desperately trying to ignore mid-late-twentieth-century debates and to take a starting point way beyond all that

Agglutinativity in varieties of Turkish in Germany: Verb-based forms in 7th and 12th grade pupils in Berlin

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Research questions and goals

- How does agglutinativity in verbs develop in diaspora Turkish?
- Effects of age? Effects of formal instruction in Turkish?
- How to operationalize agglutinative complexity? How to appreciate its functionality in some given text types?

Data

- two secondary schools in Berlin Kreuzber: German-medium school with option of Turkish as second foreign language and Turkish-German Bilingual Program, grades 7 and 12
- 51 pupils at these two schools in 2009 and 2010, mainly born and raised in Berlin, levels of instruction in Turkish: tr0 tr1, tr2 (non, primary, secondary level)
- questionnaire on background and language practices (Akıncı & Pfaff 2009)
- video film without dialogue representing everyday problems in a school (Berman & Verhoeven 2002)
- elicitation of linguistic data: written versus spoken, expository versus narrative

Agglutinativity as a productive process and some issues of relativity

- periphrastic, postverbal, constructions morphologize over time, acquiring fixed grammatical meanings, process is renewable in layers (Johanson 1998: 113–116)
- 'fake' agglutinativity: some verb forms do transcend word boundaries, in terms of phonological stress, patterns of negation and interrogation, or suspended affixation, ambiguity between participial and finite uses, conflicting criteria at different levels (Kornfilt 1996)
- morphological complexity of Turkish verbs may extend into syntax, grammatical categories distributed over more than one verb: clusters of verbs, 'V-V constructions', 'compound verbs', periphrastic constructions (Csató, Johanson & Karakoç 2019, van Schaaik 2001, Sezer 2001)
- verb size, limits of affixation: a verb can host slots for up to three suffixes, every fourth suffix must be an underlying auxiliary (Göksel 2001)
- five positions or slots for tense-aspect-modality markers (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 73–81), the composite character of some markers, consisting of a copula and a tense/aspect/conditional marker
- categorial tension between nouniness and verbiness (Borsley & Kornfilt, 2000, Kornfilt & Whitman, 2012a, b) and between inflection and derivation (Johanson 1973, Haig 2003, Herkenrath & Karakoç 2017) , patterns of recursivity (e.g. in voice) (Erdal 1996)
- aglutinativity not yet studied at discourse level

Forms looked at

- all verbal forms, i.e. forms based on simple, extended and derived verb stems
- 3,176 findings, based on 229 different basic verb stems
- concordance schema based on TAM positional scheme in Göksel & Kerslake (2005: 73–81) and extended on basis of forms found
- potentially eight verb-nonverb boundary crossings

Inside this schema: Four areas of complexity

(1) verb stem extensions/voice
(2) complex TAM
(3) nonfinite and deverbalised forms
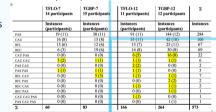(4) recursivity: de- and reverbalisation

Findings: Grade 7 vs. 12

some areas in which we find more complexity in the twelfth-graders' data:

- multiple stem extensions
- periphrastic forms with the copula ol-
- derivative deverbalisation
- recursive patterns

School types and individual differences

- not comparing school models
- participation in formal Turkish classes might play a role
- slight advantage for the bilingual programme
- great amount of individual variation
- influence of the good informal Turkish infrastructure in the community, requiring more detailed investigation
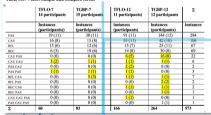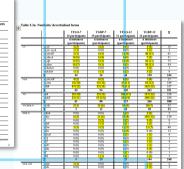

Table 5.1: Voice: Simple and complex forms

Table 5.4 Recursivity

Table 5.3a: Nonfinite/ deverbalised forms

Communicative functions of complex agglutinativity in narrative and expository speaking and writing: Stem extension/voice

(43)   TGBP-12 tr2 Yonca f 19;00 wn[19]
   (a) *dış-la-n-dır-ıl-ıyor* 's/he is being made to be excluded' (outside-DER.V-PAS-CAU-PAS-PRS)
   (b) *dış-la-n-ma-sı-dır* 'it is her being excluded' (outside-DER.V-PAS-VN-POSS.3SG-COP.DIR)
   (c) [sınıf resmi] *çek-il-diğ-in-de* 'when [the class picture] is being taken' '(draw-PAS-PAR-POSS.3SG-LOC)
   (d) [birbirine] *sar-ıl-ıyor* 'they are hugging [each other]' (wrap-PAS-PRS.3)

İzlemiş olduğum kısa filminde birçok çeşitli olayları biz@ / § öğrencilere sunmuştur. // § Burada bir kız kendi sınıfın içinde **dışlanmasıdır.** */ § Örneğin bir kız arkadaşlarının yanına gidip onların yanına / § oturmasıyla arkadaşların oturdukları yerde kalkıp gitmesidir. / Böylelikle kız arkadaşlarından XXdışlanyXX* **dışlandırılıyor.** */ Sınıf resXXiXXmi* **çekildiğinde** *kızın sağı ve XXsogXX solu boş / XXkalıyorXX. kalırken diğerleri birbirine* **sarılıyor.**

'In the short film that I have watched a number of various events are presented to us pupils. Here a girl **it is her being excluded** in her own class. For example, as soon as one girl approaches her classmates and sits down next to them it is their getting up from where they were sitting and their going away. In this way, **she is being made to be excluded** by her female classmates. When the class picture **is being taken**, while the right and left side of the girl remain empty, the others **are hugging** each other.'

- communicative functions that can be realised by means of complex agglutinativity in the given text types
- example (43) illustrates how one written narrative uses multiple stem extension to control the depiction of agents and experiencers in a socially sensitive event
- passive-causative-passive verb, *dışlandırılıyor* 'she is being made to be excluded' is a triply extended verb stem
- depicts a scene in which actants' specific involvement is evoked in layers, through the argument structure of the extended stems

Summary, discussion, outlook

- strong maintenance
- some specific forms and stylistic options that seem to be productively acquired as late as age 13 to 20
- might depend on formal instruction or at least on rich informal infrastructure at the community level
- deeper sociolinguistic exploration needed

(references on the back)