

# Suspended Affixation in Verbal Coordinate Constructions in Turkish

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In some Turkish coordinate constructions, suffixes may optionally be omitted from all conjuncts other than the final one while maintaining their semantic scope over the whole coordinate construction. This process is called *Suspended Affixation* in the literature construction (Lewis 1975, Kornfilt 1996, Yu and Good 1999). In this paper, I will investigate the suspended affixation phenomena in Turkish verbal coordinate constructions. Focusing on the morphological structure of the left conjuncts of coordinate constructions, it will be shown that the morpheme slot for Aspect markers in the morphological structure of verbal predicates marks the end point of a non-final conjunct in coordinate constructions. The analysis advanced in the paper will argue that the minimal and the maximal left conjunct in a verbal coordinate construction syntactically correspond to an Aspect Phrase. Accordingly, suspended affixation can simply be viewed as an instance of two (or more) Aspect Phrases conjoined in a verbal coordinate construction. In addition, I will show that while Aspect markers may be phonologically null in ordinary constructions, in coordinate constructions with suspended affixation, however, they have to be overtly present. It will be suggested that the overt phonological presence of Aspect markers in the non-final conjuncts is due to a morphological requirement. Finally, independent evidence from NP modification, composite verb constructions, as well as stress properties will be provided to support the possibility that verbal constructions headed by Aspect markers can be viewed as independent syntactic words.

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## 1. Suspended Affixation

In some coordinate constructions, Turkish suffixes are observed to be optionally omitted from all conjuncts other than the final one while maintaining their semantic scope over the whole coordinate construction. Consider the following sentences in which 1(a), 2(a) and 3(a) illustrate suspended affixation, where only the last conjunct carries overt inflectional morphemes, and their counterparts in 1(b), 2(b) and 3(b), where both conjuncts are inflected for the same suffixes.

1. a. Zengin ve ünlü-y-dü-k<sup>i</sup>  
Rich and famous-COP-Past-1P  
“We were rich and famous”  
  
b. Zengin-0-di-k ve ünlü-y-dü-k  
Rich-COP-Past-1P and famous-COP-Past-1P  
“We were rich and famous”
2. a. Yap-ar, sar-ar ve sat-ar-0-iz  
make-AOR wrap-AOR and sell-AOR-COP-1P  
“We make (them), wrap (them) and sell (them)”  
  
b. Yap-ar-0-iz, sar-ar-0-iz ve sat-ar-0-iz  
Make-AOR-COP-1P wrap-AOR-COP-1P and sell-AOR-COP-1P  
“We make (them) and sell (them)”
3. a. Yap-acak ve sat-acag-0-iz  
Make-FUT and sell-FUT-COP-1P  
“We are going to make (them) and sell (them).”  
  
b. Yap-acak-0-iz ve sat-acag-0-iz  
Make-FUT-COP-1P and sell-FUT-COP-1P  
“We are going to make (them) and sell (them).”

Kornfilt (1996) argues that grammatical instances of suspended affixation are observed depending on what kind of suffix the bare conjuncts (i.e. the left members of the

coordination) carries. According to her analysis, suspended affixation is legitimate if the suffix on the “bare” conjunct heads a participle<sup>ii</sup> and thus forms a potentially complete form, a “small word”. In (2a) and (3a) above, the first conjunct contains an Aspect<sup>iii</sup> marker, which forms a participle (rather than a finite tensed verb) in Turkish. On the contrary, if the suffix on the first conjunct cannot head a participle, but rather forms a finite verb, then suspended affixation cannot take place. This is illustrated in (4a) below, where attachment of the Past Tense marker creates a finite verb form, thus cannot head a participle. Similarly, since the “bare” left conjunct is simply a root, not a “complete” form in the sense that it does not have a suffix that can head a participle form, (5) turns out to be ungrammatical, too.

4. Intended reading: “We made (them) and sold (them)”
  - a. \*Yap-ti ve sat-ti-k  
make-PAST and sell-PAST-1P
  - b. Yap-ti-k ve sat-ti-k  
make-PAST-1P and sell-PAST-1P
  
5. Intended reading: “We make (them) and sell (them)”
  - \* Yap ve sat-ar-0-iz  
make and sell-AOR-COP-1P

Suspended affixation is also reported to occur in “complex” verbal forms. In these types of forms, too, only the complements of the Copula can form a “bare” conjunct in a coordinated construction. Such “bare” conjuncts are illustrated in (6)a and (7)a with complex tense constructions with suspended affixation. The corresponding full forms, where both conjuncts contain all the inflectional markers, are provided in (6)b and (7)b.



word” introduces further questions as to whether a domain such as a “maximal word” or, analogously, a “big word” can, in fact, occur in Turkish. What is the boundary that determines the maximum or the minimum size of the conjuncts? Can a left conjunct have a moderate size, which would, then, be somewhere between a minimum and a maximum expected size? This paper attempts to address these questions.

