

# Deriving restrictions on suspended affixation: a role for cycles of PF interpretation

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## The phenomenon

- In Turkish, certain morphemes can be omitted in coordination: *suspended affixation* (SA).

(1) *çalış-acak(-tı-k) ve başar-acak-tı-k*  
work-Fut-Pst-1P and succeed-Fut-Pst-1P  
'We were going to work and succeed.'

- The leftmost INFL marker cannot suspend.

(2) *yaz-\*(iyor-um) ve oku-yor-um*  
write-Prog-1s and read-Prog-1S  
'I am reading and writing.'

- 'Z-paradigm' agreement markers can suspend from an adjacent TMA marker (3). 'K-paradigm' markers cannot (4).

(3) *yaz-ıyor-(uz) ve oku-yor-um*  
write-Prog-1P and read-Prog-1P  
'We are reading and writing.'

(4) *yaz-dı-\*(k) ve oku-du-k*  
write-Pst-1P and read-Pst-1p  
'We read and wrote.'

## Key features of the analysis

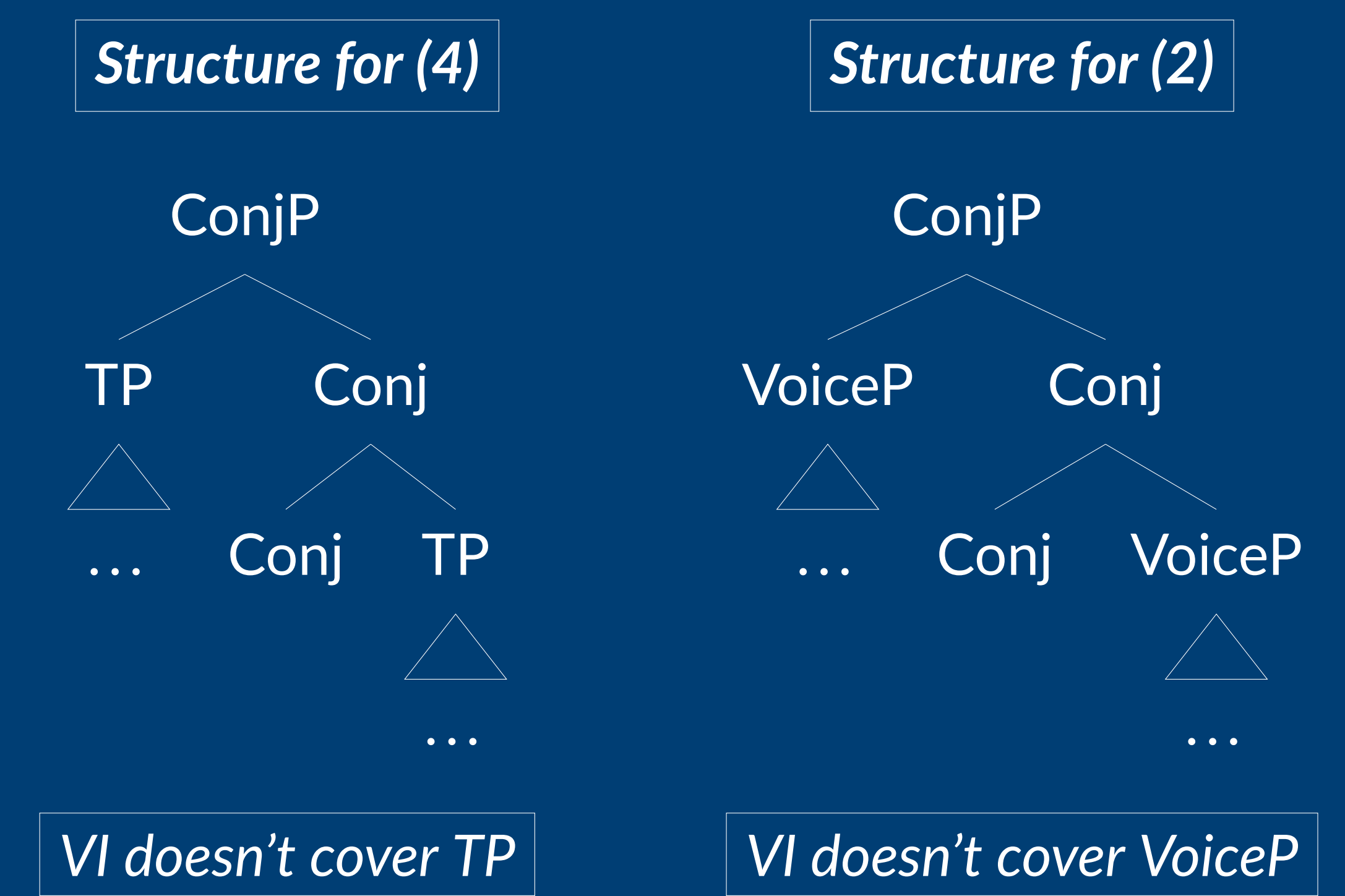
- **Interface-Driven:** The present account derives (2) and (4) from cycles of PF interpretation. The present account reduces variation in clausal coordination to variation of Spell-out cyclic nodes.
- **No morpheme ellipsis:** although suitable for some kinds of SA (see e.g. Guseva & Weisser 2019), Turkish verbal SA is better handled with just IP-coordination.
- **No V-movement:** Accounts like Zanon (2014) heavily rely on V-movement despite Turkish lacking conclusive non-morphological evidence for it. The present account does not.
- **Apparent Agr Asymmetry:** Good & Yu (2005) try to derive (3/4) from Agr<sub>k</sub>'s 'affixal' status. In the present account Agr<sub>k</sub>/Agr<sub>z</sub> reduces to contextual realisation of C. Seemingly similar verb forms quite realise different clause structures (Kornfilt 1996).

