DEVELOPMENT OF PRAGMATIC USES OF SUBJECT PRONOUNS IN TURKISH CHILD LANGUAGE

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The Turkish verb is marked for subject agreement, thereby making subject pronouns semantically redundant.[1] Enç (1986) has noted that: ‘‘Sentences with pronominal subjects are more marked than their counterparts with null subjects, in the sense that they convey some extra pragmatic information, i.e. information beyond the proposition they express.’’ She has pointed to the role of initial pronominal subjects in indicating topic switch, and has gone on to show that this role is part of a more general function of contrast of referents. She concludes that: ‘‘Only the sentence that signals the introduction of a new topic has a subject pronoun.’’

Research conducted at Berkeley[2] has shown that this conclusion appears to be limited to *pre*verbal pronominal subjects, while *post*verbal subject pronouns serve a different discourse function. Texts of adult conversations reveal a tendency to avoid verb-final sentences in contexts where a speaker wishes to hold the floor or to invite interlocutors to maintain a topic in conversation. That is, a postverbal element, such as a subject pronoun (or an adverbial particle or phrase), avoids the sense of finality that is conveyed when a speaker's turn ends with a verb. Thus we find that if the speaker asks a question with a postposed nominal (noun or pronoun), it will tend to be interpreted as a question inviting an elaboration of the topic on the floor, whereas a verb-final question is aimed at obtaining a more limited informational response. Likewise, the speaker implicitly indicates a desire to hold the floor by use of a postposed nominal in a declarative sentence. Accordingly, there is a proliferation of postposed elements – including subject pronouns – when the topic is maintained by the participants in the conversation; while a verb-final utterance as part of a continuing topic (with preposed or null subject) may indicate the speaker's desire to close the topic.[3]

Clearly, then, any full analysis of the use of subject-marking in Turkish must attend to the fact that the speaker has *three* options: to encode the subject by verbal inflection alone, or by an explicit pre- or postverbal noun or pronoun. Given this choice, all three options perform pragmatic functions, and must be considered in relation to one another.

DEVELOPMENTAL STUDY

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[1] The verb is inflected for first and second person, singular and plural, with zero-marking for third-person singular and plural-marking for third-person plural in the absence of an overt plural subject. For example, taking the stem *gel-* 'come' and the present tense *-iyor-*, along with the corresponding subject pronouns, person-number marking is as follows: 1SG *ben geliyorum*, 2SG *sen geliyorsun*, 3SG *o geliyor*; 1PL *biz geliyoruz*, 2PL *siz geliyorsunuz*, 3PL *onlar geliyor(lar)*. The same pattern is followed across tenses.

[2] Recordings of natural conversation were made at Berkeley by Ayhan Aksu (Koç) and Mine Sabuncuoglu in 1978, and by Tuvana Biktimir, Güliz Kuruoglu-Benedict, and Îskender Savaşir in 1982. Preliminary analyses were presented by T. Biktimir, G. Kuruoglu-Benedict, I. Savaşir, D. I. Slobin, and K. Zimmer in a workshop, ‘‘The Orchestration of Talk in Turkish,’’ at the Conference on Language and Linguistics in Atatürk's Turkey, University of California, Berkeley, May 1982. Further analysis was presented by Karl Zimmer in his paper, ‘‘Bunu hiç anlayamam ben: Some observations on post-verbal subject pronouns in Turkish,’’ presented to the Second Conference on Turkish Linguistics, Bogaziçi University, Istanbul, August 1984.

[3] Though not considered in this paper, it is important to note the role of adverbial expressions in filling out the picture presented above. The Berkeley research suggests that a postposed adverbial particle (e.g., *yani, ama, daha, filân, zaten*) indicates that the speaker has no more to say on the topic, without discouraging the listener from continuing the topic. Thus, if the topic is maintained by the participants, it follows that there will be a proliferation of postposed adverbial particles (and other types of adverbial expressions). If the topic is maintained, the speaker can indicate (1) a desire to hold the floor, by use of a postposed nominal, or (2) a willingness to yield the floor, by use of an utterance-final adverbial.

All of the analyses carried out by linguists have dealt with *adult* discourse, in which one can assume that speakers are concerned with such issues as holding the floor, maintaining or switching topics, and, in general, carrying on conversations that stretch over a number of turns. It is assumed that each of the interlocutors has a good deal to say, and that each is concerned with ''making points'' that allow a conversation to grow and continue. In the current paper we wish to trace these skills back to their beginnings in preschool language, examining the speech of 2-5 year-old children. In this age period we find that child speech is heavily ''scaffolded'' by adults, and that the relevant unit of analysis is the individual turn or pair of turns, rather than a conversational unit that stretches across a number of turns.

