



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of English Linguistics

**REFERENCE TRACKING IN CHILDREN'S STORY BOOKS IN
TURKISH**

Ali AYDOĞAN

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2022

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To my family, Burcu and Kerem

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ABSTRACT

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This study investigates the reference tracking strategies used in children's story books in Turkish and aims to find out how referring expressions – noun phrases, overt pronouns and zero pronouns – in subject position are used in Turkish written discourse and to see how the pro-drop feature of Turkish language affects these strategies. In order to achieve these goals a sample of two hundred story books which described themselves as suitable for 0 to 7 years old children are compiled. The sentences used in these books are divided into subjects and predicates. Then, the referring expressions which are the subjects of the sentences are coded as Introduction, Maintenance and Re-Introduction depending on their referential context following the local coreference approach by Hickman and Hendriks (1999). For more solid results, introduction contexts are excluded. The referring expressions used in Maintenance and Re-Introduction contexts are counted by hand and analyzed using a non-parametric test, namely the Mann-Whitney U. The findings of the study revealed that the Re-Introduction contexts contain more noun phrases (82%) than overt or zero pronouns whereas the Maintenance contexts contain more zero pronouns (82%) than overt pronouns and noun phrases. The statistical analyses show that the difference between referential contexts and referring expressions is significant. Another finding of the study is the frequent use of possessive structures. All these results suggest that the pro-drop feature of Turkish has a significant effect on the use of referring expressions used in the books analysed.

Keywords

Discourse, reference tracking, null subjects, overt pronouns, pro-drop languages, Turkish

ÖZET

AYDOĞAN, Ali. *Türkçe Çocuk Hikaye Kitaplarında Gönderim İzleme*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2022.

Bu çalışma, Türkçe çocuk öykü kitaplarında kullanılan gönderim izleme stratejilerini araştırarak, özne konumundaki gönderim yapılarının – ad öbekleri, açık ve boş adılar - Türkçe yazılı söylemde nasıl kullanıldığını ve bu kullanımın Türkçenin özne düşürme özelliğini yansıtıp yansıtmadığını ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçlara ulaşmak için 0-7 yaş arası çocuklara uygun olarak etiketlenmiş iki yüz öykü kitabı örneğinden oluşan bir derlem meydana getirilmiştir. Hickman ve Hendriks'in (1999) yerel eşgönderim yaklaşımına dayalı olarak kitaplarda yer alan tümceler özne ve yüklemle ayrılmış ve özne işlevi üstlenen gönderim ifadeleri göndergesel bağlamlarına göre Giriş, Süreklilik ve Yeniden Giriş olarak kodlanmıştır. Daha belirgin bulgular elde edebilmek için Giriş bağlamları veri çözümlemesine dahil edilmemiştir. Süreklilik ve Yeniden Giriş bağlamlarında kullanılan gönderim ifadeleri sayılmış ve parametrik olmayan bir test olan Mann-Whitney U kullanılarak çözümlenmiştir. Çalışmanın bulguları, Yeniden Giriş bağlamının açık veya boş adılardan çok ad öbeği (%82) içerdiğini, Süreklilik bağlamının ise açık adıl ve ad öbeklerinden çok boş adıl (%82) içerdiğini ortaya koymuştur. İstatistiksel çözümler göndergesel bağlam ile gönderim ifadeleri arasındaki farkın önemli olduğunu göstermektedir. Çalışmanın bir diğer bulgusu da iyelik yapılarının sıklıkla kullanılmasıdır. Tüm bu sonuçlar, daha önce yapılan araştırmaları ve Türkçe'nin özne düşürmeli bir dil olduğunu desteklemektedir.

Keywords

Söylem, gönderim izleme, boş adılar, açık adılar, özne düşürmeli diller, Türkçe

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Accusative
AGR	Functional category agreement
COND	Conditional
DAT	Dative
DGS	German Sign Language
GEN	Genitive
I	Introduction
LOC	Locative
M	Maintenance
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
NSL	Null-Subject Language
NSP	Null Subject Parameter
PAST	Past
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present
PREs	People-Referring Expressions
PSN	Person
Q	Question
REP	Reported
RI	Re-Introduction
SG	Singular
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter starts with background to the study. Then statement of the problem, aim of the study and research questions are presented. Finally, limitations and outline of the study are given.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

One of the many things to consider when establishing a good discourse is using the appropriate referents to maintain coherence. This is crucial not only in conversation but also in narration. Speakers of every language use various linguistic devices to refer to people or things. For example, deictics can be used to show an object (e.g., *this/that* car), or that very object can be specified using a definite description (e.g., *the* car) (Debrelioska et al., 2013). Similarly, a person may be referred to by his/her name with a proper noun, a personal pronoun, which could be a subject or object pronoun, or depending on the properties of the language, with a zero pronoun. The choice of such expressions depends on many factors, including the presence or absence of the entity in the physical world or in the speaker's or addressee's minds (Chafe, 1994). If the referents are present in the real world, or are mentioned previously in a discourse, the linguistic forms to be used are generally less specified such as pronouns or null subjects. Therefore, in a situation where two people are standing next to a car, and one of them may say "*This is my new car.*", the other one tends to use a shortened form of referring expression by saying "*I like it.*" instead of using a fuller expression (*new car*), thereby s/he establishes a link to the previously mentioned referent. This whole phenomenon of tracking the referents in a discourse is generally referred to as reference tracking (Huang, 2012).

- (1) a. [Bir kadın] kapıda bekliyordu
 [A woman] was waiting in front of the door.
- b. [Bu kadın] mavi bir ceket giyiyordu.

[This woman] was wearing a blue jacket.

- c. Ø Elinde büyük bir kutu tutuyordu.

Ø (she) was holding a big box in her hands.

- d. Ø Beni görünce hızla uzaklaştı.

Ø (she) walked away when Ø (she) saw me.

The sentences above illustrate different forms of referents used in Turkish to introduce and maintain them. In sentence (1a), *bir kadın* ‘a woman’ is newly introduced into the context, and thus an indefinite noun phrase is used. In (1b), the referent *bu kadın* ‘this woman’ becomes familiar, so definite noun phrase is used. In (1c), the topic does not change, realizing the subject as ‘null subject’, where the subject is omitted. In (1d) the topic is still the same, and the null subject is used both in main clause and embedded clause. However, this is not the case in English as it requires overt subjects to be used in sentences similar to (1c) and (1d).

Since the linguistic devices used for referents vary across languages, there are numerous studies conducted so far, including sign languages, whose reference tracking mechanisms have been analysed in terms of their structure and discourse properties (Frederiksen & Mayberry, 2019; LaPolla, 2015; Nagaya, 2006).

There is a relevant classification of languages here: Pro-drop languages and non-pro-drop languages. Pro-drop languages have the following properties: missing subject, free inversion in simple sentences, long wh-movement of subject and empty resumptive pronouns in embedded clause. Non-pro-drop languages, on the other hand, are those that lack these properties (Chomsky, 1981). Therefore, whether a language is a pro-drop or non-pro-drop becomes important in reference tracking. In pro-drop languages, for example, once the referent is mentioned previously in a discourse, it can be re-introduced or maintained with zero pronoun later in the same discourse. Turkish, being a pro-drop language, offers the choice of overt or zero pronouns in a discourse (Enç,

1986). And the studies made in this field have tried to shed light on the nature of this language through both theoretical and empirical research (Azar & Özyürek, 2015; Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1986; Kornfilt 1997).

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The pro-drop feature of languages has been the centre of attention so far, and the question as to whether to use an overt or null subject in subsequent clauses in a discourse has driven the researchers to analyse different languages to find out the relation between nouns and their referents because languages vary in their referent-tracking systems and devices with diverse constraints. For example, Chinese (LaPolla, 2015), Tagalog (Nagaya, 2006), Japanese (Nariyama, 2001), German Sign Language (Perniss & Özyürek, 2015) and American Sign Language (Frederiksen & Mayberry, 2019) are among those which have been studied in terms of reference tracking. As for Turkish, preliminary studies focused more on theoretical background trying to explain the use of overt and zero pronoun (Enç, 1986; Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1986; Kerslake, 1987). More recent studies are more empirical which attempt to show how overt and zero pronouns are used (Azar & Özyürek, 2015; Çeltik, 2020; Aksu-Koç & Ögel-Balaban, 2020). However, most of these studies focused on spoken discourse, but written discourse has not received much attention in Turkish. Therefore, the focus of this study is written discourse in Turkish, namely children's books, in terms of reference tracking to fill the gap in this regard.

AIM OF THE STUDY

This study aims at examining the referring expressions in subject position, that is noun phrases, overt pronouns and zero pronouns, used in Turkish written discourse, namely, children's books. More specifically, it deals with the use of these expressions depending on distinct referential contexts. In addition, it attempts to find out whether pro-drop feature of Turkish language has a significant effect in the use of subject referring expressions in the children's books.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In parallel to the aims of the study stated above, the study tries to answer the following research questions:

- 1) Which referring expressions are used in children's story books in Turkish?
- 2) Does the use of referring expressions (NP, overt pronoun and zero pronoun) change based on the referential contexts (re-introduction and maintenance)?
- 3) Is the use of these referring expressions influenced by the pro-drop feature of Turkish?

LIMITATIONS

This study has some limitations. First, this study analyses NPs, overt pronouns and zero pronouns used only in subject position. Nominals and pronominals used in object positions, or the other pronouns such as demonstratives, reflexives or reciprocals are not included in this study. Another limitation is that since the referring expressions used only in subject position are taken into consideration, only Re-Introduction and Maintenance contexts are analysed, but Introduction and Switch contexts are disregarded. The study only covers the use of the referring expressions in children's story books. Therefore, other written texts are not analysed in the study which also limits the generalization of the findings. The other point is that the findings of the study do not present any information about spoken texts.

The number of the books analysed in the study is another limitation. The sample of the study is consisted of 200 children's books. Therefore, as mentioned above the results cannot be generalized to the whole written discourse in Turkish.

Lastly, the books chosen for this study are labelled as suitable to 0-7 years of age. Analysing books of different age groups and/or making contrastive analyses may yield different results.

OVERVIEW OF THE SECTIONS

This study consists of five chapters, each of which is briefly introduced below:

As this study focuses on the reference tracking devices used in a pro-drop language, the introduction chapter starts with brief information about reference tracking and the choice of overt and zero pronouns in a text is explicated briefly. Besides, statement of the problem and aim of the study are provided with research questions and limitations of the study.

In Chapter 1, some information about pronouns and general characteristics of them are given, with Turkish pronouns and their features after that. After this general introduction to pronouns, the concept of ‘null subject’ or ‘pro-drop’ is explained with examples from different languages. Following this, what reference tracking is and how it is seen in languages, including Turkish, are presented providing examples from previous studies.

Chapter 2 is allocated for the methodology of the study. Research method, data collection, and data analysis are provided here.

Chapter 3 is where the use of referring expressions (NPs, overt and zero pronouns) in different referential contexts (Re-Introduction and Maintenance) is analysed. The statistical analysis is provided and presented with the discussion of the findings.

Chapter 4 concludes this research providing answers to the research questions and suggestions for studies in the future.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter covers theoretical information and related studies to better understand reference tracking and null subject phenomenon. In this regard, first, null subjects are explained in general, and then pronouns in Turkish are given in detail, with their characteristics and agreement system. They are supported with relevant studies. Then the concept of reference tracking is explained together with related studies in Turkish and other languages.

1.1. NULL SUBJECTS

Languages differ as to whether to use overt or covert referents in discourse. And the question of whether a covert referent is used in a language has been the focus of researchers, dating back to Chomsky (1981), who put forward the idea that all languages require subjects in finite clauses, but whether to use them in surface structures may differ in languages. Following this, researchers have tried to explain how the subject position may be left empty.

Rizzi (1982) is among the first researchers who studied the Null Subject Parameter (NSP). He came up with two properties about null subject phenomenon, which can be seen in (1)

- (2) (a) INFL can be specified [+pronoun]
(b) INFL [+pronoun] can be referential.

With property (2a), Rizzi suggested that one language may differ from another depending on whether they allow null subjects (pro-drop) or not. As for (2b), he tried to find out whether these null-subject languages (NSLs) differ regarding the kinds of null-subjects, referential or non-referential, they allow. Wakabayashi (2002) provides a clear explanation by summarizing the features of null-subject (pro-drop) languages:

- i. Null subjects are allowed in pro-drop languages, but not in non-pro-drop languages.

(3) Ø uyudum.

sleep-PAST-1SG

‘*Slept’

Example (3) is from Turkish, which allows null subjects through agreement markers on the verb (first person singular suffix *-m* in the example), making it a pro-drop language. However, it does not apply to English, which requires overt subject as it lacks inflection on the verb for person. Therefore, English is said to be a non-pro-drop language.

- ii. Subject-verb inversion in declarative sentences is allowed in pro-drop languages, but not in non-pro-drop languages.

(4) a. Marco compró los regalos. a'. Compró Marco los regalos.
 b. Mark bought the gifts. B'. *Bought Mark the gifts.

(Ayoun, 2003:85)

Example (4) is from Spanish, where subject inversion is seen, but the same cannot be seen in English equivalent, thereby being ungrammatical.

- iii. *That*-trace sequences are allowed in pro-drop languages, but not in non-pro-drop languages.

(5) Quién Diji-ste que _____ sal-i-ó temprano?
 who say-2SG-PST that Leave-3SG-PST Early

‘*Who did you say that _____ left early?’

(Gilligan, 1987:74)

The example above is grammatical because Spanish allows *that* in embedded clauses to be left overt whereas English equivalent is not grammatical as *that* omission is not allowed in non-pro-drop languages (Perlmutter, 1971).

The abovementioned features about null subjects were opposed by Huang (1984) who rebutted the assertions made by Rizzi (1982). He proposed that in some NSLs it is not the agreement characteristics on the verb that license *pro*, but a syntactic method called ‘operator variable chain’ is. He called such languages ‘discourse pro-drop’ languages such as Japanese, Korean and Chinese, in which *pro* is inferred from the context. However, in pro-drop languages like Spanish and Italian, agreement on the verb reflects *pro*. The example below shows that Chinese is a discourse pro-drop language in which the referent is inferred from the context.

- (6) Speaker A Zhangsan kanjian Lisi le ma?
 Zhangsan see Lisi LE Q
 ‘Did Zhangsan see Lisi?’
- Speaker B Ø kanjian ta le.
 [He] see he LE
 ‘[He] saw him.’

(Huang, 1984:533)

Subsequent to these explanations put forward by Huang (1984), Rizzi (1986) updated his theory about NSP. According to him, the empty category *pro* must be not only identified but also licensed. Therefore, although languages may differ in how to identify *pro*, null subject languages require rich verbal inflections and discourse pro-drop languages require pragmatic information to identify *pro*.

Jaeggli and Safir (1989) brought up another proposal suggesting that null subjects are allowed only when a language is inflected uniformly, which is known as the Morphological Uniformity Principle. By ‘uniformity’, it is suggested that in order for the paradigm to be uniform, either all or none of the verb forms must be morphologically complex. If some forms are complex, but others are not, then it is not uniform.

