

Controlling morphosyntactic competition through phonology

Overview

• I investigate Turkish sentences with coordinate constructions whose last coordinand hosts more suffixes than the previous coordinands. Suspended affixation is fairly productive in Turkic languages, or languages with strong Turkic language contact, i.e. Mari (Guseva & Weisser, 2018).

• As seen in (1), all conjuncts are interpreted as if they are marked with the additional suffixes on the final conjunct.

- (1) kedi ve köpek-ler-im-i
 cat and dog-PL-1SG.POSS-ACC
 “My cats(ACC) and dogs(ACC)”, but not “a cat and my dogs(ACC)”

• It is commonly argued that the suspended affixation is a post-syntactic deletion under recoverability, where the structure initially had all suffixes realized as in (2), but then deleted afterwards.¹

- (2) kedi-ler-im-i ve köpek-ler-im-i
 cat-PL-1SG.POSS-ACC and dog-PL-1SG.POSS-ACC
 “My cats(ACC) and dogs(ACC)”

• An important observation that shows that the suspended affixation is a post-syntactic deletion comes from Mari. Guseva and Weisser (2018) mention examples like 3b. This is an suspended affixation construction where the first conjunct (*memna*) does not exist as an independent word, and only occurs as a host for case markers (e.g., *memna-m* ‘us-ACC’).

- (3) a. Pörjeng memnam da nunem už-eš
 Man.NOM us.ACC and them.ACC see-3SG-PRS
 b. Pörjeng memna da nunem už-eš
 Man.NOM us.? and them.ACC see-3SG-PRS
 “The man sees us and them.”

• Turkish provides a counter-example to this generalization. Consider the suppletive first person pronoun *ben* in (4). When the first person pronoun *ben* is marked with a dative case, it is realized as *bana*, instead of the expected *ben-e*.

- (4) a. Bana ve Can-a.
 I.DAT and Can-DAT
 “To me and to Can.”
 b. *Ban ve Can-a.
 I.? and Can-DAT
 Intended: “To me and to Can.”
 c. Ben ve Can-a.
 I[NOM] and Can-DAT
 “To me and to Can.”

• At first glance, Turkish facts seem to be a counter-example to the post-syntactic analysis. Yet, a closer look at Turkish data shows that Turkish is generally more picky about what can be a remnant.

• For example, while the suspension of PL, POSS, and ACC as in (1) or just the ACC as in (5a) is possible, it is not possible to suspend POSS without PL (5b) (Orgun, 1995).

- (5) a. kedi-ler-im ve köpek-ler-im-i
 cat-PL-1SG.POSS and dog-PL-1SG.POSS-ACC
 b. *kedi-ler ve köpek-ler-im-i
 cat-PL and dog-PL-1SG.POSS-ACC
 Intended: “My cats(ACC) and dogs(ACC)”

• This ungrammaticality is however resolved when we use collective marker *-lar* as in (6), instead of pure number plurality marker *-ler* (5b), suggesting that suspended affixation is sensitive to the morphological structure of the remnants.²

- (6) asker-ler ve komutan-lar-ımız-ı
 soldier-PL and commander-PL-1PL.POSS-ACC
 “Our soldiers(ACC) and commanders(ACC)”

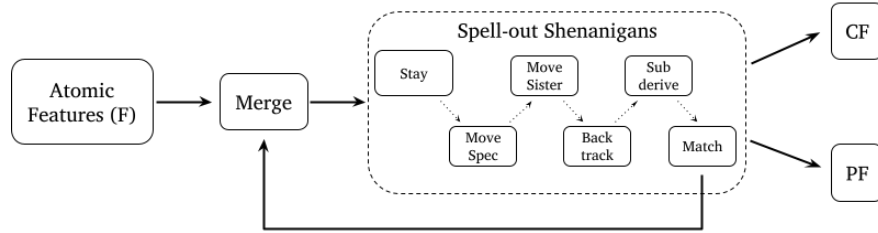
• Similarly, I will argue that the ungrammaticality of (4b) is due to syntactic mismatch between the remnant and the suffix. And the grammaticality of (4c) is due to an intervention from phonological constraints.

¹ Check Erschler (2012) and Gračanin-Yüksek (2016) for a deletion analysis of suspended affixation using the notion of case assignment and alternative questions.

² See Dikmen (2021) for the distribution of *-lar* in Turkish with respect to associative and number plurality versions of it.

Primer on Nanosyntax

Mal told me that he would not take any of this seriously until Sebastian reminded him the fact that everyone's current theory of linearization is that if it fails, throw the whole derivation away. Instead, we can try to have something better.

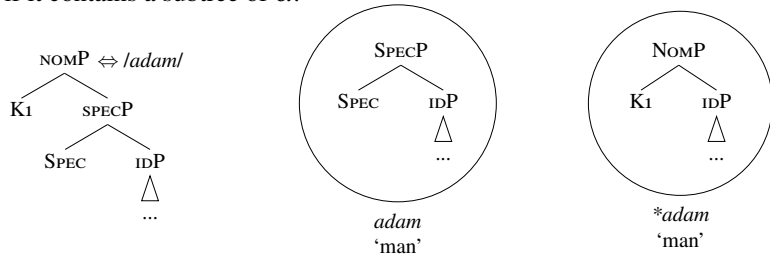


• STORAGE:

- Universal Atomic Features
- Universal Functional Sequence
- Language-specific lexical items that are composed of
 - structured features
 - phonological instructions (to be read by PF)
 - meaning instructions (to be read by CF)

• PHRASAL SPELLOUT: **Typically**, No terminal nodes spell out by themselves.

