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Understanding retold stories: The marking of unwitnessed events in bilingual Turkish

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This paper investigates the marking of indirect experience in a corpus of conversations recorded in Turkish-German bilingual families. Based on children's retellings of family stories, which necessitate a grammatical distinction between personally experienced and narratively transmitted events, the paper combines a quantitative with a discourse-analytical approach. The quantitative analysis shows that the bilingual children use indirective markers considerably less than their monolingual peers. We present three case studies, analysing input, discourse establishment, speaker-hearer interaction, comprehension, and production of forms. These analyses show how, in talking about events that occurred a generation ago, the bilingual children use unmarked, neutral forms, creating situations of confusion for their adult interlocutors, with ensuing reactions. We argue that at the formal, grammatical, level, all three children seem to follow their own system, unaffected by the adults' formal ways, their hints and recastings.

Keywords: evidentiality, indirectivity, Turkish-German bilingualism, retold narratives, understanding

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Annem beni ilk gördüğünde benden iki yaş büyük ağabeyime göre daha zayıf, daha kırılgan ve daha ince olduğunu düşündü. Aslında “düşünmüş” demeliydim. ‘When my mother first saw me, she thought that I was weaker, more fragile and thinner than my two-years-old brother. “She reportedly thought” I should actually have said.’ (Pamuk 2005: 16)

1. Introduction

This is a study about the marking of reported, unwitnessed events in a corpus of conversations recorded in Turkish-German bilingual families. The data are part of the ENDFAS/SKOBİ corpus (Rehbein 2009, Rehbein, Herkenrath & Karakoç 2009a), which documents the situation of the second and third generation, in the

1990s and at the beginning of the 21st century.¹ Indirectivity, a specific type of evidentiality in Turkic languages, implies that a given statement is “indirect in the sense that the narrated event is not stated directly, but in an indirect way, by reference to its reception by a conscious subject, a recipient” (Johanson 2000: 61). The realisation of the reception may be through hearsay, inference or perception. In Turkish, indirectivity is realised by means of specific grammatical markers: the verbal suffix *-mİş* or the copular enclitic *-(y)mİş*. Languages such as German, which lack grammatical evidentiality, “use evidentiality strategies based on optional expressions” (Johanson 2006: 72; Csató 2009 for a Swedish-Turkish comparison). In this paper we are interested in potential changes *in statu nascendi* in immigrant Turkish, approximately in the sense of Johanson (1991) and Rehbein, Herkenrath & Karakoç (2009b).

Earlier pilot studies based on our corpus reveal that the grammatical marking of indirectivity occurs less in the bilingual data than in the monolingual data. Notably, the bilingual children hardly realise any *-mİş*-based narrative discourses (cf. Rehbein & Karakoç 2004; Karakoç 2006 and 2007; Rehbein, Herkenrath & Karakoç 2009b: 190–192, all based on a pilot corpus). Karakoç (2006) found that even in contexts in which they receive *-mİş*-based input from adults, the children seem to follow a system of their own, using neutral aspectual markers that do not encode indirectivity. Similar results were reported earlier in Boeschoten (1990), Pfaff (1994), Aarssen (2001) and Akıncı (2003). Boeschoten found that some of the Turkish-Dutch bilingual children at the ages of four and five seem to be lacking a fully developed functional differentiation between *-DI* and *-mİş*. Pfaff’s (1994) Berlin data show some avoidances and deviations from monolingual acquisition, but no mistakes; Pfaff (2018) finds a quantitative decline in schoolchildren, but still a variety of functions. Arslan (2016) neurolinguistically measures the degree of awareness of “the semantic and pragmatic content” of evidential forms in heritage speakers, using a schematic testing method based on constructed sentences. He finds that heritage speakers notice mistakes less accurately and more slowly than monolinguals; see also Arslan, De Kok & Bastiaanse (2017).

Taking these overall results as a foundation, the present paper aims to do three things: first, to present a quantitative overview of indirectives in the entire corpus; second, to establish a typology of children and/or discourse constellations, focusing

1 Previous versions of this paper were presented at the *13th International Conference on Turkish Linguistics* at Uppsala University (Karakoç 2006), at the *Turkologentag 2016 / Second European Convention on Turkic, Ottoman and Turkish Studies*, Universität Hamburg (Karakoç & Herkenrath 2016) and at the *11th International Symposium on Bilingualism*, University of Limerick (Karakoç & Herkenrath 2017). We wish to thank participants in the conference discussions, two anonymous reviewers, as well as Everett Thiele for proofreading. We also thank the SKOBI student assistants for contributing to the data collection and corpus building process, and especially the children and their families.

on one elicitation design; third, to present three case studies from discourse-analytical points of view. While our quantification takes into account the three basic uses of indirectives, hearsay/reportive, inferential and perceptive (Johanson 2000), our qualitative part focuses on the former: hearsay/reportive contexts. We address the following questions: (1) How are indirective forms used in family retellings? (2) How does the nonrealization of expected indirective markers affect the conversation? (3) In which contexts in our data can the use of indirectives be said to be necessary?

Section 2 briefly summarises the formal and functional aspects of Turkish indirectives. Section 3 describes the data, including our indirect elicitation schemes and transcription conventions. Section 4 presents the quantitative results. Section 5 describes our corpus-linguistic methods of half-automatic search for potentially relevant passages in a large corpus of natural conversations. Sections 6–8 present three qualitative case studies. Section 9 concludes the paper.

2. Indirectivity in Turkish

According to Johanson (2000: 61), ‘indirectivity’ in a given statement implies that an event is presented not as such, but through an act of reception by a conscious subject. “The recipient is told/ concludes/ perceives/ has been told/ concluded/ perceived that X is the case” (Johanson 2006: 76). Johanson in this connection analyses indirectivity as a marked category contributing to an attitudinal specification: an operator that is separate from the proposition and adds the acknowledgement of the narrated event by a recipient. Thus, indirectives contribute to a two-layeredness of the information. This idea will play a role when it comes to interpreting the status of unmarked forms in our data. Indirectivity in Turkish is closely connected to the aspectual value of postterminality (Johanson 1971: 283, 277–309, Johanson 2000: 62). This agrees with crosslinguistic findings (Aikhenvald 2004: 105, 112–116) and acquisitional observations (Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986: 164–166). The two categories are interrelated in that indirective forms draw attention to the *ex-post* perceptual status of an event.

In the wider typological discussion, the obligatoriness of evidential marking, in languages in which it is grammatically expressed, has been an issue. We can even come across the following remarks: “In languages with grammatical evidentiality, marking how one knows something is a must. Leaving this out results in a grammatically awkward ‘incomplete’ sentence [...] An evidentially unmarked statement (if at all possible in a language) may be treated with suspicion and ultimately contempt. Those who cannot get their evidentials right may be branded as crazy, unreliable, and generally not worth talking to” Aikhenvald (2004: 6, see also 9f). Though not this drastically, Turkish, too, is a language for which the grammatical marking of indirectivity has sometimes been regarded as obligatory. However, Johanson (1971: 285, 2003: 275f, 2006: 85) argues that, depending on context, unmarked forms, such as *-DI*, can be interpreted as simply factive or as evidentially

neutral and 'default'. Thus, the unmarked forms do not exclusively signal direct experience, in Turkish. Aikhenvald (2004: 70–87) typologically mentions default systems, reliance on contextual cues, textual scope of recoverability, and scattered patterns, as well as combinations of grammatical marking with other strategies. The distinction between non-evidentiality and neutrality and its relation to the narrative constellation has some relevance for our data analysis.

The indirective forms are used in certain narrative discourse types, based on any kind of indirect information (see Johanson 1971). Aikhenvald's (2004: 310–315) cross-linguistic inventory of evidential discourse types covers a range of discourse types spanning narrative and everyday speech, including traditional folk tales, fables, legends, myths, and dreams, as well as historical narratives and, perhaps most relevantly, stories about ancestors.² Depending on perceptual attitude, discourse type conventions, styles, and also contextual interpretation, the marking of verb forms as indirective can become a matter of expectation rather than obligatoriness. Johanson (2006: 76, 84f), in relation to the propositional-receptional two-layeredness, mentioned above, discusses issues of personal involvement and subjective registers. Within the 'historical *tunc*-narratives' (Johanson 1971: 76–87), relevant for the present study, the distinction between *-DI*-based and *-mİş*-based narratives may become secondary wherever the retold character of a story is contextually clear or where the distinction is felt to be inessential (Johanson 1971: 79f, 309). *-DI* may therefore also be found in 'non-autoptical' contexts.

Turkish has two markers of indirectivity. The copular enclitic *-(y)mİş* (< *imiş*) is a pure indirective marker. It follows nominals (e.g. *çocuk-muş* < *çocuk imiş*, *güzel-miş* < *güzel imiş*) or nominal forms of verbs (e.g. *yap-ıyor-muş* < *yap-ıyor i-miş*, *yap-acak-miş* < *yap-acak i-miş*, *yap-mış-mış* < *yap-mış imiş*). In our quantification, we regard all occurrences of this form as indirective. The verbal suffix *-mİş*, can, apart from indirectivity, also express postterminality. We count as non-indirective (postterminal) all *-mİş*-forms followed by either a copula (e.g. *yap-mış-tı* < *yap-mış idi*, *yap-mış-sa* < *yap-mış ise*, *yap-mış-ken* < *yap-mış iken*, *yap-mış-tır*, *yap-mış ol-*) or a postposition (e.g. *yap-mış gibi*, *yap-mış kadar*), or functioning as participial attributes to a head noun (*bunu yap-mış çocuk*). All other occurrences of the suffix *-mİş* (e.g. *yap-mış*, *yap-mış-lar*) are indirective; see Table 1.

- 2 To consider a literary view on the matter: *Türkçede rüyaları, masalları ve doğrudan yaşamadığımız şeyleri anlatırken kullandığımız ve çok sevdiğim miş'li geçmiş zaman beşikteyken, tekerlekli çocuk arabasındayken ya da ilk defa yürürken yaşadıklarımızı anlatmak için daha uygundur. Çünkü bu ilk hayat deneyimlerimizi bize yıllar sonra annemiz babamız anlatır...* (Pamuk 2005 [2003]: 16) 'In Turkish, my beloved *-miş*-past, which we use when telling dreams, fairy tales and things that we did not experience directly, is more appropriate for telling what we experienced when in the cradle, in the pram, or when walking for the first time. Because it is our parents who, years later, tell us about these first life experiences of ours...'

Table 1: Examples of indirective and non-indirective forms

[+INDIR]	[-INDIR]
<i>çocuk-muş</i> [child-COP.EVID]	<i>yap-mış-tı</i> [do-POST-COP.PST]
<i>güzel-miş</i> [beautiful-COP.EVID]	<i>yap-mış ol-</i> [do-POST COP]
<i>yap-ıyor-muş</i> [do-PRS-COP.EVID]	<i>yap-mış-sa</i> [do-POST-COP.CD]
<i>yap-ar-mış</i> [do-AOR-COP.EVID]	<i>yap-mış-ken</i> [do-POST-COP.CV]
<i>yap-acak-mış</i> [do-FUT-COP.EVID]	<i>yap-mış-tır</i> [do-POST-COP.PRS]
<i>yap-mış-mış</i> [do-POST-COP.EVID]	<i>yap-mış gibi</i> [do-POST like]
<i>yap-mış</i> [do-EVID]	<i>bunu yap-mış çocuk</i> [this.ACC do-POST child]

3. Data

The ENDFAS/SKOBI corpus (Table 2) is a spoken-language corpus, containing spontaneous and elicited speech by bilingual and monolingual Turkish children and their families.³ It consists of two subcorpora: the ENDFAS data, collected in 1992–1996; and the SKOBI data, collected in 1999–2006. This situation makes them now amenable to diachronic comparisons, with respect to more recently collected data or data to be collected in the future. Both projects were based on fieldwork in Hamburg and Turkey. Their aim was to investigate the bilingual and monolingual development of connected speech in Turkish and German. The corpus continues to be a work in progress; it presently comprises more than 200,000 transcribed utterances or some 750,000 words.

