

NUMBER AS FEATURE: EVIDENCE FROM TURKISH -(S)I

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Background

A. Turkish Suspended Affixation (SA)

SA: certain affixes can be omitted from all conjuncts except the final one while maintaining their semantic scope over the whole construction (Kabak, 2007)

(1) Plural (Kharytonava, 2011): (2) Possessive (Kornfilt, 2012):

- a. ev-ler ve dükkan-lar a. kitab-ım ve defter-im
house-PL and shop-PL book-POSS.1sg and notebook-POSS.1sg
b. ev ve dükkan -lar b. kitab ve defter -im
house and shop -PL book and notebook -POSS.1sg
'houses and shops' 'my books and (my) notebooks'

B. Turkish NN compounds

A derivational suffix -(s)I is obligatory for all NN compounds (3). This suffix:

- is not a 3rd person agreement marker although they take the same form, because it has a different distribution from 1st and 2nd person agreement markers;
- must be immediately next to the second noun, i.e., SA is not allowed (4);
- must follow the PL suffix when an NN compounds is pluralised, and **PL can no longer be suspended consequently** (5)

- (3) a. masar کنار-ı (4) a. dans kurs-u ve masaj terapi-si
table edge-SI dance course-SI and massage therapy-SI
b.* masar کنار b.* dans kurs ve masaj terapi-si
table edge dance course and massage therapy-SI
'table edge' 'dance course and massage therapy'

- (5) a. dans kurs-lar-ı ve masaj terapi-ler-si
dance course-PL-SI and massage therapy-PL-SI
b.* [dans kurs-u] ve [masaj terapi] -ler-si
dance course-SI and massage therapy -PL-SI
'dance courses and massage therapies'

C. Interesting behaviour of PL!!!

The position of PL when it co-occurs with POSS is different for nouns and NN compounds:

- Nouns: PL and POSS **must be suspended together**, i.e., leaving the PL alone on non-final conjunct is prohibited (6);
- NN compounds: PL must not be suspended with POSS, i.e., PL must be left on the non-final conjunct with -(s)I (7)

- (6) a.* kedi-ler ve köpek-ler -im b. kedi ve köpek -ler-im
cat-PL and dog-PL -POSS.1sg cat and dog -PL-POSS.1sg
'my cats and (my) dogs'

- (7) a. NN compound coordination (Kharytonava, 2011):
(i) [[dans kurs-lar-ı] ve [masaj terapi-ler]] -iniz
dance course-PL-SI and massage therapy-PL(-SI) -POSS.1sg
(ii)* [[dans kurs-u] ve [masaj terapi]] -ler-iniz
dance course-SI and massage therapy -PL(-SI)-POSS.2pl
'your dance courses and (your) massage therapies'
b. Head noun coordination:
(i) [bira [şişe-ler-i] ve [kutu-lar]] -iniz
beer bottle-PL-SI and box-PL(-SI) -POSS.2pl
(ii)* [bira [şişe-si] ve [kutu]] -lar-ınız
beer bottle-SI and box -PL(-SI)-POSS.2pl
'your beer bottles and (your beer) boxes'

Puzzles

- Number is traditional analysed as a separate functional projection in the nominal domain – NumP (e.g. Ritter, 1991) in Turkish.
- The head of NumP is PL. POSS occupies the D head.
- SA is analysed as right-node-raising of Num head (Kornfilt, 2012).
- But such an analysis does not explain the following questions:

1. Why cannot NumPs be coordinated when there is a suspended D (6a), but can be coordinated when there is no SA (1a)?

- What if the two conjuncts in (1a) are not two NumPs, but two DPs with empty D heads as shown in (8)?
- Well, it solves the problem but does not explain why NumP are different from other nominal projections NP and DP...