## (Mis)aligning Transfer and Spell-out

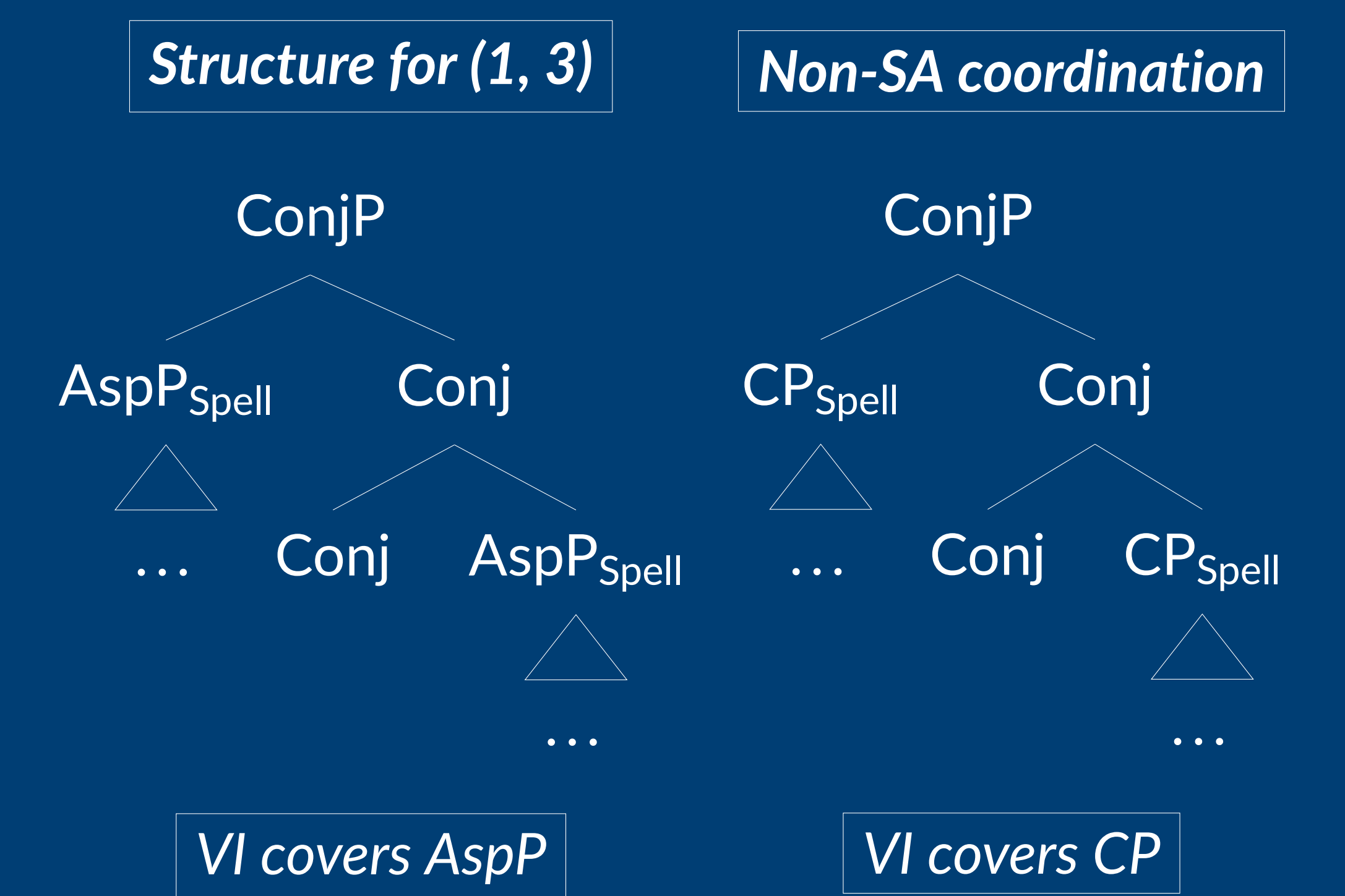
### Core assumptions

- **Transfer cycles** regulate the syntax-PF mapping. A conjunct constitutes a Transfer cycle.
- **Spell-out cycles** directly regulate Vocabulary Insertion. Without a cyclic node, VI is not triggered.
- **Misalignment:** Transfer within a Spell-out domain gives PF structure undominated by a Spell-out cyclic node. VI not triggered in this Transfer domain, and VI in a higher one can't reach far down.

