Introduction
00000

About Turkish
000

Study
00000

Methods
000

Results
000000000

Discussion
00000

Does CASE trump determiners? Considering blocking effects in heritage Turkishes in Germany and the U.S.

Onur Özsoy, Natalia Gagarina

Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

19 November 2021

Contact: oezsoy@leibniz-zas.de

Slides available

You can download the slides at
talks.stuts.de/en/stuts70/public/events/661.
Or simply scan this QR-code:

Thanks

- Thanks go to **Frederic Blum** and **Daniil Bondarenko** for their helpful tips with ggplot.
- And thanks to my other StuTS-mates; María Eugenia Arthuis Blanco, Chiara Tschirner, and Lea Coy.

(In-)Definite utterances

- Indefinite
    - German

      ein   *Hund*
      ART.NDEF.M dog

      'A dog'
    - Spanish

      un   *pero*
      ART.NDEF.M dog

      'A dog.'

(In-)Definite utterances (cont.)

- Definite
    - German
der	*Hund*
ART.DEF.M	dog

      'The dog.'
    - Spanish
el	*pero*
ART.DEF.M	dog

      'The dog.'

Definiteness in IE languages

- Broadly (and incompletely), two categories (Aguilar-Guevara et al., 2019):.
  1. Article-less languages

Definiteness in IE languages

- Broadly (and incompletely), two categories (Aguilar-Guevara et al., 2019):
  1. Article-less languages
  2. Languages with articles

type of noun phrase / type of article	anaphoric definite (AD)	nonanaphoric definite (ND)	pragmatically specific indefinite (PSI)	pragmatically nonspecific but semantically specific indefinite (PNI)	semantically nonspecific indefinite (SNI)
AD	Garrwa				
ND		Ma'di			
PSI			Anufo		
PNI				unattested	Gbeya Bossangoa
SNI					
AD+ND	English (def)				
ND+PSI		unattested			
PSI+PNI			Ngizim		
PNI+SNI				Siar	
AD+ND+PSI		Kokota			
ND+PSI+PNI			unattested		
PSI+PNI+SNI				English (indef)	
AD+ND+PSI+PNI		Tokelauan			
ND+PSI+PNI+SNI			Tzutujil		
all five types			Basque		

Definiteness and specificity in English

	+definite	−definite
+specific	*the*	*a*
−specific	*the*	*a*

Figure 2: The English article system (Le Bruyn, 2019)

Definiteness and specificity in English (cont.)

Figure 3: Example of a non-specific context (Le Bruyn, 2019)

Definiteness in Turkish: Kornfilt, 1997, 2013

- Definitess
    - Not marked morphologically
    - NP is definite if not marked indefinite
    - definite NPs can freely move
- Indefinites
    - Marked
    - bir 'one / a(n)' (numeral before full NP vs determiner attached to N-head)
    - bazı 'some'
    - birkaç 'several'
    - indefinite specific, e.g., belli bir şarap 'a certain wine'

Definiteness in Turkish: Göksel and Kerslake, 2005

- Factors for definiteness interpretation
    - Determiner use (demonstratives, article)
    - Differential Obejct Marking (DOM) (for a different view, see
      Von Heusinger and Kornfilt, 2005)
    - Accusative CASE (ACC)
    - Word order
    - Sentence stress
    - Verbal Tense-Aspect-Modality (TAM)

All NPs definite in:

Garson *temiz* **tabak**-*lar-ı* ***masa**-ya* *koy-du.*
waiter   clean   plate-PL-ACC   table-ACC   put-PST.PRF

'The waiter put the clean plates on the table.'

Introduction
00000
About Turkish
00●
Study
00000
Methods
000
Results
000000000
Discussion
00000

Definiteness in Turkish: van Schaaik, 2020

- Definiteness and Specificity interact

Example:

*Bir   kitab-ı   arı-**yor**-um.*
one/a   book-ACC   search-PROG-1SG
'I'm looking for a certain book.'