A ''turn'' can be either spontaneous or responsive. In the individual spontaneous turn, a child declares an intention or makes a new point; in a pair of turns, the child responds to an adult utterance with a reply or a challenge. Towards the end of the age period we are considering, such responses begin to include the child's own elaborations or expansions of the topic, laying the basis for more mature conversational skills.

Our data all come from a particular interaction format: discourse carried out between an adult female researcher and a small child at home.[4] The researcher was initially a stranger who became more and more familiar to the child in the course of several days of psycholinguistic testing and free play. The children were all of professional, college-educated families in Istanbul and Ankara. For the purposes of this paper, we have examined hour-long speech transcripts from nine children, spaced in age at four-month intervals between the ages of 2;0 (24 months) and 4;8 (56 months), analyzing all child utterances with subject expressed by pronoun or verb inflection alone. By 2;0, subject agreement is correctly marked on verbs across a range of tenses, and all three pronominal options are exercised: null, preposed, and postposed pronouns. Furthermore, the three options seem to perform differentiated pragmatic functions, and subject pronouns do not seem to be used redundantly on purely semantic grounds. That is to say, both the semantic (verb-inflectional) and pragmatic (pronominal options) marking of sentence subject is well established at a very early age. While the full range of adult pragmatic functions requires time to develop, early uses of null, preposed, and postposed subject pronouns are neither anomalous nor deviant from an adult point of view. Because verb inflections have been mastered, and subject pronouns are not simply used redundantly, it is appropriate to study the pragmatic functions of pronouns throughout our age sample.

DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS AND MODES OF EXPRESSION

We have found it helpful to analyze the pragmatic uses of linguistic forms as an intersection of two types of factors. On the one hand, a given utterance performs a particular type of speech act; on

[4] The data come from a larger study of 48 children, conducted as part of the Berkeley Cross-Linguistic Acquisition Project in 1972-73. (A detailed summary of the Turkish phase of this project can be found in Aksu-Koç and Slobin, 1985.) Clearly, a larger sample, and a wider range of speech contexts, will be necessary for confirmation of the trends reported here. The research was carried out with support from the William T. Grant Foundation, the National Science Foundation, and the Sloan Foundation to the Institute of Cognitive Studies, and from NIMH to the Language-Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley. Additional research and workshop facilities were provided by the Max-Planck-Institut für Psycholinguistik, Nijmegen, the Netherlands. Alev Alatli and Ayla Algar recorded and transcribed the child speech samples. Jane Edwards made it possible to analyze the data by computer in the Berkeley Child Language Archive. To all of these institutions, agencies, and individuals – our thanks.

the other, this performance is carried out with a particular expressive quality. These two dimensions are represented in Table 1, on the following page, which also summarizes our main findings.

The horizontal dimension presents three major *discourse functions* of child utterances in our texts: (i) The child *responds* to an adult question or imperative. In this category we have prompted assertions, elicited by preceding adult speech directed to the child. (ii) The child *declares an intention or need.* Here we have announcements with future orientation, either spontaneous or called forth by a prevailing state of affairs. (iii) The child spontaneously *offers information*, commenting on or describing a state of affairs – that is, a category of unprompted assertions. (There are, of course, more pragmatic functions, or types of speech acts, than these; but this typology is most pertinent to the type of adult-child interaction analyzed here.)

The vertical dimension reflects the fact that each speech act can be performed in various modes of expression, reflecting different sorts of affective and cognitive involvement in speaking. We treat our data in terms of three sorts or levels of involvement: (a) At the level of least involvement, the child's expressive mode is *neutral*, compliantly answering questions or providing minimal new information in the form of expressing an intention or making a comment. (b) At a more involved *affective* level, the child is *assertive* – disagreeing, challenging, insisting, or expressing impatience. (c) And at a more involved *cognitive* level, the child is *expansive* – giving background information, instructions, or presenting personal narratives. We identify the assertive mode by a variety of indices: affectively charged intonation, use of pragmatic particles (*işte, ki, ya*, etc.), and/or a context suggesting conflict or disagreement between child and adult. The expansive mode is defined by elaborative statements that go beyond a single-clause utterance that provides no more than the basic information needed at the moment (=neutral mode).

