

Word minimality and suspended affixation

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1. Introduction¹

The overall goal of this paper is to investigate the notion of a Morphological Word in the context of Suspended Affixation (SA) in Turkish. SA refers to a situation in coordinated constructions when affixes on the final conjunct have scope over all the non-final conjuncts. I base my research on the findings in Kabak (2007). He argues that a non-final conjunct must be a Morphological Word: word that can occur in isolation. In order to explore the notion of a Morphological Word, I study two contexts: (i) Noun Coordination with the suspension of Poss and Case; (ii) Noun Compound coordination with the suspension of Pl and Poss.

First, I first present the background information on SA. I summarize what has already been done on SA and I point out at the area where the research question of this study lays. Second, I present the design of two acceptability judgment studies on SA in NC coordination and discuss the results of these studies. I start with Noun coordination and conclude that there is a hierarchy of acceptability judgments. Then, I present NC coordination. First, I give some background on Noun Compounds in Turkish which is necessary to understand the problematic of compounds. I show that, at first sight, the hierarchy of acceptability judgments for Noun coordination does not account for Noun Compound coordination data. Then, I demonstrate how Noun Compound coordination data can also be accounted with this hierarchy. I analyze the notion of a Minimal Morphological Word specifically for Noun Compounds.

2. Background on Suspended Affixation

Suspended Affixation (later SA) is often analyzed as a situation in coordinated constructions when two (or more) members (conjuncts) can potentially be inflected (1a), but only the rightmost is (1b).

(1a) *kedi-ler* *ve* *köpek-ler*
cat-PL and dog-PL
'cats and dogs'

(1b) *kedi* *ve* *köpek-ler*
cat and dog-PL
'cats and dogs'

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The constructions in (1) have the same interpretation and are both judged as grammatical. From previous studies on SA (Orgun 1996, Erdal 2007, Kabak 2007, Hankamer 2008) it is already known that SA occurs only in coordinate constructions and the suspended suffixes always appear on the last (final) conjunct, as shown in (1b).

Previous analyses of SA on Verbal, Nominal and Adjectival coordination are based on the assumption that if affix suspension is available for a given suffix (only inflectional, not derivational suffixes are suspendable), then it should unexceptionally apply to any given coordinable group that it attaches to. For example, the suffixes in (2) are suspendable suffixes and their suspension does not depend on the nature of the preceding suffixes.

- (2) [[[[*büyük sokak-lar* *ve geniş bulvar-lar*]-*da*]-*ki*]-*ler*]-*de*
 big street-PL and wide boulevard-PL-LOC-PL-LOC
 ‘in the ones on big streets and wide boulevards’

The suspension of each of these affixes in (2) is optional: each suffix can be suspended regardless of which other affix(es) it is preceded or followed by, but as the data from Orgun (1996), Erdal (2007), Kabak (2007), Hankamer (2008) suggest, once a given suffix is suspended, all the following suffixes have to be suspended as well. If we consider all the possible SA scenarios in the construction in (2), we will have six possible constructions, with the suspension of zero, one, two, three, four or five suffixes. Analyses of SA assume that all these constructions are grammatical, even though not all of them are equally preferred by Turkish speakers. In this study I show that difference in speakers' acceptability judgments are not arbitrary and that there is an acceptability judgment hierarchy. I argue the importance of the notion of a Minimal Morphological Word for Noun and Noun Compound coordination.

The next section presents the design and the goal of the conducted acceptability judgment studies and is followed by a section presenting the results and the hierarchy of judgments.

3. Acceptability judgment studies

3.1. Goal and design of the studies

The goal of this study is to investigate to phenomenon of SA by looking at Poss and Case in the context of Noun coordination as well as Pl and Poss in the context of Noun Compound coordination. The objective of the studies was to find out whether there is any systematicity in speakers' preference for acceptability judgments of these constructions with or without SA.

