132 / *RumeliDE* Journal of Language and Literature Studies 2023.S12 (July)

The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish / Mavridou, V.

12. The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish

Vasiliki MAVRIDOU[1]

Abstract

Ad Tamlaması (AT) is a term which is widely used in Turkish grammars (Hengirmen, 2007; Hatiboğlu, 1982, among others) to refer to three N(oun)+N(oun) forms, namely a) N-(n)In N-(s)I, b) N N-(s)I and c) N N, which have been traditionally treated in combination (Dede 1978). This paper is trying to examine the differences lying behind the apparently formal similarity of the 3 forms giving answers to the relative degree of difficulty these forms create in the L2-Turkish-acquisition process. To this aim, we try to disambiguate the so far blurred dividing lines of the 3 forms by testing them upon certain morpho-syntactic tests (Bağrıaçık & Ralli, 2014; Mavridou, 2020). The results will show the degree of syntactic compositionality and semantic transparency each of these forms holds giving rise to further assumptions on their syntactic or lexical nature. More specifically, we come to assume that: a) the N-(n)In N-(s)I form is syntactically and semantically analytic in all cases (eg. kadın-ın kuaför-ü 'the woman's hairdresser'), b) the N N-(s)I form is syntactically non-compositional (= synthetic) but semantically either transparent (eg. kadın kuaför-ü 'hairdresser for women') or opaque (Külkedi-si 'Cindirella'), and c) the N N form is either syntactically analytic and semantically transparent (eg. kadın kuaför 'female hairdresser'), or syntactically synthetic but semantically transparent (eg. anne baba 'parents') or syntactically synthetic but semantically opaque (eg. Pamuk Prenses 'Snowhite'). At a second level, we make assumptions on the learning sequence of these forms in L2-Turkish. Based on 'the more transparent the easier to learn' theory (Libben et. al. 2003), we assume that the syntactic N-(n)In N-(s)I form is a step ahead in the L2-Turkish acquisition process compared to more synthetic compound forms such as the N N-(s)I, while the N N form, which falls within the 'grey' region, is assumed to create the most burdens on L2-learners.

Keywords: Turkish compounds, Turkish possessive structures, Ad tamlaması, syntactic compositionality vs. synthesis, semantic transparency vs. opacity

Türkçede Ad tamlaması kategorisi. Alt gruplarındaki farklılıklar ve benzerlikler ve L2-Türkçede öğrenme çıkarımları

Öz

Ad Tamlaması (AT), Türkçe dilbilgisi kitaplarında (Hengirmen, 2007; Hatiboğlu, 1982, diğerleri arasında) yaygın olarak kullanılan, geleneksel olarak bir arada ele alınan ve a) N-(n)In N-(s)I, b) N N-(s)I ve c) N N olmak üzere 3 N(oun)+N(oun) (yani A(d)+A(d)) biçimini ifade eden bir terimdir (Dede, 1978). Bu çalışma, bu üç biçimin görünüşteki biçimsel benzerliğinin ardında yatan farklılıkları incelemeye çalışmakta ve bu biçimlerin ikinci dil (L2)-Türkçe edinimi sürecinde yarattığı göreceli zorluk derecesine yanıt vermektedir. Bu amaçla bu 3 biçimin şimdiye kadar bulanık olan ayrım

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Türkçede Ad tamlaması kategorisi. Alt gruplarındaki farklılıklar ve benzerlikler ve L2-Türkçede öğrenme çıkarımları / Mavridou, V.

çizgilerini, belirli biçim-sözdizimsel kriterler (Bağrıaçık & Ralli, 2014; Mavridou, 2020) üzerinde test ederek belirsizleştirmeye çalışmaktayız. Sonuçlar, bu biçimlerin her birinin sahip olduğu sözdizimsel bileşimlilik ve anlamsal şeffaflık derecesini gösterecek ve sözdizimsel veya sözlüksel özellikleri hakkında daha fazla varsayıma yol açacaktır. Daha spesifik olarak, şu varsayımlarda bulunmaktayız: a) N-(n)In N-(s)I biçimi her durumda sözdizimsel ve anlamsal olarak analitiktir (örn. kadın-ın kuaför-ü 'the woman's hairdresser'), b) N N-(s)I biçimi sözdizimsel olarak bileşimsel (= sentetik) ancak anlamsal olarak ya saydam (örn. kadın kuaför-ü 'hairdresser for women') ya da opak (Külkedi-si 'Cindirella') olabilir, c) N N biçimi ise ya sözdizimsel-anlamsal olarak analitik (örn. kadın kuaför 'female hairdresser'), ya sözdizimsel olarak sentetik anlamsal olarak ise şeffaf (örn. anne baba 'parents') ya da sözdizimsel olarak sentetik anlamsal olarak ise opak (örn. Pamuk Prenses 'Snowhite') olabilir. İkinci bir düzeyde, bu biçimlerin L2-Türkçe'deki öğrenme sırasına ilişkin varsayımlarda bulunmaktayız. 'Ne kadar şeffaf bir biçim o kadar kolay öğrenilir' teorisine (Libben et. al. 2003) dayanarak, sözdizimsel N-(n)In N-(s)I biçiminin, N N-(s)I gibi daha sentetik bileşik biçimlere kıyasla L2-Türkçe edinim sürecinde bir adım önde olduğunu, 'gri' bölgeye giren N N biçiminin ise L2-öğreniciler üzerinde en fazla yükü oluşturduğu varsayılmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Türkçe bileşikler, Türkçe iyelik yapıları, Ad tamlaması, sözdizimsel bileşimsellik/sentez, anlamsal saydamlık/opaklık

1. Introduction

In this paper we examine the Turkish nominal category of Ad Tamlaması (henceforth AT)[2] focusing on the morpho-syntactic and semantic similarities and differences within its 3 main subgroups, namely a) Belirtili AT, b) Belirtisiz AT and c) Takısız AT. At a second place we make assumptions on the sequence these subgroups are learned in the L2-Turkish acquisition process.

The term AT is widely used in grammars (Hengirmen, 2007; Hatiboğlu, 1982; among others) to refer to and describe nominal sets which i) consist of at least two terms which belong to the category Noun (=N), ii) are located one next to one another and iii) on which the second in sequence noun is called Head (*tamlanan,* in Turkish) and the first in sequence noun is called non-Head or Modifier (*tamlayan*, in Turkish). More specifically, the AT term is traditionally used as an umbrella term to cover three N(oun)+N(oun) set forms, namely a) N-(n)In$_{GEN}$ N-(s)I[3]$_{POSS}$ (Belirtili AT), b) N N-(s)I$_{COMP}$ (Belirtisiz AT) and c) N N (Takısız AT), as shown in Table 1 below.

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[2] Abbreviations used in the paper are as follows: AT= Ad Tamlaması, ABL=Ablative, ACC=Accusative, COMP=Compound Marker, DAT=Dative, GEN=Genitive, L2= Second/ Foreign Language, IM= Interrogative Marker, NEG=Negation, NP= Noun Phrase, PAST=Past tense, PL=Plural, POSS=Possessive, PRES=Present tense, PRV=Privative, REL=Relational, SG=Singular, SLA=Second Language Acquisition.

[3] Any vowel in capital indicates an archiphoneme, i.e. phoneme whose feature is determined by vowel harmony. For example the archiphoneme I in –(n)In and -(s)I obeys vowel harmony rules when it surfaces, having four possible forms: i (after i & e), ü (after ü & ö), ı (after a & ı) and u (after u & o). Similarly, any consonant in capital indicates a phoneme whose feature is determined by consonant harmony. For instance, D in locative case -DA has two possible forms: t (after f, p, s, ş, ç, k, h, s, and t) and d (ater vowels and all consonants excluding f, p, s, ş, ç, k, h, s, and t). Last, segments in parentheses do not surface in well-defined (morpho)phonological contexts; e.g. the fricative [s] in -(s)I surfaces only when it is preceded by vowel.

The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish / Mavridou, V.

