

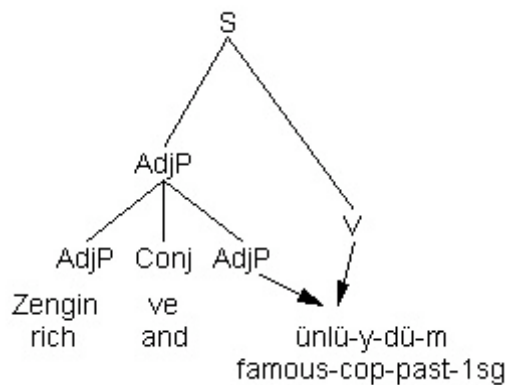
## Turkish suspended affixation is lexical sharing

The phenomenon known as *suspended affixation* in Turkish (Lewis 1967, Kabak 2007) is a much-discussed morphological puzzle. It raises severe difficulties for the lexical integrity principle (Bresnan and Mchombo 1995, Bresnan 2001), at least under the definition in which every morphological word must correspond to one and only one single c-structure node. In suspended affixation, a number of Turkish affixes behave like independent words with respect to coordination. The lexical sharing approach of Wescoat (2002), however, uses a slightly relaxed version of lexical integrity which allows a single word to co-instantiate more than one adjacent c-structure node. This lexical sharing model can provide a natural LFG account of the Turkish facts.

1. THE PROBLEM Consider examples (1) and (2), in which the tense marker /-dI/ and the 1<sup>st</sup> person agreement marker /-m/ take scope over both preceding adjectives.

*Ünlüydüm* and *mesuttum* are uncontroversially single words by the criteria of Turkish morpho-phonology. Note that the vowel of the suffix harmonizes with the preceding vowel and the voicing of the suffix assimilates to that of the preceding consonant. Neither vowel harmony nor voicing assimilation is found across word or clitic boundaries (Kornfilt 1997).

Instances of suspended affixation fall



**Figure 1** Lexical sharing analysis of copula contraction

both of the preceding conjuncts. We can see in such examples that the material within the scope of a case affix must be phrasal. The dilemma for the lexical integrity principle is that a.) phrasal coordination must take place in syntax and b.) word-formation rules should take place in the lexicon. Thus the scope of an affix ought to be confined to the word it attaches to.

In addition, it is not possible to claim that coordination takes place within the lexicon, since no derivational affixes take scope over coordination. For example, the derivational suffix /-cI/ attaches to a noun N and gives the meaning ‘one who sells/makes N’, but it may never take scope over coordination:

- 5a.) halı-cı ve havlu-cu ‘carpet salesman and towel salesman’  
 carpet-deriv and towel-deriv  
 b.) \*halı ve havlu-cu  
 carpet and towel-deriv

2. THE LEXICAL SHARING SOLUTION The lexical sharing approach of Wescoat (2002) gives us a way to account for these data. What we need are rules which allow a single lexical item to instantiate more than one syntactic node. For the copular contraction examples, we need a rule like the following:

$$6.) \Phi \leftarrow N|Adj, \Psi \leftarrow V [VTYPE \text{ Cop}] \quad \Rightarrow \quad [\Phi - \Psi] \leftarrow N|Adj \ V [VTYPE \text{ Cop}]$$

This rule is interpreted as follows: ‘If  $\Phi$  instantiates a N or Adj and  $\Psi$  instantiates a Copula, then  $\Phi - \Psi$  is a word which instantiates the N|Adj plus Copula.’

- 1) Zengin ve ünlü-y-dü-m.  
rich and famous-cop-past-1sg  
‘I was rich and famous.’
- 2) Zengin ve mesut-tu-m.  
rich and happy-past-1sg  
‘I was rich and happy.’
- 3.) Kanada ve Amerika-dan-dı-z  
Canada and America-abl-past-1pl  
‘We were from Canada and America.’
- 4.) Can'-ın divan-ı ve Orhan'-ın  
John-gen couch-3sg and Orhan-gen  
yatağ-ın-da uyu-du-m.  
bed-3sg-loc sleep-past-1sg  
‘I slept on John’s couch and Orhan’s bed.’

into a number of categories. (1) and (2) above are examples of a copular contraction process. The copula is /-y/ after a vowel and  $\emptyset$  after a consonant in Turkish, but it receives the same person, tense, and mood inflection as other verbs. The copula along with its suffixes must form a single word with a preceding predicate adjective (as above) or NP (example 3).

