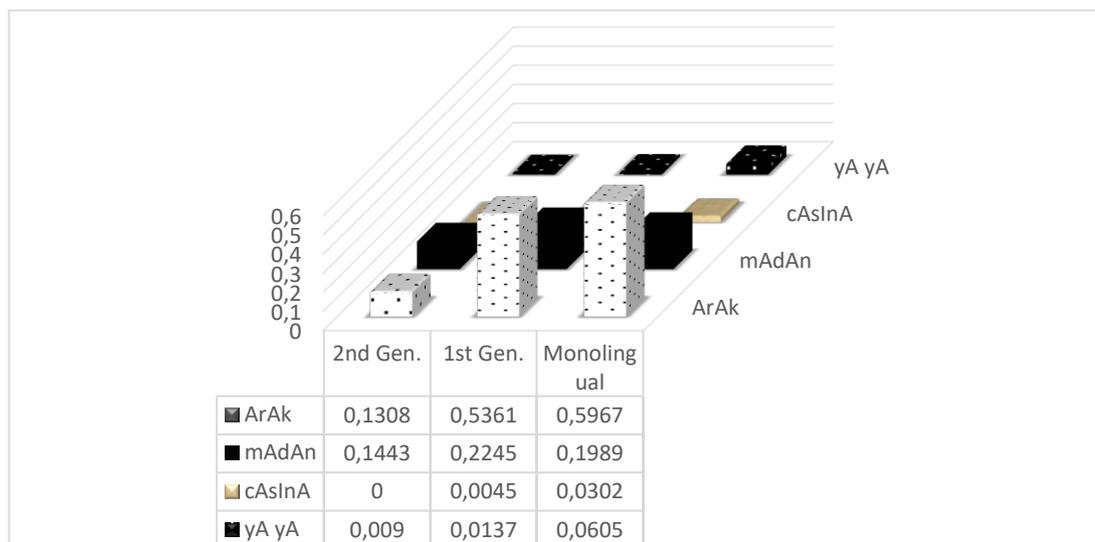
completing my internship, I am supposed to apply for the position again). Here, two finite constructions were connected with a function word. However, in monolingual Turkish, it would be more natural to use a converbial construction (*-DIK.Poss.Case noun:sonra*)-in non-finite construction + matrix clause as in the following example (60):

- (61) [Stajı bitirdikten sonra] başvuru yapacaksın buraya dedi.  
 internship-ACC.complete-AOR.CONV. after application do.FUT.2PSg. here say.PST.3PSg.  
 ‘After completing internship, you are supposed to apply here.’

#### 4.4. Manner-Oriented Converbial Endings

Manner-oriented converbial endings are explored in terms of *frequency of use* and the results are placed in tables in order to analyze whether there is a difference among monolingual, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers, participant groups differ in their *frequency of use* of manner-oriented converbial endings. Table 42 illustrates the distribution of *frequency of use* of manner-oriented converbial endings in the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers’, and Turkish monolingual speakers’ subcorpora.

**Table 42.** Manner-oriented converbial endings –*ArAk*, –*mAdAn*, –*cAsInA*, and –*yA...* *yA ...* in the three speakers’ subcorpora



The findings reveal that simplex manner-oriented converbial construction –*ArAk* occurs remarkably more than complex converbial endings –*cAsInA* and –*mAdAn* along

with the reduplicated converbial construction  $-(y)A\dots-(y)A$  in control datasets of monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker subcorpora. In monolingual Turkish data, 138 occurrences (corresponding to 0,5967%) are identified. The 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual data show similar distribution with the ratio 0,5361% (F=117). The distribution of manner-oriented converbial constructions is 0,2842% (F=63) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual dataset. However, it appears that there is a slight difference in the distribution of simplex manner-oriented converbial construction  $-ArAk$  among speaker groups. While the distribution of simplex converbial ending  $-ArAk$  constructions comprises the most frequently-produced ending in control data,  $-mAdAn$ , a complex converbial ending, has the most frequencies in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual dataset.

While the distribution of morphosyntactically complex manner-oriented converbial endings are relatively less frequently used by Turkish monolinguals and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals make fairly more use of complex manner-oriented converbial  $-mAdAn$  (0,1443 corresponding to 32 occurrences). Turkish monolingual speakers' subcorpus comprises the ratio of 0,1989% (F=46) regarding  $-mAdAn$  construction. However, it is evident that  $-mAdAn$  is the most frequently employed form in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation data. These results indicate that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data and the control group data differ from one another and therefore, it is possible to hypothesize that in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker discourse,  $-mAdAn$  complex converbial ending appears to be fairly less vulnerable to language contact.

When it comes to the other complex manner-oriented converbial ending  $-cAsInA$  however, no occurrence is identified in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation language data. Yet, comparatively, there is a single  $-cAsInA$  converbial item, which is equal to 0,004% in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation dataset while there are 7 occurrences (corresponding to 0,0302%) in Turkish monolingual speakers' subcorpus.

The last manner-oriented converbial ending differs morphosyntactically in the sense that it is a duplicated converbial ending:  $-(y)A\dots-(y)A$ . Congruent with the findings

concerning *-cAsInA* converbial construction, reduplicated *-(y)A... -(y)A* construction is one of the least frequently-used converbial forms in all subcorpora types. In this regard, the distribution of this converbial form is as follows: 0,0090% (2 occurrences) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' subcorpus, 0,0137% (3 occurrences) in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers' subcorpus, and 0,0605 (14 instances) in Turkish monolingual speakers' subcorpus.

As for the unconventional usages, the raters also evaluate whether the usages of those converbial forms are conventional or unconventional while they identify the occurrences of the manner-oriented converbial constructions through datasets.

Table 43 indicates that only the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual subcorpus comprises unconventional usages regarding the manner-oriented converbial constructions.

**Table 43.** The frequency of unconventional usages of manner-oriented converbial endings among the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals, and the monolingual speakers' subcorpora

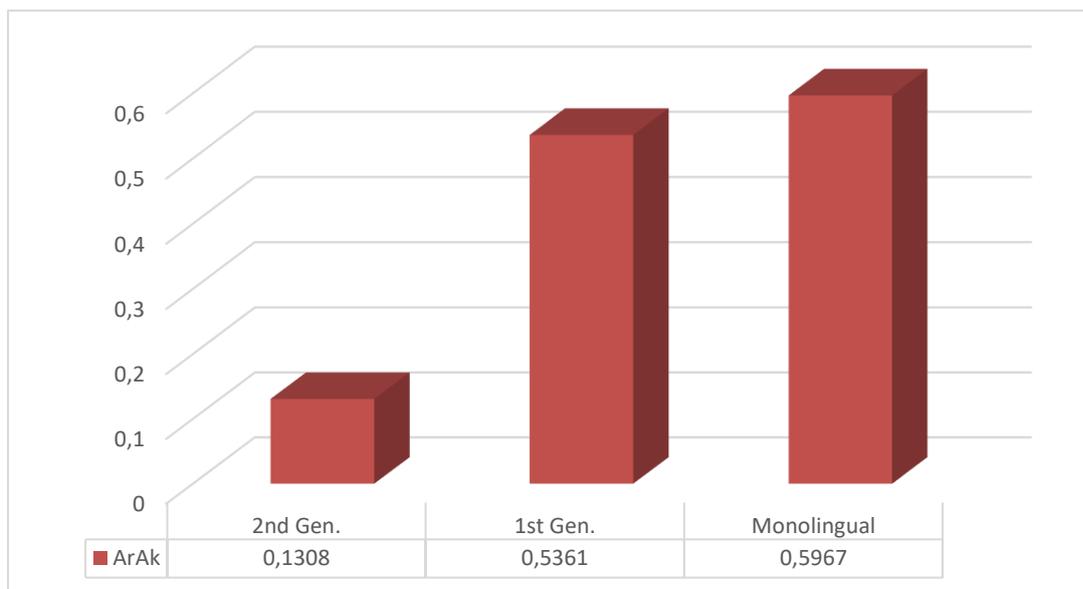
| Temporal<br>Converbials | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen Bilinguals |                | 1 <sup>st</sup> Gen Bilinguals |                | Monolingual speakers |                |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|
|                         | Conv.<br>(F)                   | Unconv.<br>(F) | Conv.<br>(F)                   | Unconv.<br>(F) | Conv.<br>(F)         | Unconv.<br>(F) |
| <i>-ArAk</i>            | 28                             | 1              | 117                            | 0              | 138                  | 0              |
| <i>-mAdAn</i>           | 28                             | 5              | 49                             | 0              | 46                   | 0              |
| <i>-cAsInA</i>          | 0                              | 0              | 1                              | 0              | 7                    | 0              |
| <i>-(y)A...-(y)A</i>    | 2                              | 0              | 3                              | 0              | 14                   | 0              |
| <b>Total</b>            | 58                             | 6              | 170                            | 0              | 205                  | 0              |

As for the conventionality of the converbs used by the monolinguals, and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals, the raters' evaluation indicates that all the manner-oriented converbial constructions produced by both Turkish monolinguals and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals are conventional. However, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data indicate that there are six unconventional usages out of 63 occurrences of manner-oriented converbial endings, 5 of which belong to the converbial construction formed with *-mAdAn*. Only one single unconventional usage is identified among *-ArAk* constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation data.

#### 4.4.1. -ArAk: Frequency of Use

-ArAk converbial form is the one and only simplex converbial ending within this category, and according to Rehbein & Herkenrath (2015), it “implements the characteristics of the way the action expressed in the finite verb is carried out; the implementation is specified according to features of causation, condition, presupposition etc., or according to features of mode, manner etc.” (p. 493).

As is evident in Table 37, along with *-mAdAn*, *-ArAk* converbial form is one of the most frequently-used converbial ending in manner category. However, according to the findings (see Figure 29), the *frequency of use* of this converbial ending is not equally distributed among the three subcorpora.



**Figure 29.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of simplex manner-oriented converbial ending *-ArAk* among the three speakers' subcorpora

Figure 29 indicates that Turkish monolingual speakers make more use of constructions formed with the simplex converbial ending *-ArAk*, with a ratio of 0,5967% (F=117) compared to the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers, who make use of only 29 occurrences which correspond to 0,1308% in the subcorpus. Intergenerational analysis reveals that there is a difference in the frequency of use of *-ArAk* converbial ending. In other words, *-ArAk* is more frequently employed by the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals

than by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation counterparts. A number of samples concerning the occurrences of simplex manner-oriented converbial ending formed with –ArAk from the three subcorpora are presented in the following figures. First of all, Extract 17 presents an extract from Turkish monolingual subcorpus:

(29)

|  |
|--|
| <p><b>TM-4</b>[Ben bu evi çalışarak] [bööle didinerek] aldım abe. He • heç golay<br/> <b>TM-4</b> [TL] I this house-ACC. work-CONV. like do best-CONV. buy.PST.3PSg. bro. Yeah, not easy<br/> <b>TM-4</b> [Eng]I bought that house by working hard like by doing my best. No, it is not that</p> |
|--|

(30)

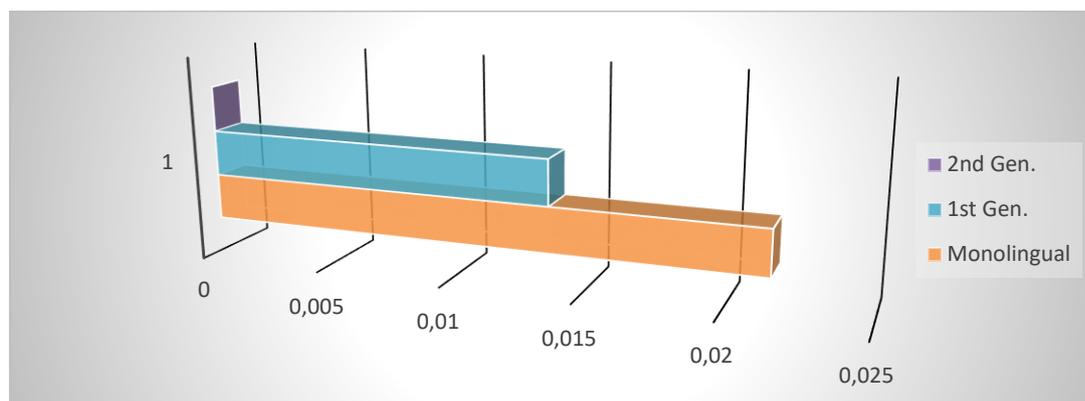
|   |
|---|
| <p><b>TM-4</b> deel ööle ev neyim.. Çalışmadan olur mu bu işler heç? Hey gidi!<br/> <b>TM-4</b>[TL] not that house that work-CONV. be.PRS.Simp. INT. Part. this work-Pl. at all<br/> <b>TM-4</b>[Eng]easy, you know? Without working, is it possible to buy a house, huh?</p> |
|---|

**Extract 17.** An extract of simplex manner-oriented converbial ending –ArAk in Turkish monolingual speaker (sub)corpus (TMSC)

In this extract, Turkish monolingual speaker talks about his effort to buy a house to live. He produces a manner-oriented converbial form –ArAk to express how he manages to buy the house: çalışarak (by working) and didinerek. (by doing my best). In order to intensify the emotional load in the message, the interlocutor prefers to use two semantically synonymous verb stems by adding each converbial form implicating manner and mode at the same time: [Ben bu evi çalışarak] bööle [dininerek] aldım (I bought this house by working hard, like by doing my best). This sort of *doubling converbialization* is observed in simplex temporal converbial construction–Ip construction as well (cf. Figure 25). However, the nature of the doubling in the constructions in –ArAk seems to be different from the temporal converb –Ip converb since some lexical items i.e. discourse markers, fillers etc. can be inserted between two –ArAk *doubling converbialization constructions*. For the very reason, it is called *doubling converbialization*. Besides, there are only a few instances –ArAk *doublingwise constructions* in the same dataset.

- (62) [Ben bu evi çalışarak] [bööle didinerek] aldım abe  
 I this house-ACC. work-CONV. like do best-CONV. buy.PST.3PSg. bro. Yeah, not easy  
 'I bought that house by working hard like by doing my best. No, it is not that easy'.

Figure 30 displays *-ArAk doublings* in the three subcorpora.



**Figure 30.** The distribution of *-ArAk doublings* in datasets

Comparative analysis between Turkish monolingual participants (0,0216%, corresponding to 5 occurrences) and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation participants (0,0137%; F=3) shows difference in terms of the distribution of *-IncA doubling constructions* (Figure 30). However, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual subcorpus, there is no occurrence of *-ArAk doublings* identified in the dataset. The findings reveal that there seems to be a difference in the distribution of *-ArAk doublings* between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker data and the control group data.

As for the pattern of use of *-ArAk* converbial ending, it is seen that the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers' use of manner-oriented converbial ending *-ArAk* substantially resembles Turkish monolingual structures in terms of frequency of use and usage. An extract, showing a sample from Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers' subcorpus can be seen in the following figure:

(38)

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| <b>DTB-10</b>      | Geçen yaz memlekete gittik, yoh evvelsi seneydi, evvelsi.                 |
| <b>DTB-10[TL]</b>  | last summer country.DAT. go.PST.1PPl. no before year COP.PST.3PSg. before |
| <b>DTB-10[Eng]</b> | We went to Turkey last summer, no the year before, before.                |

(39)

**DTB-10** Gonvoy halinde gittik. 6 araba. [Türküler söyleyerek], [naralar  
**DTB-10 [TL]** convoy case-GEN-LOC. go.PST.1PPl. six car song.Pl. say-CONV. yell.Pl.  
**DTB-10 [Eng]** *In a joiner convoy that includes 6 cars. We travelled by singing songs,*

(40)

**DTB-10** *atarak*], [göbek bile *atarak*] ((kahkaha)) gittik yav. İnan buna.  
**DTB-10 [TL]** yell-CONV. belly even dance-CONV. go.PST.1PPl. INTj. believe.IMP.2PSg. that.ACC.  
**DTB-10 [Eng]** *yelling crazily, and even by bellydancing. Believe me!*

**Extract 18.** An extract of simplex temporal converbial ending –*ArAk* in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (DTBSC)

The interlocutor DTB-10 talks about his summer vacation to the hearers around. He says that he goes to Turkey for summer holiday with a bunch of fellows in joiner convoy that includes 6 cars. He expresses the way and the mood they travelled from the Netherlands to Turkey by producing manner-oriented converbial construction – *ArAk*: [*Türküler söyle-yerek*], [*naralar at-arak*], [*göbek bile at-arak*] (by singing songs, yelling crazily, and even by bellydancing). Once again, we encounter a *serialization of converbs* in a series of three occurrences. The latter two converbial constructions extend the meaning of the first in a way that they are all meant to emphasize the overall mode by focusing on manner. In addition to that, all these constructions reveal a strong syntagmatic relation with the matrix construction *gittik* (we went).

There are a few unconventional usages regarding manner-oriented simplex converbial ending –*ArAk* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual dataset. Extract 19 illustrates such an unconventional usage.

(326)

**THS-12** Olum ohumah da o gadar golay deil. [*Universiteit'ta ohuyarak*]  
**THS-12[TL]** boy to read too that much easy not university.LOC. study.CONV.  
**THS-12[Eng]** *Man, it is not easy to study at the university. You need to work while*

**THS-2**

**THS-2[TL]**

**THS-2[Eng]**

*Biliyom, baa mı diyon.*

I know.Prog.1Sg. me say.Prog.2Sg.

*I know that, are u talking to me?*

(327)

**THS-12** hem çalışcan. Yohsa, *gemeente* 'ye gitcen, şey yardım alcan

**THS-12[TL]** both work.FUT.2Sg. otherwise municipality-DAT.s the grey I that-ACC. take take-CONV. and well house-DAT. back return.PST.1PSg.

**THS-12[Eng]** *you are studying at the university. Otherwise, you need to go to the*

**THS-2**

**THS-2[TL]**

**THS-2[Eng]**

*Ben çalıştım Albert Heijn 'ta?*

I work:PST.1PSg. Albert Heijn.LOC.

*I worked at Albert Heijn.*

(328)

**THS-12** sosyal ehmm *sociaal hulp* alcan veya şey *schuld* alcan.

**THS-12[TL]** social Intj. social help take.FUT.2Sg. or well scholarship take.FUT.2Sg.

**THS-12[Eng]** *municipality to get social ehmm social help or you must have well scholarship.*

**Extract 19.** An extract of simplex manner-oriented converbial ending –*ArAk* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

An unconventional usage of –*ArAk* detected in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual language is presented in this extract. The 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker makes use of a manner-oriented converbial item as if it was a temporal converbial ending, e.g. –*Ip* and/or –*ken*. While he talks about life conditions in the Netherlands as a university student, he aims at emphasizing the fact that he needs to work while studying at the university. For this purpose, he seems to try to connect the action of the subordinate clause *okumak* (to study at a university) to the action of matrix construction *çalışmak* (to work), with an emphasis on parallelism between the actions. In doing so, he produces a simplex manner-oriented converbial ending instead of a temporal one, e.g. –*ken* or maybe –*Ip*. The use of a manner-oriented converbial ending in this utterance creates a semantic unconventionality in the following utterance: *Universiteit'ta ohuyarak hem çalışcan* (You need to work while you study at the university). –(y)*ArAk* converbial ending is treated by the interlocutor as if it had a aspecto-temporal function,

thus leading to a change in its semantic category. A conventional Turkish expression of the same utterance including the temporal converbial *-ken* would be:

- (63) Üniversite-de ok-ur-ken çalış-ma-n da gerek(ebilir).  
 university-LOC. study.AOR-CONV. work.NOM.POSS.Part.. must.  
 ‘You need to work while studying at the university (at the same time).’

Its Dutch equivalent can be translated as in Example 64.

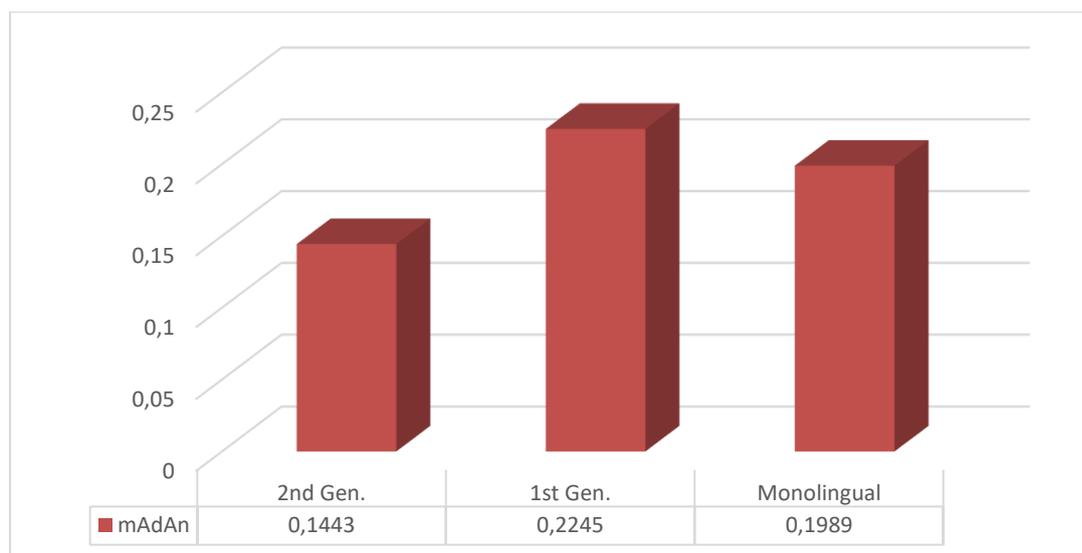
- (64) Je moet werken *terwijl* je aan de universiteit studeert.  
 you must work while you a the university study.2PSg.  
 ‘You need to work while you are studying at the university.’

In Dutch, such constructions are formed and connected with a conjunction e.g. *terwijl* (while) functioning as a temporal connector to connect two finite constructions. In this extract, Turkish conjunction *hem* is used as a so-called connector between two grammatical structures *Üniversiteit’ta ohuyarak hem çalışcan* (You need to work while you study at the university). The data analysis reveals that this kind of use seems to be unique to the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers’ discourse. As stated earlier in this section, there is a strong syntagmatic relation between converbial ending *-ArAk* and the finite predicate in Turkish. Notwithstanding, unlike control data, this syntagmatic relation is weakened with the insertion of a conjunction once again, (cf. *-Ip constructions*). This is an indicator of entrenchment in the insertion of conjunctions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speech production. Regardless of the category of converbial constructions, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers make use of coordinating conjunctions which surround the converbial markers. Therefore, it seems that this pattern weakens the morphosyntactic interlocking feature of converbial endings which is an indicator of contact-induced language change.

#### 4.4.2. *-mAdAn*: Frequency of Use

Unlike simplex manner-oriented converbial item *-ArAk*, *-mAdAn*, is a morphosyntactically complex manner-oriented converbial ending, and it denotes

negativity and functions as a “negative marker” (Gračanin-Yüksek, 2015, p. 26). In such a case, the converbial ending *-mAdAn*, denoting negative marker does not allow the occurrence of the postposition *önce*. Figure 31 indicates the distribution of frequency of use of complex manner-oriented converbial ending *-mAdAn*.



**Figure 31.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of complex manner-oriented converbial ending *-mAdAn*

As is apparent in Figure 31, *-mAdAn* is the most frequently-used manner-oriented converbial construction produced by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual participants (0,1443%, corresponding to 32 occurrences). The complex manner-oriented converbial ending *-mAdAn* is less frequently employed by both Turkish monolingual (0,1989% which is equal to 46 instances), and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual participants (0,2245% that corresponds to 49 occurrences). Comparative analysis between the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals and the monolinguals reveals that Dutch-Turkish bilingual participants make fairly more use of morphosyntactically complex converbial construction *-mAdAn* than their monolingual counterparts. This finding shows that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual participants make less use of the manner-oriented converbial ending *-mAdAn* than the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual participants which implies that this construction is not used as frequent as the 1<sup>st</sup> generation participants did. This might be considered as a sign of weak conventionalization.

As for the patterns used by the speakers from the three groups, a few excerpts representing the use of either conventional and/or unconventional usage(s) are presented. Regarding Turkish monolingual speakers' subcorpus, no conventional use of *-mAdAn* construction is identified by raters. Extract 20 shows a pattern from Turkish monolingual subcorpus:

(99)

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| <b>TM-10</b>      | <b>Diinenmeden</b> çalışıydık o hafta.                        |
| <b>TM-10[TL]</b>  | rest.CONV. work.PST.cop.1PPl. that week                       |
| <b>TM-10[Eng]</b> | <i>We worked very hard at that time.</i>                      |
| <b>TM-6</b>       | Sorma! Ne yoon günlerdi, zabattan                             |
| <b>TM-6[TL]</b>   | ask.NEG. what busy day.Pl.COP.PST.3PSg. morning-ABL.          |
| <b>TM-6[Eng]</b>  | <i>Right! It was such a busy time that we got up early in</i> |

(100)

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <b>TM-6</b>      | gak, bişi <b>yemen</b> den ac ac darlıya git, diinenmeden dukkana git.  |
| <b>TM-6[TL]</b>  | wake up.IMP. anything hungry hungry go.IMP. rest-CONV. store-DAT. go.IMP.                                     |
| <b>TM-6[Eng]</b> | <i>the morning, went to the yard without having breakfast, and then we went to the store without resting.</i> |

(101)

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <b>TM-6</b>      | Aşam eve gelinci canımız çıkıyodu yorgunluhtan.   |
| <b>TM-6[TL]</b>  | evening house-DAT. come-CONV. life.Poss.1PPl. take out.Pres.Prog.PST.3PSg. tiredness-ABL. |
| <b>TM-6[Eng]</b> | <i>When we got back home, we realized that we had been exhausted.</i>                     |

**Extract 20.** An extract of complex manner-oriented converbial ending *-mAdAn* in Turkish monolingual speaker (sub)corpus (TMSC)

In this extract, Turkish monolingual interlocutors are talking about an “unpleasant” (negative) time in their life when they were too busy insomuch that they had to work *without eating anything* (*yemen*den) and *without having a break* (*dinlenmeden*). As stated earlier, complex converbial form *-mAdAn* denotes “negativity” manner in discourse. Therefore, to focus on the unpleasant of being busy, they make use of a couple of *-mAdAn* converbial forms in a row as they wish to make their argument(s)

convincing for the hearer(s). In this respect, when the interlocutor TM-10 uses –*mAdAn* construction in her utterance *Diinenmeden çalışıydık o hafta* (We worked very hard at that time), she has probably triggers her interlocutor who has the role of hearer. Thus TM-6 uses a series of –*mAdAn* constructions to support her argument by using negative manner marker *Ne yoon günlerdi, zabattan gak, bişi yemedden ac ac darlıya git, diinenmeden dukkana git* (It was such a busy time that we got up early in the morning, went to the yard without having breakfast, and then we went to the store without resting).

As for the use of –*mAdAn* in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual subcorpus, there is no unconventional usage detected by the raters. One conventional usage can be seen in the extract presented below (Extract 21):

(127)

|  |
|--|
| <p><b>DTB-2</b> [Ben şahsen içmeden] rahatlıyamam. Moralım bozulduysa •<br/> <b>DTB-2[TL]</b> I personally drink.CONV. relieve.NEG.Prs.S.1PSg. morale.Poss. ruin-PAS.PST.3PSg.CONV.<br/> <b>DTB-2[Eng]</b> I could not be relieved without taking a sip. If I demoralize</p> |
|--|

(128)

|  |
|--|
| <p><b>DTB-2</b> gitcem önce bi kroeg'a içcem iyice sonra sen saa ben selamet.<br/> <b>DTB-2[TL]</b> go.FUT.1PSg. before a pub-DAT. drink.FUT.1PSg. well then you alive I healthy<br/> <b>DTB-2[Eng]</b> first of all I go to a pub, then it's OK for me.</p> |
|--|

**Extract 21.** An extract of complex manner-oriented converbial ending –*mAdAn* in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (DTBSC)

Starting from score area 127, Dutch-Turkish bilingual speaker DTB-4 explains how he is relaxed when he is in trouble. In order to emphasize his strategy, he says that he could not be relieved *without* taking a sip (*içmeden*).

As for the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' use of manner-oriented converbial ending–*mAdAn*, two extracts including unconventional constructions are presented in the following figures consecutively:

(306)

**THS-2** Türkiye’de [biri ee *çalmakdan* *çırpmakdan*] zengin olamaz ki!

**THS-2[TL]** Turkey-LOC. steal-CONV. steal-um.POSS. us what.INST. what.INST. hit.AOR.PPST.3PSg

**THS-2[Eng]** *You cannot be rich without stealing and swindling.*

**THS-5**

O kadar da diil ya?

**THS-5[TL]**

that much Part. not

**THS-5[Eng]**

*It is not that much!*

(307)

**THS-5** Çalışolardır *heimelijk* tabi de *heimelijk* maar o kadar diil.

**THS-5[TL]** steal.Prs.Prog.3PPI.COP. secretly of course probably but that much not

**THS-5[Eng]** *They are probably stealing of course probably but not that much.*

(308)

**THS-2** *Waarom niet? Kijk, sence* [bu adamlar *çalmakdan*] hemen nasıl

**THS-2[TL]** why not look.IMP. you-EQU. this man.Pl. steal-CONV. quick how

**THS-2[Eng]** *Why not! Look! How do you think these guys became rich quickly?*

(309)

**THS-2** zengin oldu? Oğlunun burda Amsterdam’da *schipleri* yok mu?

**THS-2[TL]** rich become.PST.3PSg. son.GEN. here Amsterdam-LOC. Ship.Pl. non Ques. Part.

**THS-9[Eng]** *Does not his son have ships here in Amsterdam?*

(310)

**THS-2** *Vakantiede* Selim abi gösterdi Amsterdam’da *kantoorunu*. *Heb je*

**THS-2[TL]** vacation-LOC. Selim bro. show.PST.3Sg. Amsterdam-LOC. office-Poss.-ACC. have

**THS-2[Eng]** *Selim brother showed us his office in Amsterdam in our vacation.*

(311)

**THS-2** *het onthouden?* Nereden gazandı bunu? Golay mı o kadar olum?

**THS-2[TL]** it remember where-ABL. earn.PST.3PSg. that-ACC. easy Ques Part. that much son-

**THS-2[Eng]** *Have you remembered that? How did they earn it? Is it that easy?*

THS-5

THS-5[TL]

THS-5[Eng]

Lan sus, *vakantiede gidemicez Türkiye'ye.*

mate shut up.IMP. vacation-LOC. go.NEG.Fut.1PSg. Turkey-DAT.

*Shut up, mate. Otherwise we cannot enter Turkey again.*

**Extract 22.** An extract of complex manner-oriented converbial ending *-mAdAn* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

In this extract, starting from score area, two 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers are discussing how some people became wealthy in a short period. Interestingly, one of the interlocutor TH-5 uses an unconventional and unidentified form: *-maktan* instead of *-mAdAn* that looks like one another morphologically. Even though in Turkish there is a common nominalizer *-mAk* that can be juxtaposed with nominal cases, its function is not identical to converbial construction which functions as an adverbializer in discourse. Thus, it seems that there is a morphological “contamination” in using a nominalizer *-maktan* form instead of a converbializer *-mAdAn*. He claims that *one cannot be rich without stealing and swindling* (Türkiye’de [*çalmakdan* *çırpımdan*] *zengin olamazsın ki?*). Moreover, the repetitive use of the same form in the flow of discourse implies that this form is entrenched by the user. On top of that the same interlocutor uses the very same grammatical form in another construction *sence [bu adamlar çalmakdan] hemen nasıl zengin oldu* (How do you think those people become rich that quick)? As it is obvious from the sample occurrences, this time, there is no deviation in terms of semantic field of the construction. But the structure is completely unconventional which signals a sort of weakening in the structure. Although its morphology creates a kind of unconventionality, it is not corrected by the other 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker which means it is perceived and understood by him. Except for the fact that its morphology deviates from monolingual use, there is no deviation in terms of the syntagmatic relation between the “converbial” construction and finite predicate.

Extract 23 also exhibits another instance of unconventional use of *-mAdAn* construction:

(61)

|  |
|--|
| <p><b>THS-11</b> O mahallede • • bir durum olduğunu • görüyorum. Ve ona eğer<br/><b>THS-11[TL]</b> that street-LOC a situation be-Rel-ACC see-Pr.Prog.1P.Sg and him if<br/><b>THS-11[Eng]</b> <i>I realize that there was a situation in that area. I told them to</i></p> |
|--|

(62)

|   |
|---|
| <p><b>THS-11</b> müdahale etmeden yani problem olmadan bir ((1s)) ufak bir zaman<br/><b>THS-11[TL]</b> intervening do-CONV I mean problem be-CONV a tiny a time.1PSig that<br/><b>THS-11[Eng]</b> <i>spare some time without intervening, I mean, before it becomes a big</i></p> |
|---|

(63)

|   |
|---|
| <p><b>THS-11</b> ayırmasını dile getirdim.<br/><b>THS-11[TL]</b> spare-NOM.pers.ACC. tongue-DAT bring-PastS.1PSing<br/><b>THS-11[Eng]</b> <i>problem.</i></p> |
|---|

**Extract 23.** An extract of complex temporal converbial ending *-mAdAn* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

In Extract 23, there is a sort of ambiguity in the use of manner converb *-mAdAn* because even though the non-finite clause begins with a conditional construction item *eğer*, it continues with a manner converb *-mAdAn*, which is employed to implement “the characteristics of the way of the action expressed in the finite verb is carried out; the implementation is specified according to features of causation, condition, presupposition etc.” (*ibid.*, p. 493). It is not conventional to use a conditional construction item *eğer* in such an utterance, which might mean both structural and semantic loosening. In a second reading, it could also be the case that the impact of Dutch ‘*als*’ (if) which is a polysemous condition adverb in Dutch might have a triggering effect on the use of *eğer* in this utterance, as shown in Example 65:

(65) Als ze genoeg tijd hadden gespaard voordat het erger werd zonder in te grijpen,  
If they enough time had spare.PST.Prt. before it worse become.Pst. without in to grab,

vertelde ik hen  
tell.Pst. I them

“I told them if they had spared enough time before it got worse without intervening.”