Table 1: The 3 forms Ad Tamlaması (AT)

Form 1- Belirtili AT N-(n)In N-(s)I	Form 2- Belirtisiz AT N N-(s)I	Form 3- Takısız AT N N
a. kadın-ın kuaför-ü woman-GEN hairdresser-sIPOSS 'the woman's hairdresser'	b. kadın kuaför-ü woman hairdresser-sICOMP 'hairdresser for women'	c. kadın kuaför woman hairdresser 'female hairdresser'

However, the formal similarity of the 3 AT types seems to hide and underestimate the degree of semantic variation within its members. The formal-semantic differentiation of the 3 AT forms is hard to define because, while certain AT forms are semantically transparent in all cases (i.e. N-(n)In N-(s)I), others (i.e. N N-(s)I, N N) vary in the degree of semantic transparency within its members (see Table 2).

Table 2: Degree of semantic transparency in the 3 AT forms

AT Form	Example	Meaning	Example	Meaning
N-(n)In N-(s)I	pamuğ-un kilo-su cotton-GEN kilo-sIPOSS 'a kilo of cotton'	*transparent*		
N N-(s)I	pamuk tarla-sı cotton field-SICOMP 'cotton field'	*transparent*	pamuk şekeri cotton sugar 'sugar sweet' (idiom.)	*opaque*
N N	pamuk elbise cotton dress 'cotton dress'	*transparent*	Pamuk Prenses cotton princess 'Snowhite'	*opaque*

The layout of the paper is as follows. In section 2 we discuss the theoretical background of our study. In Section 3 we postulate our research questions and hypotheses. In Section 4 we analyze the 3 AT forms by testing them upon 12 morpho-syntactic control tests (Bağrıaçık & Ralli, 2014; Mavridou, 2020), which will give rise to deeper similarities and differences between them. In Section 5 we discuss our conclusions and postulate our expectations in terms of the learning sequence of the 3 AT forms in L2-Turkish and the corresponding teaching implications this sequence gives rise to.

2. Theoretical Background

The formal similarity of the 3 AT forms has led to their being traditionally treated holistically not only in academic research (Dede, 1978; Özer, 2010, among others) but also in Turkish grammars (Lewis, 1967) and L2-Turkish coursebooks (Yeni İstanbul Yabancılar için Türkçe A1, 2020; Yeni Hitit 1, 2011; among others).

The traditional tendency towards a unified approach in teaching the AT forms is mainly directed by the simplified semiotic assumption that the formal similarity of the AT category leads to semantic similarity within its subgroups and that the above threefold formal distinction of AT corresponds to a pure threefold functional and semantic differentiation. Researchers such as Dede (1978), Lewis (1967) and Özer (2010) treat the 3 forms of the AT category uniformly as 3 types of compounds, namely *juxtaposed compounds* (referring to the N N form), *indefinite compounds* (referring to the N N-(s)I form) and *definite compounds* (referring to the N-(n)In N-(s)I form). In the same direction, most methods used in teaching Turkish to foreigners, (i.e. Yeni İstanbul Yabancılar için türkçe Ders kitabı A1, 2020; Yeni Hitit

1 Ders Kitabı, 2011) motivated by the formal similarities lying beneath the AT types, promote teaching the AT forms in combination and in the same grammar section.

On the other hand, other research studies (see Aslan & Altan, 2006; Bağrıaçık & Ralli, 2013, 2014; Kunduracı, 2013) focus on the special distinctive syntactic and functional features of several forms of the category AT, specifically the forms N-(n)In N-(s)I and N N-(s)I. These studies focus on the nature of the -(s)I morpheme (possessive or compound marker) to determine whether the members of an AT form can be assumed to be structures (NP-like) belonging to Syntax or lexemes (compound-like) belonging to Morphology. Besides, there are several studies which examine only one subclass of the AT category, such as N N-(s)I (see Bağrıaçık & Ralli, 2014; Kırkıcı, 2009) or N N (see Bağrıaçık & Ralli, 2013, Bağrıaçık & Andreou, 2011) or make a comparative study of two subclasses (for N-(n)In N-(s)I and N N-(s)I, see Aslan & Altan, 2006; for N N-(s)I and N N see Ketrez, 2018, among others).

In this theoretical context we assume that the purely surface formal division of the AT category into 3 subgroups stands insufficient to explain the sequence in which these forms are learned by L2-Turkish learners. This paper tries to show that the main reason for this situation is that a single term such as AT underestimates the underlying complex semantic-syntactic interconnection of the 3 forms. This study will additionally show that the formal differentiation of AT into 3 forms does not correspond to parallel functional-semantic differentiation, what assumedly puts additional burdens in the L2-acquisition of these forms.

The dilemma posed by the two contradictory methods which have been put forward in teaching the 3 AT forms in L2-Turkish so far, that is, a) the *holistic* method, favoring the interconnected teaching of these forms, on the one hand, and b) the *anti-holistic* method, which focuses on the distinctive characteristics of each subgroup, on the other, leads to the need of a deeper investigation of the 3 AT forms. The dilemmatic question whether we should follow a *holistic* or an *anti-holistic* method in teaching the 3 AT forms in L2-Turkish is hard to answer. The apparently false or, otherwise, covert homogeneity behind a superficial threefold formal distinction of a single term such as *Ad tamlaması* imposes the need for a more detailed investigation of the nature of each form.

3. Research Questions and Hypotheses

The following research questions and hypotheses are postulated with respect to the nature and the morpho-syntactic-semantic features of the 3 AT forms, their learning sequence and the teaching method we should follow in teaching them in L2-Turkish learners.

Research Question 1:

What is the nature of the 3 AT forms? What are the similarities and differences between them? Which form is more syntactic, which more lexical? Is there any (cor)-relation between the 3 AT forms? Can similarity in form be correlated with similarity in meaning and similarity in syntactic behavior?

Research Question 2:

What are the implications we can make on the learning sequence of the 3 AT forms based on the nature of each form, be it lexical or syntactic? Can similarity in form be correlated with ease in learning?

The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish / Mavridou, V.

Research question 3:

Should the 3 AT forms be taught in combination in L2-Turkish? What implications arise with respect to teaching these forms in L2-Turkish?

Based on these questions, the following hypotheses are postulated.

Hypothesis 1:

We assume that the 3 AT forms are discrete in nature, in the sense that they vary in the degree of inner syntactic compositionality and semantic transparency. Some are assumed to be more syntactic (NP-like) and others more lexical (compound-like). As such similarity in form cannot be correlated with semantic-syntactic-functional similarity in all AT forms.

Hypothesis 2:

We assume that formal similarity cannot be correlated with ease in learning and the 3 AT forms are not learned simultaneously. By contrast, we assume that ease in acquisition depends on the degree of syntactical compositionality and semantic transparency each form holds. As such, we expect discrete stages and a predictable order in the acquisition process following 'the more transparent the easier to learn' theory (Libben et. al. 2003), according to which the more semantically transparent and syntactically compositional an AT form is the earlier its mastering in the L2-Turkish process.

Hypothesis 3:

We assume that the 3 AT forms should not be treated holistically and inter-connectively in L2-Turkish teaching. The traditional tendency of combined teaching of the three AT forms in L2-Turkish teaching methods should be put aside and, rather, give its place in alternative more anti-holistic methods, which would uncover the hidden syntactic-semantic properties lying beneath the formal similarity of the 3 AT forms.

4. Similarities and differences of the 3 AT forms in Turkish after testing upon 12 Morpho-Syntactic tests

In order to draw the separating lines between the 3 AT forms in Turkish we placed 12 morpho-syntactic tests (Bağrıaçık & Ralli, 2014; Mavridou, 2020), 6 of which are syntactic and 6 morphological (see Table 3 below). We assumed that these tests can help us delineate the nature of each AT form (syntactic or lexical) which will help us make assumptions on the learning sequence of these forms in L2-Turkish SLA.