(7)	To eat	Manger (French)	Comer (Spanish)
1 sg.	I eat	je mange	como
2 sg.	you eat	tu manges	comos
3 sg.	s/he eats	il/elle/on mange	come
1 pl.	we eat	nous mangeons	comemos
2 pl.	you eat	vouz mangez	comeis
3 pl.	they eat	ils/elles mangent	comen

(Ayoun, 2003, p. 82)

When English, French and Spanish examples are compared, it is seen that Spanish has a uniform system as the verb is marked uniformly. In other words, all verbal forms are distinct. Therefore, Spanish abides by this principle. However, English and French do not obey this principle, in that the third person singular verb form is distinct from the other forms in English whereas French does not meet the requirement that all forms be uniform, as the first and third person singular forms are identical.

(8)	tabe-ru	‘I / he / she / we / they will eat / eat’
	tabe-na-I (eat-neg-pres)	I / he / she / we / they will not eat / do (es) not eat’
	tabe-ta (eat-pst)	‘I / he / she / we / they ate / have eaten’ (perfective)
	tabe-na-katta (eat-neg-pst)	‘I / he / she / we / they did not eat’

(Ayoun, 2003, p. 82)

When the examples (8) from Japanese are examined, verbs do not bear agreement features, which shows that affixes do not reflect person-number distinction. Therefore, Japanese can be said to be morphologically uniform, conforming to the Morphological Uniformity Principle because the verbal forms this time are uniformly absent, that is they are not inflected either for person or for number. This is in accordance with the proposal made by Jaeggli and Safir (1989) that both syntactic agreement features, as in Spanish, and a null discourse topic, as in Japanese, allow null subjects to be used in a language.

However, this principle, as Ayoun (2003) argues, is unable to explain why German and Icelandic, which are languages inflected uniformly, do not conform to the principle. German has rich inflectional system, but null subjects are not allowed by its verbal paradigm as seen in the example (9). Hebrew is another uniformly inflected language allowing null subjects in first and second person, but not in third person (Berman, 1990).

(9)	English	German
Infinitive	hear	hören
Imperative – sg./pl.	hear/hear	hör/hört
Participles – pres./past	hearing/heard	hörend/gehört
Present – 1sg.	I hear	ich höre
2sg.	you hear	du hörst
3sg.	s/he hears	er hört
1pl.	we hear	wir hören
2pl.	you hear	ihr hört
3pl.	they hear	sie hören

(Ayoun, 2003, p. 83)

1.2. NOUN PHRASES IN TURKISH

Noun phrases are constituents with a noun as last word, and with case markers in syntactic contexts where overt case is assigned. They may function as complements of verbs and of postpositions (Kornfilt, 1997:105).

(10) **Yeni komşuları** tanımıyordum.

‘I didn’t know **the new neighbours**.

(Göksel & Kerslake, 2005:144)

(11) O sırada **lise öğrencisiydik**.

‘We were **high school students** at the time.’

(Göksel & Kerslake, 2005:144)

Sentences (10) and (11) above are examples of noun phrases functioning as complements. Sentence (10) is an example of an object and (11) is a subject complement. Sentence (12) below is a complement of a postposition:

(12) Bunları [**Amerika’nın dış politikasını daha iyi anlamak isteyenler**] için yazıyorum.

‘I’m writing all this [**for people who want to understand American foreign policy better**].’

(Göksel & Kerslake, 2005:144)

A noun phrase consists of a head, which is the obligatory constituent, and modifiers, which are rather optional. There is a variety of noun phrases in Turkish with varying complexity (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005).

- (13) **oda**
‘the *room*’
- (14) büyük bir **oda**
‘a large *room*’
- (15) [Mustafa’nın çalışma odası olarak kullandığı] **oda**
‘*the room* that Mustafa uses as a study’

(Göksel & Kerslake, 2005:145)

Examples (13) – (15) show how complex a noun phrase can be in Turkish. However, no matter how complex it is, the head in a noun phrase follows the modifiers. And it is the head where inflectional suffixes are added (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005).

- (16) [Bu kattaki en güzel oda-**lar-ımız**]-ı size ayırdık.

room-PL.1PL.POSS.ACC

‘We’ve given you [our best rooms on this floor].’

(Göksel & Kerslake, 2005:145)

In example (16) above, the head of the noun phrase is *oda* ‘the room’. It is seen that possessive and accusative suffixes are added to the head noun, which applies to the entire noun phrase.

There are three types of word classes that can be used as the head of a noun phrase in Turkish. These are nouns, noun compounds and pronouns, some examples of which are given below:

- i. Nouns:
 - a. Common nouns: *kadın* (woman), *altın* (gold), *coğrafya* (geography)
 - b. Proper nouns: *Ali*, *Ankara*, *Kanada*
- ii. Noun compounds:

- a. Bare compounds: *erkek çocuk* (male boy), *ahşap çatı* (wooden roof)
- b. *-(s)I* compound: *trafik cezası* (traffic penalty), *Türk ordusu* (Turkish army)
- iii. Pronouns:
ben (I), *şu* (that), *burası* (this (place)), *hangisi* (which (one)), *diğeri* (the other (one)).

Among these word classes, pronouns are different from nouns and noun compounds in that they are rarely used with modifiers (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005).

As for the modifiers used in noun phrases, there are many types that occur in noun phrases such as adjective, relative clause, possessive adjective, article, demonstrative adjective, and quantifiers (Kornfilt, 1997), all of which are presented and exemplified below:

Adjectives are the most common modifiers of nouns:

- (17) *güzel kadın*
beautiful woman
'the beautiful woman'

(Kornfilt, 1997:105)

Relative clauses are another common type of modifiers that are used in noun phrases:

- (18) [*iş -in -e gid -en kadın*]
work -3SG .DAT go .SBJP woman
'the woman who is going to work'

(Kornfilt, 1997:105)

Possessive adjectives are formed with the suffix -li added to nouns, and have three main meanings (Kornfilt, 1997):

i. 'possessing the object or quality indicated by the stem':

(19) akıl 'intelligence' akıl -lı 'possessing intelligence; intelligent'

resim 'picture' resim -li 'possessing pictures; illustrated'

ii. 'possessing the object or quality indicated by the stem to a high degree':

(20) hız 'speed' hız -lı 'having high speed; rapid'

yaş 'age' yaş -lı 'having a high age; old'

iii. 'belonging to a place or institution':

(21) Ankara 'Ankara' Ankara -lı 'person living in Ankara'

üniversite 'university' üniversite -li 'university student'

(Kornfilt, 1997:106)

Article is another type of modifier used in noun phrases. In Turkish, there is no definite article, but there is an indefinite article *bir* 'a', which is the same word as the numeral that means 'one'. However, the place where the article is used differs from the numerical, in that all the adjectives in the noun phrase precede the article, and it is used immediately before the noun, whereas the numeral is phrase-initial (Kornfilt, 1997):

(22) **bir** güzel, olgun elma

one nice ripe apple

'one nice ripe apple'

- (23) güzel, olgun **bir** elma
 nice ripe **an** apple
 ‘a nice ripe apple’

(Kornfilt, 1997:106)

As seen in examples above, in (22) *bir* is used as numeral ‘one’, but in (23) it is used as indefinite article ‘a(n)’.

Demonstratives in Turkish have three levels of distinction:

- (24) bu ‘this’ (close to the speaker)
 şu ‘that’ (further away from the speaker)
 o ‘that’, ‘yonder’ (furthest from the speaker)

(Kornfilt, 1997:106)

Quantifiers and numerals in Turkish are followed by the noun when they are used as modifiers, exemplified in (24) and (25), but they follow the noun when they are used in partitive constructions, exemplified in (26) and (27) (Kornfilt, 1997):

- (25) **üç** elma
three apple
 ‘three apples’

(26) **bazı** elma-lar
some apple.PL
 ‘some apples’

(27) elma-lar-ın **üç-ü**
 apple.PL.GEN. **three.3SG**
 ‘three of the apples’

(28) elma-lar-ın **bazı-lar-ı**
 apple.PL.GEN. **some.PL.3SG**
 ‘some of the apples’

1.2.1. Possessives

Possessive suffixes in Turkish are given in Table 6 below:

Table 1

Possessive suffixes in Turkish

1 st person singular	-(<i>I</i>) <i>m</i>	ev – im	‘my house’
2 nd person singular	-(<i>I</i>) <i>n</i> (familiar)	ev – in	‘your house’ (familiar)
	-(<i>I</i>) <i>nIz</i> (formal)	ev – iniz	‘your house’ (formal)
3 rd person singular	-(<i>s</i>) <i>I</i> (<i>n</i>)	ev – i	‘his, her, their house’
1 st person plural	-(<i>I</i>) <i>mIz</i>	ev – imiz	‘our house’
2 nd person plural	-(<i>I</i>) <i>nIz</i>	ev – iniz	‘your house’
3 rd person plural	- <i>lArI</i> (<i>n</i>)	ev – leri	‘their house(s)’

(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005)

As can be seen, possessive suffixes are applied to six grammatical persons, and a possessive suffix on a noun phrase is considered to denote a person or thing that is possessed. The only exception is when 3rd person suffix functions as a compound marker or pronominalizer (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005).

(29) Arkadaş-lar-**ınız** ne zaman gidecekler?

friend-PL-**2PL.POSS**

‘When are *your* friends going to leave?’

(30) Ahmet oda-**sın-ı** arıyordu. numara-**sı** akl-**ın**-da kalmamıştı.

room-**3SG.POSS-ACC** number-**3SG.POSS** mind-**3SG.POSS-LOC**

‘Ahmet was looking for *his* room. *Its* number was no longer in *his* head.’

(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005;152)

When the identity of the possessor needs to be highlighted or explicit, a possessive noun phrase, or in other words a genitive-possessive construction might be used. Such constructions are formed by adding genitive case marker to the possessor, making the possessed constituent the head of the construction. The relationship between the possessor and possessed in such constructions may indicate true ownership or metaphorical one. (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 1997).

(31) (Ben) Emre-**nin** kalem-**in-i** al-dı-m

I Emre-**GEN** pencil-**3SG.ACC** take.PAST.1SG

‘I took Emre’s pencil.’

- (32) (Sen) biz-**im** araba-**mız-ı** gör-dü-n mü?
 You we.**GEN** car-**1PL.ACC** see.PAST.2SG -Q
 ‘Have you seen our car?’

As can be seen in the sentences above, the possessed element, or the head, in genitive-possessive constructions (kalem and araba) can be suffixed with case marking (accusative case in current examples).

1.2.2. Noun Phrases in Subject Position

Turkish is an SOV language, but it is flexible, depending on discourse factors. The word order of a simple clause can be structured in six distinct ways for pragmatic reasons, because grammatical relations are signalled morphologically (Özcan, 1993), as given in sentences below:

- (33) Çocuk kedi-yi koval-ıyor.
 child cat.ACC chase.PROG.3SG
 ‘The child is chasing the cat.’

- (34) Kedi-yi çocuk koval-ıyor.
 cat.ACC child chase.PROG.3SG
 ‘The child is chasing the cat.’

- (35) Çocuk koval-ıyor kedi-yi.
 child chase.PROG.3SG cat.ACC
 ‘The child is chasing the cat.’

- (36) Kedi-yi koval-ıyo çocuk.
 cat.ACC chase.PROG.3SG child
 ‘The child is chasing the cat.’

(37) Koval-ıyör kedi-yi çocuk.
 chase.PROG.3SG cat.ACC child
 ‘The child is chasing the cat.’

(38) Koval-ıyör çocuk kedi-yi.
 chase.PROG.3SG child cat.ACC
 ‘The child is chasing the cat.’

(Özcan, 1993:61)

Apart from pragmatic reasons, word order can also be influenced by discourse functions such as topic, comment and focus, the distinction of which can be made by word order where comment follows topic. Focus, on the other hand, is emphasized in the comment specifically (Özcan, 1993).

Turkish nouns are divided into three uses: generic, which do not refer to any particular class or member of the class, definite, which is identifiable to the hearer, and indefinite, where the referent is not known or mentioned first time in a context (Özcan, 1993). Dede (1986) mentions another use of nouns, which is a non-definite full NP, where a specific referent is identifiable in the speaker’s mind, whose main aim is to convey the class membership of the referent. The speaker does not want to talk about this referent in the upcoming discourse.

In addition to definiteness and indefiniteness, there is also a semantic feature of an NP that is important in discourse, which is the referentiality. The main concern of referentiality and nonreferentiality is the relation between the NP and the occurrence of the referent in the linguistic context (Dede, 1986:149). In parallel to this, Dede (1986) mentions six statuses of subject and object NPs in Turkish verbal sentences:

- a. definite – referential
- b. definite – nonreferential

- c. indefinite - referential
- d. indefinite – nonreferential
- e. nondefinite – referential
- f. nondefinite - nonreferential

As Turkish does not mark referential and nonreferential statuses, and definite and indefinite statuses – with the exception of definite direct object – overtly, it makes use of certain discourse strategies such as word order, using deictics and possessives and its case system (Dede, 1986).

In nonmodal settings, subject NPs that are used with possessives and deictics have a definite and referential interpretation.

- (39) Şu öğrenci sen-i bekli-yor
 that student you.ACC wait.PROG.
 ‘That student is waiting for you.’

- (40) Arkadaş-ın sen-i bekli-yor
 friend.2SG.POSS you.ACC wait.PROG.
 ‘Your friend is waiting for you.’

(Dede, 1986:150)

However, if the possessive construction follows *bir* ‘a, one’, the subject NP will have an indefinite but still referential status (Dede, 1986).

- (41) Bir arkadaş-ın sen-i bekli-yor
 A friend.2SG.POSS you.ACC wait.PROG.
 ‘A friend of yours is waiting for you.’

Sentences (40) and (41) show that when *bir* ‘a’ comes before possessive subject NP, it shows indefiniteness, while a possessive NP without it has definite status.

The status of definite is not marked overtly in subject position except for the full NPs in genitive case.

- (42) Otobüs çoktan git-miş-ti.
 bus already go.PAST.PAST.3SG
 ‘The bus has already gone.’

(Özcan, 1993:71)

As the example (42) indicates, the subject NP *otobüs* ‘bus’ is in nominative case, which is not overtly marked in Turkish, but the NP is definite here.

Unless the subject NP is marked by any other case such as accusative, dative, locative or ablative, genitive case marker shows definiteness of the NP.

- (43) Öğrenci-nin kitab-ı bul-un-muş.
 Student.GEN book.POSS find.PASS.PAST
 ‘The student’s book has been found.’

(Özcan, 1993:71)

1.3. PRONOUNS IN TURKISH

1.3.1. General Characteristics of Turkish Personal Pronouns

In Turkish, overt simple personal pronouns are given in Table 1. Apart from these pronouns, reciprocals *birbir-* (*each other, one another*) (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005) and *kendi* (*self*) are also regarded as pronominals functioning as subject pronouns (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Lewis, 2000; Özsoy, 1987)

Table 2

Personal Pronouns in Turkish

Ben	<i>I</i>	Biz	<i>We</i>
Sen	<i>You – SING.</i>	Siz	<i>You – PL.</i>
O	<i>He/She/It</i>	Onlar	<i>They</i>

Some of these overt pronouns may bear other meanings as well. *Biz*, for example, first person plural form, can be used as first person singular when the speaker wants to be humble in very formal situations, or when s/he wants to be ironic:

- (44) Efendim, **biz** sizin kadar bilemeyiz bu konuları tabii ki.
 ‘Naturally, **I** cannot know these subjects as well as you [do].’