The data were collected by applying a number of *Evocative Field Experiments* (EFEs), specifically designed to create situations of authentic communication without eliciting any specific grammatical forms (Herkenrath & Rehbein 2012). Discourse constellations necessitating the use of indirectives may emerge throughout the entire corpus. However, some experiments systematically result in discourse types that require the expression of a hearsay function, namely retellings of autobiographical narratives (EFE 2). The idea of an EFE 2 is to make a child listen to a childhood narrative from one of her/his parents and to later ask her/him to retell this story to a listener who was not present. These recordings consist of two or three parts, ideally recorded on different days and involving child and adult speakers in changing speaker and listener roles. The retelling requires the use of indirective forms: childhood stories told by one's parents concern events that one cannot have experienced first-hand. An 'EFE 2' thus creates favourable conditions for a use of indirectives without directly targeting any specific grammatical forms or even discourse types. We initially consider the quantitative picture for the entire corpus and for the 'EFE 2' recordings, and then focus on our qualitative case studies.

3 The SKOBI project was part of the Collaborative Research Centre 538 on Multilingualism, University of Hamburg. The ENDFAS project was a predecessor. Both projects were sponsored by the German Research Foundation and supervised by Jochen Rehbein.

Table 2: Turkish recordings within the ENDFAS and SKOBI corpora (adapted from Herkenrath & Rehbein 2012) (mono: monolingual, bil: bilingual)⁴

Data collection: project acronym, years	Number of all children ⁵ (aged 4-14), subset of these: main informants (in brackets)			Number of recorded discourses			Transcribed data					
							Number of discourses			Number of utterances		
	mono	bil	Σ	mono	bil	Σ	mono	bil	Σ	mono	bil	Σ
ENDFAS 1992-1995	21 (9)	41 (14)	62 (23)	150	151	301	37	80	117	42,157	68,129	110,286
SKOBI 1999-2004	100 (11)	31 (10)	131 (21)	473	227	700	40	69	109	39,438	58,476	97,914
Σ	121 (20)	72 (24)	193 (44)	623	378	1001	77	149	226	81,595	126,605	208,200

The data are presented in HIAT (*Halbinterpretative Arbeitstranskription* ‘semi-interpretative working transcription’) format, which was inspired by musical score formats (Ehlich & Rehbein 1976, Rehbein et al. 2004), using EXMARaLDA software (Schmidt & Wörner 2014). This means that for each speaker/hearer, utterances are arranged on a tier symbolising a time scale, broken into lines. Each speaker tier is accompanied by annotational tiers for glossing and translation, forming a bundle of tiers: a ‘score area’. In the event of turn changes, hearer signals or overlapping speech, there may be parallel bundles of tiers: one for each speaker.

4. Quantitative results

Conducting a string-of-sign search of *-mİş* in the overall corpus,⁶ we obtain 11,042 findings: 8,405 for the monolingual group and 2,637 for the bilingual group. These figures include both indirective and postterminal forms and both children and adults. Tables 3 and 4 present the absolute figures and frequency per 100 utterances for those age groups (4–9) for which we have systematic data, as well as for adult family members and interviewers. The utterance numbers for the bilingual children were divided by two in order to account for frequent codeswitching in the bilingual Turkish data.

4 The total number of words is 754,633 (393,392 for ENDFAS and 361,241 for SKOBI).

5 The numbers of adults participating in the recordings are arranged by groups of speakers: 52 living in Germany and 45 living in Turkey, as well as 11 interviewers for the ENDFAS corpus. The SKOBI corpus comprises 27 adults living in Germany, 66 in Turkey, and 19 interviewers.

6 The formula for the string-of-signs search, which must account for all allomorphs, is in this case: `\b[\wİİÖÜüÇÇğĞş$]+[m][ııüü][ş][\wİöüçğş]*\b` (Schmidt & Wörner 2009, Schmidt 2010, Herkenrath & Rehbein 2012: 132f).

Table 3: Findings of *-mİş* and *-(y)mİş* by age group, in absolute numbers and per 100 utterances, monolingual Turkish recordings

Age	utterances	[+INDIR]			
		<i>-mİş</i>	<i>-(y)mİş</i>	<i>-(Ø)İyormuş</i>	<i>-(V)rmİş</i>
4	5,413	386 (7.13%)	52 (0.96%)	13 (0.24%)	-
5	3,124	131 (4.19%)	17 (0.54%)	7 (0.22%)	1 (0.03%)
6	6,853	921 (13.4%)	166 (2.42%)	78 (1.13%)	20 (0.29%)
7	7,377	752 (10.19%)	92 (1.24%)	81 (1.09%)	5 (0.06%)
8	2,748	265 (9.64%)	22 (0.80%)	17 (0.61%)	6 (0.21%)
9	2,967	378 (12.74%)	47 (1.58%)	54 (1.82%)	23 (0.77%)
adult	19,213	960 (4.99%)	157 (0.81%)	78 (0.40%)	23 (0.11%)
interviewer	23,179	1452 (6.26%)	486 (2.09%)	294 (1.26%)	23 (0.09%)
Σ	71,779				

Age	utterances	[+INDIR]			[-INDIR]
		<i>-(y)AcAkmİş</i>	<i>-mİşmİş</i>	Σ	
4	5,413	6 (0.11%)	-	457 (8.44%)	86 (1.58%)
5	3,124	4 (0.12%)	3 (0.09%)	163 (5.21%)	45 (1.44%)
6	6,853	15 (0.21%)	-	1,200 (17.51%)	124 (1.80%)
7	7,377	8 (0.10%)	-	938 (12.71%)	105 (1.42%)
8	2,748	5 (0.18%)	-	315 (11.46%)	29 (1.05%)
9	2,967	1 (0.03%)	1 (0.03%)	504 (16.98%)	70 (2.35%)
adult	19,213	35 (0.18%)	1 (0.01%)	1,254 (6.52%)	188 (0.97%)
interviewer	23,179	24 (0.10%)	-	2,279 (9.83%)	467 (2.01%)
Σ	71,779			7,110	1,114

Table 4: Findings of *-mİş* and *-(y)mİş* by age group, in absolute numbers and per 100 utterances, bilingual Turkish recordings

Age	utterances	[+INDIR]			
		<i>-mİş</i>	<i>-(y)mİş</i>	<i>-(Ø)İyormuş</i>	<i>-(V)rmİş</i>
4	1,884	20 (1%)	12 (0.63%)	8 (0.42%)	-
5	3,662	49 (1.33%)	11 (0.30%)	4 (0.10%)	1
6	1,224	66 (5.39%)	5 (0.40%)	2 (0.16%)	-
7	2,194	109 (4.96%)	11 (0.50%)	9 (0.41%)	-
8	1,220	19 (1.55%)	5 (0.4%)	-	-
9	1,908	12 (0.62%)	9 (0.47%)	3 (0.15%)	-
adult	12,343	559 (4.52%)	76 (0.61%)	45 (0.36%)	7
interviewer	32,898	688 (2.09%)	302 (0.91%)	173 (0.52%)	9 (0.02%)
Σ	57,333				

Age	utterances	[+INDIR]			[-INDIR]
		<i>-(y)AcAkmİş</i>	<i>-mİşmİş</i>	Σ	
4	1,884	6 (0.31%)	-	46 (2.44%)	9 (0.47%)
5	3,662	-	-	65 (1.77%)	12 (0.32%)
6	1,224	-	-	73 (5.96%)	5 (0.40%)
7	2,194	3 (0.13%)	-	132 (6.01%)	7 (0.31%)
8	1,220	1 (0.08%)	-	25 (2.04%)	3 (0.24%)
9	1,908	4 (0.20%)	-	28 (1.46%)	9 (0.47%)
adult	12,343	5 (0.04%)	-	692 (5.6%)	95 (0.76%)
interviewer	32,898	9 (0.02%)		1,181 (3.58%)	255 (0.77%)
Σ	57,333			2,242	395

Since our study is interested in the marking of indirectivity alone, we exclude the postterminal findings in a manual step. This leaves us with 7,264 for the monolingual group and 2,242 for the bilingual group, respectively, and 9,506 overall. Figure

1 is a visual comparison of frequency per hundred utterances.⁷ We can make the following observations: (1) Overall, the quantitative level is higher in the monolingual group, a tendency applying to all age groups; (2) in the preschool years (i.e. four- and five-year-olds), both groups use indirective forms, the monolingual group already reaching adult levels of frequency; (3) in the six- and seven-year-olds, both groups use indirectives at adult levels of frequency, both displaying a clear increase; (4) in the eight- and nine-year-olds, the monolingual children continue at adult level, whereas the bilingual children seem to quantitatively retreat into the earlier patterns, raising questions to be dealt with in the qualitative analysis in Sections 6–8; (5) as for the adult family members, the overall picture does not suggest much of a quantitative difference between those living in Turkey and those living in Germany.

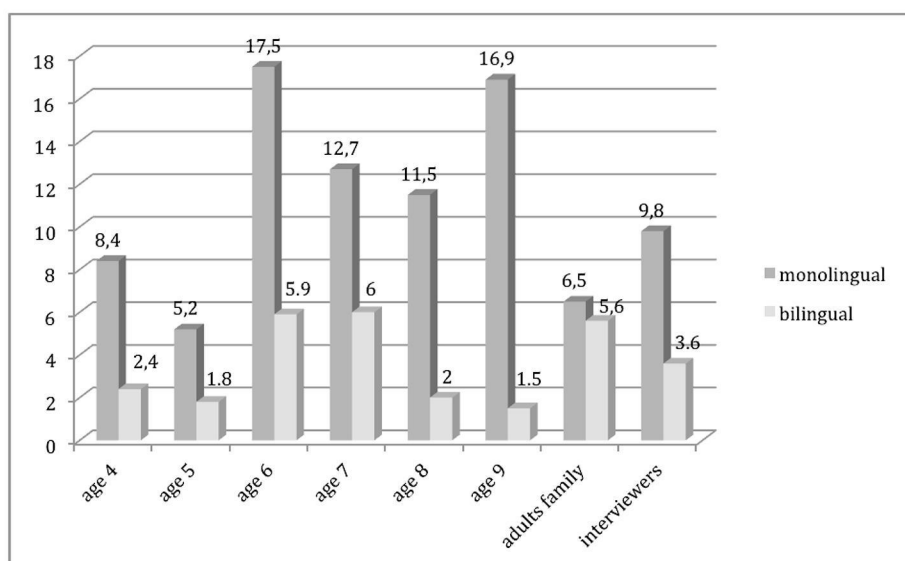


Figure 1: Frequency of evidential forms per 100 utterances, monolingual and bilingual data, in the overall corpus

In what follows, we focus on a small subcorpus, namely retellings of family stories in the data of the individual bilingual children (EFE 2). Table 5 lists the absolute numbers of indirective tokens produced by anyone present in retellings of family stories (see Section 3); this includes the children and siblings (in boldface), adult family members, and interviewers.

⁷ While we do not have systematic data for all age groups, our data do reveal indirective forms in two- and three-year-olds in the monolingual data.