Suspended affixation is also found with several nominal inflections, including case markers. Consider example (4), where the locative case /-dA/ takes scope over

For the wide scope of Case markers, we need a separate CaseP constituent and a rule like the following:

$$7.) \Phi \leftarrow N, \Psi \leftarrow \text{Case} \quad \Rightarrow \quad [\Phi - \Psi] \leftarrow N \text{ Case}$$

These lexical rules will have the effect of allowing the Copula and the Case markers to head separate syntactic nodes, even though they are morphologically combined with a preceding word. C-structures showing the suggested analysis are in Box 1 and Box 2.

Lexical sharing allows some morphologically complex words to correspond to more than one syntactic node, but it by no means requires this to be the case. So while coordination data point to a separate syntactic status for Case and the copula, many other inflectional morphemes fail the test. For example, the aorist /-Ir/ may not scope over a conjunct:

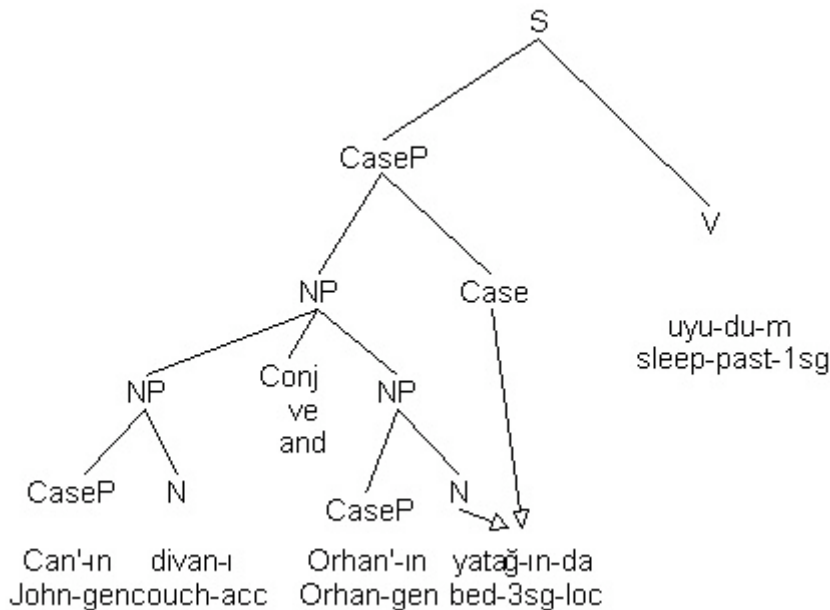
- 8.) \*Çalış ve kalkın-ır-sınız. ('We will work and develop.')
- work and develop-aor-1pl

Thus the aorist does not show evidence of separate syntactic status, and no c-structure node for the aorist is posited. Since lexical sharing requires the existence of language-particular lexical rules, it is also clear that languages may vary in their use of lexical sharing. Thus use of a CaseP in Turkish does not imply that this is the correct analysis for all languages; such an approach predicts typological variation in the syntactic status of case suffixes.

Using the lexical sharing approach allows us to give a clear syntactic characterization of those affixes that show suspended affixation and those that do not. Affixes such as Case and Copula correspond to c-structure nodes which allow coordinated complements; other affixes, such as the aorist or derivational /-CI/, do not show suspended affixation and have no separate syntactic status. LFG supplemented by lexical sharing is thus a.) better to account for the Turkish facts and b.) better equipped to treat typological variation in the syntax-morphology interface.

### References

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**Figure 2** Lexical sharing analysis of 'I slept on John's couch and in Orhan's bed.'