The use of the pronominal options – null, preposed, or postposed – is differentially arrayed across discourse functions and modes of expression, as summarized in Table 1 and presented in detail below. We examine these uses through selective examples from our texts, with the expectation that a larger and more quantitative survey would substantiate the patterns we have found. As one might expect, the neutral and assertive modes are well developed from the start, while the expansive mode develops more slowly, with continuing progress well beyond our oldest sample of 4;8. (Of all of the sentences in our data, for each major age group, the following percentages are in the expansive mode: 2-year-olds – 12%, 3-year-olds – 43%, 4-year-olds – 64%.) Let us explore combinations of functions and modes, following the cells of Table 1.

Table 1. Pronominal Use by Discourse Function and Mode of Expression[a]

	DISCOURSE FUNCTION		
MODE OF EXPRESSION	i. Response to Question or Imperative	ii. Declaration of Intention or Need	iii. Offering of Information
a. Neutral	*Cell 1:* null PRO (or initial PRO in response to subject question or general question)	*Cell 4:* null PRO, initial PRO for cooperative stance, postposed PRO for object or verb focus	*Cell 7:* null, initial, or postposed PRO
b. Assertive	*Cell 2:* generally postposed PRO (or initial if constrasting subject is at issue)	*Cell 5:* initial PRO for countering stance, postposed PRO for insistent stance	*Cell 8:* (rare)
c. Expansive	*Cell 3:* null, initial, or postposed PRO, approaching adult norms	*Cell 6:* (rare)	*Cell 9:* null, initial, or postposed PRO, approaching adult norms

[a] PRO refers to subject pronoun (most commonly *ben* 'I' in the child date).

DISCOURSE FUNCTION: RESPONSE TO QUESTION OR IMPERATIVE (Column 1)

Discourse Mode: Neutral (Cell 1)

In the neutral mode, the child tends to respond with no subject pronoun, affirming or negating the verb of a yes/no question or replacing the question word of a wh-question with an appropriate content word.[5]

(1) ADULT: Ceket mi giydin?
jacket INT wear-PA-2SG
'Did you wear a *jacket*?'

CHILD (2;0): Ceket giydim.
jacket wear-PA-1SG
'I wore a jacket.'

[5] The first line of the glosses is roughly morphological, but indicating only those grammatical elements relevant to the current analysis; the second line of glosses is a free translation, enclosed in single quotes. The following abbreviations are used: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, ABILITY = abilitative, ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative, AOR = aorist, COND = conditional, DAT = dative, EMPH = emphatic particle, FUT = future, IMP = imperative, INT = interrogative, LOC = locative, NEG = negative, OPT = optative-subjunctive, PA = past, PASS = passive, PL = plural, PRES = present, SG = singular.

(2) ADULT: Gezmeye gittin mi?
going-out go-PA-2SG INT
'Did you go out?'

CHILD (2;4): Gittim.
go-PA-1SG
'I went (out).'

(3) ADULT: Nereye gittiniz dün?
where-to go-PA-2PL yesterday
'Where did you-all go yesterday?'

CHILD (2;0): Atta gittik.
out go-PA-1PL
'We went out.'

(4) ADULT: Başka ne yapiyorsun?
other what make-PRES-2SG
'What else are you making?'

CHILD (2;0): Kuş. Kuş yaptim.
Bird. Bird make-PA-1SG
'A bird. I made a bird.'

(5) ADULT: Nasil resim yaparsin?
how picture make-AOR-2SG
'How do you make a picture?'

CHILD (2;0): Şöyle yapiyorum.
like-that make-PRES-1SG
'I make (it) like that.'

Imperatives are responded to in compliant fashion with a single verb:

(6) ADULT: Masal anlatsana bize? Hadi, masal anlat bize.
story tell-IMP us? come-on, story tell us
'Will you tell us a story? Come on, tell us a story.'

CHILD (2;0): Anlaticam.
tell-FUT-1SG
'I'll tell.'

The only yes/no questions that elicit a preposed pronoun[6] response are those that directly question the subject, showing the child's appropriate sense of contrast between *sen* '2SG' and *ben* '1SG':

[6] ''Pronoun,'' in this paper, always refers to *subject* pronoun.

(7) ADULT: Sen mi yaptin?
you INT make-PA-2SG
'Did *you* make (it)?'

CHILD (2;4): Ben yaptim.
I make-PA-1SG
'I made (it).'

Similarly, initial subject pronouns occur appropriately in response to who-questions:

(8) ADULT: Kim aldi o takalari?
who buy-PA that ships
'Who bought those ships?'

CHILD (2;0): Ben aldim.
I buy-PA-1SG
'I bought (them).'

Additionally, such pronouns occur appropriately when general wh-questions evoke descriptions of an entire scene, as shown especially by older children:

(9) ADULT: Sizin evde ne oldu bugün?
your house-LOC what happen-PA today
'What happened at your house today?'