• SUPERSET: A spellout may be a candidate for tree α sent by the syntax module only if it contains a subtree of α .



• TRASH MANAGEMENT: If there are multiple candidates for the tree α , choose the one with fewer additional nodes.

• SPELL OUT ALGORITHM (Starke, 2018):

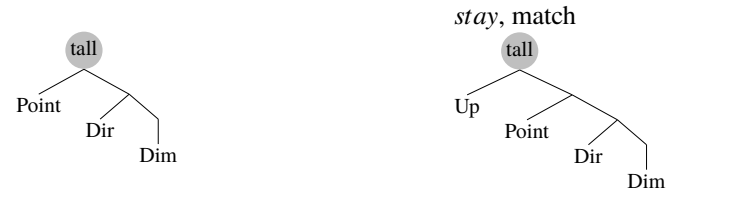
- ‘Stay’ (merge a feature F_n and try to lexicalize the resulting tree as is).
- ‘Move spec’ (evacuate the specifier node of the complement of F_n and try to lexicalize the remnant).
- ‘Move sister’ (evacuate F_n 's sister node and try to lexicalize the remnant).

- ‘Backtrack and retry’ (undo the lexicalization of F_{n-1} and try the next option for that cycle).
- ‘Subderive’ (spawn a different syntactic sequence with F_n , a complex left branch, and try to lexicalize it separately from the main syntactic sequence).

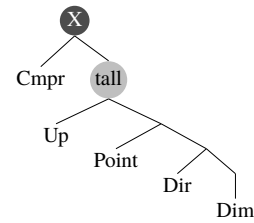
• After every step of external merge, spellout takes place. Spellout means that a lexical entry matching the newly created FP must be found in the lexicon. Note that matching must succeed; otherwise, the derivation crashes at the interface.

• **Test Drive:** Let's build English Superlative. Our proposed *fseq* is [Sprl [Cmpr [Up [Point [Dir [Dim]]]]]] based on Bobaljik (2012) and Kennedy and McNally (2005). We will use the following lexical items:

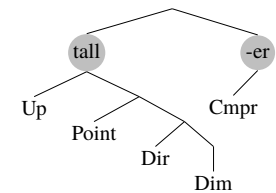
- <tall, [Up [Point [Dir [Dim]]], λ >
- <-er, [Cmpr], λ >
- <-est, [Sprl [Cmpr]], λ >



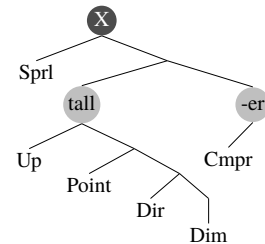
stay tried, failed



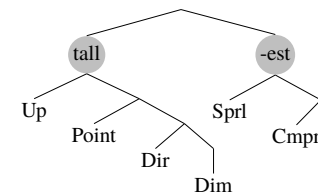
move – sister, match (because there is no spec)



stay tried, failed



move – spec, match



1 Observations

First, I will go over the parts that are kind of similar to other languages. These are *usually* true for other languages that show suspended affixation.

1.1 No syntactic selection

• Turkish is very relaxed when it comes to the suspension of things. It is not uncommon to see them in nominal domain, verbal domain, copular constructions, and even in so-called derivationals.

(7) NOMINAL DOMAIN

- a. silgi(-ler) ve kalem-ler
eraser(-PL) and pencil-PL
'erasers and pencils'
- b. silgi(-ler(-im)) ve kalem-ler-im
eraser(-PL(-POSS.1SG)) and pencil-PL
'my erasers and pencils'

(8) VERBAL DOMAIN

- a. Gel-iyor, gör-üyor, fethed-iyor-um.
arrive-IMPF see-IMPF conquer-IMPF-1SG
'I come, I see, I conquer (all day every day).'
- b. Zengin-(Ø-di-m) ve sessiz-Ø-di-m.
rich(-COP-PST-1SG) and quiet-COP-PST-1SG
'I was rich and quiet.'

(9) SO-CALLED DERIVATIONALS

Bir(-inci) ve beş-inci kısım-lar oku-n-acak.
one(-ORD) and five-ORD section-PL read-PASS-PROS
'the first and the fifth sections will be read.'

1.2 Always right-edge

• The order of the morphemes is important. The suspended affixes are always the last ones in the word. This is true for both verbal and nominal domains.

- (10) a. *kasaba-dan ve kent-ler-imiz-den
town-ABL and city-PL-POSS.1PL-ABL
Intended: "from our towns and cities"
- b. *gel-di-m ve gid-ecek-ti-m
arrive-PST-1SG and go-PROS-PST-1SG
Intended: "I was going to arrive and go."

1.3 Pre-linearization

• It seems that it is not shackled by the constraints like harmonic well-formedness, lexical allomorphy of upcoming morphemes, floating consonant or stress preservation. All the "last-minute" lexicalization processes apply after the suspension.

(11) UPCOMING ALLOMORPHY (DUE TO CV-STRUCTURE)

Zengin-(Ø-di-m) ve zeki-y-di-m.
rich(-COP-PST-1SG) and smart-COP-PST-1SG
'I was rich and smart.'

(12) HARMONIC WELL-FORMEDNESS

Zengin-(Ø-di-m) ve ünlü-y-dü-m.
rich(-COP-PST-1SG) and famous-COP-PST-1SG
'I was rich and famous.'