By the term syntactic we refer to tests which control the degree of syntactic compositionality of a specific AT form and indicate whether the AT form in question shares features with NPs or not. We assumed that positive behavior on syntactic tests would indicate a more-or-less syntactic (= compositional/ analytic) nature of the AT form in question, which would further mean that its members share syntactic structure properties and, as such, are produced in Syntax. Such tests examine whether: the constituent terms of a single AT can change order or not (test 1), the constituent terms of a single AT can be intervened by a modifier (test 2) or the Turkish interrogative word *mI* (test 3), a constituent term of a

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single AT can be omitted or not in interrogative sentence contexts (test 4), in co-ordination structure contexts (test 5) or in outbound anaphora cases (Postal, 1969) (test 6).

Correspondingly, we used the term morphological to refer to tests which mainly concern morphological changes to the form of an AT and control whether: the epenthetic or buffer consonant used before case suffixation is -y- or -n- (test 7), the –(s)I suffix can be omitted from the head of an AT in coordination structures (suspended affixation) (test 10) or in possessive contexts (Possessive free genitive) (test 9), the head of an AT can be suffixed with possessive suffix (test 9), with plural suffix (test 8), or with productive suffixes (test 11), and the possibility of reduplicating every single term (or both terms) of an AT with /m/ (m-reduplication) (test 12).

Table 3: Syntactic and Morphological tests

	Syntactic tests
1	Fixed word order
2	Modifier before (a) head or (b) non-head
3	Question word *mI* questioning the non-head
4	Omission of (a) non-head or (b) head in interrogative contexts
5	Omission of (a) non-head or (b) head in co-ordination contexts
6	Island to outbound anaphora in terms of non-head or head
	Morphological tests
1	-n- or –y- as epenthetic/ buffer consonants before case suffixes
2	Plural suffix -lAr on a) non-head, b) head or c) both
3	-(s)I suffix in possessive contexts (Possessive free genitive)
4	Suspended affixation
5	Derivation suffixes (privative suffix -sIz, relational suffix –lI, -lIk, -CI) in relation to –sI morpheme
6	*m*-reduplication (*m*-red) a) of non-head, b) of head, c) the whole AT

Below (Table 4) we exhibit some AT examples which we used in the 12 control tests. For testing, we used semantically transparent and semantically opaque AT examples whose behavior was compared when required.

Table 4: Selected AT examples used in the AT testing on 12 morpho-syntactic tests

Form N-(n)In N-(s)I	Translation	Meaning
kadın-ın kuaför-ü	the woman's hairdresser	transparent
kadın-ın terzi-si	the woman's tailor	transparent
çocuğ-un araba-sı	the child's car	transparent
Form N N	**Translation**	**Meaning**
kadın kuaför	female hairdresser	transparent
erkek terzi	male tailor	transparent
taş köprü	stone bridge	transparent
pamuk elbise	cotton dress	transparent
Pamuk Prenses	Snowhite	opaque
Parmak Çocuk	Hop-o'-My-Thumb	opaque

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138 / *RumeliDE* Journal of Language and Literature Studies 2023.S12 (July)

The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish / Mavridou, V.

Form N N-(s)I	Translation	Meaning
kadın kuaför-ü	hairdresser for women	transparent
kadın terzi-si	tailor for women	transparent
çocuk kuaför-ü	hairdresser for children	transparent
Külkedisi	Cindirella	opaque
pamuk şeker-i	cotton candy	opaque

4. 1 Testing of Ad Tamlaması upon Syntactic tests

Syntactic Test 1

While some AT forms allow word order change of their constituent noun terms with no respective semantic effects (1, 3), in other AT forms there is not such a case (2b, 4b):

N-(n)In N-(s)I

(1)   (a)   kadın-ın   kuaför-ü   (b) kuaför-ü   kadın-ın
               woman-GEN hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$ hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$ woman-GEN
               'the woman's hairdresser'   'the woman's hairdresser'

N N-(s)I

(2)   (a)   kadın kuaför-ü   (b)   *kuaför-ü   kadın
               woman hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$ hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$ woman
               'hairdresser for women'   Intended: hairdresser for women'

N N

(3)   (a)   kadın   kuaför   (b)   kuaför   kadın
               woman hairdresser   hairdresser woman
               'female hairdresser'   'female hairdresser'

(4)   (a)   demir köprü   (b)   *köprü demir
               iron   bridge   bridge iron
                'iron bridge'   Intended: 'iron bridge'

Table 5: Behavior of AT forms in Syntactic Test 1

Syntactic Test 1	N-(n)In N-(s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
Strict Word order	NO	YES	YES*

*= in exceptional cases word order change is grammatical however with semantic effects

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Syntactic Test 2

While in some AT forms the head or the non-head can be modified separately (5, 6a), other AT forms can only be modified as a whole (6c, 7c).

N-(n)In N-(s)I

(5)   güzel   kadın-ın   meşhur kuaför-ü
         beautiful woman-GEN famous hairdresser-sI_POSS
         'the famous hairdresser of the beautiful woman'

N N-(s)I

(6)   (a)   [güzel   kadın] kuaför-ü
                    beautiful woman hairdresser-sI_COMP
                    'hairdresser for beautiful women'

         (b)   kadın [*güzel   kuaför-ü]
                    woman beautiful hairdresser-sI_COMP
                    Intended: 'beautiful hairdresser for women'

         (c)   güzel   [kadın   kuaför-ü]
                    beautiful woman hairdresser-sI_COMP
                    'beautiful hairdresser for women'

N N

(7)   (a)   [*güzel   kadın] kuaför
                    beautiful woman hairdresser
                    Intended: 'hairdresser for beautiful women'

         (b)   kadın   [* güzel   kuaför]
                    woman   beautiful   hairdresser
                    Intended: 'beautiful female hairdresser'

         (c)   güzel   [kadın   kuaför]
                    beautiful woman hairdresser
                    'beautiful female hairdresser'

Table 6: Behavior of AT forms in Syntactic Test 2

Syntactic Criterion 2	N-(n)In N-(s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
a) Modification of head	YES	NO	NO
b) Modification of non-head	YES	YES	NO

Syntactic Test 3

While in some AT forms the Turkish interrogative marker (IM) *mI* can intervene between the head and non-head of the AT in question (8, 10), in other AT forms (such as N N-(s)I and opaque N N) this is not the case (9a, 11a).

The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish / Mavridou, V.

N-(n)In N-(s)I

(8) kadın-ın   mı kuaför-ü?
     woman-GEN IM hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$
     'the hairdresser of the woman or of someone else?'

N N-(s)I (transparent)

(9) (a) kadın *mı kuaför-ü   (erkek mi) ?
          woman IM hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$ man IM
          'hairdresser for women or for male?'
     (b) kadın   kuaför-ü   mü ?
           woman hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$ IM
          'hairdresser for women or not?'

N N (transparent)

(10) kadın mı kuaför   (erkek mi)?
      woman IM hairdresser (man IM)
      'female hairdresser (or male)?'

N N (opaque)

(11) (a) Pamuk *mu Prenses ?   (b) Pamuk Prenses mi?
          cotton   IM princess   cotton princess IM
          Intended: 'the Snowhite or not?'   'the Snowhite or not?'

Table 7: Behavior of the AT forms in Syntactic Test 3

Syntactic Test 3	N-(n)In N-(s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
Question word mI questioning the non-head	YES	NO	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque

Syntactic Test 4

The head or the non-head noun of an AT can be omitted in interrogative contexts for certain transparent AT forms (12a/b, 13a, 15a/b) but not for semantically opaque ones (13b, 14a/b, 16a/b).

N-(n)In N-(s)I

(12) (a) - Kadın-ın$_1$ kim-i$_2$?   - (Ø$_1$) kuaför-ü$_2$
           woman-GEN who-sI$_{POSS}$ hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$
           '-The woman's who?   - The hairdresser.'

      (b) - Kim-in$_1$ kuaför-ü$_2$?   - Kadın-ın$_1$ (Ø$_2$).
            who-GEN hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$ woman-GEN
           '-Whose hairdresser?   - The woman's.'

RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi 2023.Ö12 (Temmuz)/ **141**

Türkçede Ad tamlaması kategorisi. Alt gruplarındaki farklılıklar ve benzerlikler ve L2-Türkçede öğrenme çıkarımları / Mavridou, V.

N N-(s)I (transparent)

(13) (a) – Kadın$_1$ ney-i$_2$?   - (Ø$_1$) kuaför-ü$_2$
              woman what-sI$_{COMP}$ hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$
              '-What for women?'   - hairdresser (for women).'

      (b) - ne$_1$ kuaför-ü$_2$?   - *kadın$_1$ (Ø$_2$)
              what hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$?   woman
              'What type of hairdresser?'   Intended: '(hairdresser) for women.'

N N-(s)I (opaque)

(14) (a) – Kül$_1$ ne-si$_2$?   - *(Ø$_1$) kedi-si$_2$
              ash what-sI$_{COMP}$ cat-sI$_{COMP}$
              '-Cindi-ne?'   '- (Cindi)-rella.'

      (b) - ne$_1$ kedi-si$_2$?   - *kül$_1$ -(Ø$_2$)
              what cat-sI$_{COMP}$?   ash
              'What -rella?'   Intended: 'Cindi-(rella).'

N N (transparent)

(15) (a) – kadın$_1$ ne$_2$?   - (Ø$_1$) kuaför$_2$
              woman what?   hairdresser
                  '-Female what?'   - hairdresser.'

      (b) - ne$_1$ kuaför$_2$?   - kadın$_1$ (Ø2)
              what hairdresser   woman
              '-What type of hairdresser?   - Female.'

N N (opaque)

(16) (a) – Pamuk$_1$ ne$_2$?   - *(Ø$_1$) Prenses$_2$
                  cotton what   princess

                  '-Snow-what?'   Intended: '-(Snow-)white.'

       (b) - ne$_1$ Prenses$_2$?   - *Pamuk$_1$ (Ø$_2$)
              what princess   cotton
              'What-white?'   Intended:'-Snow(-white).'

The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish / Mavridou, V.

Table 8: Behavior of AT forms in Syntactic Test 4

Syntactic Test 4	N-(n)In N-(s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
(a) Omission of non-head in interrogative contexts	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
(b) Omission of head in interrogative contexts	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque

Syntactic Test 5

In some AT forms the head (17a/b, 19a/b, 23a/b) or the non-head (18a/b, 20a/b, 24a/b) can be omitted when common in co-ordination structure contexts, whereas in others this is not the case (21a/b, 22a/b, 25a/b, 26a/b). Again it is semantic transparency which seems to determine whether AT constituent term omission is grammatical or not.

N-(n)In N-(s)I

Head omission

(17) (a) kadın-ın   kuaför-ü   ve çocuğ-un kuaför-ü
            woman-GEN hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$ and child-GEN hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$
            'the woman's hairdresser and the child's hairdresser'

      (b) kadın-ın   Ø$_1$ ve çocuğ-un kuaför-ü$_1$
            woman-GEN   Ø$_1$ and child-GEN hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$
            'the woman's (hairdresser) and the child's hairdresser'

Non-head omission

(18) (a) kadın-ın   kuaför-ü   ve kadın-ın   terzi-si
            woman-GEN hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$ and woman-GEN tailor-sI$_{POSS}$
            'the woman's hairdresser and the woman's tailor'

      (b) kadın-ın$_1$ kuaför-ü   ve Ø$_1$ terzi-si
            woman-GEN hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$ and Ø$_1$ tailor-sI$_{POSS}$
            'the woman's hairdresser and (the woman's) tailor'

N N-(s)I (transparent)

Head omission

(19) (a) kadın kuaför-ü   ve çocuk kuaför-ü
            woman hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$ and child hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$
            'hairdresser for women and hairdresser for children'

      (b) kadın Ø$_1$ ve çocuk kuaför-ü$_1$
            woman Ø$_1$ and child hairdresser-sI$_{COMP1}$
            'hairdresser for women and children'

Non-head omission

(20) (a) ev kedi-si ve ev köpeğ-i
house cat-sI$_{COMP}$ and house dog-sI$_{COMP}$
'home cat and home dog'

(b) ev$_1$ kedi-si ve Ø$_1$ köpeğ-i
house$_1$ cat-sI$_{COMP}$ and Ø$_1$ dog-sI$_{COMP}$
'house cat and (house) dog'

N N-(s)I (opaque)

Head omission

(21) (a) Külkedi-si ve ev kedi-si
ash-cat-sI$_{COMP}$ and house cat-sI$_{COMP}$
'Cindirella and house cat'

(b) * Kül-(Ø$_1$) ve ev kedi-si$_1$
ash-Ø$_1$ and house cat-sI$_{COMP1}$
? 'Cindi(rella) and house cat'

Non-head omission

(22) (a) ayakkab-ı ve ayak tırnağ-ı
foot-container-sI$_{COMP}$ and foot nail-sI$_{COMP}$
'foot container (= shoe) and foot nail'

(b) ayak$_1$kab-ı ve *Ø$_1$ tırnağ-ı
foot$_1$-container-sI$_{COMP}$ and Ø$_1$ nail-sI$_{COMP}$
?'foot container (=shoe) and (foot) nail'

N N (transparent)

Head omission

(23) (a) kadın kuaför-ler ve erkek kuaför-ler
woman hairdresser-PL and male hairdresser-PL
'female hairdressers and male hairdressers'

(b) kadın Ø$_1$ ve erkek kuaför-ler$_1$
woman Ø$_1$ and male hairdresser-PL$_1$
'female (hairdressers) and male hairdressers'

Non-head omission

(24) (a) kadın kuaför-ler ve kadın terzi-ler

144 / *RumeliDE* Journal of Language and Literature Studies 2023.S12 (July)

The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish / Mavridou, V.

woman hairdresser-PL and woman tailor-PL
'female hairdressers and female tailors'

(b)   kadın$_1$ kuaför-ler   ve   Ø$_1$ terzi-ler
         woman$_1$ hairdresser-PL and   Ø$_1$ tailor-PL
         'female hairdressers and (female) tailors'

N N (opaque)

Head omission

(25)   (a)   Pamuk Prenses ve   Uyuyan   Prenses
                  cotton princess and   sleeping princess
                  'Snowhite and Sleeping Princess'

        (b)   Pamuk *Ø$_1$ ve   Uyuyan Prenses$_1$
                  cotton   *Ø$_1$ and sleeping princess
                  ?? 'Cotton and Sleeping Princess'

Non-head omission

(26)   (a)   Pamuk Prenses   ve pamuk   elbise
                  cotton princess   and cotton   dress
                  'Snowhite and cotton dress'

        (b)   Pamuk$_1$ Prenses   ve *Ø$_1$ elbise
                  cotton   princess   and *Ø$_1$ dress
                  ?? 'Snowhite and (cotton) skirt'

Table 8: Behavior of AT forms in Syntactic Test 5

Syntactic Test 5	N-(n)In N-(s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
(a) Omission of non-head in co-ordination contexts	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
(b) Omission of head in co-ordination contexts	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque

Syntactic Test 6

An AT constituent term (head or non-head) can be omitted because of outbound anaphora (Postal, 1969) in certain AT forms (27b, 30a) but not in others (28a/b, 29a/b, 30b, 31a/b).