It could also explain relatively high number of conditional converb constructions uttered with *eğer* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers’ speech in the subcorpus.

#### 4.4.3. -cAsInA

The converbial ending *-cAsInA* functions as a complex subordinator, and implements the features of the way the event stated in the verb of the matrix construction is carried out; that is to say, “the implementation is specified according to features of manner etc” (Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015, p. 494), having the meaning ‘as if’ or ‘like’.

**Table 44.** The *frequency of use* of manner-oriented converbial ending *-cAsInA* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual, and the monolingual speakers’ data

| Converbials    | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen Bilinguals |       | 1 <sup>st</sup> Gen Bilinguals |        | Monolingual speakers |        |
|----------------|--------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|
|                | F                              | %     | F                              | %      | F                    | %      |
| <i>-cAsInA</i> | 0                              | 0,000 | 1                              | 0,0045 | 7                    | 0,0302 |

Table 44 displays the number of occurrences (per hundred utterances) of *frequency of use* of manner-oriented converbial ending *-cAsInA*. According to the results, there is no occurrence of *-cAsInA converbial form* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data. In the 1<sup>st</sup> generation dataset, there is one single *-cAsInA* converbial item occurrence, which is equal to 0,0045% in the distribution while there are 7 occurrences (0,0302%) in Turkish monolingual data.

Regarding Turkish monolingual and the two bilingual groups’ subcorpora, no unconventional use is identified by the raters. Extract 24 exemplifies the usage of the complex converbial ending *-cAsInA* in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual data.

(62)

|  |
|--|
| <p><b>DTB-</b> Ölmeden koyünü gormek istediymi raamedli. Oolları zaamet idip<br/> <b>DTB-[TL]</b> die-CONV. village-Poss.-ACC. see.Nom. want.PST.3PSg.COP.PST.3PSg. son.Pl.Poss.<br/> <b>DTB-Eng]</b> <i>Before she died, she had longed for living in her village. Her sons did not</i></p> |
|--|

(63)

**DTB-** götürmedi bi. Bo da başkonsulunu aramış, beni Türkiye'ye götür  
**DTB-[TL]** trouble do-CONV. this Part. consul-ACC. call.EVI. me Turkey-DAT. take.IMP.  
**DTB-[Eng]** *bother to do so. For this reason, she called the consul, and told him to take*

(64)

**DTB-** deydi. [Garibim canını ona atmak *istercesine*] gel al beni burdan demiş.  
**DTB-[TL]** say-CONV. poor.Poss. life.Poss.ACC. throw-Nom. Want-CONV. come.IMP. take.IMP. here-  
**DTB-[Eng]** *her to Turkey. She told him to take her away as if he would be her saviour.*

**Extract 24.** An extract of complex manner-oriented converbial ending **-cAsInA** in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (DTBSC)

Starting from score area 62, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker DTB- explains how their Turkish neighbour longed for returning Turkey before she had passed away. In order to emphasize her attempt to return Turkey by calling Turkish consul general to the Netherlands, the interlocutor says that believing that the consul could help her, she wanted to convince him to take her away by uttering: [*Garibim canını ona atmak istercesine*] gel al beni burdan demiş (She told him to take her away as if he would be her saviour).

#### 4.4.4. -(y)A... -(y)A

-(y)A...-(y)A constructions are considered as a duplicated converbial ending: -(y)A...-(y)A. Table 45 displays the *frequency of use* of manner-oriented converbial ending -(y)A...-(y)A in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual, and monolingual speakers' data. **Table 45.** The *frequency of use* of manner-oriented converbial ending -(y)A...-(y)A in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual, and the monolingual speakers' data

| Converbials | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen Bilinguals |        | 1 <sup>st</sup> Gen Bilinguals |        | Monolingual speakers |        |
|-------------|--------------------------------|--------|--------------------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|
|             | F                              | %      | F                              | %      | F                    | %      |
| -cAsInA     | 2                              | 0,0090 | 3                              | 0,0137 | 14                   | 0,0605 |

The findings in Table 45 reveals that duplicated *-(y)A... -(y)A* construction is one of the least frequently-used converbial form in all subcorpora types. In this regard, the distribution of this converbial form is as follows: 0,0090% (2 occurrences) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' subcorpus, 0,0137% (3 occurrences) in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers' subcorpus, and 0,0605 (14 instances) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' subcorpus.

As observed from the data analysis, there are too few occurrences of the aforementioned constructions, especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' subcorpus (no occurrence of *-cAsInA*; and only 2 occurrences of *-(y)A...-(y)A*). Furthermore, these usages are all coded as conventional by raters. As the focus of the current study aims at any divergence of heritage language, only a few samples representing the use of *-cAsInA* and *-(y)A...-(y)A* constructions are illustrated from some of spoken subcorpora below, if possible. Extract 25 presents an extract of the use of *-(y)A...-(y)A* construction from the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual subcorpus.

(73)

**THS-5** *Hoe was pilates-sessie?*

**THS-5[TL]** how be.PST.3PSg. pilates session

**THS-5[Eng]** *How was pilates session?*

**THS-6**

*Goed! Maar gadina güle güle öldük.*

**THS-6[TL]**

good but woman-DAT. laugh-CONV. laugh-CONV. Die.PST.1PPL

**THS-6[Eng]**

*Good! But the woman made us laugh a lot.*

(74)

**THS-6** Plastik gibi bi o yana devriliyo, bi bu yana ((güler)) ona güle güle öldük.

**THS-6[TL]** plastic like a that side-DAT. topple.Prs.Prog.3PSg. a this side-DAT. laugh-CONV. laugh-CONV.

**THS-6[Eng]** *She was like plastic. She topples over this side and that side. She killed*

**Extract 25.** An extract of complex manner-oriented converbial ending *-(y)A...-(y)A* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

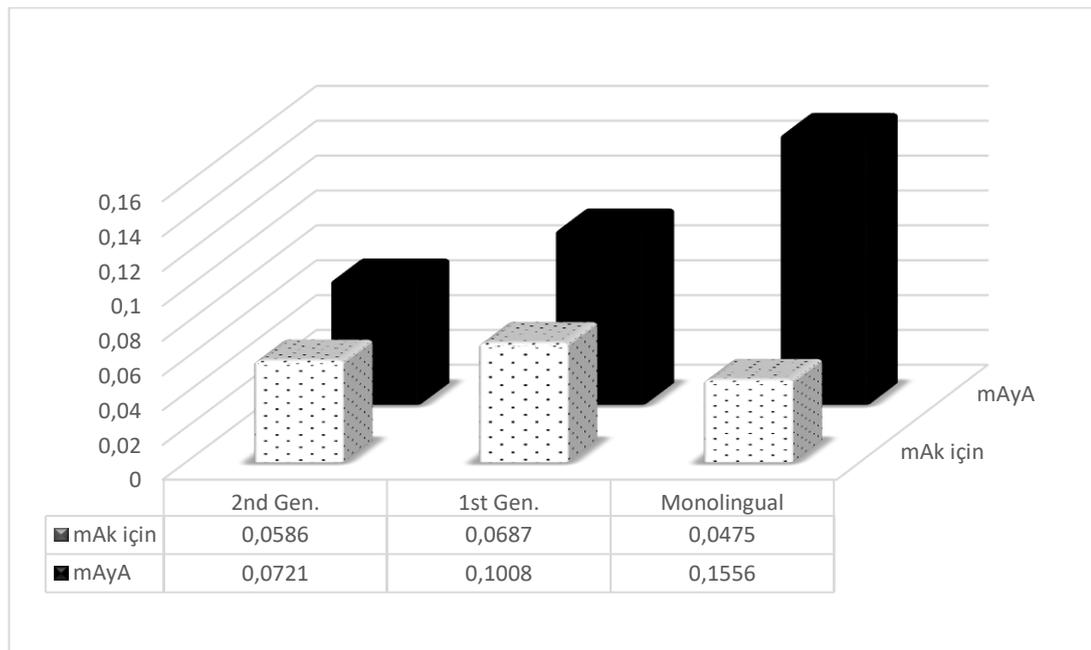
All occurrences of *-(y)A...-(y)A* (F=2) can be seen in the extract presented above. As is obvious, the converbial marker is only used in the “lexicalized” expression *güle güle* (laughing laughing) by only one interlocutor while this reduplicated suffix is used by

more than one speaker in monolingual and bilingual subcorpora. Thus, it is difficult to claim that the use of  $-(y)A...-(y)A$  is conventionalized across all the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker speech community in the Netherlands.

#### 4.5. Purpose and Result-Oriented Converbial Endings

When the purpose and result-oriented converbial endings are examined throughout the subcorpora, it is found out that their *frequency of use* is rather low in comparison with the temporal and manner-oriented ones. The distribution of *frequency of use* of purpose and result-oriented converbial endings in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers', and the monolingual speakers' subcorpora is illustrated in the Table 46.

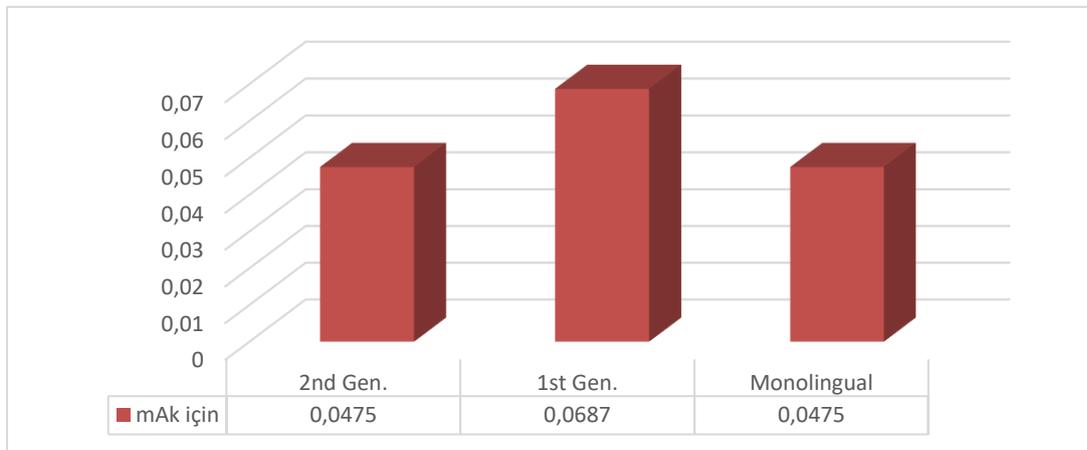
**Table 46.** Purpose-and-result-oriented converbial endings  $-mAk\ için$ , and  $-mAyA$  in the three speakers' subcorpora



The data analysis presented in Table 46 reveals that purpose-and-result-oriented converbial constructions are less frequently employed by all speaker groups. Low frequency of use reveals that monolingual speakers seem to make more use of  $-mAyA$  converbial constructions (0,1556%) than both the 2<sup>nd</sup> (0,0721%) and the 1<sup>st</sup> (0,1008%) generation bilinguals. Intergenerational analysis indicates that bilingual groups' data

show similar distribution in comparison to Turkish monolinguals. In addition to the distribution, when converbality of the constructions is examined, no instance of unconventional use has been identified by the raters in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> bilingual, and the monolingual data.

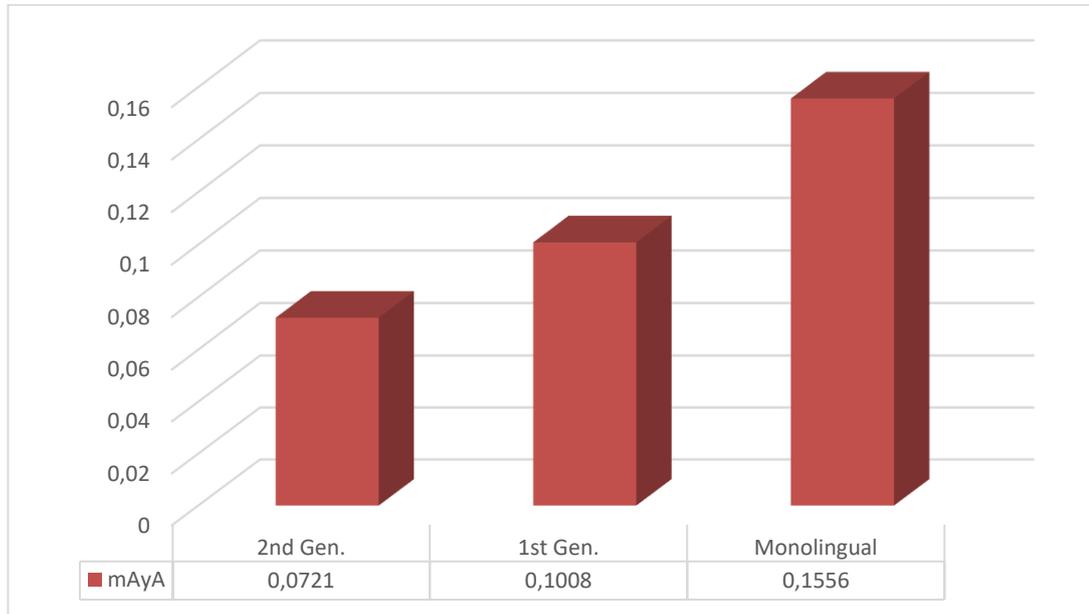
On the other hand, the tables displaying *frequency of use* of aforementioned converbial items produced by speakers are presented below. First of all, the distribution of *-mAk için* is presented in Figure 32:



**Figure 32.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of converbial ending *-mAk için* among the three speakers' subcorpora

The findings indicate that the frequency of use of *-mAk için* construction is high in the 1st generation bilingual speakers' data corresponding to 0,0687% (F=13). The distribution is much lower in both monolingual (0,0475%; F=11) and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' (0,0475%; F=15) data. On the other hand, comparative analysis between the distribution occurring in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation data reveals that there have identical ratio distributions.

When it comes to the distribution of frequency of the converbial ending *-mAyA*, Figure 33 shows the overall findings.



**Figure 33.** The distribution of *frequency of use* of converbial ending *-mAyA* in each subcorpus

The data analysis indicates that the distribution of *-mAyA construction* is much higher in Turkish monolingual (0,1556%; F=36) data compared to the bilingual datasets. Comparative analysis between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> bilingual speakers reveals that the distribution of frequency of use of this construction type also displays a difference (0,1008%, and 0,0721% respectively).

As for the conventionality of the converbial endings used by the three speaker groups, the raters' evaluation indicates that no unconventional usage is identified for both purpose-and-result-oriented converbial markers. Thus, only a single occurrence consisting of *-mak için* construction from the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers subcorpus data is presented in Extract 26:

(156)

|   |
|---|
| <p><b>THS-4</b> Bugün [ben tireni almak için] ehm bu sabah erken ee oyandım.<br/> <b>THS-4 [TL]</b> today I train-ACC. take.CONV. INTj. this morning early-ABL. wake up.PST.IPSg.<br/> <b>THS-4 [Eng]</b> I woke up early this morning to take the train.</p> |
|---|

(157)

**THS-4** *Maar ik was laat. Ik kon de trein niet nemen. Çoh küfrettim ha!*

**THS-4[TL]** but I be.PST late I can.PST. the train not to take very swear.PST.1PSg. INTj.

**THS-4[Eng]** *But I was late. I could not take the train. I swore a lot man!*

**THS-1**

*Mijn God! Meen je het?*

**THS-1[TL]**

my god mean.PRS. you that

**THS-1[Eng]**

*My God! Are you serious?*

(158)

**THS-4** *Ja, ja dan ik belde Johan, maar hij beantwoordde mijn oproep*

*niet* **THS-4[TL]** yes yes then I call.PST.1PSg. Johan but he answer.PST.3PSg. my call not

**THS-4[Eng]** *Yeah, then I called Johan but he did not answer my call.*

**Extract 26.** An extract of purpose and result-oriented converbial form –*mAk için* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

In this excerpt, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker tries to tell his experience of being late for the train on a day when he is supposed to take an important exam for the accomplishment of undergraduate program. He uses a purpose converbial form –*mAk için* to express the reason for his waking up early in the morning: [*ben treni almak için*] (in order to take the train). The ‘purposeful’ relation between the matrix clause *uyanmak* (to wake up) and the converbial construction *treni almak* (to take the train) is conventionally interwoven with the connectivity mechanisms of Turkish morphosyntax regardless of semantic contact-induced new forms. That is to say, in Turkish one does not take the train (*kimse treni almaz*), rather s/he gets on the train (*trene biner*). This expression is a loan translation from Dutch expression *om de trein te nemen* which can be translated to Turkish “tren(i) almak”. Apart from this loan translation, the utterance consisting of purpose converbial ending is regarded conventional.

#### 4.6. Causal Converbial Endings

Causal forms of converbial endings are (1) *-DIK-Poss.-DAn*, (2) *-DIK-Poss. için*, and (3) *-DIK-Poss.-DAn dolayı*. In these constructions, the converbial endings possess the factive nominalizer *-DIK*, meaning *because*.

Table 47 presents the distribution of *frequency of use* of causal converbial endings among the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual, and Turkish monolingual speakers' subcorpora.

**Table 47.** Causal converbial endings *-DIK Poss.Case dolayı*, *-DIK Poss. için* and *DIK Poss.DAn* constructions in the three speakers' subcorpora

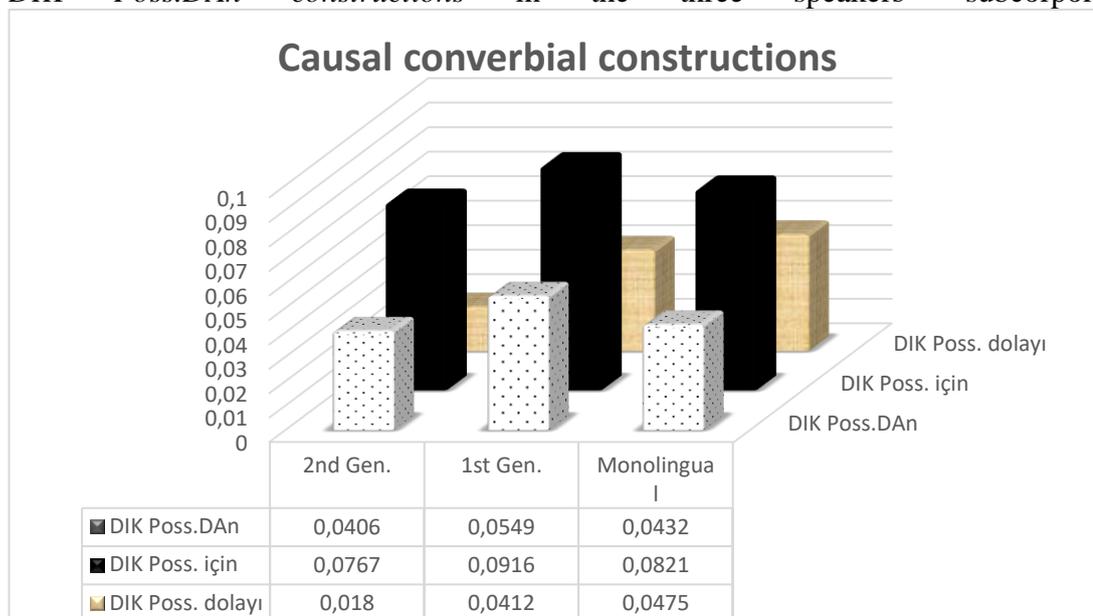


Table 47 lists the frequencies of the complex causal converbial constructions formed with *-DIK* in the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual, and the monolingual speakers' datasets. It can be concluded that the occurrences are similar in terms of the distribution of frequency of use with an exception in the converbial ending *-DIK-Poss.DAn dolayı*. All speaker groups make the most use of *-DIK.Poss için* construction. That is, the distribution of occurrences in the 2<sup>nd</sup> bilingual speakers corresponds to 0,0767% (F=17). Likewise, both the 1<sup>st</sup> bilinguals and Turkish monolinguals use this construction type much more frequently (0,0916%; F=20, and 0,0821%; F=19 respectively). While the constructions formed with *-DIK-Poss.DAn* shows the least

distribution in Turkish monolingual speaker data (0,0432%), its distribution is relatively high in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual data with the ratio 0,0549%, which corresponds to 12 occurrences. As for the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker data, the ratio distribution of this construction can be stated as medio, that is 0,0406%. On the other hand, *-DIK-Poss.DAn dolayı* construction presents a different picture in the sense that 2<sup>nd</sup> bilingual speakers seem to employ *-DIK-Poss.DAn dolayı* less frequently (0,0180%) than their counterparts in the control groups (0,412% for the 1<sup>st</sup> generation group; 0,0475% for Turkish monolingual group). Table 48 indicates the distribution of frequency of unconventional usage of causal converbial endings identified among the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals, and the monolingual speakers's subcorpora.

**Table 48.** The *frequency of unconventional usages* of causal converbial endings among the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals, and the monolingual speakers' subcorpora

| Temporal<br>Converbials           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen Bilinguals |                | 1 <sup>nd</sup> Gen Bilinguals |                | Monolingual<br>speakers |                |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|
|                                   | Conv.<br>(F)                   | Unconv.<br>(F) | Conv.<br>(F)                   | Unconv.<br>(F) | Conv.<br>(F)            | Unconv.<br>(F) |
| <i>-DIK-Poss.-<br/>DAn</i>        | 6                              | 3              | 12                             | 0              | 10                      | 0              |
| <i>-DIK-Poss.<br/>için</i>        | 17                             | 0              | 20                             | 0              | 19                      | 0              |
| <i>-DIK-Poss.-<br/>DAn dolayı</i> | 4                              | 0              | 9                              | 0              | 11                      | 0              |
| <b>Total</b>                      | <b>30</b>                      | <b>3</b>       | <b>41</b>                      | <b>0</b>       | <b>40</b>               | <b>0</b>       |

Table 48 shows that only the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual subcorpus comprises unconventional usages regarding the causal converbial constructions. Even though there are too few occurrences of causal converbial endings in three speaker groups' database, when it comes to the unconventional usages, the raters' evaluation shows that there are a few unconventional usages in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker data. On the other hand, all the clausal converbial endings used by the monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers are coded as conventional.

The unconventional usages are all identified in the same interlocutor's speech production data which might be treated as a distinctive feature of the interlocutor's own idiolect. Extract 27 presents these three unconventional occurrences.

(122)

|  |
|--|
| <b>THS-11</b> Diyo seni almıcağtık aslında işe ama diyo [seni <b>aldığımdan</b> ] pişman değilim.<br><b>THS-11 [TL]</b> say-Pr.Prog.3PS you take-NEG-FUT.3PS work-DAT say-Pr.Prog.3PS take-DIK-pos.-DAn regret not.COP1PS<br><b>THS-11 [Eng]</b> <i>He said that we did not actually hire you but I do not regret as I hired you at all.</i> |
|--|

(123)

|   |
|---|
| <b>INT.</b> Nasıl yani?<br><b>INT. [TL]</b> How you mean<br><b>INT. [Eng]</b> <i>What do you mean?</i>  |
| <b>THS-11</b> Yani [seni <b>aldığımdan</b> ] deyil • [ <b>kalıcığından</b> ] pişmanım diyo.<br><b>THS-11 [TL]</b> That is you take-DIK-poss.-DAn not stay DIK-poss.-DAn regretful-Cop1PS say-Pr.Pro<br><b>THS-11 [Eng]</b> <i>That is, I am not regretful to hire you but I regret that you will be a long term employee.</i> |

**Extract 27.** An extract of causal converbial form *-DIK-poss.-DAn* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

The causal converb *-DIK-poss.-DAn* used here requires a converb particle *-DIK-* followed by a possessive suffix, which is supposed to go into subject-verb agreement, and ablative case. It is a well-known fact that converbs have “an open but –by default– tight relation of the nonfinite converbial syntagma to the next higher finite element” (Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015, p. 493). They are also characterized to form a semantic synthesis which is also known as ‘propositional interlocking’ (see Bühler, 1934). Some converbs might need some postpositions such as *dolayı, için, etc.* Sometimes, these satellite postpositions are so interrelated with its pivotal converb that lacking them appears to lead to an unconventionality in the non-finite converbial syntagma. In this example, lacking the postposition *için* appears to result in unconventionality.

Turkish monolingual structure would be:

(66) [Sen-i (iş-e) al-**dığı-m için**] pişman değil-im.  
you-ACC. work-DAT. take-DIK.Poss.1PSg. for regret not.COP1Sg.  
'I do not regret that I hired you as an employee'.  
or

(67) [Sen-i (iş-e) al-**dığı-mdan dolayı**] pişman değil-im.  
you-ACC. work-DAT. take-DIK.Poss.1PSg.because regret not.COP1Sg.  
'I do not regret that I hired you as an employee'.

In order to compare the unconventional features produced by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals, a conventional usage taken from the control speaker data needs to be exemplified. To this end, Extract 28 illustrates a conventional usage in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual monolingual subcorpus.

(368)

**DTB-10 [Afspraakım iptal olduğu için] tüm planım bozuldu anasını ya!**  
**DTB-10 [TL]** appointment.Poss.1p. cancel be.DIK.Poss. for all plan.Poss. fail.PST.3Sg. mother.Poss.ACC. Intj.  
**DTB-10 [Eng]**As my appintment was cancelled, all my plans failed, bugger.

(369)

**DTB-10 İkidir böyle oluyo ya.**  
**DTB-10 [TL]** two.COP. that be.Prog. Intj.  
**DTB-10 [Eng]**That is the case when it comes to me all the time.  
**THS-7 Sende oluyo bu *altijd* baba ((güler)).**  
**THS-7 [TL]** you.LOC. be.Prog.3Sg. this always dad ((laughs))  
**THS-7[Eng]** This alwasy happens to you dad.

(370)

**DTB-10 Çocukken anam çok ilenirdi ba<sup>n</sup>a. [Ana bedduası aldığı için]**  
**DTB-10 [TL]** kid-when mum-Poss.1Sg. very curse.AOR.PST.3Sg. me. Mum curse.Poss. take.DIK.Poss.1Sg. for  
**DTB-10 [Eng]**My mum cursed on me when I was a kid. As my mum cursed on me too much, it happens.

(371)

**DTB-10** oluyo bunnar. Kurşun döktürdüm, muska yaptırtım yoh gardaşım.

**DTB-10 [TL]** be.Prog.3Sg. this.Pl. lead pour.PST.1Sg. amulet do.Caus.PST.1Sg. no brother.Poss.1p.

**DTB-10 [Eng]** *I asked for lead casting, and made 'em an amulet. But it did not work bro.*

**Extract 28.** An extract of causal converbial form *-DIK-poss.-DAn* in the 1st generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (DTBSC)

Contrary to the usage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker, causal converbial constructions formed with *-DIK-* are followed by a converbial particle *için* (for) in this excerpt taken from the 1<sup>st</sup> generation dataset. The morphosyntactic relationship between *-DIK-* and converbial particles *için* (for) and *dolayı* (because) is quite strong. For the control speaker groups, it seems that complex nature of causal *-DIK-* construction followed with a converbial particle seems to be more conventionalized in the sense that satellite postpositions are interrelated with its pivotal converb in the non-finite converbial syntagma. Thus, the causal converbial constructions used in the score areas 368 [*Afspraakım iptal olduğu için*] (As my appointment was cancelled), and 370 [*Ana bedduası aldığı için*] (As my mum cursed on me too much). These features are more frequently employed in the control data. In this sense, in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual (0,1297%) and Turkish monolingual (0,1328%) discourse, converbial particles are more frequently employed by the control data speakers than the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals (0,0947%). The reason for the difference in the frequency might lie behind the fact that the causal converbial construction *-DIK-* is followed by a possessive suffix, which is supposed to go into subject-verb agreement, and ablative case. Other than this, the complex nature of *-DIK.Poss. için* or *dolayı*, when a particle is supposed to be produced, a simplification process might be activated.

#### 4.7. Conditional Converbial Endings

Conditional adverbial constructions are formed with (1) *-DIK-Poss. takdirde*, and (2) with (*eğer...*)-*sA* (the postclitic copular morpheme sequence).

As there are no occurrences of *-DIK-pers. takdirde* the distribution is not equally distributed among the speaker groups (Table 49).

**Table 49.** Conditional converbial endings *-DIK pers. takdirde* and *eğer...-sA* constructions in the three speakers' subcorpora

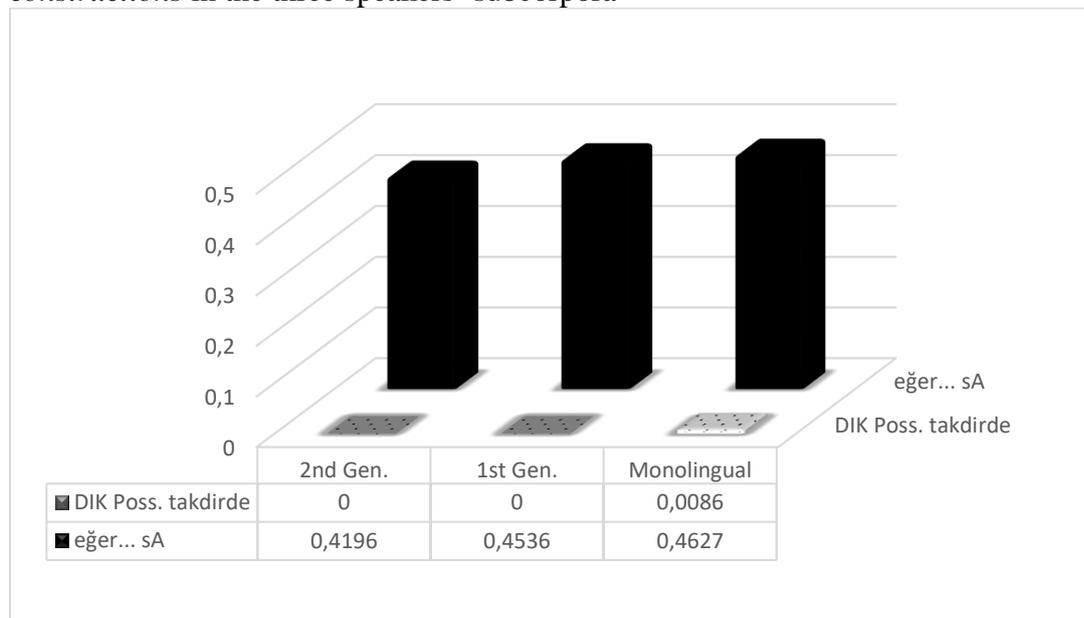


Table 49 presents the findings regarding the occurrences and percentage of *frequency of use* of conditional converbial endings. The data analysis displays that *-DIK-pers. takdirde* type of conditional construction is not employed by the 1<sup>st</sup> (0%) and 2<sup>nd</sup> (0%) generation bilingual speakers living in the Netherlands at all. On the other hand, in spite of the fact that Turkish monolingual speakers make use of such constructions (0,0086% corresponding to 2 occurrences), their occurrences seem to be rather low. The data also reveal that contrary to *-DIK-pers. takdirde constructions*, all speaker types eminently make use of (*eğer...*)-*sA* constructions. These results do not show a difference between the monolingual and the bilingual speakers' use of conditional converbial constructions. It is also obvious that there is no intergenerational difference between the bilingual participants, which signals that (*eğer...*)-*sA* construction is conventionalized within the bilingual speech community while *-DIK-pers. takdirde* construction is fairly weakened. The reason for the equal distribution of the converb is probably that there is no other way to form conditional constructions other than non-finite ones in Turkish. That is to say, while 107 occurrences are identified in Turkish

monolingual dataset (0,4627%), there exist 93 (*eğer...*)-sA constructions (0,4196%) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' and 99 constructions (0,4536%) in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual data.

As for the conventionality, Table 50 indicates the distribution of unconventional usage regarding the purpose-and-result-oriented converbial constructions.

**Table 50.** The frequency of unconventional usages of conditional converbial endings among the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals, and the monolingual speakers' subcorpora

| Temporal<br>Converbials        | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen Bilinguals |                | 1 <sup>st</sup> Gen Bilinguals |                | Monolingual<br>speakers |                |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|
|                                | Conv.<br>(F)                   | Unconv.<br>(F) | Conv.<br>(F)                   | Unconv.<br>(F) | Conv.<br>(F)            | Unconv.<br>(F) |
| <i>-DIK-pers.<br/>takdirde</i> | 0                              | 0              | 0                              | 0              | 2                       | 0              |
| <i>(eğer...)-sA</i>            | 92                             | 1              | 99                             | 0              | 107                     | 0              |
| <b>Total</b>                   | <b>92</b>                      | <b>1</b>       | <b>99</b>                      | <b>0</b>       | <b>109</b>              | <b>0</b>       |

When the conventionality of the conditional converbial endings is concerned, the raters' evaluation indicates that one single unconventional usage is identified for (*eğer...*) –sA construction in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data. Thus, only one single occurrence consisting of *eğer...*-sA construction from the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers subcorpus data is presented in the following extract.