(13) FLOATING CONSONANT

On-un kalem(-in-den) ve silgi-sin-den
3SG-GEN pencil(-POSS.3SG-ABL) and eraser-POSS.3SG-ABL
'his/her pencil_{ABL} and eraser_{ABL}'

(14) CONSONANT DELETION

Hasta-la-n-acak ve doktor-a gid-ece[k]-im.
sick-VBZ-REFL-PROS and doctor-DAT go-PROS-1SG
'I will get sick and go to the doctor.'

(15) STRESS PRESERVATION

- a. yürü-m-üyor-du ve 'düş-m-ü-yor-du.
walk-NEG-IMPF-PST.3SG and fall-NEG-IMPF-PST.3SG
- b. yürü-'yüp ve 'düş-m-ü-yor-du.
walk-PC and fall-NEG-IMPF-PST.3SG
'He/she was not walking and not falling.'

1.4 A complicated picture: pronouns

• The initial observation with respect to pronouns were based on the fact that they are usually degraded, and straight out ungrammatical with some of them. For example, genitive case marker *-in* cannot be suspended with two pronoun coordinands.

- (16) * Sen ve ben-im araba sat-ıl-mış.
2SG and 1SG-GEN.1SG car sell-PASS-EVD.PST.PFV.3SG
'(Heard that), your and my car got sold.'

• However, for simple cases like ACC, suspended affixation provides *acceptable* strings, yet they are slightly degraded. This might be possibly due to the fact that bare words have a strict pre-verb placement in Turkish.

(17) % Ben ve sen-i gör-müş.
1SG and 2SG-ACC see-EVD.PST.PFV.3SG

Intended: “(Heard that), s/he saw you and me.”

• However, the ungrammaticality of GEN is resolved when pronouns are not the second conjunct. Similarly, previously degraded cases with ACC-case are now completely acceptable. The same pattern is available with other combinations of different elements within the animacy hierarchy.

(18) a. Sen ve Sebaçın-in araba sat-ıl-mış.
2SG and S-GENCAR sell-PASS-EVD.PST.PFV.3SG

“(Heard that), your and Sebastian’s car got sold.”

b. Sen ve Mal-ı gör-müş.
2SG and M-ACC see-EVD.PST.PFV.3SG

“(Heard that), s/he saw you and Mal.”

• The ungrammaticality of pronouns were also observed with the suppletive forms (Guseva & Weisser, 2018; Kabak, 2007). However, the picture we provide here, with the second coordinand being non-pronominal shows us the picture is different.

• Again, if we look at the suppletive forms, we have a similar story. Initially they are thought to be an exception to suspended affixation (Guseva & Weisser, 2018; Kabak, 2007; Kornfilt, 2012). However, this is not case; when we have pronoun-non-pronoun combinations, we see that the pronouns ceases to be a problem.

(19) a. * Ben ve san-a bak-tı.
1SG and 2SG-DAT look-PST.3SG

Intended: “S/he looked at you and me.”

b. Ben ve Mal-a bak-tı.
1SG and M-DAT look-PST.3SG

“S/he looked at me and Mal.”

c. * Mal ve ban-a bak-tı.
M and 1SG-DAT look-PST.3SG

Intended: “S/he looked at Mal and me.”

• The ungrammaticality of (19a), along with aforementioned complex picture, was previously taken to show that pronouns are not allowed in suspended affixation.

• Other researchers, with the ungrammaticality of simple phonological deletion with suppletives, argued that Turkish suspended affixation is preceded by vowel harmony and consonant deletion. However, the previous examples from Section 1.3 showed us that this is not true.

(20) a. * Ban ve san-a bak-tı.
1SG.? and 2SG-DAT look-PST.PFV.3SG

Intended: ‘S/he looked at me and you.’

b. * Ban ve Mal-a bak-tı.
1SG.? and M-DAT look-PST.PFV.3SG

Intended: ‘S/he looked at me and Mal.’

• The problem with both of these inferences is that they are not looking at the full picture. As we have seen here, pronouns are not that problematic for suspended affixation. They are only problematic with certain cases, and only when they are the second conjunct.

• Similarly, the suppletive forms are not that problematic for suspended affixation. Unlike Mari, they are not just simple deletions. *Ban-* is not licensed in Turkish, however, *menna-* is.

• The first question I want to ask is why pronouns are not allowed to be the second conjunct. Two data points presented in the next subsection are of importance here. Spoiler: it is about the minute structure.

1.5 Hidden stuff

• The first example comes from the difference between the nouns with a collective versus non-collective meanings with the plural marker *-ler*.

• Even though PL, POSS, and ACC are suspended either by themselves or in various combinations with each other, there is a limitation on the environments in which PL and POSS can be separated.

(21) a. kedi ve köpek-ler-im-i
cat and dog-PL-POSS.1SG-ACC
 ‘my cats_{ACC} and dogs_{ACC}’

b. acı ve sevinç-ler-i
sorrow and joy-PL-POSS.3SG
 ‘his/her sorrows and joys’

c. * kedi-ler ve köpek-ler-im-i
cat-PL and dog-PL-POSS.1SG-ACC
 Intended: ‘my cats_{ACC} and dogs_{ACC}’

d. * acı-lar ve sevinç-ler-i
sorrow-PL and joy-PL-POSS.3SG
 Intended: ‘his/her sorrows and joys’

e. kedi-ler-im ve köpek-ler-im-i
cat-PL-POSS.1SG and dog-PL-POSS.1SG-ACC
 ‘my cats_{ACC} and dogs_{ACC}’

• This is not due to simply not being able to have PL as a final suffix.

- (22) yüksek okul-lar ve üniversite-ler-de
 high school-PL and university-PL-LOC
 ‘in high schools and universities’

• However, the same pattern of inseparability is not observed with a certain set of nouns with a collective reading with the plural marker *-ler*.