Table 5: Individual bilingual children (retellings of family stories only)

Child	Age	Date	Recording	Speaker category	Findings
Zerrin (born 1983)	8	19920329	0139a	child	8
				Faruk (5), sibling	4
				interviewer (Tül)	12
				mother	3
	8	19920409	0245a	interviewer (Tül)	5
				mother	2
				unknown child	39
Seyfi (born 1984)	8	19920329	0185a	child	1
				interviewer (Tül)	5
	8	19920329	0152b	mother	36
Altan (born 1986)	8	19920329	0185a	mother	44
				child	3
	5	19920401	0154	father	52
Şehmuz (born 1986)	6	19920412	0192a	interviewer (Bil)	3
				interviewer (Tnr)	1
	8	19920706	0164	interviewer (Bil)	4
Sibel (born 1987)	8	19920714	0198b	sibling, age unknown	1
				interviewer (Sin)	1
	4	19920228	0064	interviewer (Tnr)	3
Muhsin (born 1993)	4	19920325	0151	mother	12
				child	4
	11	20050517a	1449	interviewer (Bil)	43
Binnaz (born 1994)	11	20050517b	1448	Sercan (7), sibling	87
				mother	44
	11	20050517a	1449	interviewer (İze)	10
Hacı (born 1994)	7	20021008	0991	child	138
				interviewer (Tün)	64
	7	20021024	0938	interviewer (İze)	2
Dilan (born 1995)	8	20021024	0938	interviewer (Nes)	5
				mother	6
	9	20050421	1451	child	4
Fikret (born 1995)	9	20050421	1451	interviewer (İze)	61
				interviewer (Tün)	18
	9	20050421	1451	interviewer (Tün)	2
Hacı (born 1994)	10	20050421a	1445	interviewer (İze)	2
				mother	9
	10	20050421b	1446	interviewer (İze)	12
Dilan (born 1995)	10	20050421b	1446	child	2
				interviewer (İze)	14
	10	20050421b	1446	interviewer (Tün)	50
Fikret (born 1995)	7	20030304	1130	interviewer (Ala)	3
				mother	21
	9	20050423	1456	child	1
Fikret (born 1995)	9	20050423	1456	interviewer (İze)	43
				interviewer (Nes)	7
	6	20020506	0919	interviewer (Nes)	5
Fikret (born 1995)	6	20020508	0731	mother	12
				interviewer (İze)	9
	9	20050522	1267	mother	24

The children recorded for the ENDFAS project (Altan, Şehmuz, Seyfi, Sibel, Zerrin) were born in the mid-1980s, whereas the SKOBI children (Binnaz, Dilan, Fikret, Hacı, Muhsin) were born ten years later, in the mid-1990s. Table 5 suggests three quantitative patterns: (1) children who frequently produce indirective forms (Muhsin, Sercan, Zerrin); (2) children who produce the occasional indirective form (Altan, Binnaz, Dilan, Hacı, Seyfi, Sibel, Faruk); (3) children who do not produce any indirective forms at all (Fikret, Şehmuz).

5. Identifying areas in the corpus for qualitative case studies

We apply the methodological tool of ‘Pragmatic Corpus Analysis’ (Herkenrath & Rehbein 2012, Schmidt 2010), because we are interested in what qualitative aspects lie behind the quantitative patterns. Starting from the quantitative picture, we proceed from the concordance to identify passages in individual families’ conversations in which children receive indirectivity-marked input from their adult interlocutors while producing few if any forms themselves. We approach these passages with an open perspective in order to study the (non)-marking of indirectivity in relevant contexts and its communicative effects. Figure 2 presents an EXAKT concordance with listed findings and the details of a transcript passage. See Figure 2: EXAKT Concordance.

We observe two qualitative types: (1) children who meet monolingual listeners’ expectations by using indirective forms (Muhsin, Sercan, Zerrin); and (2) children who fail to do so. These latter fall into three subtypes: (2a) children who communicate in Turkish without indirective markers, mainly using *-DI* and other non-indirective forms, and only sporadically indirective forms, in retelling events from their parents’ childhood (Binnaz, Dilan, Hacı); (2b) children who switch to German (Fikret); and (2c) children who do not tell a story at all (Altan, Seyfi, Sibel, Şehmuz).

Reserving a more comprehensive typology for future studies, in the present paper, we exclusively focus on type (2a), discussing some sequences from transcripts of the three children who mostly use non-indirective forms in indirective contexts (Binnaz, Dilan, and Hacı). From a discourse-analytical perspective, we look at input, discourse establishment, speaker-hearer interaction, comprehension, and production of forms. The phenomena we observe are interspersed among large passages of the data and require extensive presentation of transcripts. Due to space limitations, however, we can only present short passages.

RegEx (Trans...) Search: E5 Korpus E5 Korpus (mls_all.xml)

#	S	C...	Speaker	Left Context	Match	Right Context	Age	File
9411	✓	0935	Mutl4		Yö, bu sene	anlamış	77?	evidential-mls_Sel
9412	✓	0938	Bin		((3s)) Dann ((16s)) anne aus Verschen	Yarın	08:00	evidential-mls_EF
9413	✓	0938	Bin	a sonra anem bi • köyde gitmiş orda hep gitice	gitmiş	orda hep gitice ağırlamış,	08:00	evidential-mls_EF
9414	✓	0938	Bin	habı vergessen), • • Atın sonra anem bi • köyde	gitmiş	, das war ein Bar...	08:00	evidential-mls_EF
9415	✓	0938	Bin	Hin, ana o ((23s)) bi tane adam	zincimış	taş, • • Ondat sonra?	28:10	evidential-mls_EF
9416	✓	0938	Ize	Hda evet, bi çocuğun kafasına	gelmış	anene.	28:10	evidential-mls_EF
9417	✓	0938	Ize	Kayga etmişler dimi?	Kızınlar	dimi? Kızınlar anene.	28:10	evidential-mls_EF
9418	✓	0938	Ize	Kayga	etmişler	anene.	28:10	evidential-mls_EF
9419	✓	0938	Ize	Türkçe anlatabilirsin sen, Çünkü anem	anlamışın	, anem Türkçe anlatı, Almanca anlamadı ki, • •	28:10	evidential-mls_EF
9420	✓	0938	Ize	Keç, • • Keç mi	varmış	köyde? Annenlerin köyünde.	28:10	evidential-mls_EF
9421	✓	0938	Ize	Avukata	gitmişler	. He'	28:10	evidential-mls_EF
9422	✓	0938	Ize	((4s)) Dayın da	varmış	dayınlar?	28:10	evidential-mls_EF
9423	✓	0938	Ize	Anlaşıyolar	myıymış	dayınlar?	28:10	evidential-mls_EF
9424	✓	0938	Ize	Hin, gelürmenmişler	myıymış	dayınlar?	28:10	evidential-mls_EF
9425	✓	0938	Ize	Dayın uslu bi çocuk	Ağlıyomuş	. Hin' ((2s)) Başka ne yap' ne yapıyomuş anem küç	28:10	evidential-mls_EF
9426	✓	0938	Ize				28:10	evidential-mls_EF

Types: 2610
Tokens: 10308
Selected: 10308
Time:

((3s)) Dann ((16s)) anne aus Verschen yapmış.

Partitur

Age: 08:00

Bin [v] s)) anne aus Verschen yapmış.
die Mutter hat es aus verschen gemacht.

Bin [de] Hin' Mñ, • • • ninem de ordaydı.
meine Oma war auch dabei.

Bin [nv] boyışend boyışend

Ize [v] ((4s)) Dayın da varmış demi? Anlaşıyolar mıymış dayınla? Hr

Figure 2: EXAKT Concordance

6. Binnaz: *Ich war noch nicht auf die Welt*

Binnaz was born in Hamburg in 1994 and grew up as a Turkish-German bilingual child. She was recorded by the SKOBI project between 2000, when she was five, and 2005, when she was ten years of age. We consider one EFE 2 experiment, which was recorded on two different days in October 2002, when Binnaz was eight years old. In the second of these two recordings, Binnaz retells a childhood story previously told by her mother. In the entire recording, Binnaz produces four indirective forms. By contrast, her adult interlocutor, İzel, produces 61 forms.

In the opening sequence (Example 1), İzel establishes a *-mİş*-based discourse. When talking about events that are part of the shared discourse situation, she only uses unmarked forms: *Ne anlatmıştı? Ben hatırlamıyorum şimdi* ‘What had she said? I don’t remember now’ (score areas 3–4). When talking about events that took place in the childhood of Binnaz’ mother, however, she consistently uses indirective forms, e.g.: *Köydeymiş, okula gitmiş* ‘She was in the village, she went to school’ (score area 4). Binnaz participates in a listener’s role, cautiously beginning to offer some nominal key words:

(1) EFE02tk_Bin_b_0938_SKO_241002

Bin: Binnaz, bilingual girl, 7;11; İze: İzel, female interviewer

[1]					
Ize	<i>Sen dinlemedin mi</i> 2SG listen-NEG-PST-2SG Q You did not listen to your mother,				
[2]					
Bin	<i>Doch.</i> I did.				
Ize	<i>anneni</i> mother-PSS2SG-ACC or did you?	<i>yoksa?</i>	<i>E ğ</i>	<i>‘Dinlememiş gibi duruyosun ama.</i> listen-NEG-POST like remain-PRS-2SG but You look as if you hadn’t listened though.	
[3]					
Ize	<i>Hiç •• dinlememişsin sanki. ((yutkunur)) Ne anlatmıştı? Ben</i> at.all listen-NEG-EVID-2SG as.if what tell-POST-COP.PST 1SG As if you hadn’t •• listened at all. ((swallows)) What had she told? I can’t				
[4]					
Ize	<i>hatırlamıyorum şimdi. Köydeymiş, okula gitmiş.</i> remember-NEG-PRS-1SG now village-LOC-COP.EVID school-DAT go-EVID remember now. She was in the village, she went to school.				
[5]					
Bin	<i>((1s)) Ziege...</i> <i>((1s)) A goat...</i>				
Ize	<i>((2s)) Ne varmış köyde?</i> what exist-COP.EVID village-LOC <i>((2s)) What was there in the village?</i>	<i>Keçi. •• Keçi mi varmış</i> goat goat Q existent-COP.EVID A goat. Were there goats			

[6]				
Bin				<i>Kuh...</i> Cows...
Ize	<i>köyde?</i> village-LOC in the village?	<i>Annenlerin</i> mother-PSS2SG-PL-GEN In your mother's village.	<i>köyünde.</i> village-PSS3-LOC	<i>İnek varmış.</i> cow existent-COP.EVID There were cows.
[7]				
Bin				<i>((nefes verir))</i> ((takes a breath))
Ize	<i>Başka?</i> other What else?	<i>At da var mıymış?</i> horse also existent Q-COP.EVID Were there also horses?	<i>At da</i> horse also	<i>There were also horses.</i>
[8]				
Ize	<i>varmış. Hm m ((3s)) ((nefes alır))</i> existent-COP.EVID ((takes a breath))	<i>Çok bi şe'ler anlatmıştı</i> many one thing-PL tell-POST-COP.PST She told a lot of things, as far as I know,	<i>bence</i> 1SG-EQU	
[9]				
Ize	<i>annen.</i> mother-PSS2SG your mother.	<i>Bi sürü bi şeyler anlatmıştı</i> a.lot one thing-PL tell-POST-COP.PST She had told a host of things,	<i>ama ben hatırlamıyorum.</i> but 1SG remember-NEG-PRS-1SG but I don't remember.	
[10]				
Bin				<i>Mm,</i>
Ize	<i>Ben • dinlememişim</i> 1SG listen-NEG-EVID-1SG I • didn't quite listen, that means.	<i>demek pek. ••• Sen dinledin mi?</i> say-VN well 2SG listen-PST-2SG Q ••• Did you listen?		
[11]				
Bin	<i>((2s)) Schafe.</i> Sheep.			
Ize		<i>Koyun. Koyunmu demişti annen?</i> sheep sheep Q say-POST-COP.PST mother-PSS2SG Sheep. Had your mother said sheep?		
[12]				
Ize	<i>Ne demişti?</i> what say-POST-COP.PST What has she said?	<i>((3s)) Annenin</i> mother-PSS2SG-GEN Did your mother have a computer?	<i>bilgisayarı</i> computer-PSS3 existent	<i>var</i>
[13]				
Bin				<i>'M'mh'</i>
Ize	<i>miymış? ((2s)) Computer. Var mıymış annen in?</i> Q-COP.EVID existentQ-COP.EVID mother-PSS2SG-GEN ((2s)) A computer. Did your mother have one?		<i>E ē ' Yok</i> non-existent She	
[14]				
Bin				<i>I'ih'</i>
Ize	<i>muymuş? ••• Aā'</i> Q-COP.EVID didn't?	<i>••• Böyle miymiş evleri?</i> like.this Q-COP.EVID house-PSS3PL ••• Was their house like this?		<i>••</i>
	<i>astonished</i>			