(61)

|   |
|---|
| <p><b>THS-11</b> O mahallede • • bir durum olduğunu • • görüyorum. Ve ona <b>eğer</b><br/> <b>THS-11[TL]</b> that street-LOC a situation be-Rel-ACC see-Pr.Prog.1P.Sig and him if<br/> <b>THS-11[Eng]</b> I realize that there was a situation in that area. I told them to</p> |
|---|

(62)

|  |
|--|
| <p><b>THS-11</b> müdahale etmeden yani problem olmadan bir ((1s)) ufak bir zaman<br/> <b>THS-11[TL]</b> intervening do-CONV I mean problem be-CONV a tiny a time.1PSig that<br/> <b>THS-11[Eng]</b> spare some time without intervening, I mean, before it becomes a big</p> |
|--|

(63)

|   |
|---|
| <b>THS-11</b> ayırmasını dile getirdim.<br><b>THS-11[TL]</b> spare-NOM.pers.ACC. tongue-DAT bring-PastS.1PSing<br><b>THS-11Eng]</b> <i>problem.</i> |
|---|

**Extract 29.** An extract of conditional converbial ending *eğer... -sA* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (THSC)

In Extract 29, it is not conventional to use a conditional construction item *eğer* in such an utterance, which might mean be explained in relation to structural and semantic weakening. It is possible to hypothesize that the influence of Dutch ‘*als*’ (if) which is a polysemous condition adverb in Dutch might have a triggering effect on the overuse of *eğer* in this utterance. It could also explain relatively high number of conditional converb constructions uttered with *eğer* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers’ speech in the subcorpus. It is also unconventional to use *eğer* with a manner-oriented converbial marker, *-mAdAn* in this case, instead of *-sA* morpheme. Dutch equivalent is presented in Example 68:

(68) Als ze genoeg tijd hadden gespaard voordat het erger werd zonder in te grijpen,  
If they enough time had spare.PST.Prt. before it worse become.Pst. without in to grab,

vertelde ik hen

tell.Pst. I them

*“I told them if they had spared enough time before it got worse without intervening.”*

It could also explain relatively high number of conditional converb constructions uttered with *eğer* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers’ speech in the subcorpus. Extract 30 presents a conventional occurrence of *eğer... -sA* taken from the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual subcorpora.

(12)

|   |
|---|
| <b>DTB-8</b> Geçen ay cenaze vardı Utrecht’te. Amcaoğlum trafik kazası<br><b>DTB-8 [TL]</b> last month funeral be.COP.PST.3Sg. Utrecht.LOC. uncle son.Poss.1Sg. traffic accident<br><b>DTB-8 [Eng]</b> <i>There was a funeral in Utrecht last month. My cousin has a traffic accident</i> |
|---|

INTE  
INTE [TL]  
INTE[Eng]

Başınız sağolsun!  
head.Poss.2Pl. be alive.2Sg.  
*My condolences to you!*

(13)

**DTB-8** geçirdi. Kaza geçirdiği gün telefonnan konuştuğumuz raametliyle.

**DTB-8 [TL]** pass.PST.3Sg. accident pass.Nom. day telephone. INST. talk.PST.1Pl. the late.COM.

**DTB-8 [Eng]** *I talked with the late on the phone on the day he had accident.*

INTE  
INTE [TL]  
INTE[Eng]

Çok genç miydi?  
very young Ques Par.PST.3Sg.  
*Was he very young?.*

(14)

**DTB-8** İşi varmış Amsterdam'da. Gitmek istemiyom hiç dediği. İçine

**DTB-8 [TL]** job exist.INF.Amsterdam.LOC.go-NOM. want.NEG.Prog.1Sg.never say.PST.COP.3Sg. in

**DTB-8 [Eng]** *He had a job in Amsterdam. In fact, he told me that he did not want to go there.*

(15)

**DTB-8** doğmuş demek ki gurban olduğumun. [Eğer gitmeseydi], başımıza

**DTB-8 [TL]** bear.INF. say-NOM. that sacrifice be.Nom.Gen. if go.NEG.CONV.PST.3Sg. head.Poss.

**DTB-8 [Eng]** *It means that my beloved had a hunch about it. If he had not gone there,*

(16)

**DTB-8** bu olay gelmeyecekti. Çok yandı ciğerim. Bir büyüdük biz.

**DTB-8 [TL]** this incident come.NEG.FUT.PST.3Sg. very burn.PST.3Sg. lung.Poss.1Sg. a grow up.PST.COP.1Pl. we

**DTB-8 [Eng]** *this incident would not have happened at all. I was very upset. We grew up together.*

**Extract 30.** An extract of conditional converbial form *eğer...-sA* in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker (sub)corpus (DTBSC)

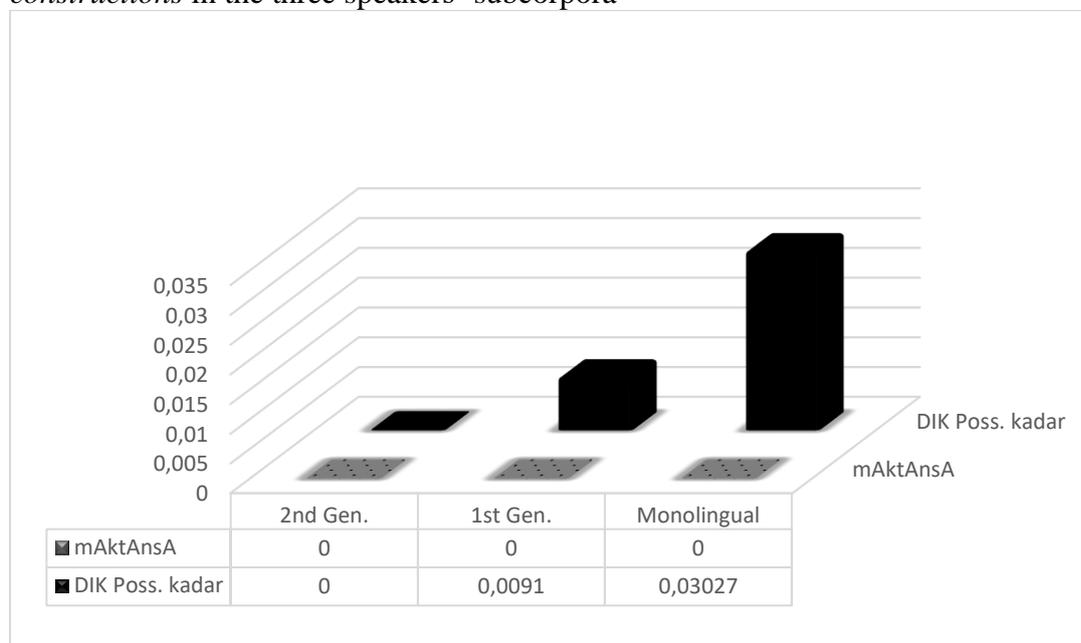
In this excerpt, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual interlocutor talks about a sorrowful loss he had experienced. In doing so, in score area 15, he employs [*eğer gitmeseydi*] (if he had not gone), a conditional converbial construction, in a conventional way by implementing converbial construction on the general action of happening *olay gelmeyecekti*. This construction is evaluated as conventional as any propositional interlocking feature of the construction is not violated as a whole.

#### 4.8. Degree-Oriented Converbial Endings

Degree-oriented converbial constructions are formed with (1) *-mAk-tAn-sA*, and (2) with nominalizer *-DIđI kadar* (postposition)..

The distribution of *frequency of use* of degree-oriented converbial endings in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual, and Turkish monolingual speakers' subcorpora is shown in Table 51:

**Table 51.** Degree-oriented converbial endings *-mAktAnsA* and *-DIK- Poss. kadar* constructions in the three speakers' subcorpora



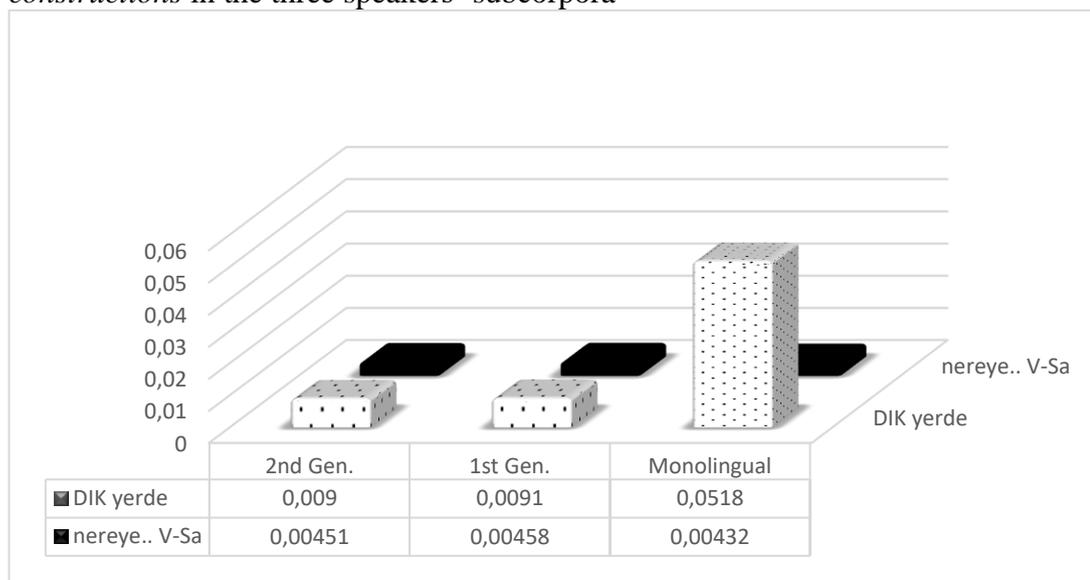
The distribution indicates that *-mAk-tAn-sA* and *-DIđI kadar* types have not been identified in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker subcorpus. Moreover, there is no occurrence of *-mAk-tAn-sA* type degree-oriented converbial ending in the monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker dataset. In spite of the fact that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers do not produce any *-DIđI kadar* construction, 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual (F=2) and monolingual speakers (F=7) limitedly make use of them. Here, it is noteworthy to state that while the bilingual speakers use this structure in lexicalized forms such as *istediđi kadar* “as much as s/he wants” (F=2), Turkish monolingual speakers make use of this converbial ending with different verbs in different juxtapositions as in *anladıđı kadar anlatcan aga* (you should explain it as

much as he gets it, man!) and *derler ya olduđu kadar olmadıđı kader* (they say: if it happens, it just happens; if it does not, it is the destiny to blame). When it comes to the unconventional usages, the raters' evaluation shows that there is no unconventional usage in all three speakers' subcorpora.

#### 4.9. Place-Oriented Converbial Endings

Place-oriented converbial constructions are formed with (1) *nereye verb-sA* (the postclitic copular morpheme sequence), and (2) with nominalizer *-DIK-Poss. yerde* (postposition). The *frequency of use* of place-oriented converbial endings in the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual, and Turkish monolingual speakers' subcorpora is presented in Table 52:

**Table 52.** Place-oriented converbial endings *-DIK poss. yerde* and *nereye...-V.-sA* constructions in the three speakers' subcorpora



The results indicate that *-DIK-poss. yer-de* and *nereye... V.-sA* types are rarely produced in comparison with temporal and manner-oriented converbial markers. In this respect, however, *nereye... V.-sA* is less frequently used in all subcorpora types (F=1 for TMSC; F=1 for DTBSC; F=1 for THSC). When it comes to *-DIK-poss. yer-de* constructions, the findings exhibit deviation between monolingual and the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals' data. Turkish monolingual speakers make the most use of the aforementioned constructions (F=12 corresponding to 0,0518% in distribution) in comparison to the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual (F=2; 0,0090%) and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation

bilingual (F=2; 0,0091%) speakers. When it comes to the unconventional usages, the raters' evaluation shows that there is no unconventional usage in all three speakers' subcorpora.

#### 4.10. Concession-Oriented Converbial Endings

Concession-oriented converbial constructions are formed with (1) *Verb-Cond.sA* (the postclitic copular morpheme sequence) +*dA*, (2) *-mAsInA rağmen*, and (3) *-DIĞI/(y)AcAğI halde*. In Table 53, the distribution of *frequency of use* of concession-oriented converbial endings in the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual, and the monolingual speakers' subcorpora is tabulated:

**Table 53.** Concession-oriented converbial endings *-DIĞI halde*, *-mAsInA rağmen* and *nereye...-V.sA da* constructions in the three speakers' subcorpora

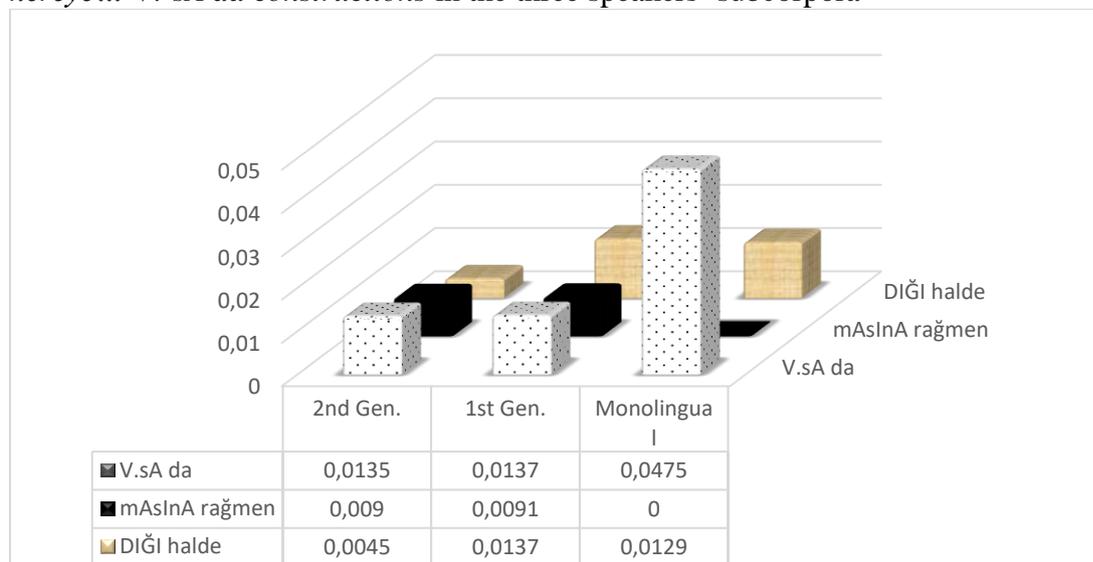


Table 53 illustrates the frequencies of the types of condition-oriented converbial constructions produced by the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> bilinguals and the monolinguals respectively. It is evident from the data in the first column (*V-Cond.+sA +dA*) that there occurs a fluctuation in terms of the frequency of use of concession-oriented converbial constructions. Turkish monolingual speakers (0,0475% corresponding to 11 occurrences) make more use of such structures than the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual (0,0137% which is equal to 3 instances) and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual (0,0135 that corresponds to 3 occurrences) speakers. Comparative analysis reveals that there is a very slight difference between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' subcorpora.

*-mAsInA rağmen*, however, exhibits a different finding. This converbial construction has not been identified in Turkish monolingual subcorpus. On the other hand, there are two occurrences in both the 1<sup>st</sup> generation and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speakers' subcorpora. When it comes to *-DIĞI halde* constructions, the distribution is more equally-distributed within the subcorpora compared to the converbial endings *-mAsInA rağmen* and *- V-Cond.+sA +dA*. The distribution is the lowest in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data (0,0045% corresponding to 1 occurrence). In the 1<sup>st</sup> generation and the monolingual data, there are only 3 occurrences which correspond to 0,0137% and 0,0135% respectively.

As for the conventionality of the converbial endings utilized by the three speaker groups, the raters' evaluation shows that all concession-oriented converbial constructions are coded as conventional.

To sum up, this study made use of the production data, concentrating on various dimensions of *converbial constructions*: (i) frequency of use, and (ii) pattern of use. The main conclusion reached after the data analysis presented in this section was that the converbial constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual language was subject to contact-induced language change regarding the *frequency of use* and *patterns* of converbial constructions used by the three speaker groups which encompassed (1) the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker group, (2) the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker group, and (3) Turkish monolingual speaker group. The latter two groups served as the control groups in the current study.

While the data for the (i) frequency of use, and (ii) pattern of use were obtained from recorded conversations, they differed in the extent to which they were used for data analysis. Concerning the analysis of *frequency of use* of converbial constructions in terms of their semantic categories, the overall data of occurrences of converbial endings obtained from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> bilingual speakers, and Turkish monolinguals' subcorpora were identified and quantified by two raters. After the identification process, the preliminary findings were compared within and between speaker groups in terms of their distributions on the basis of token frequency. That is, the frequencies of all converbial endings were quantified and placed in the tables according to their semantic categories. Following the analysis of the the frequency of use of all

converbial categories, percentages of these frequencies were calculated on the basis of the overall utterance numbers for each participant group (i.e. the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual, or Turkish monolinguals). The findings showed that there was a difference in the distribution of frequency of use of all converbial categories in total. In addition to this, each converbial category was studied. The preliminary results indicated that Turkish converbial constructions were produced way more often by control speaker groups i.e. Turkish monolinguals and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual dataset, however, the frequency of use of certain converbial construction was so low that no converbial construction was identified for the degree-oriented converbial category.

In spite of the low frequency of use in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data, any conclusions between these groups were postponed until after a One-Way ANOVA test was applied to analyze if there was a statistically significant difference between three speaker groups in each for each converbial category and total result. The test results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between groups in temporal, manner-oriented, degree-oriented and place-oriented converbials. It was also clear that there was a statistically significant difference in the distribution of overall results of converbial constructions between the three speaker groups. However, the test results showed that there was not a statistically significant difference in the distribution of purpose-and-manner-oriented, causal, conditional and concession-oriented converbial constructions between groups. Having focused on the overall distribution of *frequency of use* of all converbial categories, each and every category was studied in accordance with the research questions, and the *frequency of use of* converbial endings used by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers, in comparison with data from both the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers' and monolingual Turkish speakers' sub-corpora were analyzed. Investigating the distribution of frequency of use of each converbial ending, if applicable, the frequencies of unconventional usages were indicated in order to analyze whether there is any difference among speaker groups. Since the main aim of the current study was to analyze the divergent forms of converbial constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speech, any unconventional usage was analyzed within the usage-based framework.

The patterns used in the unconventional usages in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation data suggested that there was an ongoing contact-induced language change in heritage language (i.e. the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker's speech). For instance, as a result of Dutch contact, some temporal endings such as *-Ip* and *-IncA* tended to function like a *pseudo-finite* construction, a term implying a weakening in the propositional interlocking feature of these temporal converbial endings concerning its syntagmatic relation. It was also observed that there was a difference in the use of pragmatic markers and conjunctions surrounding the converbial constructions, especially simplex temporal converbial endings *-Ip* and *-IncA*. Morphosyntactically, these structures seemd to resemble Dutch structures. It was also concluded that simplex temporal converbial constructions are more vulnerable to language change compared to the complex ones. Temporal *-ken construction* was produced way more frequently in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation in terms of frequency of use.

The results of *grammaticality judgment task* are presented in the following section.

#### **4.11. The Results of Grammaticality Judgment Task**

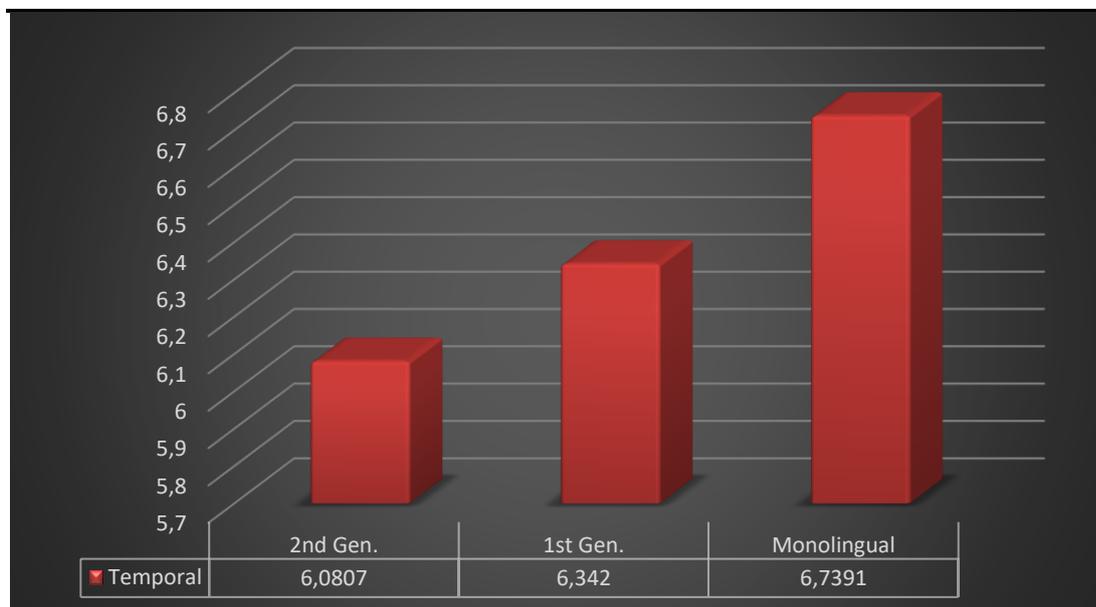
Contact induced language change studies generally depend on speech production data. However, along with the production data, there is need to examine "perception" of speakers via "judgment tasks". The reason behind using judgment task is that speech production data might exhibit what occurs as to how the linguistic structures are employed, yet they do not necessarily show whether "what does not occur is impossible, or is absent from the speaker's mental representation" (Onar Valk, 2015, p. 224). By using a grammaticality judgment task encompassing some of the actual occurrences of temporal converbial constructions *-Ip*, *-IncA* and *-ken*, and the most frequently-used manner-oriented converbial ending *-ArAk*, it is questioned whether there is a difference between the production and perception of converbial endings. These converbial endings were selected as they were the most frequently produced converbial markers in all datasets.

Items included in the task were either extracted verbatim from the corpus or strictly based on them. 12 unconventional control items and 18 distracters were also constructed and included to the judgment task. After all, the task was checked by an

expert. The necessary revisions were made, and for the piloting phase the emended version of the task was administered to four 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers different from the sampling group participating in the interviewing process. By taking the participants' responses into account, the researcher once again revised and finalized the judgment task.

#### 4.11.1. GJT results of temporal converbial category

Figure 34 illustrates the distribution of results of the grammaticality judgment task concerning temporal converbial category among the three speaker groups.



**Figure 34.** The distribution of *grammaticality judgment task* results of temporal converbial endings *-Ip*, *Inca* and *-ken* combined

The findings reveal that the groups differ significantly from one another in their ratings. Comparative analysis shows that there is a remarkable difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' ratings (6,0807 out of 7) and their monolingual counterparts' ratings (6,7391 out of 7). Moreover, intergenerational analysis displays that there is a difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speakers' ratings (6,0807) and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals' (6,342).

In order to examine whether there is a statistically significant difference among the distribution of the results of GJT of temporal converbial category among the three participant groups, a One-Way ANOVA test was applied. Table 54 demonstrates the One-Way ANOVA results of the grammaticality judgment task regarding the temporal converbial endings *-Ip*, *IncA* and *-ken*.

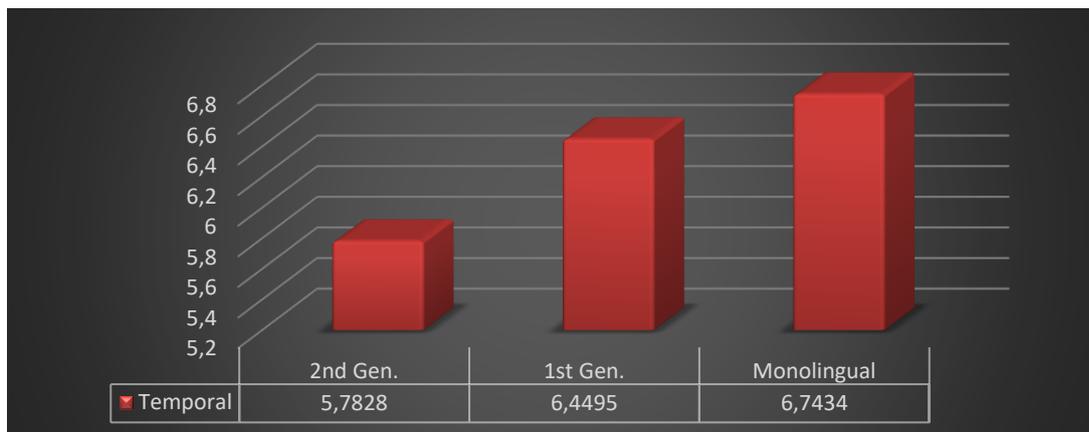
**Table 54.** One-Way ANOVA analysis of the results of the grammaticality judgment task regarding the temporal converbial endings *-Ip*, *IncA* and *-ken* combined

|                | Sum of Squares | Df  | Mean square | F      | Sig. |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|--------|------|
| Between Groups | 15,577         | 2   | 7,789       | 67,204 | ,000 |
| Within Groups  | 15,530         | 134 | ,116        |        |      |
| Total          | 31,107         | 136 |             |        |      |

The results indicate that there is a statistically significant difference between and within groups as determined by one-way ANOVA ( $F(67,2048) = .000$ ). It can be concluded that the significance value is 0.000 (i.e.,  $p = .000$ ), which is below 0.05. and, therefore, there is a statistically significant difference. These results provide a positive answer to the following research question regarding the perception of temporal converbials: *Is there a difference in terms of perception of most-frequently used converbial constructions among the three speaker groups?* The results reveal that there is a statistically significant difference among the speaker groups which might imply an ongoing language change in the perception of temporal converbial constructions.

#### 4.11.1.1. GJT results of temporal converbial ending *-Ip*

After presenting the overall results of GJT regarding temporal converbial endings combined, the distribution and One-Way ANOVA results of each temporal converbial ending are also displayed in order to analyze whether there is a statistically significant difference among the three speaker groups. To start with, Figure 35 shows the distribution of GJT results of simplex temporal ending *-Ip* among the three speaker groups.



**Figure 35.** The distribution of *grammaticality judgment task* results of temporal converbial ending *-Ip*

The results display that the groups differ significantly from one another in their ratings. In this respect, comparative analysis shows that there is an important difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' ratings (5,7828 out of 7) and monolingual counterparts' ratings (6,7434). Moreover, the intergenerational analysis shows that there is a difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speakers' ratings (5,7828) and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals' (6,4495). Table 55 illustrates the One-Way ANOVA results of the grammaticality judgment task regarding the temporal converbial ending *-Ip*.

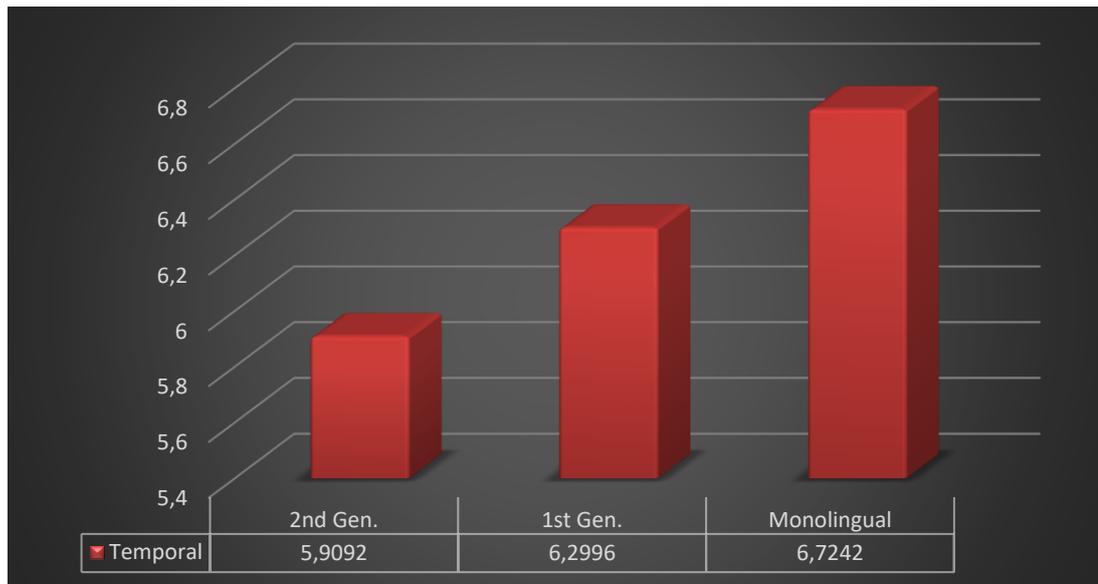
**Table 55.** One-Way ANOVA analysis of the results of *grammaticality judgment task* results regarding the temporal converbial ending *-Ip*

|                | Sum of Squares | Df  | Mean square | F      | Sig. |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|--------|------|
| Between Groups | 27,646         | 2   | 13,823      | 55,826 | ,000 |
| Within Groups  | 33,179         | 134 | ,248        |        |      |
| Total          | 60,825         | 136 |             |        |      |

The results indicate that there is a statistically significant difference between and within groups as determined by one-way ANOVA ( $F(55,826) = .000$ ). The findings also reveal that the significance value is 0.000 (i.e.,  $p = .000$ ), which is below 0.05. and, therefore, there is a statistically significant difference.

#### 4.11.1.2. GJT results of temporal converbial ending *-Inca*

Figure 36 shows the distribution of GJT results of simplex temporal ending *-Inca* among the three speaker groups.



**Figure 36.** The distribution of *grammaticality judgment task* results of temporal converbial ending *-Inca*

The findings reveal that that the groups differ significantly from one another in their ratings. The analysis shows that there is an important difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' ratings (5,9092 out of 7) and monolingual counterparts' ratings (6,7242 out of 7). Likewise, the intergenerational analysis displays that there is a difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speakers' ratings (5,9092) and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals' (6,2996).

Table 56 illustrates the One-Way ANOVA results of the grammaticality judgment task regarding the temporal converbial ending *-Inca*.

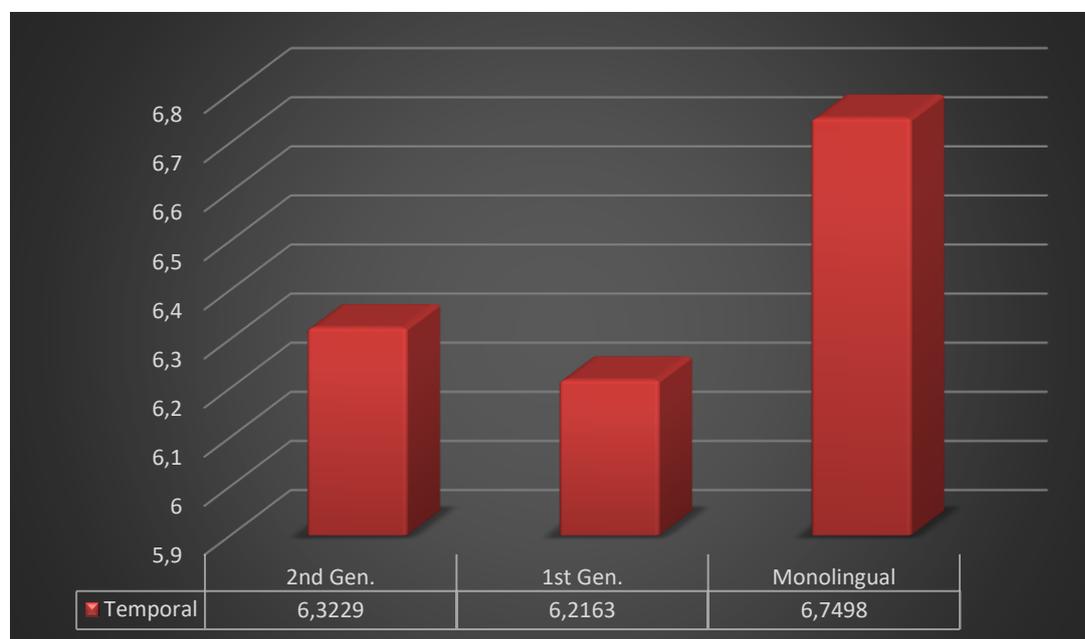
**Table 56.** One-Way ANOVA analysis of the results of *GJT* results regarding the temporal converbial ending *-Inca*

|                | Sum of Squares | Df  | Mean square | F      | Sig. |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|--------|------|
| Between Groups | 19,209         | 2   | 9,603       | 44,342 | ,000 |
| Within Groups  | 29,019         | 134 | ,217        |        |      |
| Total          | 48,225         | 136 |             |        |      |

One-Way ANOVA results display that there is a statistically significant difference among groups ( $F(44,342) = ,000$ ). The findings also reveal that the significance value is 0.000 (i.e.,  $p = .000$ ), which is below 0.05. and, therefore, there is a statistically significant difference.

#### 4.11.1.3. GJT results of complex temporal converbial ending *-ken*

Figure 37 shows the distribution of GJT results of a complex temporal converbial ending *-ken* among the three speaker groups.