(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005)

Sen ‘you’ is normally used when the speakers are very close to each other, or they know each other very well. However, people who generally address each other as *sen* may call each other *siz* ‘you’ in formal occasions. Older people tend to address younger people as *sen*. Also, someone who is of higher rank or status uses *sen* when they address people of lower rank or status. The functions of *siz*, as Göksel and Kerslake (2005) state, are given below:

- i. To indicate the plurality of the 2nd person (i.e. ‘you both/all’)
- ii. When addressing a person with whom one is on formal terms (in which case both parties normally address each other as *siz*).
- iii. When one is addressing a person who is taken to be of higher rank or status.

As an example, they provide the following question:

- (45) **Siz** şu sıralarda sinemaya gittiniz mi?
 (a) ‘Have *you* (*both/all*) been to the cinema lately?’
 (b) ‘Have *you* (=formal, singular) been to the cinema lately?’

Accordingly, Lewis (2000) states that plural forms can be used for a single second or third person to show respect, and that the use of first plural instead of first singular is a mark of modesty.

Biz (we) and *siz (you)*, although they are first and second person plural pronouns, can be used with an additional plurality suffix in some situations. Göksel and Kerslake (2005) explain and exemplify these situations as follows:

- i. Where the speaker wishes to individuate the members of a group, especially in cases where the speaker wants to indicate that the action was carried out, or the event experienced, individually, not as a group:

(46) **Bizler** kırık not alınca çok üzülürdük.

‘We (each of us) would be sad when *we* (each of us) got a bad mark.’

- ii. For referring to multiple groups of persons:

(47) **Sizler, Ankara’lı ve İstanbul’lular**, Türkiye’nin geri kalanını tanımıyorsunuz.

‘*You, people from Ankara and Istanbul*, don’t know the rest of Turkey.’

- iii. When talking to a person with whom one uses the formal *siz (you)*, to indicate that one is referring to a group that that person belongs to (e.g. his/her family or friends, etc.), and not to that person alone:

(48) **Sizler** nasılsınız?

‘How are you (*both/all*)?’

Lewis (2000) summarizes the plural form of *biz (we)* and *siz (you)* as colloquial.

Third person singular pronoun *O (he/she/it)* can be used as a demonstrative as well as a personal pronoun, which does not specify or differentiate gender similar to other personal pronouns in Turkish. Therefore, gender-inclusive pronouns such as *egli/ella* in Italian, or *él/ella* in Spanish, or *he/she* in English correspond to one single pronoun *O* in Turkish.

Case marking in Turkish personal pronouns can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 3

Case Marking in Turkish

Case	First		Second		Third	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Absolute	ben	biz	sen	siz	O	onlar
Accusative	beni	bizi	seni	sizi	Onu	onları
Genitive	benim	bizim	senin	sizin	Onun	onların
Dative	bana	bize	sana	size	Ona	onlara
Locative	bende	bizde	sende	sizde	Onda	onlarda
Ablative	benden	bizden	senden	sizden	Ondan	onlardan

In Table 3 above, it is seen that there are some irregularities. When the first and second person dative forms are analysed, the vowel in the stem ‘e’ turns into ‘a’: *ben - bana* ‘to me’ and *sen - sana* ‘to you’. The third person singular pronoun is also irregular, in that a mediation of consonant ‘n’ is attached between *o* (*he/she/it*) and the case markers and the plural suffix: *o – ondan* ‘from him/her/it’, *o – onlar* ‘they’ (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005).

The other pronominals, reciprocals *birbir-* (*each other*) and *kendi* (*-self*), accepted as subject pronouns, are also inflected for person. In Turkish, it is necessary for the reciprocal *birbir-*, meaning each other or one another, to be inflected for person as seen in (49).

- (49) *Birbir-imiz* First person plural ‘our each other’
Birbir-iniz Second person plural ‘your each other’
Birbir-i/birbir-leri Third person plural ‘their each other’

(Göksel & Kerslake, 2005)

Inflection for case can be applied to reciprocals as well. However, they must follow inflections for person, e.g. *birbirinizi* (second person plural accusative), *birbirimizden* (first person plural ablative). In addition, in the third person structures, an ‘n’ comes before case inflection, e.g. *birbirinden* (third person plural ablative), *birbirlerine* (third person plural dative). Similarly, inflection for person is applied to *kendi* (-self), together with plurality possession suffixes (Table 3) and inflection for case is further added to these forms, with ‘n’ appearing before case inflection in third person forms, as seen in reciprocal *birbir-* (each other), e.g. *kendine/kendi-sine* ‘to him/her(self)’, *kendilerinde* ‘on them(selves)’. The inflection of the reflexive pronoun *kendi* (-self) is given as follows:

Table 4

Inflection of *kendi* (-self)

<i>kendim</i> <i>myself</i>	First person singular	<i>Kendimiz</i> <i>ourselves</i>	First person plural
<i>kendin</i> <i>yourself</i>	Second person singular (familiar)	<i>kendiniz</i> <i>yourselves</i> <i>yourself</i>	Second person plural or formal singular
<i>kendi(si)</i> <i>himself/herself/itself</i>	Third person singular	<i>kendileri</i> <i>themselves</i>	Third person plural

(Göksel & Kerslake, 2005: 233)

As seen in Table 4 above, the pronoun *kendi* (-self) in Turkish is inflected for person, where it is used with possessive suffixes. All the markers are obligatory except for third person singular marker *-(s)I*, which is rarely used (Kornfilt, 1997).

1.3.2. Pronoun System and Agreement in Turkish

In Turkish subject position in a sentence can be left empty. Since it is a morphologically rich language, subject referents can be understood from the verbal inflections. Özsoy (2001) mentions two types of agreement morphology in Turkish: verbal and nominal, which can be seen in the table below:

Table 5

Agreement morphology in Turkish

verbal	singular	plural	nominal	singular	plural
1	-m	-k		-(y)Im	-Iz
2	-n	-nIz		-sIn	-sInIz
3	-	(-lAr)		-	(-lAr)

By nominal, the agreement is meant to be between subject and the noun head, and between the subject and the predicate of nominalized complement clauses (Özsoy, 2001).

Good and Yu (2000) talk about two paradigms about subject pronominal inflection in Turkish, called *k-paradigm* and *z-paradigm*, which are named after the first person plural forms in the paradigm (Table 6):

Table 6

Pronominal agreement markers in Turkish

	<i>k-paradigm</i>		<i>z-paradigm</i>	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
<i>1st</i>	-m	-k	-(y)Im	-(y)Iz
<i>2nd</i>	-n	-nIz	-sIn	-sInIz
<i>3rd</i>	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø

k-paradigm can only be used in past (50a) or conditional suffixes (50b) whereas *z*-paradigm can be used in any other verbal and non-verbal predicates (51).

(50)	a.	dön-dü- m	b.	dön-se- m
		dön-dü- n		dön-se- n
		dön-dü- Ø		dön-se- Ø
		dön-dü- k		dön-se- k
		dön-dü- nüz		dön-se- niz
		dön-dü- Ø		dön-se- Ø
		turn-PAST-PSN		turn-COND-PSN

(Good & Yu, 2000)

(51)	a.	gid-iyor- uz	‘we are going’	*gid-iyor- k
	b.	adam- ız	‘we are men’	*adam- k
	c.	iyi- yiz	‘we are fine’	*iyi- k
	d.	*git-ti- yiz	‘we went’	git-ti- k

(Good & Yu, 2000)

In the examples above (51), different types of predicates that *z*-paradigm markers are attached to can be seen. Examples (a-c) show that *k*-paradigm markers make the sentence ungrammatical. Similarly, (51d) is an example to show that *z*-paradigm forms cannot be applied to simple past tense verb, where only *k*-paradigm ending can be applied.

As Göksel and Kerslake (2005) states, the 3rd person pronouns *o(nun)* (*sing.*) and *onlar(in)* (*pl.*) aren't used nearly as often to signify a grammatical subject or a genitive-marked modifier as *ben(im)* (*my*), *sen(in)* (*your*), *biz(im)* (*our*), and *siz(in)* (*your – pl.*). This is because the only noun phrase that can be used to refer to the speaker (and any related persons) and the hearer(s) (and any associated people) in any given speech circumstance is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun. In the case of a 3rd person referent,

however, a personal pronoun is frequently insufficient, necessitating the use of a more explicit noun phrase (such as Mehmet or *şu büyük ağaç* 'that large tree'). Only when an indisputably recognizable referent is present can *o* (*he/she/it*) or *onlar* (*they*) be used. This is almost always as a result of a previous mention:

(52) Bugün Zeliha ve Hakan'la karşılaştım. Onlar taşıyorlarmış.

'Today, I ran into Zeliha and Hakan. It seems *they're* moving.'

Göksel and Kerslake (2005:240)

Kornfilt (1997) states that the subject is the sole element in the sentence that is marked on the verb, and this is done via agreement morphology. Similarly, the possessor is marked on the head noun within noun phrases, using agreement morphology. Subjects and possessors can be omitted under the same criteria as any other constituent (i.e. discourse utterance and/or pragmatic antecedence), but they can also be eliminated with greater ease. Therefore, even if an antecedent has not been mentioned previously, a dialogue may start with a sentence without an overt subject, or a noun phrase without overt possessors:

(53) Ø Ø kız-ların-ı Ankara-ya yolla-mış-lar
 Ø Ø daughter.3PL.ACC Ankara.DAT send.REP.PAST.3PL

'They supposedly sent their daughter to Ankara'

Kornfilt (1997:129)

In the sentence above, the reference word 'they' can be understood as long as it is clarified in previous discourse or by pragmatic situation. Otherwise, it would be unclear who it refers to. However, it is still obvious that the subject of the sentence and the possessor of the direct object are understood as the third person plural 'they'. But it is not the case when it is the object of the sentence:

- (54) *komşu-lar Ø Ankara-ya yolla-mış-lar
neighbour.PL Ø Ankara.DAT send.REP.PAST.3PL
- ‘*The neighbours supposedly sent to Ankara.’

Kornfilt (1997:129)

It is not possible to start a dialogue with (54) unless the referent of the direct object is mentioned previously in discourse, or clear-cut pragmatic setting is provided.

However, it is not optional to leave out genitive-marked pronoun when the possessor of the noun phrase and the subject of the sentence are the same. In the example below the possessor of the noun phrase and the subject of the sentence are co-referential and thus *benim* cannot be used to modify *anahtarlarım* (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005).

- (55) Anahtar-lar-ım-ı kaybet-ti-m
key.PL.1SG.POSS.ACC lose.PF.1SG
- ‘I’ve lost my keys.’

The above examples so far have shown that morphological agreement on the verb itself is sufficient to identify the subject, with the exception of third person singular and plural form, where no agreement marker is attached. Therefore, it can be said, as Özsoy (1987) claimed, that AGR functional category licenses empty subject *pro* in Turkish. She exemplifies this with the example (56) below, where overt pronoun is optional since the number and person marking on the verb indicates the subject of the sentence.

- (56) Ben / Ø gel-di-m.
I come-past-1sg
“I came”

(Özsoy, 1987: 83)

There are, however, some instances where overt subject is required in Turkish. Enç (1986) analysed and categorized the obligatory use of overt subject pronouns and stated that they are used in order to change topic, contrast a reference and give a counterexample.

Suppose that the sentences (57a and 57b) are uttered in reply to ‘If you don’t take a taxi, you’re going to be late.’

- (57) a. Ø banka-ya git-me-yi unut-tu-m.
 b. Ben banka-ya git-me-yi unut-tu-m.
 bank-DAT go-NOM-ACC forget-PAST-1SG
 ‘I forgot to go to the bank.’

(Enç, 1986:197)

In sentence (57a), null subject is used since the subject NP is mentioned in the previous context, making the topic maintained. However, if (57b) is uttered as a response, the subject then has a switching role, introducing new information, thus signalling a topic switch.

Another use of overt subject is to contrast references:

- (58) Arabayı Ahmet yıkamadı ben yıkadım.
 car-ACC Ahmet wash-NEG-PAST I wash-PAST-1SG
 ‘Ahmet didn’t wash the car, I did.’

(Enç, 1986:204)

In the sentence above, overt subject pronoun *ben* (*I*) has to be used because it has a contrastive function with *Ahmet*, the other pronoun in the sentence. Subjects usually have contrastive stress in such sentences. However, it would be odd to show contrast

without a pronoun if empty subject were used in this sentence, since the only indicator of person is first person singular marker *-m*, which is really hard to be stressed.

Other than the two functions of overt subjects mentioned above, they are used to give a counterexample, as well (59).

- (59) a. Herkes Ali-yle tanış-tı-mı?
 everybody Ali with meet-PAST-Q
 ‘Did everybody meet Ali?’
- b. Ben tanış-ma-dı-m
 I meet-NEG-PAST-1SG
 ‘I didn’t.’

(Enç, 1986:205)

The example above indicates another use of subject pronouns, in that subject pronoun *Ben (I)* in sentence (59b) is used to give a counterexample, which can also be considered as a form of contrast.

Erguvanlı-Taylan (1986) mentioned similar features of overt subject pronouns. She made a distinction between overt and null subjects in Turkish and stated that overt subjects need to be used as long as the subject has contrastive or emphatic use. Otherwise, it is optional.

- (60) Ben iş-e gecik-ti-m ama sen henüz gecik-me-di-n
 I work-DAT be late- but you yet be late-NEG-
 PAST-1SG PAST-2SG
 ‘I’m late to work but you are not late to work yet.’

(Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1986:210)

In this example, the contrast is between the subject referents of two independent sentences. And this contrast cannot be provided with the inflection on the verb. Therefore, subject referents must be used overtly in such sentences. Similarly, overt use is necessary in sentences where the information is new, as seen in (61).

- (61) a. Bu rapor-u kim yaz-dı?
 this report-ACC who write-PAST
 ‘Who wrote this report?’
- b. Ben yaz-dı-m.
 I write-PAST-1SG
 ‘I wrote (it).’
- * Ø Yaz-dı-m.

(Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1986, pp. 210-211)

Here, the question (61a) demands new information, so the response must involve an overt subject.

1.3.3. Previous Studies on Turkish Pronouns

Studies on Turkish pronouns can be traced back to Enç (1986), who analysed null and pronominal subjects in Turkish, and their functions. Inspired by Keenan and Schieffelin (1976, cited in Enç, 1986), she tries to give a definition of topic, and states that null subjects are used to make a comment on previously mentioned topics, whereas pronominal subjects are mainly used to signal a contrast or topic change or for counterexample.

Erguvanlı-Taylan (1986) gives some valuable information about Turkish pronoun system and agreement. Basically, she focuses on three cases of anaphoric expressions in Turkish: zero anaphora, pronominal anaphora and free variation of zero or pronominal anaphora. She states that verb inflection for person shows subject agreement and that genitive case marking on possessed NP shows person agreement with the possessor. In both cases, where agreement marking is seen, zero representation of NPs can be seen in discourse.