The results of an online pilot study as well observations from informal conversations with Turkish native speakers had initially suggested that there is gradience in speakers' grammaticality judgments of SA in Noun Compound coordination. Speakers seemed to agree on the scenario "no SA" being grammatical, but they did not agree on the (un)grammaticality of SA in Noun Compound coordination. In order to test the (un)grammaticality of the constructions with SA, I conducted 2 acceptability judgment studies in July-

August 2010 in Turkey. The two main goals of this study were to test acceptability judgments of suspension of Pl, Poss, Case and the *-(s)I* marker in the context of NC coordination and to find out if there is any implicational hierarchy in speakers' acceptability judgments where one type of SA is preferred over the other.

These studies had 24 (Study I) and 32 (Study II) participants (18–60 years old) from different regions of Turkey (Ankara, Antalya, Istanbul, Balıkesir).

Speakers were given a context. This context represented a situation in which they could possibly hear these sentences from another person who is also a Turkish native speaker. The context was necessary to avoid ambiguity of the coordination constructions and limit the interpretation of the conjuncts. For example, a coordination of an NC and a Noun (schematically presented as [NN] & [N]) could be interpreted as a coordination of NC heads ([N [N & N]]). In order to avoid these complications, a situation limiting the interpretation of the construction was given to the participants. Participants were asked to rate each sentence with SA: 1 – the most natural; 2 – less natural; 3 – the least natural; X – not natural at all. An example of a Multiple Choice question is shown in (3).

(3) Example of a Multiple Choice question

Arzu Seda'nın evindeki masayı ve mutfak sandalyelerini çok sevdi ve nereden aldığını sordu. Seda Arzu'ya cevap veriyor:	Cevabınız
- Masamızı ve mutfak sandalyelerimizi IKEA mağazasından aldık.	
- Masa ve mutfak sandalyelerimizi IKEA mağazasından aldık.	
- Masamız ve mutfak sandalyelerimizi IKEA mağazasından aldık.	

These studies included 20 types of constructions (16 in Study I and 4 in Study 2). Each of these constructions represented a context of coordination of an NC with another NC or a Noun, and the goal was to test SA for one or two particular suffixes in a given type of coordination. Although the main goal of this study was to find out the grammaticality of SA in Noun Compound coordination, the questionnaires also included sentences where a non-final conjunct was a Noun and not a Noun Compound. Each type of construction was tested with 10 (in some cases, 5) sentences. In what follows I present the results of these Studies arguing for the existence of a preference hierarchy in speakers' acceptability judgments.

3.2. Results of acceptability judgments and discussion

Let us first consider the coordination of a Noun with a Noun Compound in singular. This context and all the theoretical possibilities are presented in (4) and (5).

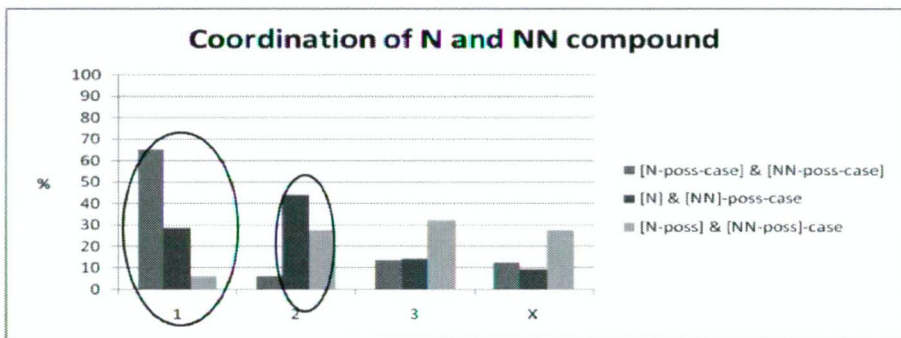
(4) Context 1

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------|----|----------------|----------------------|
| a. | [N]-poss-case | ve | [NN]-poss-case | (no SA) |
| b. | [N]-poss | ve | [NN]-poss-case | (1 affix suspension) |
| c. | [N] | ve | [NN]-poss-case | (total SA) |