- (23) a. kahraman asker-ler ve polis-ler-imiz
 hero soldier-PL and pig-PL-POSS.1PL
 ‘our hero soldiers and pigs’
 b. avukat-lar ve danışan-lar-ımız-1
 lawyer-PL and consultant-PL-POSS.2SG-ACC
 ‘your lawyers_{ACC} and consultants_{ACC}’
 c. aydın-lar ve bilim insan-lar-ımız
 scholar-PL and science person-PL-POSS.1PL
 ‘our scholars and scientists’
 d. kasaba-lar ve köy-ler-imiz-de
 town-PL and village-PL-POSS.1PL-LOC
 ‘in our towns and villages’

• Another important data comes from derivational morphology and optionality of suspended-reading. The suffix *-lik* is a container indicating morpheme. However, unlike previous examples, here, it is not obligatory to have the suspended reading, where the meaning of the suffix does not have to be realized for both conjuncts.

- (24) tuz ve limon-luk
 salt and lemon-container
 a. SUSPENSION
 tuz-~~luk~~ ve limon-luk
 salt-~~container~~ and lemon-container
 ‘salt shaker and lemon squeezer’
 b. NO SUSPENSION
 tuz ve limon-luk
 salt and lemon-container
 ‘salt and lemon squeezer’

• When the ordering of the coordinands changes, the ambiguity is not available anymore.

- (25) limon ve tuz-luk
 lemon and salt-container
 a. *SUSPENSION
 limon-~~luk~~ ve tuz-luk
 lemon-~~container~~ and salt-container
 Intended: ‘lemon squeezer and salt shaker’

- b. NO SUSPENSION
 limon ve tuz-luk
 lemon and salt-container
 ‘lemon and salt shaker’

• This asymmetry was initially taken to be due to lexical integrity reasons and unpredictability of morphology (Kornfilt, 2012). However, recently Akkuş (2016) demonstrated that this is due to slightly different complex structure of the nominals. While *lemon* is countable, *salt* is a mass noun. Replacing *lemon* with (*black*) *pepper* resolves the problem.

- (26) tuz ve biber-lik
 salt and pepper-container
 a. SUSPENSION
 tuz-~~lik~~ ve biber-lik
 salt-~~container~~ and pepper-container
 ‘salt shaker and pepper mill’
 b. NO SUSPENSION
 tuz ve biber-luk
 salt and pepper-container
 ‘salt and pepper mill’

- (27) biber ve tuz-luk
 pepper and salt-container
 a. SUSPENSION
 biber-~~lik~~ ve tuz-luk
 pepper-~~container~~ and salt-container
 ‘pepper mill and salt shaker’
 b. NO SUSPENSION
 biber ve tuz-luk
 pepper and salt-container
 ‘pepper and salt shaker’

• Both of these observations suggest that asymmetries found in Turkish suspended affixation are due to the minute structure of the nominals, and there is more to the story than just a phonological deletion.

• The second question I want to ask is why the suppletive forms are not allowed to be remnants.

2 Story behind the suppletion cases

• Given that most of the findings on suspended affixation is shared among languages, is it possible to have a unified account of the phenomenon?

• One challenge to this account is the suppletive cases in Mari and Turkish. Remember that Mari allows bound suppletive forms to survive by themselves after suspension, and Turkish does not.

(28) a. Pörjeng memnam da nunem uż-eř
 Man.NOM us.ACC and them.ACC see-3SG-PRS

b. Pörjeng memna da nunem uż-eř
 Man.NOM us.? and them.ACC see-3SG-PRS
 “The man sees us and them.”

(29) a. Bana ve Can-a.
 I.DAT and Can-DAT
 “To me and to Can.”

b. *Ban ve Can-a.
 I.? and Can-DAT
 Intended: “To me and to Can.”

c. Ben ve Can-a.
 I[NOM] and Can-DAT
 “To me and to Can.”

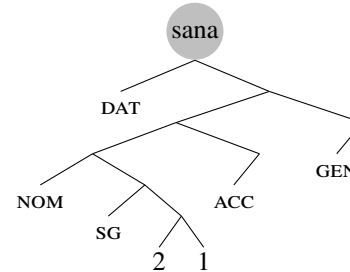
• In this section, I will argue that the problem is due to the inner structure of the suppletive pronouns, rather than the suspended affixation itself.

• The ungrammaticality of (29b) is partially due to the vowel harmonic restrictions imposed by the conjoiner *ve*, which ends up being in the same phonological word as the first person pronoun.

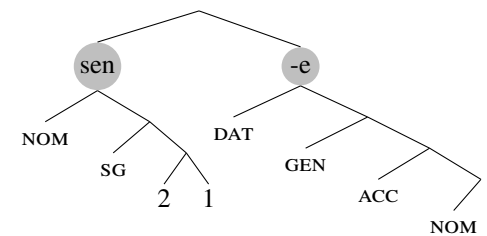
• In addition, pronouns like *sana* and *bana* have complex structures that do not allow decomposition of *-a* at all, resulting in an identity mismatch which explains why it is impossible to have either of them as a second conjunct in general.