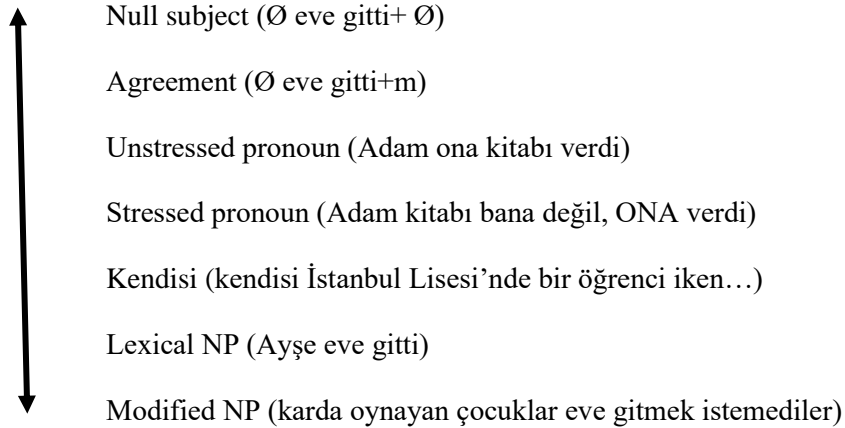
According to Kerslake (1987, cited in Turan, 1995), there are four specific NP deletion types in Turkish:

1. Deletion in coordinate structures, under conditions of structural identity,
2. Equi NP deletion,
3. Pro-drop (where the pro is identified by agreement marking),
4. Zero Anaphora (no such agreement identifies the content of the empty category).

She observes that the pro-drop feature of Turkish, more specifically the use of null subjects and overt pronouns, is similar to unstressed and stressed pronouns in English. She argues that overt subjects should be used when they get stress focus.

Another study that deals with null and overt subjects is conducted by Ruhi (2002, cited in Çınar, 2021). She investigates how null and overt subjects are retrieved and realized in discourse. She uses the categories that Givon (1983) mentioned as ‘topicality hierarchy’, and adapts them to Turkish:

Easy to retrieve



Difficult to retrieve

As is already seen, null subjects are on the top of the category, which are the easiest to retrieve because they are already mentioned in previous contexts, and so already in hearers' minds, by which speakers make little effort to activate them. On the other hand, modified NPs, or full noun phrases, introduce new topics, and therefore require more activation in the hearers' minds. That's why, they are the hardest linguistic markers to retrieve.

There is a study made by Küçük and Yöndem (2007), who focus on a pronoun resolution system that depends on little linguistic knowledge to determine personal and reflexive pronouns and their antecedents in Turkish. To do so, they make use of constraints to exclude inappropriate antecedents of pronouns, and preferences to classify the remaining pronouns. Their results show that the system outperforms the baseline algorithm significantly. They claim their study to be the first 'fully specified knowledge-poor computational framework for pronoun resolution in Turkish'.

Şen (2019) examines the use of Turkish overt and zero singular pronouns in Turkish novels based on the Accessibility Theory put forward by Ariel (1988). She analyses the data using the effects of recency, givenness and syntactic prominence. The findings suggest that the choice between overt and zero pronouns is not affected by these three factors with the exception of first person and third person singular subject pronouns which are affected by givenness and syntactic prominence respectively.

Other than these theory-driven and empirical studies, there are also studies that examine the acquisition of null-subject property in Turkish. Slobin and Talay (1984) study the pragmatic use of subject pronouns by compiling data from nine children aged between 2;0 and 4;8. They find that children mark subject agreement on verbs correctly at age 2;0 and are able to use null, preposed and postposed pronouns, which means that children employ null subject option to indicate various functions of the language.

Another related study is conducted by Altan (2009) who aims to analyse the use of pro-drop in children's speech. She studies with 48 children aged between 2;0 and 4;8. The findings of the study demonstrate that the aforementioned children omit subject pronouns especially in verbal sentences.

1.3. REFERENCES and REFERENCE TRACKING

Everything in the world, be it animate or inanimate, or an abstract concept, is called a referent. Huang (2012:263) defines it as “what is referred to by the use of a referring expression”. Referring expression, therefore, as he defines, is used to refer to an entity in the world. This process realized through different linguistic structures such as noun phrases, proper names, as well as all kinds of pronouns including zero pronouns. The term ‘reference’ then, as Huang (2012) states, is “the relationship between a linguistic expression and an entity, activity, relationship etc. in the external world, to which it is used to refer”.

Kibrik (2009:2) proposes another definition for referring expressions and states that referring expressions are linguistic items through which *the act of reference* is performed. These referring expressions can be lexically full such as Noun Phrases or reduced such as pronouns.

Reference tracking which covers the references' syntactic behaviour in contexts is defined as “keeping track of the entities referred to in an ongoing discourse” (Huang, 2012:263). Discourse, both oral and written, must involve an appropriate introduction of referents to establish successful communication in conversation or to achieve coherence

in narratives or in other textual contexts. In conversation it is both the speaker's and listener's and in narratives it is the speaker's task to achieve or create coherence to have a successful communicative interaction. Therefore, discourse should contain information about who is doing what to whom, when and where. After speakers introduce the entities in discourse, they refer back to these entities using a variety of referring expressions such as full noun phrases (e.g. *the woman*), pronouns (e.g. "*she*") and zero anaphors (\emptyset). Only in this way can the listener/reader comprehend what is previously referred to in a discourse. As Givón (2017a, p. 29) puts it, ". . . coherent discourse tends to maintain, over a span of several clauses, the same topical referent, the same or contiguous time, the same or contiguous location, and sequential action."

Chafe (1994) states that a referent contain at least three types of information: *new*, *accessible*, or *given*. If the referent is *new*, that means what the speaker thought is not known by the listener. In other words, the idea is 'inactive' in listener's mind. Thus, the referent must be given clearly with a full noun phrase. However, the *given* referent has already been activated in the listener's mind because it was mentioned in the discourse which precedes immediately. Here, the listener does not have to make much effort for the referent as it is highly accessible. A pronoun can be preferred in such contexts instead of a noun phrase. The *accessible* referent, on the other hand, is mentioned previously in discourse, but not in an immediately preceding one. It is, as Chafe describes, *semiactive* in the listener's mind. Instead of a full noun phrase, such as 'Ken Adams', shortened form of it (e.g. Ken) can be used here.

Chafe (1994) further mentions 'referential distance', which is the distance from the last occurrence of the same referent in previous discourse. When the previously mentioned referent is closer in distance, reduced anaphoric structure is more likely to be used as the listener readily accesses the given information.

Similarly, Ariel (1988) states that referential context and the accessibility of referents determine the linguistic markers that the speakers use to refer to referents. She basically talks about low and high accessibility markers. When the referent is first introduced into discourse, fuller referring expressions are used, which corresponds to lower accessibility marker, and since they are less accessible in the addressees' minds, they contain more

information. On the other hand, when the referent is highly accessible, which means there is little linguistic marking required, less full referring expressions are used. Figure 1 below illustrates the accessibility markers and the marking materials.

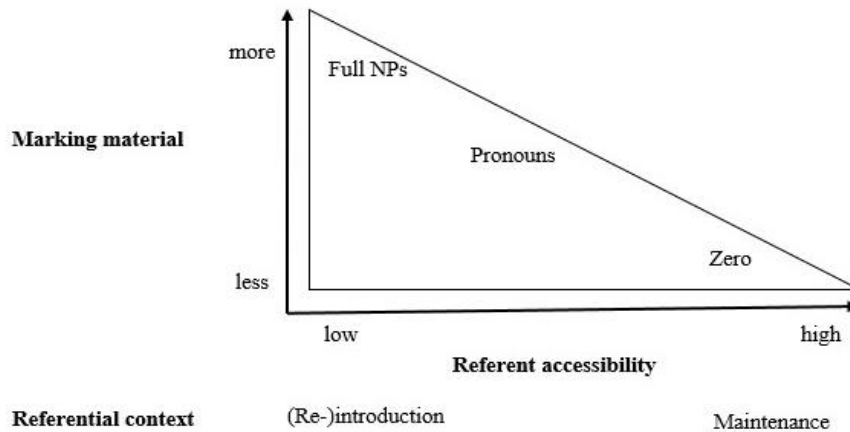


Figure 1: Representation of accessibility markers and the marking materials

As clearly seen in Figure 1 above, the higher accessibility rates a referent has, the less marked it is linguistically. On the contrary, the less accessible a referent is, the more marking it requires. As for the referential contexts, low accessibility markers are used in introduction and re-introduction contexts, whereas maintenance contexts require high accessible markers, which is exemplified in the sentences below:

- (62)
- a. [A man₁] goes into a store. [Intro₁]
 - b. [He₁] wants milk and eggs. [Maint₁]
 - c. [The store clerk₂] points to aisle 3. [Intro₂]
 - d. [The man₁] smiles and [Ø₁] heads there. [Re-Intro₁] [Maint₁]

In a, c, and the first expression in d above, it is seen that full NPs are used because the referents are newly introduced and less accessible, and therefore unmarked. However, pronoun in b and null subject in d are already introduced in the discourse and more accessible to the addressee, and therefore marked.

The idea of information flow (Chafe, 1994) and the relation between marking material and referent accessibility (Ariel, 1988) are in line with Givon's (1983) theory of topic continuity. Contrary to the early Praguean works, which distinguished constituents as either topical or not, Givon argued that it was not an either-or distinction, but instead a gradable property. And in sentences like 'As for **Joe**, **he** gave **that one** to **Mary**.', it is the topic continuity that is demonstrated in the discourse, not the topicality, that should be focused on. He stated that the hearer can easily identify the topic or referent in a discourse unless the distance between the present and previous use of the referent is wide. In other words, if the topic in a discourse is more continuous or predictable, then it is more accessible to the reader or listener; therefore, the referring expression needs to be less overt. Basically, what he tries to say is that topic continuity determines the anaphoric encoding in a discourse.

Table 7

Referential continuity based on referent-coding devices

lowest referential continuity
a. indefinite NPs
b. definite NPs
c. stressed independent pronouns
d. unstressed anaphoric expressions
e. zero anaphora
highest referential continuity

As seen in Table 7, Givon (1983) ranked the referent-coding devices regarding their degree of referential continuity. He suggested that if a zero anaphora is used in a discourse, it has very high referential continuity, which means the information the speaker gives is already in the hearer's mind, or as Chafe (1994) stated, it is *given* in preceding context; it is 'active'. Therefore, the hearer accesses the information easily, by which topic continuity is granted.

- (63) Juan volvi-ó a la casa y comi-ó Su cena
 Juan returned-3s to the house and ate-3s His dinner
 ‘John went back to the house and ate his dinner.’

The sentence (63) from Spanish, in which agreement between pronouns is compulsory, is an example for high topic continuity, in that subject agreement is provided using zero anaphora in Spanish. On the other hand, it is through full NPs that new (indefinite) referents are introduced into discourse or old (definite) referents are re-introduced in subsequent clauses. Therefore, new referents are ranked as low topicality when they are first introduced, but only when they are re-introduced can they be upgraded to high topicality.

There are, however, some conditions that affect the accessibility of the referents. Allen et al. (2008) state that the absence of a potential referent, the topichood of the current discourse and persistency upon the initial mention, and being the focus of attention of the interlocutors affect the high accessibility of a referent, whereas low accessible ones are those that are newly mentioned, with many competitor referents, not persistent upon the first mention, neither the topic of discourse nor focus of attention.

Reference tracking which is also called anaphora linking refers to a process of anaphora resolution which is needed to have efficient communication and comprehensive and coherent discourse (Gullberg 2006, p. 156). It is a specific process in which a certain set of linguistic devices, namely referring expressions, are employed to indicate whether or not a reference is used for the same or a different discourse participant (Comrie 1999, p. 155). Each language has its own reference tracking system (Stirling 2008). However, it may further differ even in a single language depending on the context (Stirling 2008).

Foley and Van Valin (1984: 322) developed a classification of reference-tracking systems used in different languages which is consisted of the following four basic categories:

- (1) switch-function (i.e., as in voice alternation of active and passive)
- (2) switch-reference (i.e., the use of a marking or an inflection to indicate that the subject of an embedded clause is the same as or different from the subject of a main clause)
- (3) noun class (i.e., the use of gender marking or cross-referencing of noun phrases by verb agreement)
- (4) pragmatic inference

Foley and Van Valin (1984: 322) state that in languages with null anaphora such as Japanese and Korean, the first three categories are irrelevant and that these languages make use of the fourth category, namely pragmatic inference. Pinto (2013) also argues that null subject or pro-drop languages have unique ways of tracking references in discourse and that each of referring expressions in such languages seems to have different functions based on the grammatical context.

Stirling (2008, p. 168) connected the findings of Givon (1983), Ariel (1988) and Chafe (1994) on referring expressions with the reference tracking and developed the principle of iconicity in reference tracking which is given as follows:

Generally speaking, the lexico-grammatical weight of a referring expression is inversely related to the perceived degree of accessibility of the referent to the interpreter at that point in the discourse.

This principle clearly suggests that not all referring expressions behave in the same way in the reference tracking process and that their features such as being accessible or not identify their reference tracking ability.

Given that the term reference tracking is very elusive there is considerable number of studies about it some of which are given in the next subsection.

1.3.1. Previous Studies on Reference Tracking

There are several studies on the reference tracking focusing on different languages. It has also been examined in different linguistic conditions. For instance, Gullberg (2006) analysed reference tracking in a second language condition among Dutch speakers of French who retold a given story. Saner and Hefright (2015) also investigated reference tracking in relation to the second language acquisition and analysed the reference tracking processes in non-native Chinese narrations with a special focus on the use of zero anaphors. Watters (2008) analysed the reference tracking in three Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalaya, namely Dzongkha, Shigatse Tibetan and Kham Magar, on a written sample consisting of monologic narrative texts and newspaper articles. He concludes that although switch function of the reference tracking is the dominant form in all three languages, the syntactic patterns used differ in them.

Perniss and Özyürek (2015) try to find out how reference tracking is seen in visual modality. They compare the referents used in German Sign Language (DGS) and co-speech gesture (with German) to find out the similarities and differences between them. The results of the study show that subject referents in re-introduction contexts are more overtly marked than those in maintenance contexts in both DGS and German. Accordingly, re-introduction contexts contain more fuller expressions (i.e., nominals) than pronominals compared to maintenance contexts. As for the use of overt subjects, the referring expressions used in German are more overt in both re-introduction and maintenance contexts. Considering the fact that DGS is a pro-drop language, it is not surprising to see that null subjects are preferred more in DGS. They also compare these results to those of Azar (2013, cited in Perniss and Özyürek, 2015), and state that in Turkish, which is a pro-drop language, subjects are encoded less overtly in speech than in German speech, a non-pro-drop language, and that overt encoding in spoken Turkish is more than in DGS, which is a signed pro-drop language.

Hendriks et al. (2014) test children (4-7 years old), young adults (18-35 years old) and elderly adults (69-87 years old), all of whom are native speakers of Dutch, in production and comprehension tasks to assess their referential choice. To assess their production

ability, a storytelling task, in which there are two characters of the same gender, which makes it necessary to use unambiguous forms, is used. On the other hand, pre-recorded stories, in which participants are asked to interpret potentially ambiguous pronouns, are used to assess their comprehension ability. The findings show that young adults are highly sensitive to the informational needs of hypothetical conversational partners in their production and comprehension of referring expressions. However, children do not take into consideration possible conversational partners and use pronouns for all given referents. Elderly adults, on the other hand, display sensitivity to the other person's perspective, but lack the necessary cognitive capacities to follow the discourse referents.