The case of heritage Turkishes

- Languages change at a faster rate, when they are in contact

  (Trudgill, 2020)

- Do determiners pose the preferred strategy for marking indefinites in all Turkishes?

- Maybe not because of
    - language contact effects
    - no standardized input (e.g., no formal education in the heritage language)
    - faster drive of language-internal dynamics
    - What drives change? language contact vs. internal dynamics

Preference for CASE in heritage Turkishes

- According to its mainstream grammars, Turkish prefers accusative case to mark definiteness and specificity (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 2013; van Schaaik, 2020)

Preference for CASE in heritage Turkishes

- According to its mainstream grammars, Turkish prefers accusative case to mark definiteness and specificity (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 2013; van Schaaik, 2020)

- Under blocking-assumptions (Rainer, 2016; Sharma, 2010), **ACC** might block less salient form of indicating definiteness;

Preference for CASE in heritage Turkishes

- According to its mainstream grammars, Turkish prefers accusative case to mark definiteness and specificity (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 2013; van Schaaik, 2020)

- Under blocking-assumptions (Rainer, 2016; Sharma, 2010), **ACC** might block less salient form of indicating definiteness; especially in flexible language varieties, e.g., heritage languages

Define *heritage language*

- A language acquired at home in a society where it is not the majority language (Lohndal et al., 2019)
- Language contact between heritage and majority languages is ubiquitous, in most cases, both in individual linguistic repertoires and in the speech community
- **We focus on Turkish as a heritage language in Germany and the U.S.**

NB: Heritage Turkishes differ ...

NB: Heritage Turkishes differ ...

... A LOT

NB: Heritage Turkishes differ ...

... A LOT

- *Heritage speaker* as a broad *umbrella term* (Leeman & King, 2014)
- The notion of *Deutschlandtürkisch* 'Germany-Turkish' (Cindark & Aslan, 2004; Johanson, 1988; Schroeder, 2020)
- Socioeconomically vastly different groups in Germany (and Northwest Europe) vs. the United States

Predictions

- Wider use of ACC interacting with definiteness

Predictions

- Wider use of ACC interacting with definiteness
- Narrow determiner use by heritage speakers compared to monolinguals

Predictions

- Wider use of ACC interacting with definiteness
- Narrow determiner use by heritage speakers compared to monolinguals
- More predictions (not presented here):
  - Effects of register, mode, age, variety
  - Language-internal dynamics (and not language contact) drive change

Introduction
○○○○○

About Turkish
○○○

Study
○○○○○

Methods
●○○

Results
○○○○○○○○○

Discussion
○○○○○

Language Situations

(RUEG corpus, Wiese, 2020)
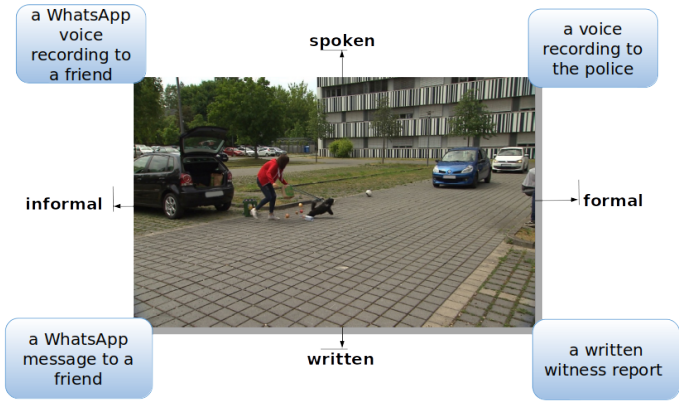
Participants

Table 1: **Adults** (23-35 yo)

group	n	mean age	sex	
HS of Turkish in Germany	33	27.14	23 females	
HS of Turkish in the USA	26	28	17 females	
monolinguals in Turkey	32	27.64	11 females	