• A possible decomposition, and the grammaticality of (29c), is only available when *ve* forces a backtrack operation to have *sen+A* decomposition proposed in Türk and Caha (2021). In other words, there is a mismatch between what needs to be deleted to get from *bana* to *ben* and the decomposition of *san* and *-a*.

stored complex unit
 mainly used one in Turkish



possible decomposed unit
 only available when *ve* forces ‘backtrack’



2.1 I swear it is just not me, it is also just not weird languages like Turkish

• The idea that phonology or lexicalization-related constraints affect the choice of a particular syntactic structure is not new at all. Spanning algorithms, born in Tromsø same place as Nanosyntax, revolved around the idea that syntactic structures comes with specific nodes that tells the parser when to form a “word” and when to spell-out (Svenonius, 2016).

• One of the main pieces of evidence comes from French preposition-determiner allomorphy. The important bit here is the fact that the allomorphy in [dypark] and [opark] can only be explained if you take the consonant-initialness of the noun into account. There is no reason for them to not surface as [dølpark] and [aløpark]

	Feminine Nouns		Masculine Nouns	
	V-initial	C-initial	V-initial	C-initial
	l'école [lekɔl]	la maison [lamɛzɔ]	l'hôpital [løpital]	le parc [løpark]
à	à l'école [alɛkɔl]	à la maison [alamɛzɔ]	à l'hôpital [aløpital]	au parc [øpark]
de	de l'école [dølekɔl]	de la maison [dølamɛzɔ]	de l'hôpital [døløpital]	du parc [dypark]

• Similar phonological conditioning of allomorphs can also be seen in Spanish. For example, even though the word for water, *agua*, is a feminine noun, its article surfaces as *el*, a masculine article, due to phonotactic constraints in hiatus formation between the feminine article *la* and *agua*. This allomorphy does not surface with the plural version of *agua*, as in *las aguas*. The feminine feature and relevant morphemes also surface in post-nominal adjectives like *el agua fresca* (Sebastián Mancha, p.c.).

- You do not even have to go that far English comparative constructions also show similar allomorphy. *More* is only licensed when the adjective is not monosyllabic.

3 Previous Turkish Case system Analysis

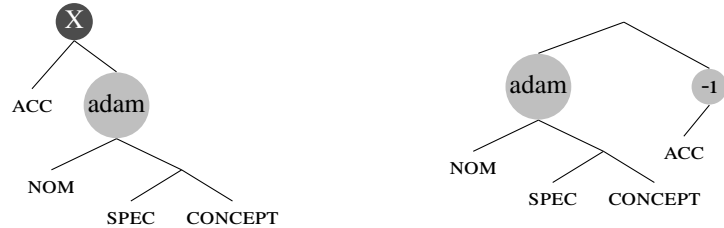
First, the lexical items.

- adam ⇔ [NOM (K1) [SPEC [CONCEPT]]]
- 1 ⇔ [ACC (K2)]
- n ⇔ [GEN (K3)]
- ∅ ⇔ [GEN (K3) [ACC (K2) [NOM (K1)]]]
- a ⇔ [DAT (K4) [GEN (K3) [ACC (K2) [NOM (K1)]]]]

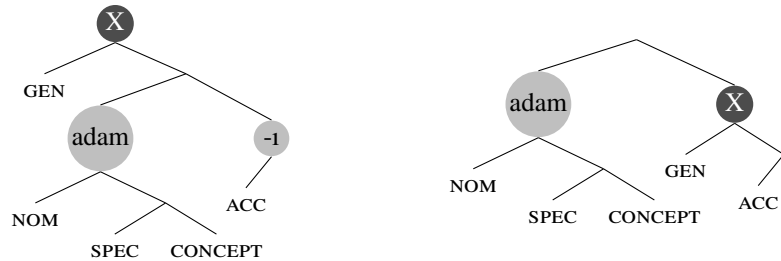
- *Adam* is lexically specified for NOM and SPEC and will spell out these features. The structures are assembled cyclically below. ‘Stay’ will be sufficient.



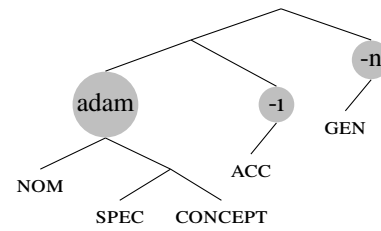
- What happens when we add the accusative feature ACC? Since bare nouns cannot be used as specific direct objects, we say that the root cannot spell out ACC (spellout by the root fails). A ‘move-sister’ movement therefore takes place and ACC is spelled out in its own phrase.



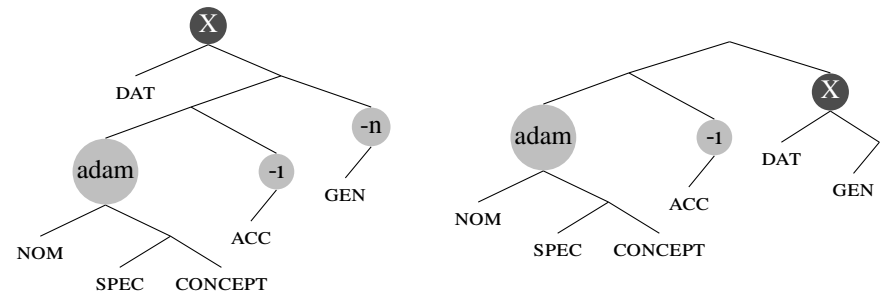
- When GEN is merged, direct spellout fails. Following the algorithm, we first try to do ‘move-spec’ movement and try to spell it out, but it fails again.



- Therefore, we try ‘move-sister’ movement, yielding the structure below.