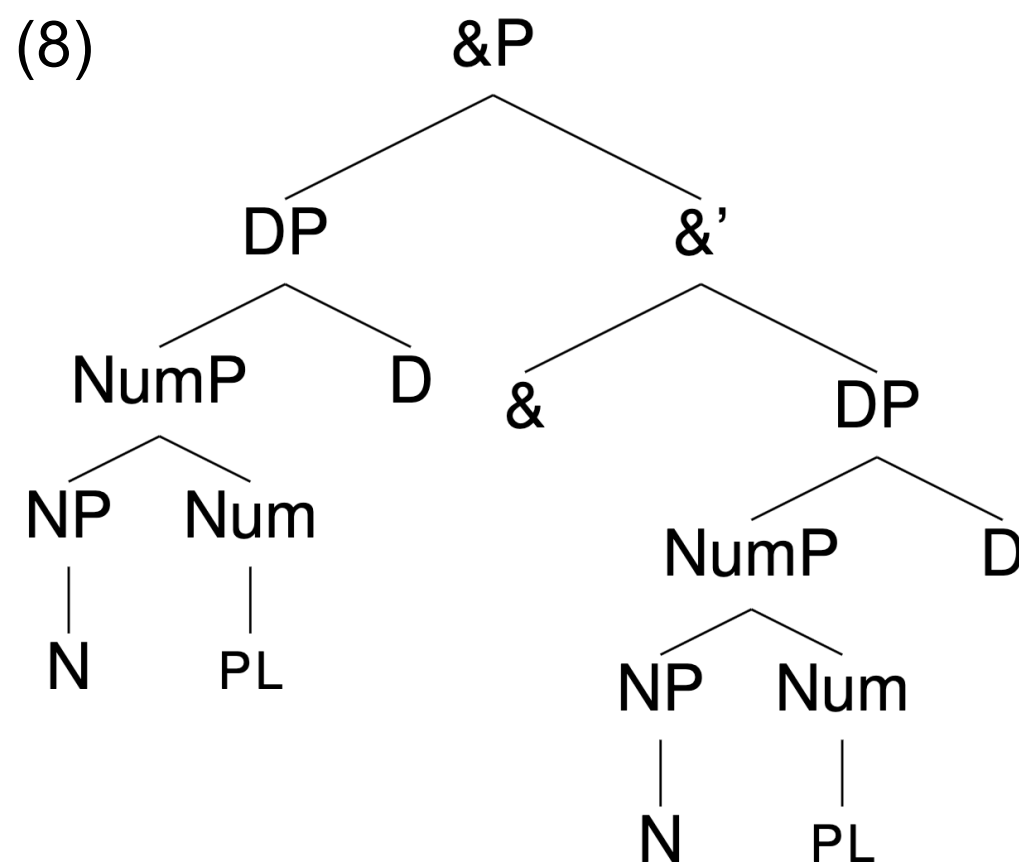
2. Why cannot the Num head undergo SA for NN compounds?

- Perhaps the compounds marker -(s)I and PL must be 'glued together' in the order of -SI-PL
- But why?? This is just a stipulation...

3. For NN compounds, why cannot PL be suspended when POSS already is?

Some notes on Turkish

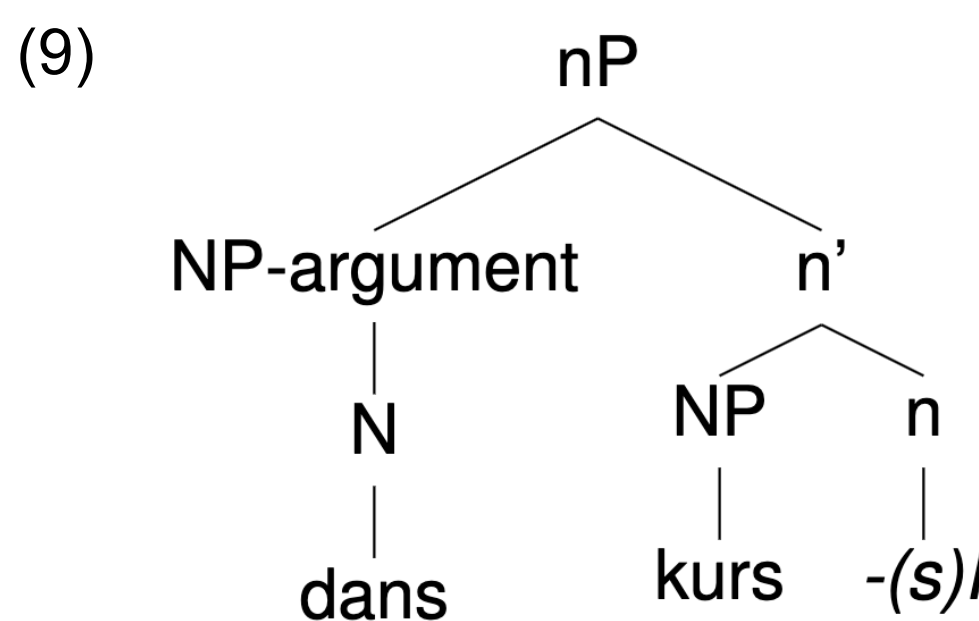
- Turkish Adj-N compounds do not require the -(s)I suffix so this project focus on NN compounds.
- The PL suffix must precede -(s)I
- Turkish has vowel harmony, so the suffixes look slightly different in every phrase



Proposal

Main idea: Number is a FEATURE, not a separate PROJECTION.