## 2.1. “Maximality” and “Minimality” in Suspended Affixation

So far, we have looked at the descriptive conditions with regard to suspended affixation, based on Kornfilt’s account that employs concepts such as being the complement of the Copula, and being a potential “small word”. Extending Kornfilt’s analysis, in this section, I will give an account of the limits as to which morphemes can remain in a non-final conjunct.

Closer examination on coordinate constructions with suspended affixation reveals that not every suffix that the Copula may attach to can be left in a non-final conjunct. (8a) illustrates the full form where both conjuncts carry all of the verbal morphemes contributing to the meaning of the construction. It should be noted that the question particle /-mI/ cliticizes to the Aspect marker /-(y)EcEG/, preceding the Copula. When the question particle is left in the first conjunct in (8b), coordination with suspended affixation becomes ungrammatical.

8. a. yap-acak-mi-y-di-k                      ve    sat-acak-mi-y-di-k.  
       Make-FUT-QUE-COP-PAST-1P and sell-FUT-QUE-COP-PAST-1P  
       “Were we going to make (it) and sell (it)?”
- b. \* yap-acak-mi            ve    sat-acak-mi-y-di-k  
       make-FUT-QUE    and sell-FUT-QUE-COP-PAST-1P

“Were we going to make (it) and sell (it)?”

Note that on the contrary, the same sentence in (7a) above, without the question particle is grammatical. If suspended affixation were legitimate when the “bare” conjunct is the complement of the inflected Copula, we would also expect (8a) to be grammatical since the Question particle /-mI/ is followed by a copula in the rightmost conjunct. That is, although the “bare” conjunct “yap-acak-mi” contains a participle form, and thus is a potentially complete form that is a complement of the copula, suspended affixation is still illicit. (9a and b) below provide a similar example.

9. a. \*evi-miz-i            sat-sa            ve bir dükkan al-sa-y-dî-k (iyi olurdu).  
house-our-ACC sell-COND and a shop buy-COND-COP-PAST-1P  
(it would be good)  
“If we sold our house and bought a shop, (it would be good)”
- b. evi-miz-i            sat-sa-y-dî-k            ve bir dükkan al-sa-y-dî-k (iyi olurdu)  
house-our-ACC sell-COND-COP-PAST-1P and a shop buy-COND-COP  
PAST-1P (it would be good)  
“If we sold our house and bought a shop, (it would be good)”

It could be said that (9a) is ungrammatical because the left conjunct is headed by a “genuine” finite verb marker, which, according to Kornfilt cannot create a “small word”. That is, genuine verb forms cannot be a complement of a copula. However, it should be noted that Conditional suffix is further inflected with the Past Tense marker via the inflected Copula form /y/ in (9b). This suggests that there is an overlap of the “genuine” verbal affixes (the Conditional and the Past tense marker), which presumably occupy the same slot in the morphological structure of the predicate. Thus, further inflection with the Past Tense marker is only made possible via the intermediary of the Copula. That is, it seems that the verb form with the Conditional suffix is, in fact, the complement of the

Copula. Therefore, the property of being a complement of the Copula and the potential to constitute a complete form (i.e. a “small word”) is not confounded, since *sat-sa* (sell-COND) is ungrammatical in the first conjunct.

Instead, in the following, I will claim that the minimum and the maximum word for suspended affixation corresponds to a syntactic category headed by an Aspect marker, which projects an Aspect Phrase in the syntactic structure. First, however, I will present data from verbal constructions with the negative counterpart of the Aorist marker, which will be relevant to demonstrate an interesting requirement on Aspect markers that they need to be phonologically overt in a non-final conjunct.

### **2.1.1. The Aorist and Suspended Affixation:**

The Aorist suffix (/–Ir/ or /-Er/), the various functions of which are not crucial for my purposes here, roughly corresponds to the Simple Present Tense in English, which typically marks habituality in Turkish.

10. a. *bazen yüz-er-0-im*  
sometimes swim-**AOR**-COP-1S  
“I sometimes swim”
- b. *bazen yüz-er-0-sin*  
sometimes swim-**AOR**-COP-2S  
“You (sg.) sometimes swim”
- c. *bazen yüz-er-0-iz*  
sometimes swim-**AOR**-COP-1P  
“We sometimes swim”

- d. bazen      yüz-**er**-0-siniz  
 sometimes swim-AOR-COP-2P  
 “You (pl.) sometimes swim”

Interestingly, in some cases, when the negative marker /-mE/ follows the Aorist marker, the Aorist marker is not present on the surface. This occurs only if the Aorist marker is further inflected with the first person singular or plural agreement marker. In all other cases with the Negative marker, the Aorist marker remains to be /-z/.