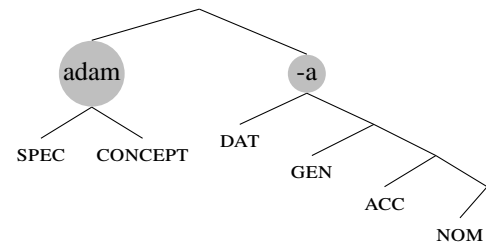
- When DAT is merged, direct spellout fails. Following the algorithm, we first try to do ‘move-spec’ movement and try to spell it out, but it fails again. Therefore, we try ‘move-sister’ movement, which fails again.



- This activates backtracking. We go back to the spell-out of NOM and instead of spelling it out within the root node, we spell it out using ‘move-sister’ and the “non-specific” ending.



- Through several merges and cyclic movements, we will be able to spell the DAT structure out as follows.



4 Analysis of pronouns

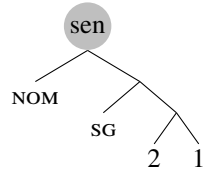
• I also assume that the pronouns involve three features: [speaker], [participant], and [person], which stand in a containment relation (c.f. Béjar, 2003; Starke, 2013; Wyn-gaerd, 2018). For convenience, I represent these features as 1, 2, and 3, respectively.

• I assume the proposal that was done in Türk and Caha (2021), following the case containment proposal by Caha (2009).

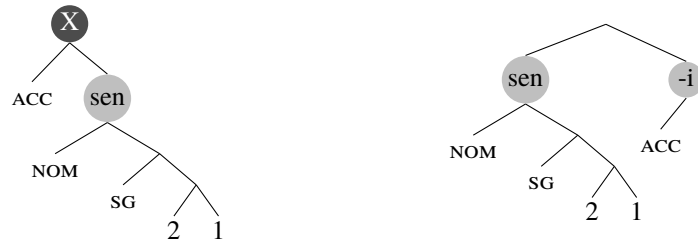
Here's the additional lexical items.

sen	⇔	[NOM (K1) [SG [2 [1]]]]
ben	⇔	[NOM (K1) [SG [1]]]
sana	⇔	[DAT (K4) [[[NOM (K1) [SG [2 [1]]]] [ACC (K2))] [GEN (K3)]]]
bana	⇔	[DAT (K4) [[[NOM (K1) [SG [2]]] [ACC (K2))] [GEN (K3)]]]

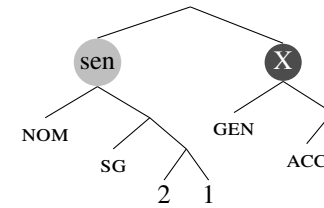
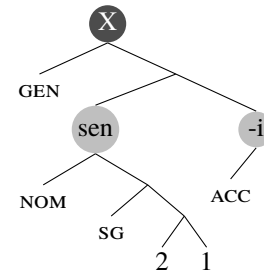
• We first build the structure for *sen* 'you' (singular). Up until NOM 'stay' resolves everything.



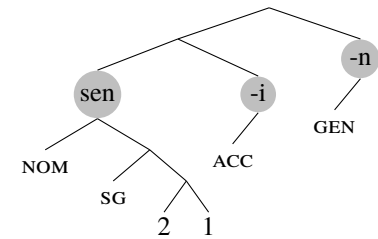
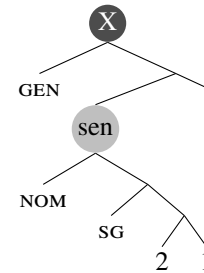
• After we merge ACC, we try to spell it out, but it fails. Therefore, we do 'move-sister' movement and spell it out in its own phrase.



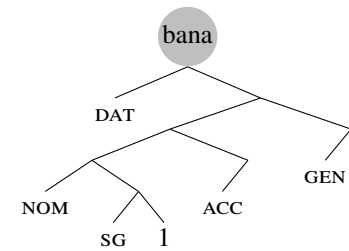
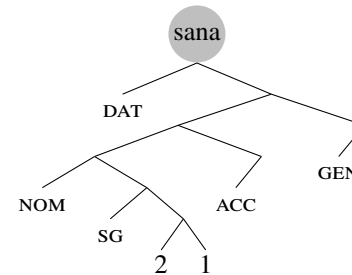
• When we merge GEN, we try to spell it out, but it fails. Therefore, we first do 'move-spec' movement and spell it out with ACC, which also fails.



• Therefore, we do 'move-sister' movement and spell it out by itself.

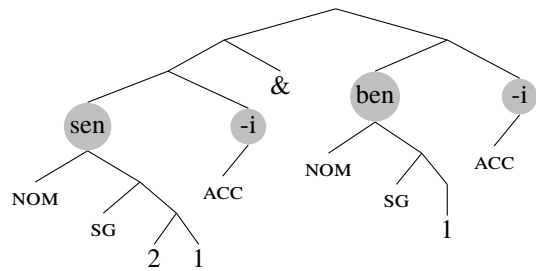


• Then, we finally add DAT. We try to spell it out with *stay*. Unlike the previous case with *adam*, this time it finds a match. Similar steps are also available for *ben* 'I' and *bana* 'to me'.



4.1 Suspended affixation context

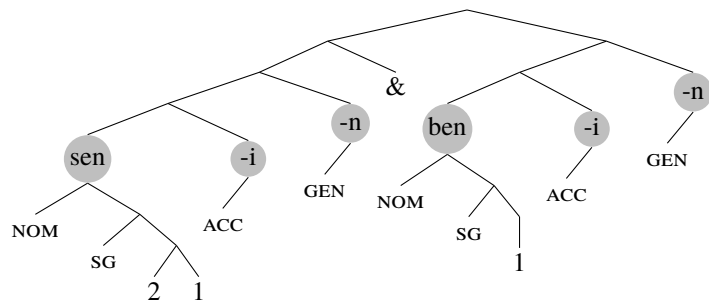
• What type of structure we would have with suspended affixation? Let's consider them case by case. First, let's consider the ACC case.