- (5) a. *havuz-unuz-u ve bahçe akvaryum-unuz-u* (no SA)
 b. *havuz-unuz ve bahçe akvaryum-unuz-u* (1 affix suspension)
 c. *havuz ve bahçe akvaryum-unuz-u* (total SA)

Graph 1 shows the acceptability judgments for sentences of the Context 1 shown in (4). Graph 1 suggests that “No SA” is the most preferred construction, whereas the scenario of one affix suspension (only Case is suspended) is the least preferable. Total SA stands for a situation where SA leaves the non-final conjunct with no suffixes (as shown in 4 and 5) and as it can be seen from Graph 1, it is the second preferred construction.

Graph 1. Acceptability judgments for SA in N and NN coordination (Context 1)

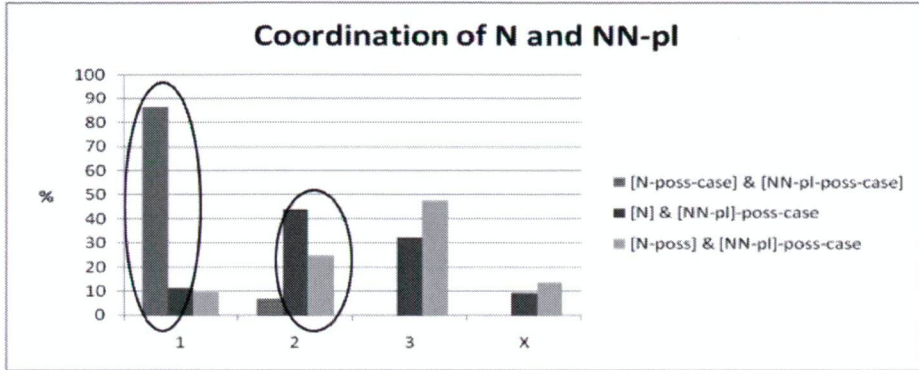


Consider now the judgments for the same type of coordination (Noun and Noun Compound) where the final conjunct is in Plural, but the Pl suffix does not have scope over the first Noun.

- (6) Context 2
 a. [N]-poss-case ve [NN-pl]-poss-case (no SA)
 b. [N]-poss ve [NN-pl]-poss-case (1 affix suspension)
 c. [N] ve [NN-pl]-poss-case (total SA)
- (7)
 a. [masa]-miz-ı ve [mutfak sandalye-ler]-imiz-i (no SA)
 b. [masa]-miz ve [mutfak sandalye-ler]-imiz-i (1 affix suspension)
 c. [masa] ve [mutfak sandalye-ler]-imiz-i (total SA)

The results show the same pattern: “No SA” is the most preferred, whereas 1 affix suspension is the least preferred. Total SA is the second preferred option in Context 2, as well as in Context 1.

Graph 2. Acceptability Judgments for SA in N and NN Coordination (Context 2)