Contemori and Dussias (2016) test the second language (L2) learners of English (n=22) in their choice of English referential expressions and compare them with a group of monolingual English speakers (n=18). They gather data by a storytelling task where the participants are shown two pictures that have varying number and gender of characters and are asked to describe what they see. They find that L2 learners and native speakers do not differ on topic-shift conditions but that in maintenance positions L2 learners used less NPs than the native speakers. They conclude that L2 learners have difficulty when they need to maintain references across utterances, which is compared with another study by Hendriks et al. (2014) where Dutch-speaking older adults use more pronouns than the young natives in maintenance and re-introduction contexts, showing a difficulty to determine the prominence of the referents in the discourse.

Connors et al. (2016) aim to examine the range of lexical and grammatical strategies that a speaker uses to make reference to individuals in a pro-drop language Indonesian, which they call as People-Referring Expressions, or PREs. They use a corpus of Indonesian, which includes recordings of spontaneous, colloquial, naturalistic speech, made in Jakarta from 2005 to 2010. They systematically review the ways of establishing reference to people and make a cross-linguistic categorization of reference and coreference. Also, they include the items (null anaphors and imposters) that anchor the referencing act to the speech event, and make a list of language-specific strategies that reduce the ambiguity of null anaphors and imposters.

Kayama (2003) studies the properties of Japanese zero pronouns from a discourse perspective. He examines young Japanese-speaking children's acquisition of zero pronouns in object position. Ten children participate in a two-task-experiment. In the first task, the children are asked to pick out the item that a null object represents after the experimenter reads test sentences. In the second task, the children are asked to describe the short story that the experimenter acts out. The findings reveal that children are able to use null objects and overt pronouns in accordance with their accessibility.

Hickmann and Hendriks (1999) aim to find out universal vs. language-specific aspects of children's ability to use cohesive anaphoric relations in discourse. The subjects are children of three age groups (pre-schoolers, seven-year-olds and ten-year-olds) and adults in four languages: English, German, French and Mandarin Chinese. The subjects are asked to narrate two picture stories, which differ in terms of referent status. They find that the development of anaphora is determined by universal pragmatic principles and by language-specific properties characterizing how languages map discourse-internal and sentence-internal functions onto the same forms.

Azar and Özyürek (2015) study the use of subject referents used in spoken Turkish. They collect data from 13 pairs of adult Turkish natives by having them watch a short movie and then one of them narrate the story once and the other re-tell the story. Overall, it is found that null subjects are used considerably more compared to the other linguistic expressions. When the referring contexts are analysed, they find that re-introduction contexts contain more nominals and other forms than pronouns and null forms. On the other hand, in maintenance contexts, the number of null forms is much higher than the other forms.

In another study conducted by Azar, Özyürek and Backus (2020), a pro-drop (Turkish) and a non-pro-drop language (Dutch) are investigated in terms of reference tracking. In the study, the participants consist of twenty monolingual Turkish speakers living in Turkey, twenty bilingual Turkish speakers, born and living in the Netherlands, and twenty monolingual Dutch speakers living in the Netherlands. All the participants watch two short silent videos and are asked to narrate after watching them. The aim is to compare bilingual data to a monolingual baseline to see if there is any effect of

language contact on the production of subject referents. The results show that reference tracking strategies of bilinguals are very similar to monolingual baseline in both languages. Therefore, Azar et al. state that Turkish bilinguals who are in contact with Dutch, a non-pro-drop language, are not always uncertain about the use of referring expressions in their pro-drop language. One other finding of the study is that bilinguals use more overt pronouns in maintenance contexts than monolingual speakers of each language.

Gürcanlı et al. (2007) try to find out the referent choices of Turkish children and adults in shared and unshared information conditions. In their study, consisting of 46 participants, 22 of whom are children and 24 adults, they have the participants watch seventeen animation videos. In shared information condition, the experimenter and participant watch the videos together, but in unshared information condition, the experimenter does not watch the videos. After watching the videos, the participants are asked to talk about the video. The results show that children use null subjects and objects more than adults do, not only in shared information conditions but also in unshared information conditions. In addition, children seem to omit subject referents more than object referents regardless of information conditions.

Demir et al. (2012) study the referring expressions that 4- to 5-year-old Turkish- and English-speaking children, focusing on co-speech gestures as well. The children watch twelve very short vignettes under two conditions: perceptual and no perceptual contexts. In the first condition, the last scene is shown on the screen, but in the second one, the scene goes blank. Then the children answer questions related to vignettes. The findings of the study show that there is no difference between Turkish- and English-speaking children in no perceptual context condition, in that all the children use nouns more; nevertheless, in perceptual context condition, both group of children use more pronouns and null subjects, and fewer nouns, by which they conclude that young children change their attitude in their speech when they are aware that the listener knows the context.

Nariyama (2001) tested the assumption of Foley and Van Valin (1984) who argued that in pro-drop languages only pragmatic inference is dominant in reference tracking process. He concluded that Japanese employs all the categories proposed by Foley and Van Valin (1984) in reference tracking, not only pragmatic inference.

Stirling (2008) conducted a contrastive analysis on the reference tracking on a sample of Australian languages, with a special focus on Kala Lagaw Ya which is the language of the Western Islands of the Torres Strait. Based on field data, she concluded that unlike other Australian languages, Kala Lagaw Ya frequently employs double reference constructions.

Pinto (2013) investigated the reference tracking patterns concerning subjects in a null subject language, namely Italian, on a sample of native Italians and non-native speakers of Italian. The latter group of participants included Dutch adults who learned Italian as second language. She found that the use of null subjects is much more frequent in topic maintenance and topic re-introduction contexts among native Italians. However, such subjects are found not to be employed by the native Italians in the contexts where a new topic is introduced. Interestingly, the same patterns of the reference tracking are found among the Dutch participants whose native language, Dutch, is not a pro-drop language. In other words, the latter group also used mostly null subjects in topic maintenance and topic re-introduction contexts. Pinto (2013) labels this situation as overproduction of null subjects which was reported in various studies.

The studies mentioned above are just some of the many studies made on reference tracking mechanisms that various languages have, especially those that are pro-drop languages which allow subjects to be redundant, including Turkish. There are still other studies focusing on non-pro-drop languages to investigate the nature of subject and object referents, but since the focus here is subject referents in a pro-drop language, they are not mentioned here comprehensively.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents information about the sample of the study. After explaining how this sample was produced the data collection process is explained. It also provides the details of data analysis.

2.1. SAMPLE

In this study a sample was produced consisting of two hundred story books targeting Turkish children. The books are published by major publishers in Turkey, such as Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, Yapı Kredi Yayınları and Pearson Yayıncılık to name but a few. Initially, two hundred story books were gathered. The primary plan was to divide the books into age groups. However, it is a really difficult task to properly categorize the books by age because the age range given in the books varies greatly. Some books are labelled as suitable for *0 to 4 years old*, while some others are labelled as *3 to 8 years old*. There are even some books that have a wider age range such as *0 to 7 years old*. This is probably because children are likely to comprehend the same book differently at different ages (Lipson, 1988, cited in Dyer et al.,2000). Therefore, the books selected for the study have a wider age range: *0 to 7 years old*. The books exceeding this age range, such as *3 to 8 years old* or *5 to 9 years old*, or the books that do not indicate any age range are excluded from the sample and substituted with the suitable ones. The names of the books are given in Appendix 1 with all the other information including the author, publisher, publishing years etc.

2.2. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

All two hundred books were analysed one by one. First, sentences are divided into subjects and predicates following Berman and Slobin (1994) who define them as a unit which has a predicate (e.g. a verb) expressing a single activity, event or state. Coordinating clauses are coded as separate clauses (e.g. *Nele bir ayağını yavaşça denize soktu ve bir anda bağırdı* / Nele slowly put one foot in the see and suddenly shouted).

Relative clauses (e.g. *annesinin yanında duran çocuk* / ‘the boy who is standing next to his mother’) are not counted as separate clauses but regarded as modifiers of nouns instead. Next, referring expressions that identify the subjects are coded. Then, the referential contexts were coded as *Introduction* (I), *Maintenance* (M), or *Re-Introduction* (RI) based on the local coreference approach by Hickman and Hendriks (1999). When the referent is first mentioned in discourse, it is coded as *Introduction*. If the subject referent of a clause is the same as the subject of the clause that is preceding immediately, that implies a *Maintenance* context. On the other hand, if the subject referent of a clause is not the same as the subject in previous clause, but has already been mentioned before in the discourse, then it is coded as *Re-Introduction* context. Following Debelioska et al. (2013) if there is a change from a singular referent to a plural referent (e.g. *kardeşi* (*her sibling*) to *kardeşleri* (*her siblings*)), or vice versa (e.g. *kardeşleri* (*her siblings*) to *bir kardeşi* (*one of her siblings*)), the referring expression is coded as *Re-Introduction*. Therefore, for *Maintenance* contexts, full identification with the subject referent in the preceding clause is required.

In the analysis, only subject-to-subject coreference is included. Therefore, *Introduction* contexts were not included, otherwise there would be a great variety of lexical forms as referents used in introduction contexts may have any grammatical role. In addition, subjects are included in re-introduction and maintenance contexts. Objects, and therefore switch contexts, are excluded. The aim here is to find out how referring expressions in subject position are used in subsequent clauses, especially null and overt forms, which is thought to yield more solid results.

Upon coding the referential contexts, referring expressions are coded as nominals, which include all types of nouns and noun phrases, pronominals, which include personal pronouns, and null forms, where no overt form is used. An example is provided below to indicate the referential contexts and referring expressions.

(64) a. Akşamüstü [Betül]_a yemeğine dokunmadı bile.

In the evening [Betül]_a didn't even touch her meal.

nominal introduction

- b. “Her şey yolunda mı?” diye sordu [babası]_b.
 “Is everything all right?” asked [her father]_b.
 nominal introduction
- c. “Biraz endişeliyim.” dedi [Betül]_a.
 “I’m a bit nervous.” said [Betül]_a.
 nominal re-introduction
- d. \emptyset _a sonra yemeğini yedi ve \emptyset _a masadan kalktı.
 Then (she)_a ate her meal and (she)_a left the table.
 null maintenance

In sentences a and b, it’s the first mention of Betül and her father. Therefore, these are coded as *Introduction* context. In sentence c, Betül is re-introduced after sentence b, where her father is introduced. In sentence d, the doer of the action is still Betül, which maintains the previous sentence, but it is used with a null subject.

There is another example below which exemplifies overt pronoun use in a re-introduction context.

- (65) a. [İzleyiciler]_a de donup kalmıştı.
 [The spectators]_a were stunned as well.
 nominal introduction
- b. [Hiç Hata Yapmayan Kız]_b hata yapmıştı.
 [The Girl Who Never Makes Mistakes]_b made
 a mistake.
 nominal introduction
- c. [Onlar]_a da ne yapacaklarını bilmiyorlardı.
 [They]_a didn’t know what to do either.
 pronoun re-introduction

2.3. DATA COLLECTION AND DATA ANALYSIS

All sentences in the books were coded according to the referential contexts (Introduction, Maintenance, Re-Introduction) based on Givon's (1983) idea of topic continuity in discourse. Then referring expressions (nominals, overt and zero pronouns) used in these contexts were coded. All the data were counted one by one, and the total number of the uses for each referential context and referring expression emerged. After that, all the noun phrases, pronouns and null forms were listed for both re-introduction and maintenance contexts. Descriptive statistics were used here to describe and analyse data, with frequencies, distribution and percentages. It was seen that the skewness and kurtosis values for noun phrases were 1,648 and 2,519; for null subjects 1,792 and 3,760 and for overt pronouns 5,654 and 42,512 respectively, which shows that the data for the given variables are not normally distributed.

Then Kolmogorov-Smirnova and Shapiro-Wilk tests were further applied to check if the data followed a normal distribution. The results showed that noun phrases ($p < 0,05$), null subjects ($p < 0,05$) and overt pronouns do not follow a normal distribution. Therefore, to compare the use of referring expressions in different contexts, and to find out if there is a statistically significant difference in their use, a non-parametric test, Mann-Whitney U test was used as this test is used to compare two independent samples and to find out how they are different regarding dependent variables.

Table 8 below summarizes the results of normality test for NP, null subject and overt pronoun.

Table 8

Normality Test Results for NP, null and overt pronoun variables

Descriptive Statistics	NP	Null	Overt
Mean	9,1275	8,3000	0,2175
Median	5,000	5,000	0,0000
Std. Deviation	11,25669	9,18182	0,74940
Variance	126,713	84,306	0,562
Minimum	0,00	0,000	0,000
Maximum	63,00	56,00	8,000
Skewness	1,648	1,792	5,654
Kurtosis	2,519	3,760	42,512

Table 8 above shows the descriptive statistics for NP, null subject and overt pronoun variables. Before going in detail with the values, it is better if skewness and kurtosis are explained briefly. Skewness is a measure of how symmetrical a variable's distribution is. The distribution of a variable is considered as skewed if it spans toward the right or left tail of the distribution. On the other hand, kurtosis is a metric for determining whether a distribution is too peaked. If skewness and kurtosis are zero, though this is very rare, then the distribution of responses is considered to be normally distributed. Generally, if the value of skewness is larger than +1 or smaller than -1, the distribution is significantly skewed. The usual rule for kurtosis is that if the number is larger than +1, the distribution is too peaked. Similarly, if it is less than -1, then it is an excessively flat distribution. Nonnormal distributions have skewness and/or kurtosis that are greater than these limits (Hair et al., 2013).

Going back to the values in Table 8, skewness and kurtosis values for NP are 1,648 and 2,519 respectively. As the limit for normality is between +1 and -1, NPs are said to be not normally distributed. The values for null subjects are 1,792 for skewness and 3,760 for kurtosis, which means they are not normally distributed. With regard to the values

for overt pronouns, skewness is 5,654 and kurtosis is 42,512. They are not normally distributed, either.

Table 9 below demonstrates the normality test results for NP, null subjects and overt pronoun variables.

Table 9

Results of test of normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
NP	0,209	400	<0,05	0,790	400	<0,05
Null	0,194	400	<0,05	0,806	400	<0,05
Overt	0,487	400	<0,05	0,322	400	<0,05
a. Lilliefors Significance Correction						

According to Kolmogorov-Smirnov normality test, the null hypothesis is as follows: "Data are normally distributed." However, when Kolmogorov-Smirnov normality test is applied for NP variable, it is seen that the statistic value is 0,209 and the correspondent p value is <0,05. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected, which means that NP variable is not normally distributed.

According to Kolmogorov-Smirnov normality test for null subject variable, the statistic value is 0,194 and the p value is <0,05. The null hypothesis is rejected again. Therefore, null subjects are said to be not normally distributed.

As for the normality test for overt pronouns, the statistic value is 0,487 and the p value is <0,05, meaning that the null hypothesis is rejected, and that overt pronouns are not normally distributed.

All the results indicate that the data are not normally distributed and thus a non-parametric test, Mann-Whitney U, is required to analyse the data.

CHAPTER 3

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

In this chapter, the data obtained from the sample are analysed and discussed. First an overall descriptive analysis is presented for the referential contexts and referring expressions in each context. Then the use of personal pronouns and possessives is given respectively. Later, statistical analysis is provided. The chapter ends with overall discussion of the findings.