11. a. bazen      yüz-me-**0**-0-m  
 sometimes swim-NEG-AOR-COP-1S  
 “I sometimes don’t swim”
- b. bazen      yüz-me-**z**-0-sin  
 sometimes swim-NEG-AOR-COP-2S  
 “You (sg.) sometimes don’t swim”
- c. bazen      yüz-me-**0**-0-yiz  
 sometimes swim-NEG-AOR-COP-1P  
 “We sometimes don’t swim”
- d. bazen      yüz-me-**z**-0-siniz  
 sometimes swim-NEG-AOR-COP-2P  
 “You (pl.) sometimes don’t swim”

Just like other Aspect markers, the Aorist also takes the agreement markers from the z-paradigm (Table 2), and it is a complement of the Copula. These two facts are valid regardless of whether the Aorist marker is in its negative or positive form. In the examples below, the Aorist morpheme is not phonologically realized when it is followed by the first person singular marker (12a). The same marker appears as /-z/ when it is in the Past tense (12b). When /-z/ is omitted in (13), however, the meaning of the sentence

changes from habitual past to simple past, which indicates that /-z/ adds an additional meaning to the predicate, which suggests that the /-z/ variant of the Aorist morpheme is visible to syntax.

12. a. *yüz-me-0-0-m*  
swim-NEG-AOR-COP-1S  
“I don’t swim”
- b. *yüz-me-z-0-di-m*  
swim-NEG-AOR-COP-PAST-1S  
“I didn’t use to swim”
13. *yüz-me-di-m*  
swim-NEG-PAST-1P  
“We didn’t swim”

It can also be said that the mere absence of the Aorist marker when followed by the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular agreement suffix in (12a), by default, conveys the habitual aspect in Turkish. In any case, we would need to assume that the Aorist marker, regardless of its phonological shape, should be syntactically visible. In addition, the fact that it has to surface as /-z/ when followed by the Past Tense morpheme is merely due to a morphological requirement since otherwise the morphological template of the construction in (12b) would be identical to the one in (13), where the predicate is in the Simple Past. In other words, the phonological presence of the Aorist in (12b) marks the fact that the event is in the Habitual Aspect.

In the following, we will see that the phonological presence of the Aspect marker becomes a crucial requirement in coordinate constructions that contain this marker with suspended affixation.

## 2.2. The Aspect Phrase as the Minimal and Maximal Word in the non-final

### Conjunct

In this section, I will look at some examples of suspended affixation, which involve the Aorist and its negative counterpart. While (14a) is grammatical, suspended affixation becomes illicit when both conjuncts are in the negative form as in (14b).

14. a. Yazları kumsal-a gid-**er** ve voleybol oyn-**ar-0-im**.  
Summers beach-DAT go-**AOR** and volleyball play-**AOR-COP-1S**.  
“I go to the beach and play volleyball in the summer”
- b. \* Yazları kumsal-a git-me-**0** ve voleybol oyna-ma-**0-0-m**.  
Summers beach-DAT go-**NEG-AOR** and volleyball play-**NEG-AOR-COP-1S**.  
“I don’t go to the beach and don’t play volleyball in the summer”

However, when the same sentence is inflected for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular or plural as in (15a) and (15b) respectively, suspended affixation becomes legitimate. It should be noted that in the second person singular and plural, the negative form of the Aorist surfaces as /-z/.

15. a. Yazları kumsal-a git-me-**z** ve voleybol oyna-ma-**z-0-sin**.  
Summers beach-DAT go-**NEG-AOR** and volleyball play-**NEG-AOR-COP-2S**.  
“*You (sg.) don’t go to the beach and don’t play volleyball in the summer*”
- b. Yazları kumsal-a git-me-**z** ve voleybol oyn-ma-**z-0-siniz**.  
Summers beach-DAT go-**NEG-AOR** and volleyball play-**NEG-AOR-COP-2P**.  
“*You (pl.) don’t go to the beach and don’t play volleyball in the summer*”

Similar to the cases with the first person singular, the absence of a phonologically overt Aspect marker in the negative also makes the suspended affixation process illegitimate when the rightmost conjunct is in the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural. This can be seen in (16a). It should be noted that there are reasons to assume that the Aorist marker, though null, is left in the first conjunct given that in the positive forms of the same sentence (16b), the

Aorist marker is left in the first conjunct. In addition, in those cases where the negative form of the Aorist marker is /-z/, this marker was also left in the first conjunct, as we saw in (15a) and (15b) above.