N-(s)In N-(s)I

(27)   (a)   [kadın-ın$_i$ kuaför-ü]$_j$ o-nun$_{i/*j/k}$ terzi-si-dir
                 woman-GEN hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$ (s)he-GEN tailor-sI$_{POSS}$-PRES
                 'the woman's hairdresser is her tailor'

        (b)   [kadın-ın$_i$ kuaför-ü]$_j$ Ø$_{i/j/k}$ terzi-si-dir
                 woman-GEN hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$ Ø   tailor-sI$_{POSS}$-PRES

'the woman's hairdresser is the tailor (of her/ of herself/ of him/ of himself)'

N N-(s)I (transparent)

(28)　　(a)　　　* [kadın-ᵢ kuaför-ü]ⱼ　　　　da　　　o-nunᵢ/ₖ/*ⱼ　　ağrı-sı-n-dan　　muzdarib-miş.
　　　　　　　woman hairdresser−sIₚₒₛₛ EMPH   her-GEN pain-sIₚₒₛₛ-ABL   suffer-PAST.3SG
Intended: 'The hairdresser too suffered from the pain of her (=the woman)/ him (=the man)/ * her (=the hairdresser).'

　　　　　(b)　　　* [kadın-ᵢ kuaför-ü]ⱼ　　　　da　　　Ø*ᵢ/*ⱼ　ağrı-sı-n-dan　　muzdarib-miş.
　　　　　　　woman hairdresser−sIᴄₒₘₚ EMPH Ø pain-sIᴄₒₘₚ-ABL   suffer-PAST.3SG
Intended: 'The hairdresser too suffered from the pain in her (=the woman)/ *him (=the man)/ * her (=the hairdresser).

N N-(s)I (opaque)

(29)　　(a)　　　[Kül-ᵢkedi-si]ⱼ　o-nun*ᵢ/ⱼ/ₖ　　　tabla-sı-n-ı　　　　ar-ıyor.
　　　　　　　ash-cat-sIᴄₒₘₚ he/she/it-GEN tray-sIₚₒₛₛ-n-ACC look for-PRES.3SG
　　　　　　　'Cinderella was looking for her/his/its tray.'

　　　　　(b)　　　[Kül-ᵢkedi-si]ⱼ　　　Ø*ᵢ/ⱼ/ₖ tabla-sı-n-ı　　　　　ar-ıyor.
　　　　　　　ash-cat-sIᴄₒₘₚ　　　Ø　　　tray-POSS-n-ACC　　look for-PRES.3SG
　　　　　　　Intended: 'Cinderella was looking for his/ her tray.'

N N (transparent)

(30)　　(a)　　　[kadınᵢ　kuaför]ⱼ　　onunᵢ/ⱼ/ₖ　　　　terzi-si-n-i　　　　　　bekliyor
　　　　　　　womanᵢ hairdresser his/her/its-GEN tailor-POSS.3SG-n-ACC wait-PRES.3SG
　　　　　　　'The female hairdresser is waiting for her/ his/ its tailor.'

　　　　　(b)　　　[kadınᵢ　kuaför]ⱼ　　Øᵢ/ⱼ/*ₖ terzi-si-n-i　　　　　　bekliyor
　　　　　　　womanᵢ hairdresser Ø　　tailor-POSS.3SG-n-ACC wait-PRES.3SG
　　　　　　　Intended:'The female hairdresser is waiting for her/ his/ its tailor.'

N N (opaque)

(31)　　(a)　　　[Pamukᵢ　Prensesₘ]ⱼ　onun*ᵢ/ⱼ/ₖ/ₘ　　elbise-si-n-i　　　　　seviyor.
　　　　　　　cotton　　princess　　he/she/it-GEN dress-POSS.3SG-n-ACC　love-PRES.3SG
　　　　　　　'Snowhite loves his/her/ its dress.'

　　　　　(b)　　　[Pamukᵢ　Prensesₘ]ⱼ　Ø*ᵢ/ⱼ/*ₖ/ₘ elbise-si-n-i　　　　　　seviyor.
　　　　　　　cotton　　princess　　Ø　　dress-POSS.3SG-n-ACC　love-PRES.3SG
　　　　　　　'Snowhite loves his/ her/ its dress.'

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The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish / Mavridou, V.

Table 9: Behavior of AT forms in Syntactic Test 6

Syntactic Test 6	N-(n)In N-(s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
Island to outbound anaphora with non-head	YES	NO	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
Island to outbound anaphora with head	NO	YES	YES
Island to outbound anaphora with both non-head and head	YES	YES	YES

In Table 10 below we sum up the behavior of the 3 AT forms in all 6 syntactic tests.

Table 10: Behavior of 3 AT forms in all 6 syntactic tests

Syntactic tests	N-(n)In (s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
1. Strict Word order	NO	YES	YES
2. Modification of			
(a) head	YES	NO	NO
(b) non-head	YES	YES	NO
3. Question word *mI* after non-head	YES	NO	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
4. (a) Omission of non-head in interrogative contexts	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
(b) Omission of head in interrogative contexts	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
5. (a) Omission of non-head in interrogative contexts	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
(b) Omission of head in interrogative contexts	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
6. Island to outbound anaphora with:			
non head	YES	NO	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
head	NO	YES	YES
whole AT	YES	YES	YES

4.2 Testing of Ad Tamlaması upon Morphological Tests

Morphological Test 1

Some AT take the epenthetic/ buffer consonant -n- before case morphemes (32, 33a/b), whereas others use -y- in similar cases (33c, 34a/b).

(32)   [kadın-ın   kuaför-ü]-*n*-ü
         woman-GEN   hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$-n-ACC
         'the woman's hairdresser (Accusative)'

(33)   (a)   kadın   kuaför-ü-*n*-ü

woman hairdresser-sI_{COMP}-n-ACC
'hairdresser for women (Acc.)'

(b)   Külkedi-si-*n*-i
ash-cat-sI_{COMP}-n-ACC
'Cinderella (Acc.)'

(c)   ayakkab-ı-*y*-ı
foot-case-sI_{COMP}-y-ACC
'foot-case (=shoe) (Acc.)'

(34) (a)   demir köprü-*y*-ü
iron bridge-y-ACC
'iron bridge (Acc.)'

(b)   tahta kafa-*y*-a
wood head-y-DAT
'to the wooden headed (idiom.)'

Table 11: Behavior of AT forms in Morphological Test 1

Morphological Test 1	N-(n)In N-(s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
-n- or –y- as epenthetic/ buffer consonant before case morphemes	-n-	-n-*4	-y-

Morphological Test 2

This test checks whether the plural suffix –lAr can appear on (a) the head, (b) the non-head and/ or (c) both constituent terms simultaneously. Since the neutral order for all Turkish nominals -ATs included- is to display the plural suffix –lAr on the head, with regard to condition (a) we additionally test whether the plural suffix –lAr is placed within or outside the range of –(s)I. In some AT forms -lAr suffix is placed on the head following –(s)I, that is within the range of –(s)I (35a/c, 36a/b), while in others before –(s)I (37). With regard to conditions (b) and (c), only the N-(n)In N-(s)I form (as well as exceptional cases of N N-(s)I)) can be grammatically suffixed with plural suffix on the non-head (35b, 36c) or on both constituent nouns (35c).

N-(n)In N-(s)I

(35) (a)   kadın-ın   kuaför-ler-i
woman-GEN   hairdresser-PL-POSS.3PL
'the woman's hairdressers'

(b)   kadın-lar-ın   kuaför-ü
woman-PL-GEN   hairdresser-sI_{POSS.3SG}
'the women's hairdresser'

(c)   kadın-lar-ın   kuaför-leri

---

4   In N N-(s)I forms there are exceptional cases where -y- is used as a buffer consonant, i.e. ayakkabı-y-ı 'the shoe (acc.)'