- nP
- Proposed by Öztürk and Taylan (2016).
 - Introduces an argument to the noun in its specifier position (9).
 - Because the first noun acts like the argument of the second but nouns cannot directly select another noun as its complement (Grimshaw, 1990, a.o.).
 - The compound marker -(s)I is the spell-out of n.
 - n cannot suspend!**



Number Feature:

on the **first functional projection** higher than NP

nP

for NN compounds

DP

for nouns

How does it work?

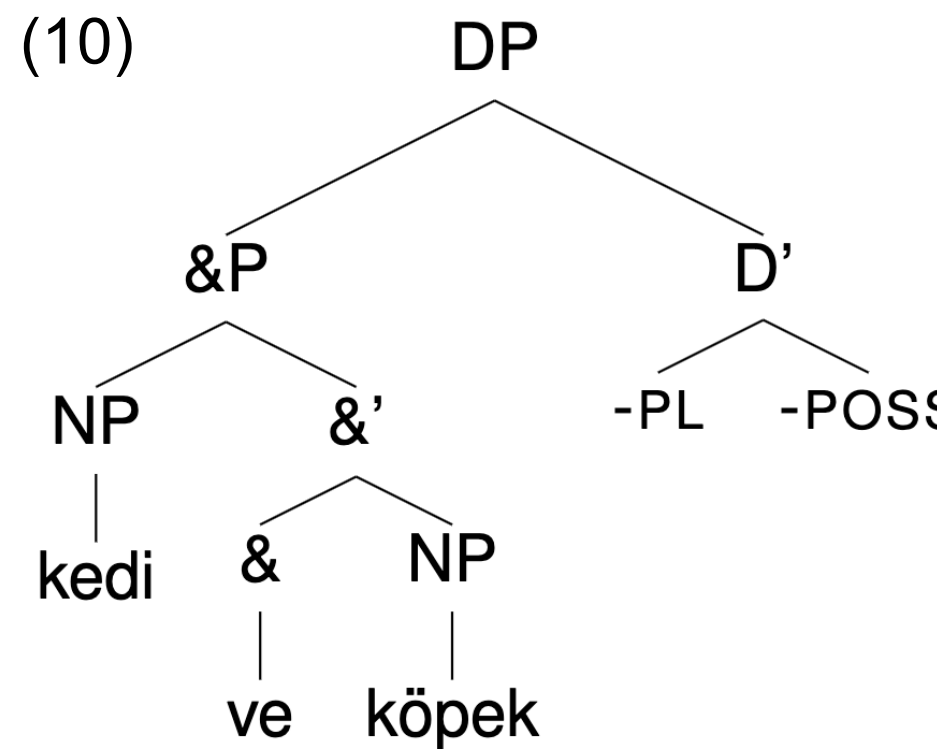
Nouns

with POSS

- Both PL and POSS are on D.
- Same SA behaviour for PL and POSS (10).
- Separated PL and POSS = ungrammatical (6)