16. a. \*Yazları kumsal-a git-me-**0** ve voleybol oyna-ma-**0-0-yiz**.  
 Summers beach-DAT go-NEG-**AOR** and volleyball play-NEG-**AOR-COP-1P**.  
 “We don’t go to the beach and play volleyball in the summer”
- b. Yazları kumsal-a gid-er ve voleybol oyna-r-**0-iz**.  
 Summers beach-DAT go-**AOR** and volleyball play-**AOR-COP-1P**.  
 “We go to the beach and play volleyball in the summer”

What we have seen so far is that the Aspect marker slot in the internal structure of the predicate is required by morphology in coordinate constructions with suspended affixation. That is, in non-coordinate constructions (cf. (11a) and (11c) above) the phonological absence of the Aorist marker in the negative form poses no problem for the syntax such that the interpretation of the predicates still carries the habituality. However, this becomes a problem in the coordinate constructions with suspended affixation such that the conjuncts are grammatical when the Aspect marker slot is overtly filled<sup>iv</sup>. This suggests that a verbal stem that is headed by a phonologically overt Aspect marker would then constitute the “appropriate” word in the left conjunct in a coordinate construction with suspended affixation.

It should be noted that a recent lexicalist account on Turkish suspended affixation presented by Yu and Good (1999) does not provide a detailed analysis of the facts presented in this paper. For Yu and Good, suspended affixation is legal when the subject pronominal ending required in the conjunct is from the z-paradigm. However, in all of the grammatical as well as ungrammatical cases above, the Aorist marker, regardless of

whether it is null or not, has the agreement markers from the z-paradigm. Besides, this analysis posits no restrictions as to what can be left in the “bare” conjunct. (18) and (19) are ungrammatical despite the fact that the subject pronominal ending required in the left conjunct is from the z-paradigm. Interestingly, the same sentences are grammatical when the left conjunct is without the Reported Past<sup>v</sup> marker, as can be seen in (20a) and (20b).

- (18) \*ev-i-ne gid-er-0-mi ve ona yardım ed-er-0-miş-iz  
house-his-Dat go-AOR-COP-RP and him help AUX-AOR-COP-RP-1PP  
(I was told) that we used to go to his place and help him out.
- (19) \*(duyduguma göre) sen erkenden kalk-ıyor-0-muş ve iş-e gid-iyor-muş-sun  
(as I heard) you early getup-PROG-COP-RP and work-DAT go-PROG-RP-2PS  
(They say that) you get up early and go to work.
- (20) a. dede-m-in yan-i-na gid-er ve ona yardım ed-er-miş-iz  
grandfather-Gen side-his-Dat go-AOR and him help AUX-AOR-COP-RP-1PP  
(I was told) that we used to go to my grandfather’s and help him out.
- b. (duyduguma göre) sen erkenden kalk-ıyor ve iş-e gid-iyor-0-muş-sun  
(as I heard) you early getup-PROG and work-DAT go-PROG-COP-RP-2PS  
(They say that) you get up early and go to work.

Therefore, Yu and Good’s analysis incorrectly predict (18) and (19) above to be acceptable constructions. In the following, I will try to account for the ungrammaticality of these sentences by focusing on what affixes can be left in the first conjunct. It will be shown that the Aspect Phrase constitutes the only possible word that can stand in isolation on the left side of the conjunct.

### 2.3. Maximum Word is the Minimum Word

The above observations may prompt a question as to what morphological material precedes Aspect markers in Turkish and whether these suffixes can be left in the first

conjunct. Although we already know the answer to this question, I will take two sentences, which will provide us with an ideal case to see most of the possible derivational and inflectional material (which are underlined in the examples below), to the left of Aspect markers:

21. (onlar) çalış-tır-il-a-ma-z-mi-y-di-lar?  
 (they) work-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-**AOR**-QUE-COP-PAST-3P  
 “Couldn’t they be made work?”
22. (onlar) iyi-leş-tir-il-e-me-z-mi-y-di-ler?  
 (they) good-become-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-**AOR**-QUE-COP-PAST-3P  
 “Couldn’t they be cured?”

As we might expect from the generalizations we made above, among the sentences in (23)-(28), where the intended meaning is “Couldn’t they be cured and made work”, only (28) is grammatical.