**Figure 37.** The distribution of *grammaticality judgment task* results of temporal converbial ending *-ken*

The results display a different picture compared to the simplex temporal converbial endings *-Ip* and *-Inca*, which means that the distribution of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation

speakers' perception ratings concerning *-ken* is the lowest. The intergenerational analysis shows that there is a difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speakers' ratings (6,3229) and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals' (6,2163). Moreover, comparative analysis shows that the difference is low between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' ratings (6,3229) and Turkish monolinguals' ratings (6,7498).

Table 57 illustrates the One-Way ANOVA results of the grammaticality judgment task regarding the temporal converbial ending *-ken*.

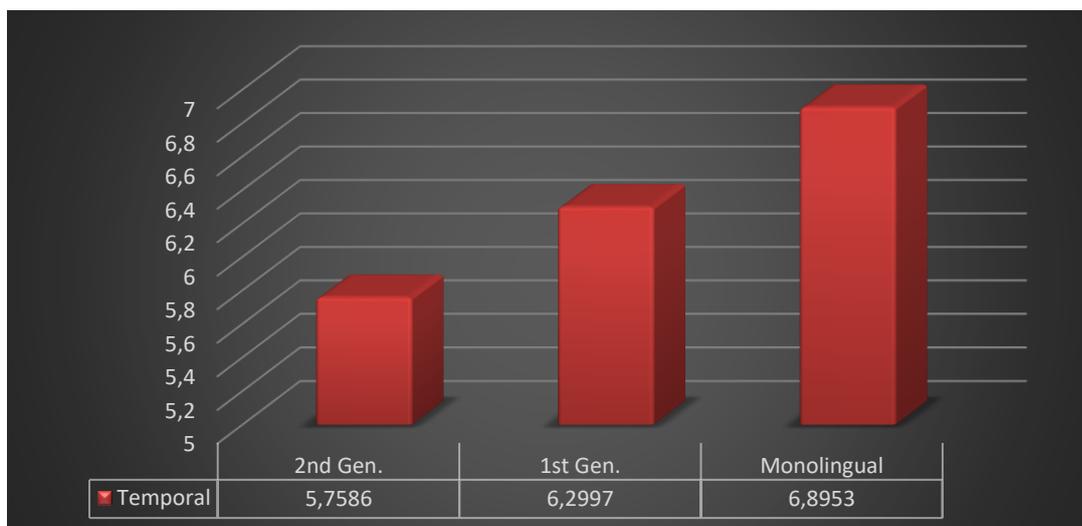
**Table 57.** One-Way ANOVA analysis of the results of *GJT* results regarding complex temporal converbial ending *-ken*

|                | Sum of Squares | Df  | Mean square | F      | Sig. |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|--------|------|
| Total          | 6,767          | 2   | 3,383       | 15,324 | ,000 |
| Between Groups | 29,584         | 134 | ,221        |        |      |
| Within Groups  | 36,351         | 136 |             |        |      |
| Total          |                |     |             |        |      |

One-Way ANOVA results display that there is a statistically significant difference among groups ( $F(15,324) = ,000$ ). The findings also reveal that the significance value is 0.000 (i.e.,  $p = .000$ ), which is below 0.05. and, therefore, there is a statistically significant difference.

#### 4.11.2. GJT results of the manner-oriented converbial ending *-ArAk*

Figure 38 shows the distribution of GJT results of a complex manner-oriented converbial ending *-ArAk* among the three speaker groups.



**Figure 38.** The distribution of *grammaticality judgment task* results of temporal converbial ending *-ArAk*

The findings display that the groups differ significantly in their ratings in the manner-oriented converbial ending *-ArAk*. In this respect, comparative analysis shows that there is a difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' ratings (5,7586 out of 7) and monolingual speakers' ratings (6,8953). Moreover, the intergenerational analysis shows that there is also a difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speakers' ratings (5,7586) and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals' (6,2997). Table 58 illustrates the One-Way ANOVA results of the grammaticality judgment task regarding the temporal converbial ending *-ArAk*.

**Table 58.** One-Way ANOVA analysis of the results of *GJT* results regarding the temporal converbial ending *-ArAk*

|                | Sum of Squares | Df  | Mean square | F       | Sig. |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-------------|---------|------|
| Between Groups | 36,957         | 2   | 18,479      | 114,136 | ,000 |
| Within Groups  | 21,533         | 134 | ,162        |         |      |
| Total          | 58,490         | 136 |             |         |      |

The results indicate that there is a statistically significant difference between and within groups as determined by one-way ANOVA ( $F(114,136) = .000$ ). The findings also reveal that the significance value is 0.000 (i.e.,  $p = .000$ ), which is below 0.05. and, therefore, there is a statistically significant difference.

To sum up, these results show that there is a difference in the perception of most frequently-employed temporal converbial endings *-Ip*, *-InCA*, *-ken*, and manner-oriented converbial form *-ArAk* between monolinguals and bilinguals. Furthermore, the bilingual speakers seem to perceive these converbial constructions differently. It is evident that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers seem to perceive the converbial constructions compared to the control group speakers. These findings are congruent with those of *frequency of use* in the three subcorpora in the sense that the differences are significant between the bilinguals and monolinguals and between the two generations within the bilingual groups. The rating scores of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual participants are closer to those of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals than their monolingual counterparts.

As for the perception data, the results of *grammaticality judgment task* indicated that the ratings of perception of speaker groups showed statistically significant difference from one another in their evaluations. Moreover, pairwise comparisons showed that there was a statistically significant difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' ratings and Turkish monolingual ones' ratings. Concerning the intergenerational analysis, there was also a significant difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' ratings and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers' scores. All these findings provide a positive answer to the following research question: Is there a difference between Turkish monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' perception of converbial constructions?

## CHAPTER 5

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### 5.0. Presentation

This chapter covers the discussion of the findings of the present study, thereby consisting of the summary of it, and the discussion of the results with regards to the previous studies conducted on contact-induced linguistic change. More specifically, it presents the discussion on the impact of contact-induced language change on Dutch-Turkish, its “innovative” characteristics on the perception and production of converbial constructions including *frequency of use* with reference to the concepts of *entrenchment*, *conventionalization*, and *(in)vulnerability*, and new patterns of use of converbial *constructions* as a result of language contact including *pseudo-finiteness* of non-finite forms, *loosening of function of its non-finite morpho-syntactic features*, difference in the use of *pragmatic markers* and *conjunctions* leading to *pseudo-finiteness* across natural data provided by Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers from the 2<sup>nd</sup> generational background and Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers from the 1<sup>st</sup> generational background. In addition, limitations of the study and recommendations for further research are presented.

With regard to contact-induced linguistic change within the framework of usage-based linguistics, there is a need to define and constraint possible contact-induced mechanisms executed in the linguistic structure. In doing so, the characteristics of contact-induced language change have been discussed extensively in the relevant literature. However, there has been relatively less research studies investigating these contact-induced mechanisms within the theoretical framework of usage-based linguistics. Thus, the present study aimed at contributing to the contact linguistics literature. For this purpose, perception and production of converbial constructions in Turkish heritage speakers were investigated in terms of

- *generational backgrounds of the bilingual participants (the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual data in comparison to the monolingual data)*
  - *frequency of use (with a special focus on entrenchment, conventionalization, and (in)vulnerability),*
  - *pattern of use of converbial constructions*
    - *unconventional use of converbial constructions*
    - *pseudo-finiteness of converbial constructions (contextual contact induction)*
    - *new functions in the use of pragmatic markers and conjunctions*

*surrounding the converbial constructions* among participant groups were explored, and found that their production results differed across all the speaker groups.

### **5.1. Summary of the results**

Linguistic change might result from linguistic contact in language contact situations, and it is even quite on the cards that internal linguistic change can be triggered by contact-induced language change mechanisms. In this respect, the opening research question, which was *Is the use of converbial constructions by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers subject to contact-induced language change in the Netherlands?*, aimed at answering whether there was a difference in the *frequency of use* of converbial constructions among the three speaker groups, i.e. Turkish monolingual, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speaker groups. In order to have an overall understanding, first of all, 32 hours 47 minutes recordings of one-to-one and inter-group interviews (**67.110** utterances in total) were collected from three participant groups. Next, token frequency of each converbial form used by the participants was calculated and the results were compared in order to see whether there was a difference in the frequencies among the three speaker groups. For the purpose of comparing the monolingual and bilingual corpora, the occurrences of converbial constructions in terms of token frequency in absolute numbers were identified and counted; and relative numbers were also calculated which refers to the average calculation of frequency of each converbial ending per hundred utterances.

Table 59 reports the frequency of use of converbial constructions by the three groups of participants in terms of token frequencies and frequency per hundred utterance.

**Table 59.** The frequency of use of converbial constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals, and Turkish monolingual data

| Converbial form             | Token Frequency         |                         |             |             | Frequency per hundred utterance |                      |               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
|                             | 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen. Tk | 1 <sup>st</sup> gen. Tk | mono Tk     | Σ           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen.            | 1 <sup>st</sup> gen. | Mono          |
| <i>-IncA</i>                | 69                      | 125                     | 263         | 457         | 0,3113                          | 0,5728               | 1,1372        |
| <i>-Ip</i>                  | 50                      | 93                      | 195         | 338         | 0,2256                          | 0,4261               | 0,8432        |
| <i>-ken</i>                 | 79                      | 117                     | 229         | 425         | 0,3564                          | 0,5361               | 0,9902        |
| <i>-DIK constructions</i>   | 32                      | 69                      | 151         | 252         | 0,1443                          | 0,3161               | 0,6529        |
| <b>Temporal total</b>       | <b>230</b>              | <b>404</b>              | <b>838</b>  | <b>1472</b> | <b>1,0377</b>                   | <b>1,8513</b>        | <b>3,6237</b> |
| <i>-ArAk</i>                | 29                      | 117                     | 138         | 284         | 0,1308                          | 0,5361               | 0,5967        |
| <i>-mAdAn</i>               | 32                      | 49                      | 46          | 127         | 0,1443                          | 0,2245               | 0,1989        |
| <i>-cAsInA</i>              | 0                       | 1                       | 7           | 8           | 0                               | 0,0045               | 0,0302        |
| <i>-yA -yA</i>              | 2                       | 3                       | 14          | 19          | 0,009                           | 0,0137               | 0,0605        |
| <b>Manner total</b>         | <b>63</b>               | <b>170</b>              | <b>205</b>  | <b>438</b>  | <b>0,2842</b>                   | <b>0,7790</b>        | <b>0,8864</b> |
| <i>-mAk için</i>            | 13                      | 15                      | 11          | 39          | 0,0586                          | 0,0687               | 0,0475        |
| <i>-mAyA</i>                | 16                      | 22                      | 36          | 74          | 0,0721                          | 0,1008               | 0,1556        |
| <b>Purpose total</b>        | <b>29</b>               | <b>37</b>               | <b>47</b>   | <b>113</b>  | <b>0,1342</b>                   | <b>0,1695</b>        | <b>0,2032</b> |
| <i>DIK Poss. Dan</i>        | 9                       | 12                      | 10          | 31          | 0,0406                          | 0,0549               | 0,0432        |
| <i>DIK Poss. için</i>       | 17                      | 20                      | 19          | 56          | 0,0767                          | 0,0916               | 0,0821        |
| <i>DIK Poss. DAN dolayı</i> | 4                       | 9                       | 11          | 24          | 0,018                           | 0,0412               | 0,0475        |
| <b>Causal total</b>         | <b>30</b>               | <b>41</b>               | <b>40</b>   | <b>111</b>  | <b>0,135</b>                    | <b>0,187</b>         | <b>0,175</b>  |
| <i>DIK Pers. takdirde</i>   | 0                       | 0                       | 2           | 2           | 0                               | 0                    | 0,0086        |
| <i>eğer sA</i>              | 93                      | 99                      | 107         | 299         | 0,4196                          | 0,4536               | 0,4627        |
| <b>Conditional total</b>    | <b>93</b>               | <b>99</b>               | <b>109</b>  | <b>301</b>  | <b>0,4196</b>                   | <b>0,4536</b>        | <b>0,4713</b> |
| <i>mAktAnsA</i>             | 0                       | 0                       | 0           | 0           | 0                               | 0                    | 0             |
| <i>DIĞI kadar</i>           | 0                       | 2                       | 7           | 9           | 0                               | 0,0091               | 0,0302        |
| <b>Degree total</b>         | <b>0</b>                | <b>2</b>                | <b>7</b>    | <b>9</b>    | <b>0</b>                        | <b>0,0091</b>        | <b>0,0302</b> |
| <i>DIK Poss. yerde</i>      | 2                       | 2                       | 12          | 16          | 0,009                           | 0,0091               | 0,0518        |
| <i>nereye V.-Sa</i>         | 1                       | 1                       | 1           | 3           | 0,0045                          | 0,0045               | 0,0043        |
| <b>Place total</b>          | <b>3</b>                | <b>3</b>                | <b>13</b>   | <b>19</b>   | <b>0,013</b>                    | <b>0,018</b>         | <b>0,056</b>  |
| <i>V-Cond. +sA dA</i>       | 3                       | 3                       | 11          | 17          | 0,0135                          | 0,0137               | 0,0475        |
| <i>mAsInA rağmen</i>        | 2                       | 2                       | 0           | 4           | 0,009                           | 0,0091               | 0             |
| <i>-DIĞI halde</i>          | 1                       | 3                       | 3           | 7           | 0,0045                          | 0,0137               | 0,0127        |
| <b>Concession total</b>     | <b>6</b>                | <b>8</b>                | <b>14</b>   | <b>28</b>   | <b>0,027</b>                    | <b>0,02</b>          | <b>0,06</b>   |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                | <b>454</b>              | <b>764</b>              | <b>1273</b> | <b>2491</b> | <b>2,4433</b>                   | <b>3,9211</b>        | <b>5,9171</b> |

The overall results indicate that there was a difference in the frequencies of converbial items between the monolingual and the bilingual participants. The intergenerational analysis reveals that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual language (the heritage language) did not include converbial forms as much as the monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation speakers' languages did. Therefore, it can be stated that these findings provided positive answers to the following research questions:

- 1.1. Is there a difference between the monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' use of converbial constructions in Turkish in terms of frequency of use?
- 1.2. Is there a difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers' use of converbial constructions in terms of frequency of use?

#### **5.1.1. *Frequency of Use of Converbial Constructions in Dutch-Turkish***

The frequency of use plays a significant role in both the model and replica languages during the contact-induced language change processes as suggested by many contact linguists (Johanson, 2002; Heine, 2008). In this sense, the frequency of use has determinative roles and outcomes to account for language change. The current study took a closer look at whether there was a difference in *frequency of use* of converbial constructions across the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish and the Turkish monolingual speech production. The findings with respect to the frequency of use of converbial constructions suggested that there were significant differences across all speaker groups. Among the theoretical frameworks suggested by contact linguists, the contact-induced mechanism regarding the frequency of use of converbials under scrutiny in the present study is a clear case of *frequential copying* which refers to “frequential patterns of Model Code elements can be copied onto Basic Code elements, leading to increased or decreased use of the latter” (Johanson, 2002, p. 74). For instance, almost all converbial endings produced by the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals did not reach half of the monolingual participants' frequency which pointed to a difference in the frequency of use of Turkish converbials in Dutch-Turkish bilingual context. Furthermore, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers made the least use of converbial endings in almost all converbial categories. Thus, it

can be concluded that the frequency of use of the converbial constructions by the three participant groups in the study tended to show the following pattern in descending order:

The use of converbials by the monolingual speakers > the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers > the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers

These results are also compatible with Rehbein and Herkenrath (2015) who examined the use of converbial constructions by the German-Turkish bilingual and monolingual children participants from a language contact viewpoint in seven converbial endings i.e. *-ken*, *-ArAk*, *-Inca*, *-Ip* etc. The researchers reported a difference between the monolingual and the bilingual speakers' frequency of use of the converbial endings in the German context.

The results of the present study also revealed that the temporal converbial constructions are the most frequently-used converbial constructions across all datasets, which is also a finding in line with Rehbein & Herkenrath (2015). One of the reasons might lie behind the fact that simplex temporal converbials were extensively used in doubling and triplet constructions in the monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual data which lead to high frequency of use. Congruently, comparative analysis also revealed that Turkish monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers made more use of *-Ip* and *-Inca doubling constructions* than the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers. It is concluded that this type of construction was rarely identified in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speaker subcorpus. In addition to the doubling constructions, *serialization of converbs* (i.e. triplet converbials) of *-Ip* construction was quite common in Turkish monolingual database compared to the control data. The reason for relatively high proportion of *-Ip* and *-Inca constructions* in monolingual Turkish is related to the the fact that such constructions function as relatively stable connectivity structures between the converbial ending and the finite verb, which hinders inserting any pragmatic (or discourse) particle in the neighbourhood in monolingual Turkish speech. Thus, *serialization of converbs* might activate the



Turkish bilingual data did not reveal the same frequency of *-Ip doublings* and *serialization of converbs*. These results show that *converbial doublings* and *serialization of converbs* were not entrenched in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speech production. In other words, uch forms were not routinized and automatized (Behrens, 2009). This cognitive”routinization and automatization process is based on *frequency of use* and *entrenchment* which are intertwined in the contexts of language change. For this reason, converbial constructions are required to be frequently processed by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual participants so that these constructions can be entrenched to be conventionally and frequently produced as much as the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers did whom are the main input providers for the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals. It is possible to hypothesize that these converbial structures were weakened and/or “loosened” in terms of frequency in the Dutch-Turkish bilingual speech community. That is, the strong morpho-syntactic relationship between the converbial construction and the finite predicate is weakened.

The frequential analysis of the use of converbial constructions produced by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals showed that they tended to make less use of converbial constructions than the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers. This finding could be considered as an example and a signal of language change in Turkish spoken in the Dutch context. As stated in the relevant literature, contact-induced language change generally comprises a “mere” deviation in the frequency of use “rather than complete loss of forms or the adoption of completely new forms” (Demirçay, 2017, p. 53). Hence, future studies that will examine Dutch-Turkish of new generations will determine whether the decrease in the use of converbials reported in the present study are true indicators of contact-induced language change. These findings related to the decrease in frequency of use of converbials were also compatible with those of the findings presented in Onar Valk (2015) which investigated whether there was a difference in the Dutch-Turkish bilinguals’ production of non-finite subordinate clauses as a result of language contact. The researcher reported that the non-finite subordination (including the converbial constructions) was less frequently preferred by the bilingual speakers.

The findings of the study were also in line with the data presented in Herkenrath (2014) which aimed to scrutinize the frequency of use of nominalizer *-DIK* and its divergent forms used by the bilingual informants compared to those of monolinguals. The study concluded that the frequency of use of non-finite *-DIK construction* and its divergent forms were significantly less used by the heritage speaker informants than their monolingual counterparts. The researcher stated that the heritage speakers living in Germany seem to make less use of *-DIK construction* which showed that the basic syntactic and semantic features of these structures deviated from the control data as a result of language contact.

By contrast, the results of this study indicated that the distribution of causal, and concession-oriented converbial constructions showed divergence among the three participant groups. That is, the token frequency of causal, purpose and result-oriented, conditional, degree-oriented, place-oriented and concession-oriented converbial constructions occurred less frequently in the bilingual groups compared to the monolingual group. However, what awaits for further and more focused exploration as the exceptionally low proportion of degree-oriented converbial constructions among the converbial endings identified in the heritage speakers' data do not allow us to make any judgments as regards to the impact of language contact.

One of the reasons of the low frequencies of some converbial constructions might be related to low entrenchment and conventionalization. The most fundamental mechanism that drives the linguistic change is *entrenchment* (Backus, 2014). When a new pattern emerges as a result of language contact, it either fades away since it is accepted unconventional by their speakers or the new pattern is accepted as an innovative structure. In that case more and more speakers in the speech community start using this "new" linguistic structure. Thus, it becomes more *entrenched*, which triggers its use in the possible future encounters and scenarios. Even though a linguistic form or structure is considered as an unusual and new element by members of a speech community, it might become so entrenched that it becomes *conventionalized* for that part of the community. What is significant in the processes of entrenchment and conventionalization is the frequency of use of certain linguistic

structures. It involves the homogenization of linguistic structures and patterns as they spread from one individual to another, thus from one speech community to another. As Kemmer and Barlow (2006) put it, “usage events are crucial to the ongoing structuring and operation of the linguistic system. Language productions are not only products of the speaker’s linguistic system, but they also provide input for other speakers’ systems (as well as, reflexively, for the speaker’s own), not just in initial acquisition but in language use throughout life. Thus, usage events play a double role in the system: they both result from, and also shape, the linguistic system itself in a kind of feedback loop” (p. 3). In this usage-based process, the frequency of use has an intricate relationship with the entrenchment and conventionalization. It can be stated that less frequently-used converbial endings in the bilingual data were not entrenched by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation individuals, and thus they were not conventionalized in the bilingual speech.

These findings had some similarities with the conclusions drawn by Onar Valk and Backus (2013). In the study, the researchers specifically investigated how Turkish heritage speakers’ usage of subordinate clauses diverged from that of Turkish monolingual speakers. The results indicated that the Dutch-Turkish bilinguals predominantly used finite subordinate clauses, particularly in reported speech structures as a result of Dutch language contact. On the other hand, the monolingual speakers mainly made use of non-finite constructions in their speeches, suggesting the interplay between the fundamental processes such as usage, reanalysis and *conventionalization* in the sense of usage-based linguistics. These findings are mostly in accordance with those of the current study in the sense that the frequency of non-finite constructions showed difference in the bilingual subcorpora implying that these non-finite constructions are less conventionalized in the Dutch-Turkish bilingual speech community.

With respect to the notion of conventionalization in other language contact situations, similar findings were also reported in Kragh and Schøsler’s study (2014). In the study, the researchers investigated the underlying assumptions behind the development of French deictic relative construction with perception verbs as in *Je vois Pierre qui*

*arrive* ‘I see Pierre coming’, in terms of reanalysis and gramma(ticaliza)tion of constructions as a result of language contact with Germanic languages. This kind of developing deictic relative constructions is presented as a divergence from ordinary French relative clause as it violates “the relationship of interdependence with the antecedent, a so-called nexus relation” (pp. 16-17). However, Kragh and Schøsler (2014) suggested that the ordinary relative clause was semantically loosened in the symbol field, meaning that there occur ambiguous innovative constructions, from which deictic relative constructions were stated to be emerged and used in their spontaneous usages. After strong entrenchment, thus maybe conventionalization, interlocutors transfer such structures to written language. These findings were also compatible with those of the present study within the frame-work of usage-based linguistics.

With respect to the *frequency of use*, such a conspicuous case can be traced in South Azerbaijani variety spoken in Iran as a consequence of Persian-South Azerbaijani contact (Kıral, 2001). In South Azerbaijani, even though it is probable to come across non-finite subordinate clauses in reported speech, relative clauses, converbial constructions as a well-known Turkic feature, as a result of long language contact with Persian, heavy contact-induced finite constructions with *ki* (originated from Persian *ke*), and *tâ* (again originated from Persian *tâ*) coexist with non-finite constructions. Menz (2006) related the coexistence of these two constructions on the fact that non-finite constructions are more resistant to language contact to a great extent. This linguistic symbiosis between linguistic patterns from typologically distant languages is supposed to be continuously strengthened, thus conventionalized by speakers in a speech community in everyday language use. Old English provides a striking example regarding the loss of one of copula systems in Old English. From the earliest records, all English dialects are reported to have had two copulas, s-paradigm and b-paradigm, each of which has “present indicative paradigm” (Vennemann, 2010, p. 389) as presented below:

(70) Old English

| s-paradigm      | b-paradigm  |                     |
|-----------------|-------------|---------------------|
| <i>eom</i>      | <i>bēo</i>  | ‘(I) am’            |
| <i>eart</i>     | <i>bist</i> | ‘(thou) art’        |
| <i>is</i>       | <i>biþ</i>  | ‘(he/she/it) is’    |
| <i>sind(on)</i> | <i>bēop</i> | ‘(we/you/they) are’ |

(Vennemann, 2010, p. 389)

Eventually, Vennemann (2010) reported that *b-paradigm* was completely lost in the English of Shakespeare and of Chaucer due to less use and more exposure to *s-paradigm*. It is evident that *s-paradigm* was used so frequently that it was conventionalized within the Old English-speaking community, and it has been in use for centuries in Contemporary English.

All in all, the results of the current study indicated that there was a difference across the three participant groups. The intergenerational analysis showed that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual participants made less use of the converbial constructions than the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals. Likewise, comparative analysis demonstrated that the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals made less use of the converbial constructions compared to the monolinguals.

### **5.1.2. Pattern of Use of Converbial Constructions in Dutch-Turkish**

The pattern use of converbial constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual, and Turkish monolingual speakers was analyzed by an *interpretive rating team* comprising two persons: the researcher and a linguist with a PhD in the field, both of whom were native speakers of Turkish. In order to validate the data and decrease threats to internal credibility such as researcher bias, confirmation bias, structural corroboration, etc., team involvement was widely utilized in the qualitative data analysis procedure in contact-induced language change studies. In order to explore the grammatical usage of converbial constructions in the monolingual and the bilingual data, two raters reread the transcripts from both a morphosyntactic viewpoint i.e. “connectivity” (Aydemir, 2014; Rehbein &

Herkenrath, 2015), and from a semantic dimension such as “*interpretative ambiguity*” (ibid., pp. 508-9) in accordance with the research questions under scrutiny. When they identified any unconventional use, they took notes to discuss with one another later to discuss their ratings in order to assess interrater reliability of the study. In such cases, the raters had discussions to reach a consensus on the converbial constructions that they rated differently.

The analysis of the data revealed that the patterns of use of converbial constructions (especially temporal and manner-oriented converbial endings) differed significantly across three subcorpora and revealed unconventional use of converbials particularly in the data of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals. Table 60 presents the token frequency of unconventional usages in the subcorpora of the three participant groups.

**Table 60.** The *frequency of unconventional usages* of all converbial categories among the three subcorpora

| Converbial category       | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Gen Bilinguals |             | 1 <sup>st</sup> Gen Bilinguals |             | Monolingual speakers |             |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|
|                           | Conv. (F)                      | Unconv. (F) | Conv. (F)                      | Unconv. (F) | Conv. (F)            | Unconv. (F) |
| <i>Temporal</i>           | 219                            | 11          | 402                            | 2           | 838                  | 0           |
| <i>Manner</i>             | 57                             | 6           | 170                            | 0           | 205                  | 0           |
| <i>Purpose-and-result</i> | 29                             | 0           | 37                             | 0           | 47                   | 0           |
| <i>Causal</i>             | 27                             | 3           | 41                             | 0           | 40                   | 0           |
| <i>Conditional</i>        | 92                             | 1           | 99                             | 0           | 109                  | 0           |
| <i>Degree</i>             | 0                              | 0           | 2                              | 0           | 7                    | 0           |
| <i>Place</i>              | 3                              | 0           | 3                              | 0           | 13                   | 0           |
| <i>Concession</i>         | 6                              | 0           | 8                              | 0           | 14                   | 0           |
| <b>TOTAL</b>              | <b>433</b>                     | <b>21</b>   | <b>762</b>                     | <b>2</b>    | <b>1273</b>          | <b>0</b>    |

The findings presented in the table provide a negative answer to the following research question: *Are the converbial constructions produced by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers conventional?* After the analysis of overall findings regarding the frequency of use of converbial categories, as the pattern of use was another aspect of this research, the unconventional usages were identified and quantified. The findings indicated that Turkish monolingual data did not encompass any unconventional usage. The 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual language data consisted of 21 unconventional usages out

of 454 occurrences while the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual data only had two unconventional instances out of 764 occurrences. These results may support the argument suggesting that “converb constructions turn out to be relatively robust against contact-induced language change” (Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015, p. 508). It should be stated that the frequency of use of unconventional usages identified in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data was not so high which supports the view that the morphosyntactic features of converbial constructions are less vulnerable to language change as suggested by Johanson (2002). When the distribution of the unconventional usages are examined, it was seen that unconventional usages in temporal and manner-oriented converbials outnumbered the rest. The increase in the use of unconventional forms of converbial constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers’ subcorpus might support the view that in the course of the contact-induced change first of all the production of a structure appears less frequently in the speech of bilinguals (Backus, 2014). Later, its usage starts deviating from the monolinguals.

Even though the frequency of use of converbial constructions was remarkably low, the analysis revealed that some specific unconventional patterns were produced by different participants of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual group. The first unconventional pattern was detected in the use of temporal converbial ending *-Ip*. As exemplified in Extract 3 in the Results Section (cf. p. 167), in the utterance [*Ben onu ee al- • alıp*] *en şey eve geri döndüm* (I bought it and returned home), the converbial ending *-Ip* morpheme was treated as if it possessed a finite nature. This indicated a *pseudo finite* nature which is a clear divergent structure compared to the monolingual equivalent. In Turkey Turkish *-Ip construction* is non-finite and it is not surrounded with any conjunction as the syntagmatic relation between the converbial construction and the finite predicate is strong as exemplified in (71).

(71) Ben                    o-nu                    al-ıp                    ev-e geri                    dön-dü-m.  
       I                        that-ACC.            take-CONV.            house-DAT. Back return.PST.1PSg.  
       „I bought it and returned home.“

Thus, *-Ip* turned out to be inclined to behave as a finite construction. It implies an unconventional usage to place a coordinating conjunction immediately after the converbial construction *-Ip* [*Ben onu ee al- • alıp*] *en şey eve geri döndüm* . (I bought

it and returned home). It seems that the morphosyntactic relation is weakened with the insertion of a coordinating conjunction *en* (and). Furthermore, non-finite *-Ip* morpheme is treated as if it possessed a finite nature. However, it seems that the construction [*Ben onu ee al- • alip*] *en şey eve geri döndüm*. (I bought it and returned home) substantially follows Dutch syntax:

|      |  |          |     |     |         |      |       |        |
|------|--|----------|-----|-----|---------|------|-------|--------|
| (72) | Ik                                       | kocht    | het | en  | ging    | naar | huis  | terug. |
|      | I  | buy.PST. | it  | and | go.PST. | to   | house | back   |
|      | <i>'I bought it and returned home'</i> . |          |     |     |         |      |       |        |

In Dutch, two finite constructions are connected with a coordinating conjunction *en* (and): (i) [*Ik kocht het*] (I bought it) [*ging naar huis terug*] (returned home). These findings allow us to suggest that *-Ip* might possess an innovative and creative function in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual language. *Restructuring* refers to reframing of linguistic structures and patterns as a result of language contact which might trigger a linguistic loss or rearrangement/massive grammatical replacement in linguistic features (Heine & Kuteva, 2005; Heine, 2008). With regards to the unconventional use of converbials in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data, *pseudo-finiteness* (*contextual contact induction*) is a clear case of *restructuring* suggested by the contact linguists Heine and Kuteva (2005). We refer to this innovative *restructuring* as *pseudo-finiteness* in the present study.

As Dutch is the socially dominant language in the case of this study, an innovative use of *-Ip* might emerge as a result of restructuring. However, the low frequency of such innovative constructions does not allow us to generalize the findings. To this end, more focused and task-based psycholinguistic research might show us whether these “unconventional” constructions are considered as conventional in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual language. Based on the patterns observed in the data, it is possible to hypothesize that language change in the contact of Dutch-Turkish takes place in two/three stages. In the first phase of this process, the frequency of use of converbial constructions decreases compared to that of the monolinguals and of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals. The low frequency might imply an increase in the use of finite constructions. Even though the frequency becomes lower, the converbial endings are still produced by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speakers because of its robust nature. However,

this time, the surrounding and neighbourhood of the “robust” converbial ending seems to be weakened with the insertion of Turkish or Dutch conjunctions *en* (and), *dan* (after), *sonra* (after) and pragmatic markers such as adverbials. Apparently, even though the “core” morphosyntactic and semantic features of the converbial is robust and invulnerable to language contact, its neighbourhood becomes weaker with the insertion of conjunctions, markers, etc. Furthermore, the converbial construction bears a pseudo-finite characteristic loses its function. The insertion of such linguistic items in the neighbourhood can be named as *peripheral insertion* which strengthens the pseudo-finiteness feature of the converbials. Overall, this linguistic phenomenon somehow blocks the mechanisms that strengthen the propositional interlocking of converbial ending. In this step, robust and clearly identified morphosyntactic features of the converbial ending appear to fade away, and to be on the process of being reshaped. Just then, the converbial ending starts treating as a *pseudo-finite* construction that demonstrates both finite and non-finite features. In our data, a number of this construction type indicating signs of *pseudo-finiteness* were identified. What remains to be contact linguistically tested is the question of whether this pseudo-finiteness leads to “full-finiteness” under language contact situations in the future research. Another contact-induced mechanism proved to be *increase in the use of conjunctions together with pragmatic markers surrounding some temporal converbial constructions* i.e. *-Ip, -Inca*. It was concluded that the speakers’ production results differed across the three participant groups. The insertion of Dutch and/or Turkish conjunctions, discourse markers surround the converbial constructions in which mostly a Dutch adverbial is used immediately before or after them. As exemplified in Extract 9 in the Results section (cf. pp. 176-7), in the utterance formed with the temporal converbial ending *-Inca*, *Mehmet abi bunu öğrenince en gülecek* (When Mehmet abi hears about it and he will burst into laugh), both the converbial construction, *Mehmet abi bunu öğrenince*, (When Mehmet abi hears about it) and the finite predicate *gülecek* (he will burst into laugh) indicate a number of deviations in terms of the syntagmatic relation. It is also evident that the non-finite utterance *Mehmet abi bunu öğrenince* (When Mehmet abi hears about it) opens a route for the linguistic act of laughing *gülecek* (he will burst into laugh). However, unlike the

control data, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual subcorpus a deviation occurs in that the interlocutors make use of the Dutch conjunction *en* between the converbial construction and the main clause, and thereby constructs and functions somehow as a *pseudo-finite* structure by inserting a conjunction which interlocks two finite constructions. Conventional Turkish monolingual structures could be formed with a non-finite converbial clause–*IncA* , and finite superordinate clause as in 73 or it is also possible to connect two finite clauses with coordinating conjunctions as in 74:

(73) Mehmet abi bu-nu öğren-*ince* gül-ecek.  
 Mehmet brother this-ACC. learn-CONV. laugh.FUT.3Sg.  
 ‘Mehmet abi will learn it then he will burst into laugh’.or

(74) Mehmet abi bu-nu öğren-ecek ve (sonra) gül-ecek.  
 Mehmet brother this-ACC. learn-FUT.3Sg.. and (then) laugh.FUT.3Sg.  
 ‘Mehmet abi will learn it and burst into laugh’.