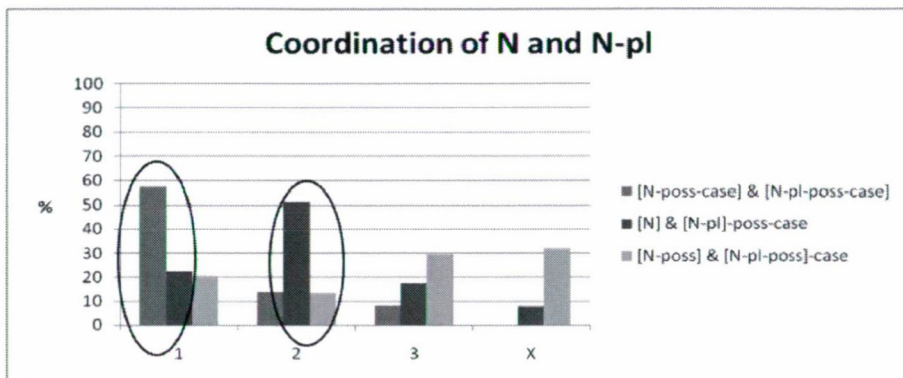


Note that for this type of construction (where the second conjunct is in Pl, but Pl does not have scope over the first conjunct) participants were given a context in which it was made clear that there is only one table (*masa*) and not many. The reason why the context was needed in this type of constructions is to avoid any ambiguity: in the absence of context, Pl on the second conjunct could be interpreted as Pl taking scope over the first conjunct as well. In order to test whether the presence of an affix on the second conjunct could have impact on the grammaticality of Total SA, it was important to block the interpretation where Pl has scope over the non-final conjunct. Indeed, the fact that Total SA is not as acceptable as in Context 1 (compare judgments for the category “1” in Graph 1 and Graph 2) suggests that the presence of not scoping Pl on the second conjunct somehow skews the acceptability of Total SA towards ungrammaticality. However, even though Total SA is less acceptable in Context 2 than in Context 1, it is not the least preferred construction in this set of choices. The overall results in acceptability judgments regarding preference order are the same: 1 affix suspension is the least preferred option.

This also seems to be the case where the second conjunct is a Noun, and not a Noun Compound. Graph 3 demonstrates the same preference order regarding No SA, Total SA and 1 affix suspension.

- (8) Context 3
- | | | | | |
|----|---------------|----|------------------|----------------------|
| a. | [N]-poss-case | ve | [N-pl]-poss-case | (no SA) |
| b. | [N]-poss | ve | [N-pl]-poss-case | (1 affix suspension) |
| c. | [N] | ve | [N-pl]-poss-case | (total SA) |
- (9)
- | | | | | |
|----|----------------|----|-------------------|----------------------|
| a. | [köpeğ]-imiz-i | ve | [kedi-ler]-imiz-i | (no SA) |
| b. | [köpeğ]-imiz | ve | [kedi-ler]-imiz-i | (1 affix suspension) |
| c. | [köpek] | ve | [kedi-ler]-imiz-i | (total SA) |

Graph 3. Acceptability Judgments for SA in N and N Coordination (Context 3)



Based on the results of these contexts, I propose the following hierarchy for acceptability judgments on SA:

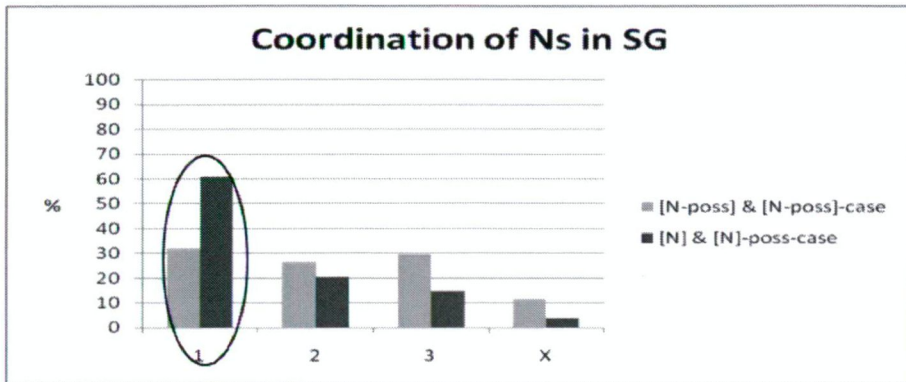
- (10) Hierarchy of Acceptability Judgments in SA
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|--------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| most acceptable | | less acceptable | | least acceptable |
| Maximal Md | > | Minimal MWd | > | Partially Inflected MWd |
| (No SA) | | (all suffixes suspended) | | (1 suffix suspended) |
- MWd* used for “Morphological Word”

This hierarchy is based on the notion of a Morphological Word proposed by Kabak (2007). According to Kabak, the legitimacy of SA is due to the fact that the non-final conjunct has to be a Morphological Word (later, as *MWd*) which stands for a word that can occur in isolation. A case with no SA represents a case where the non-final conjunct constitutes a complete morphological structure with no suspended suffixes and corresponds to a Maximal *MWd*. Total SA is a situation where the non-final conjunct is left out with no suffixes and represents a Minimal *MWd*. Finally, the case with 1 affix suspension can be considered as Partially Inflected *MWd* which stands for an incomplete morphological structure that comprises affixes that are available for suspension.