23. \* **iyi-leş** ve çalış-tır-il-a-ma-z-mi-y-di-lar?  
**good-become** and work-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-**AOR**-QUE-COP-PAST-3P
24. \* **iyi-leş-tir** ve çalış-tır-il-a-ma-z-mi-y-di-lar?  
**good-become-CAUS** and work-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-**AOR**-QUE-COP-PAST-3P
25. \* **iyi-leş-tir-il** ve çalış-tır-il-a-ma-z-mi-y-di-lar?  
**good-become-CAUS-PASS** and work-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-**AOR**-QUE-COP-PAST-3P
26. \* **iyi-leş-tir-il-e** ve çalış-tır-il-a-ma-z-mi-y-di-lar?  
**good-become-CAUS-PASS-POT** and work-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-**AOR**-QUE-COP- PAST-3P
27. \* **iyi-leş-tir-il-e-me** ve çalış-tır-il-a-ma-z-mi-y-di-lar?  
**good-become-CAUS-PASS-POT-NEG** and work-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-**AOR**-QUE- COP- PAST-3P
28. **iyi-leş-tir-il-e-me-z** ve çalış-tır-il-a-ma-z-mi-y-di-lar?  
**good-become-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-**AOR**** and work-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-**AOR**-QUE-COP-PAST-3P

Examples (23)-(27) are ungrammatical since they are not headed by an Aspect marker. (28), on the other hand, fulfills this requirement. That is, the Aorist /-z/, heads the first conjunct and dominates the other suffixes in the first conjunct. This suggests that the first conjunct in a coordinate construction with suspended affixation is, by minimum, an Aspect Phrase.

When we look at those cases where the first conjunct contains any of the suffixes that occur after the Aspect markers, however, we see that those cases also become ungrammatical. These can be seen in sentences (29)-(31).

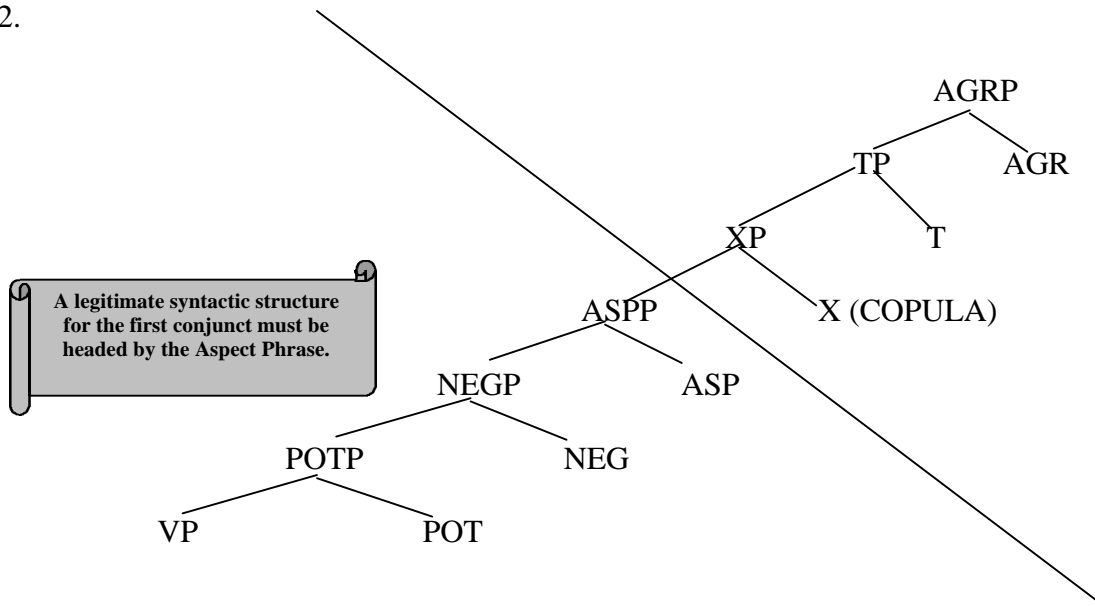
29. \* **iyi-leř-tir-il-e-me-z-mi** ve alis-tir-il-a-ma-z-mi-y-di-lar?  
**good-become-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-AOR-QUE** and work-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG- AOR-QUE-COP-PAST-3P
30. \* **iyi-leř-tir-il-e-me-z-mi-y** ve alis-tir-il-a-ma-z-mi-y-di-lar?  
**good-become-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-AOR-QUE-COP** and work-CAUS-PAS-POT- NEG- AOR-QUE-COP-PAST-3P
31. \***iyi-leř-tir-il-e-me-z-mi-y-di** ve alis-tir-il-a-ma-z-mi-y-di-lar?  
**good-become-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-AOR-QUE-COP-PAST** and work-CAUS-PAS-POT-NEG-AOR-QUE-COP-PAST-3P

The fact that all of the sentences above are ungrammatical when the first conjunct contains any of the affixes that occur to the right of the Aspect marker suggests that the first conjunct not only minimally, but also maximally, corresponds to the Aspect Phrase. It seems that no functional head that is higher or lower than Aspect can head the first conjunct in coordinate constructions with suspended affixation. On these grounds, we can also explain why (18) and (19) above are ungrammatical. This is due to the presence of

the Reported Past Tense marker /-mİŝ/, which projects a Tense Phrase in the leftmost conjunct, and thus violates this maximality condition.