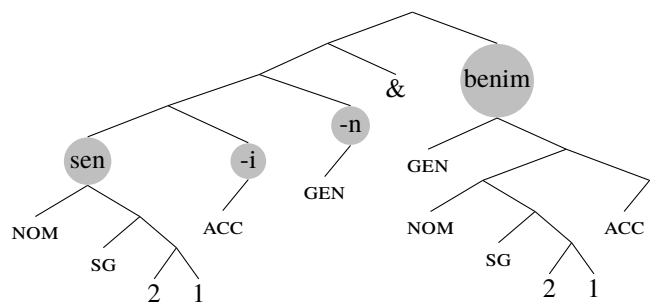
• We have two ACCs, both of which are in their own phrase and thus, targetable. Our prediction is that suspended affixation should be fine, which is true.

(30) Sen ve ben-i gör-müş.
 2SG and 1SG-ACC see-EVD.PST.PFV.3SG
 “(Heard that), s/he saw you and me.”

• What about GEN?



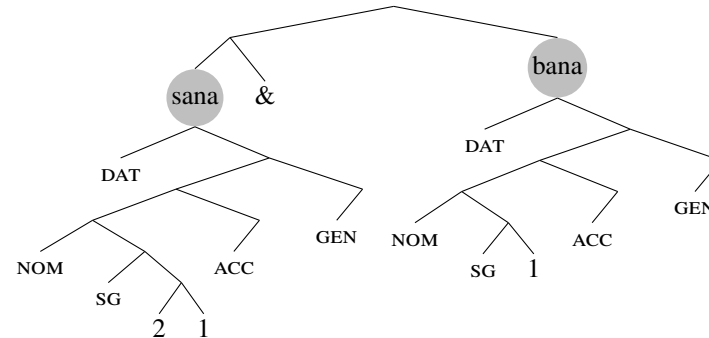
• Here, I simplify the structure by omitting the allomorphy of GEN with [1]. While Turkish 2nd person pronoun have the basic form of *-in*, 1st person pronouns have the basic form of *-im*. So, a better representation would be *ben-im* ‘my’ instead of *ben-in* as it is shown in the tree. However, this is not relevant for the discussion here, I will show a possible analysis of this tree, and will not discuss the allomorphy. The important bit is that, structurally it has to be different.



• In this structure, there is no one unified GEN to target. Therefore, suspended affixation should not be possible.

(31) * Sen ve ben-im araba sat-ıl-mış.
 2SG and 1SG-GEN.1SG car sell-PASS-EVD.PST.PFV.3SG
 “(Heard that), your and my car got sold.”

• What about DAT?

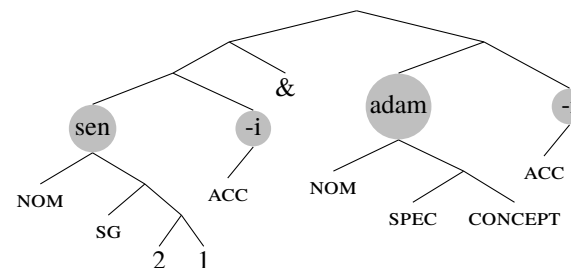


• Again, it is impossible to target a single phrasal node to suspend here. So, suspended affixation should not be possible with these examples as well.

(32) * Sen ve bana araba sat-ıl-mış.
 2SG and 1SG-DAT car sell-PASS-EVD.PST.PFV.3SG
 “(Heard that), you and me were sold a car.”

4.2 Suspended affixation context with a single pronoun

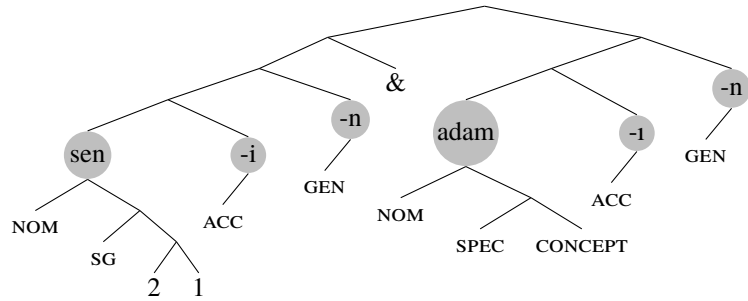
• What about the case where we have a single pronoun? Let’s consider the ACC case first.



• Here, we have a single ACC node, which is in its own phrase. Therefore, suspended affixation should be possible, which is true.

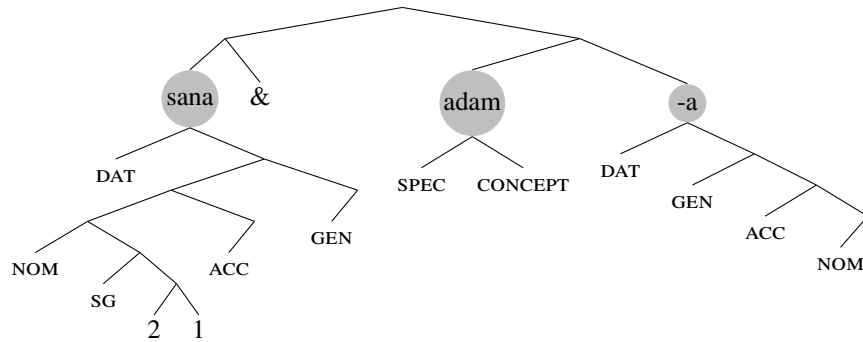
(33) Sen ve Sebaşçın-ı gör-müş.
 2SG and S-ACC see-EVD.PST.PFV.3SG
 “(Heard that), s/he saw you and Sebastian.”