[15]			
Bin	<i>Kaputt • ein bisschen.</i> broken a little A little broken.		
Ize	<i>Nastymış?</i> how-COP.EVID <i>What was it like?</i>	<i>Hâa, biraz bozukmuş ().</i> a.little broken-COP.EVID <i>it was a little broken ().</i>	
[16]			
Bin	<i>Und da... ••• Und •• nicht so welche Sachen.</i> and not such which thing-PL ••• And •• not things like this. <i>breathing out</i>		

In the continuation of this sequence (Example 2), Binnaz begins to retell what she heard from her mother during the previous recording session. She speaks German, using preterite and present perfect forms. The use of preterite versus present perfect depends on lexical aspectual characteristics of individual verbs or other factors, but it has nothing to do with indirectivity. The interviewer, İzel, in this passage, continues to speak Turkish, providing more indirective forms as input, keeping up the established discourse type.

The passage that begins with İzel asking: *Sen var mıydın köyde o zaman? Annen küçükken?* ‘Were you there in the village? When your mother was little?’, which draws Binnaz’ attention to the issue of whether or not she was present during the events, can be interpreted as a didactic metalinguistic remark or, alternatively, as a phenomenon of ‘securing of understanding’ (Kameyama 2004). It thematises the problem that arises from Binnaz’ having used a non-indirective form in narrating a situation where she cannot have been personally present.

(2)EFE02tk_Bin_b_0938_SKO_241002

Bin: Binnaz, bilingual girl, 7;11; İze: İzel, female interviewer

[17]			
Bin	<i>Meine Mutter war nicht die Beste in der Klasse.</i> PSS1SG-F mother be.PST.3SG not DET.F best-F in DET.F.DAT class My mother was not the best in her class.		
[18]			
Ize	<i>Hââ, annen sınıfın birincisi değilmiş. Kimmiş sınıf</i> mother-PSS2SG class-GEN the.first-PSS3 not-COP.EVID who-COP.EVID class I see, your mother wasn't the top of her class.		<i>Who was the top of</i>
[19]			
Bin	<i>((3s)) Jemand anders.</i> someone other <i>((3s)) Someone else.</i>		
Ize	<i>birincisi?</i> the.first-PSS3 the class?	<i>Hâ` Söyledi mi kim olduğunu?</i> say-PST Q who be-PAR-PSS3-ACC Did she say who it was?	

[20]	
Bin	<i>Babam.</i> father-PSS1SG My father.
Ize	((1s)) <i>Kim?</i> <i>Oô´</i> ((1s)) <i>Baban • köyde</i> who father-PSS2SG village-LOC ((1s)) <i>Who?</i> ((1s)) <i>Your father • was he in</i> <i>positively surprised</i>
[21]	
Ize	<i>var m/ baban köyde miymiş o zaman? ((2s)) Anlattı mı</i> exist father-PSS2SG village-LOC Q-COP.EVID DEI time tell-PST Q the vill/ was your father in the village at that time? ((2s)) Did your
[22]	
Bin	<i>I´i´ anlatmadı.</i> <i>Ich glaube aber</i> tell-NEG-PST 1SG believe.PRS.1SG but She didn´t. I do think so.
Ize	<i>annen?</i> <i>Anlatmadı mı?</i> mother-PSS2SG tell-NEG-PST Q mother tell? Did she not tell?
[23]	
Bin	<i>schon. ((nefes alır))</i> <i>Glaub´ ich. ((nefes alır))</i> PTC believe.PRS.1SG 1SG ((takes a breath)) I think so. ((takes a breath))
Ize	<i>Baban da köydeymiş.</i> <i>Hâa´</i> father-PSS2SG also village-LOC-COP.EVID Your father was in the village, too.
[24]	
Bin	<i>Sen de var mıydın köyde o zaman? M´m´</i> 2SG also existent Q-COP.PST-2SG village-LOC DEI time Were you also in the village at that time? When your
[25]	
Bin	<i>küçükken. M´mh´</i> little-COP.CV • <i>Yok muydun? Sen nerdeydin o</i> nonexistent Q-COP.PST-2SG 2SG where-COP.PST-2SG DEI mother was little. • Were you not there? Where were you at that
[26]	
Bin	<i>Ich war noch nicht auf die Welt.</i> 1SG be-PST.1SG still not PRP DET.F.ACC world I wasn´t around yet.
Ize	<i>zaman?</i> <i>Ach sôo´ Aâa´ ((3s))</i> time high pitch time? I see. ((3s))

Following this didactic sequence (Example 3), İz el evokes the memory of an accident that occurred during Binnaz' mother's childhood. Binnaz begins in German, using the present perfect. In score area 35–38, she is prompted to switch back to Turkish, and continues her retelling. At this point of transition, language contact influence can be assumed to be active. Binnaz mainly keeps on talking about events

that took place in her mother's childhood by using neutral forms, *Avukata gittiler* 'They went to a lawyer', *Kızdılar* 'They got angry' (score areas 38–40) etc., although she sporadically uses indirective forms, *Anne aus Versehen yapmış* 'Mum did it by mistake', and *Bi • köşeye gitmiş orda hep gizlice ağlamış* 'She went into a corner and always cried there secretly' (score areas 40–41 and 47–48). İzel, on the other hand, consequently uses *-mİş/-(y)mİş* forms, often recasting Binnaz' retellings in *-mİş/-(y)mİş*, transforming them into something functionally adequate by monolingual standards, e.g. *Avukata gitmişler* 'they went to a lawyer' (score area 39).

(3)EFE02tk_Bin_b_0938_SKO_241002

Bin: Binnaz, bilingual girl, 7;11; İze: İzel, female interviewer

[27]

Bin	((2s)) Ää, •••			
Ize	<i>Annen</i>	<i>çocuklarla</i>	<i>kavga ediyo muymuş</i>	<i>küçükken?</i>
	mother-PSS2SG	child-PL-with	fight do-PRS Q-COP.EVID	little-COP.CV
	Did your mother fight with other children when she was little?			

[28]

Bin	<i>ä'ä'</i>	<i>'M'm'</i>	<i>((5s)) Äh, ((6s)) ich glaub,</i>	<i>anne/ •</i>
			1SG believe.PRS.1SG	mother
			I think,	Mum/ •
Ize	<i>EtmİYolar mıymış?</i>			
	do-NEG-PRS-3PL	Q-COP.EVID		
	Didn't they?			

[29]

Bin	<i>anne hat</i>	<i>erzählt, ((nefes alır))</i>	<i>sie hat</i>	<i>ein Stein</i>
	mother have.PRS.3SG	tell.PAR	3SG.F has.PRS.3SG	INDEF stone
	Mum said	((takes a breath))	she threw	a stone,

[30]

Bin	<i>geworfen,</i>	<i>und dann ist</i>	<i>es auf ein Jungs Kopf rauf</i>	
	throw.PAR	and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.N PRP	INDEF boy-GEN head onto.it	
		and then it hit	a boy's head.	
Ize	<i>Hm'</i>			

[31]

Bin	<i>gekommen.</i>			
	come.PAR			
Ize	<i>Hâa</i>	<i>evet, bi çocuğun kafasına</i>	<i>gelmiş taş. ••</i>	
		yes one child-GEN head-PSS3.DAT	come-EVID stone	
	Right,	yes, it hit	a child's head, the stone.	

[32]

Bin		<i>((3s)) ()</i>	<i>((2s)) Und dann ((2s)) haben</i>	<i>die s/ ••</i>
			and then have.PRS.3PL	DEL.PL
		<i>((2s)) And then ((2s)) they =/ ••</i>		
Ize	<i>Ondan sonra?</i>	<i>Hä'</i>		
	DEL-ABL after			
	And after that?			

[33]	<div>Bin <i>haben die sich beschwert.</i> have.PRS.3PL DEL.PL RFL complain.PAR they complained.</div> <div>Ize <i>Kavga etmişler dimi? Kızışlar</i> fight do-EVID-3PL not-Q get.angry-EVID-3PL They had a fight, didn't they? They got angry</div>
[34]	<div>Bin <i>((4s)) Und dann () sind die hingegangen.</i> and then be.PRS.3PL DEL.PL go.there.PAR</div> <div>Ize <i>annene.</i> mother-PSS2SG-DAT at your mother.</div>
[35]	<div>Bin <i>((1s)) Ich glaube so...</i> 1SG believe.PRS.1SG like.this</div> <div>Ize <i>((1s)) I think like...</i> • • <i>Almanca • olmaz ama, Türkçe</i> German be-NEG.AOR but Turkish • • But • not in German, tell it in</div>
[36]	<div>Bin <i>((2s)) ((nefes alır))</i> <i>((2s)) ((takes a breath))</i></div> <div>Ize <i>anlatcan.</i> tell-FUT-2SG Turkish.</div> <div><i>Türkçe anlatabilirsin sen. Çünkü</i> Turkish tell-MOD-AOR-2SG 2SG because You can tell it in Turkish. Because</div>
[37]	<div>Ize <i>anneni anlamışsın, annen Türkçe anlattı, Almanca</i> mother-PSS2SG-ACC understand-EVID-2SG mother-PSS2SG Turkish tell-PST3 German you understood your mother, your mother told it in Turkish, she didn't</div>
[38]	<div>Bin <i>((nefes alır)) Ää, • • avukata</i> <i>((takes a breath)) lawyer-DAT</i></div> <div>Ize <i>anlatmadı ki. • • Dimi? ((güler)) Hā'</i> tell-NEG-PST PTC not-Q tell it in German. • • Right? ((laughs))</div>
[39]	<div>Bin <i>gittiler.</i> go-PST-3PL to a lawyer.</div> <div><i>((7s)) Und dann... ((1s))</i> and then And then... ((1s))</div> <div>Ize <i>Avukata gitmişler. Hē'</i> lawyer-DAT go-EVID-3PL They went to a lawyer.</div>