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woman-PL-GEN   hairdresser-sI POSS.3.PL

'the women's hairdressers'

N N-(s)I

(36) (a)   kadın   kuaför-ü
               woman   hairdresser-sI COMP
               'hairdresser or women'

      (b)   kadın   kuaför-ler-i
               woman hairdresser-PL-sI COMP
               'hairdressers for women'

      (c)   *kadın-lar   kuaför-ü
               woman-PL   hairdresser-sI COMP
               Intended: 'hairdresser for women'

      (d)   kadın-lar   gün-ü
               woman-PL   day-sI COMP
               'Women's Day'

(37)   [[ayak] [kab]-ı]-lar
               foot-case-sI COMP-PL
               'shoes'

The behavior of N N members in Morphological test 2 is presented in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Plural suffixation on non-head and/or head in N N forms

	N₁ N₂	N₁ N₂-lAr	N₁-lAr N₂	N₁-lAr N₂-lAr
1	kadın kuaför 'female hairdresser'	kadın kuaför-ler 'female hairdressers'	*kadın-lar kuaför Intended: 'female hairdressers'	*kadın-lar kuaför-ler Intended: 'female hairdressers'
4	pamuk elbise 'cotton dress'	pamuk elbise-ler 'cotton dresses'	pamuk-*lar elbise Intended: 'cotton dresses'	pamuk-*lar elbise-*ler Intended: 'cotton dresses'
5	Pamuk Prenses 'Snowhite'	Pamuk Prenses-ler 'Snowhites'	Pamuk-*lar Prenses Intended: 'Snowhites'	Pamuk-*lar Prenses-*ler Intended: 'Snowhites'

Table 13 exhibits the behavior of all 3 AT types in morphological test 2.

Table 13: Behavior of AT forms in Morphological Test 2

Morphological Test 2	N-(n)In N-(s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
a) Plural suffix -lAr on non-head	YES	YES	YES
b) Plural suffix -lAr on head	YES	NO*5	NO
c) Plural suffix -lAr on both terms	YES	NO	NO

---

5   Pluralization of the non-head is generally grammatically unacceptable for N N-(s)I forms (36c). For exceptional cases, see (36d).

RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi 2023.Ö12 (Temmuz)/ **149**

Türkçede Ad tamlaması kategorisi. Alt gruplarındaki farklılıklar ve benzerlikler ve L2-Türkçede öğrenme çıkarımları / Mavridou, V.

Morphological Test 3

The so-called Possessive Free Genitive test examines whether a possessive marker should obligatorily appear on the head of an AT or not (this is not new for research on Turkish, see Dede, 1978; Kharytonova, 2011; Lewis, 1967; Tat, 2013, among others). In our case, an already existing −(s)I suffix on the head of a certain AT (be it possessive in N-(n)In N-(s)I forms or compositional in N N-(s)I forms) cannot coexist with an additional 'possessive' −(s)I suffix which would be 'reasonably' required in a wider possessive context, in which −(s)I is controlled by agreement by a Genitive-possessor (38, 39b)[6]. This means that Possessive Free Genitive is grammatically correct in this context.

(38)   Ali'-nin [çocuğ-un   araba-$sı_1$]-(*$sı_2$)
        Ali-GEN   child-GEN car-sIPOSS1.3.SG-*sIPOSS2.3.SG
        Intended: 'the car of Ali's child'

(39)   (a)   bebek araba-sı   (b)   [Chicco [bebek araba-sı](-*sı)]
               baby car-sICOMP   Chicco baby   car-sICOMP-(*-sICOMP)
               'baby stroller'   Intended: 'Chicco baby stroller'

(40)   (a)   ayakkab-ı   (b)   Hasan-in   [ayakkab-ı]-sı
               foot-case-sICOMP   Hasan-GEN   foot-case-sICOMP-sIPOSS.3SG
               'shoe'   'Hasan's shoe'

(41)   benim [kadın   kuaför]-üm
               I-GEN   woman hairdresser-sIPOSS.1SG
               'my female hairdresser'

Table 14: Behavior of AT forms in Morphological Test 3

Morphological Test 3	N-(n)In N-(s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
Possessive Free Genitive	YES	YES (if -(s)ICOMP is on surface)	NO

Morphological Test 4

This test is based on a particular property of Turkish which many scholars call 'suspended affixation' or 'clustering with suspended (omitted) markers' (see Hankamer, 2008; Kharytonova, 2011; Kornfilt, 1997; Tat, 2013, pp. 40-1). According to 'suspended affixation' with regard to Turkish nouns (Kornfilt, 1997, p. 122), Turkish allows a common suffix to be omitted from non-head when two nouns are in conjunction and share suffixes such as number, possessive or case. The property suggests that the common suffix is 'suspended' to appear only in the last noun. When applying this test to AT, we see that in some AT forms the −(s)I suffix can be omitted from head in coordination structures (42b, 45b), whereas in others this is not the case (43b, 44b, 46b).

---

6   For further discussion on the reasons why a possessive marker cannot coexist (surface) with a compound −(s)I marker or an additonal possessive marker, see Mavridou (2020).

The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish / Mavridou, V.

N-(n)In N-(s)I

(42)   (a)   kadın-ın   kuaför-ü   ve terzi-si
                woman-GEN hairdresser-nI$_{POSS}$.3.SG   and tailor-sI$_{POSS.3SG}$
                'the woman's hairdresser and tailor'

       (b)   kadın-ın   kuaför-Ø$_i$ ve terzi-si$_i$
                woman-GEN hairdresser- and tailor-sI$_{POSS.3SG}$
                'the woman's hairdresser and tailor'

N N-(s)I (transparent)

(43)   (a)   kadın   kuaför-ü   ve kadın   terzi-si
                woman hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$ and woman tailor-sI$_{COMP}$
                'hairdresser for women and tailor for women'

       (b)   kadın   kuaför-*Ø$_i$ ve   kadın terzi-si$_i$
                woman hairdresser-*Ø   and woman tailor-sI$_{COMP}$
                Intended: 'hairdresser and tailor for women'

N N-(s)I (opaque)

(44)   (a)   Külkedi-si   ve ev   kedi-si
                ash-cat-sI$_{COMP}$ and house cat-sI$_{COMP}$
                'Cindirella (idiom.) and house cat'

       (b)   Külkedi-*(Ø$_i$)   ve ev   kedi-si$_i$
                ash-cat-*Ø   and house cat-sI$_{COMP}$
                ? Intended: 'Cindirella and house cat'

       (c)   Kül-*(Ø$_2$) ve ev   kedi$_2$-si
                ash-Ø   and house cat-sI$_{COMP}$
                ? Intended: 'Cindi(rella) and house cat'

N N (transparent)

(45)   (a)   benim pamuk elbise-m   ve deri   şapka-m
                 I-GEN   cotton   dress-POSS.1SG and leather hat-POSS.1SG
                 'my cotton dress and my leather hat'

       (b)   benim pamuk elbise-Ø$_1$ ve deri   şapka-m$_1$
                I-GEN cotton   dress-Ø   and leather hat-POSS.1SG
                 '(my) cotton dress and my leather hat'

N N (opaque)

(46)   (a)   benim Parmak Çocuğ-um   ve Pamuk prenses-im
                I-GEN finger   child-POSS.1SG and cotton princess-POSS.1SG

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'My Hop-o'-My-Thumb and my Snowhite'

    (b)   benim Parmak Çocuk-*(um)   ve Pamuk prenses-im
            I-GEN finger child-*(POSS.1SG) and cotton princess-POSS.1SG
            Intended: '(My) Hop-o'-My-Thumb and my Snowhite'

Table 15: Behavior of the AT forms in Morphological Test 4

Morphological Test 4	N-(n)In N-(s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
Suspended affixation	YES	NO	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque

Morphological Test 5

Some AT forms allow a productive suffix (such as -sIz, -lI ,-lIk and -CI) on their head noun, whereas others do not so (47, 48, 49b). We assume that possibility of suffixation with such suffixes is an indication of lexicalization for the AT in question. Lexicalization is even stronger when the productive suffix is found within the range of -(s)I in the form [Productive Suffix (lI, lIk, sIz, CI) + (s)I].

