

Stress, Suffixes and Domain Boundary in Turkish

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1. Aim: In the present study, I aim to discuss the relationships between phonology and morphology in terms of Turkish suffixes following Kaye (1995). Specifically, I will focus on the implications of “exceptional stress” on domain boundary in Turkish. Following Newell (2008), who argues that “exceptional” stress is not really exceptional but *phasal* (vP, CP) and cyclic, I claim that phonology sees syntactic phases and the differences in phases correspond to differences in bracketing within Government Phonology (Kaye, 1995). This creates no problem for vowel harmony process.

2. Theoretical Background: Kaye (1995) points out that some morphological structure can have effects on phonology. He refers to two types of morphology: (i) analytic morphology – visible to phonology and (ii) synthetic (or non-analytic) morphology – invisible to phonology. Compounds (*blackboard*) and regular past tense morphology (*seeped*) are instances of analytic morphology. In this case, phonology knows that both words are parsable: [[black][board]] and [[seep]ed]. The irregular past tense morphology (*kept*), however, is an example of non-analytic morphology. In this case, *kept* is similar to a simplex word *adapt* or *apt*. It is not parsable.

3. Problem(s): The regular stress falls on the ultimate vowel of the word in Turkish even if a suffix is attached.

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|-----|--------------|----------|------------|----------|
| (1) | a. kurt-l'ar | ‘wolves’ | b. ev-l'er | ‘houses’ |
| | wolf-Pl | | house-Pl | |

But, in some cases, stress falls on the penult.

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|-----|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (2) | a. k'urt-lar | ‘(These are) wolves.’ | b. 'ev-ler | ‘(These are) houses.’ |
| | wolf-Agr. 3 rd Pl. | | house-Agr. 3 rd Pl. | |

⇒ Does stress imply any domain boundary?

⇒ If yes,

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|-----|----------------|----------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (4) | a. [kurt-l'ar] | ‘wolves’ | b. [[k'urt]-lar] | ‘(These are) wolves.’ |
| | wolf-Pl | | wolf-Agr. 3 rd Pl. | |
| (5) | a. [ev-l'er] | ‘houses’ | b. [['ev]-ler] | ‘(These are) houses.’ |
| | house-Pl | | house-Agr. 3 rd Pl. | |

⇒ Although the plural marker in (4a-5a) has the same phonological shape with 3rd plural marker, stress assignment is different. Why are *k'urt-lar* in (4b) and *'ev-ler* in (5b) initially stressed? What is common among these structures?

⇒ COPULA ⇒ Ø (or y)

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|-----|--------------|----------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (6) | a. kurt-l'ar | ‘wolves’ | b. k'urt-Ø-lar | ‘(These are) wolves.’ |
| | wolf-Pl | | wolf-COP-Agr. 3 rd Pl. | |
| | c. ev-l'er | ‘houses’ | d. 'ev-Ø-ler | ‘(These are) houses.’ |
| | house-Pl | | house-COP-Agr. 3 rd Pl. | |

⇒ The insertion of the copula is a **syntactic/morphological requirement** (Kornfilt, 1996; Kahnemuyipour and Kornfilt, 2006; Göksel, 2001; Kelepir, 2001, 2003; Enç, 2004; Sağ, 2013).

⇒ Copula creates **two separate (phonological) domains** (Kornfilt, 1996; Kahnemuyipour and Kornfilt, 2006; Göksel, 2001)

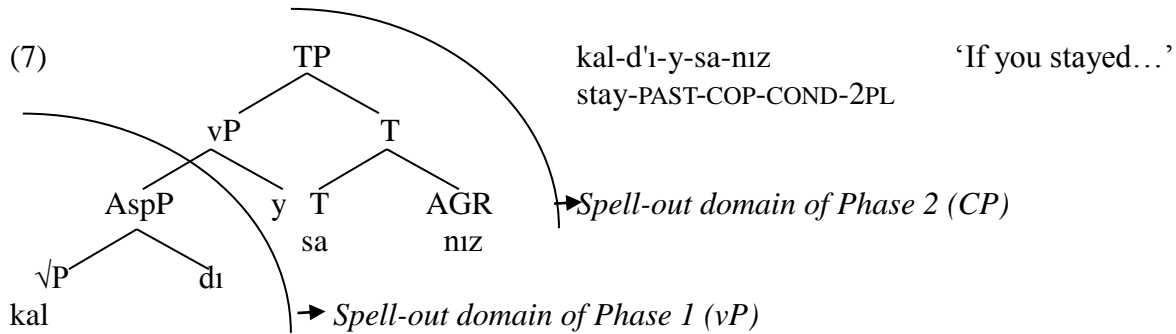
⇒ **How does copula create two different domains in a single “word”?**

⇒ **How does the existence of a copula affect stress?**

Göksel (2001) states that copula creates two phonological domains. Göksel (2001) notes that there are two basic criteria for identifying a phonological domain in Turkish: **stress and vowel harmony (VH)**. Kornfilt (1996) argues that there is a null copula which marks the beginning of a new domain. Null copula assigns stress to its left. **Stress is assigned to small word (i.e. *ev* in (5b)), VH applies to word (*evler* in (5b))**.

⇒ **If there are two different domains in the existence of the copula, how come VH applies across the two domains? (Contrast compounds like [[demir][kapı]]).**

4. Analysis: Newell (2008) puts forward “Phase Idea” and she argues that Turkish “exceptional” stress is not really exceptional. It is *phasal* (vP, CP) and cyclic.



Adapted from Newell (2008:83) Example (45b)

⇒ *kaldı(y)* and *sanız* are in different phases. According to Newell (2008:212), main stress is assigned in the innermost (vP in (7)) phase (Cinque’s 1993 Null Theory of Stress Assignment; Inkelas & Orgun’s 2003 Innermost rule; “no look ahead” requirement of Bobaljik, 2000).

Although phasal analysis explains different domains, there is no principled explanation for the difference between the full copula *i-* and its reduced form(s) *-y/Ø* (*kal-dı i-se-niz* vs. *kal-dı-y-sa-nız*) in terms of VH by Newell (2008). The full copula *i-* blocks vowel harmony while the reduced forms *-y/Ø* does not.

5. My Proposal ⇔ Phase Analysis+ Government Phonology

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|-----|--------------------------|--|--|
| (8) | a. [araba-sın-d'a] | b. [[araba-s'ı]-y-dı] | c. [[araba-s'ı][i-di]] |
| | car-POSS.3SG-LOC | car-POSS.3SG-COP-PAST | car-POSS.3SG COP-PAST |
| - | Single phase | - Two phases | - Two phases |
| - | Non-analytic morph. | - Dependent analytic morph. | - Independ. analytic morph. |
| - | No morphology, no syntax | - Phonology sees morpho-syntax (phase) | - Phonology sees morpho-syntax (phase) |
| - | [AB] | - [[A]B] | - [[A][B]] |
| | | - VH | - No VH across the domain |

☑ Three different structures (8a-c) ⇒ Three different ways of bracketing [AB], [[A]B], [[A][B]]

⇒ **My Proposal** ⇒ Phonology sees syntactic phases in (8b-c). The differences in phases and vowel harmony correspond to differences in bracketing.

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