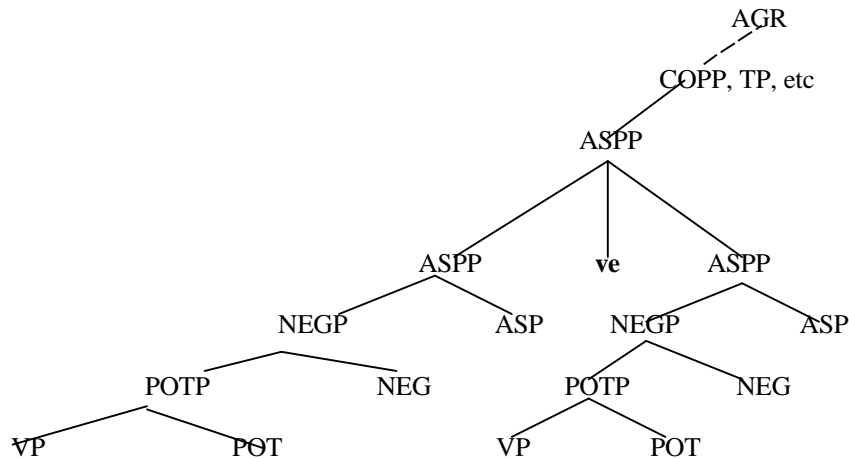
So far, I have claimed that the grammatical as well as ungrammatical instances of suspended affixation can be correctly predicted through an analysis that defines the limits of what can be left behind in left conjuncts. Thus, I have claimed that Aspect markers, which project the Aspect Phrase in the syntactic structure, constitute the *one and only* phrase that can head the left conjunct in the suspended affixation process. Nothing below or beyond a phonologically overt Aspect marker can remain in the first conjunct. The following tree structure provides a syntactic representation for a highly agglutinated verbal predicate in Turkish, and illustrates the legitimate site for suspended affixation:

32.



Accordingly, suspended affixation can simply be viewed as an instance of two (or more) Aspect Phrases conjoined in a coordinate construction. (33) below illustrates the tree structure of a potential verbal coordinate construction with suspended affixation, where two Aspect Phrases are conjoined under higher functional categories:

33.



### 3. Why Aspect Phrase?

So far we have looked at suspended affixation phenomena with regard to what can survive in the left coordinated conjunct. We analyzed the restrictions on this process by looking at both ends of the Aspect Phrase, i.e. functional categories that are lower and higher than the Aspect category in syntactic structure. We haven't yet considered the possibility that the constraints for suspended affixation might be different for those constituents that are higher than the Aspect Phrase than those that are lower. In other words, the ungrammaticality of (23)-(27) might be due to a different reason than that of (30)-(31), all having a coincidental connection with the Aspect Phrase. What we haven't shown is independent evidence with regard to why all the restrictions on verbal

suspended affixation seem to boil down to the Aspect Phrase. What is it about Aspect markers that makes them have this effect in the language? Why is it the Aspect Phrase but, for example, not the Tense Phrase that plays a crucial role in suspended affixation? My answer to these questions will be manifold but speculative.

First, it has been observed that verb forms with Aspect markers act like *participle* forms. For instance, Kornfilt (1996) distinguishes between definite past tense forms from participles in their potential to function as modifiers of Noun Phrases. The facts are straightforward. Simply, verb forms with Aspect markers can modify NPs while those with the Simple Past Tense marker cannot:

(33) *şarkî -yî söyle-yecek kadın*  
song-ACC sing-FUT woman  
“The woman who will sing the song”

(34) \**şarkî-yî söyle-di kadın*  
song-ACC sing-PAST woman  
Intended meaning: “The woman who sang the song”

Expanding on Kornfilt’s account, I suggest that a dichotomy exists not just between participles and definite Past forms but also between participles and other verbal forms. This is illustrated in (35) below where the potential marker -(y)Ebil cannot end a word.