3.1. DISTRIBUTION OF REFERRING EXPRESSIONS IN CONTEXTS

As stated earlier, the aim of this study is to find out the referring expressions in subject position, that is noun phrases, overt pronouns and zero pronouns, used in Turkish written discourse, namely, children's books. More specifically, it deals with the use of these expressions depending on distinct referential contexts. Moreover, it attempts to find out whether pro-drop feature of Turkish language has a significant effect in the use of subject referring expressions in children's books. As the primary focus of this study is to explore referring expressions in the subject position, switch contexts are not included in the study as they refer to pronouns used in object position.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, a total of 200 children's story books is analysed in the study. The number of the referring expressions found in the books is 7045. The distribution of these expressions based on their major types is given in the following Table 10:

Table 10

Distribution of referring expressions

Referring Expressions	Number
NP	3651
Null subjects	3307
Overt Pronoun	87
Total	7045

Table 10 shows that of total 7045 referring expressions identified in the sample. The one that is used most is the full noun phrases of which 3651 examples are used. The second frequent referring expression is found to be null subjects which have 3307 examples in the sample. Overt pronouns appear to be less frequently used in the sample, and only 87 overt pronouns are detected in the sample. Statistically, there is a significant difference between these variables ($p < 0,05$).

The number of the referential contexts (namely introduction, re-introduction and maintenance) identified in the sample is 9006. The distribution of these contexts in the books analysed is given in Table 11 below.

Table 11

Distribution of referential contexts

Referential Contexts	Number
Introduction	1961
Re-Introduction	3981
Maintenance	3064
Total	9006

Table 11 indicates that the story books are found to include 1961 introduction contexts, 3981 re-introduction contexts and 3064 maintenance contexts. However, as stated earlier in the study, of these reference contexts only two, namely re-introduction and maintenance contexts, are examined.

The referring expressions used in these two reference contexts are shown in Table 12:

Table 12

Distribution of referring expressions in RI and M contexts

<i>Reference contexts</i>	<i>Referring Expressions</i>		
	NP	Null Subjects	Overt Pronoun
<i>Re-Introduction</i>	3269 - 82%	657 - 17%	55 - 1%
<i>Maintenance</i>	382 - 17%	2650 - 82%	32 - 1%
<i>Total</i>	3651	3307	87

As can be seen above the referring expressions occur in all contexts. However, their distribution across two reference contexts differs. More specifically, it is seen that the noun phrases are used more frequently in the topic re-introduction contexts than the other two referring expressions, null subjects and overt pronouns. In this reference context there are 3269 full noun phrases whereas the number of null subjects and overt pronouns is 657 and 55, respectively. Therefore, the noun phrases comprise 82% of all subject positions in the re-introduction contexts. The null subjects are found in 17% of the subject positions of the re-introduction contexts. The remaining 1% of the subject positions in this reference context consists of overt pronoun.

The examples of each referring expression in the re-introduction detected in the sample are given as follows:

(66) Ø₁ Pencereden baktım. *Re-introduction – Null Subject*

‘[I]₁ looked out the window.’

Kar yağıyordu.

‘It was snowing.’

Ø₁ Mutlaka parka gitmeliydim. *Re-introduction – Null Subject*

‘[I]₁ had to go to the park.’

The sentences above exemplifies the null subjects that are used in re-introduction contexts. Note that the subject ‘I’ has already been mentioned in previous context but has not been given here. Therefore, the first sentence ‘*Pencereden baktım*’ is marked as re-introduction context. They are used in the following discourse:

(67) Büyükbaba yaşlanıyordu artık.

‘Grandfather was getting old now.’

[Ben]₁ de bağırdım: Çabuk ol, büyükbaba!’ *Re-introduction – Overt*

Pronoun

‘And [I]₁ shouted: Hurry up, granddad!’

As can be seen in the example above, *Ben*, first person singular, is used after its introduction into previous discourse which can be seen in (67). But this time overt form is preferred. However, in the following discourse, *büyükbabam* (*grandfather*) is re-introduced but neither overt nor null subject is preferred: noun phrase is used, which can be seen in example (68) below.

- (68) [Büyükbabam]₁ kesinlikle yaşlanıyordu artık. *Re-introduction* –
Noun phrase
 ‘[My grandfather]₁ was definitely getting old now.’
- [Ben]₂ de bağırdım: Herkes bizden önce *Re-introduction* –
 gidecek! *Overt Pronoun*
- ‘And [I]₂ shouted: Everyone will be there before us!’
- (69) [İki arkadaş]₁ fırının önünde vedalaştılar. *Re-introduction* –
 ‘[Two friends]₁ said goodbye in front of the *Full NP*
 bakery.’

In (69), *iki arkadaş* ‘two friends’ has been mentioned in the previous context, but not stated here. That’s why it is coded as re-introduction.

The distribution of referring expressions in the second reference context, namely topic maintenance context, is given in Table 13:

Table 13

Distribution of referring expressions in Maintained contexts

Maintained context	Subject referents (n)	Proportion (%)
NP	382	12
Null Subject	2650	87
Overt Pronoun	32	1
Total	3064	100

Table 13 presents the distribution of referring expressions in the topic maintenance contexts. Of the 3064 total subject referents used in such contexts, the most frequently used one is null subjects. They are used 2650 times, representing the 87% of the subject positions of the maintenance contexts. The second most frequently used referring expression is found to be the noun phrases. There are 382 examples of the noun phrases in the maintenance contexts, forming 12% of the subject positions of these contexts. Again the remaining 1% involves overt pronouns, which are used 32 times. In other words, only 1% of the subject positions in the topic maintenance contexts is constructed through the overt pronouns in the sample. Statistically, there is a significant difference between these variables ($p < 0,05$).

The examples of the nouns phrases, null subjects and overt pronouns in the topic maintenance contexts are given as follows:

- (70) [Çiço]₁ kokusunu bulmaya karar verdi. *Introduction – Noun Phrase*
 ‘[Çiço]₁ decided to find its scent.’
- Ø₁ Hemen dışarı fırladı. *Maintenance – Null subject*
 ‘[He]₁ immediately jumped out.’
- [Bir tilki]₂ çıktı karşısına. *Introduction – Noun Phrase*
 ‘[A fox]₂ appeared.’
- Ø₂ Ah ne güzel kokuyordu. *Maintenance – Null Subject*
 ‘Oh, how nice did [he]₂ smell!’

3.2. DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN CONTEXTS

Personal pronouns are examined to present how they are distributed (overtly or covertly) in re-introduction and maintenance contexts. Table 14 below presents the distribution of personal pronouns in re-introduction and maintenance contexts.

Table 14

Distribution of personal pronouns in RI and M contexts

	Re-Introduction		Maintenance	
	Null Subject	Overt Pronoun	Null Subject	Overt Pronoun
1SG	26	9	85	75
2SG	3	0	21	26
3SG	17	17	0	0
1PL	1	1	15	32
2PL	0	0	20	16
3PL	4	4	17	28
Total	51	31	158	177

Table 14 shows that the number of pronouns used in maintenance contexts is higher than those used in re-introduction contexts in the story books. Personal pronouns are maintained a total of 335 times whereas they are reintroduced only 82 times. In maintained contexts, overt pronouns (n=177) are used slightly more than null subjects (n=158). And among these, first person singular pronoun is the most frequently used overt pronoun (n=75). It comprises close to half of all overt pronouns. Other than first person singular pronoun, the distribution of all the other overt pronouns in maintained contexts is more or less the same except for the third person singular, which is not used at all. As for the use of null subjects in maintenance contexts, first person singular is used much higher than the other pronouns (n=85), comprising more than half of null

subjects used in maintenance contexts. Third person singular is not used here either. In re-introduced contexts, on the other hand, the number of null subjects (n=51) is higher than that of overt pronouns (n=31). When the distribution of pronouns is analysed, it is seen that first and third person singular pronouns are used much more than the other pronouns. They are used as null subjects 43 times, comprising 84% of null subjects in re-introduction contexts. As for the overt pronouns used in maintained contexts, first and third person singular pronouns are used 26 times, forming 83% of the overt pronouns in maintenance contexts. However, when the distribution of null and overt pronouns is examined in both contexts, null subjects (n=209) are used nearly as much as overt pronouns (n=208) in re-introduction and maintenance contexts combined. All the analyses are based on the total number and distribution of the variables.

3.3. FINDINGS OF THE POSSESSIVE STRUCTURES

Possessive structures are also analysed in the study. It is seen that there are two types of possessive structures used in the books analysed. These are possessive constructions and genitive-possessive constructions. As already mentioned, possessive structures are nouns that are marked with possessive suffixes, and genitive-possessive constructions are those where the possessor is modified by genitive case marker. Both types of possessives are exemplified below with samples taken from the story books.

(71) Baba-ları arabayı adadaki dar bir yola doğru sürdü.

father.3PL.POSS

Their father drove towards a narrow road in the island.

Nele ailesiyle denize gidiyor

(72) Baba-m onunla daha önce tanıştığımızı söyledi.

father.1SG.POSS

My father said we have met her before.

Tuhaf bir gün

(73) Baba-sı Elif'i sabah erkenden tren istasyonuna götürdü.

father.3SG.POSS

Her father took Elif to the train station early in the morning.

Elif Hayvanat Bahçesinde

Babaları (their father), *babam* (my father) and *babası* (her father) in examples (71), (72) and (73) respectively are examples of possessive constructions in Turkish. As it is seen in the examples, possessive suffixes are added directly to nouns and it is clear who they refer to.

Below are the examples of the other possessive structures in Turkish: genitive-possessive constructions:

(74) Cadı-nın süpürge-si daldı bir bulutun içine.

witch.GEN staff.3SG.POSS

The witch's broom plunged into a cloud.

Uçan Süpürge ve 4 Kafadar

(75) Deniz-in bilgisayar-ı Ayşe'ninkine bağlıydı.

Deniz.GEN computer.3SG.POSS

Deniz's computer was connected to Ayşe's.

Doktor Deniz

(76) Elif-in sınıf-ı hayvanat bahçesine gezi düzenleyecekti.

Elif.GEN class.3SG.POSS

Elif's class was going to organize a trip to the zoo.

Elif Hayvanat Bahçesinde

Cadının süpürgesi (*The witch's broom*) in example (74), *Deniz'in bilgisayar* (*Deniz's computer*) in example (75) and *Elif'in sınıfı* (*Elif's class*) in exercise (76) are examples of genitive-possessive constructions in Turkish, where the possessors (Cadı, Deniz and Elif) are marked with genitive case, and the head nouns (*süpürge* 'broom', *bilgisayar* 'computer' and *sınıf* 'class') are modified with possessive case.

Upon the analysis of two hundred story books, it is seen that 193 possessive structures are used. Of these 193 structures, 137 of them are possessive constructions and 56 of them are genitive-possessive constructions. The distribution of possessive structures is seen in Table 15 below:

Table 15

Distribution of possessive structures

	N	%
Possessive	137	71
Genitive-Possessive	56	29
Total	193	100

Table 15 shows that of total 193 possessive structures found in the sample there are 137 possessive structures and 56 genitive type of possessives. Therefore, plain possessives are much more frequent in the sample in contrast to genitive possessives (71% and 29%, respectively).

Göksel and Kerslake (2005) state that the possessive suffixes show whether the possessor is 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, singular or plural. Therefore, possessive constructions are further analysed to see how they are distributed in terms of person and number. Table 16 below presents the distribution of possessive constructions:

Table 16

Distribution of possessive constructions by person and number

	N	%
1 st person singular	21	15,3
2 nd person singular	1	0,7
3 rd person singular	105	76,6
1 st person plural	1	0,7
2 nd person plural	0	0
3 rd person plural	9	6,5
Total	137	100

It is clear from Table 16 above that third person singular is the most used with 105 times (76,6%). Used 21 times, first person singular is the second most used one (15,3%). Third person plural is used 9 times while second person singular and first person plural are used once. On the other hand, second person plural is not used at all. In addition, singular subjects are found to occur 127 times, making up 92,8% of all possessive constructions, whereas plural subjects are found to appear only ten times, which accounts for 7.2% of the sample.

After the distributional analysis of the referring expressions was completed, it was planned to explore the differences between the number of referring expressions (*NPs*, *null subjects* and *overt pronouns*) in referential contexts (Re-introduction and Maintenance) and to determine if there is a relationship between the referring expressions and the contexts they are used in. Before this process a normality test was employed with histograms (See Appendix 2) and boxplots (See Appendix 3). The results of the normality test indicated that the data of the study were not normally distributed and that a non-parametric test should be employed to uncover the potential relationship between the referring expressions and the contexts in which they occur. Considering the fact that all three variables (*NPs*, *null subjects* and *overt pronouns*) are

not normally distributed, the *Mann-Whitney U*, a non-parametric test, was employed instead of an *independent-samples T-test*, which is a parametric test. The results of the analysis showed the relationship between subject constructions and the reference contexts.

In Table 17 below, the results of the Mann-Whitney U test are presented concerning the subject constructions based on the reference contexts.

Table 17

Results of the Mann-Whitney U test

Variable	RI (n=200)		M (n=200)		U	Z	p
	Mean	Sum of	Mean	Sum of			
	Rank	Ranks	Rank	Ranks			
NPs	285,70	57139	115,31	23061	2961	-14,827	<0,05
Null subjects	130,62	26123,5	270,38	54076,5	6023,5	-12,122	<0,05
Overt pronouns	207,73	41546,50	193,27	38653,50	18553,5	-2,161	0,031

As can be seen above the mean rank of the noun phrases in re-introduction contexts is found to be 285,70 whereas it appears to be 115,31 in maintenance contexts. Since the p value is set at 0,000 ($p < 0,05$), it safe to argue that there is a statistically significant difference between the use of the noun phrases in different referential contexts. It shows that the noun phrases frequently appear in re-introduction contexts in the books included in the sample.

As can be observed in Table 17 the mean rank for null subjects is found to be 130,62 in re-introduction, and it is 270,38 in maintenance contexts. Given that P value is set at 0,000 ($p < 0,05$), it safe to state that there is a statistically significant difference between

the use of null subjects in re-introduction and maintenance contexts. More specifically, the null subjects mostly occur in the topic maintenance contexts.

Table 17 shows that while the mean rank for the overt pronouns is 207,73 in re-introduction contexts, it is 193,27 in maintenance contexts. Given that the p value is set at 0,031 ($p < 0,05$), it is concluded that the difference between the use of overt pronouns and the contexts they are used in is statistically significant. Although the use of the overt pronouns is relatively less in the sample, this result indicates that they are mostly used in the re-introduction contexts like full noun phrases.

3.4. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

In this part, the findings obtained from the descriptive and statistical analyses are discussed regarding how the referring expressions are tracked in Turkish written discourse.

The findings suggest that in re-introduction contexts, the use of noun phrases outnumbers the use of both null subjects and overt pronouns. Recall that re-introduction contexts contain 3269 noun phrases (82%), 657 null subjects (17%) and 55 overt pronouns (1%). On the other hand, in the maintenance contexts, null subjects surpass noun phrases and overt pronouns as the number of times they are used is 2650 (82%), 382 (17%) and 32 (1%), respectively.

As previously mentioned, the distance between referents affects what type of subject construction to be used. In other words, if the distance between the previous and current occurrence of a referent is closer, it is already activated in the hearer's mind, and therefore reduced forms, i.e., pronouns, are used (Ariel, 1988; Chafe, 1994; Givon, 1983). It seems to be the reason for the fact that the maintenance contexts contain more null subjects whereas re-introduced contexts contain more NPs in this study.