Table 2: **Adolescents** (15-17 yo)

group	n	mean age	sex	
HS of Turkish in Germany	32	16	17 females	
HS of Turkish in the USA	30	16	20 females	
monolinguals in Turkey	32	16.09	17 females	

Data

(data from RUEG corpus: Wiese et al., 2020)

- 74,787 tokes
- 752 documents (individual narrations)
- Corpus is searchable via https://korpling.org/annis3c=rueg

ACC makes definite specific readings

O ara **polis-i**, *yani* **siz-i**, *ara-mış*
that moment police-**ACC**, DISC 3PL-**ACC** call-EV.PST.PRF
ol-du-lar.
make-PST.PRF-PL

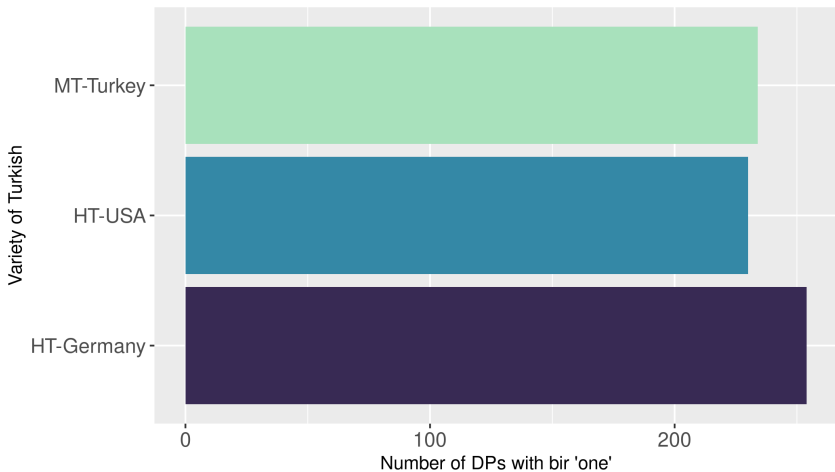'Then, they have called the police ... so you. (DEbi04MT_fsT)'

Introduction
00000

About Turkish
000

Study
00000

Methods
000

Results
0●00000000

Discussion
00000

Distribution of ACC
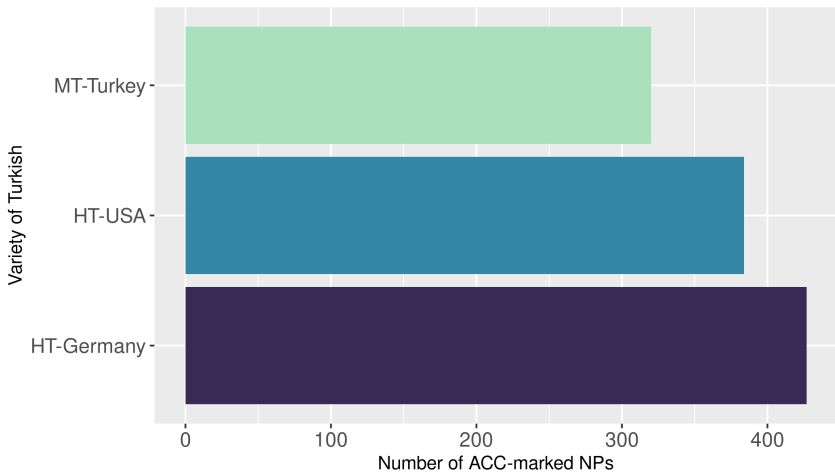
BİR 'one / a' makes indefinite (non-)specific readings

Bir   *araba*   *gel-iyor-du.*
ART.NDEF   car   come-PROG-PST

'A car was coming. (USbi85MT_iwT)'