CHILD (4;0): Ben oyuncaklarimla oynadim.
I with-my-toys play-PA-1SG
'I played with my toys.'

We find that pronouns – either pre- or postposed – occur in response to imperatives only in the assertive mode, as discussed below. And it is only in the assertive mode that questions are responded to with postposed pronouns.

Discourse Mode: Assertive (Cell 2)

There are no assertive responses to *questions* with null pronouns, and the only null pronoun assertive responses to *imperatives* are in the ''stubborn'' aorist, as in:

(10)ADULT: Ay dede yap
moon-face make-IMP
'Make a moon-face.'

CHILD (2;0): Yapmam.
make-NEG-AOR-1SG
'I won't.'

More often, however, the child adds substance to resistance through the use of a first-person subject pronoun. In rare instances, this pronoun is preposed:

(11)ADULT: Sen bana bir masal anlatirmisin?
you to-me one story tell-AOR-INT-2SG
'Would you tell me a story?'

CHILD (3;8): Ben bilmiyorum ki masal.
I know-NEG-PRES-1SG EMPH story
'I don't know any story.'

(But note the additional emphasis added by *ki*.) More frequently, resistance is indicated by a post-posed pronoun:

(12)ADULT: Sen hiç masal bilmiyormusun? Bir tane anlat bize.
you none story know-NEG-PRES-1SG one item tell us
'Don't you know any stories? Tell us one.'

CHILD (2;0): Anlatmiyorum ben masal.
tell-NEG-PRES-1SG I story
'I'm not telling a story.'

Note that the use of the present-continuous tense in the negative (-*miyor*) has a stronger challenging tone than the aorist or future in adult speech; and this distinction between the tenses seems to be reflected in these child examples as well.

Postposed pronouns also convey a tone of insistence in response to imperatives:

(13)ADULT: Sen kullan istersen onu, istiyorsan.
you use-IMP want-AOR-COND-2SG it, want-PRES-COND-2SG
'You use it if you want to.'

CHILD (3;8): Kullancam ben bunu.
use-FUT-1SG I this
'I'll use this.'

In response to yes/no questions, postposed pronouns have the feeling of assertion or impatience with the question, most commonly in conjunction with the aorist:

(14)ADULT: Sen annene yardim mi ediyorsun?
you your-mother-DAT help INT do-PRES-2SG
'Do you *help* your mother?'

CHILD (2;8): Tabii, yardim ederim ben.
of-course help do-AOR-1SG I
'Of course I help.'

(15)ADULT: Sen resim yapiyormusun?
you picture make-PRES-INT-2SG
'Are you making a picture?'

CHILD (2;8): Yapmam ben resim.
make-NEG-AOR-1SG I picture
'I don't make a picture.'

(16)ADULT: Ee, sen kullanmiyacaksin parayi?
well, you use-NEG-FUT-2SG money-ACC
'Well, you're not going to use the money?'

CHILD (3;8): Kullanmam ben.
use-NEG-AOR-1SG I
'I don't use (it).'

Postposed pronoun responses to wh-questions focus on the reply to the question word, often accompanying the pronoun with an emphatic particle such as *işte* or *artik*:

(17)ADULT: Nasil atarsin?
how throw-AOR-2SG
'How do you throw?'

CHILD (2;8): Atarim ben işte.
throw-AOR-1SG I just
'I just throw.'

(18)ADULT: Ne oyunlar oynuyorsunuz?
what games play-PRES-2PL
'What games do you-all play?'

CHILD (3;4): İskambil oynuyorum ben artik.
cards play-PRES-1SG I now
'I play cards now.'

The postposed pronoun also occurs in response to adults' miscomprehension or failure to comprehend, rendering the child's repeated utterance more emphatic or assertive:

(19)CHILD (3;4): Kamyon da bindim.
truck EMPH ride-PA-1SG
'I rode a truck.'

ADULT: Ha?
'What?'

CHILD: Kamyon da bindim ben.
truck EMPH ride-PA-1SG I
'I rode a truck.'

Overall, then, postposed subject pronouns seem to convey the assertive mode, expressing insistence, emphasis, or challenge, with focus on the verb or object. When the verb is in focus – either to agree or challenge - the object is postposed as well, always following the subject in VSO order, as in examples (12), (13), and (15).

Assertion is expressed through preposed subject pronouns when the subject is at issue, contrasting the speaker's claim or demand with that of another person. Sometimes the challenge is a *ben-sen* 'I-you' contrast, with the child turning an imperative back to the adult:

(20)ADULT: Çikart onlari ondan.
remove-IMP them-ACC it-ABL
'Get them out of it.'