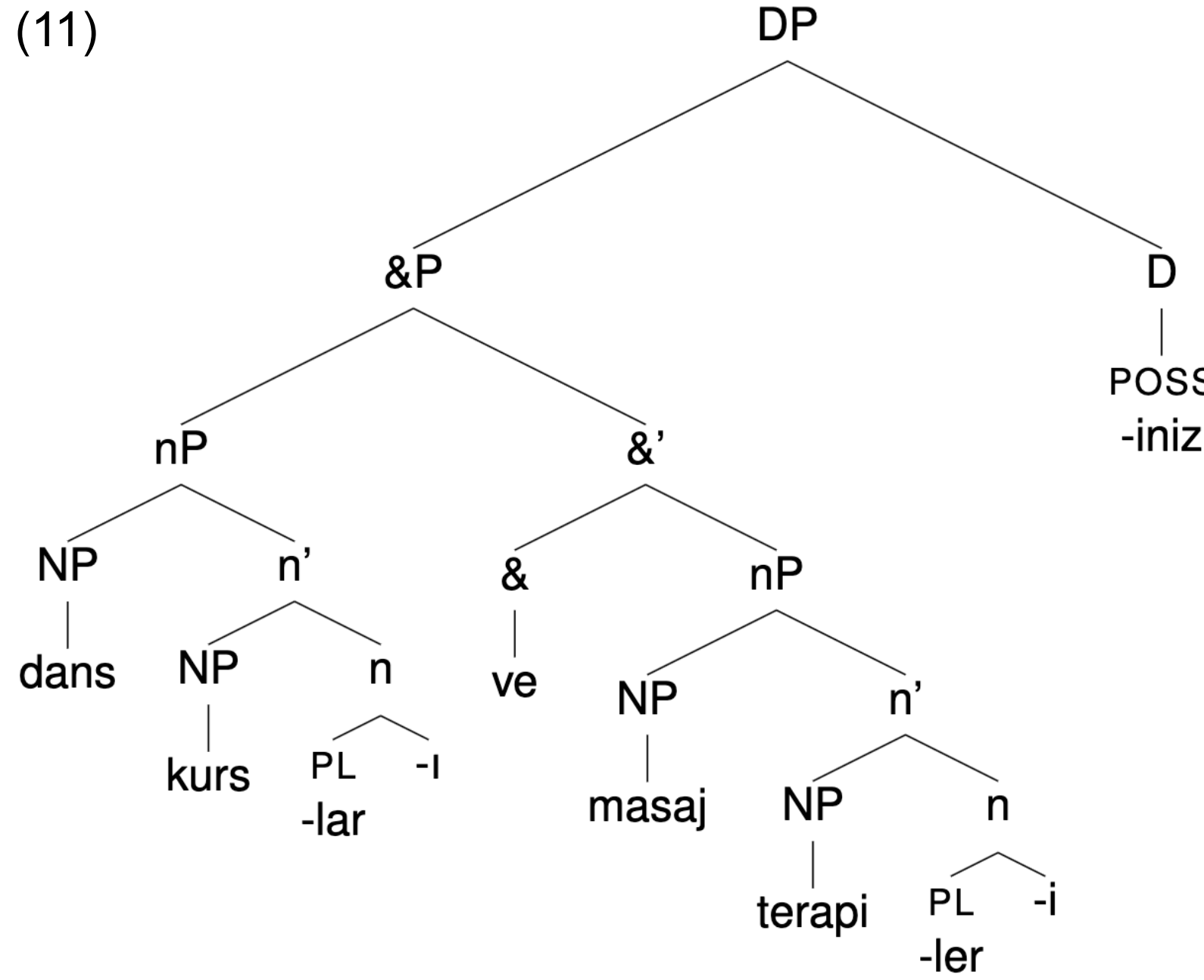
without POSS

- Only PL is on D.
- Choose to suspend or not (1)



NN compounds

- Regardless there is POSS:
 - PL is always on **n**,
 - POSS is always on **D**.
- So, PL and POSS can never be suspended together because n cannot undergo SA (11):
 - PL is always **next to the NN compound** (5),
 - POSS can suspend, but **alone** (7).



Are the predictions borne out?

	Number feature position	D position	PL position		
			should suspend?	borne out?	e.g.
nouns	D	suspended	✓	✓	(6), (1b)
		not suspended/NA	X	✓	(1a)
NN compounds	n	suspended	X	✓	(7)
		not suspended/NA	X	✓	(5)

Discussion

Analysing number as a feature has its history, for example:

- Bouchard (1988): Number is on D in French but on N in English.
- Dobrovie-Sorin (2012): Number attaches to D in Romance languages but to little n in English.
 - 'Little n' = a DM notion; all NPs are complements of this functional category (analogous to the 'little v' in the verbal domain)
- Evidence: Concord agreement and Adj-to-N conversion in French.

Problems solved ...

- Why the compound marker -(s)I and PL must 'stick together' → They are on the same head!
- Why PL and POSS cannot suspend together for NN compounds → They are not on the same head!
- Why PL can suspend for nouns but not NN compounds → PL is on different heads for them!

Further applications ...

- Other Turkic languages have similar suffixes (12) e.g., Tatar (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015)

- (12) a. xatın kijem-e
woman clothing-SI
'female clothing'
b. bala-lar kitab-ı
car-PL book-SI
'children's books / books written for children'

- It would be worth investigating:
 - what happens when these NN compounds are pluralised;
 - what happens when pluralised NN compounds are coordinated;
 - how the PL suffix interacts with POSS under coordination.

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