As formulated in (10), the preference hierarchy for SA acceptability judgments makes us expect the same preference order even when only two choices are given to the participants. This was indeed the case for Context 4 shown in (11). The case with No SA (Max*MWd*) was not provided to the participants, and only Total SA and 1 affix suspension were presented.

- (11) Context 1
- | | | | | |
|----|----------|----|---------------|----------------------|
| a. | [N]-poss | ve | [N]-poss-case | (1 affix suspension) |
| b. | [N] | ve | [N]-poss-case | (total SA) |
- (12)
- | | | | | |
|----|-------------|----|------------------|----------------------|
| a. | [havlu]-nuz | ve | [şampuan]-ınız-ı | (1 affix suspension) |
| b. | [havlu] | ve | [şampuan]-ınız-ı | (total SA) |

Graph 4. Acceptability Judgments for SA in N and N Coordination (Context 4)



In both conditions, Case is suspended. As expected from the hierarchy in (10) Total SA is more preferable than 1 affix suspension.

In the next section I consider how this hierarchy explains SA for NCs in Turkish. First, I start with a short background on the topic of NCs in Turkish and explain the possible types of SA for NC coordination. I show that at first sight the hierarchy seems to be unable to explain the existence of different types of SA for NC coordination. Then, I present the grammaticality judgments of these types of SA for NC coordination and reevaluate the hierarchy proposed in (10) according to the NC coordination data.

4. Noun Compounds and SA

Turkish Noun Compounds (NCs) are known to be a puzzle for linguistics.² Unlike English NCs, Turkish NCs have an additional morpheme *-(s)I* that is marked on the head of the compound, as it is shown in (13):

- (13) *araba sür-ücü-sü*
 car drive-NOM-(s)I
 'car driver'

In a possessive construction, the *-(s)I* morpheme is in complementary distribution with a possessive marker as shown in (14a). The example (14b) demonstrates that both *-(s)I* and Poss cannot occur on a word.

² The status of the *-(s)I* morpheme has been the focus of many debates in literature that can be divided into two main streams: (i) *-(s)I* is a possessive 3sg marker (Underhill 1976, Spencer 1991, Yüксеker 1994, 1998); (ii) *-(s)I* is not a possessive marker and it is similar to a linking element rather than a possessive suffix (Swift 1963, van Schaaijk 2002, Göksel & Haznedar 2007, Göksel 2009, Kharytonava 2009).

- (14) a. *(biz-im)* *Internet* *bağlan-ti-mız*
 1PL-GEN Internet connect-NOM-POSS1PL
 ‘our Internet connection’
- b. **(biz-im)* *Internet* *bağlan-ti-sı-mız*
 1PL-GEN Internet connect-NOM-(S)I -POSS.1PL
 ‘our Internet connection’

When two NCs are coordinated in a Possessive Construction, three scenarios are potentially possible: No SA (in 5a), Partial SA (in 5b) and Total SA (in 5c).

- (15) a. [N N-POSS] *ve* [N N-POSS] No SA
 b. [N N-(s)I] *ve* [N N-POSS] Partial SA
 c. [N N___] *ve* [N N-POSS] Total SA

In (15a) the possessive suffix is present on both conjunct. In Total SA the possessive suffix is present only on the final conjunct but has scope over the first compound as well. In Partial SA the possessive suffix is present on the second conjunct, while the first conjunct has the *-(s)I* morpheme.

Partial SA represents a puzzle for analyses of SA: it is not deletion or delayed attachment of the suffix Poss.³ Along with the case with No SA, Total SA seems to represent the other best possibility for SA.