(47)   *kadın-ın   kuaför-ü-süz   ekip
        woman-GEN   hairdresser-sI$_{POSS.3SG}$-PRV   team
        Intended: 'team without the hairdresser of the woman'

(48)   *kadın-ın   kuaför-lüğ-ü
        woman-GEN hairdresser-REL-sI$_{COMP}$
        ?? Intended: 'The property of being the hairdresser of the woman'

(49)   (a)   elma   koku-su
               apple   smell-sI$_{COMP}$
               'scent of apple'

        (b)   elma   koku-(*su)-lu   çay
               apple   scent-(*sI$_{COMP}$)-REL tea
               'tea with apple scent'

(50)   (b)   kadın doktor-luğ-u
               woman doctor-REL-COMP
               'gynaecology'

(51)   (a)   taş   köprü   (b)   taş   köprü-lü   köy
               stone bridge   stone   bridge-REL   village
               'stone bridge'   'village with stone bridge'

(52)   (a)   kadın   kuaför   (b)   *kadın   kuaför-lük
               woman   hairdresser
               'female hairdresser'

(53)   (a)   kız   kardeş   (b)   kız   kardeş-lik
                girl   sibling   girl   sibling-REL
               'sister'   'the property of having a sister'

152 / *RumeliDE* Journal of Language and Literature Studies 2023.S12 (July)

The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish / Mavridou, V.

Table 16: Behavior of the AT forms in Morphological Test 5

Morphological Test 5	N-(n)In N-(s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
Derivation suffixes (-sIz,–lI, -lIk, -CI) in relation to –(s)I morpheme	NO	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque

Morphological Test 6

This test is based on a special property of Turkish, the so-called *m-reduplication* (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005, p. 99) or 'compounds involving doublets with -/m/' (Kornfilt, 1997, p. 482). This property suggests that Turkish can produce nominal two-term sets where the second in sequence noun N₂ is a morphological repetition of the first in sequence noun N₁ with parallel replacement of the initial phoneme with an /m/ sound. The meaning of the set is 'and the like, something so similar' (Kornfilt, 1997, p. 482).

The last test examines whether a AT can -m-reduplicate every single (or both) of its constituent terms with an echo of /m/ sound. Semantically transparent ATs can m-reduplicate every single (or both) of its constituent terms (see 54a/b/c, 55a/b/c) whereas semantically opaque ones can only m-reduplicate the AT as a whole (see 56a/b/c).

N-(n)In N-(s)I

(54)   kadın-ın   kuaför-ü

(a)   kadın-ın   *m- adın-ın*   kuaför-ü
        woman-GEN   m-red-woman-GEN   hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$
        'the hairdresser of the woman or something of this sort'

(b)   kadın-ın   kuaför-ü   *m-uaför-ü*
        woman-GEN hairdresser-sI$_{POSS}$.3SG m-red-hairdresser
        'the hairdresser or something of this sort of the woman'

(c)   kadın-ın   kuaför-ü   *m-adın-ın*   *kuaför-ü*
        woman-GEN hairdresser-sI$_{POSS.3SG}$ m-red-woman-GEN hairdresser-sI$_{POSS.3SG}$
        'the woman's hairdresser or something of this sort'

N N-(s)I   (transparent)

(55)   kadın   kuaför-ü

(a)   kadın   *m- adın*   kuaför-ü
        woman   m-red-woman   hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$
        'the hairdresser for women or something of this sort'

(b)   kadın   kuaför-ü   *m-uaför-ü*
        woman hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$ m-red-hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$
        'the hairdresser or something of this sort for women'

(c)   kadın   kuaför-ü   *m-adın-ın*   *kuaför-ü*

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RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi 2023.Ö12 (Temmuz)/ 153

Türkçede Ad tamlaması kategorisi. Alt gruplarındaki farklılıklar ve benzerlikler ve L2-Türkçede öğrenme çıkarımları / Mavridou, V.

woman hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$ m-red-woman hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$

'the hairdresser for women or something of this sort'

N N-(s)I (opaque)

(56)   Külkedi-si
(a)   Kül-*m-ül –kedi-si
        ash-m-red-ash-cat-sI$_{COMP}$
        Intended: 'Cindi-or sth of this sort-rella'

(b)   Külkedi-si   * m-edisi
        ash-cat-sI$_{COMP}$ m-red-cat-sI$_{COMP}$
        'Cindirella or something of this sort'

(c)   Külkedisi   m-ülkedisi
        ash-cat-sI$_{COMP}$ m-red
        'Cindirella or something of this sort'

Table 17: Examples of N N form in the m-reduplication test

	m-red of N$_1$	*m-red* of N$_2$	*m-red* of N$_1$ N$_2$
pamuk elbise	pamuk *m-amuk* elbise	pamuk elbise *m-elbise*	pamuk elbise *m-amuk elbise*
cotton dress	cotton m-red-cotton dress	cotton dress m-red-dress	cotton dress m-red-cotton dress
			'cotton dress and of this sort things'
'cotton dress'	'cotton and of this sort dress'	'cotton dress and of this sort things'	
Pamuk Prenses	Pamuk *m-amuk* Prenses	Pamuk Prenses *m-renses	Pamuk Prenses *m-amuk Prenses*
cotton princess	cotton m-red-cotton princess	cotton princess m-red-princess	cotton princess m-red-cotton princess
'Snowhite'	'*'	'*'	'Snowhite and of this sort'

Below we see the behavior of all AT forms in morphological test 6.

Table 18: Behavior of AT forms in Morphological test 6

Morphological Test 6	N-(n)In N-(s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
m-rediplucation:			
a) of non-head (m-N$_1$)	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES
b) of head (m-N$_2$)	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
c) whole AT (m-N$_1$ N$_2$)	YES	YES	YES

Below in Table 19 we sum up the behavior of the 3 AT forms in all 6 morphological tests.

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154 / *RumeliDE* Journal of Language and Literature Studies 2023.S12 (July)

The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish / Mavridou, V.

Table 19: Behavior of the 3 AT forms in all 6 morphological tests

Morphological tests	N-(n)In (s)I	N N-(s)I	N N
7. -n-or -y- as epenthetic/ buffer consonant before case morpheme	-n-	-n-	-y-
8. plural suffix -lAr			
a) on non-head	YES	YES	YES
b) on head	YES	NO	NO
c) on both head and non-head	YES	NO	NO
9. Possessive Free Genitive	YES	YES (if sI$_{COMP}$ is present)	NO
10. Suspended suffixation	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
11. Derivation suffixes in relation to (s)I	NO	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
12. m-rediplucation:			
a) of non-head	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES
b) of head	YES	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque	YES in transparent/ NO in opaque
c) the whole AT	YES	YES	YES

4.3 Summing up the test results

Based on the behavior of the 3 AT forms in the 12 morpho-syntactic tests, we come to assume that:

(a) The N-(n)In N-(s)I form constitutes a homogeneous group whose members behaved uniformly in every test condition exhibiting no internal semantic or syntactic gradation between them. The behavior of this form in the above-mentioned tests suggests semantic transparency and structural compositionality which further advocates a predominantly syntactic nature for this AT form. As such we came to assume that the locus of production of the N-(n)In N-(s)I form is Syntax.

(b) The N N-(s)I form constitutes a lexical group with basically non-compositional (= synthetic) properties. However, its members did not behave uniformly in the 12 control tests exhibiting, rather, semantic and morpho-syntactic gradation. Although we accept a synthetic (= compound) nature for all N N-(s)I members, they come to fall in a two-fold differentiation: (b1) those who behave as non-lexicalized compounds being semantically transparent and structurally analytic (i.e. kadın kuaför-ü (woman + hairdresser-sI$_{COMP}$)> 'hairdresser for women') and (b2) those who behave as lexicalized/ idiomatic compounds being semantically opaque and structurally non-analytic (i.e. Külkedi-si (ash+cat-sI$_{COMP}$) > 'Cindirella'). Despite the internal – more-or-less semantic – variation of its members, we accepted that the N N-(s)I form has lexical properties and as such is assumed to be generated in Morphology.