[40]	
Bin	<i>Kızdılar.</i> ((3s)) <i>Dann...</i> ((16s)) <i>Anne aus Versehen</i> get.angry-PST-3PL then mother PRP mistake They got angry. Mum did it by
Ize	<i>Hă'</i>
[41]	
Bin	<i>yapmış.</i> <i>Hm̃'</i> do-EVID mistake.
Ize	((4s)) <i>Dayın da varmış demi?</i> uncle-PSS2SG also existent-COP.EVID not-Q Your uncle was also there, wasn't he?
[42]	
Bin	<i>Mm̃ ••• ninem de</i> grandma-PSS1SG also
Ize	<i>Anlaşıyorlar mıymış dayınla?</i> understand-REC-PRS-3PL Q-COP.EVID uncle-PSS2SG-with Did she get on well with your uncle?
[43]	
Bin	<i>ordaydı. Dedem de. Ondan sonra ((1s)) ((yutkumur))</i> there-COP.PST granddad-PSS1SG also DEI-ABL after My granddad, too. Then ((1s)) ((swallows))
Ize	<i>Hm̃' Hm̃'</i>
[44]	
Bin	<i>bi tane hastanede • di ama... Nine.</i> one piece hospital-LOC- COP.PST but grandma but one • was in the hospital... Grandma.
Ize	<i>Kim • hastanedeydi?</i> who hospital-LOC-COP.PST Who • was in the hospital?
[45]	
Bin	<i>Nine. Onlar da git • mek istiyodu ama "Nein" dediler.</i> grandma DEI-PL also go-VN want-PRS-COP.PST but no say-PST-3PL Grandma. They also wanted to • go, but they said "no".
Ize	<i>Hm̃,</i>
[46]	
Bin	<i>Hm̃' Ondan sonr...</i> DEI-ABL after Afterwards...
Ize	<i>götürmemişler. Dayın uslu bi çocuk</i> take-NEG-EVID-3PL uncle-PSS2SG well-behaved one child they didn't take them. Was your uncle a well-behaved child?
[47]	
Bin	<i>(Ich habe vergessen). •• Ama sonra annem bi • köşeye</i> but then mother-PSS1SG one corner-DAT (I've forgotten). •• But then my mother went into a • corner,
Ize	<i>muymuş?</i> Q-COP.EVID

- [48]
Bin *gitmiş orda hep gizlice ağlamış.*
go-EVID there always secretly cry-EVID
there, she always cried secretly.
Ize *Ağlıyomuş. Hm̃ ((2s)) Başka ne*
cry-PRS-COP.EVID other what
She cried. ((2s)) What else
- [49]
Bin *((3s)) Puppeyle*
doll-with
((3s)) She played with
Ize *yap/ ne yapıyomuş annen küçükken?*
do what do-PRS-COP.EVID mother-PSS2SG little-COP.CV
did/ what did your mother do when she was little?
- [50]
Bin *oynuyodu.* *Onun arkadaşında*
play-PRS-COP.PST DEI-GEN friend-PSS3-LOC
her dolls. The also had some at her
Ize *Hâ, oyuncak bebekle oynuyomuş.*
toy baby-with play-PRS-COP.EVID
Right, she played with toy babies.
- [51]
Bin *da vardı onlar da oynadı.*
also existent-COP.PST DEI.PL also play-PST
friends', those also played.
Ize *Hm̃ Mm̃m̃, çok güzel, ••*
very nice, ••
- [52]
Bin *• Çünkü ninem*
because grandmother-PSS1SG
• Because my grandmother
Ize *başka? ((16 s)) Niye ağlamış annen?*
other why cry-EVID mother-PSS2SG
what else? Why did your mother cry?
- [53]
Bin *hastanededî.*
hospital-LOC-COP.PST
was at the hospital.
Ize *Hm̃, •• üzülüymüş yani dimi? ((6s))*
be.sad-PRS-COP.EVID that.is not-Q
she was sad, that means, right?

When (re-)directing Binnaz' attention to her mother's experience, İz el abundantly uses indirective forms, while at the same time repeatedly emphasising the mother as the experiencer of these events: *Annen okula gitmişti dimi? Nasıl bir öğretmeni varmış annenin? ((3s)) Seviyor muymuş öğretmenini?* 'Your mother had gone to school, right? What kind of teacher did she have, your mother? ((3s)) Did she like her teacher?' (score areas 74–76) or, after an excursion into Binnaz' experience,

In answer to these promptings, Binnaz retells her mother's story in unmarked forms, in German or in Turkish, respectively: *Wenn einer die Hausaufgaben nicht macht, dann kriegt jeder Schläge auf die Hand* 'When somebody doesn't do his homework, then he gets hit on the hand' (score areas 76–78), or *Çünkü o adam var ya, bi tane dersini yap • masa' eline vuruyo, hepsini vuruyo* 'Because there is this guy, when someone doesn't do his/her homework, he hits his/her hand, he hits them all' (score areas 90–92).

In many of these cases the adult interlocutor yields to Binnaz' formal categories, though by adapting the content of her topics. When Binnaz begins using German present tense forms, İzel, after a brief attempt at correction, begins to use Turkish unmarked *-(Ø)Iyor*-forms, thereby also shifting the thematic focus to Binnaz' personal experience: *Sizin de vuruyorlar mı?* 'Do yours also hit?' (score area 79). In this way, the two conversation partners switch back and forth between the mother's experience and Binnaz' experience. However, despite the adult speaker's insistence on the formal distinction between marked and unmarked discourse during long passages of conversation, Binnaz keeps using the same forms for both; see Example (4).

Bin: Binnaz, bilingual girl, 7;11; İze: İzel, female interviewer

[74]				Hm̃´	
Bin					
Ize	((nefes alır))	Annen	okula	gitmişti dimi?	Nası bi
		mother-PSS2SG	school-DAT	go-POST-COP.PST not-Q	how one
	((takes a breath))	Your mother	went to school,	didn't she?	What
[75]					
Ize	öğretmeni	varmış	annenin?	((3s)) Seviyo muymuş	
	teacher-PSS3	existent-COP.EVID	mother-PSS2SG-GEN	like-PRS Q-COP.EVID	
	kind of teacher	did she have,	your mother?	((3s)) Did she like her	
[76]					
Bin		Bi tane	• • • () ...	Wenn ((yutkunur)) wenn	
		one individual		when	when
		One of them		When ((swallows))	when
Ize	öğretmenini?				
	teacher-PSS3-ACC				
	teacher?				
[77]					
Bin	einer die	Hausaufgaben nicht macht,		dann kriegt	
	one.MDET.PL	homework not do.PRS.3SG		then receive.PRS.3SG	
	someone doesn't do his homework,			then everyone is hit	
Ize				Hm̃´	

[78]

Bin	<i>jeder Schläge auf die Hand.</i> everyone blow.PL on DET.F.ACC hand on his hand.	
Ize		<i>Hà, elle/ ellerine vuruyolar-</i> hand-PSS3PL-DAT hit-PRS-3PL- they hit them on their hands.

[79]

Bin		<i>M'm' · negating</i>	<i>M'm' ·</i>
Ize	<i>miş. Sizin de vuruyolar mı?</i> COP.EVID 2PL.GEN also hit-PRS-3PL Q Do yours also hit?	<i>Vurmuşolar dimi?</i> hit-NEG-PRS-3PL not-Q They don't hit, do they?	

[80]

Bin	<i>((3s)) Bei uns •• hauen die/ bei uns machen die mit</i> PRP 1PL.DAT hit.PRS.3PL DEL.PL PRP 1PL.DAT do.PRS.3PL DEL.PL with <i>((3s)) At our school, •• they hit/ at our school, they do it with a book</i>	
-----	--	--

[81]

Bin	<i>einem Buch oder so. () Oder hauen die Hände ().</i> INDEF.N.DAT book or like.that or hit.PRS.3PL DET.PL.ACC hand.PL or something like that. () Or hit the hands	
-----	---	--

[82]

Ize	<i>Aha' ·</i> <i>((Binnaz talks about an argument with her teacher, 2 min 9 s))</i>	
-----	--	--

[83]

Bin		<i>Bi erkek bi kadın.</i> one man one woman One is a man, one is a woman.
Ize	<i>Öğretmeniniz kadın mı erkek mi?</i> teacher-PSS2PL woman Q man Q Is your teacher a woman or a man?	<i>İki</i> two You

[84]

Bin		<i>Hm' ·</i>	<i>Kadınla.</i> woman-with With the
Ize	<i>tane var.</i> individual existent have two.	<i>Hangisiyle konuşmadın?</i> which-PSS3-with speak-NEG-PST-2SG Which one did you not talk with?	

[85]

Bin		<i>Frau Kummer.</i> Ms. Kummer. <i>softly</i>
Ize	<i>Kadınla konuşmadın. Adı ne?</i> woman-with speak-NEG-PST2SG name-PSS3 what The woman you didn't talk with. What's her name?	

[86]

Bin	<i>Frau Kummer.</i>	<i>Echte Namesi Christa.</i> real name-PSS3 Christa Her real name is Christa.
Ize	<i>Ne?</i> What?	<i>Frau Kummer.</i> Ms. Kummer. <i>Christa.</i> Christa.

[87]	<p>Bin <i>Nein, Christiane.</i> No, Christiane.</p> <p>Ize <i>Christiane. • • Peki annenin öğretmenini de</i> okay mother-PSS2SG-GEN teacher-PSS3 also <i>Christiane. • • Okay, was your mother's teacher also a</i></p>	
[88]	<p>Bin <i>Kadın bi de erkek. ()</i> woman one also man A woman and also a man. ()</p> <p>Ize <i>kadın mıymış?</i> <i>Bi kadın bi de erkek var-</i> woman Q-COP.EVID one woman one also man existent- woman? There were a woman and a man, I</p>	
[89]	<p>Ize <i>miş, ha. Peki hangisini daha çok seviyomuş</i> COP.EVID PTC okay which-PSS3-ACC C M P much like-PRS-COP.EVID see. Okay, which of them did she prefer, your mother?</p>	
[90]	<p>Bin <i>Kadını.</i> <i>Çünkü o adam var ya, bi</i> woman-ACC because DEI man existent PTC one The woman. Because that guy, you know, if</p> <p>Ize <i>annen?</i> <i>Kadını mı daha çok seviyomuş...</i> mother-PSS2SG woman-ACC Q CMP much like-PRS-COP.EVID She preferred the woman.</p>	
[91]	<p>Bin <i>tane dersini yap • masa' eline vuruyo,</i> individual lesson-PSS3-ACC do NEG-CD hand-PSS3-DAT hit-P R S someone doesn't do his/her homework, he hits his/her hand,</p>	
[92]	<p>Bin <i>hepsini vuruyo. ((yutkunur)) ((öksürür))</i> everybody-ACC hit-P R S he hits everybody. ((swallows)) ((coughs))</p> <p>Ize <i>Annenin eline vuruyo.</i> mother-PSS2SG-GEN hand-PSS3-DAT hit-PRS</p>	
[93]	<p>Bin <i>Ama o kadın yapmıyo.</i> but DEI woman do-NEG-PRS But that woman doesn't.</p> <p>Ize <i>• • • Annenin dersleri iyi</i> mother-PSS2SG-GEN schoolwork-PL-PSS3 good <i>• • • Was your mother a good pupil?</i></p>	
[94]	<p>Bin <i>((3s)) Ama bazen de değil.</i> but sometimes also not <i>((3s)) But sometimes she wasn't.</i></p> <p>Ize <i>miymiş?</i> <i>Bazen de kötümüştü. Ama</i> Q-COP.EVID sometimes also bad-COP.EVID but Sometimes she was bad. But</p>	

[95]					
Bin	'M'm, başkası. other-PSS3 No, someone else.				
Ize	sınıf birincisi değilmiş demi?				Sen sınıf
	class first-PSS3 not-COP.EVID not-Q				2SG class
	she wasn't first in her class, was she?				Are you
[96]					
Bin	Hmhm'				
Ize	birincisi misin? ((2s)) Gerçek mi? En iyi sensin.				Du
	first-PSS3 Q-2SG really Q SUP good 2SG-2SG				2SG
	first in your class? Really? The best one is you.				
[97]					
Bin	Hm'				
Ize	bist die Beste. Aă' İyi o zaman çok güzel.				
	be.PRS.2SG DET.F best.F good DEI tie very nice				
	You are the best one. good then, very nice.				
	((1 min not				
[98]					
Ize	Burda okula gitmiş mi annen? ((1s)) Gitmemiş				
	here school-DAT go-EVID Q mother-PSS2SG go-NEG-EVID				
	Did your mother go to school here? Didn't she?				
	transcribed))				
[99]					
Bin	'M'm'	Burda değil.	'M'm' Erstmal köye		
		here not	at.first village-DAT		
		Not here.	At first, she went		
Ize	mi?	Gitmiş.	Almanya'da?		
	Q	go-EVID	Germany-LOC		
		She did.	In Germany?		
[100]					
Bin	gitti, ond/	ondan sonra buraya geldi,	• ondan sonra burda		
	go-PST	DEI-ABL after here come-PST	DEI-ABL after here		
	to the village, =/	after that, she came here,	• after that, she went [to		
Ize	Hm'				
[101]					
Bin	gitti.	O arkaya, hani			
	go-PST	DEI backside-DAT you.know			
	school] here.	To that backside, ya know,			
Ize	Hā • burda	gitmiş.			
	here	go-EVID			
	I see, • she went to school here.				