Consider now the results of these studies⁴ that are presented in Table 1. They show that Partial SA is overwhelmingly preferred, and Total SA is much less preferred. Due to the acceptability judgments lying mostly in the categories “3” and “X”, Total SA is considered to be ungrammatical.

Table 1. Grammaticality Judgments for SA Scenarios in NC Coordination (SG)

	Coordination of NCs	
No SA	[N N-POSS] <i>ve</i>	[N N-POSS]
Partial SA	[N N-(s)I] <i>ve</i>	[N N-POSS]
Total SA	*[N N___] <i>ve</i>	[N N-POSS]

Table 2 presents the results of NC coordination in Pl where both conjuncts are in Pl and demonstrates the same conclusion: Total SA (I and II) are ungrammatical.

3 In Kharytonava (2010) I show the existence and differences in two current approaches on SA. The two approaches differ in the order of morphosyntactic operations (coordination preceding/following affixation). One of the approaches involves deletion.

4 Due to space constraints, graphs are not represented here. For more discussion see Kharytonava (2011).

Table 2. Grammaticality Judgments for SA Scenarios in NC Coordination (Pl)

	Coordination of NCs
No SA	[N N-PL-POSS] ve [NN- PL-POSS]
Partial SA	[N N-PL-(s)I] ve [N N-PL-POSS]
Total SA I	*[N N-PL- _] ve [N N-PL-POSS]
Total SA II	*[N N- _] ve [N N-PL-POSS]

(16) Coordination of NCs (SG)

- a. [[*diş fırça-sı*] ve [*yüz havlu*]-nuz] (partial SA)
tooth brush-(s)I and face towel-POSS.2PL
'your toothbrush and (your) face towel'
- b. *[[*diş fırça*] ve [*yüz havlu*]-nuz] (total SA)
tooth brush and face towel-POSS.2PL
'your toothbrush and (your) face towel'

Coordination of NCs (PL)

- c. [[*dans kurs-lar-ı*] ve [*masaj terapi-ler*]-iniz] (partial SA)
dance course-PL-(s)I and massage therapy-PL-POSS.2PL
'your dance courses and (your) massage therapies'
- d. *[[*yoga ders-ler*] ve [*yürüyüş seans-lar*]-ımız] (total SA I)
yoga lesson-PL and walk session-PL-POSS.1PL
'our yoga lessons and (our) jogging sessions'
- e. *[[*yoga ders*] ve [*yürüyüş seans*]-lar-ımız] (total SA II)
yoga lesson and walk session-PL-POSS.1PL
'our yoga lessons and (our) jogging sessions'

At first sight, the hierarchy in (10) does not seem to have any explanation for the grammaticality judgments on Partial SA and Total SA in NC coordination presented in Table 1 and Table 2. First of all, Partial SA is problematic to classify: the possessive suffix is absent, but the non-final conjunct is still not bare (it is marked with the *-(s)I* morpheme). Second, Total SA is expected to be more acceptable than Partial SA: the non-final conjunct in Total SA is expected to constitute a MinMWd whereas the case of Partial SA could be considered as 1 affix suspension. However, a closer look at the *-(s)I* morpheme suggests that *-(s)I* is not a suspendable morpheme and a NC without *-(s)I* does not constitute a morphological word as shown in (17): a NC without *-(s)I* is ungrammatical.

- (17) a. **araba sür-ücü* b. *araba sür-ücü-sü*
car drive-NOM car drive-NOM-(s)I
'car driver' 'car driver'

This is also the case for a NC in Pl. Since the Pl marker always precedes *-(s)I*, a NC with a Pl marker only (Total SA I) is not grammatical, because it lacks the *-(s)I* morpheme:

- (18) a. **araba sür-ücü-ler* b. *araba sür-ücü-ler-i*
 car drive-NOM-PL car drive-nom-PL-(s)I
 ‘car drivers’ ‘car drivers’

Therefore, we conclude that a Minimal Morphological Word for a NC in Turkish includes the morpheme *-(s)I*. The following description needs to be added to the notion of a MinMWd: a MinMWd in SA is a bare conjunct or a conjunct with the minimum of affixes that allows the word to occur in isolation. Suspending suffixes from a MinMWd results in a formation of a word that cannot occur in isolation.