- Conjuncts headed by VoiceP/TP are at least partially undominated by a Spell-out cyclic node. The structures are **ineffable**, not syntactically ungrammatical.



- Coordination of AspP, Mood<sub>Evid</sub> or CP leads to conjuncts headed by a Spell-out cyclic node.



- SA in Turkish depends on clausal spines with multiple Spell-out domains, which provide sites for PF-interpretable coordination.

## Implications and future directions

- **Transfer Triggers:** Transfer cyclic heads must be Spell-out cyclic but not vice-versa?
  - If Transfer applies to its trigger, but the trigger is not cyclic for spell-out, the head will not be exponed.
  - E.g. VoiceP in Turkish would not be Transfer cyclic.
- **ConjP as Transfer domain:** Could Transfer derive restrictions on movement in coordination?
  - Fox & Pesetsky (2005)-style: ConjP establishes linearisation statements that cannot be overridden.
  - Moving from ConjP creates contradicting linearisation statements, crashing the derivation.

References: Embick, D 2010. *Localism and Globalism in Morphology and Phonology*. Fox, D & D, Pesetsky 2005. Cyclic Linearisation of Syntactic Structure. *Theoretical Linguistics*. Good, J & A, Yu 2005. Morphosyntax of two Turkish subject pronominal paradigms, in *Perspectives on clitic and agreement affix combinations* L. Heggie & F. Ordóñez (eds.). Kornfilt, J. 1996. On some copular clitics in Turkish. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics*. Newell, H. 2008. Aspects of the morphology and phonology of phases. PhD Diss. Öztürk, B. 2001. Turkish as a non pro-drop language. In *The Verb in Turkish*, E. Erguvanlı Taylan (ed.). Zanon, K. 2014. On the status of TP in Turkish. *Studies in Polish Linguistics*.

## Realizing Turkish clauses

### (5) Schematic clause structure

[C<sub>φ</sub> [Mood [T [Asp/Mod [Voice [√]]]]]]

- Agreement realises C<sub>φ</sub>, depending on adjacent T/Mood: C<sub>φ</sub>  $\iff$  Agr<sub>k</sub> \ [ \_ [T<sub>Pst</sub> or Mood<sub>Cond</sub>]], C<sub>φ</sub>  $\iff$  Agr<sub>z</sub> \ elsewhere.
- Spell-out proceeds bottom up, regulated by cyclic nodes see e.g. Embick (2010). Unlike Embick, I assume that Spell-out cyclic nodes need not be phasal/Transfer cyclic.

Cyclic	Non-cyclic
Asp/Mod: Prog -iyor ...	T: Pst -dV, Prs -Ø
Mood <sub>Evid</sub> : -miş	Mood <sub>Cond</sub> : -sA
C <sub>φ</sub> : Agr	Voice: Pass -VI ...

- Evidence: stress assignment, clitic placement, see e.g. Kornfilt (1996), Newell (2008).

(6) *vur-ul-du-k (mu?)* 1-Cycle  
kick-Pass-Pst-1P Q  
'We were kicked (?)'

(7) *vur-ul-uyor(-mu)-du-k* 2-Cycles  
kick-Pass-**Prog**-Q-Pst-1P  
'We were being kicked (?)'

(8) *vur-ul-uyor(-mu)-y-uz* 2-Cycles  
kick-Pass-**Prog**-Q-Pres-1P  
'We are being kicked (?)'

## IP-coordination, not ellipsis

- **Crucial claim:** clausal SA involves some kind of IP coordination, not CP coordination.
- No commitments to the exact analysis of coordination, Conj(P) is used just as a notation.
- Assumption: overt subject pronouns in Turkish sit in the left periphery (Öztürk 2001).
- **Prediction:** SA should be incompatible with an overt pronoun in the right conjunct. An overt pronoun can only appear at the left edge, outside of the coordination.
- **Prediction confirmed:** If the right conjunct has an overt subject, suspension cannot take place from the left conjunct (9, 10).

(9) *Sen bira ver-ecek(-sin) ve cips*  
You beer bring-Fut-2S and crisps  
*ver-ecek-sin*  
bring-Fut-2S  
'You will bring beer and will bring crisps.'

(10) *bira ver-ecek\*(-sin) ve sen cips*  
beer bring-Fut-2S and you crisps  
*ver-ecek-sin*  
bring-Fut-2S  
'You<sub>i</sub> will bring beer and you<sub>j</sub> will bring crisps.'

- On a CP-coordination and morpheme ellipsis story, the right conjunct should be able to host a subject pronoun.