7. Dilan: Şimdi annenin küçüklüğünü anlatıyorsun, di mi?

Dilan was born in 1995 in Hamburg and was recorded by the SKOBI project between 2002, when she was seven, and 2005, when she was ten years of age. We look at an EFE 2 retelling that was recorded when Dilan was nine years old. In this recording, 43 indirective forms are produced by the interviewer, one by Dilan.

In Example (5), at the very beginning, the adult interlocutor İzel explicitly describes the functional context of the retelling: *Şimdi/ • • • şimdi annenin küçüklüğünü anlatıyorsun, di mi?* ‘Now/ • • • now you’re going to narrate your mother’s childhood, right?’ In addition, she sets up the discourse type by using the indirective form: *Ne yapmış küçükkken?* ‘What did she do when she was little?’ Dilan begins her retelling in German, using a neutral present perfect form: *Rezzan teyze und anne haben sich oft gestreitet* ‘Aunt Rezzan and Mum often had quarrels’. Since this utterance does not yet show that Dilan has taken up the formal hint, İzel adds an explicit metalinguistic comment, providing another indirective verb: *Hayır. • • • Kavga etmişler diyecen* ‘No. • • • You have to say: they had quarrels.’ In the ensuing sequence, unaffected by İzel’s metalinguistic hints, Dilan begins her retelling, producing a series of non-indirective forms: *kavga ettiler* ‘they had fights’, *sinirlidi* ‘she was hot-tempered’, *yaptı* ‘she did’, *yapıyodu* ‘she used to do/ was doing’.

In score areas 11–13, Dilan needs lexical help, which İzel supplies, hesitating somewhat between unmarked and indirective forms, in the context of Dilan’s by then well-established *-DI*-discourse: *İn şey yaptı, resim yapıyodu/ yapıyomuş* ‘Eh, she made what’s-it, she used to make/was making [non-indirective] drawings/ she used to make/was making [indirective] drawings’. One might think that by hesitating, she puts a special focus on the importance of the formal expression of indirectivity, in the given context. However, Dilan continues her established non-indirective-discourse: *resim yapıyodu* ‘she used to make/ was making drawings’, *boyuyodu* ‘she used to colour/ was colouring’, *bulaşık yaptılar* ‘they did the washing up’, *bulaşık yaptı* ‘she did the washing up’, *süpürgedi* ‘she swept’, *dedi* ‘she said’, *verdi* ‘she gave’, and *zengin • di* ‘she • was rich’.

In score area 19, İzel asks a content-related question of understanding, providing another indirective form: *Niye zenginmiş • • • Rezzan teyzen?* ‘Why was she rich, • • • your Aunt Rezzan?’ Dilan’s answer, describing the details of the specific situation of her mother’s and her aunt’s childhood, contains another series of non-indirective forms: *verdi* ‘she gave’ [three times], *dedi* ‘she said’, *yaptı* ‘she did’, *verdi* ‘she gave’ (score areas 20–24).

In score areas 24–25, İzel thematises her problems of understanding, summarising what she has understood so far (*Ben de şöyle anladım* ‘And this is what I understood’), producing an ample supply of indirective input for Dilan: *yapmış* ‘she did’, *harcıyomuş* ‘she used to spend’, *alıyomuş* ‘she used to buy’, *harcamıyomuş* ‘she didn’t use to spend’, *saklıyomuş* ‘she used to save’, *biriktiriyomuş* ‘she used to collect’, and *veriyomuş* ‘she used to give’ (score areas 25–30).

Instead of taking up İzel’s formal hint, Dilan focuses on the adult’s problems of understanding, didactically (after reminding her to speak Turkish) providing a more close-up view of the situation at the time, using neutral intraterminal *-(Ø)Iyor*-forms (next to some nominal predicates): *istemiyö* ‘she does not want’, *diyo* ‘she says’, *yok* ‘there is not’ [twice], *egal* ‘it does not matter’ [twice], *harcıyo* ‘she spends’ [twice], and *alıyo* ‘she buys’ (score areas 33–38).

This sequence of unmarked forms is followed in turn by another, short and clarifying, indirective sequence of İzel's: *alıyomuş* 'she used to buy', *kavga ediyolarmış* 'they used to fight' [twice] as well as by reminder of the fact that every detail of the story is based on hearsay from what Dilan's mother told: *A/ annen söyledi mi onu?* 'Did your mother say that?'.

The episode beginning in score area 43, about accidents Dilan's uncle and her mother had during their childhood, follows similar patterns. Dilan uses neutral forms in narrating those events; İzel keeps accompanying these narratives by means of clarifying questions and interpretations, continuing a *-mİş*-based discourse.

(5)EFE02tk_Dil_b_1456_SKO_230405

Dil: Dilan, bilingual girl, 9 years old; İze: İzel, female interviewer

[2]	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p>Dil</p> <p>İze</p> </div> <div style="width: 40%;"> <p><i>Alles?</i> all.N</p> <p><i>Türkçe anlatırsın bana di mi?</i> Turkish tell-FUT-2SG 1SG.DAT NOT Q You'll now tell us in Turkish, right?</p> </div> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p><i>((1s)) Von vorne</i> from.the.beginning</p> <p><i>((1s)) From the beginning,</i></p> <p><i>•• Hahâ'</i></p> </div> </div>		
[3]	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p>Dil</p> <p>İze</p> </div> <div style="width: 40%;"> <p><i>oder?</i> or right?</p> <p><i>Vo/ • e/ egal!</i> does.not.matter It doesn't matter.</p> </div> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p><i>Okay.</i></p> <p><i>•• Hepsini anlat da!</i> all-PSS3-ACC tell also •• Tell us everything.</p> </div> </div>		
[4]	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p>Dil</p> <p>İze</p> </div> <div style="width: 40%;"> <p><i>Rezzan teyze...</i> aunt Aunt Rezzan...</p> <p><i>Şimdi/ ••• şimdi annenin</i> now now mother-PSS2G-GEN Now/ ••• now, you're going to tell your mother's childhood,</p> </div> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p><i>küçüklüğünü anlatıyosun</i> childhood-PSS3-ACC tell-PRS-2SG</p> </div> </div>		
[5]	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p>Dil</p> <p>İze</p> </div> <div style="width: 40%;"> <p><i>Ja!</i> Yes!</p> <p><i>di mi? Ne yapmış küçükken?</i> not Q what do-EVID little-COP.CV right? What did she do when she was little?</p> </div> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p><i>Rezzan teyze und anne haben sich</i> Rezzan aunt and mum have.PRS.PL RFL Aunt Rezzan and Mum often had fights.</p> </div> </div>		
[6]	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p>Dil</p> <p>İze</p> </div> <div style="width: 40%;"> <p><i>oft gestreitet. ((nefes alır))</i> often fight.PAR ((takes a breath))</p> </div> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p><i>Aber...</i> but But...</p> <p><i>Hayır. ••• Kavga etmişler</i> fight do-EVID-3PL No. •• You have to say: they</p> </div> </div>		

[7]				
Dil		• • • Aaàaad´		((1.5s)) Rezzan
Ize	diycen. say-FUT.2SG often had fights.	Yaaad´ • • • Gördün mü? see-PST.2SG Q • • • See?		
[8]				
Dil	teyze bi de annem aunt one also mother-PSS1SG Aunt Rezzan and my mother	eem • kavga ettiler. fight do-PST-3PL • • had fights.		((1s)) ((1s))
Ize		Hm´		Hmhm´
[9]				
Dil	Zickig ne demek? quarrelsome what mean.VN How do you say quarrelsome?			((1s)) ((1s))
Ize		((1s)) Eeeè böyle çok • yaramaz. like.this very quarrelsome ((1s)) Eeeh, like very • quarrelsome.		
[10]				
Dil	Em amaa... Ehm, but...	Ama Rezzan but Rezzan but Aunt Rezzan was hot-tempered.	teyze sinirlidi. aunt hot-tempered-COP.PST	
Ize		• Sinirli. • Hot-tempered.	Sinirli. Hot-tempered.	
[11]				
Dil	Eem • Rezzan teyze • iyi • boy/ was heißt Rezzan aunt well paint/ what be.called.PRS.3SG DEL.N PTC			das denn?
Ize	Ehm, • Aunt Rezzan • was a good pai/ how do you call that? • Hmhm´			
[12]				
Dil			R/ i/ Rezzan	Aunt Rezzan used
Ize	((1s)) İu şey yaptı, resim yapıyodu/ thing do-PST drawing make-PRS-COP.PST		yapıyodu/ make-PRS-COP.PST	yapıyomuş. make-PRS-COP.EVID
	((1s)) Eh, she made what's it, she used to make drawings/			she used to make.
[13]				
Dil	teyze resim yapıyodu. aunt drawing make-PRS-COP.PST to make drawings.	• Annem de boyuyodu mother-PSS1SG also colour-PRS-COP.PST • And my mother used to colour them.		
Ize	Hhi´ Right.			
[14]				
Dil	onu. ((nefes alır)) Eem ((yutkunur)) ondan soa bulaşık yaptılar. DEI-ACC ((takes a breath)) Ehm, ((swallows)) after that, they did the dishes.			
Ize			swallowing	
		Hmhm´		

[15]

Dil	<i>Annem bulaşık yaptı. ((nefes alır))</i>	<i>Eem • Rezzan</i>
	mother-PSS1SG dishes do-PST	Rezzan
Ize	My mother did the dishes. ((takes a breath))	Ehm, • And Aunt Rezzan
		<i>Yıkıyomuş,</i>
		wash-PRS-COP.EVID
		She used to wash them,

[16]

Dil	<i>teyze de süpürge/ süpürge di. • Ondan soa annem dedi: • "Sen</i>	
	aunt also broom/ broom-PST	DEI-ABL after mother-PSS1SG say-PST 2SG
	swept/ swept.	After that, my mother said: •
	<i>for: süpürdü</i>	
Ize	<i>hehé.</i>	
	right.	