(35) \**şarkî -yî söyle-yebil kadın*  
song-ACC sing-POT woman  
Intended meaning: “The woman who is able to sing the song”

Parallel to the participle-like behavior of the Aspect Phrase, I will provide some Turkish composite verb constructions in the following. They are analogous to Verb-Auxiliary

combinations and provide another piece of evidence for the behavior of verb forms with Aspect markers as syntactic words. It is known that certain verbal constructions can be followed by the Auxiliary verb form *ol-* (be). Interestingly, the first verb, the one which precedes *ol-* has to end with an Aspect marker, as can be seen in (36) and (37). However, when the first part of the composite verb ends with a genuine verbal form such as the Past Tense marker as in (38), or with the Potential marker as in (39), the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

(36) ora-ya            ugra-yacak    ol-du-k  
       there-DAT    stop-by-FUT   be-PAST-1P  
 “We happened to stop by there”/ “It happened to be the case that we would stop by there”

(37) ora-ya            ugra-mış            ol-du-k  
       there-DAT    stop-by-PERF    be-PAST-1P  
 “It happened to be the case that we had stopped by there”

(38) \* ora-ya            ugra-di            ol-du-k  
       there-DAT    stop-by-PAST    be-PAST-1P  
 “It happened to be the case that we stopped by there”

(39) \* ora-ya            ugra-yabil            ol-du-k  
       there-DAT    stop-by-POT            be-PAST-1P  
 “It happened to be the case that we were able to stop by there”

It seems that the filled slot for Aspect markers in the internal structure of verbal predicates enables verb roots to be syntactically independent words while other verbal inflectional affixes fail to do that<sup>vi</sup>.

Finally, the prosodic behavior of Aspect markers is worth mentioning here. It seems that in complex verb forms such as *gel-ecék-0-ti-ler* (= come-FUT-COP-Past-3P) “they were going to come”, the primary stress of the word falls on the Aspect marker *-(y)EcEG*.

Since the right phonological word boundary in Turkish typically coincide with stressed syllables (cf. Kabak and Vogel (in progress)), the fact that verbs that are headed by Aspect

markers can function as independent syntactic words is prosodically confounded. This is even legitimate in the presence of a preceding Negative marker, which is claimed to shift primary stress on to the preceding syllable (e.g. *gél-me-yecek-0-ti-ler* (=come-NEG-FUT-COP-Past-3P “They were not going to come). In this case, the word headed by the Aspect marker will still have primary word stress and thus be able to survive independently.

#### **4. Conclusions**

The hypothesis that Aspect markers are the only verbal functional heads that can lead a conjunct seem to provide stringent coverage of the issue at hand such that it predicts all grammatical as well as ungrammatical instances of suspended affixation. I have argued that Aspect markers provide the adequate condition for a verbal form to become an independent syntactic word. It could be the case that coordination only involves syntactic words and thus the coordination of two (or more) Aspect Phrases might be viewed as analogous to ordinary types of coordination such as “pen and pencil”. On independent grounds, the fact that those verbal constructions that are headed by Aspect markers can function as syntactic words in Turkish seems to support this view. Further research focusing on other agglutinating languages is needed to fully understand the limits of suffixation and under what conditions extended inflection can create independent syntactic words.

## References

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## Appendices

### I. Pronominal subject suffixes and the Copular Clitic:

z-paradigm			
AORIST		FUTURE	
1S	Yap-ar-0- <b>im</b> “do-AOR-COP-1S”	1S	Yap-acag-0- <b>im</b> “do-FUT-COP-1S”
2S	Yap-ar-0- <b>sin</b> “do-AOR-COP-2S”	2S	Yap-acak-0- <b>sin</b> “do-FUT-COP-2S”
3S	Yap-ar-0- <b>0</b> “do-AOR-COP-3S”	3S	Yap-acak-0- <b>0</b> “do-FUT-COP-3S”
1P	Yap-ar-0- <b>iz</b> “do-AOR-COP-1P”	1P	Yap-acag-0- <b>iz</b> “do-FUT-COP-1P”
2P	Yap-ar-0- <b>siniz</b> “do-AOR-COP-2P”	2P	Yap-acak-0- <b>siniz</b> “do-FUT-COP-2P”
3P	Yap-ar-0- <b>lar</b> “do-AOR-COP-3P”	3P	Yap-acak-0- <b>lar</b> “do-FUT-COP-3P”

Table 1: The z-paradigm

z-paradigm	
Avukat-0- <b>im</b>	“lawyer-COP-1S”
Avukat-0- <b>sin</b>	“lawyer-COP-2S”
Avukat-0- <b>0</b>	“lawyer-COP-3S”
Avukat-0- <b>iz</b>	“lawyer-COP-1P”
Avukat-0- <b>siniz</b>	“lawyer-COP-2P”
Avukat-0- <b>lar</b>	“lawyer-COP-3P”