CHILD (2;4): Sen çikart onlari.
you remove-IMP them-ACC
'*You* get them out.'

Sometimes the child uses a subject contrast to back up a refusal:

(21)ADULT: ''Kirmizi şapkali kiz'' (anlat).
Little Red Riding Hood (tell)
'(Tell) ''Little Red Riding Hood''.'

CHILD (3;0): Ben onu anlatmam da, annem anlatiyor.
I it-ACC tell-NEG-AOR-1SG EMPH, my-mother tell-PRES-3SG
'I won't tell it, my mother will tell.'

(Note that the initial subject pronoun here anticipates a contransting subject in the next clause – an early example of interclausal cohesion that lays the foundation for later development of more extended discourse skills.)

Discourse Mode: Expansive (Cell 3)

Even at very early ages, we find expansive responses to adult questions by use of contrasing subject pronouns, with the child providing a minimal piece of new information, as in the following response to one of our standard elicitation questions:

(22)ADULT: Kim temizliyor yerleri?
who cleans-PRES-3SG floors-ACC
'Who cleans the floors?'

CHILD (2;0): Ben temizlemiyorum; annem temizliyor.
I clean-NEG-PRES-1SG my-mother clean-PRES-3SG
'I don't clean; my mother cleans.'

Sometimes a bit of descriptive discourse is provoked by a question, allowing the child to enter into the expansive mode with some adult help (''scaffolding''). In the following selection from a 2-year-old transcript, the investigator and the mother try to guide the child in discussing what her dog, Bon, likes to drink. Note the use of postposed pronouns for object contrast: *Çay içerim ben* 'tea drink I' (='tea, and not water'), and preposed pronouns for subject contrast: *Ben çay içmiyorum* 'I tea don't-drink' (='not I, but the dog').

(23)INVESTIGATOR: Ne içer köpekler?
what drink-AOR-3SG dogs
'What do dogs drink?'

CHILD (2;0) (to mother): Ne içiyor, anne?
what drink-PRES-3SG, mother
'What do they drink, mother?'

MOTHER: Ne içiyor Bon?
what drink-PRES-3SG Bon
'What does Bon drink?'

CHILD: Çay.
tea

MOTHER: Su içer, evladim.
water drink-AOR-3SG my-child
'He drinks water, sweetheart.'

CHILD: Bon su içer.
Bon water drink-AOR-3SG
'Bon drinks water.'

INVESTIGATOR: Niçin içiyor, bilmiyor musun sen?
why drink-PRES-3SG know-NEG-PRES INT-2SG you

CHILD: Ben su veririm ona içer.
I water give-AOR-1SG 3SG-DAT drink-AOR-3SG

Çay içerim ben, çay içerim bardagim.
tea drink-AOR-1SG I tea drink-AOR-1SG my-glass

Ben çay içmiyorum. Bon içiyor.
I tea drink-NEG-PRES-1SG Bon drink-PRES-3SG

Ben çay da içtim, Bon da içti.
I tea also drink-PA-1SG Bon also drink-PRES-3SG

‘I give him water, he drinks.
I drink tea, I drink tea my glass.
I don’t drink tea. Bon drinks.
I drank tea, Bon drank too.’

The ‘‘narrative’’ is rather incoherent, but the use of subject pronouns to indicate subject switch and object focus seems to be established. However, these functions are exercised minimally, simply contrasting *pairs* of propositions, as in the assertive responses to questions and imperatives. Similar pair-wise contrasts are seen in spontaneous expansive utterances (as discussed in regard to Cell 9, below).

Expansive responses to questions also show appropriate use of null pronouns, when the context makes it clear that there is a contrasting subject theme, as in the following additional information provided after a simple response:

(24)ADULT: Sen kuşlara ne yediriyorsunuz?
you birds-DAT what feed-PRES-2PL
‘What do you-all feed the birds?’

CHILD (3;4): Ekmek. Islatip yediriyorum.
bread having-moistened feed-PRES-1SG

Ondan sonra, islatip veriyorum.
after that, having-moistened give-PRES-1SG

Pencereden atiyorum aşagiya bazilari.
window-ABL throw-PRES-1SG down some-ACC

‘Bread. I get it wet and feed (them).
Then I get it wet and give it. I throw
some down out of the window.’

In sum, when children are in the expansive mode, use of all three pronominal options approaches adult norms: an initial pronoun is used for subject contrast; a postposed pronoun for object contrast; and null pronoun in cases where the subject is given by nonlinguistic context or continuing discourse.