[17]

Dil	<i>bunu bana verirken, • • • im para vercem." O zaman</i>	
	DEI-ACC 1SG.DAT give-AOR-COP.CD-2SG	money give-FUT-1SG DEI time
	"If you give this to me,	• • • ehm, I'll give you money." At that

[18]

Dil	<i>para verdi. ((nefes alır))</i>	<i>Eem' ((2s)) em Rezzan</i>
	money give-PST	Rezzan
Ize	moment, she gave her money. ((takes a breath))	Ehm ((2s)) ehm, Aunt
		<i>Haaá'</i>

[19]

Dil	<i>teyze • • • biraz zengin • di.</i>	
	aunt a.bit rich COP.PST	
	Rezzan • • • was a bit • rich.	
Ize		<i>Niye zenginmiş • • • Rezzan teyzen?</i>
		why rich-COP.EVID Rezzan aunt-PSS2SG
		How come she was rich • • • your Aunt Rezzan?

[20]

Dil	<i>Para/ • para verdi ya annem.</i>	
	money money give-PST PTS mother-PSS1SG	
	My mother gave her • money you know, money.	
Ize		<i>((1.5s)) Annen</i>
		mother-PSS2SG
		Your mother

[21]

Dil		<i>Dooch! Annem para/</i>
		yes mother-PSS1SG money
		Well, indeed! My mother gave/ • my
Ize	<i>para verdi. • • Olur mu canım?</i>	
	money give-PST be-AOR Q dear-PSS1SG	
	gave her money. • • Come on, my dear.	

[22]

Dil	<i>• annem ff/ para verdi. ((nefes alır))</i>	<i>Em Rezzan teyzeye</i>
	mother-PSS1SG money give-PST	Rezzan aunt-DAT
	mother gave her the money. ((takes a breath))	She said to Aunt

[23]					
Dil	<i>dedi</i> say-PST	<i>ya: "Sen bunu bana verirsen para vercem."</i> PTC 2SG DEI-ACC 1SG.DAT give-AOR-COP.CD-2SG money give-FUT-1SG	Rezzan, as you know: "If you give this to me, I will give you money."		
[24]					
Dil	• <i>O zaman</i> • <i>yaptı.</i> • • <i>Para verdi annem.</i> DEI time do-PST money give-PST mother-PSS1SG				
Ize	• Then she • did so. • • She gave the money, my mother.				
	<i>Heē' ... Ben de</i> 1SG also <i>Right. ... And this</i>				
[25]					
Ize	<i>şöyle anladım.</i> like-this understand-PST-1SG	<i>((1s)) Şey yapmış, annem</i> thing do-EVID mother-PSS2SG	<i>((nefes alır))</i>		
	<i>is what I understood.</i>	<i>((1s)) She did what's it, your mother,</i>	<i>((takes a</i>		
[26]					
Ize	<i>paralarını</i> money-PL-PSS3-ACC	<i>hemen harcıyomuş.</i> at.once spend-PRS-COP.EVID	<i>((1s)) Hemen ••</i> at.once		
	<i>breath)) she used to spend her money all at once.</i>	<i>((1s)) At once</i>			
[27]					
Ize	<i>bişeyler alıyomuş kendisine giysi falan.</i> one-thing-PL buy-PRS-COP.EVID self-PSS3-DAT clothes etcetera	<i>((nefes alır))</i>			
	<i>• • she used to buy herself something, clothes etcetera.</i>				<i>((takes a breath))</i>
[28]					
Ize	<i>Rezzan teyzen de hiç paralarını harcamıyomuş.</i> Rezzan aunt-PSS2SG also at.all money-PL-PSS3-ACC spend-NEG-PRS-COP.EVID	And your Aunt Rezzan never used to spend her money.			
[29]					
Ize	<i>Saklıyomuş hep.</i> save-PRS-COP.EVID always	<i>• • Biriktiriyomuş.</i> collect-PRS-COP.EVID	<i>((nefes alır))</i>	<i>Sonradan</i> later-ABL	
	<i>She used to always save it. • • She used to collect it. ((takes a breath))</i>				<i>And later</i>
[30]					
Dil	<i>()'</i> <i>very softly</i>				
Ize	<i>da annene de veriyomuş.</i> also mother-PSS2SG-DAT also give-PRS-COP.EVID	<i>• • • Sen sordun ya.</i> 2SG ask-PST.2SG PTC			
	<i>she used to give it to your mother.</i>				<i>• • • You asked, that's why.</i>
[31]					
Dil	<i>()...</i>				
	<i>Ama...</i> <i>But...</i>				
Ize	<i>((1s)) Hat sie dir was a/ abgegeben?</i> have.PRS-3SG 3SG.F 2SG.DAT something share.PAR	<i>• • • Öyle dedin</i> like.that say-PST.2SG			
	<i>((1s)) Did she sh/ share anything with you?</i>				<i>• • • You said so, that's</i>
[32]					
Dil	<i>(Türkisch reden)!</i> <i>Du redest Deutsch. Bak!</i> Turkish speak.VN 2SG speak.PRS-2SG German				
	<i>Speak Turkish! You're speaking German. Look!</i>				
Ize	<i>ya sen.</i> PTC 2SG	<i>• Hehé, evet.</i>			<i>S...</i>
	<i>why.</i>	<i>• Ah, yes.</i>			

- [33]
 Dil *Eem Rezzan teyze/ ((1.5s)) Rezzan teyze istemiyo. •• Eem' ((1.5s))*
 Rezzan aunt Rezzan aunt want-NEG-PRS
 Ehm, Aunt Rezzan/ ((1.5s)) Aunt Rezzan doesn't want it.
- [34]
 Dil *Egal, was bedeutet egal? ((2s)) Olsun/*
 doesn't.matter what mean.PRS.3SG doesn't.matter be.OPT.3SG
 It doesn't matter, how do you say it doesn't matter Let it be/
whispering
 Ize *((1s)) Olsun.*
 be.OPT.3SG
 Let it be.
- [35]
 Dil • *em olsun diyo hep. • Em giyceki yook.*
 be.OPT.3SG say-PRS always clothes-PSS3 nonexistent
 • ehm, she keeps saying let it be. • Ehm, she doesn't have clothes.
for: giyeceği
- [36]
 Dil •• *Em ols/ • pffff • giyceki yok. ••• Em ona/ ••• ona*
 clothes-PSS3 nonexistent DEI-DAT DEI-DAT
 •• Ehm le/ • pfff • she doesn't have clothes. •• Ehm, to her/ •• it doesn't
- [37]
 Dil *egal. Eem ((1s)) anne/ annem de • hep para-*
 it-doesn't.matter mother mother-PSS1SG also always money-
 matter to her. Ehm, ((1s)) and mother/ my mother • keeps spending
 Ize *Hihi'*
- [38]
 Dil *sını harcıyo. Kıyafet alıyo (onaa).*
 PSS3-ACC spend-PRS clothes buy-PRS DEI-DAT
 her money. She buys clothes (for her).
 Ize *Hehé. K1/ kıyafet alıyomuş.*
 clothes buy-PRS-COP.EVID
 I see. She buys cl/ clothes.
- [39]
 Dil *O zam... ((1s))*
 DEI time
 At that time... ((1s))
 Ize *Hani sen dedin ya, onlar kavga ediyolarmış diye.*
 you.know 2SG say-PST PTC DEI-PL fight do-PRS-3PL-COP.EVID say-CV
 You know, you said that they used to fight.
- [40]
 Dil *Já'. ((3s)) Keine*
 NEG.INDEF-F
 Yeah. No idea.
very softly
 Ize *Kavga ediyolarmış. Niye kavga ediyolarmış?*
 fight do-PRS-3PL-COP.EVID why fight do-PRS-3PL-COP.EVID

[41]				
Dil	<i>Ahmung.</i> idea		<i>Neiin.</i>	
Ize	• • • <i>A/ annen</i> mother-PSS2SG	<i>söyledi mi onu?</i> say-PST Q DEI-ACC	<i>No.</i> <i>softly</i>	<i>Haa,</i> <i>I see, she didn't</i>
	• • • <i>Did your mo/ mother say this?</i> <i>softly</i>			
[42]				
Dil	<i>Eem' ((cıklar))</i> <i>((clicks))</i>		• • • <i>Jaá. Ich</i> yes 1SG	
Ize	<i>söylememiştir.</i> say-NEG-POST-COP say.	<i>((2s)) Başka ne olmuş?</i> other what be-EVID <i>((2s)) What else happened?</i>		
[43]				
Dil	<i>seig dir/</i> show.PRS.1SG 2SG.DAT	• <i>ich sag</i> 1SG say.PRS.1SG	<i>jetzt das Gefährliche.</i> now DET.N dangerous	<i>Im'</i>
Ize				• • <i>Hii'</i>
[44]				
Dil	<i>((1s)) Iuī' • Bişş/</i> <i>very softly</i>	• • • <i>Ahmet amcam</i> Ahmet uncle-PSS1SG My Uncle Ahmet,	<i>başı</i> head-PSS3 he had a headache	<i>ağrıyordu</i> hurt-PRS-COP.PST • in bed.
		<i>swallowing</i>		
[45]				
Dil	• <i>yatakta. ((nefes alır))</i> bed-LOC <i>((takes a breath))</i>	<i>Em, o da bi yere gitti.</i> DEI also one place-DAT go-PST	• <i>Gitti şş/</i> go-PST	• <i>He went =/</i>
[46]				
Dil	<i>em düştü.</i> fall-PST ehm, he fell.	<i>Eem'</i>	<i>Ama • em pencereden. Pencere</i> but window-ABL window But • ehm, from the window. The	
Ize	<i>Hé, nerden düşmüş?</i> where-ABL fall-EVID <i>Oh, from where did he fall?</i>			
[47]				
Dil	<i>bu/ • böyle büyük. ((nefes alır))</i> DEI like.this large window was th/ • this large. <i>((takes a breath))</i>	<i>Em, • Ahmet amca da gitti,</i> Ahmet uncle also go-PST		
Ize		<i>Ehm, • and Uncle Ahmet went,</i> <i>Hii'</i>		
[48]				
Dil	<i>pencereden düştü. • Eli de böyle kaldı.</i> window-ABL fall-PST hand-PSS3 also like.this remain-PST • he fell from the window. • And his hand remained like this. <i>laughing</i>			
Ize				<i>((1s)) Bu •</i> DEI This

[49]

Dil	••• <i>Evet, (böle).</i>	••• Yes, (like this).	((1s)) <i>Hayır.</i>
Ize	<i>kolları.</i> arm-PL-PSS3 • his arms.	<i>Hü. Yaralanmış mı?</i> get hurt-EVID Q	<i>No.</i> • <i>Kolu</i> arm-PSS3

[50]

Dil	<i>Gipps yaptı.</i> cast make-PST He made a cast.	<i>Böle.</i> like this.	<i>Em ((yutkunur))</i> Ehm, ((swallows))
Ize	<i>kırılmış.</i> break-PAS-EVID	<i>He, Gipps yapmışlar.</i> cast make-EVID-3PL Right, they made a cast.	• <i>Hıhı</i>

[51]

Dil	<i>annem de annaneye gitçekti.</i> mother-PSS1SG also grandmother-DAT go-FUT-COP.PST and my mother was to go to the Grandma.		
Ize		<i>Nerd/ nerde düşmüş</i> where fall-EVID Where/ where did you	

[52]

Dil	•• <i>Pencereden.</i> window-ABL •• From the window.		
Ize	<i>dayı?</i> uncle uncle fall?	((1s)) <i>Ama nerdelermiş o zaman?</i> but where-3PL-COP.EVID DEI time But where were they at that time?	

[53]

Dil	<i>Türkei.</i> Turkey.	<i>Türkiye. ((nefes alır))</i> Turkey. ((takes a breath))	<i>Eem...</i>
Ize	<i>Almanya'dalar mıymış?</i> Germany-LOC-3PL Q-COP.EVID Were they in Germany?	•• <i>Türkiye'delermiş.</i> Turkey-LOC-3PL-COP.EVID •• They were in Turkey.	