Introduction
ooooo

About Turkish
ooo

Study
ooooo

Methods
ooo

Results
oooo●ooooo

Discussion
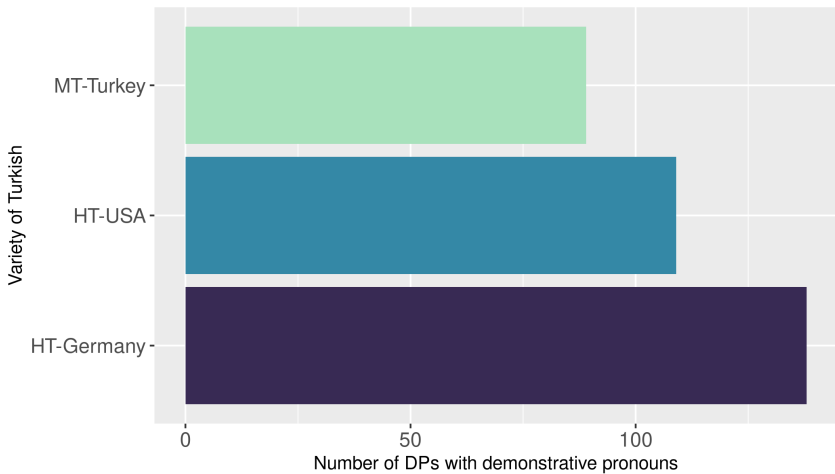ooooo

Distribution of BİR 'one / a'

Demonstrative pronouns

Şu   an   polis gel-iyor.
that   moment   car   come-PROG

'The police are coming right now. (DEbi11FT_isT)'

Introduction
○○○○○

About Turkish
○○○

Study
○○○○○

Methods
○○○

Results
○○○○○○●○○○

Discussion
○○○○○

Distribution of demonstrative pronouns

Indefinite pronouns

Çünkü	*bazı*	*gıda-sı*	*yer-e*	*düş-tü.*
because	some	grocery-POSS	ground-DAT	fall-PST.PRF

'Because some of her groceries fell on the ground. (USbi16MT_fwT)'

Indefinite pronouns

Çünkü   bazı   gıda-sı   yer-e   düş-tü.
because some grocery-POSS   ground-DAT   fall-PST.PRF

'Because some of her groceries fell on the ground. (USbi16MT_fwT)'

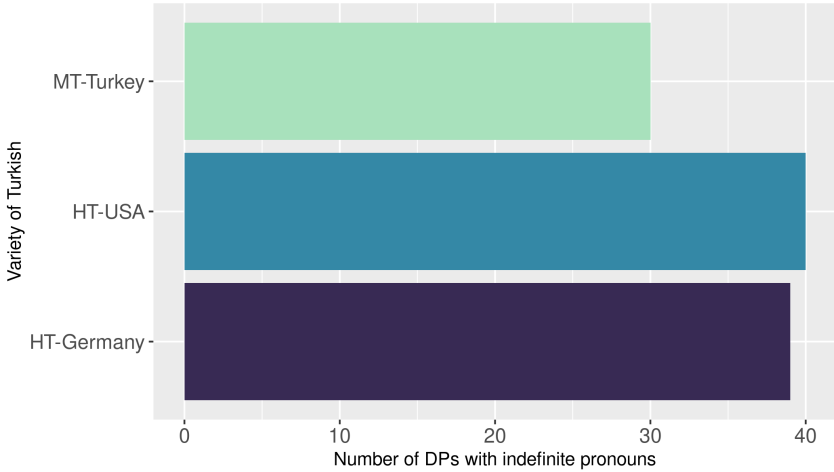- What kind of reading is this? (indefinite/definite + specific/non-specific)

Introduction
00000

About Turkish
000

Study
00000

Methods
000

Results
000000●00

Discussion
00000

Indefinite pronouns

Çünkü   bazı   gıda-sı   yer-e   düş-tü.
because some grocery-POSS ground-DAT fall-PST.PRF

'Because some of her groceries fell on the ground. (USbi16MT_fwT)'

- What kind of reading is this? (indefinite/definite + specific/non-specific)
- Indefinite specific