DISCOURSE FUNCTION: DECLARE INTENTION OR NEED (Column 2)

Discourse Mode: Neutral (Cell 4)

Null pronouns are used only in neutral declarations, where the option of omitting the subject pronoun is taken about half of the time. As in the case of responses, so in declarations also, the lack of a subject pronoun reflects a neutral mode of expression. In addition, these declarations are always in the future tense – probably the least marked in terms of intentionality (in comparison with the aorist, the optative-subjunctive, and the present – all of which are used in this discourse function in the assertive and expansive modes). Subjectless verbs are both intransitive (22) and transitive (23,24); in the latter case, the object is clear from context.

(25)CHILD (2;4): İnecem.
get-down-FUT-1SG
'I'll get down' (from the chair)

(26)CHILD (2;8): Bir tane hayvan alacam.
one item animal take-FUT-1SG
'I'll take an animal' (while playing with toy animals)

(27)CHILD (4;4): Su içecem.
water drink-FUT-1SG
'I'll drink water.'

When the focus is on the object or on the verb itself, postposed pronouns are often used for neutral declarations, as in the following examples:

(28)CHILD (2;0): Ev yapacam ben.
house make-FUT-1SG I
'I'll make a house.'

(29)CHILD (2;4): Bastirayim ben.
press-OPT-1SG I
'Let me press (it).'

(30)CHILD (2;8): Kapayim ben.
cover-OPT-1SG I
'Let me cover (it).'

(Note the use of the optative-subjunctive -*ayim* along with the future -*acam*.)

Both null and postposed pronouns tend to occur in situations in which the child is simply forecasting his/her own activity as an individual, self-involved actor. Initial pronouns, however, seem to occur in more interactive contexts, in which the child's announced action has some relevance for the listener. These utterances occur in a range of tenses, and are often explicitly directed towards the listener as benefactor, as shown in the juxtaposition of *ben* ... *sana* 'I ... you-DAT' in the following examples:

(31)CHILD (2;0): Ben sana göstereyim.
I you-DAT show-OPT-1SG
'Let me show you.'

(32)CHILD (2;4): Şimdi ben sana bir tane verecem.
now I you-DAT one item give-FUT-1SG
'Now I'll give you one.'

(33)CHILD (3;8): Ben bularim sana kibrit.
I find-AOR-1SG you-DAT match
'Let me find you a match.'

(34)CHILD (4;8): Ben sana birşey anlatayim.
I you-DAT something rtell-OPT-1SG
'Let me tell you something.'

Discourse Mode: Assertive (Cell 5)

Initial pronouns are also used to assertively contrast the child's intentions with those of another person. In these instances, the child's declaration follows a declaration of the interlocutor, forming an implicit *sen* ... *ben* 'I ... you' reference in the child's utterance:

(35)ADULT: Ama sen hepsini karmakaraşik edersin. Ben oyniyamam.
but you everything all-mixed-up do-AOR-2SG I play-NEG-AOR-1SG
'But you're getting everything all mixed up. I won't play.'

CHILD (2;4): Ben gidecem.
I go-FUT-1SG
'I'll go (away).' (='If you're not going to play, then I'm leaving.')

We have little data on interaction between children, but it would appear that preposed subject pronouns are prevalent in asserting contrastive claims to act, as in the following interaction with an older sister:

(36)SISTER: Bisiklete binecem.
bike ride-FUT-1SG
'I'll ride the bike.'

CHILD (3;8): Ben bisiklete binecem.
I bike ride-FUT-1SG
'*I'll* ride the bike.'

Declarations with postposed pronouns seem to have an especially assertive tone, foregrounding the announced action. In the following sequence, for example, the adult has presented an action as unrealizable and the child asserts her own intent to carry it out:

(37)ADULT: Açamiyor musun? Açilmaz.
open-ABILITY-NEG-PRES INT-2SG open-PASS-NEG-AOR
'Can't you open (it)? It can't open.'

CHILD (2;4): Bu açiim (=açayim) ben.
this open-OPT-1SG I
'Let me open this.'

Thus, while null pronouns signal only neutral responses or declarations, the presence of a pronoun in a declaration serves several functions. Preposed, it focuses on the actor's intent – either to serve or cooperate with the addressee in the neutral mode, or to counter the addressee's declaration in the assertive mode. Postposed, it focuses on the action, either to simply announce an action, or to insist on it in the face of some opposition. This is seen most strongly in negative declarations, such as:

(38)CHILD (2;4): Anne! Gitmiyorum ben!
mother go-NEG-PRES-1SG I
'Mother! I'm not going!'