Table 2: The z-paradigm and non-verbal predicates

k-paradigm			
DEFINITE PAST		CONDITIONAL	
1S	Yap-ti- <b>m</b> “do-PAST-1S”	1S	Yap-sa- <b>m</b> “do-COND-1S”
2S	Yap-ti- <b>n</b> “do-PAST-2S”	2S	Yap-sa- <b>n</b> “do-COND-2S”
3S	Yap-ti- <b>0</b> “do-PAST-3S”	3S	Yap-sa- <b>0</b> “do-COND-3S”
1P	Yap-ti- <b>k</b> “do-PAST-1P”	1P	Yap-sa- <b>k</b> “do-COND-1P”
2P	Yap-ti- <b>niz</b> “do-PAST-2P”	2P	Yap-sa- <b>niz</b> “do-COND-2P”
3P	Yap-ti- <b>lar</b> “do-PAST-3P”	3P	Yap-sa- <b>lar</b> “do-COND-3P”

Table 3: The k-paradigm

## Abbreviations:

1P:	1 <sup>st</sup> person plural agreement
1S:	1 <sup>st</sup> person singular agreement
ACC:	Accusative
AGR:	Agreement
AOR:	Aorist
COND:	Conditional
COP:	Copula
DAT:	Dative
EV:	Evidential
FUT:	Future
NEG:	Negative
PAST:	Past
PAS:	Passive
POT:	Potential
PROG:	Progressive
QUE:	Question
RP:	Reported Past

## Notes:

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<sup>i</sup> The verb forms with definite Past /-DI/ and Conditional /-sA/ morphemes in Turkish are known to take somewhat different pronominal subject agreement suffixes than the other finite verb forms. For the purposes of this paper, I will assume the analysis developed in Kornfilt (1996), where the differing morphosyntactic behavior of the agreement paradigms are connected to the presence of the Copula in Turkish. Accordingly, definite Past Tense and Conditional forms, which take the agreement markers from the “k-paradigm”, are said to be “genuine” verb forms. On the contrary, other verbal forms, such as participle constructions as well as non-verbal predicates take the “z-paradigm” agreement suffixes, and are considered to be the complements of the Copular Clitic. That is, Turkish participles and non-verbal predicates are only inflected (e.g. by tense and agreement markers) via the intermediary of a copula (See Table 1 and 2 in Appendices), as opposed to genuine verbal forms, which are directly inflected (Table 3). It should be noted that the Copula in the present tense is null, otherwise /y/ in the clitic forms unless it occurs inter-consonantly

<sup>ii</sup> According to Kornfilt (1996) participle forms are formed by the morphemes, such as -(y)EcEG (Future), -mİŝ (Evidential), -Ir/-Er (Aorist), which are then followed by the inflected forms of the Copula.

<sup>iii</sup> The term “Aspect”, in this paper, also covers the Debitive (Necessitative) /-mAll/, which appear occupy the same morphological slot with the other Aspect markers. Like Aspect markers, this morpheme can be followed by the definite and the Reported Past (Past Perfective) morphemes, and take the agreement suffixes from the “z-paradigm”.

<sup>iv</sup> It should be noted that (14b) and (16a) would still be grammatical despite the presence of /-z/. This is merely due to the fact that in the rightmost conjunct, where we see all inflections attached to the root, the presence of /-z/ would clash with the 1<sup>st</sup> person agreement marker. That is, since the occurrence of /-z/ is morphologically governed by the type of the agreement marker, the insertion of this variant of the Aorist would violate some sort of an allomorphy selection requirement.

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<sup>v</sup> I assume that the Reported Past Tense marker /-mIš/ in these examples occupies the morpheme slot where the definite Past Tense and the Conditional marker occur, therefore /mIš/ is not an Aspect marker when it functions as the Past Perfective marker. This is evident in the fact that there is no morphological restriction as the co-occurrence of this morpheme with the Aspect markers, including the Evidential Aspect marker /mIš/, (e.g. *gel-miš-0-miš* (=come-EV-COP-RP), *gel-ir-0-miš* (=come-AOR-COP-RP)). In addition, the same morpheme cannot co-occur with the Past Tense morpheme and the Conditional marker (e.g. *\*gel-miš-0-miš-ti* (=come-EV-COP-RP-Past), *gel-ir-0-miš-se* (=come-AOR-COP-RP-COND)), which suggests that the Reported Past Tense marker occupies the same morphological slot as the definite Past Tense and the Conditional marker.

<sup>vi</sup> I am excluding grammatical category changing suffixes here. It should be noted that the subject participle suffix /-(y)An/ (e.g. *gel-en* =come-REL), which is used in adjective (relative) clauses also behaves as Aspect markers in that it can function as NP modifiers. It should be noted that this suffix, in fact, occupies the same slot in which the Aspect markers occur. Instances where this marker precedes or follows an Aspect marker are ungrammatical (e.g. *\*gel-ir-en* (=come-AOR-REL), *\*gel-en-ir* (=come-REL-AOR)).