

1. The phenomenon: Suspended Affixation

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| (1) kedi ve kOpek-ler
cat AND dog-PL
"cats and dogs" | kedi-ler ve kOpek-ler |
| (2) kedi ve kOpeG-im
cat AND dog-POSS1SG
"my cat and dog" | kedi-m ve kopeG-im |
| (3) kedi ve kOpeG-i
cat AND dog-ACC
"the cat and dog (ACC)" | kedi-yi ve kopeG-i |
| (4) kedi ve kOpek-ler-im-i
cat AND dog-PL-POSS1SG-ACC
"my cats and dogs (ACC)" | |
| (5) gUzel ve zengin-0-im
beautiful AND rich-COP-1SG
"I am beautiful and rich" | hasta-y-Im
sick-COP-1SG |
| (6) gUzel ve zengin-0-di-m
beautiful AND rich-COP-PST-1SG
"I was beautiful and rich" | hasta-y-dI-m
sick-COP-PST-1SG |
| (7) Cocuk-lar koS-uS-uyor ve gUrUltU yap-Iyor-0-lar-dI
children run-RECIP-PROG AND noise make-PROG-COP-PL-PST
"the children were running around and making noise" | |
| (8) deniz-e gid-ecek, gUneS-te kIzar-t-II-acak, ve eGle-n-ecek-0-ti-k.
sea-DAT go-FUT sun-LOC roast-CAUS-PASS-FUT AND enjoy-RFL-FUT-COP-PAST-1PL
"We were going to go to the sea, get roasted in the sun, and enjoy ourselves" | |
| (9) *deniz-e git, gUneS-te kIzar-t-II, ve eGle-n-ecek-0-ti-k.
sea-DAT go sun-LOC roast-CAUS-PASS AND enjoy-RFL-FUT-COP-PAST-1PL | |
| (10) *deniz-e git-ti, gUneS-te kIzar-t-II-dI, ve eGle-n-ecek-0-ti-k.
sea-DAT go-PST sun-LOC roast-CAUS-PASS-PST AND enjoy-RFL-FUT-COP-PAST-1PL | |

2. Previous accounts

Kornfilt (1996) offered an analysis of SA as an instance of coordinated complements of the copula, which she argued allowed post-predicate affixes to attach to a coordinate structure. (Exx (5)-(8) contain a copula.)

Kabak (2007) has criticized this analysis, citing two major faults:

(a) it overgenerates, because it does not account for the ungrammaticality of

(11) *ev-imiz-i sat-sa ve bir dUkkan al-sa-y-dI-k
house-POSS1PL-ACC sell-COND AND a shop buy-COND-COP-PAST-1PL
"If we sold our house and bought a shop"

and (b) it undergenerates, because it has nothing to say about SA in nominals:

(12) kedi ve kOpek-ler-im-i
cat AND dog-PL-POSS1SG-ACC
"my cats and dogs (ACC)"

Kabak's proposal is that the main condition on SA is that the final word in the left conjunct must be a "morphological word": a combination of root and affixes the last of which can legitimately be terminal in a word.

(13) deniz-e git-ti-m ve eGlen-di-m anla-dI-m
sea-DAT go-PAST-1SG and enjoy-PAST-1SG understand-PST-1SG
"I went to the beach and enjoyed myself"

*anla-y-dI-m

(14) *deniz-e git ve eGlen-di-m

The bare V 'git' in (14) is legitimate only as an imperative. In that case Kabak assumes that there is an obligatory but inaudible imperative suffix, which is incompatible with the SA context in (14).

Under Kornfilt's analysis, (14) is ungrammatical because there is no copula.

I will argue, first, that while Kabak's proposal appears to account for a wide range of data, it leaves some puzzles about SA unexplained. I suggest that Kornfilt's idea is essentially correct, and can be extended to the nominal paradigm once we understand why it works where it does.

3. Facts to be accounted for

- (a) SA only occurs in coordinate structures
(in general, the coordinated things are phrases, not words)
- (b) The overt affix is always to the right (realized as a suffix to the final word of the final conjunct)
- (c) Derivational affixes can never be suspended
- (d) Agreement affixes can never be suspended, unless attached to another suspended affix
- (e) In nominals, the PL, POSS, and CASE affixes can be suspended
- (f) In verbs, the post-predicate affixes following the copula can be suspended (along with accompanying agreement), but no other verbal affixes

4. Proposal

First, a suggestive observation: Hankamer (2004) has argued that the relational suffix *-ki* is an ad-phrasal affix, combining with case-phrase (KP) -sized phrases to make larger phrases:

- (15) [[o yUksek raf-ta]-ki mavi kitap-lar-da]-ki-ler-de
 THAT high shelf-LOC-ki blue book-PL-LOC-ki-PL-LOC
 'in the ones in the blue books on that high shelf'

If this result is accepted, it seems reasonable to assume that all affixes that occur to the right of (i.e. outside) the *-ki* suffix are ad-phrasal as well. These include the plural, possessive, and case suffixes that are suspendable in nominal coordinations, and also the post-predicate morphology dealt with in Kornfilt's analysis.