It is certain that the use of either full noun phrases or null subjects are closely associated with the functions of the reference contexts because in the re-introduction contexts text producers need to give a comprehensive subject construction to fully inform the text receivers concerning the text message. Therefore, in re-introduction contexts the full noun phrases which are able to inform the text receivers as desired are preferred. This feature is also detected in the sample.

The other reference context, namely topic maintenance, on the other hand, produces another task for the text producers which is different from the one that is required for the re-introduction context. In short, here the text producers do not have to repeat or introduce the noun phrases. Instead, they may use shortened or reduced forms of the noun phrases, namely pronouns. Turkish as a pro-drop language has another option for the topic maintenance contexts, null subjects. Therefore, the reason for the frequent use of null subjects in the topic maintenance contexts is the ability of Turkish to provide the text producers null subjects which are much more economical than the use of overt pronouns.

In addition, the findings of this study are in line with the fact that Turkish is a pro-drop language where the default form to mark reference in maintenance contexts is considered to be null forms (Carminati, 2002). However, the findings also suggest that Turkish does not have a process which is cited for null subject languages such as Italian, namely overproduction of null subjects because although null subjects are also found to be used in re-introduced contexts, it is full noun phrases which are mostly used in such contexts.

On the other hand, it should be added that null subjects are used 657 times, representing 17% of re-introduced contexts. Although the referents are introduced previously, when they are re-introduced in the text, the referents are still clear, and therefore null subjects

are preferred¹. The pragmatic contexts they are used in might be the reason for this. The contexts they are used are pragmatically unmarked, which means they do not signal similarity or contrast, which require overt pronoun to be used, making the context pragmatically marked. Another reason might be because of the materials themselves. Since they are books for children and relatively shorter, and do not contain many topics, the author of the books may have thought that the topic continuity is not disrupted in the consecutive sentences and preferred to use null subjects in these contexts.

In the same vein, pragmatic contexts could account for the use of overt pronouns in the topic maintenance contexts as well. The distribution of the personal pronouns reveals that maintenance contexts contain significantly more pronouns (n=335) than re-introduction contexts (N=82). However, in maintenance contexts, overt pronouns (n=177) seem to be used slightly more than null subjects (n=158), which again indicate that Turkish does not have the feature of overproduction of null subjects. However, as described in detail in previous chapters, Enç (1986) and Erguvanlı-Taylan (1986) state that overt pronouns in Turkish are preferred when the referents have contrastive focus function or signal topic shift. Similarly, Gundel (1988) and Belletti et al. (2007) argue that previously introduced topics into the discourse normally requires subjects to be realized as null as they are employed in topic continuity contexts; however, it is necessary to use overt subjects when they carry new information. Therefore, as Öztürk

¹ Nele ve ailesi yol boyunca, ikinci katta bulunan güvertede yolculuk yaptılar. Nele, meraklı martılara el salladı ve burnundan giren havayı içeri çekti. Havanın ağzından içeri girmesine izin vermiyordu, çünkü havanın tadı çok tuzluydu. Sonunda feribot adaya vardı. Arabayla feribotun içinden çıktılar.

Nele and her family travelled along the way, on the second-floor deck. Nele waved to the curious seagulls and inhaled. She wouldn't let the air in through her mouth because the air tasted so salty. In the end, the ferry arrived at the island. Ø [They] got out of the ferry by car.

In the example above, the subject of the first and the last sentence is the same, *Nele and her family*. However, the last sentence is used with a null subject although there are a couple of sentences between the first mention of the referent and the last use. But it is still clear what the null form refers to.

(2001) argues, that overt pronouns can be regarded as pragmatically conditioned pronouns, it is possible to say that overt pronouns used in this study are pragmatically motivated, and the reason they are used as such is the informational value they carry. Although the focus of this study is not the pragmatic context, it could be included in future studies.

As stated previously that the noun phrases (52%) are found to occur more than null subjects (47%) and overt pronouns (1%) in the sample as a whole. The reason for this might be due to the high number of re-introduction contexts used in the books. Note that there are 3981 re-introduction contexts and 3064 maintenance contexts. Therefore, the more re-introduction contexts there are, the more noun phrases are expected to be used as seen in this study.

When these results are compared with the previous studies conducted in Turkish, similar outcomes have been observed. Azar et al. (2020) who study the language-specific patterns of reference tracking in Turkish and Dutch gather data from second-generation Turkish heritage speakers living in the Netherlands. They find that the speakers use richer forms of referring expressions, namely noun phrases, in re-introduction contexts, and follow correspondent strategies to maintain references, such that they mostly used null subjects in maintained contexts. When the distribution of referring expressions is compared, the noun phrases used in re-introduction contexts make up 74% of their data, and null subjects used in maintained contexts form 80%, which are similar to the findings of this study.

Similarly, in another study by Azar and Özyürek (2015), it is seen that Turkish speakers prefer more nominals, and they use them in detailed forms in re-introduction contexts. However, in maintained contexts null forms are used more than other linguistic types. Therefore, they mark more accessible referents with more reduced forms, whereas they mark less accessible ones with fuller forms. Nevertheless, when the whole data is

considered, null forms (47%) are used significantly more than other forms in their study, which contradicts with the findings in this study. A possible explanation for this might be the modality of the language, in that their study focuses on discourse narration via speech, whereas this study deals with written discourse.

There is one finding in their study that contradicts with the findings of this study as well. They find that third person pronoun 'o' is not used in re-introduction contexts but used in maintenance contexts (n=14). In contrast, the findings in this study are exact opposite: third person pronoun 'o' is never used in maintenance contexts but is used a total of 34 times in re-introduction contexts, in which overt and null subjects are used equally (n=17). They suggest that third person pronoun is used only for subject referents that have antecedents in the previous sentence and further argue that different kinds of pronouns are distinguished by Turkish speakers to mark different contexts. However, it is not the case in this study. This might arise from the differences between written and spoken discourse, or their findings might be specific to that study only. It should be noted that the total numbers in each study are very low. Therefore, the interpretations account for only the findings of these two studies and making a generalized interpretation would be misleading.

There are also other studies in different languages that have similar results. Debrelioska et al. (2013) examine whether German speakers mark the difference between referring expressions in referential contexts. They find that in speech German speakers use fuller expressions (NPs) in re-introduction contexts while they prefer zero anaphora in maintenance contexts. Similarly, Kayama (2003) makes a study in Japanese, which is a pro-drop language that allows zero pronouns. As is known, there is not any verb inflection in Japanese, therefore zero pronouns can be identified by their discursive features. So, in his study, Kayama finds that Japanese speakers use zero and overt pronouns in accordance with their discursive features, namely their accessibility, in that referents with high accessibility are used in null forms whereas those with low accessibility are used in overt forms. Another similar finding is found by Carminati (2002), who studies the two pronominal forms, namely overt and null forms, in Italian, and states that null subjects require more prominent and/or accessible referent than the overt form. So, the findings of the studies in these languages support previous research

about the use of referring expressions regarding the accessibility of them for reference tracking (Ariel, 2001).

Another finding of this study that can be related to pro-drop features of Turkish is the use of possessive constructions. Before, it is stated that both possessive and genitive-possessive structures are used in the story books and possessives are used significantly more than genitive-possessives. The fact that the number of possessive structures is really high can be explained with Turkish being a pro-drop language because it allows omissions in possessive structures as well, where the possessor may be left redundant, and the meaning is still clear with the suffix that is added to the head noun. And, in such structures, as mentioned earlier citing Kornfilt (1997) and Göksel and Kerslake (2005), third person pronouns are not used as much as the other pronouns. Considering the possessive structures in this study, with third person pronouns used 82% of all possessive structures, the findings seem to be supportive of earlier research in Turkish.

Previous research suggests that children at an early age are able to use null subjects in pro-drop languages such as Italian (Hyams, 1986) and American Sign Language (Lillo-Martin, 1986 & 1991) and in non-pro drop languages such as French (Pierce, 1987; Weissenborn, 1991) and English (Guerriero, Oshima-Takane, & Kuriyama, 2006). Even in German, where null subject use is very restricted, it is found that children make sentences without subjects beyond the limits of adult grammar (Clahsen, 1991; Weissenborn, 1991). Similarly, Turkish children show proficiency in using pronouns, including null forms, as early as two years of age (Altan, 2009; Slobin and Talay, 1984), which supports the findings of this study. In addition, knowing that inappropriate use of pronouns (e.g. using a noun phrase instead of a pronoun for a given entity) may result in such processing difficulties in adults that they spend more reading time when a referent is repeated with the same name every time it is re-introduced (Gordon, Grosz, & Gilliom, 1993), it can be stated that the use of referring expressions, both fuller and reduced forms, in the story books that are analysed in this study are appropriately used for children without causing any comprehension difficulties for them.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

In this study, referring expressions (noun phrase, overt pronoun and zero pronoun) in referential contexts (re-introduction and maintenance) are examined in Turkish story books in an attempt to realize how they are used in a pro-drop language. The data consist of two hundred story books, labelled as suitable to 0 – 7-year-old-children, published by major publishers in Turkey.

In the analysis, subjects of the sentences and the referring expressions that identify them are coded. Then they are categorized depending on the type of referential contexts they are used in based on the local reference approach by Hickman and Hendriks (1999).

The findings presented in Chapter 3 are given in the next section to answer the research questions.

4.1. CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This part answers the research questions based on the findings discussed in Chapter 3.

RQ1: Which referring expressions are used in children’s story books in Turkish?

In order to find the use and distribution of referring expressions, two hundred books were examined. Noun phrases, overt and zero pronouns were seen in the contexts. Among the referring expressions analysed in this study, noun phrases were found to be more frequent than the overt and zero pronouns with a total use of 3651 times in re-introduction and maintenance contexts. Similar to this figure was the use of zero pronouns which were used 3307 times in both contexts. Overt pronouns were found to be used 87 times, making them to be the least frequently used referring expressions in the books.

A further analysis was made regarding the use and distribution of personal pronouns overtly and covertly. The findings revealed that they were used a total of 417 times. Overt use of personal pronouns was 208 times and covert use was 209 times. Therefore, they were found to be equally used in both contexts.

In addition, not only possessives but also genitive-possessives were found to be used in the books. The number of possessives used in the books was higher than genitive-possessive structures, which can be explained with the pro-drop feature of Turkish, allowing possessor to be left redundant.

RQ2: Does the use of referring expressions (NP, overt pronoun and zero pronoun) change according to the referential contexts (re-introduction and maintenance)?

With the purpose of finding how referring expressions are used in different contexts, descriptive and statistical analyses were made. Noun phrases were found to be used much higher in re-introduction contexts (RI:3269, M:382), and null subjects were higher in maintenance contexts (RI:657, M:2650). Overt pronouns seemed to be equally distributed in each context (%1). To see the relation between referring expressions and referential contexts, Mann-Whitney U test was applied. It was found that the difference between the use of each referring expression and the contexts they were used in was statistically significant. These findings were expected because as Ariel (1988), Chafe (1994) and Givon (1983) state, noun phrases need more activation, and zero pronouns require less activation in the mind due to the distance between the referents.

In addition, the findings comply with the functions of the reference contexts, in that re-introduction contexts require a comprehensive subject construction for text receivers to fully understand the text message, and therefore full noun phrases are used in these

contexts. In maintenance contexts, on the other hand, null subjects can be used to avoid repeating the noun phrases by text producers, which is the feature of Turkish as a pro-drop language.

However, there was a high number of overt pronouns in maintenance contexts, which could be explained by the fact that pragmatic contexts affect the use of pronouns in Turkish as Enç (1986) and Erguvanlı Taylan (1986) argued that overt pronouns are preferred when there is similarity or contrast or change of topic. Similarly, this might also account for the use of null subjects in re-introduction contexts, in that the contexts seem to be pragmatically unmarked.

In addition, the findings show that overproduction of null subjects is not seen in Turkish unlike other null subject languages such as Italian.

In brief, the use of referring expressions changes according to referential contexts.

RQ3: Is the use of these referring expressions influenced by the pro-drop feature of Turkish?

As stated earlier, the default form to mark a reference is the null form in pro-drop languages (Carminati, 2002). Therefore, null forms are expected to be used much more than the other forms in reference marking if it is to be mentioned that pro-drop feature affects the use of referring expressions. When the pro-drop feature of Turkish is taken into consideration regarding its effect on the use of referring expressions, a couple of remarks may be suggested. The number of full noun phrases (n=3651) used in the books is higher than null subjects (n=3307) overt pronouns (n=87). Overall, it cannot be said that the pro-drop feature of Turkish affects the use of referring expressions completely because in a pro-drop language null subjects are expected to be used in referential contexts. However, in topic maintenance contexts, the findings show that null subjects, the default form in pro-drop languages, are used more frequently, where pro-drop

feature of Turkish can be mentioned. In addition, topic re-introduction contexts display a more frequent use of noun phrases in the sample, which is not in line with the features of pro-drop languages in general, in which overproduction of null subjects is seen. This is a feature that Turkish does not have. Therefore, the findings seem to be influenced by this feature. Another finding that can be attributed to the pro-drop feature of Turkish is the number of possessive constructions, in which the possessor is omitted, used in the books, which suggests evidence for the pro-drop feature of Turkish. However, the use of overt pronouns can be attributed to the claim by Öztürk (2001) that overt pronouns can be analyzed as pragmatically conditioned pronouns, which may call for a non-pro-drop analysis of Turkish.

4.2. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

This study examined the use of noun phrases, overt and zero pronouns in re-introduction and maintenance contexts in Turkish story books written for children. The number of books used in this study was two hundred. Therefore, the number books could be much higher to get more comprehensive results in further studies. In addition, the age range of the target audience of the story books analysed in the study was 0–7. In future studies those books targeting different age groups could be analysed and a comparative analysis can be made to see if reference tracking is realized differently in the story books written for children from different ages. Another point is that this study included only subject-to-subject coreferences used only in the re-introduction and maintenance contexts. Switch and introductions contexts could be included in further studies to see the realization of the subject-object coreferences. Also, including other text types could yield more exhaustive results concerning the reference tracking process in Turkish. Finally, this study did not take into consideration some constructions such as non-finite verbs or embedded clauses. Therefore, analysing the reference tracking in these constructions might be the aim of future studies.