• What about GEN?



• Here, we have two GEN nodes, both of which are in their own phrase. Therefore, suspended affixation should be possible by leaving the ACC behind. However, that is not possible in Turkish. Yet, it is possible in other dialects of Turkish used in Anatolia.

• What about DAT?



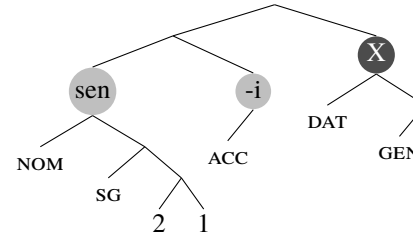
• As of now, we cannot target a single DAT node between two coordinands. Therefore, suspended affixation should not be possible, by deleting *-as* from both of them, which is True.

(34) * San ve Sebaşçın-a araba sat-ıl-mış.
 2SG.? and S-DAT car sell-PASS-EVD.PST.PFV.3SG
 “(Heard that), you and Sebastian were sold a car.”

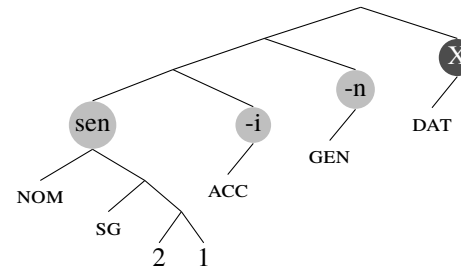
• What is interesting about this example is that, I propose, the attempt of deletion will create a phonological world between the conjoiner and the first coordinand, which in turn triggers a repair mechanism. This repair mechanism is the phonology’s input

to morphosyntactic computation. It will force the *sana* part of the coordinand to be make it seem like it is failed to spell-out.

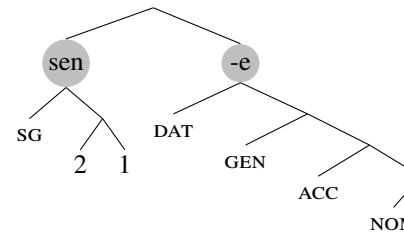
• If you remember, what we had with *sana* was just ‘stay’ and ‘match.’ Now, our system, assuming it crashed due to phonological reasons, will tell us to do the next thing: ‘move-spec’, which will not give us a match.



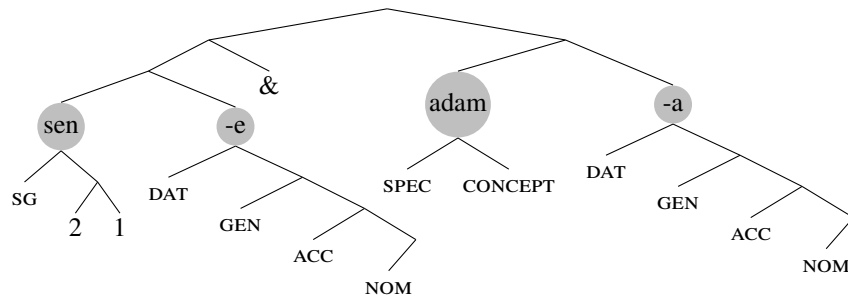
• Therefore, we will do ‘move-sister’ movement, which will still not give us a match



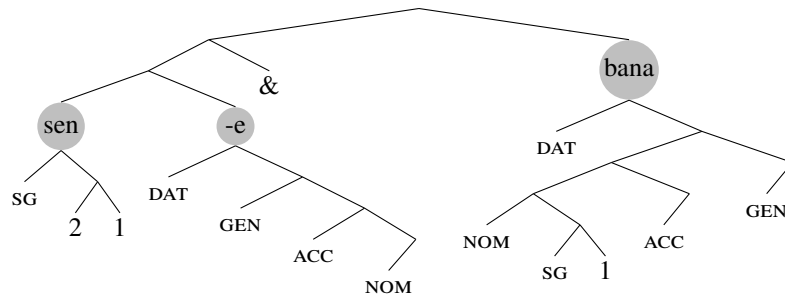
• Thus, we go all the way back, and try to spell-out NOM with ACC, which will give us a match. We will keep on adding other cases as well, which will end up looking like this.



• This structure, in a context of suspended affixation, will enable us to have suspended affixation as predicted.



• Even if the same mechanism were triggered for the two pronoun cases, we would still not be able to have suspended affixation. This is because, the *bana* part of the coordinand will not be able to spell-out with *ben-e*. And, we will not have any phrasal node to target.



• Another prediction satisfied with this analysis is that, non-vowel harmonic conjoiners should not be able to trigger suspended affixation repair, which is also true.

(35) a. Sana ve Sebařın-a mektup gel-di.
2SG.DAT and S-DAT letter come-PST.PFV.3SG
“You and Sebastian got a letter.”

b. Sen ve Sebařın-a mektup gel-di.
2SG and S-DAT letter come-PST.PFV.3SG
“You and Sebastian got a letter.”

(36) a. Sana yada Sebařın-a mektup gel-di.
2SG.DAT of S-DAT letter come-PST.PFV.3SG
“You or Sebastian got a letter.”

b. * Sen yada Sebařın-a mektup gel-di.
2SG or S-DAT letter come-PST.PFV.3SG
Intended: “You or Sebastian got a letter.”

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