In Dutch, however, it is possible to connect the two finite clauses with a conjunction as exemplified in (75):

(75) Mehmet abi zal het leren en dan lachen.  
 Mehmet brother will it learn and then laugh  
 ‘Mehmet abi will learn it and then burst into laugh.’

The insertion of Dutch *en* (and) might be activated as a result of contact-induced mechanism triggered by Dutch language contact. It was seen in the excerpt that *en* (and) was inserted between the converbial construction and matrix construction. This kind of usage was not identified in control data. To sum up, the results of the unconventional usages in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation data indicated that *pseudo-finiteness* only occurred in temporal converbial constructions –*Ip* and –*IncA*. Since the core morphosyntactic feature of the converbial ending is robust, first of all, its environment is loosened with the insertion of conjunctions and/or pragmatic markers.

### 5.1.3. Perception of Converbial Constructions in Dutch-Turkish

A *grammaticality judgment task* was developed to reach more robust results by scrutinizing the perception of the converbial constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilinguals from different angles with a battery of lens. The rationale of constructing a perception task lies behind the fact that even though language

production (*performance*) data are of crucial importance to explore contact-induced language change, it simply cannot be guaranteed that all linguistic structures (e.g. all forms of converbial constructions) and language use will occur in the production data. Simply speaking, low *frequency of use* or just coincidence might lead to non-occurrence of some certain structures in language production. In other words, non-occurrence in *performance* (i.e. language production) does not necessarily mean that it is not part of the speaker's linguistic *competence*, either. Therefore, there is a need to find a way to get as much out of the entire linguistic competence as possible. For compensating these gaps and triangulating the language production data, a grammaticality judgment task was developed by the researcher to explore the perception data. The grammaticality judgment task (conventional and unconventional ratings of utterances constituting converbial constructions) comprises a number of the most frequently-used temporal and manner-oriented converbial constructions [-*Ip*, -*IncA*, -*ken* and -*ArAk*] identified across the three participant groups' data. Table 61 presents the results of perception task across the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals and the monolinguals\*.

**Table 61.** The results of perception task across the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals, and the monolinguals (out of 7)

| <b>Converbial Endings</b> | <i>Bilingual speakers</i><br>(2 <sup>nd</sup> generation) | <i>Bilingual speakers</i><br>(1 <sup>st</sup> generation) | <i>Monolinguals</i> |
|---------------------------|---|---|---------------------|
| - <i>Ip</i>               | 5,7828  | 6,4495  | 6,7434              |
| - <i>IncA</i>             | 5,9092  | 6,2996  | 6,7242              |
| - <i>ken</i>              | 6,329   | 6,2163  | 6,7498              |
| - <i>ArAk</i>             | 5,7586  | 6,2997  | 6,8953              |

\*The results of unconventional constructions removed from the table.

The analysis of the perception of the converbial constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals revealed that their perception of the conventional constructions with -*Ip* and of the unconventional converbial constructions with -*Ip*, -*ken*, -*IncA* and -*ArAk* differ significantly from that of the monolinguals. However, the perception of the conventional constructions with -*IncA* and -*ArAk* is found to be similar between the

bilingual and monolingual groups. The results display that the groups differ significantly from one another in their ratings. In this respect, comparative analysis regarding the perception of *-Ip construction* shows that there is a significant difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' ratings (5,7828 out of 7) and their monolingual counterparts' ratings (6,7434). Moreover, the intergenerational analysis shows that there is a difference between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speakers' ratings (5,7828) and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals' (6,4495). Pairwise comparison displays that there is a slightly observable difference in terms of perception ratings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals. That is, the difference of perception results between the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals and Turkish monolingual speakers are quite remarkable. Furthermore, it can be concluded from the findings that there is a clear pattern across speaker groups from different generational backgrounds. In addition to that, it can be discussed that the conventional perception of the converbial constructions by speakers shows the following pattern in descending order of conventional rating:

The perception of converbials by the monolingual speakers > the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers > the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers

The findings of the grammaticality judgment task were compatible with those of the production data. In spite of the fact that there is no relevant research study in the literature regarding the perception task results specifically focusing on converbial constructions, in her study on the perception of Estonian directional, static, separative verbal government by two different participant groups of Russian speakers, Verschik (2006) stated that the perception of Russian speaking informants from dominantly Estonian speaking neighbourhood (i.e. Tallinn) demonstrated divergence from that of dominantly Russian speaking context in the use of verbal government as a result of Estonian language contact. To conclude, the results of the two Estonian-Russian bilingual participant groups deviated from those of the monolingual Russian speakers which implies a differentiation in the perception of such linguistic structures. Similarly, Onar Valk (2015) implied that the difference concerning the perception results of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers regarding the morphosyntactic

structures of converbial constructions (“adverbial clauses” in her terminology) showed similarity with those of the present study. Discussing the perception data, the findings of the current research were in line with Onar Valk’ argument (2015), which was, “It might be that Dutch Turkish speakers have trouble producing TR-Turkish-like complex clauses but still retain considerable passive competence with such structures” (p. 233).

The present study has contributed to the heritage language studies in the Netherlands from the perspective of contact-induced language change. The data indicated that the converbial constructions were less frequent in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual language than the monolingual and the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals. Besides the low frequency, it was also concluded that a *restructuring* mechanism took place which appeared to lead to “innovative” and “new” patterns in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation “heritage” language. These findings supported the view that Turkish heritage language has undergone an ongoing structural language change as a result of Dutch language contact (Backus, 1996; Demirçay, 2017; Doğruöz & Backus, 2007; Onar Valk, 2015; Onar Valk & Backus, 2013; Şahin, 2015; Verhoeven & Boeschoeten, 1986) in the Netherlands. Congruent with the study conducted by Şahin, these results also supported the view that there were “isolated examples of unconventionality”. However, it was concluded that there was not a systematic contact-induced language change. These results were also compatible with those of Onar Valk’s study (2015) indicating that subordination in complex clauses in Dutch-Turkish diverged from the conventions of Turkey-Turkish in that the Turkish heritage speakers made relatively more use of the finite clauses than the monolinguals.

Moreover, the findings of the present study supported the view that Dutch-Turkish variety spoken in the Netherlands has undergone an ongoing contact-induced change (Backus, 2013, Backus & Sevinç, 2013; Demirçay, 2016; Doğruöz & Sevinç, 2007; Onar Valk, 2015). An answer awaits as to how this linguistic change has influences on the cognitive, socio-pragmatic skills of Turkish heritage speakers. From an educational linguistic point of view, the researchers reported that being competent in one’s L1 helps a child to develop a ‘sound individual identity’ in social and educational spheres in immigrant minorities such as Dutch-Turkish speech

communities. However, this analysis was borne out by the widespread reports of ‘subtractive bilingualism’ among younger Turks (Yağmur, 2007; Akoğlu & Yağmur, 2016; Yağmur, 2017). As the contact linguists studying Dutch-Turkish language contact situation reported, Dutch-Turkish has been going under a language change as a result of Dutch contact (Backus, 2013, Backus & Sevinç, 2013; Demirçay, 2016; Doğruöz & Sevinç, 2007; Onar Valk, 2015). The contact-induced mechanisms utilized by the heritage speakers (e.g. *restructuring*, *frequential copying* etc.) led to the construction of innovative constructions concerning the converbial constructions in their linguistic repertoires that were reanalyzed and restructured as a consequence of contact. These innovative constructions “embrace ready and applicable linguistic structures” (Matras, 2010). These innovative constructions encompassed the insertion of coordinating conjunctions and pragmatic markers leading to the notion of *pseudo-finiteness* in the converbial constructions.

The notion of *pseudo-finiteness* identified as a *sui generis* innovative construction in Dutch-Turkish data supported the view that “there has been no “one-fits-all” model explaining all language contact situations in the literature of language contact” (Siemund, 2008). The findings showed that in spite of the low frequency of the converbial constructions produced by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers, these constructions are less prone to contact-induced change. It supported the view that the relationship between three stratifications of clause structure i.e. “nucleus”, “core” and “periphery” on the basis of Foley and Van Valin’s (1984) syntactic theory is quite strong. Thus, first of all, the periphery of the converbial construction is loosened with the insertion of conjunctions and discourse markers. This insertion creates an unconventional usage according to monolingual evaluations. This unconventionality is accompanied by the low frequency. However, it is difficult to claim which one triggers the other. In this respect, according to Stolz and Stolz (1996), Ross (2001) and Matras (2009), language change in bilingual discourse starts with complex clauses such as adverbial clauses. After complex clauses, it progresses to simple forms such as phrases and words (Matras, 2009).

Usage-based investigation emphasized the intimate relationship between language use and the linguistic competence of language speakers. Thus, this study employed the

usage-based framework to identify any sort of linguistic change in the use of the converbial constructions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers' speech with the usage-based constructs of *entrenchment*, *conventionalization* and *frequency of use*.

#### **5.1.4. Social factors influencing contact-induced language change**

The current study does not directly aim at scrutinizing the relationship between the social factors influencing the language contact situation and contact-induced mechanisms. Yet, the impacts of social factors are undeniable and are extensively emphasized in the relevant literature.

In contact situations social factors such as “the intensity of contact, its duration, the power of prestige relationships between the two language communities and patterns of interaction between them, the number of speakers each languages has, and the attitudes of the speakers may affect learning/acquisition of additional languages” (cf. Thomason, 2001; Johanson, 2002; Winford, 2003). Taking these varying viewpoints into account, factors such as individual differences, context and purpose were taken into consideration to create much more comprehensive, multi-dimensional and meaningful definitions of language contact. In this sense, Grosjean's (2006) framework of six areas of differences of bilinguals can be used as a benchmark for explicating the intricate relationship between the language contact and social factors in Dutch context. In doing so, the data obtained from the language background questionnaire and interviews were utilized to provide insights concerning the sociolinguistic constructs. First of all, language history and language relation of the participant groups seemed to have an effect on their language perception and production. For instance, the social context of acquisition of language(s) appeared to affect the construction and activation of speakers' linguistic repertoires from which certain linguistic structures are retrieved. All the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers considered themselves as Dutch native speakers, however they did not define themselves as “fully-competent” speakers of Turkish. Such an understanding may lie behind the fact that they did have difficulty in mostly formal and written contexts (reading newspaper, filling a form in Turkish, etc.). In terms of their socio-economic status, it can be stated that their social and economic profiles

were quite akin to one another. All family members had their origin in Turkey even though they were all born and raised in the Netherlands. When they were asked where they were from, without exception, they identified their origins with the Turkish city from which their ancestors came from. In addition, Turkish was reported to be spoken as family language among family members (overwhelmingly with (grand-)parents), and with older people with the 1<sup>st</sup> generation background. Thus, these 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers were supposed to be exposed to the Turkish variety as a family language associated with the city from which their parents came.

In this sense, Yağmur (2017) reported that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual children were less proficient in Turkish with regard to morphosyntactic, lexical and textual skills, and cognitive constructs in comparison to their monolingual counterparts. The results of the language background questionnaire was in line with those of Yağmur's study. The status and dominance of languages in contact also have an influence on the pragmatic skills of the participants. Backus and Yağmur (2017) concluded that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers pragmatic norms and ways of speaking diverge from their monolingual peers. As suggested by the researchers, one reason might be related to the fact that the dominance of Dutch language influences ways of speaking Turkish, which is a common observation in the contexts of contact-induced language change (Demirçay, 2017). These findings asserted that the contact-induced language change in the Netherlands is to some extent straightforward in the sense that there is a clear dominance asymmetry (Myers-Scotton, 2002) between Turkish and Dutch in the Netherlands which leads to the fact that the influence is predominantly unidirectional, i.e. from Dutch to Turkish. The background questionnaire findings also supported the view that Turkish language was stable regarding the ethnolinguistic vitality and language stability even though there was an ongoing language change as a result of language contact (Backus, 1996; Doğruöz & Backus, 2007; Onar Valk, 2015; Yağmur, 2017).

Turkish was reported to be widely spoken as the family language and immigrant community language among the participants. In communicating with their peers, Turkish friends and relatives with the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation background, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual Dutch-Turkish speakers tended to code-switch and code-mix Turkish and

Dutch. It was also reported by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers that they all had opportunity to make use of Turkish via different social media platforms (i.e. YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, etc.), and they stated that they enthusiastically followed Turkish agenda. They also added that they preferred to spend their summer vacations in Turkey. Yet, relatively stable status of Turkish does not necessarily mean that their language has not undergone contact-induced language. On the contrary, the production data in the current study also revealed that Turkish is in the process of *loosening* and *restructuring* non-finite constructions. Even though there is an ongoing change, a certain stability has been reached with regard to the Turkish language. Even the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual participants reported that they made use of Turkish with their family members, Turkish friends, their spouse(s) as a result of widespread endogamy. It was reported that Dutch was mostly used in official contexts such as educational institutions, municipality, etc. In social context, Dutch was also used in workplaces. The data also showed that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilinguals extensively code-switched between Turkish and Dutch which takes us to the discussion of language mode which refers to when only one language is active (monolingual mode) or more than two languages are activated (bilingual mode). The background questionnaire reports indicated that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers activated the two languages in bilingual mode more often compared to the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals. In these cases, as can be seen in the production data in the extracts, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers code-switched far more than the 1<sup>st</sup> generation the bilinguals.

In addition, biographical data of the participants such as socioeconomic status, educational status, mother's educational background might have an effect on the language proficiency and the intensity of language contact. Regarding the socioeconomic status, Yağmur (2017) reported that the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual children from lower socioeconomic families demonstrated much lower knowledge in terms of the socio-pragmatic skills compared to their monolingual Turkish counterparts. Even though the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual participants in the current study were from almost the same social class, they displayed the same patterns in production data.

Thus, it would not be wrong to assume that based on the intensity of contact and frequency of use of Dutch, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual participants create a more positive attitude and attribute a high prestige to the Dutch language. Under such social conditions as suggested by Thomason (2001) features of a less dominant language are prone to contact-induced language change. The findings of the current study are compatible with those of Pfaff's *Berlin Studies* (1981, 1991, 1993, 2010) in which changing patterns of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation German-Turkish bilingual childrens' speech were investigated in the framework of contact-induced language change as a result of socially dominant language, German. Pfaff (ibid.) concluded that German-Turkish was subject to contact-induced language change in the heritage language. To conclude, first of all, the frequential analysis of the converbial endings showed the three participant groups differed from each other. The intergenerational analysis demonstrated that there was a difference in the frequency of use. The 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual speakers made less use of almost all converbial categories than the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speakers. Similarly, the comparative analysis displayed that the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilinguals made less use of the converbial constructions compared to the monolingual participants.

Secondly, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation bilingual data encompassed twenty-one unconventional usages which outnumbered the ones identified in the 1<sup>st</sup> generation bilingual speech (N=2). The findings of the unconventional usages in the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation data showed that *pseudo-finiteness* only occurred in temporal converbial constructions –*Ip* and –*Inca*.

Last but not least, even though the present study did not directly aim at investigating the social factors, it was concluded that driving social forces such as the intensity of contact, language dominance, unidirectionality, language prestige and status seemed to have an impact on the language contact in Dutch context.

## **5.2. Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Further Research**

This study was a case study investigating the perception and production of converbial constructions used by three groups of participants. Group 1 constituted eleven Dutch-

Turkish bilinguals from the first generation while Group 2 encompassed twelve 2nd generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers. As for control group, twelve Turkish monolinguals participated in the study as well. Since this study was conducted with only a number of participants and the video-recordings were limited to 33 hours, the findings and the results cannot be generalized for all Turkish heritage language use of Turkish heritage language. To have more comprehensive results about the perception and use of converbial constructions of Turkish heritage speakers, the number of participants can be higher to be generalized to the Dutch context. Last but not least, this study made no attempt to deeply and thoroughly explore “compensation mechanisms” –if there occur any in speakers’ speech production- which compensate for the low frequency of use of converbial constructions compared to the monolingual and bilingual subcorpora. That is, what awaits further clarification is to investigate whether the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers gradually switch to finite constructions, avoiding the non-finite structures. Therefore, it should be noted that an investigation into such “compensation mechanisms” might yield insights into the constructions triggered as a result of Dutch contact.

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## APPENDICES

### A. TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

| Timing         |  |
|----------------|--|
| •              | Indicates a very short pause   |
| ••             | Indicates a pause shorter than 0.5 second  |
| •••            | Indicates a pause shorter than 1 second  |
| ((3_s))        | Indicates a pause of 3 seconds   |
| Tone           |  |
| H <sup>́</sup> | Rising tone  |
| H <sup>̀</sup> | Falling tone   |
| H <sup>^</sup> | Rising-falling tone  |
| H <sup>ˇ</sup> | Falling-rising tone  |
| H <sup>̃</sup> | Steady tone  |
| Delivery       |  |
| ’              | Indicates a continuing utterance with slight upward or downward contour that may or may not occur at the end of a turn constructional unit |
| .              | Indicates an end of an utterance   |
| ?              | Rising vocal pitch or intonational contour at the conclusion of an utterance   |
| !              | Indicates the conclusion of an utterance delivered with emphatic tone  |
| -              | Indicates a repair in the speaker’s utterances   |
| Other          |  |
| (( ))          | The text in-between the double parentheses indicate the non-verbal speech action of the speaker  |
| ((unint.))     | Indicates an unintelligible utterance  |

| <b>B. LANGUAGE BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE</b>   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>DİL GEÇMİŞİ ANKETİ</b>   |  |
| Değerli katılımcı,  |  |
| <p>Çalışmamıza katıldığınız için teşekkür ederiz. Bu anketten elde edilecek bilgiler sadece “The Functions of Interjections in Azeri-Turkish Lingua Receptiva Communication ” (Azerice-Türkçe Algısal Çokdilli İletişimde Ünlemlerin İşlevi ) çalışması için kullanılacaktır ve başka hiç bir şekilde kullanılmayacaktır. Anketimize vereceğiniz doğru cevaplar için ve ayırdığınız zaman için teşekkür ederiz.</p> |  |
| Mehmet Akkuş  |  |
| <b>1. GENEL BİLGİLER</b>  |  |
| <b>1.1. İsim:</b>   | <b>1.2. Cinsiyet:</b> Erkek <input type="checkbox"/><br>Kadın <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <b>1.3. Yaş:</b>  | <b>1.4. Uyruk (Nationality):</b>   |
| <b>1.5. Doğum Yeri:</b>   | <b>1.6. Yaşanılan Yer:</b>   |
| <b>1.7. Bölüm (Department):</b>   | <b>1.8. Türkiye’ye giriş tarihi:</b>   |
| <b>1.9. E-mail:</b>   | <b>1.10. Telefon Numarası:</b>   |
| <b>2. DİL GEÇMİŞİ BİLGİSİ</b>   |  |
| <b>2.2. Annenizin ana dili nedir?</b>   |  |
| <b>2.3. Babanızın ana dili nedir?</b>   |  |
| <b>2.4. Lütfen a) bildiğiniz dilleri öğrenme sırasına ve hangi yaşta öğrendiğinize göre sıralayınız,</b>  |  |

**b) bu dillerdeki başarı seviyenizin sözlü, yazılı ya da her ikisi mi olduğunu belirtiniz.**

|         | ÖĞRENME<br>YE GÖRE<br>SIRALAMA<br>A | YAŞA<br>GÖRE<br>SIRALAMA<br>A | SÖZLÜ | YAZILI | HER İKİSİ DE |
|---------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|--------|--------------|
| D1<br>. |                                     |                               |       |        |              |
| D2<br>. |                                     |                               |       |        |              |
| D3<br>. |                                     |                               |       |        |              |
| D4<br>. |                                     |                               |       |        |              |
| D5<br>. |                                     |                               |       |        |              |

**2.5. Lütfen bu dilleri nereden öğrendiğinizi belirtiniz.**

| Öğrenme Türü                      | D1. | D2. | D3. | D4. | D5. |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Anaokulu / Yuva<br>(Kindergarten) |     |     |     |     |     |
| Okul                              |     |     |     |     |     |
| Aile                              |     |     |     |     |     |
| Arkadaşlar                        |     |     |     |     |     |
| İnternet                          |     |     |     |     |     |
| TV                                |     |     |     |     |     |
| Dili konuşan insanlarla           |     |     |     |     |     |
| Diğer:                            |     |     |     |     |     |

| <b>2.6. Lütfen bu dilleri ne kadar iyi bildiğiniz belirtiniz.</b>   |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
|---|-----------------|-------------|-------------|------------|----------------|-----------------|
|   | <b>Çok Kötü</b> | <b>Kötü</b> | <b>Orta</b> | <b>İyi</b> | <b>Çok İyi</b> | <b>Mükemmel</b> |
| D1.   |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| D2.   |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| D3.   |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| D4.   |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| D5.   |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| <b>2.7. Aşağıdaki durumlarda hangi dili (ya da dilleri) kullanıyorsunuz? Her bir durum için en az bir dili işaretleyiniz.</b> |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
|   | <b>D1.</b>      | <b>D2.</b>  | <b>D3.</b>  | <b>D4.</b> | <b>D5.</b>     |                 |
| <b>Evde babanızla</b>   |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| <b>Evde annenizle</b>   |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| <b>Evde kardeşlerinizle</b>   |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| <b>Evde büyükanne/büyükbabanızla</b>  |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| <b>Evde komşularla/akrabalarla</b>  |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| <b>Üniversitede arkadaşlarımızla</b>  |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| <b>Üniversitede öğretmenlerinizle</b>   |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| <b>Boş zamanlarda arkadaşlarımızla</b>  |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| <b>İnternette/Skype'ta chat yaparken</b>  |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |
| <b>Hollanda'da resmi devlet kurumları ile</b>   |                 |             |             |            |                |                 |

|                                       |  |  |  |  |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| Türkiye’de resmi devlet kurumları ile |  |  |  |  |  |
| Diğer:                                |  |  |  |  |  |
| Diğer:                                |  |  |  |  |  |
| Diğer:                                |  |  |  |  |  |

### . TÜRKÇE İLE TEMAS BİLGİLERİ

#### 3.1. Türkiye’ye gider misiniz?

Evet  Hayır

3.2. Eğer cevabınız EVET ise, ne sıklıkla gidersiniz? Ve ne kadar süre kalırsınız?

Ne zaman

Ne kadar süre

3.3. Hollanda’ya gitmeden önce aşağıdaki durumlarda Türkçe ile temas içinde miydiniz? Eğer EVET ise, hangi sıklıkla bu durumlarda Türkçe ile temas içindeydiniz? Lütfen ilgili Alana (X) koyunuz.

|  |              |            |           |             |                  |
|--|--------------|------------|-----------|-------------|------------------|
|  | HER<br>ZAMAN | SIK<br>SIK | BAZE<br>N | NADİR<br>EN | HİÇ BİR<br>ZAMAN |
|--|--------------|------------|-----------|-------------|------------------|

|                              |  |  |  |  |  |
|------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| Türkçe TV dizileri           |  |  |  |  |  |
| Türkçe TV programları        |  |  |  |  |  |
| Türkçe radyo                 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Türkçe müzikler              |  |  |  |  |  |
| Türkçe kitaplar              |  |  |  |  |  |
| Türkçe dergiler              |  |  |  |  |  |
| Türkçe internet siteleri     |  |  |  |  |  |
| Türk mektup/chat arkadaşları |  |  |  |  |  |
| Türk arkadaşlar              |  |  |  |  |  |
| Türk turistler               |  |  |  |  |  |

**3.4. Hollanda’da aşağıdakilerin hangileri ile ne sıklıkta temas halindesiniz?**

|                          | HER ZAMAN | SIK SIK | BAZE N | NADİR EN | HİÇ BİR ZAMAN |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------|--------|----------|---------------|
| Türkçe TV dizileri       |           |         |        |          |               |
| Türkçe TV programları    |           |         |        |          |               |
| Türkçe radyo             |           |         |        |          |               |
| Türkçe müzikler          |           |         |        |          |               |
| Türkçe kitaplar          |           |         |        |          |               |
| Türkçe dergiler          |           |         |        |          |               |
| Türkçe internet siteleri |           |         |        |          |               |

|  |          |      |      |     |         |
|--|----------|------|------|-----|---------|
| Türk mektup/chat arkadaşları   |          |      |      |     |         |
| Türk arkadaşlar  |          |      |      |     |         |
| Türk turistler   |          |      |      |     |         |
|  |          |      |      |     |         |
| <b>3.5. Türkçe seviyenizi aşağıdaki durumlarda nasıl görüyorsunuz?</b> |          |      |      |     |         |
|  | ÇOK KÖTÜ | KÖTÜ | ORTA | İYİ | ÇOK İYİ |
| Konuşma  |          |      |      |     |         |
| Dinleme  |          |      |      |     |         |
| Okuma  |          |      |      |     |         |
| Yazma  |          |      |      |     |         |

| 4. TÜRKÇE'YE VE TÜRK KÜLTÜRÜNE KARŞI TUTUMLAR   |                         |              |            |             |                        |
|---|-------------------------|--------------|------------|-------------|------------------------|
| Lütfen aşağıdaki cümleleri okuyunuz ve sağdaki tarafa tutumunuzu yansıtacak şekilde işaret (✓) koyunuz. | Kesinlikle katılmıyorum | Katılmıyorum | Kararsızım | Katılıyorum | Kesinlikle katılıyorum |
|   | 1                       | 2            | 3          | 4           | 5                      |
| 1. Türk dilini seviyorum.   |                         |              |            |             |                        |
| 2. Türkçe öğrenmenin zor olduğunu düşünüyorum.  |                         |              |            |             |                        |
| 3. Türk kültürünün benim kültürüme yakın olduğunu düşünüyorum.  |                         |              |            |             |                        |
| 4. Türk dili benim ana dilime benziyor.   |                         |              |            |             |                        |
| 5. Türklerle iletişim kurma yöntemlerimden memnunum.  |                         |              |            |             |                        |
| 6. Türklerle nihayetinde çok iyi iletişim kuracağıma inanıyorum.  |                         |              |            |             |                        |
| 7. Türkçe konuşmak için Türk kültürünü öğrenmek gerekli değildir.                                       |                         |              |            |             |                        |
| 8.Özbekçe/Azerice/Kazakça/Türkmence konuşan insanlar için Türkçeyi öğrenmek daha kolaydır.              |                         |              |            |             |                        |
| 9. Eğer Türkçe konuşan birine rastlarsam, yanına kadar gider, Türkçemi geliştirmek için konuşurum.      |                         |              |            |             |                        |
| 10. Türkçeyi çok iyi konuşmasam da çok iyi anlarım.   |                         |              |            |             |                        |
| 11. Türk insanların yardımsever olduklarını düşünüyorum.  |                         |              |            |             |                        |
| 12. Eğer Türkçeyi çok iyi konuşabilirsem, bu dili kullanmak için birçok fırsatım olur.                  |                         |              |            |             |                        |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 13. Türkçeyi öğrenmenin kolay olduğunu fark ettim.   |  |  |  |  |  |
| 14. Türkçe konuşan insanlarla gezmeyi ve onları dinlemeyi sevmem.                              |  |  |  |  |  |
| 15. Türkçe öğrenmek beni Türkiye’de daha güvende hissettiriyor.                                |  |  |  |  |  |
| 16. Türk kültürü hakkında daha çok şey öğrenmek isterim.                                       |  |  |  |  |  |
| 17. Türk kültürü ve dilini ne kadar çok öğrenirsem, o kadar Türkçeyi akıcı konuşmak istiyorum. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 18. Türk insanı çok arkadaş canlısıdır.  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 19. Türkçeyi sınıf ortamında öğrenmek zordur.  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 20. Türkçe öğrenmek benim için önemli değil çünkü Türkiye’de kalmayı ve çalışmayı istemiyorum. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 21. Türk insanıyla iletişim kurmanın zor olduğunu düşünüyorum.                                 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 22. Türkçe öğrenmek, bana, farklı insanlarla tanışma ve sohbet etme imkanı veriyor.            |  |  |  |  |  |
| 23. Türk kültürüne karşı olumlu bir tutumum var.   |  |  |  |  |  |
| 24. Türkçeyi öğrenmek benim için önemli çünkü ileride iş yaşamımda Türkçeyi kullanacağım.      |  |  |  |  |  |

## C. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

### MÜLAKAT SORULARI

1. Eşinizle nasıl tanıştınız?  
(How did you meet with your spouse?)
2. Kendinizi tanıtabilir misiniz?  
(Could you introduce yourself?)
3. Üniversiteye giriş hikayenizi anlatır mısınız?  
(Could you explain your experience to prepare for the university application?)
4. Hollanda'da yaşam koşullarını anlatır mısınız?  
(Can you talk about the life conditions in the Netherlands?)
5. En mutlu anınızı anlatır mısınız?  
(Can you talk about your happiest memory?)
6. Üniversite seçimine nasıl karar verdiniz?  
(How did you decide your university?)





|    |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | Hollandacamı geliştirerek daha iyi bir iş bulabilirim. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|    |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Buradaki işimi bitirirken okuma grubuna katılacağım. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. | Dün eve geldiğim kadar televizyonu açtım. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|    |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | Geçen yıl sanatçılar gelip Tilburg'da şarkı söyledi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | Bu konuyu iyice araştırınca karar vermek lazım. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|    |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | Tanıştığımız zamanlar ben senden daha uzundum. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. | Bu konuyu düşünmekten önce karar vermek lazım. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | Kardeşim hikayeyi bitirdiği kadar kitabı yerine koydu. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. | Dün akşam ders çalışınca ansızın ışıklar söndü. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. | Çalışmalıyım göre derslerimde daha da başarılı oldum. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14. | Rock'n roll festivalinde kendini parçalarcasına dans etti. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15. | Üniversite hocaları kararlarını verirken hareket eder. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16. | Bebek çok ağladığı yüzünden annesi tedirgin oldu. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17. | Şehir merkezinde çocuklar şarkı söyleyerek okula gidiyorlardı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18. | Annem odaya girdiğinde ona gülümsedim. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19. | Annem kitap okurken her türlü yemeği yapabiliyor. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20. | Okuldan eve yürüyüp defterlerimi okulda bıraktığımı hatırladım. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21. | Bebek çok ağlayınca annesi altını kontrol etti. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22. | Babam spora başlayınca sigarayı ve alkolü azaltdı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23. | Ben koltuğa uzanıp cep telefonum çaldı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 24. | Hasta olmadıktan önce şehriyeli tavuk çorbası içtim. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25. | Sen buradan gittiğin zaman herkes seni özleyecek. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26. | Yatakta uzanırken müzik dinlemeye bayılıyorum. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27. | Aniden ayağa kalkarak şiddetli şekilde başım dönüyor. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28. | Çocuğu dövmeden sonra annesini balkona çağırıldı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 29. | Ben Amsterdam'da kaybolduğumda ailem polisi aramış. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30. | Gelecek hafta okula gideli kaydımı yaptıracağım. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31. | Rotterdam'dan dönüp iş yerine geri geldim. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 32. | Sadık askere gitmeden az önce sevdiğiyile evlenmişti. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 33. | Eleştirini dikkate alarak makaleyi tekrar gözden geçireceğim. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 34. | Ofise gidince sana ayrıntılı bir e-mail göndereceğim. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 35. | Dün akşam o hırsızı elime geçiremediğime göre üzülüyorum. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |                                       |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 36. | Dün sigara içerken babama yakalandım. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 37. | Ders çalışırken HBO'da başarılı bir öğrenci olabilirim. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 38. | Davalı ile davacı kavga ettikten önce tartıştı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 39. | Ghent'e gidip biraz kafamı dinleyeceğim. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 40. | Dersimi çalışırken hemen yatağa gittim. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 41. | Annem temizliği bitircesine yemek yapmaya başladı. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|



|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 42. | Buradan ayrılmadan önce hepinizle vedalaşmak istiyorum. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

## Katılımcı Bilgisi

Adınız ve soyadınız:

Yaşınız:

Eğitim durumunuz:

Türkiye’de nerelisiniz:

Çalışmaya katıldığınız için teşekkür ederim 😊

### Araştırmacı

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Adress: Tilburg University  
Department of Cultural Studies  
Dante Building

## E. A SAMPLE TRANSCRIPTION FROM THE DATA

### Turkish Heritage Speakers-8 & 9

**Project Name:** The converbial constructions

**Referenced file:** C:\Users\fle\Desktop\Transcriptions and Videos\Heritage Turkish Home Transcription-12\M2U00119\_x264.mp4

**Transcription Convention:** HIAT

**Comment:** The particular constellation of this communication is as follows: the informants are two Turkish heritage speakers and a monolingual Turkish speaker. The heritage speakers are both university students and employees at Tilburg University studying in a variety of disciplines in various departments. Monolingual Turkish speaker was a visiting researcher who visited Tilburg University in order to collect the spoken data for his PhD project. Turkish heritage speakers were selected on the basis of belonging to the 2<sup>nd</sup>+ generation of Turkish speech community living in the Netherlands. The rationale behind this selection lies behind the fact that it would be easier for the researcher to compare heritage speakers' perception and production of converbial constructions (Onar Valk, 2015; Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015). Their parents are both from the cities located in the Central Anatolian region. The place of recording is an office at the university at the department of Cultural Studies at Tilburg University. Date of the recording is December 12, 2016. For the current constellation, two Turkish heritage speakers played TABOO game, a world-wide known word-guessing card game, by pairing each other and forming two groups. „Players are given cards on which there is a ‘guess word’ and five ‘taboo (forbidden) words’. One of the teammates in a team tries to prompt his/her partner to guess the keywords as possible in the allotted time without using taboo words. This player is called ‘clue-giver.’ The other who can be named as the information requester attempts to guess and understand it. Taboo words are the ones which have strong associations with the guess words. For instance, if the guess word is ‘sofa’, taboo words are ‘furniture, couch, chair, living room, sit’. The clue-giver prompting his/her partner to guess ‘sofa’ is not supposed to use these taboo words, which makes the game challenging for the teammates. This leads the teammates to negotiate to reach the ultimate mutual goal, which is comprehension. Since it is the clue-giver in each team who holds the information, and the other one requests the information in order to reach goal, the task can be defined as an information-gap task. Additionally, there seems to be a one-way flow of information; however, if the information requester provides the information holder with information requiring confirmation then it may also be two-way flow information exchange. Taboo and guess words were selected based on the general, shared cultural and international knowledge of the interlocutors for this study. Besides, taboo and guess words which are culturally too specific were eliminated“ (Akkuş, 2013, p. 210).