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Elmer ve Su Aygırları, David Mckee, Mikado Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 4.baskı

En Güzel Yer, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

En Güzeli Benim Evim, Janet Bingham, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 4.baskı

Erken Kalkmayı Sevmeyen Kurbağa, Christine Beigel & Hervé Le Goff, 1001 Çiçek Kitaplar, Ankara, 2018, 2.baskı

Eyvah Eyvah, Suzi Moore, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 1.baskı

Fare'nin Sürprizi, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Fırtınalı Gece Debi Gliori, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 4.baskı

Fil Ne Dedi?, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Fil ve Aslan, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Fil ve Havuz, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Gökyüzündeki Gizli Bahçe, Linda Sarah & Fiona Lumbers, Pearson, İstanbul, 2020, 2.baskı

Güz Gelince, Işıl Erverdi, Kumdan Kale Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 1.baskı

Hala Dost Muyuz?, Karen Fung, Kumdan Kale Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019, 1.baskı

Hediyesini İsteyen Fare, Christine Beigel & Hervé Le Goff, 1001 Çiçek Kitaplar, Ankara, 2018, 2.baskı

Her Şeye Hayır Diyen Aslan, Christine Beigel & Hervé Le Goff, 1001 Çiçek Kitaplar, Ankara, 2019, 5.baskı

Hiç Hata Yapmayan Kız, Mark Pett & Gary Rubinstein, 1001 Çiçek Kitaplar, Ankara, 2016, 5.baskı

Hipopandafare, Jools Bentley, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 1.baskı

İki Yavru Maymun, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

İyi Geceler, Emily Manning & Becky Cameron, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 1.baskı

İyi Uykular Arkadaşlar, Linda Ashman, Beyaz Balina Yayınları, İstanbul, 2021, 2. Baskı

İyi Yürekli Dev Memo, Julia Donaldson & Axel Scheffler, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 6.baskı

Kağıt Bebekler, Julia Donaldson, Türkiye İş Bankası kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 3.baskı

Kahverengi Ayıcık ve Sayılar, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Kaplan'ın Dansı, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Kaplanın Peşinde, Melanie Joyce, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019, 1.baskı

Kar, Sam Usher, Türkiye İş Bankası kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 1.baskı

Karanlıkta Küçük Bir Işık, Marie Voigt, Pearson, İstanbul, 2019, 1.baskı

Karnı Aç Boa Yılanı, Christine Beigel & Hervé Le Goff, 1001 Çiçek Kitaplar, Ankara, 2018, 2.baskı

Kayıp Köpek Üzüm 2: Kayıp Penguen Badem'in İzinde, Claire Freedman & Kate Hindley, Pearson, İstanbul, 2018, 1.baskı

Kediş'in Armağanı, Aytül Akal, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 4.baskı

Kırılmayı Sevmeyen Koyun, Gemma Merino, Pearson, İstanbul, 2019, 3.baskı

Kış Gelinçe, Işıl Erverdi, Kumdan Kale Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 1.baskı

Kıvrucuk Çokcesur Gece Yarısı Süper-Kahramanı, Anne Cottringer & Alex T. Smith, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 3.baskı

Kimin Yuvası, Rebecca Cobb , Türkiye İş Bankası kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017

Koca Roni, Catherine Rayner, Türkiye İş Bankası kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 1.baskı

Korkma, Korkma Düşmekten, Bak yanındayım Ben!, Mark Sperring & Layn Marlow, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 2.baskı

Korkusuz Küçük Balık, Future Co., DörtGöz Yayınları, İstanbul

Köpek'in Ayakları, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Köpekler Bale Yapmaz, Anna Kemp, Pearson, İstanbul, 2019, 7.baskı

Kötü Sözler Söyleyen Koala, Christine Beigel & Hervé Le Goff, 1001 Çiçek Kitaplar, Ankara, 2020, 3.baskı

Kurabiye'nin Orman Macerası, Debi Gliori, Türkiye İş Bankası kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 4.baskı

Kutup Ayısı'nın Yürüyüşü, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Kuyruksuz Yalan, Rebecca Ashdown , Türkiye İş Bankası kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 1.baskı

Kuzucuk ve Bahar, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Küçük İnsanlar & Büyük Hayaller - Audrey Hepburn, Maria Isabel Sanchez Vegara, Martı Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2018, 1.baskı

- Küçük İnsanlar & Büyük Hayaller - Coco Chanel*, Maria Isabel Sanchez Vegara, Martı Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2018, 4.baskı
- Küçük İnsanlar & Büyük Hayaller - Ella Fitzgerald*, Maria Isabel Sanchez Vegara, Martı Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2018, 1.baskı
- Küçük İnsanlar & Büyük Hayaller - Mahatma Gandhi*, Maria Isabel Sanchez Vegara, Martı Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı
- Küçük İnsanlar & Büyük Hayaller - Rosa Parks*, Lisbeth Kaiser, Martı Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2018, 1.baskı
- Küçük İnsanlar & Büyük Hayaller - Stephen Hawking*, Maria Isabel Sanchez Vegara, Martı Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı
- Küçük Penguen'i Hıçkırık Tutarsa*, Tadgh Bentley, Sola Kidz, İstanbul, 2018, 1.baskı
- Kütüphane Tavşanı*, Annie Silvestro & Tatjana Mai-Wyss, Beyaz Balina Yayınları, İstanbul, 2021, 2.baskı
- Maymun'un Sorunu*, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı
- Meli'nin Çılgın Saçları*, Claire Freedman & Jane Massey, Pearson, İstanbul, 2018, 2.baskı
- Meraklı Yavru Tavşan*, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı
- Minik Çağlar Anaokuluna Başlıyor*, Christian Tielmann & Sabine Kraushaar, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 1.baskı
- Minik Elif Anaokuluna Başlıyor*, Liane Scheider & Eva Wenzel-Bürger, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 2.baskı
- Minik Elif'in Tuvalet Eğitimi*, Liane Scheider & Janina Görrissen, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019, 5. baskı
- Minik Tavşan Lunaparkta*, Nalan Aktaş Sönmez, Çamlıca Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2015, 1.baskı
- Minik Üzgün Kaktüs*, Gonca Mine Çelik, Kumdan Kale Yayınları, Ankara, 2017, 1.baskı
- Mutlu Suaygırı*, Richard Edwards & Carol Liddiment, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 15.baskı
- Nele Ailesiyle Denize Gidiyor*, Usch Luhn, Çocuk Gezegeni, İstanbul, 2016, 1.baskı

Okula gitmek İstemeyen Zebra, Christine Beigel & Hervé Le Goff, 1001 Çiçek Kitaplar, Ankara, 2018, 4.baskı

Ori'nin Yıldızları, Kristyna Litten, Pearson, İstanbul, 2020, 2.baskı

Oyuncu Susam, Aytül Akal, Türkiye İş Bankası kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 4.baskı

Ördek'in Arkadaşı, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Pamuk ile Topak – Arkadaşım Nerede?, Michael Engler, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019, 1.baskı

Penguen'in Şarkısı, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Pufi Yumak Peşinde, Aytül Akal, Türkiye İş Bankası kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 3.baskı

Roko Püfleyen Küçük Dinozor, David Bedford & Mandy Stanley, Pearson , İstanbul, 2019, 4.baskı

Sanço ve 101 Sosis, Yuval Zommer, Türkiye İş Bankası kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 2.baskı

Sincap'ın Seyahati, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Sudaki Fil, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Süper Patates – 2: Sebzelerin Gücü Adına!, Sue Hendra & Paul Linnet, Pearson, İstanbul, 2019, 4.baskı

Süper Patates – 3: Kaçak Bezelye'nin Dönüşü, Sue Hendra & Paul Linnet, Pearson, İstanbul, 2019, 3.baskı

Süper Patates – 4: Kaçak Bezelye Krallığı, Sue Hendra & Paul Linnet, Pearson, İstanbul, 2019, 2.baskı

Süper Patates – 6: Süpermarkette Karnaval, Sue Hendra & Paul Linnet, Pearson, İstanbul, 2019, 1.baskı

Şarkıcı Denizkızı, Julia Donaldson & Lydia Monks, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019, 5.baskı

Şaşırtıcı Hayvan Yavruları, Chris Packham, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 2.baskı

Şerlok Hollywood'da, Helen Hancocks, Türkiye İş Bankası kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 1.baskı

Şerlok ve Kayıp Başyapıt, Helen Hancocks, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 1.baskı

Şu Yaramaz Tavşanlar, Ciara Flood, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019, 4.baskı

Tatlı Bela Popi, Emma Yarlett, Türkiye İş Bankası kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 1.baskı

Tavşan'a Sürpriz, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Tavşancık Ve Gece Macerası, Melanie Joyce, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 1.baskı

Tepedeki Büyük Mavi Şey, Yuval Zommer, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 2.baskı

Tırtık Tütüyor!, Robert Starling, Final Kültür Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019, 4.baskı

Tilki Fred ve Yaban Dünya, Clive McFarland, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 1.baskı

Tombik Ayı Kaybolunca, Karma Wilson & Jane Chapman, Pearson, İstanbul, 2018, 4.baskı

Tombik Ayı Uyuyamıyor, Karma Wilson, Pearson, İstanbul, 2018, 1.baskı

Tombik Ayı'nın Dişi Sallanıyor, Karma Wilson & Jane Chapman, Pearson, İstanbul, 2018, 4. baskı

Traktör Macerası, Heather Amery & Stephen Cartwright, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019, 7.baskı

Tuhaf Bir Gün, Rebecca Cobb, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 3.baskı

Uçan Süpürge İyi Yürekli Cadı ve 4 Kafadar, Julia Donaldson & Axel Scheffler, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 3.baskı

Uğur Böceği Uç Uç Lusi, Shanon King-Chan, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 2.baskı

Utangaç Ayı Monti, Duncan Beedie, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 3.baskı

Uyurgezer Vili, Courtney Dicmas, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 1.baskı

Ünlü Olmak İsteyen Tembel Hayvan, Christine Beigel & Hervé Le Goff, 1001 Çiçek Kitaplar, Ankara, 2018, 2.baskı

Üzüm'ün Beslenme Kitabı, Işıl Erverdi, Kumdan Kale Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019, 1.baskı

Üzüm'ün Tuvalet Kitabı, Işıl Erverdi, Kumdan Kale Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019, 1.baskı

Üzüm'ün Uyku Kitabı, Işıl Erverdi, Kumdan Kale Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019, 1.baskı

Yağmur, Sam Usher, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 1.baskı

Yalnız Değilsin Cleo, Sassafras De Bruyn, Meav Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2020, 2.baskı

Yaramaz Ejderhalar, Debi Gliori, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 4.baskı

Yaramaz Penguenin Maceraları, Susie Jenkin-Pearce & Tina Macnaughton, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 9.baskı

Yaşlı Bilge Ayı Neler Gördü?, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Yaşlı Bilge Ayı'nın Şapkası, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Yavru Panda'nın Rüyaları, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Yavru Tilki'nin Arkadaşı, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

Yayazula, Julia Donaldson & Axel Scheffler, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 5.baskı

Yayazulanın Çocuğu, Julia Donaldson & Axel Scheffler, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018, 3.baskı

Zeynep'in Kırmızı Çizmeleri, Francesca Chessa, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, 6.baskı

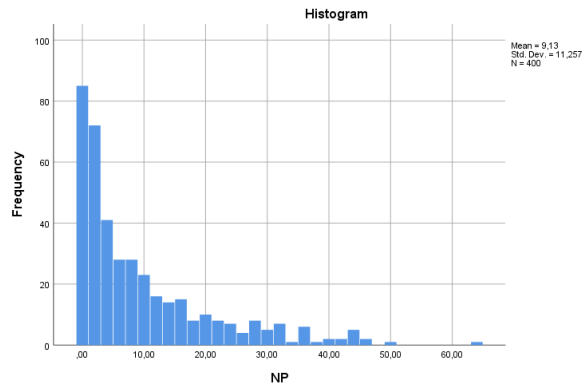
Zogi, Julia Donaldson & Axel Scheffler, Türkiye İş Bankası kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019, 8.baskı

Zürafa Saklama Rehberi, Michelle Robinson & Claire Powell, Pearson, İstanbul, 2019, 3.baskı

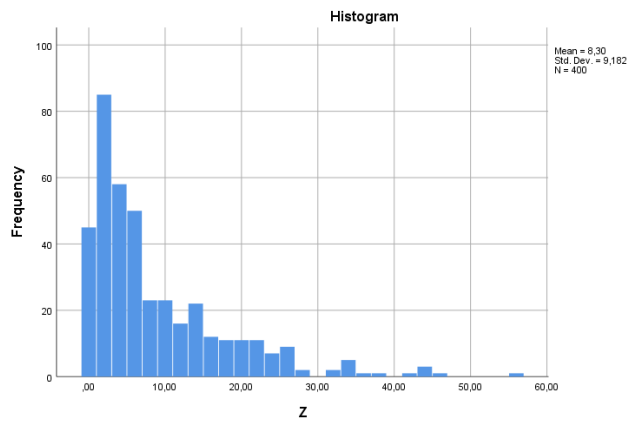
Zürafa'nın Doğum Günü, Sam Taplin, Mikado Çocuk Yayınları, İstanbul, 2020, 1.baskı

APPENDIX 2

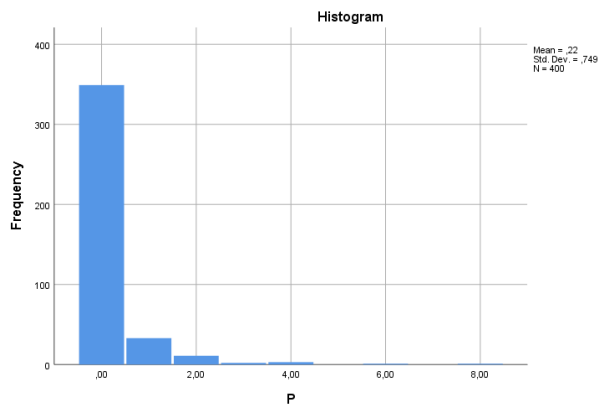
Histogram of the Variable 'Noun Phrase'



Histogram of the Variable 'Zero Pronoun'

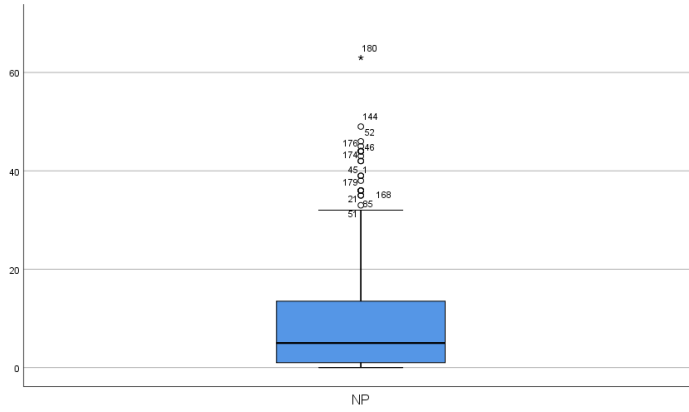


Histogram of the Variable 'Overt Pronoun'

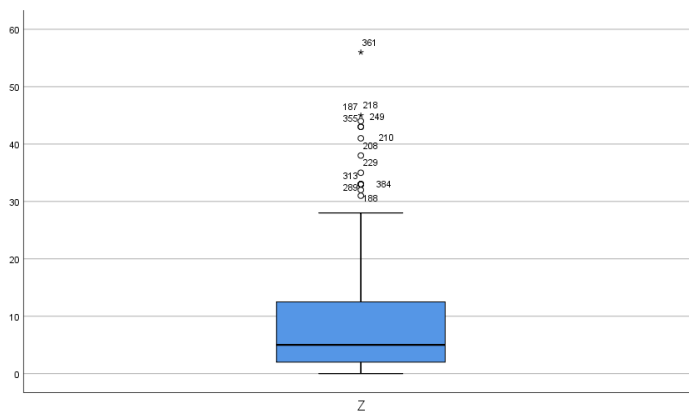


APPENDIX 3

Boxplot of the Variable 'Noun Phrase'



Boxplot of the Variable 'Zero Pronoun'



Boxplot of the Variable 'Overt Pronoun'