[54]

Dil		••• <i>Ich frag</i> 1SG ask.PRS.1SG Let me quickly <i>fast, softly</i>	
Ize	<i>Kaç yaşındaymış o zaman dayın?</i> how.many age-PSS3-LOC-COP.EVID DEI time uncle-PSS2SG How old was he at that time, your uncle?		

[55]

Dil	<i>ma!</i> once ask.	••• <i>Annee! •• Anne dayım kaç</i> mother mother uncle-PSS1SG how.many ••• <i>Mum! •• Mum, how old was my uncle?</i> <i>running towards her mother, shouting</i>	
Ize	<i>Yook, sorma geel!</i> no ask-NEG come No, don't ask, come back! <i>loudly</i>		

[56]	<p>Dil yaşındadı? Da age-PSS3-LOC-COP.PST there he</p> <p>[nn] ((Dilan talking with her mother in another room, 19 s))</p>
[57]	<p>Dil war er sechs Jahre alt. • • Und der ist • • em... be-PST.3SG 3SG.M six year.PL old and DEL.M be-PSR.3SG was six years old then. • • And that one is • • ehm...</p> <p>Ize Hmm' Altı six He was</p>
[58]	<p>Dil Und... Der ist so geblieben. ((nefes DEL.M be.PRS.3SG like.that remain.PAR</p> <p>Ize And... He remained like that. ((takes a yaşındaymış. • Hmhm' age-PSS3-LOC-COP.EVID six years old.</p>
[59]	<p>Dil alır)) Und... Şimdi ee • annem de now mother-PSS1SG also</p> <p>Ize breath)) And... Now, eh, • and my mother Türkçe konuşçan? • Ja'. Turkish speak-FUT-2SG yes Will you speak Turkish? • Yeah.</p>
[60]	<p>Dil böyle gittii. • • • Mm yola bakmadı. Gitti like-this go-PST route-DAT look-NEG-PST go-PST walked like this. • • • Ehm, she didn't pay attention to her route. She</p> <p>Ize Hmhm'</p>
[61]	<p>Dil ka/ • araba geldi. Çarptı. ((nefes alır)) Böylee. car come-PST crash-PST like.this</p> <p>Ize walked =/ • a car came. It hit her. ((takes a breath)) Like this. ((1s)) Araba car</p>
[62]	<p>Dil Böle. Eem • dersini homework-PSS3-ACC</p> <p>Ize çarpmış anneni. Like this. Ehm, and her • homework hit-EVID mother-PSS2SG-ACC Hmhm' A car hit your mother.</p>
[63]	<p>Dil de • • • böyle • eem Arzt/ • • • doktor verdi. Yazdı böyle. • • also like-this doctor doctor give-PST write-PST like.this</p> <p>• • • like • ehm, the doctor/ • • • doctor gave it. He wrote like this. • •</p>

[6]	Hac				A/ t/ •
Nur	• • •	gitcekti	ama • • izin	vermedi.	
		go-FUT-COP.PST but	permission	give-NEG-PST	
		gone to a higher-level school,	but he didn't give the permission.		
[7]	Hac	izin	ver/ • • ähm vermediğini	de söylemedi.	
		permission give/	give-NEG-PAR-PSS3-ACC also say-NEG-PST		
Tün		he didn't really say that he gave/ didn't give the permission.		Söylemedi say-NEG-PST He didn't	
[8]	Hac	Söylemedi. say-NEG-PST He didn't.		Ähm' • •	
Tün	mi? Q say so?	Heē'	Sora naapmış annen? then what-do-EVID mother-PSS2SG What did your mother do then?		
Ize		Hm̃m'			
[9]	Hac	H/ h/ • • Ähm' • Haspa'da • • şey yaptı Abitur y/ hayır • • Äh' Haspa-LOC thing do-PST A levels no • • H/ h/ • • Ehm at the Haspa • • what's it, A levels/ no • • Eh...			
[10]	Hac	Praktikum yapti. internship do-PST She did an internship.		Hm'	
Nur	Praktikum. An internship.				
Tün			Praktikum yapti. internship do-PST She did an internship.		
Ize			Hm̃m'		
[11]	Hac		Ähm • sonra • • • Lottoladende then lottery shop-LOC Ehm, • then • • she probably		
Tün	Heē' ((1s)) Onu bitirdikten sonra? DEI-ACC finish-PAR-ABL after ((1s)) After finishing that?				
[12]	Hac	galiba çalıştı. Dedemin vardı (). probably work-PST grandfather-PSS1SG-GEN existent-COP.PST worked in the lottery shop. My grandpa had one ()			

[13]									
Hac				<i>Lotto.</i>				<i>I'</i>	
				Lottery.					
Nur	<i>Nein!</i>			<i>Onuncu</i>	• • •	<i>sınıfa</i>	<i>kadar okula</i>	<i>gitti</i>	
	no			tenth		form-DAT	until	school-DAT	go-PST
	No!			She went to school		until the tenth	• • •	form,	
Tün	<i>Nerde</i>	<i>çalıştı?</i>							
	where	work-PST							
	Where did she work?								
[14]									
Hac								<i>I/ orda</i>	
								there	
Nur	<i>ondan sonra</i>	• • •	<i>ähm</i>	• •	<i>on beşin/</i>	• •	<i>on beş yaşındaydı...</i>		
	DEI-ABL after			ten	five-=/	fifteen	age-PSS3-LOC-COP.PST		
	after that	• • •	ehm	• •	five/	• •	she was fifteen...		
Tün								<i>Heé'</i>	
Ize								<i>Hm'</i>	
[15]									
Hac	• <i>orda</i>	• •	<i>Ähm'</i>	• •	<i>Ähm'</i>	((1s))	<i>Arbeit (mı)</i>	• •	((anl., 0.5s)) <i>Haspa'da arbeiten</i>
	• there	• •	Ehm	• •	Ehm	((1s))	work (=)	• •	((inc., 0.5s)) <i>Haspa-LOC work-VN</i>
[16]									
Hac	<i>ediyodu.</i>								
	do-PRS.COP.PST								
Tün				<i>(He) Haspa'da da çalışmış</i>	<i>yani.</i>			<i>Hee'</i>	
				Haspa-LOC	also work-EVID	that is			
				I see, so she also worked	at the Haspa.				
Ize				<i>Hm'm'</i>				<i>Hm' Hm'</i>	

9. Summary and discussion

This study has investigated the marking of indirectivity in hearsay contexts in a corpus of bilingual Turkish from the turn of the last century, combining a quantitative picture with a qualitative, discourse-analytical, perspective. Quantitatively, it can be said that the Hamburg-based children employ fewer indirective forms on the whole than their Turkey-based peers; the same difference does not, however, obtain with respect to their parents, who use indirective forms to the same extent as monolinguals. A closer quantitative look at intergenerational autobiographical retellings from ten children, which form a specific subset of the data, functionally rendering the marking of indirectivity highly expectable, revealed that the Hamburg-based children differ at the individual level, with some producing indirective forms frequently, others less often, and still others not at all. A discourse-analytical look at the same subset of data focused on what actually happens in situations in which three children, who only sporadically use indirective forms, retell events from their parents' childhood.

The data analysis suggests that in talking about events that occurred a generation ago, such that the children cannot possibly have witnessed them, monolingually socialised adult interlocutors and Hamburg-based bilingual children converse in two different systems. The adults initially establish a discourse based on indirective

forms and keep on with it. The children, by contrast, mostly use the neutral forms (-*DI*, -(*y*)*DI*, sometimes -(*Ø*)*Iyor*), notably in talking about their parent's childhood.

Johanson (2003: 281–287), with respect to historical narratives, but also in a wider perspective, discusses a number of pragmatic nuances, contextual interpretations, and semantic transitions between the use of -*mİş* and of -*DI*. In his analysis, -*DI*-forms may indeed convey a neutral, unmarked meaning. Furthermore, he reminds us of his earlier finding (Johanson 1971: 84–87) that speakers have a certain range of choices in presenting a given event. Attitudinal or perceptual categories such as personal witnessing or involvement may thus remain somewhat open to interpretation and personal choice. It might be the case that the bilingual children in our data stretch those choices beyond what their monolingually socialised adult interlocutors find acceptable or comprehensible, and possibly also 'scatter' (Aikhenvald (2004: 78–82) the rare indirective forms that they use over larger passages of their narratives, in contexts where the evidential status of narrated content has been previously marked and/or is more generally clear.

While these complex questions remain for further research, the three children's way of speaking, it seems, can potentially cause confusion on the adult interlocutors' side, who, in turn, engage in didactic conversation, clarifying the distinction between the two levels of experience. Among the children, we observe ways of dealing with the adults' problems of understanding. One consists of providing contextual clues, e.g. Binnaz' utterance *Ich war noch nicht auf die Welt* 'I wasn't around yet' (example 2, score area 26), or: *Äh, ((6s)) ich glaub, anne/ • anne hat erzählt* 'Eh, ((6s)) I think, Mum/ • Mum said' (example 3, score area 28f), which provide information as to the non-witnessed status of the narrated events.

In partial answer to Johanson's (1991) questions concerning the inter-generational side of structural changes and heterogeneity of a linguistic community, one may look at individual differences. In dealing with the confusion, one interviewer (socialised in Turkey, corresponding to Johanson's 'Step 1') keeps drawing the child's attention to the relevant grammatical distinction, asking questions of understanding, thematising the hearsay character of the narrated content, and offering contextualised indirective forms and even metalinguistic comments (Sections 6–7). Another interviewer (socialised in Hamburg, 'Step 2) raises fewer problems; while mainly producing -*mİş*-based utterances, she occasionally adapts to the child's system, using neutral forms in her turn (Section 8). All three children ('Step 3') seem to follow a somewhat different system, unaffected by the adults' use of different forms, their hints and recastings.

Within a larger Turcological context, evidentiality has revealed itself to be an attractive and at the same time vulnerable category, in various Turkic-non-Turkic language-contact situations (Johanson 1992, 2000, 2006, Brendemoen 1997, Boeder 2000, Bulut 2000, Csató 2000, Friedman 2000, Menz 2000, Csató & Menz 2018, Demir 2018). Depending on the sociolinguistic situation, it may arise as a new grammatical category in a non-Turkic language or may be lost in a Turkic language. In our studied case, Turkish is an immigrant language and as such under the influ-

ence of German, which occupies many societal domains. If in this situation evidentiality were to gradually lose ground, this would not come as a surprise. However, given the transitional character of the observed phenomena (Johanson 1991), the question of whether or not one can speak of a stabilising bilingual system will have to await further decades of development before it can be more fully addressed.

Abbreviations

1	first person	DET	determiner	PL	plural
2	second person	EVID	evidential/ indirective	POST	postterminal
3	third person	F	feminine	PRS	present tense
ABL	ablative	FUT	future	PST	past tense
ACC	accusative	GEN	genitive	PSS	possessive
ADJ	adjective	INDEF	indefinite	PTC	particle
CD	conditional	LOC	locative	REC	reciprocal
CMP	comparative	MOD	modality	SUP	superlative
COP	copula	NEG	negation	VN	verbal noun
DAT	dative	PAR	participle		
DEI	deixis	PAS	passive		

HIAT conventions

Hm̃	level tone on aspirated nasal	/	repair
Hm̃	rising tone	...	abortion of an utterance
Hm̃	falling tone	•	pause of short duration
Hm̃	falling-rising tone	• • •	pause of long duration (< 1s)
Hm̃	rising-falling tone	((2.5s))	pause longer than a second
.	utterance-final sign after	((güler))	tier-internal comment
	an interjection	()	incomprehensible (iconic)
<u>accentuation</u>		[comment

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