User defined attributes:

**Place of video-recording:** Tilburg University, Department of Cultural Studies

**Date of video-recording:** 12.12.2016

[1]

0 [00:00.0]

TMS [v] Denerim kendimle. • • Biz mesela • n'oluruz? Ben mesela şimdi büyüğüm,

[2]

.. 1 [00:07.9] 2 [00:09.0]

TMS [v] bi' zamanlar neydim? Küçük- küçük. En küçükken ne diyoruz biz  
THS\_8 [v] • küçük

[3]

.. 3 [00:11.4]4 [00:11.9]

TMS [v] Türkçede? Bebekken mesela ben • • n'apıyorum? Günümün en  
THS\_8 [v] Bebek  
THS\_9 [v] Bebek

[4]

.. 5 [00:16.7] 6 [00:17.2]

TMS [v] çoğunu nası geçiriyorum ben? Uyuyarak. Uyurken bana birisi bi'  
THS\_9 [v] Uyyarak

[5]

.. 7 [00:21.7] 8 [00:22.6]9 [00:23.2]

TMS [v] şey söylüyo annem uyutmak için Ninni  
THS\_8 [v] Mırıldanmak He ninni. Hee  
THS\_9 [v] Ninni  
DIS\_SES [nv] Anlayamadığım bi' ses

[6]

10 [00:25.2] 11 [00:27.1] 12 [00:27.4]

TMS [v] Tamam? Böyle anlatıyosunuz Böyle. Evet şimdi başlayabilir...  
THS\_8 [v] Tamam  
DIS\_SES [nv] Butona basma sesi

[7]

..

TMS [v] Aa! Bi' dakika. • ((2\_s)) Keşke başlatmasaydım. Ben de oyuncu gibi kendi

[8]

..  
TMS [v] kendime şey başlattım. ((4\_s)) Yani şey dün Yakupla -bu arada da şu

[9]

..  
TMS [v] zaman geçene kadar onu anlatayım- Tolgahan şimdi geldiler, böyle

[10]

..  
TMS [v] bakıyorlar. Yakupla tanıştıydık Cuma namazında. Tolgahanla

[11]

..  
TMS [v] tanışmadıydık. Şimdi görüşme intervi-interview diyorlar. Interview mi

[12]

..  
TMS [v] yapcaz? Yoo interview yapmicaz siz oyun oynicaksınız dedim. Bunlar

[13]

..  
TMS [v] baktı böyle şaşırdılar. Nası yani oyun oynicaz dedi. Dedim; oyun

[14]

..  
TMS [v] oynicaksınız yani birbirinizle oyun oynicaksınız. İnsanlar şey sanıyo

[15]

.. 13 [01:04.3]  
TMS [v] heralde böyle bi' ben onlarla konuşcam  
THS\_8 [v] Araştırma olunca biraz öyle

[16]

.. 14 [01:06.1]  
TMS [v] Ciddi bi' şey sanıyo ama ben kendim çok ciddi bi' insan değilim  
THS\_8 [v] zanediliyo

[17]

|           |         |   |
|-----------|---------|---|
|           | ..      | 15 [01:09.3] 16 [01:09.7]                           |
| TMS [v]   | malesef | Benim bütün arařtırmalarım böyledir. O yüzden şey • |
| THS_8 [v] | Tamam   |   |

[18]

|           |             |   |
|-----------|-------------|---|
|           | ..          |   |
| TMS [v]   | kendim cid- | tabi ciddi bi' insanımdır da şeyde bu arařtırmalarımı böyle |
| THS_8 [v] |             | hı hı   |

[19]

|           |  |              |
|-----------|--|--------------|
|           | ..   | 17 [01:22.0] |
| TMS [v]   | topluyorum. Dođal oluyo yani çok dođal oluyo yani, başladık! |              |
| THS_8 [v] |  | ((7_s)) Sen  |

[20]

|           |                          |   |
|-----------|--------------------------|---|
|           | ..                       | 18 [01:30.9]19 [01:31.5]                  |
| THS_8 [v] | en çok neyden korkarsın? | Hani dünyada en bilinmiş ••• en tehlikeli |
| THS_9 [v] |                          | Köpek                                     |

[21]

|           |              |                    |                                       |                       |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
|           | ..           | 20 [01:38.7]       | 21 [01:41.0] 22 [01:41.8]23 [01:42.4] | 24 [01:43.2]          |
| TMS [v]   |              |                    |                                       | Helal olsun((unint.)) |
| THS_8 [v] | köpek nedir? |                    | İkincisi                              | N'oluyo sonra?        |
| THS_9 [v] |              | Qangal mı? Pitbull | Pitbull                               |                       |

[22]

|           |  |              |
|-----------|--|--------------|
|           | ..   | 25 [01:44.2] |
| TMS [v]   | Koy-kenara koyuyosun, bu bitene kadar kaç tane anlatacaksın 1 tane |              |
| THS_8 [v] |  | He, tamam    |

[23]

|              |          |   |
|--------------|----------|---|
|              | ..       | 26 [01:48.1]  |
| TMS [v]      | anlattın |   |
| THS_8 [v]    |          | ((4_s)) Çok ••• çok ünlü bir oyuncu, yaban- •• yabancı bir oyuncu |
| DIS_SES [nv] |          | Sayfa çevirme sesi  |

[24]

|                  | 27 [01:58.4]28 [01:58.9] | 29 [02:01.0]30 [02:02.8]                     |
|------------------|--------------------------|--|
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | •• Amerikalı             | Afrikada •• he o denilmes • Afrikada bi' ••• |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | Hı hı                    | •• İııııı                                    |

[25]

|                     | 31 [02:10.0]          | 32 [02:11.6] | 33 [02:12.8]34 [02:13.4]    |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b>    |                       | Yok, bayan.  | Evet, bayan. ((4_s)) Afrika |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b>    | Leonardo Dicaprio mu? |              | Bayan                       |
| <b>DIS_SES [nv]</b> | <i>Kalem sesi</i>     |              |                             |

[26]

|                  | ..             | 35 [02:21.0]                                | 36 [02:22.0] |
|------------------|----------------|---|--------------|
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   |                | Yardım etti                                 | Hatta        |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | ülkelerinde... | •• Evet yardım etti. Kimlere yardım etti •• |              |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |                |   |              |

[27]

|                  | ..   |
|------------------|--|
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   | Türkiye'ye de gidiyo bu Suriyelilerin kamplarını falan ziyaret ediyo. •• |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |  |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | ((unint.))   |

[28]

|                  | ..                            | 38 [02:34.1]                                 |
|------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   | Şey de hatta • UNICEFte falan |  |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Çok ünlü bir oyuncu           | • Bi' kaç defada en güzel kadın olarak bayan |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |                               |  |

[29]

|                  | ..                         | 39 [02:37.9]  |
|------------------|----------------------------|---|
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   |                            | Heea hatta dünyanın en yakışıklı aktörü var bi' tane kısa |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | olarak seçildi ((unint. )) |   |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | ((unint. ))                |   |

[30]

|           |  |                     |                 |
|-----------|--|---------------------|-----------------|
|           | ..                                       | 40 [02:45.3]        | 41 [02:46.2]    |
| TMS [v]   | boy lu ama bö yle çok yakışıklı onun eşi |                     | Heh bil- biliyo |
| THS_8 [v] |  |                     |                 |
| THS_9 [v] |  | İsmi aklıma gelmiyo |                 |

[31]

|           |              |   |              |
|-----------|--------------|---|--------------|
|           | ..           | 42 [02:48.2]                                  | 43 [02:49.3] |
| TMS [v]   | ama farkında | Tamam geçebilir onu geçebilirsin. Pas-pas de. |              |
| THS_8 [v] | Hı n'apalım  |   |              |

[32]

|           |   |                       |              |
|-----------|---|-----------------------|--------------|
|           | ..  | 44 [02:56.6]          | 45 [02:58.2] |
| TMS [v]   | Angelina Jolie. Bitti. Bittii... 1. Tamam ((unint. )) |                       | Evet         |
| THS_8 [v] |   | Hee doğru zaman bitti |              |

[33]

|           |                 |                    |              |                     |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|---------------------|
|           | ..              | 47 [02:59.6]       | 48 [03:03.0] | 49 [03:04.1]        |
| TMS [v]   |                 |                    | Başladı      |                     |
| THS_8 [v] | Görmedim zamanı |                    |              |                     |
| THS_9 [v] |                 | ((2_s)) ((unint.)) | ((6_s))      | Buu • Galatasarayda |

[34]

|           |                                      |                 |              |              |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
|           | ..                                   | 50 [03:13.2]    | 51 [03:14.1] | 52 [03:14.7] |
| THS_8 [v] |                                      | Wesley Sneijder | Hagi         |              |
| THS_9 [v] | oynıyan bi' 10 numara futbolcu vardı |                 | Yok eski     |              |

[35]

|              |                 |                  |                           |              |                |
|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|
|              | 53 [03:15.3]    | 54 [03:17.3]     | 55 [03:18.8]              | 56 [03:20.7] | 57 [03:21.0]   |
| TMS [v]      |                 | Evet Meksika mı? |                           | Hıııı        | Oy sizde       |
| THS_8 [v]    |                 |                  |                           |              |                |
| THS_9 [v]    | • • ((unint. )) |                  | ((unint. )) Meksika doğru |              |                |
| DIS_SES [nv] |                 |                  |                           |              | Bi' yere vurma |

[36]

|                     |   |                |                  |
|---------------------|---|----------------|------------------|
|                     | ..  | 58 [03:25.4]   | 59 [03:26.1]     |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>      | nasıl böyle futbol bilgisi var ya, maşallah |                | Ooo hangi takım? |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b>    |   | Baya fanatiğiz |                  |
| <b>DIS_SES [nv]</b> | <i>Sesi</i>                                 |                |                  |

[37]

|                  |              |              |              |                      |                            |
|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
|                  | 60 [03:27.4] | 61 [03:28.0] | 62 [03:28.3] | 63 [03:29.1]         | 64 [03:31.2]               |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   |              | Sen?         |              | İkinizde... • Ben de |                            |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Galatasaray  |              | İkimizde     |                      |                            |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |              |              |              |                      | Ü-ünlü bi' şair vardı. ••• |

[38]

|                  |                  |   |              |
|------------------|------------------|---|--------------|
|                  | ..               | 65 [03:35.7]  | 66 [03:40.6] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |                  | Ünlü, yabancı bi' şair. ••• şairlerle pek aram yok ki |              |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | Yabancı bi' şair |   | Bilmen       |

[39]

|                  |  |                     |
|------------------|--|---------------------|
|                  | ..   | 67 [03:46.3]        |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |  | ((5_s)) Bilmiyorum. |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | lazım. Bu baya aşk şeyleri yazdıydı. Amerikan bi' şair |                     |

[40]

|                  |            |              |                                 |              |
|------------------|------------|--------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
|                  | ..         | 68 [03:53.8] | 69 [03:54.3]                    | 70 [03:55.6] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | ••• Neydi? |              | Heeea!                          |              |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |            | Shakespeare  | ((5_s)) Hollandanın ya bu komşu |              |

[41]

|                  |              |                  |                        |              |              |
|------------------|--------------|------------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------|
|                  | ..           | 71 [04:04.5]     | 72 [04:06.2]           | 73 [04:07.8] | 74 [04:08.8] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |              | Belçika, Almanya |                        | Fransa       |              |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | ülkelerinden |                  | Diğer bi' komşu ülkesi | Fransa evet, |              |

[42]

|                  |                      |               |                                    |
|------------------|----------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
|                  | ..                   | 75 [04:11.3]  | 76 [04:12.2]                       |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |                      | Eiffel kulesi |                                    |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | orda bi' tane bi'... |               | Evet. ((12_s)) Bunu tüm kelimeleri |

[43]

..

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | yazmışlar, anlatacaam kelimeleri ••• Bu eskiden ••• böyle değişik binalar |
|------------------|---|

[44]

.. 77 [04:36.0]78 [04:37.2]

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b>    | • Kule  |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b>    | yaparlardı. •• Şey zamanında... • Kule demeyelim de değişik bi' şey |
| <b>DIS_SES [nv]</b> | <i>Zil sesi gibi bi' ses</i>  |

[45]

.. 79 [04:45.8] 80 [04:47.9]

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b>    | Eskiden yapıyordu?  |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b>    | diyollar ona. ((2_s))Baya bi' yüksek Asya tarafında.      |
| <b>DIS_SES [nv]</b> | <i>Zil sesi gibi bi' ses</i> <i>Zil sesi gibi bi' ses</i> |

[46]

.. 81 [04:50.0]82 [04:51.1] 83 [04:52.0] 84 [04:53.3]

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b>    | Haaa • Çin duvarı mı?                              |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b>    | Evet, çok eski ((unint.)) Türkiyede değil ama On-o |
| <b>DIS_SES [nv]</b> |  |

[47]

..

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | değil de başka bi' şeyler yapıyorlardı hani • eskiden her tarafa dikerlerdi |
|------------------|---|

[48]

.. 85 [05:07.3]

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Hani   |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | böyle kocaman şeyler elleriyle yaparlardı. ((4_s)) yassı bi' şekilde |

[49]

.. 86 [05:09.3]

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Diriliş Ertuğrul gibideki mi?             |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | Yok. ••• Piramit ya nasıl anlatacam bunu? |

[50]

|                  |                                 |              |                          |
|------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|
|                  | 87 [05:13.9]                    | 88 [05:15.5] | 89 [05:17.2]90 [05:17.8] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Oooo dese ((unint.)) yok muydu? |              | Mısır                    |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | He işte • söyleyemiyorum        |              | He                       |

[51]

|                  |  |              |
|------------------|--|--------------|
|                  | 91 [05:18.3]   | 92 [05:24.0] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Deseydin Sou • Soudı Arap'ın yanındaki Mısır sonra orda eski • |              |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | Aklıma   |              |

[52]

|                  |  |              |
|------------------|--|--------------|
|                  | 93 [05:24.7]   | 94 [05:28.1] |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   | Tabi tabi  |              |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Hatta onlar şey diyolar değil mi? Tanrı diyolar onlara |              |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | gelmedi  |              |

[53]

|                  |              |                 |                             |              |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
|                  | 95 [05:28.9] | 96 [05:29.4]    | 97 [05:30.4]98 [05:30.7]    | 99 [05:32.9] |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   | Tanrı        | Tabi tabi Tanrı | Firavunlar, Firavun diğ mi? |              |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Eski Tanrı   | Evet            | ((unint.))                  |              |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |              |                 |                             | Firavun,     |

[54]

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
|                  | 100 [05:34.7]101 [05:35.2]             |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   | Hııı. Evet süre şeyde şimdi THS_8da. • |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Hıım                                   |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | taş onları söyleyemiyom ya             |

[55]

|  |   |
|--|---|
|  | • 1 2 • • Tamam. Şundan da alabilirsin istersen • onlar biraz daha basit gibi |
|--|---|

[56]

|                  |                     |                   |                          |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
|                  | 102 [05:46.1]       | 103 [05:49.9]     | 104 [05:50.7]            |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   | Tabi tabi istediğin |                   |                          |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | • • • ((unint.))    | He tamam. ((2_s)) | Bizim telefonlarımız var |

[57]

|                  |    |                             |                                       |
|------------------|----|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|                  | .. | 105 [05:56.2]               | 106 [05:58.1]                         |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |    | değil mi?                   | Evet telefonlarımız var. Onları nasıl |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |    | Hı hı ((unint. Hollandaca)) |                                       |

[58]

|                  |    |                     |  |
|------------------|----|---------------------|--|
|                  | .. | 107 [06:04.3]       | 108 [06:04.8]                              |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   |    |                     | ((unint. Hollandaca))                      |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |    | ((2_s)) ş'apıyoruz? | Evet dolduruyoruz. ••• Evet onun ismi ney? |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |    | Dolduruyoruz        |  |

[59]

|                  |               |  |
|------------------|---------------|--|
|                  | 109 [06:09.2] | 110 [06:11.5]                            |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |               | Bi' de başka şeyi var. Onun baş şeyi var |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |               | ((unint. Hollandaca)) bataray, akü       |

[60]

|                  |    |  |  |
|------------------|----|--|--|
|                  | .. | 111 [06:14.6]                                | 112 [06:17.3]                                    |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |    | ya   | •• Onun başı var ya şeyi koyup takmak için. Yok. |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |    | ((unint. Hollanadaca))((unint. Hollanadaca)) |  |

[61]

|                  |    |                                    |                                  |
|------------------|----|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|                  | .. | 113 [06:25.8]                      | 114 [06:26.6]                    |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |    | •• şeyi • priz-prize takıyorsun ya | •• onu ismi ne o başın? •• Neyse |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |    | Hıı                                |                                  |

[62]

|                  |    |  |               |
|------------------|----|--|---------------|
|                  | .. | 115 [06:31.4]  | 116 [06:31.9] |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   |    | ((3_s)) Her şeyi söyledi çocuk var ya telefonla ilgili |               |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |    | adaptor  | • Biz         |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |    | Aaa!   |               |

[63]

|                  |    |  |               |
|------------------|----|--|---------------|
|                  | .. | 118 [06:42.8]                              | 119 [06:45.0] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |    | okula bas- • ya grup8le nereye gittik biz? | • Sene        |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |    | ((unint. Hollanadaca))                     |               |

[64]

..

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| THS_8 [v] | sonunda bi' yere gidiyosun ya ••• bütün sınıfla. ((unint.)) gidiyorduk. ••• |
|-----------|---|

[65]

.. 120 [06:55.0] 121 [06:55.7] 122 [06:56.3]

|           |                       |                       |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| THS_8 [v] | Ona ne deniyor?       | Evet                  |
| THS_9 [v] | ((unint. Hollnadaca)) | ((unint. Hollnadaca)) |

[66]

123 [06:57.0] 124 [06:59.7] 125 [07:01.4]

|           |                          |                         |
|-----------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| THS_8 [v] | ••• Orda ne yaptık biz?  | ((3_s)) Hollandalıların |
| THS_9 [v] | •• ((unint. Hollnadaca)) |                         |

[67]

.. 126 [07:07.4] 127 [07:07.9] 128 [07:09.0]

|           |                       |                     |
|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| TMS [v]   |                       | ((6_s)) Gençler siz |
| THS_8 [v] | çoğu n'apıyor izinde? | Heh                 |
| THS_9 [v] | ((unint. Hollnadaca)) |                     |

[68]

.. 129 [07:17.3]

|              |                           |   |
|--------------|---------------------------|---|
| TMS [v]      | devam edin. Ben kapıdayım |   |
| THS_8 [v]    |                           | Tamam. ((5_s)) Bizim annemiz n'apıyor her |
| DIS_SES [nv] |                           | <i>Kapı açılma sesi</i>                   |

[69]

.. 130 [07:25.0] 131 [07:26.4] 132 [07:28.0]

|              |                                      |                |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| THS_8 [v]    | gün bize?                            | Heh cook       |
| THS_9 [v]    | Yemek pişiriyo ((unint. Hollnadaca)) | Bitti mi süre? |
| DIS_SES [nv] |                                      |                |

[70]

133 [07:29.1] 134 [07:33.4]

|           |  |                  |
|-----------|--|------------------|
| THS_8 [v] | Ya zaman bitti de. ((unint.)) stop ya da devam et diyo |                  |
| THS_9 [v] |  | ••• Zamanı çevir |

[71]

|           | 135 [07:36.2]                                     | 136 [07:46.6] | 137 [07:47.5]  |
|-----------|---|---------------|----------------|
| THS_8 [v] |   |               | ((Hollandaca)) |
| THS_9 [v] | ((8_s)) Bu • kayaçlar falan şeyler çekeceği zaman |               | •              |

[72]

|           | ..   |
|-----------|--|
| THS_9 [v] | ((Hollandaca)) değil ama ((Hollandaca)) yaparken hani youtubea şeyleri |

[73]

|           | ..           | 138 [07:52.4] | 139 [07:53.4]                        | 140 [07:55.5] |
|-----------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| THS_8 [v] |              |               | ((Hollandaca))                       | Kamera ile    |
| THS_9 [v] | koyuyolar ya |               | Öyle bi' şey ama onu nasıl çekiyolar |               |

[74]

|           | 141 [07:56.4]                  | 142 [07:58.4]              | 143 [08:00.9] |
|-----------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| THS_8 [v] |                                | • • Kamaranın bi' ismi var |               |
| THS_9 [v] | Hı onun bi' kameranın ismi var |                            | Dağıyorlar ya |

[75]

|           | ..                   | 144 [08:03.0]      | 145 [08:04.5]   | 146 [08:06.8]  |
|-----------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| THS_8 [v] |                      | • • ((Hollandaca)) |                 | ((Hollandaca)) |
| THS_9 [v] | şöyle onun ismi ney? |                    | Yok hani var ya |                |

[76]

|           | 147 [08:07.8]                         | 148 [08:09.8]      | 149 [08:10.1] |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| THS_8 [v] |                                       | ((Hollandaca)) var | Tutuyor       |
| THS_9 [v] | Tamam o ((Hollandaca)) üstünde bi'sey |                    | Yaa           |

[77]

|           | ..       | 150 [08:11.0]         | 151 [08:12.4]       | 152 [08:14.4]         |
|-----------|----------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| THS_8 [v] | kamarayı |                       | Kamaranın ismi ney? |                       |
| THS_9 [v] |          | O kameranın ismi ney? |                     | • Özel bi' ismi vardı |

[78]

|           |                   |                |                         |
|-----------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| ..        | 153 [08:16.4]     | 154 [08:19.3]  | 155 [08:19.8]           |
| THS_8 [v] | •• ((Hollandaca)) | He ((6_s))     | Bunu anlat, Türkçe daha |
| THS_9 [v] | ya                | ((Hollandaca)) |                         |

[79]

|           |               |  |
|-----------|---------------|--|
| ..        | 156 [08:29.4] | 157 [08:38.7]                            |
| THS_8 [v] | güzel         | • 7 serilik? •                           |
| THS_9 [v] | Yani ((5_s))  | 7 serilik bi' şey çıktıydı film çıktıydı |

[80]

|           |                |               |                              |
|-----------|----------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| ..        | 158 [08:41.1]  | 159 [08:42.3] | 160 [08:43.4]                |
| THS_8 [v] | ((Hollandaca)) | Ha testere    |                              |
| THS_9 [v] | Hı, testere    | ((6_s))       | Oruç tuttuktan sonra bi' gün |

[81]

|           |                           |                               |               |
|-----------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| ..        | 161 [08:52.1]             | 162 [08:53.3]                 | 163 [08:55.0] |
| THS_8 [v] |                           | •• Oruc                       | Bayram        |
| THS_9 [v] | geliyo, o günün ismi ney? | Oruç bitti ondan sonraki gün? |               |

[82]

|           |               |                    |               |               |
|-----------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|
| ..        | 164 [08:55.8] | 165 [08:56.6]      | 166 [08:57.7] | 167 [09:06.1] |
| THS_8 [v] | geliyo        | Ha Ramazan bayramı | ((6_s))       | ((unint.))    |
| THS_9 [v] | Ne bayramı?   |                    | ((2_s))       | ((unint.))    |

[83]

|               |               |                                      |            |
|---------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|------------|
| 168 [09:09.3] | 169 [09:10.1] | 170 [09:12.5]                        |            |
| THS_8 [v]     | Hı            | He bitmiş neyse beyazdan devam edek. | ((6_s)) En |
| THS_9 [v]     |               | •• ((unint.))                        |            |

[84]

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| ..        |  |
| THS_8 [v] | eskilerde ne yazıyo- ne yaşıyordu? ••• Ta eski dünyada taa eskilerden? |

[85]

|           |                   |                    |                            |               |
|-----------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|---------------|
|           | 171 [09:28.4]     | 172 [09:29.6]      | 173 [09:30.9]174 [09:31.5] | 175 [09:32.6] |
| THS_8 [v] |                   | Evet ne yaşıyordu? | 1 milyon aynı şey          |               |
| THS_9 [v] | Ney mi yaşıyordu? | Hıııııııı          | Açlık,                     |               |

[86]

|           |              |                            |                                      |  |
|-----------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
|           | ..           | 176 [09:33.7]177 [09:34.9] | 178 [09:35.8]                        |  |
| THS_8 [v] |              | Yok ••                     | İnsanlardan önce ne ya-ne yaşıyordu? |  |
| THS_9 [v] | fakirlik mi? | Yoksulluk                  |                                      |  |

[87]

|           |                    |                   |               |                             |
|-----------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
|           | ..                 | 179 [09:39.9]     | 180 [09:43.1] | 181 [09:44.1] 182 [09:44.8] |
| THS_8 [v] | Maymunlardan önce? | İşte, dinazor     | ((6_s))       |                             |
| THS_9 [v] |                    | ••• A dinazor mu? | Dİnazor       |                             |

[88]

|              |   |                            |  |  |
|--------------|---|----------------------------|--|--|
|              | ..  | 183 [09:57.3]184 [09:58.2] |  |  |
| THS_8 [v]    | ((unint.)) ((4_s)) Annemiz bizi neyle dövüyo? | Evet. TMS abi              |  |  |
| THS_9 [v]    |   | Oqlava                     |  |  |
| DIS_SES [nv] |   | Kapı açılma sesi           |  |  |

[89]

|              |  |                            |  |  |
|--------------|--|----------------------------|--|--|
|              | ..   | 185 [10:20.8]186 [10:21.6] |  |  |
| THS_8 [v]    | bunu duyunca gülecek ya. ((17_s)) Biz neyi dinliyoruz? | Evet,                      |  |  |
| THS_9 [v]    |  | Müzik                      |  |  |
| DIS_SES [nv] |  |                            |  |  |

[90]

|           |  |               |  |  |
|-----------|--|---------------|--|--|
|           | ..   | 187 [10:26.9] |  |  |
| THS_8 [v] | müzik dinliyoruz. Müzik nasıl çalınıyor? Bir ••• şeyiyle çalınıyor |               |  |  |
| THS_9 [v] |  |               |  |  |

[91]

|           |          |   |               |  |
|-----------|----------|---|---------------|--|
|           | ..       | 188 [10:27.5]   | 189 [10:36.4] |  |
| THS_8 [v] |          | Heh enstruman. ((6_s)) Barcelona eski sponsoru neydi? |               |  |
| THS_9 [v] | Estruman |   | Qatar         |  |

[92]

|           |    |                               |               |                        |
|-----------|----|-------------------------------|---------------|------------------------|
|           | .. | 190 [10:38.1]                 | 191 [10:40.8] | 192 [10:41.8]          |
| THS_8 [v] |    | Eskiz ondan önceki • çok ünlü |               | Heh UNICEF gerçi zaman |
| THS_9 [v] |    | ((unint.))                    | UNICEF        |                        |

[93]

|           |    |   |               |               |
|-----------|----|---|---------------|---------------|
|           | .. | 193 [10:43.8]                                       | 194 [10:54.9] | 195 [10:55.4] |
| THS_8 [v] |    | bitti   |               | Brezilya      |
| THS_9 [v] |    | ((8_s)) Bu Roberto Carlos'un geldiği ülkede şey var |               | Hı orda bi'   |

[94]

|           |    |                          |                                |  |
|-----------|----|--------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
|           | .. | 196 [10:59.6]            | 197 [11:02.0]                  |  |
| THS_8 [v] |    |                          | Yılan                          |  |
| THS_9 [v] |    | ••• anakonda bi' şey var | Yok • hani böyle ş'apıyolar ya |  |

[95]

|           |    |                           |                                       |      |
|-----------|----|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|------|
|           | .. | 198 [11:06.2]             | 199 [11:06.7]                         |      |
| THS_8 [v] |    |                           | Halay mı?                             | evet |
| THS_9 [v] |    | düğünlerde olur veya özel | Bi'sey ya-he halay ama onlara •• özel |      |

[96]

|           |               |                                      |                      |               |
|-----------|---------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
|           | 200 [11:10.0] | 201 [11:12.3]                        | 202 [11:14.4]        | 203 [11:15.3] |
| THS_8 [v] |               | özel bi'sey mi? Onun ismi ((unint.)) |                      | Samba mı?     |
| THS_9 [v] |               |                                      | İşte onun ismi. o... | Heh           |

[97]

|           |    |               |                           |               |               |
|-----------|----|---------------|---------------------------|---------------|---------------|
|           | .. | 204 [11:16.1] | 205 [11:18.6]             | 206 [11:20.2] | 207 [11:25.2] |
| TMS [v]   |    |               | Halay güzeldi yalnız      |               |               |
| THS_8 [v] |    | ••• halay     | ((3_s)) sor sen başkasını |               |               |
| THS_9 [v] |    | samba         |                           | ••• Bi' •••   |               |

[98]

|           |    |                                       |                       |             |
|-----------|----|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
|           | .. | 208 [11:31.0]                         | 209 [11:33.2]         |             |
| THS_8 [v] |    |                                       | •• o espriyi bilmiyom |             |
| THS_9 [v] |    | şey bi' espri var "ben tırı sürdürüm" |                       | Hım neyse o |

[99]

|                  |                                  |                              |
|------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
|                  | ..                               | 210 [11:37.9]211 [11:38.6]   |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |                                  | Hım                          |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | saman geç. ••• Leonardo Da Vinci | ((2_s)) Bunu nasıl anlatalım |

[100]

|                  |  |                            |
|------------------|--|----------------------------|
|                  | ..   | 212 [11:57.4]213 [11:57.8] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |  | Mars                       |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | ((9_s)) He bu ((3_s)) Jüpiter var ondan sonra? | Hım ((7_s)) Bu             |

[101]

|                  |  |                             |
|------------------|--|-----------------------------|
|                  | ..   | 214 [12:09.0] 215 [12:10.5] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |  | •• Köprü                    |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | Rotterdamda büyük bi' şey var suda olduğu için | Yok •• hani...              |

[102]

|                  |                 |                           |                             |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                  | 216 [12:12.3]   | 217 [12:13.5]             | 218 [12:14.4]               |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Erasmus köprüsü |                           | • He he • onun Türkçesi ne? |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |                 | ((Hollandaca)) geliyor ya |                             |

[103]

|                  |               |                    |   |
|------------------|---------------|--------------------|---|
|                  | 219 [12:17.6] | 220 [12:22.3]      | 221 [12:24.3]                             |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |               | •• Hava denizi mi? |   |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | ((4_s)) hava  |                    | Yok uç-uçağa dersin ya uçağa hani geldiği |

[104]

|                  |                               |               |                            |               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|---------------|
|                  | ..                            | 222 [12:29.3] | 223 [12:30.0]224 [12:30.4] | 225 [12:31.8] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |                               | Hava limanı   | Denizin limanı             |               |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | airporta ne dersin? Türkçesi? | Hı            |                            | ((unint.))    |

[105]

|                  |       |  |
|------------------|-------|--|
|                  | ..    | 226 [12:32.6]  |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |       | He liman. He tamam. ••• Gerçi saman bitti. ••• TMS abi |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | liman |  |

[106]

|                  |  |               |
|------------------|--|---------------|
|                  | ..   | 227 [12:40.9] |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   |  | Tamams        |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | farkediyosun biz hep beyazdan alıyos da daha hoşumuza gidiyo |               |

[107]

|                  |                      |                               |               |
|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
|                  | ..                   | 228 [12:42.8]229 [12:43.3]    | 230 [12:51.7] |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   | yani nası isterseniz | ((7_s)) Onları ben hazırladım |               |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |                      | Tamam                         | Hee baya zor  |