Introduction
○○○○○

About Turkish
○○○

Study
○○○○○

Methods
○○○

Results
○○○○○○○●○

Discussion
○○○○○

Distribution of indefinite pronouns

Introduction
00000

About Turkish
000

Study
00000

Methods
000

Results
00000000●

Discussion
00000

Interim summary

- Wider use off ACC by heritage speakers

Interim summary

- Wider use off ACC by heritage speakers
- Same level of indefinite article use

Interim summary

- Wider use off ACC by heritage speakers
- Same level of indefinite article use
- ALSO wider use of indefinite and demonstrative pronouns

Introduction
00000
About Turkish
000
Study
00000
Methods
000
Results
000000000●
Discussion
00000

Interim summary

- Wider use off ACC by heritage speakers
- Same level of indefinite article use
- ALSO wider use of indefinite and demonstrative pronouns

Preliminary take-away

Heritage Turkishes yield more interaction with definiteness, but it is, as of know, unclear why.

Limitations

- Ratio of definiteness category by total NPs
- Non-targeted elicitation task
- Broad corpus searches (instead of narrow ones)

Revisiting: Felser and Arslan, 2019

- 'Inappropriate choice of definites in Turkish heritage speakers of German'

Revisiting: Felser and Arslan, 2019

- 'Inappropriate choice of definites in Turkish heritage speakers of German'
- Yesterday, I bought books.

Revisiting: Felser and Arslan, 2019

- 'Inappropriate choice of definites in Turkish heritage speakers of German'
- Yesterday, I bought books.
- Today, I read _ _ _ book.

Revisiting: Felser and Arslan, 2019

- 'Inappropriate choice of definites in Turkish heritage speakers of German'
- Yesterday, I bought books.
- Today, I read _ _ _ book.
- Target: a book
- Inappropriate: the book (more widely used in heritage Turkish)

Introduction
00000
About Turkish
000
Study
00000
Methods
000
Results
000000000
Discussion
0●000

Revisiting: Felser and Arslan, 2019

- 'Inappropriate choice of definites in Turkish heritage speakers of German'
- Yesterday, I bought books.
- Today, I read _ _ _book.
- Target: a book
- Inappropriate: the book (more widely used in heritage Turkish)

Is it inappropriate, or is it strategic?

Explanation: For heritage speakers of Turkish in Germany, ACC interacts with definiteness more than any other category. Thus it receives wider application.

Introduction
○○○○○

About Turkish
○○○

Study
○○○○○

Methods
○○○

Results
○○○○○○○○○

Discussion
○○●○○

Revisiting: Felser and Arslan, 2019 (cont.)
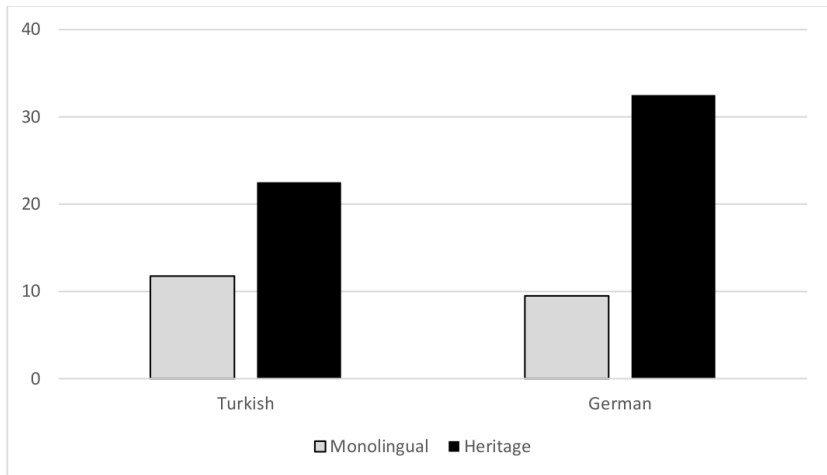
Figure 4: Percentage of 'inappropriate' choices of definites

Next steps

- Revisit Von Heusinger and Kornfilt, 2005
- Carefully check annotations
- Embed in theoretical framework (which one?)
- Experimentally test claims

Next steps

- Revisit Von Heusinger and Kornfilt, 2005
- Carefully check annotations
- Embed in theoretical framework (which one?)
- Experimentally test claims
- Write it up ...