Discourse Mode: Expansive (Cell 6)

By and large, the children in our age sample do not offer expansive explanations or justifications when they announce an intention or need. The only cases in which one may note the beginnings of declarations in the expansive mode are those instances in which a child comments on a situation from two perspectives, switching from one subject to another and indicating the switch with a subject pronoun:

(39)CHILD (2;4): Açiliyor, açiliyor.
open-PRES-3SG open-PRES-3SG

Ben açarim, açilir.
I open-AOR-1SG open-PASS-AOR-3SG

'It's opening, it's opening. I open it, it opens.'

In such cases, the child expands on a declaration of intended action by pointing to its consequences. (Such consequences provide the kernel for the development of expressions of conditionality and contingency: '*If* you do X, *then* Y will occur'; 'I will do X *so that* Y will occur'; etc.)

DISCOURSE FUNCTION: OFFER INFORMATION (Column 3)

Discourse Mode: Neutral (Cell 7)

Children offer spontaneous bits of information while commenting on their own actions. Such utterances tend to be in the past tense, with any of the three pronominal options. Their aim seems to be to draw the adult's attention to what the child has just done. Lacking any preceding linguistic context, one can only speculate that the three means of subject marking reflect the child's focus on one phase of the action or another:

(40)CHILD (2;0): Buraya sakladim.
here-DAT hide-PA-1SG
'I hid (it) here.'

(41)CHILD (2;0): Ben sakladim.
I hide-PA-1SG
'I hid (it).'

(42)CHILD (2;0): Korkuttum onu ben.
scare-PA-1SG it-ACC I
'I scared it.' (playing with toy animal)

Discourse Mode: Assertive (Cell 8)

It is rare for children in our age range to offer information in the assertive mode. Such utterances are aimed at challenging or contradicting an adult statement, providing the basis for the development of argumentation. As one might expect, we have only scattered examples from the oldest children:

(43)ADULT: Baliklar durduklari yerde uyuyorlar böyle.
fish-PL their-resting place-LOC sleep-PRES-3PL thus
'Fish sleep like this where they rest.'

CHILD (4;8): Ama ben balik gördüm, biryerde oturmuyorlardi.
but I fish see-PA-1SG anywhere sit-NEG-PRES-PL-PA
'But I saw fish, they weren't sitting anywhere.'

Discourse Mode: Expansive (Cell 9)

As mentioned earlier, Cell 9 provides the most mature speech in our sample. We have already seen – in examples of expansive responses and declarations – that young children are able to comment on a situation from two perspectives, switching from one subject to another and indicating the switch with a single pronoun, as in examples (22) and (39) (*Ben temizlemiyorum; annem temizliyor* 'I don't clean; my mother cleans'; *Açiliyor, açiliyor. Ben açarim, açilir* 'It's opening, it's opening. I open it, it opens').

Older children produce more extended, unprompted stretches of speech, although still generally limited to contrasting two subjects in simple narratives, as in the contrast between *ben* 'I' and *o* 'she' in example (44) and the switch from *dayim* 'my-uncle' to *ben* 'I' in (45):

(44)CHILD (3;0): Başka oyun oynuyoruz Saimeyle.
other game play-PRES-1PL with-Saime

Ben yatiyorum. O uyuyor.
I sleep-PRES-1SG 3SG sleep-PRES-3SG

Işigi söndürüyor. Ben de uyuyorum.
light-ACC turn-off-PRES-3SG I too sleep-PRES-1SG

'We play another game with Saime.
I sleep. She sleeps.
She turns off the light. I sleep too.'

(45)CHILD (3;8): Dayim geldi, matematik yapti.
My-uncle come-PA-3SG math do-PA-3SG

Ben bizim resmimizi çektim.
I our our-picture-ACC take-PA-1SG

'My uncle came, did math.
I took our picture.'

It is only the oldest children in our sample who are able to produce longer narratives with several contrasting subjects. The following is a typical example from a child of close to 5 years old, using nouns and pronouns to switch between the participants in the story: *Karasular* 'the Karasus', *biz* 'we', *onlar* 'they', *ben* 'I', *annem* 'my mother', and *ağbim* 'my big brother'. A simplified English gloss is given, indicating verb inflection and pronouns. An italicized pronoun indicates that the form has been used to switch attention to another participant in the narrative.