(c) The N N form constitutes a heterogeneous and controversial group lying in the so-called 'grey' region of the Syntax-Semantic domain interface, since it can hold both structural/ syntactic and lexical/synthetic properties depending on the degree of semantic transparency and syntactic compositionality of its members. Similarly to the N N-(s)I form, the N N form members also did not

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behave uniformly in the 12 morpho-syntactic tests. The control test results showed that the nature of the N N form is hard to define because its members were found to cover a wide range varying from (c1) structurally analytic and semantically transparent ones which share NP features and belong to Syntax (i.e. kadın kuaför (woman + hairdresser)> 'female hairdresser'), (c2) non-lexicalized and semantically transparent compounds belonging to Morphology (i.e. anne baba (mother + father)> 'parents') and (c3) fully lexicalized (idiomatic), structurally non-analytic and semantically opaque compounds generated at Morphology (i.e. Pamuk Prenses (cotton + princess)> 'Snowhite', Demir Perde (iron + curtain)> 'Iron Curtain').

The above-mentioned disambiguation of the 3 AT forms is schematically presented in Picture 1 below.
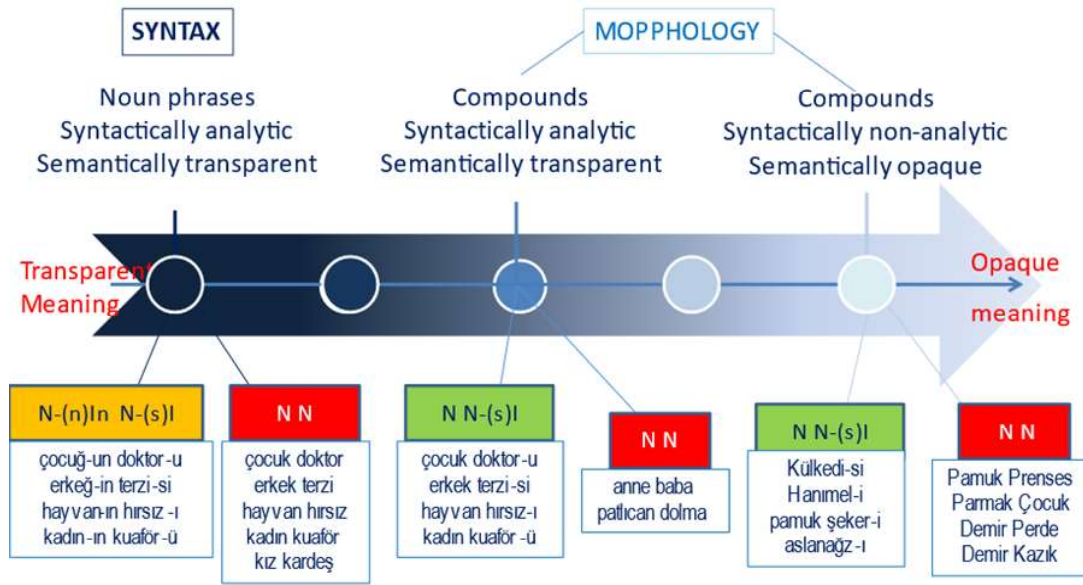
Picture 1. Locus of production and morpho-syntactic-semantic properties of the 3 forms Ad Tamlaması

The delineation of the blurred dividing lines of the 3 AT forms helped us make assumptions on the learning sequence of these forms in L2-Turkish. Based on 'the more transparent the form the easier to learn' theory (Libben et. al. 2003), we assumed that the degree of semantically transparency and syntactic compositionality will give a certain AT form a step ahead in the learning sequence. As such, the N-(n)In N-(s)I form which has been found to be semantically transparent and syntactically analytic in all cases is assumed to be the easiest and as such the form mastered first by the L2-Turkish learner compared to more synthetic compound forms such as the N N-(s)I. Similarly, we assumed that the N N form, which falls within the 'grey' region, with a more controversial nature, is assumed to create the most burdens on L2-learners and as such be mastered last.

5. Discussion & Concluding remarks

In this study we investigated the nature of the Turkish nominal category Ad Tamlaması (AT) focusing on the morpho-syntactic and semantic features of its 3 main subgroups, namely a) N-(n)In N-(s)I (Belirtili AT), b) N N-(s)I (Belirtisiz AT) and c) N N (Takısız AT). The aim of this paper was to shed some

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156 / *RumeliDE* Journal of Language and Literature Studies 2 0 2 3.S12 (July)

The Turkish category of Ad tamlaması. Differences and similarities within its subgroups and learning implications in L2-Turkish / Mavridou, V.

light on the differences lying behind the apparently formal similarity of the 3 forms giving answers to the relative degree of ease or difficulty these forms create in the L2-Turkish-acquisition process. To this aim, we tried to disambiguate the so far blurred dividing lines of the 3 forms by testing them upon 12 morpho-syntactic control tests (Bağrıaçık & Ralli 2014, Mavridou 2020).

Hereafter we discuss our conclusions with reference to the research questions posed in Section 3.

First, regarding the Research Question and Hypothesis 1, which concerns the nature of the 3 AT forms, we concluded that the 3 AT forms are discrete in nature, in the sense that they vary in the degree of syntactic compositionality and semantic transparency within their members. More specifically, the N-(n)In N-(s)I form was found to be syntactic (NP-like), whereas N N-(s)I and N N forms were found to be more lexical (compound-like). Moreover, it was found that: a) the N-(n)In N-(s)I form is syntactically analytic and semantically transparent in all cases (eg. kadın-ın kuaför-ü 'the woman's hairdresser'), b) the N N-(s)I form is syntactically non-compositional (= synthetic) in all cases but semantically either transparent (eg. kadın kuaför-ü 'hairdresser for women') or opaque (hanım böceğ-i 'beetle') and c) the N N form falls within the so-called 'grey' region with members which are either syntactically compositional and semantically transparent (eg. kadın kuaför 'female hairdresser'), syntactically synthetic but semantically transparent (eg. anne baba 'parents') or syntactically synthetic but semantically opaque (eg. Pamuk Prenses 'Snowhite'). We thus assumed that formal similarity in the AT subgroups cannot be correlated with parallel semantic-syntactic-functional correspondence since there are important differences between them beyond this apparent formal resemblance.

Second, with regard to Research Question and Hypothesis 2, which concerns the learning sequence of the 3 AT forms in L2-Turkish acquisition process, we concluded that the 3 AT forms are not learned simultaneously and their formal similarity cannot be correlated with ease in learning. Rather, we correlated learning ease with the nature of each AT form and the degree of syntactic compositionality and semantic transparency a certain AT holds. As such, we expect discrete stages and a predictable order in the acquisition process following 'the more transparent the easier to learn' theory (Libben et. al. 2003), according to which the more syntactically compositional and the more semantically transparent an AT form the easier its learning. In this context, we assumed that we expect the syntactically analytic and semantically transparent N-(n)In N-(s)I form to be a step ahead and mastered earlier in the L2-Turkish acquisition process compared to more synthetic lexical forms such as the N N-(s)I, which are expected to be mastered later. Similarly, the N N form, which falls within the blurred 'grey' region, being occasionally syntactic or synthetic, is expected to put the most burdens on L2-learners and as such to be mastered last in the learning sequence.

From a didactic scope, that is with regard to Research Question and Hypothesis 3, we suggest that the traditional tendency towards a unified and holistic method of the 3 AT forms in L2-Turkish teaching (see L2-Turkish grammar books such as Hatiboğlu, 1982; Hengirmen 2007; Lewis, 1967, among others; and L2-teaching sets such as Yeni İstanbul Yabancılar için Türkçe A1, 2020; Yeni Hitit 1, 2011, among others), where AT is considered a single umbrella term with 3 more-or-less similar subgroups and which was mainly directed by the simplified assumption that the above threefold formal distinction of AT corresponds to a pure threefold functional and semantic distinction, should be put aside. Rather, we suggest that traditional methods favoring the interconnected teaching of these 3 AT forms should give their place in alternative more anti-holistic methods, which, in turn, would uncover the hidden syntactic and semantic properties lying beneath the formal similarity of the 3 AT forms in question and which

would focus on the distinctive syntactic and semantic features a single AT form holds. These assumptions are open for further experimentation and testing in the future.

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