[108]

|                  |                           |                                    |               |
|------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|
|                  | ..                        | 231 [12:54.2]                      | 232 [12:56.2] |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   |                           |                                    | Neyi mesela   |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | kelimeler var arasında ya |                                    |               |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |                           | İlk kez duyuyoz bazı kelimeleri de |               |

[109]

|                  |                         |                       |                 |                 |
|------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                  | ..                      | 233 [12:58.2]         | 234 [12:59.7]   | 235 [13:02.7]   |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   | neyi ilk defa duydunuz? |                       |                 | Çarla • a Carla |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |                         |                       | ••• Çarla burni |                 |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |                         | Ça- ne diyor çarla... |                 |                 |

[110]

|                  |               |                             |                               |
|------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
|                  | ..            | 236 [13:04.6]               | 237 [13:06.3]                 |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   | Bruni şeye... |                             | Fransa'nın eski cumhurbaşkanı |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |               | Karla Bruni Ka- Çarla Bruni |                               |

[111]

|                  |   |                                    |
|------------------|---|------------------------------------|
|                  | ..  | 238 [13:10.4]                      |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   | kimdi? Kısa boylu Sarkozy'nin karısıydı o |                                    |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> |   | Bi de az önce suvari çıktı, onu da |

[112]

|                  |             |   |
|------------------|-------------|---|
|                  | ..          | 239 [13:13.0]   |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   |             | Süvari şey • atı süren kişi. Mesela •• Ertuğrul Diriliş |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | anlatamadık |   |

[113]

|                  |   |               |               |
|------------------|---|---------------|---------------|
|                  | ..                                      | 240 [13:19.2] | 241 [13:29.2] |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   | Ertuğruldaki süvariler                  |               |               |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Hı hı. ((7_s)) ((Hollandaca)) yanındaki |               |               |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | Avusturya                               |               |               |

[114]

|                  |                                     |               |                  |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|------------------|
|                  | 242 [13:31.2]                       | 243 [13:32.9] | 244 [13:35.8]    |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Onun sağ tarafında                  |               | Ukrayna. ((8_s)) |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | Sağ tarafında? Ukrayna mı Litvanya? |               |                  |

[115]

|                  |   |               |               |               |
|------------------|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|                  | ..  | 245 [13:47.9] | 246 [13:49.3] | 247 [13:53.5] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Çok ünlü bir film var ••• •• 4 şeyi var, 4 filmi var toplam |               |               |               |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | Titanic   |               |               |               |

[116]

|                  |   |               |
|------------------|---|---------------|
|                  | ..  | 248 [13:55.5] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Öyle ((2_s)) süre-bi'sey sürüyorsun, ne sürüyorsun? |               |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | Yüzüklerin efendisi                                 |               |

[117]

|                  |               |               |                             |               |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
|                  | 249 [14:01.2] | 250 [14:01.8] | 251 [14:02.6]               | 252 [14:03.5] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Heh araba     |               | Araba değişiyor ya böyle ne |               |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | Araba mı?     |               | Need for speed mi?          |               |

[118]

|                  |              |               |  |
|------------------|--------------|---------------|--|
|                  | ..           | 253 [14:05.8] | 254 [14:06.6]                                    |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | değişiyö?    |               | He ((7_s)) Gerçi zaman bitti. Soğuk savaş. Burda |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | Transformers |               |  |

[119]

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
|                  | ..   |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | TMS abi burdaki geçen •• kelimeleri THS_9 dedik-dediği zaman |

[120]

|                  |                            |   |             |
|------------------|----------------------------|---|-------------|
|                  | ..                         | 255 [14:22.8]                                   |             |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   |                            | Tabi tabi onu sen kullanabiliyosun yeter ki onu |             |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | kullanabiliyorum değil mi? |   | evet, doğru |

[121]

|                  |         |  |  |
|------------------|---------|--|--|
|                  | ..      | 256 [14:25.8]257 [14:26.5]                       |  |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   | dedirt  |  |  |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | He he   |  |  |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | ((6_s)) | Bizim Hollandalılar haftasonu içmeye giderler ya |  |

[122]

|                  |                            |                   |                           |
|------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
|                  | 258 [14:35.8]259 [14:36.4] | 260 [14:38.4]     | 261 [14:39.8]             |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> | Bara                       | Gece gulüb-gulübü |                           |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | İşte bar gibi barda        |                   | Gece kulübünde böyle bi • |

[123]

|                  |                   |               |   |
|------------------|-------------------|---------------|---|
|                  | ..                | 262 [14:42.7] | 263 [14:43.7]264 [14:44.3]265 [14:45.2] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |                   | Disko lambası | • Disko                                 |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | ışıklı lamba olur | Disko         | ((2_s)) Hım •• Buu çam                  |

[124]

|                  |                                       |                     |               |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
|                  | ..                                    | 266 [14:52.4]       | 267 [14:53.9] |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |                                       | Bahar gelmiş oluyor |               |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | ağacı geldiği zaman ne gelmiş oluyor? |                     | Yok, çam      |

[125]

|                  |                                     |                      |               |               |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|---------------|
|                  | ..                                  | 268 [14:56.2]        | 269 [14:58.8] | 270 [14:59.4] |
| <b>TMS [v]</b>   |                                     |                      |               | ((unint.))    |
| <b>THS_8 [v]</b> |                                     | Hıı • he • noel dayı |               | He noel       |
| <b>THS_9 [v]</b> | ağacımı biliyorsun ya eve dikiyolar |                      | Noel baba     |               |

## F. METU ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

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06 MART 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (IAEK)

İlişi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Sağın SİMŞEK

Danışmanlığınızı yaptığınız Mehmet AKKUŞ'un "Türkçe-Hollandaca İki dilli Bireylerde Kullanım-Odaklı Dilbilim Bağlamında Ulaç Yapılarının Kullanımı" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülüyor ve 112-ODTÜ-2019 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Soygularımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

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## PUBLICATIONS

### Book Chapters

1. Sağın-Şimşek, Ç., & Akkuş, M. (2018). In M. Aksan & Y. Aksan (Eds.), Türkçe-Azerice algısal çok dilli iletişiminde konuşma onarım yöntemleri. *Şükriye Ruhi Armağanı*, 221-238, Mersin: Mersin Üniversitesi Yayınları.
2. Sağın-Şimşek, Ç., Antonova-Ünlü, E., & Akkuş, M. (2017). Türkçe-Kazakça Algısal Çok Dillilik. In N. Büyükkantarcıoğlu, I. Özyıldırım & E. Yarar (Eds.), *45. Yıl Yazıları*, 329-340, Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları.
3. Akkuş, M., & Balıkçı, G. (2015). Critical Pedagogy. In B. Eröz-Tuğa (Ed.), *Theoretical Considerations in Language Education: Implications for English Language Teaching*. Ankara: Nüans Yayıncılık. (ISBN: 978-605-5450-69-4).

### Journal Papers

1. Akkuş, M. (2019). A note on language contact: Laz language in Turkey. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 23(4), 856-860.
2. Akkuş, M. (2012). Pazar Laz (Kitap Tanıtımı). *Dilbilim Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2, 67-71.
3. Turan, D., Antonova Ünlü, E., Sağın-Simsek, C., & Akkus, M. (in print). Looking for Contact-Induced Language Change: Converbial Constructions in the Heritage Turkish. *International Journal of Bilingualism*.

## Conference Presentations

1. Akkuş, M. (2019). Türkçe-Lazca dil değinimi sonucunda Türkçeden kopyalanan sözcüklerin Lazca Sesbirim Dizgesel Özellikleri. 33. Ulusal Dilbilim Kurultayı. Paper presented at 33. Ulusal Dilbilim Kurultayı, Mersin University, Mersin, Turkey, May 9-10, 2019, pp. 113-14.
2. Akkuş, M. (2019). Doğu Anadolu Grubu Bölgesi Ağızları ve Azerbaycan Türkçesi Ağızlarında Artsıralama Yapılarının Alansal Yayılımı Üzerine Kullanım Tabanlı Dilbilimsel Bir Değerlendirme. 5. Uluslararası Türkiye Türkçesi Ağız Araştırmaları Çalıştayını Dilbilim Kurultayı. Paper presented at 5. Uluslararası Türkiye Türkçesi Ağız Araştırmaları Çalıştayını, Çukurova University & Türk Dil Kurumu, Adana, Turkey, November 7-9, 2019.
3. Akkuş, M. & Sağın Şimşek, Ç. (2019). Köprü dil olarak Türkçe ki yapısının Türkçe-Lazca dil değinimi etkisiyle Lazcadaki kullanım ve işlevleri üzerine. 33. Ulusal Dilbilim Kurultayı. Paper presented at 33. Ulusal Dilbilim Kurultayı, Mersin University, Mersin, Turkey, May 9-10, 2019, pp. 111-12.
4. Akın, G., Akkuş, M. & Sağın Şimşek, Ç. (2019). Doğu Karadeniz’de kaybolmakta olan diller üzerine: Hemşince, Lazca ve Rumca (Romeyka). 33. Ulusal Dilbilim Kurultayı. Paper presented at 33. Ulusal Dilbilim Kurultayı, Mersin University, Mersin, Turkey, May 9-10, 2019, p. 107.
5. Akkuş, M. (2018). Tehlike Altındaki Diller Bağlamında Türkiye: Toplumdilbilimsel Bir Bakış. Paper presented at 12. Dilbilim Öğrenci Konferansı, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, April 16-17, 2018. (Pleanary Speech).
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7. Akkuş, M. (2017). Ortadoğu’da algısal çokdillilik üzerine: Algısal çok dilli bağlamlarda Oğuz Türkçesi lehçelerinde gözlemlenen yaratıcı iletişim örnekleri. Paper presented at Uluslararası Ortadoğu Kongresi (Dil, Tarih ve Edebiyat), Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Ankara, Turkey, October 30-31, 2017, p. 12.

8. Akkuş, M. & Sađın ŐimŐek, . (2017). A preliminary note on language attrition: Converbial constructions in Dutch-Turkish. Poster presented at The Selectivity of Native Language Attrition, Edinburgh University, Edinburgh, United Kingdom, October 13-14, 2017, <http://www.bilingualism-matters.ppls.ed.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/The-selectivity-of-native-language-attrition-Program010917.pdf>
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presented at the 16<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Turkish Linguistics, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, September 18-21, 2012, p. 155.

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## H. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Toplumdilbilimin son yıllarda ivme kazanan bir çalışma alanı olan temas dilbilimi (contact linguistics), tipolojik ve yapısal olarak birbirlerinden farklı diller arasındaki dil etkileşiminin boyutlarını inceleyerek dil temasının sonuçlarını sistematik olarak inceleyebilmek ve kuramsal bir çerçeve oluşturabilmek adına yoğun bir şekilde çalışılmaktadır (Heine & Kuteva, 2005; Johanson, 1992, 2002; Matras, 2009; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). Türkçe özelinde ise, tarihî ve çağdaş Türk lehçelerinin dil temaslarının sonuç ve çıktılarını inceleyen temas-kaynaklı dil değişimi çalışmalarının sayısı son yıllarda hızla artmaktadır (bkz. Backus 1992; Csató & Isaksson & Jahani 2005; Demir & Johanson 2006; Herkenrath, 2014; Johanson 1992, 2002; Kıral 2000; Menz 1999; Pfaff, 1991; Rehbein & Herkenrath, 2015). Bu noktada, yapısal olarak Türkçeden farklı olan diller ile yoğun bir temas yaşayan çağdaş Türk değişimleri arasında Doğu Avrupa'da Karay Türkçesi (Csató 2005), Moldova'da Gagauz Türkçesi (Menz 1999), Çin'de Salar Türkçesi (Sandman & Simon 2016) ile İran'da Kaşkay Türkçesi (Csató 2002) ve Halaç Türkçesi (Kıral 2000) sayılabilir. Ağız çalışmaları özelinde ise temas dilbiliminin kavramları, İngilizce (Britain 2009, Kerswill, 1995, 2003; Trudgill, 1986;) ve Arapça (Al-Essa, 2009) gibi birçok dil değişkesi (lehçe, ağız vb.) bulunan diller bağlamında araştırılmıştır. Bununla birlikte, yoğun dil teması çalışmalarının aksine, Türk lehçelerinin ağız temasları bağlamında yapılan temas dilbilimsel çalışmalar alanyazında çok sınırlı bir yer tutmaktadır (Demir & Johanson 2006). Bu nedenle, ağızların teması ve olası değişimi noktasında bir araştırma gereksinimi olduğu açıktır.

### **Temas kaynaklı dil değişimi**

Temas kaynaklı dil değişimi (İng. contact-induced language change; Alm. Kontaktinduzierter Sprachwandel), Siemund'un (2008: 4) dil teması tanımından yola çıkarak, farklı dil değişkelerini konuşan bireylerin, konuşma topluluklarının (speech community) veya toplumların değinim içerisinde bulunan dil değişke(ler)inin bir sistem dahilinde iskeletinin, belirli bir zaman ve zemin içerisinde gerçekleşen temas durumunda farklı toplumsal değişkenlerden etkilenerek -ancak sadece bu değişkenlerle de sınırlı kalmayarak- yaşadıkları göreceli değişim sonucunda yeni bir biçim kazanması olarak tanımlanabilir. Bir dil ve/ya dil değişkesinin değişiminin dil-

içi (internal) faktörlerin yanısıra dil-dışı (external) etkenler aracılığıyla da başlayabileceği veya tetiklenebileceği temas dilbilimi alanyazınında sıklıkla iktibas edilen bir olgudur. Bu bağlamda bazı dil teması durumlarının dil-dışı bir tetikleyici etken sonrasında dil değişimleri arasındaki yoğun bölgesel yayılım sonucu dil-içi bir değişimi tetikleyip tetiklemediği bu çalışmanın araştırma sorularından birisini oluşturacaktır.

Ağız teması, kapsayıcı bir bakış açısıyla değerlendirildiğinde, çeşitli toplumsal değişkenler, temas sürecine dahil olan dil birimleri (sesbilgisi, biçimbilgisi, vs.) ve dil değişimlerinin yapıları gibi etkenlerce yönlendirilmektedir. Tüm bu süreç dil teması ile büyük oranda aynı etkenlerce yönlendirildiğinden, ağız teması terminolojisi, dil teması alanyazınında kullanılan terminolojiden çok büyük oranda yararlanmaktadır. Söz konusu süreç dahilinde, tanımları her ne kadar alanyazınında tartışma konusu olsa dahi, belirtisellik (markedness) ve karmaşıklık (complexity) kavramlarının da ağız teması alanyazınında önemli yer tuttuğu vurgulanmaktadır. Temas durumlarında dillerin veya dil değişimlerinin sui generis belirtisellik özelliklerinde ve karmaşıklık düzeylerinde bir azalma görüldüğü, diğer bir ifadeyle, sesbirim, biçimbirim gibi dilbilgisel yapılarda kayıplar yaşandığı alanyazınında sıklıkla vurgulanmaktadır. Bu konuda temas kaynaklı dil değişimi literatüründe sıklıkla alıntılanan bir örnek, İspanyolca-Katalanca dil teması durumunun bir sonucu olarak Katalanca belirtici ünlü seslerin, İspanyolca ile temas sonucu kaybolması ve daha yalın bir ünlü ses sistemine sahip olması gösterilir (Lleó & Cortés & Benet 2008: 185). Yukarıdaki örnek temas durumunun gösterdiği gibi, belirtiselliğin azalması ve yalınlaştırma süreci, dil teması durumunda bir tür değiştirme ve uyarlama düzeneğinin varlığına işaret etmektedir. Söz konusu değiştirme ve uyarlama süreçlerini açıklamak üzere, dil teması üzerine çalışmalar yapan (temas) dilbilim ve filoloji uzmanları farklı temas kaynaklı dil değişimi kuramları ve modelleri önermişlerdir. Bu kuramlar arasında Thomason & Kaufman'ın (1988) genel dil teması kuramı ve temas ölçeği, Johanson'un (2002) doğrudan Türk lehçelerinin temas kaynaklı değişim özelliklerini açıklamak üzere bir model olarak ileri sürdüğü kod-kopyalama (İng. code-copying; Alm. Code-Kopieren) kuramı, Heine & Kuteva'nın (2003) temas kaynaklı dilbilgiselleşme kuramı ve Matras'ın (2009) aksenal döndürülme kuramı sayılabilir. Bu çalışma, eklektik bir

yöntem izleyerek ağız temasına etki eden süreçleri ve etkenleri belirleyen temas kaynaklı mekanizmaları gerektiğinde yukarıda anılan kuramlar içerisinde seçerek örüntülü ve katmanlı sui generis bir inceleme sunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Türkçenin ağızlarının birbirleriyle etkileşiminin en yoğun yaşandığı temas bölgeleri arasında Anadolu sayılmaktadır (Demir & Johanson 2006; Kıpçak Türkçesi etkisi için bkz. Korkmaz 1971). Anadolu'nun tarih boyunca Türklerin yayılma dönemlerinde bir çekim merkezi olarak görülmüş olması, birbirinden farklı Türkçe değişkesi konuşan birçok Türk boynunu söz konusu coğrafyaya çekmiştir (Sümer, 1965 [2016]). Bu yayılma döneminde Türk boylarının konaklayıp siyasi teşekküller oluşturduğu İran coğrafyasında farklı İranî dilleri (Farsça, Tatça vb.) konuşan halklarla yaşadığı karşılıklı dil etkileşimi sonucu Türkçe dil değişkeleri temas kaynaklı değişim (contact-induced change) yoluna girmiştir (Bulut & Kırıl 2000). 20. yüzyılın başlarına değin karşılıklı göçlerin sürdüğü varsayılan İran coğrafyasından Anadolu'ya yayılan Türk boyları arasında, yerleşik Türk boylarının yanısıra hayvancılıkla geçimini sağlayan ve bozkır kültürünü tevarüs etmiş olan konar-göçer boyların da büyük bir yekun oluşturduğu bilinmektedir (Sümer, 1965 [2016]). İran coğrafyası ile Anadolu'da yaşayan dil topluluklarının karşılıklı etkileşimi, temas kaynaklı düzeneklerin etkisi sonucu oluşan bir kısım dil yapılarının alansal yayılma (areal diffusion) ve dil geçişi (language convergence) ile yayılmasına neden olmuş olabilir. Bu bağlamda, dil değişkelerinin teması durumlarında söz konusu dil değişkelerinin birbirlerini farklı düzeylerde etkileyebilecekleri temas dilbilimi alanyazınında işaret edilmiş olmasına rağmen temas sonucunda ortaya çıkabilecek dilsel yapılarla ilgili bir tahminde bulunmanın son derece zor bir vazife olduğu da vurgulanmaktadır (Thomason 2001; Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006; Siemund 2008). Söz konusu zorluğu tetiklediği düşünülen dilin temâs-kaynaklı düzenekleri (contact-induced mechanisms of language) her bir dil değişkesi teması durumunda farklı işlemektedir. Bu nedenle, Siemund'un (2008: 3) haklı olarak belirttiği üzere, dil ve dolayısıyla dil değişkesi temaslarının etkenleri ile süreç ve sonuçlarını açıklayabilecek kapsayıcı ve zamana dayanıklı bir temas-kaynaklı değişim kuramı ve modeli oluşturulması –tam da bu nedenlerden dolayı– bugüne dek mümkün ol(a)mamıştır.

Demir ve Johanson (2006) ise, Türkiye Türkçesi ağızlarının yayılma alanı içerisinde bir ağız bölgesi oluşturan Kıbrıs ağzının Türkiye Türkçesi ağızları ile temasının sonuçlarını incelemişlerdir. Çalışmada, son elli yıl içerisinde Türkiye ile Kıbrıs Türklerinin iş göçü, üniversite eğitimi sebebiyle yoğunlaşan etkileşimi Kıbrıs Türkçesinin Türkiye Türkçesi ile temasını da hızlandırmıştır. Bu temasın dilsel sonuçlarına binaen, Kıbrıs Türkçesi ağzının temas odaklı ağız değişimine uğradığı sonucuna varılmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın kapsamı dahilinde incelenen Türkiye Türkçesi ağızları ile Azerbaycan Türkçesi arasındaki temas sonucu etkileşim üzerine bir araştırma notu mahiyetinde kabul edilebilecek bir değerlendirme Amanoğlu (2009) tarafından yapılmıştır. Araştırmacı Azerbaycan Türkçesi ağızları arasında nitelendirilen Nahçıvan ağızları ve Doğu grubu ağızları arasındaki etkileşimin boyutlarını 20. yüzyıldan sonra bölgede yaşanan sosyo-politik gelişmeler ışığında yorumlama yoluna gitmiştir. Bölgede yaşanan bazı nüfus hareketlerinin ağız etkileşimi üzerindeki tesirini sözcüksel boyutta örneklendirerek ağız çalışmaları bağlamında alanda derlem ve saha çalışmalarının devam ettiğini bildirmiştir. Son olarak, Korkmaz'ın (2009) bir başka çalışmasında vurguladığı üzere, ağız yapısı ile Anadolu ve hinterlandının etnik yapısı arasındaki bağlantının tarihi veriler ile veri açısından sondaj çalışması yapılarak incelenmesi gerekmektedir. Bu çalışmalar ise dilbilimsel kuram ve çözümleme yöntemleri ışığında Türk boylarının nüfus hareketleri ve yerleşimleri ile eski dil yadigarlarının artzamanlı ve eşzamanlı bir bakış açısıyla sorgulanması sonucu mümkün hale gelebilir. Ancak bu çalışma, kapsamı gereği, kullanım tabanlı dilbilim kuramı çerçevesini kuramsal altyapı olarak kullandığından bitimli ve bitimsiz yapı bağlamında daha çok eşzamanlı bir dilsel inceleme yöntemi üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır.

### **Kullanım tabanlı dilbilim**

Kullanım tabanlı dilbilim kuramı çerçevesinden bakıldığında, birbirleriyle temas halinde olanlar, aslında ayrı düzenekler olarak dil değişkeleri değil; aksine bu dil değişkelerini konuşan bireylerdir. Kullanım tabanlı dilbilim, “belirli simgesel birimlerin kullanım durumlarıyla temellendirilmesi” olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Artan dilsel deneyimlerle birlikte, daha soyut dilbilgisel yapılar değişim geçirir, ancak yine de söz konusu bu daha soyut yapılar dil kullanımına dayanmaktadır” (Behrens 2009:

385-386). Kuramın adından da anlaşılacağı üzere, kullanım tabanlı dilbilim temel olarak dil kullanımının dilsel birim, biçim ve yapıları üzerindeki etkileriyle ilgilenmektedir. Söz konusu kuram bireylerin içerisinde yaşadıkları dil coğrafyası ve bağlamın tesiriyle kişisel dilbilgisel yaşam ve deneyimlerinin dil kullanımı üzerinde etkili olduğunu ileri sürmektedir.

Her birey içerisinde bulunduğu dil coğrafyası içerisinde oluşturduğu toplumsal ağ dahilinde meydana gelen dilsel karşılaşmalar sırasında iletişim gerekliliklerini yerine getirebilmek için (çok değişikli) bir dil dağarcığı (repertuar) geliştirebilir. Diğer bir deyişle, dil değişikliği konuşurları farklı muhataplarla iletişime geçmeleri gerektiği farklı durumlarda, etkin bir şekilde uygulayıp kullanabilecekleri dilsel yapıları seçebilme yetisi geliştirirler. Burada, bireyin zihnindeki dil düzeneklerinin bütüncül bir yapıyı haiz olduğu özellikle vurgulanmalıdır (Matras 2009). Çok değişikli dil konuşurunun zihninde sahip olduğu bu bütüncül düzenekten oluşan dilsel yapı dağarcığı konuşur tarafından kullanılmak üzere her daim hazırdır. Bunun sonucunda, dil konuşuru, bu yetinin dilsel yapı dağarcığını yönetebilmesi ve konuşurun “bilişsel sınır çizgilerinin aşılması” için sonu gelmeyen bir çaba harcamak durumundadır. Burada “sınır çizgilerinin aşılması” ile kastedilen ise, dil teması etkisiyle oluşan idrakî ve zihinsel süreçler sonucunda meydana gelen sesbilgisi, biçimbilgisi, biçim-sözdizim ve sözdizim bağlamında yapısal olarak “alışılmadık” (unconventional) dilsel çıktılardır. Tartışmasız bir şekilde ifade edilmelidir ki, bu süreç her bir konuşurun sözcelerinin bir diğerinden farklılaştığı devingen bir süreç olmasına rağmen, konuşurların kullandıkları sözceler aynı “alışılmadık” yolu izlemektedir. Bu devingen süreç, tam da bu nedenle, dilsel düzeneklere odaklanmış yapısal bir bakış açısından insan idrakine (cognition) odaklı kuramsal bir değişimi öngörmektedir (Bybee 2010: 1).

Yukarıdaki açıklamalardan anlaşılacağı üzere, “idrakî dilbilgisi” ve “kullanım tabanlı dilbilim” kavramları arasında terminolojik bir örtüşme vardır. Bu terminolojik örtüşmenin kaynağı ise, Langacker’ın (1987) idrakî dilbilgisine yaklaşımı açıklamak üzere “kullanım- tabanlı model” terimini alanyazına tanıttığı Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Vol. 1: Theoretical Prerequisites (İdrakî Dilbilgisinin Temelleri, Cilt 1: Kuramsal Önkoşullar) başlıklı temel eserine dayanmaktadır. Kullanım tabanlı dilbilim

kavramı, Langacker tarafından İdrakî Dilbilim olarak da bilinen İdrakî Dilbilgisi kavramını ayrıntılı bir şekilde açıkladığı modele ismini vermiştir. Burada vurgulanması gereken bir diğer önemli nokta ise, idrakî dilbilgisinin Chomsky'nin üretici dilbilgisi kuramına (Generative Grammar) bir tepki olarak geliştirilmiş olduğu gerçeğidir (Mukherjee 2005). Üretici dilbilgisinin düştüğü kural yanılığını Langacker (2000: 2) şu cümlelerle özetlemektedir: “Geleneksel olarak, üretici bakış açısıyla, kanıt olarak sunulan söz öbekleri, dil ekonomisi nedeniyle dilbilgisinden çıkartılmaktadır”. Bu tür bir ayrışma yukarıda bahsedilen kural yanılığının sebep olmaktadır. Langacker, bu yanılığın üstesinden gelebilmek için dilbilgisi kuralları ve kanıt olarak sunulan söz öbeklerinin geçişimi için alternatif bir model önermiştir. İdrakî dilbilgisi adını verdiği bu alternatif modelde, Langacker (1987: 3) dili bir biçim ve anlama sahip birimlerden oluşan bir düzenek olarak tanımlamıştır. Bu model biçim ve anlam birimlerin bütünleşmesine odaklanmaktadır.

Kullanım tabanlı dilbilim modeline göre, dilsel birimler, belirli (içerik ve somut) veya tasarımsal/şematik (dilbilgisel ve soyut) ve yalın (bir birim) veya karmaşık (birden fazla birimden oluşan bir öbek) olabilir. Bu sözlükçe-sözdizimi doğrusu, alanyazında “Belirlilik Süremi” (Specificity Continuum) olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Müteakip şemada bu süremi etkenleri özetlenmektedir (bkz. Şekil 1):

| En belirli           | Kısmî belirli | En tasarımsal      |
|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| —                    |               |                    |
| Sözcükler / Sözlükçe |               | Yapılar / Sözdizim |
| [nalları dikmek]     | [AÖ + dikmek] | [AÖ + E]           |

**Şekil 1.** Belirlilik Süremi (Doğruöz & Backus 2009: 44)

Şekil 1’de gösterildiği üzere, idrakî dilbilgisi sözlükçe ve sözdizimini tüm dil birimlerini içeren doğrusal bir sürem üzerindeki alanlar olarak görmektedir. Bu bakış açısında, doğrusal süremi en belirli ucuna yerleştirilmiş olan ve dilsel parçaları değiştirilemeyen deyim ve deyişler gibi [nalları dikmek, vs.] yüksek oranda belirli birimler, sözcüksel birimlerdir. Kısmî belirli birimler (kısmen değiştirilemeyen kısmen ise değiştirilebilen) [AÖ + dikmek: ağaç (AÖ) dikmek, direk (AÖ) dikmek,

vs.] en belirli (sözlükçe) ve en tasarımsal (sözdizim) uçlarının arasına yerleştirilmektedir. Doğrusal süremin diğer bir ucunda ise tüm dilsel parçaları farklı sözcüksel öğelerle değiştirilebilen [AÖ + E] yüksek oranda tasarımsal yapılar bulunmaktadır. Kullanım tabanlı dilbilim kuramının belirlilik süremine göre, kullanılan tüm dil yapıları bu spektrumun bir yerine tekabül etmektedir.

Bunun yanında, kullanım tabanlı dilbilim kuramının kendine has destekleyici birtakım varsayımları bulunmaktadır (Kemmer & Barlow 2006). Bu varsayımlar müteakip bölümde açıklanacaktır:

### **Algılama (yeti) ve üretimin (edim), dilbilgisi düzeneğine çevresel değil bütüncül olarak algılanması**

Kullanım tabanlı dilbilim kuramına göre, edim (performance) dil konuşurunun yetisi (competence) içerisinde bir yapısal kavram olarak ele alındığı için bu iki mefhum arasında, Üretici Dilbilgisi kuramında olduğu gibi, kesif bir ayrım yapılmamaktadır. Yeti, dil konuşurunun kendi dili ile ilgili zımnen kabul edilmiş olan bilgisi olarak tanımlanırken, edim belli bir durumda bireylerin dil üretimi veya üretileni algılama şekli olarak tanımlanmaktadır (Radford 2004: 7).



### **Şekil 2. Kullanım tabanlı dilbilim kuramına göre yeti ve edim algısı**

Tekrarlanacak olursa, kullanım tabanlı dilbilim kuramına göre, yeti ve edim kesinlikle birbirlerinden ayrı değil, Şekil 2’de görüldüğü üzere, birbirleriyle içiçe mefhumlar olarak kuramsallaştırılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, üretici dilbilgisi ile kullanım tabanlı dilbilim kuramlarının yeti ve edim kavramlarına dair bakış açılarının birbirlerinin zıddı olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır. Buradaki temel ayrım, dil yetisi ile edimi arasında kesin bir sınırın olup olmadığı üzerine kurulmaktadır. Üretici dilbilgisi her iki

kavramın kesin bir surette ayrıldığını ileri sürerken, kullanım tabanlı dilbilim kuramı her iki kavramı dilbilgisel düzeneğin bütünü içerisinde değerlendirmektedir. İkinci farklılık ise kullanım tabanlı dilbilimin yeti kavramını durağan değil; aksine devingen olarak kuramsallaştırmasına dayanmaktadır. Yetinin devingen olmasının altında yatan varsayım ise dilsel kullanım ve deneyimlerle yetinin sürekli olarak yeniden şekillendiği fikrine dayanmaktadır. Üretici dilbilgisinde ise yeti Chomsky'nin tabiriyle “bir konuşurun olgunlaşmış dilbilgisel yetisi” (1995: 4) olarak tanımlanmaktadır.

### **Dilsel kullanım durumlarının ve kullanım sıklığının önemi**

Kullanım tabanlı dilbilim varsayımlarından bir diğerine göre, dilbilgisel yapılar ile dil kullanımları arasında çok sıkı bir ilişki vardır (Kemmer & Barlow 2006: 2). Bu ilişki ise, konuşurun dil deneyimi ile dilbilgisinde dilin soyut temsilleri arasında var olan daha yakın bir ilişkiye gönderme yapmaktadır. Kısacası, dilsel temsiller konuşurun dil düzeneğindeki ‘kullanım durumları’yla güçlü bir şekilde bağıntılıdır. Sürekli bir devinim içerisinde bu kullanım durumları ve dilsel yapılar birbirlerini karşılıklı olarak etkilemektedir. Kullanım durumları, bu yolla, dil düzeneğinin devamlı yeniden yapılanma (structuring) ve işleminde hayati bir rol oynar. Bu yüzden, dil üretimi olan yapı ve kullanım durumları, konuşurun sadece dil düzeneğinin çıktıları olarak hizmet görmezler; aynı zamanda diğer konuşurların (i.e. muhatap dinleyicilerin) dil düzenekleri için bir dil girdisi olarak da işlev görürler. Bu arada konuşurun bizzat kendi dil düzeneği üzerine yansıtarak düşünmesine de olanak sağlanmış olur. Böylece kullanım durumları düzenek içerisinde çift-katmanlı bir role sahiptir: sonsuz bir geridönüt döngüsü içerisinde hem dil düzeneğini etkilemekte hem de bu düzenekten etkilenmektedir (Kemmer & Barlow 2006: 3).