To be continued . . .

- Definiteness in heritage languages caught your interest?

Introduction
ooooo

About Turkish
ooo

Study
ooooo

Methods
ooo

Results
ooooooooo

Discussion
ooooo●

To be continued . . .

- Definiteness in heritage languages caught your interest?
- Full manuscript expected in April 2022:
  Definitely fewer determiners: (In)definiteness in heritage Greek, Russian and Turkish in Germany and the US

Teşekkür ederim!

Onur is on Twitter @_Onurunki

click to see Onur's Google Scholar

References I

Aguilar-Guevara, A., Pozas Loyo, J., & Vázquez-Rojas Maldonado, V. (2019). *Definiteness across languages*. Language Science Press.

Cindark, I., & Aslan, S. (2004). *Deutschlandtürkisch?* Ms. Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache.

Dryer, M. (2014). Competing methods for uncovering linguistic diversity : The case of definite and indefinite articles 1.

Felser, C., & Arslan, S. (2019). Inappropriate choice of definites in turkish heritage speakers of german. *Heritage Language Journal, 16*(1), 22–43.

Göksel, A., & Kerslake, C. (2005). Third reprint 2010. *Turkish, a comprehensive grammar*.

Johanson, L. (1988). Zur Entwicklung türkeitürkischer Varietäten in Nordwesteuropa. *Turkish in North-West Europe Newsletter, 1*(1), 3–8.

References II

Kornfilt, J. (1997). Turkish grammar.

Kornfilt, J. (2013). *Turkish*. Routledge.

Le Bruyn, B. (2019). Definiteness across languages and in L2 acquisition. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3265953

Leeman, J., & King, K. A. (2014). Heritage language education: Minority language speakers, second language instruction, and monolingual schooling. In M. Bigelow & J. Ennser-Kananen (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Educational Linguistics* (pp. 232–245). Routledge.

Lohndal, T., Rothman, J., Kupisch, T., & Westergaard, M. (2019). Heritage language acquisition: What it reveals and why it is important for formal linguistic theories [e12357 LNCO-0666.R3]. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, *13*(12), e12357. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/lnc3.12357

References III

📄 Rainer, F. (2016). Blocking. *Oxford research encyclopedia of linguistics*.

📄 Schroeder, C. (2020). Gibt es ein deutschland-türkisch? https://talks.stuts.de/de/stuts68/public/events/396

📄 Sharma, R. N. (2010). Rule interaction, blocking and derivation in pāṇini. *International Sanskrit Computational Linguistics Symposium*, 1–20.

📄 Trudgill, P. (2020). Sociolinguistic typology and the speed of linguistic change: *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*, *6*(2), 20190015. https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/jhsl-2019-0015

📄 van Schaaik, G. (2020). *The Oxford Turkish Grammar*. Oxford University Press.

📄 Von Heusinger, K., & Kornfilt, J. (2005). The case of the direct object in turkish: Semantics, syntax and morphology. *Turkic languages*, *9*, 3–44.

References IV

📄 Wiese, H. (2020). Language situations: A method for capturing variation within speakers' repertoires. *Methods in Dialectology, 16.*

📄 Wiese, H., Alexiadou, A., Allen, S., Bunk, O., Gagarina, N., Iefremenko, K., Jahns, E., Klotz, M., Krause, T., Labrenz, A., Lüdeling, A., Martynova, M., Neuhaus, K., Pashkova, T., Rizou, V., Tracy, R., Schroeder, C., Szucsich, L., Tsehaye, W., . . . Zuban, Y. (2020). RUEG Corpus. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3765218

Goats of Berlin

Goats of Berlin (cont.)

Goats of Berlin (cont.)

Goats of Berlin (cont.)

Goats of Berlin (cont.)

Goats?