Two assumptions:

Suspended affixes are ad-phrasal
(i.e. they are heads in the syntax)

The phrases they attach to are coordinatable
(not all phrases are)

Some ancillary assumptions:

Derivational affixes are not syntactic heads (pace Halle & Marantz)

Agreement affixes are dissociated morphemes, and not present in the syntax (thanks to Halle & Marantz)

5. Coordinatability

5.1. Different coordinators

(16) gOz-lUk ve kalem-im-i
eye-THING AND pencil-POSS1SG-ACC
"my glasses and pencil (ACC)"

(17) gOz-lUG-Um ve kalem-im-i
eye-THING-POSS1SG AND pencil-POSS1SG-ACC
"my glasses and pencil (ACC)"

(18) gOz-lUG-Um ile kalem-im-i
eye-THING-POSS1SG AND pencil-POSS1SG-ACC
"my glasses and pencil (ACC)"

(19) gOz-lUk ile kalem-im-i
eye-THING AND pencil-POSS1SG-ACC
"the glasses and my pencil (ACC)"

5.2. What can coordinate?

(20) CaIS-ma yer-I CaIS-abil-me etiket-i
work-MA place-POSS3SG work-ABL-MA license-POSS3SG
work place ability-to-work license

(21) on-un-la gOr-US-ebil-me imkan-Im ol-ma-di
he-GEN-WITH see-RECIP-ABL-MA possibility-POSS1SG be-NEG-PST
"I had no chance to converse with him"

(22) bu Sehir-de yaSa-mak ve o Sehir-de Ol-mek-ten kork-uyor-um
this city-LOC live-INF AND that city-LOC die-INF-ABL fear-PROG-1SG
"I'm afraid of living in this city, and (of) dying in that city"

(23) *bu Sehir-de yaSa-ma ve o Sehir-de Ol-me-miz lazIm
this city-LOC live-LINF AND that city-LOC die-LINF-POSS1PL necessary
"We have to live in this city, and die in that city"

The infinitive phrase is "bigger" than the light infinitive phrase: it occupies the place of a DP, while the light infinitive phrase is a complement of D (assuming the possessive morpheme is a D, following Kornfilt (1985)). Following Abney (1987), we might assume the light infinitive phrase is a VP.

Hypothesis: there is no way to coordinate VPs in Turkish.

Now re-consider Kabak's problematic example:

(11) *ev-imiz-i sat-sa ve bir dUkkan al-sa-y-dI-k
house-POSS1PL-ACC sell-COND AND a shop buy-COND-COP-PAST-1PL
"If we sold our house and bought a shop"

(11') ev-imiz-i sat-sa-y-dI-k ve bir dUkkan al-sa-y-dI-k
house-POSS1PL-ACC sell-COND-COP-PST-1PL AND a shop buy-COND-COP-PAST-1PL
"If we sold our house and if we bought a shop"

The difference between (11) and the licit SA in (7-8) is that in (7-8) the coordinated elements are predicates; in (11) it would have to be whatever kind of phrase the conditional suffix heads. Quite likely that kind of phrase cannot be coordinated.

Another wrinkle

An unexplained gap in nominal SA (Orgun 1995):

(24) *ev-ler ve araba-lar-ImIz
house-PL AND car-PL-POSS1PL

While PL, POSS, and CASE affixes may be suspended, POSS may not be suspended stranding PL inside the coordination.

This may indicate that PL-phrases cannot be coordinated.

What can coordinate?

N (Adalet ve KuruluS Partisi)
NP
DP
KP
PredP
TP

6. Some interesting complications

6.1 Agreement affixation can never be suspended

The only apparent cases of suspended agreement affixation involve the copula:

(5) gUzel ve zengin-0-im hasta-y-Im
beautiful AND rich-COP-1SG sick-COP-1SG
"I am beautiful and rich"

(25) *git-ti ve gel-di-m
go-PST AND come-PST-1SG
"I went and came"

6.2 Coordinated predicates must match in type

(26) hasta-y-di-m ve Ol-ecek-0-ti-m
sick-COP-PST-1SG AND die-FUT-COP-PST-1SG
"I was sick and I was going to die"

(27) *hasta ve Ol-ecek-ti-m
sick AND die-FUT-PST-1SG
TRYING TO MEAN: "I was sick and going to die"

(28) *bozuk yemek ye-diG-im iCin hasta ol-uyor ve doktor-a gid-eceG-im
rotten food eat-PART-POSS1SG for sick get-PRES AND doctor-DAT go-FUT-!SG
TRYING TO MEAN:
"I am getting sick because I ate rotten food and I will go to the doctor"

Thus in addition to the ability of ad-phrasal affixes to attach to coordinated phrases, we need some constraints on what phrases may be coordinated. While clauses containing unlike predicates may be coordinated, it seems that predicates containing unlike aspect suffixes may not be coordinated directly.

7. Conclusion

I have argued that Turkish SA is, as Kornfilt suggested, the natural consequence of Ad-phrasal affixation interacting with coordination of the phrases to which the affix adjoins. This accounts for all the facts if we assume that only a limited inventory of phrases can be coordinated.

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