Based on the notion of a MinMWd for NCs it is clear now that the hierarchy in (10) predicts the acceptability of Partial SA, because the non-final conjuncts in this type of SA constitute MinMWds.

Consider now Total SA. This type of SA from this hierarchy is completely ruled out from the options in this hierarchy and this is due to the fact that [NN] is not a MWd at all. Kharytonava (PhD thesis in preparation) demonstrates that unlike Total SA in Noun coordination Total SA in NC coordination is never judged as acceptable. Therefore, it is not even expected to appear in an acceptability judgment hierarchy in (10).

Let us now analyze Partial and Total SA in the context of coordination of NC heads. Table 3 and Table 4 present the grammaticality results for this type of coordination.

Table 3. Grammaticality Judgments for SA Scenarios in NC Coordination (SG)

	Coordination of NC heads
No SA	N [N-POSS ve N-POSS]
Partial SA	N [N-(s)I ve N-POSS]
Total SA	*N [N__ ve N-POSS]

Table 4. Grammaticality Judgments for SA Scenarios in NC Coordination (PL)

	Coordination of NC heads
No SA	N [N-PL-POSS ve N-PL-POSS]
Partial SA	N [N-PL-(s)I ve N-PL-POSS]
Total SA I	*N [N-PL-__ ve N-PL-POSS]
Total SA II	*N [N-__ ve N-PL-POSS]

- (19) Coordination of NCs (SG)
 a. [açılış [tören-i ve konser]-iniz] (partial SA)
 ‘opening ceremony-(s)I and concert-POSS.2PL’
 ‘your opening ceremony and (your opening) concert’
- Coordination of NCs (PL)
 b. [*bira* [şişe-ler-i ve kutu-lar]-ınız] (partial SA)
 beer bottle-PL-(s)I and box-PL-POSS.2PL
 ‘your beer bottles and (your beer) boxes’

As was the case for Partial SA and Total SA in NC coordination, the hierarchy in (10) does not seem to explain the (un)grammaticality of the constructions in NC head coordination. However, if we compare the Table 1 with Table 3 and Table 2 with Table 4, we see that the results are exactly the same: Partial SA is always grammatical and Total SA is ungrammatical. This suggests that the context of coordination of NC heads is in fact the context of coordination of NCs. The non-final conjunct is a MinMwD in Partial SA scenario and it is not in Total SA scenario. Therefore, the constructions in Table 3 and Table 4 represent the same bracketing as the constructions in Table 1 and Table 2 (respectively) with one exception: the non-head of the second conjunct is not pronounced.⁵

5. Summary and conclusions

The acceptability judgments on SA in the context of Noun and Noun Compound coordination show that there is an acceptability judgment hierarchy in speakers' judgments of constructions with and without SA. In this hierarchy the notion of a Morphological Word is very important. Based on Kabak (2007), I consider a Morphological Word a word that can occur in isolation.

The most acceptable construction in the acceptability judgment hierarchy discovered in this study is a construction in which the non-final conjunct represents a Maximal Morphological Word: a word that bears all the necessary suffixes. The least acceptable construction is a construction where some suspendable suffixes are suspended and some are not. When the non-final conjunct is left bare or with the minimum of suffixes that are necessary for this conjunct to be qualified as a Morphological Word. For a Noun, a Minimal Morphological Word means any bare Noun. For a Noun Compound, a Minimal Morphological Word means a Noun Compound bearing the *-(s)I* marker. The absence of this morpheme makes the structure ungrammatical. In SA in the context of Noun Compound coordination, the non-final conjunct has to be at least a Minimal Morphological Word. The non-final conjunct which represents a bare Noun Compound with no *-(s)I* marker is ungrammatical.

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⁵ See Kharytonava (2011) for a more detailed analysis of this type of constructions.

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