(46) CHILD (4;8):

Bir de Karasular geldi. Eve geldi. Sonra gittiler evlerine. Biraz sonra *biz*, *onlar* gidiyorlardi, giyindiler. Giyindiler. Gidiyorlardi. Giderken *biz* de onlarla beraber indik. Gittik onlarla beraber. Sonra gidince onlarla beraber, onlarla beraber gittik. Sonra ona bindi, o arabaya. Biz yürürken bir araba geldi. Onlara geldi. Bindiler *onlar*, gittiler. Sonra *biz* agbimi berbere götürdük. Salincaklara götürdük. *Ben* sallandim. Sonra biraz sonra annem geldi. Sonra agbimi aldi. Berberin orda bekliyordu agbim. Sonra geldi, koştuk eve gittik.

And also the Karasus came-∅.[7] Came-∅ home. Then went-PL to their house. A little later *we*, *they* were-going-PL, got-dressed-PL. Got-dressed-PL. Were-going-PL. While-going *we* too with them together went-down-1PL. Went-1PL with them together. Then when-going with them together, with them together went-1PL. Then in it got-in-∅, in that car. We while-walking a car came-∅. To them came-∅. Got-in-PL *they*, went-PL. Then *we* took-1PL my brother to the barber. Took-1PL to the swings. *I* swung-1SG. Then a little later my mother came-∅. Then took-∅ my brother. My brother waited-∅ there at the barber's. Then came-∅, ran-1PL home went-1PL.

'And also the Karasus came. They came to the house. Then we went to their house. A little later we, they were going, got dressed. While going, we went down with them too. We went together with them. Then, when going with them, we went with them. Then (he) got into it, that car. While we were walking a car came. Came to them. They got in and went. Then we took my brother to the barber. We took (him) to the swings. I swung. Then a little later my mother came. Then she took my brother. My brother was waiting there at the barber's. Then he came, we went home running.'

This texts adheres to Enç's observations of the use of subject pronouns to indicate topic switch. Given a patient adult listener, the child is not under the pressures described by the Berkeley researchers to hold or relinquish the floor. Nor does he have recourse to postposed pronouns in order to assert any counter-claims to his listener, as in children's assertive responses to questions and imperatives. What we have here is a quiet space for text-building, with the opportunity to attend to means of keeping track of subjects in a fairly coherent and complex little story.

We do not yet have the data to build a bridge from preschool speech to adult discourse skills. The childish skills remain part of adult communicative competence – but except for the expansive mode, they provide the enduring ''childish'' side to adult conversation: compliance and assertion on the level of the individual turn or exchange of turns. The Berkeley researchers have found that postposed subject pronouns, in adult speech, serve a different pragmatic function than those we have reviewed here. In those texts, postverbal material is semantically redundant and pragmatically empty, and can therefore function to ''soften the blow'' of a verb-final utterance in the course of continuing interchanges on a topic. We would add that this function is only possible if other uses of postposed pronouns are disallowed in context – namely, the insistent, emphatic uses discussed

[7] Verbs marked as -∅ can be either 3SG or 3PL in context, since a preceding plural subject noun is sufficient to indicate plurality. This verb is thus appropriately -∅, as is its repetition in the following clause. Verbs marked -PL in this section are always 3PL.

above, reflecting the assertive mode of expression.

Every choice of linguistic form bears particular meaning precisely because it *is* a choice. The choice of a subject pronoun is pragmatically communicative in Turkish because of the option to use the verb alone. The position of the pronoun has meaning because the language allows a choice of positions. And the meaning of a pronoun in a particular position is further sensitive to the range of meanings that are possible in that position. The pragmatic functions of pronouns established in early childhood provide the background against which adult uses can be foregrounded.

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Table 1. Pronominal Use by Discourse Function and Mode of Expression[a]

	DISCOURSE FUNCTION		
MODE OF EXPRESSION	i. Response to Question or Imperative	ii. Declaration of Intention of Need	iii. Offering of Information
a. Neutral	*Cell 1:* null PRO (or initial PRO in response to subject question or general question)	*Cell 4:* null PRO, initial PRO for cooperative stance, postposed PRO for object or verb focus	*Cell 7:* null, initial, or postposed PRO
b. Assertive	*Cell 2:* generally postposed PRO (or initial if constrasting subject is at issue)	*Cell 5:* initial PRO for countering stance, postposed PRO for insistent stance	*Cell 8:* (rare)
c. Expansive	*Cell 3:* null, initial, or postposed PRO, approaching adult norms	*Cell 6:* (rare)	*Cell 9:* null, initial, or postposed PRO, approaching adult norms

[a] PRO refers to subject pronoun (most commonly *ben* ‘I’ in the child date).