Dil durumları ve dil deneyimleri arasında karşılıklı bir ilişki olduğundan, kullanım tabanlı dilbilim kuramı çerçevesinde önemli olan bir diğer kavram dil kullanımı ile yakından bağlantılı olan kullanım sıklığı (frequency of use) kavramıdır. Belli bir dilsel birimin kullanım sıklığı dil düzeneği için hem bir sonuç hem de itici güç olduğundan, kullanım tabanlı dilbilimde başat bir role sahiptir (Bybee 1988). Eğer konuşma sırasında bir dilsel birim veya yapı sıklıkla kullanılmaktaysa, bu yapının birey olarak

konuşurun dilsel düzeneği içerisine sağlam bir şekilde yerleştiğini (entrenched), başka bir ifadeyle, idrakî açıdan alışıldık bir biçim olarak algılanmaya başladığına işaret etmektedir. Dolayısıyla kullanım sıklığının artmasının da dilsel birimin zihinde işlemlenmesinde önemli bir etkisi olmaktadır. Kullanım sıklığının dil kullanımına ilişkin bir diğer hayati rolü ise yüksek bir sağlamlaştırma (entrenchment) neden olmasıdır. Bu bağlamda, kullanım sıklığı ile sağlamlaştırma arasında doğru bir orantı vardır denebilir. Şöyle ki, kullanım sıklığı ne kadar artarsa, bir dilsel birimin veya dil yapısının sağlamlaşma düzeyi de o denli artmaktadır. Sağlamlaştırma düzeyi ise temel olarak idrakî sıradanlaşma, otomatikleşme ve alışma süreçlerinden geçmektedir. Tür (type) ve örnekçe (token) sıklığı arasında göreceli olarak karşılıklı bir etkileşim olmasına rağmen, süreç içerisinde her ikisinin farklı işlevleri bulunmaktadır: “yüksek örnekçe sıklığı güçlü bellek izleri bırakarak sağlam bir şekilde yerleştirmeyi sağlarken, tür sıklığı soyutlamaya yol açmaktadır” (Behrens 2009: 399). Bu bağlamda sıklık türüne bakılmaksızın, bir dil biriminin konuşur tarafından kullanıldığı her durumda, kullanım sıklığının önemine işaret eden söz konusu birimin soyut temsilinin işleyen belleğe sağlam bir şekilde yerleştirildiği vurgulanmalıdır (Bybee 2010). Bu süreç; dilbilgisel birimi gelecekte gerçekleşmesi olası iletişim durumlarına uygun ve kullanılabilir hâle getirmektedir ki bu durum da sözcüksel birimlerin ve dilbilgisel yapıların yüksek kullanım sıklığının bir dil temâsı durumunda ikidilli veya çokdilli konuşurun zihinsel temsilinde söz konusu dilsel birimlerin sağlam bir şekilde yerleşme düzeyi üzerinde etkili olmaktadır (Taylor 2012). Bu düzey öyle bir noktaya ulaşabilmektedir ki, o noktadan sonra kısaca dilbilgisel birimin konuşurun ana diline yerleşmesi işlemi olarak tanımlanabilecek ‘kod-kopyalama’ süreci işlemeye başlamaktadır. Bu süreç yeteri oranda tekrar edildiğinde ise, nihayet ‘dil değişimi’ farkedilebilir bir düzeye çıkmakta, konuşurun zihinsel temsilinden dil kullanımı yüzeyine çıkmaktadır. Bu arada, değişime eğilimli dilbilgisel birimin ana dilindeki mukabili konuşur tarafından göreceli olarak daha az kullanılmaya veya zamanla hiç kullanılmamaya başlamaktadır. Bu durum ise, mezkûr dilbilgisel birimin artık işleyen bellekte yeterince sağlamlaştırılmadığını gösterir.

Konuşurun zihinsel temsili ile temâs-kaynaklı dil değişimi arasındaki karşılıklı etkileşim konusuna gelirsek, Bybee'nin örnek temsil kavramı tatmin edici bir açıklama sağlamaktadır:

“Örnek temsiller, zengin bellek temsilleri olarak bir dilsel deneyim sırasında dil kullanıcısının en azından olanak dahilinde tüm bilgilerini ihtiva eder. Bu bilgi gereksiz ve türlü özellikler de dahil olmak üzere sesbilgisel ayrıntıları, kullanılan sözcüksel birim ve yapılar, bağlam ve anlamdan elde edilen çıkarımlar ve toplumsal, fizikî ve dilbilgisel bağlamın özellikleri barındırmaktadır” (14).

Örnek temsil kuramında, her tür deneyim, bu çalışma kapsamında hassaten belirtilecek olursa dilbilgisel deneyim, dil temâsı sonucu karşılaşılan yeni dilbilgisel deneyim ile var olan arasında eşleştirilen örnekçeler sonu gelmez bir döngü içerisinde hayati bir öneme sahiptir. Bu eşleştirme sürecinde tekrarlanan dilbilgisel deneyimler örnekçelerin dayanıklılığını artırır. Temas kaynaklı ağız değişimi çerçevesinde ise eşleşen anlamsal alan ya yeni veya var olan dilbilgisel deneyimlerin kullanılmasını ya da tamamen yeni melez yapıların doğmasını tetikler. Bu durum dil değişkesinin sesbilgisi, biçimbilgisi, biçim-sözdizim ve sözdizim, hatta anlambilimsel alanlarının her birinde gerçekleşebilir.

### **Veritabanı ve Yöntem**

Bu çalışma toplumdilbilim kapsamında yer alan temas dilbilimi alanında kullanım tabanlı dilbilim kuramı çerçevesinde geliştirilmiştir. Çalışmanın araştırma soruları ve hedefleri ışığında, müteakip üç katılımcı grubundan veri toplanmıştır:

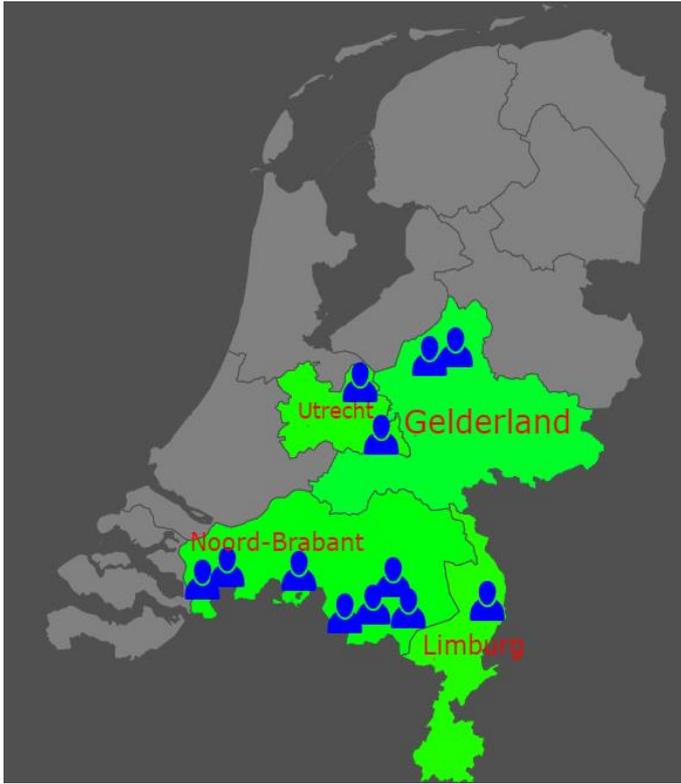
- 1) 2<sup>nd</sup> nesil iki dilli Hollandaca-Türkçe konuşuru (N=12)
- 2) 1<sup>st</sup> nesil iki dilli Holandaca-Türkçe konuşuru (N=11)
- 3) Türkçe tek dilli konuşuru (N=12)

Çalışmanın temel amacı farklı nesillerden Holandaca-Türkçe konuşuru grupların kullandığı ulaç yapılarının temas kaynaklı dil değişimi sonucu değişip değişmediğini incelemektir. Bu amaçla, dil değişimi çalışmalarında temasa girmemiş bir değişkenin kontrol verisi olarak kullanılması hayati önemdedir (Backus, 2004; Dabrowska, 2004).

Bu nedenle, iki dilli katılımcıların yanı sıra tek dilli Türkçe konuşurlarından da very toplanmıştır.

### 3.4.1.1. İkinci nesil iki dilli Hollandaca-Türkçe konuşurları

Miras dil konuşurları olarak da adlandırılan ikinci nesil Hollandaca-Türkçe



konuşurları deney gruplarından biri ve en önemlisi olarak bu çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir. Gönüllü miras dil konuşurlarına ulaşmak için araştırmacı Hollanda’da yaşayan göçmen Türk topluluğuna kendisini tanıtmak için birçok yol aramış ve misafir araştırmacı olarak yaşadığı Tilburg şehrinde Türk topluluğunun kurduğu sivil toplum kuruluşlarına, Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği’ne ve Tilburg Üniversitesi’ndeki

**Şekil 3.** Miras dil konuşurlarının dağılımı

öğrenci kulüplerine ziyaretlerde bulunmuştur. Buralarda araştırmanın amacını ve genel olarak araştırma sorularına muhataplarına açıklamış ve birinci ve ikinci nesil Türk bireylere ulaşımı konusunda kendilerinden yardım istemiştir. Öncelikle, ikinci nesil iki dilli üniversite öğrencileriyle irtibata geçmiş, sonrasında zaman içerisinde ise “arkadaş çemberi”ni genişleterek bu öğrencilerin birinci nesil grubundan aile büyükleri ve ikinci nesilden arkadaş ve diğer Hollanda şehirlerindeki yakın akrabalarıyla da görüşme fırsatı yakalamıştır. Yukarıdaki haritada da görüldüğü üzere, araştırmacının altı Tilburglu gençten oluşan ve 18-29 yaş aralığında “çekirdek arkadaş çevresi” oluşmuştur (2. nesil iki dilli). Bu katılımcıların hiçbiri Hollanda’da eğitimleri

sırasında Türkçe eğitim almamıştır. Bu katılımcılar Türkçeyi sadece ail eve arkadaş çevresinde, diğer bir deyişle, Türkçe dil topluluğu içerisinde edinmiştir. Aşağıda sunulan tabloda ikinci nesil iki dilli katılımcıların demografik verisi tüm teferruatı ile verilmiştir:

**Tablo 1.** İkinci nesil katılımcıların demografik verisi

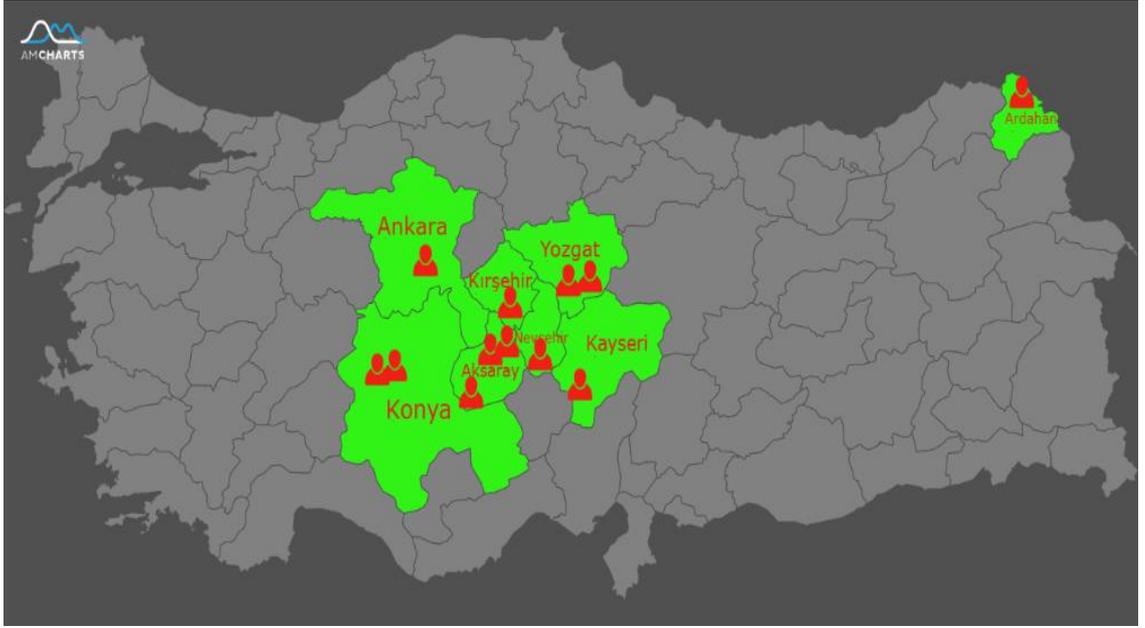
| No  | Participant Pseudo-name | City (birthplace) | City (residency) | State         | Age | Turkish dialect | Educ.  |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|-----|-----------------|--------|
| 1.  | THS_1                   | Arnhem            | Arnhem           | Gelderland    | 26  | Nevşehir        | Higher |
| 2.  | THS_2                   | Tilburg           | Tilburg          | Noord-Brabant | 29  | Yozgat          | Higher |
| 3.  | THS_3                   | Arnhem            | Arnhem           | Gelderland    | 26  | Ankara          | High   |
| 4.  | THS_4                   | Tilburg           | Tilburg          | Noord-Brabant | 27  | Yozgat          | High   |
| 5.  | THS_5                   | Utrecht           | Utrecht          | Utrecht       | 22  | Kırşehir        | Higher |
| 6.  | THS_6                   | Utrecht           | Utrecht          | Utrecht       | 22  | Konya           | Higher |
| 7.  | THS_7                   | Weert             | Weert            | Limburg       | 29  | Ardahan         | Higher |
| 8.  | THS_8                   | Tilburg           | Tilburg          | Noord-Brabant | 18  | Aksaray         | High   |
| 9.  | THS_9                   | Tilburg           | Tilburg          | Noord-Brabant | 18  | Aksaray         | High   |
| 10. | THS_10                  | Eindhoven         | Tilburg          | Noord-Brabant | 28  | Konya           | Higher |
| 11. | THS_11                  | Tilburg           | Eindhoven        | Noord-Brabant | 26  | Kayseri         | Higher |
| 12. | THS_12                  | Tilburg           | Tilburg          | Noord-Brabant | 27  | Aksaray         | Higher |

Araştırmacı arkadaşları aracılığıyla çevresini genişletti ve ikinci nesilden diğer altı katılımcı ile mülakat yaptı. Katılımcıların Hollanda’da yaşadıkları şehirler şu şekildedir: [(Tilburg, N=6; Eindhoven, N=1; Utrecht, N=2; Weert, N=1 ve Arnhem, N=2)], bu şehirlerin bağlı oldukları kraliyet eyaletleri ise Noord-Brabant, Gelderland, Utrecht ve Limburg’tur. Katılımcılardan sadece ikisi yaşları 21 ve 22 olan kadındı. Geri kalan on katılımcı ise yaşları 18 ila 29 arasında değişen erkekti. Katılımcıların eğitimi söz konusu olduğunda ise, sekizi lisans programında okumakta veya bir lisans programından mezun olmuş iken dördü lise diplomasına sahipti. Katılımcıları daha iyi tanımak ve ikinci nesil olup olmadıklarını anlamak üzere katılımcılara mülakatlar öncesi bir dil geçmişi anketi verilmiştir (Ek B)

Bu anket sonucundan tüm ikinci nesil katılımcıların kendilerini anadili Hollandaca konuşuru olarak tanımladıkları sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bununla birlikte, katılımcılar kendilerini “yetkin” bir Türkçe konuşuru olarak görmediklerini beyan etmişlerdir. Bu

durumun sebebinin katılımcıların resmi ve yazılı Türkçeye hakimiyetlerinin zayıf olması olarak yorumlanabileceği açıktır. Sosyo-ekonomik açıdan ise katılımcıların aile yapılarının ve yaşam tarzlarının birbirine yakın olduğunu söylemek mümkündür.

Kendileri Hollanda’da doğup büyümüş olmalarına rağmen, ikinci nesil katılımcıların bilaistisna her birinin aile büyükleri Türkiye’de doğmuş ve orada büyümüşlerdir. Nereli oldukları sorulduklarında, tam da bu nedenle, kendilerini ailelerinin kökenleriyle tanımlama eğilimi göstermektedirler. Bu yüzden, ikinci nesil katılımcıların ailelerinin konuştuğu Türkiye Türkçesi ağızı ayrı bir önem taşımaktadır. Aşağıdaki harita ikinci nesil katılımcıların aile dillerini içeren ağızların konuşulduğu Türkiye’deki şehirleri göstermektedir.



Şekil 4. Aile dili olarak konuşulan Türkçe ağızlarının dağılımı

Aile dili söz konusu olduğunda, katılımcılar ailelerinde konuşulan Türkçe ağızı ile ilişkilendirdikleri illeri şu şekilde belirtmişlerdir: (Ardahan, N=1; Ankara, N=1; Kırşehir, N=1; Nevşehir, N=1; Kayseri, N=1; Yozgat, N=2; Konya, N=2; Aksaray, N=3).

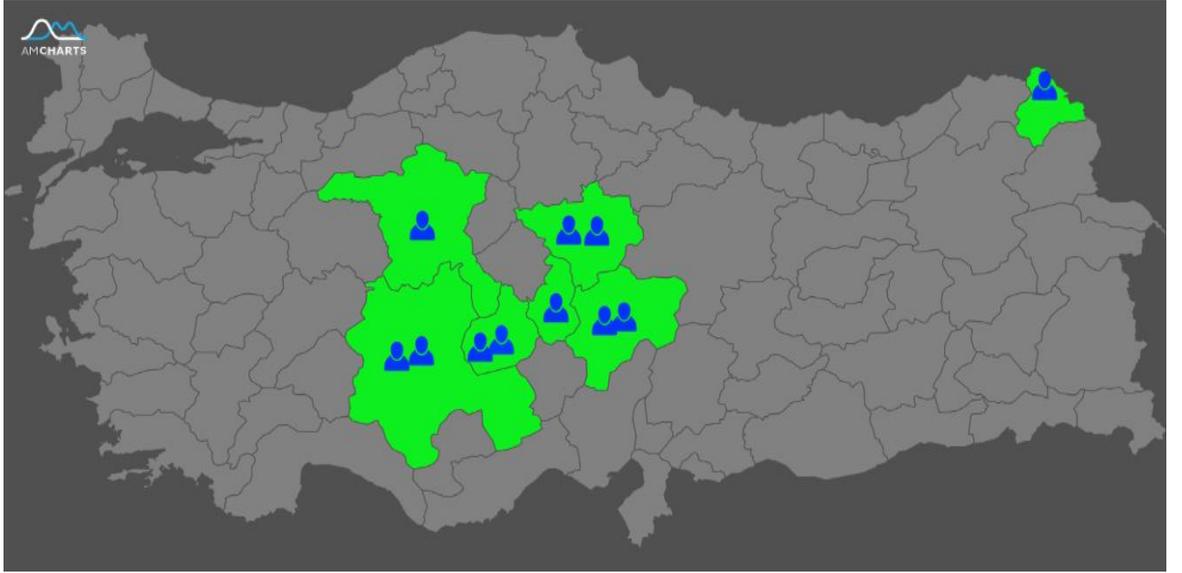
### 3.4.1.2. Birinci nesil Hollandaca-Türkçe konuşurları

Birinci nesil Hollandaca-Türkçe konuşurlarından very toplama gerekçesi ise dil teması kaynaklı dil değişimi çalışmaları söz konusu olduğunda hem ulaçların kullanım sıklığı hem de işlevleri incelenirken bir kontrol verisi oluşturacak olmasıdır. Bu nedenle, ikinci nesil katılımcılarla iletişime geçtikten sonra, araştırmacı, özellikle çekirdek arkadaş çevresi tarafından Hollanda’da yaşayan Türk topluluğu tarafından düzenlenen düğün, aile yemeği, misafirlik gibi toplumsal toplantılara davet edilmiştir. Bu toplumsal yapı içerisinde, miras dili konuşuru katılımcıların aile bireylerinden ve aile büyüklerinden araştırmaya katılmaları için ricada bulunmuş ve kendileri araştırmaya katkıda bulunmayı gönülden kabul etmişlerdir. Araştırmacı miras dili konuşurlarının ebeveynleri olan birinci nesil iki dilli katılımcılar ile de mülakatlar gerçekleştirmiştir. Ebeveynler ve çocukları genellikle birbirlerine oldukça yakın bir çevrede yaşamayı tercih etmektedirler. Burada vurgulanması gereken bir diğer nokta ise, birinci nesil katılımcılardan da dil geçmişi anketini doldurması istenmiştir, böylece araştırmacı katılımcıların dil geçmişleri ve dil kullanımları ile ilgili veriye ulaşmıştır. Aşağıdaki tabloda birinci nesil Hollandaca-Türkçe konuşuru katılımcıların doğumyeri, ikamet yerleri, yaşları ve konuştukları Türkiye Türkçesi ağız verileri ile eğitim geçmişlerini içeren very sunulmaktadır:

**Table 2.** Birinci nesil iki dilli katılımcıların demografik verisi

| No  | Participant Pseudo-name | City (birthplace) | City (residency) | State       | Age | Turkish dialect | Educ.   |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|-----|-----------------|---------|
| 1.  | DTB_1                   | Nevşehir          | Arnhem           | Gelderland  | 51  | Nevşehir        | Second. |
| 2.  | DTB_2                   | Ankara            | Tilburg          | Noord-Brab. | 49  | Ankara          | Second. |
| 3.  | DTB_3                   | Aksaray           | Tilburg          | Gelderland  | 39  | Aksaray         | Higher  |
| 4.  | DTB_4                   | Aksaray           | Tilburg          | Noord-Brab. | 35  | Aksaray         | High    |
| 5.  | DTB_5                   | Kayseri           | Utrecht          | Utrecht     | 44  | Kayseri         | High    |
| 6.  | DTB_6                   | Kayseri           | Utrecht          | Utrecht     | 41  | Kayseri         | Second. |
| 7.  | DTB_7                   | Ardahan           | Weert            | Limburg     | 59  | Ardahan         | Primary |
| 8.  | DTB_8                   | Yozgat            | Tilburg          | Noord-Brab. | 58  | Yozgat          | Primary |
| 9.  | DTB_9                   | Yozgat            | Tilburg          | Noord-Brab. | 52  | Yozgat          | Primary |
| 10. | DTB_10                  | Konya             | Tilburg          | Noord-Brab. | 45  | Konya           | Second. |
| 11. | DTB_11                  | Konya             | Tilburg          | Noord-Brab. | 41  | Konya           | Second. |

Bulgular, çocuklarıyla mukayese edildiğinde, ebeveynlerin eğitim düzeyinin daha düşük olduğunu göstermektedir. Katılımcılardan sadece birisi bir yüksek öğretim kurumunda mezun olmuştur. Yedi katılımcı ise ya ilkokul ya da orta okuldan mezun olduklarını belirtmişlerdir. Sadece iki katılımcı ise liseden mezun olduğunu beyan etmiştir. Katılımcılardan dördü kadın iken erkek katılımcı sayısı ise yedidir. Aşağıdaki Türkiye haritasında katılımcıların doğup değişkesini konuştukları ağızın bulunduğu iller gösterilmektedir.



**Şekil 5.** Birinci nesil katılımcıların doğup ağızını konuştukları iller

Birinci nesil iki dilli Hollandaca-Türkçe konuşurları da ikinci nesil katılımcıların konuştuğu Türkiye Türkçesi ağızı dikkate alınarak seçildi (Ardahan, N=1; Ankara, N=1; Nevşehir, N=1; Kayseri, N=2; Yozgat, N=2; Konya, N=2; Aksaray, N=2). Tüm birinci nesil katılımcılar Hollanda'ya yetişkin iken gelmiş ve ağızlarını korumuş bireylerden oluşmaktadır.

### 3.4.1.3. Türkçe tek dilli katılımcılar

Temas kaynaklı dil değişimi alanyazınında etkileşime girmemiş bir değişkeden toplanan veri karşılaştırma yapmak için hayati derecede önem arz etmektedir. Bu amaçla, Hollanda'da veri sağlayan katılımcıların konuştuğu ağızlarla uyumlu olarak

Türkiye’den veri toplanmıştır. Bu şehirler şu şekilde sıralanabilir: Aksaray, Ankara, Ardahan, Kayseri, Kırşehir, Konya, Nevşehir ve Yozgat.

Aşağıdaki tablo tek dilli Türkçe konuşurların demografik verisini sunmaktadır:

**Tablo 3.** Tek dilli Türkçe konuşurların demografik bilgisi

| No  | Participant Pseudo-name | City (birthplace) | City (residency) | Age | Turkish dialect | Educ.  |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----|-----------------|--------|
| 1.  | TM_1                    | Aksaray           | Aksaray          | 23  | Aksaray         | High   |
| 2.  | TM_2                    | Aksaray           | Aksaray          | 26  | Aksaray         | High   |
| 3.  | TM_3                    | Ankara            | Ankara           | 22  | Ankara          | High   |
| 4.  | TM_4                    | Konya             | Konya            | 30  | Konya           | High   |
| 5.  | TM_5                    | Yozgat            | Yozgat           | 25  | Yozgat          | Higher |
| 6.  | TM_6                    | Yozgat            | Yozgat           | 25  | Yozgat          | Higher |
| 7.  | TM_7                    | Ardahan           | Ardahan          | 29  | Ardahan         | Higher |
| 8.  | TM_8                    | Kırşehir          | Kırşehir         | 19  | Kırşehir        | High   |
| 9.  | TM_9                    | Aksaray           | Aksaray          | 21  | Aksaray         | High   |
| 10. | TM_10                   | Konya             | Konya            | 25  | Konya           | Higher |
| 11. | TM_11                   | Kayseri           | Kayseri          | 26  | Kayseri         | Higher |
| 12. | TM_12                   | Nevşehir          | Nevşehir         | 25  | Nevşehir        | Higher |

Table Bulgular, tek dilli Türkçe konuşurların eğitim düzeyinin ikinci nesil iki dilli katılımcılarla büyük oranda uyumlu olduğunu göstermektedir. Katılımcılardan altısı bir yüksek öğretim kurumunda mezun olmuştur. Yedi katılımcı ise liseden mezun olduğunu beyan etmiştir.

### 3.5. Veri Toplama Araçları

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı devam etmekte olduğu varsayılan bir dil değişimi olgusunu betimleme olduğu için, mülakat aracılığıyla doğal sözlü veri toplanması önemli görülmüştür. Ancak bunun yanında “karışık yöntem” diye adlandırılan nicel ve nitel veri toplama yöntemlerinden faydalanılmıştır. Bu yöntemler aşağıda sıralanmıştır:

**Tablo 4.** Temel Veri Toplama Araçları

| Temel Veri Toplama Araçları     |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1. Dil Geçmişi Anketi           |  |
| 2. Üretim verisi                |  |
| 2.1. Spontan birebir mülakat    |  |
| 2.2. Spontan grup mülakatı      |  |
| 2.3. Sonradan yapılan mülakat   |  |
| 3. Algı verisi                  |  |
| 3.1. Dilbilgisellik karar testi |  |

Bu çalışma kapsamında hem nitel (birebir mülakat, grup mülakatı, vb.) hem de nicel veri toplama araçlarından (dil geçmişi anketi ve dilbilgisellik karar testi) yararlanılmıştır.

### **Bulgular**

Kullanım tabanlı dilbilim çerçevesinde temas kaynaklı dil değişimi açısından, dilsel yapılar üzerinde etkin hale gelen ve faaliyette olan temas kaynaklı düzenekleri tanımlamak ve açıklamak elzem bir gerekliliktir. Bunu yaparken, temas kaynaklı dil değişiminin doğası ve karakteristik yapısı alanyazında sıkça tartışılmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, kullanım odaklı dilbilim çerçevesinde söz konusu olguyu inceleyen çok az çalışma bulunmaktadır. Tam da bu nedenle, bu çalışma söz konusu alanyazına bir katkı yapmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla, miras dil konuşurlarının ürettiği ulaş yapılarının algısı ve üretimi bağlamında.

- *nesil arkaplanı dikkate alınarak (ikinci ve birinci nesil verileri)*
  - *kullanım sıklığı (with a special focus on sağlama, gelenekselleşme ve güçlülük/zayıflık olgularına özel bir vurgu yaparak),*
  - *ulaç yapılarında kullanılan yöntem*
    - *ulaç yapılarının geleneksel olmayan kullanımları*
    - *ulaç yapılarının bitimlileşmesi*
    - *edimsel işaretleyiciler ve bağlaçların kazandığı yeni işlevler*

katılımcı gruplar açısından incelenmi ve üretim bulgularında farklılıklar tespit edilmiştir.

Kullanım sıklığı açısından bakıldığında birinci ve ikinci nesil iki dilli katılımcılar ile tek dilli Türkçe konuşurları arasında bariz bir farkın olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Aşağıdaki tabloda ulaç yapılarının anlambilimsel sınıfları ile türce sıklığı ve yüz sözcü içerisindeki sıklığı gösterilmiştir.

**Tablo 5.** Ulaç yapılarının üç grup bağlamında kullanım sıklığı

| Converbial form                   | Token Frequency         |                         |             |             | Frequency per hundred utterance |                      |               |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
|                                   | 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen. Tk | 1 <sup>st</sup> gen. Tk | mono Tk     | Σ           | 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen.            | 1 <sup>st</sup> gen. | Mono          |
| <i>-IncA</i>                      | 69                      | 125                     | 263         | 457         | 0,3113                          | 0,5728               | 1,1372        |
| <i>-Ip</i>                        | 50                      | 93                      | 195         | 338         | 0,2256                          | 0,4261               | 0,8432        |
| <i>-ken</i>                       | 79                      | 117                     | 229         | 425         | 0,3564                          | 0,5361               | 0,9902        |
| <i>-DIK constructions</i>         | 32                      | 69                      | 151         | 252         | 0,1443                          | 0,3161               | 0,6529        |
| <b>Temporal total</b>             | <b>230</b>              | <b>404</b>              | <b>838</b>  | <b>1472</b> | <b>1,0377</b>                   | <b>1,8513</b>        | <b>3,6237</b> |
| <i>-ArAk</i>                      | 29                      | 117                     | 138         | 284         | 0,1308                          | 0,5361               | 0,5967        |
| <i>-mAdAn</i>                     | 32                      | 49                      | 46          | 127         | 0,1443                          | 0,2245               | 0,1989        |
| <i>-cAsInA</i>                    | 0                       | 1                       | 7           | 8           | 0                               | 0,0045               | 0,0302        |
| <i>-yA -yA</i>                    | 2                       | 3                       | 14          | 19          | 0,009                           | 0,0137               | 0,0605        |
| <b>Manner total</b>               | <b>63</b>               | <b>170</b>              | <b>205</b>  | <b>438</b>  | <b>0,2842</b>                   | <b>0,7790</b>        | <b>0,8864</b> |
| <i>-mAk için</i>                  | 13                      | 15                      | 11          | 39          | 0,0586                          | 0,0687               | 0,0475        |
| <i>-mAyA</i>                      | 16                      | 22                      | 36          | 74          | 0,0721                          | 0,1008               | 0,1556        |
| <b>Purpose total</b>              | <b>29</b>               | <b>37</b>               | <b>47</b>   | <b>113</b>  | <b>0,1342</b>                   | <b>0,1695</b>        | <b>0,2032</b> |
| <i>DIK Poss. Dan</i>              | 9                       | 12                      | 10          | 31          | 0,0406                          | 0,0549               | 0,0432        |
| <i>DIK Poss. için</i>             | 17                      | 20                      | 19          | 56          | 0,0767                          | 0,0916               | 0,0821        |
| <i>DIK Poss. DAn dolayı</i>       | 4                       | 9                       | 11          | 24          | 0,018                           | 0,0412               | 0,0475        |
| <b>Causal total</b>               | <b>30</b>               | <b>41</b>               | <b>40</b>   | <b>111</b>  | <b>0,135</b>                    | <b>0,187</b>         | <b>0,175</b>  |
| <i>DIK Pers. takdirde eğer sA</i> | 0                       | 0                       | 2           | 2           | 0                               | 0                    | 0,086         |
| <i>eğer sA</i>                    | 93                      | 99                      | 107         | 299         | 0,4196                          | 0,4536               | 0,4627        |
| <b>Conditional total</b>          | <b>93</b>               | <b>99</b>               | <b>109</b>  | <b>301</b>  | <b>0,4196</b>                   | <b>0,4536</b>        | <b>0,4713</b> |
| <i>mAktAnsA</i>                   | 0                       | 0                       | 0           | 0           | 0                               | 0                    | 0             |
| <i>DIĞI kadar</i>                 | 0                       | 2                       | 7           | 9           | 0                               | 0,0091               | 0,0302        |
| <b>Degree total</b>               | <b>0</b>                | <b>2</b>                | <b>7</b>    | <b>9</b>    | <b>0</b>                        | <b>0,0091</b>        | <b>0,0302</b> |
| <i>DIK Poss. yerde</i>            | 2                       | 2                       | 12          | 16          | 0,009                           | 0,0091               | 0,0518        |
| <i>nereye V.-Sa</i>               | 1                       | 1                       | 1           | 3           | 0,0045                          | 0,0045               | 0,0043        |
| <b>Place total</b>                | <b>3</b>                | <b>3</b>                | <b>13</b>   | <b>19</b>   | <b>0,013</b>                    | <b>0,018</b>         | <b>0,056</b>  |
| <i>V-Cond.+sA Da</i>              | 3                       | 3                       | 11          | 17          | 0,0135                          | 0,0137               | 0,0475        |
| <i>mAsInA rağmen</i>              | 2                       | 2                       | 0           | 4           | 0,009                           | 0,0091               | 0             |
| <i>-DIĞI halde</i>                | 1                       | 3                       | 3           | 7           | 0,0045                          | 0,0137               | 0,0127        |
| <b>Concession total</b>           | <b>6</b>                | <b>8</b>                | <b>14</b>   | <b>28</b>   | <b>0,027</b>                    | <b>0,02</b>          | <b>0,06</b>   |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                      | <b>454</b>              | <b>764</b>              | <b>1273</b> | <b>2491</b> | <b>2,4433</b>                   | <b>3,9211</b>        | <b>5,9171</b> |



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**TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE:** Yüksek Lisans / Master

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