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The Yes/No Question Suffix in Turkish: Its Syntactic Distribution and its Irregular Stress within the Verbal Domain

My current research is an investigation of the syntax/phonology interface as it pertains to the yes/no question suffix (Q) and its irregular stress pattern in verbal constructions in Turkish. Q shows positional variation in relation to other Tense/Aspect/Mood (T/A/M) suffixes and two agreement suffix groups (A and B agreement). Depending on the verbal group, Q follows agreement in a simple verbal construction (A) and precedes the verbal copula in a complex verbal construction (B) (Good & Yu 2005, Kornfilt 1996).

(1) Group A and Group B verbal constructions

Group A: *git-tí - mi- niz	vs.	git-ti	-níz -mi
go-PAST -Q - 2.PL		go-PAST-2.PL -Q	
		"Did yo	u go?"
Group B: gid-ecék -mi -Ø -siniz	vs.	*gid-ece	ék-Ø -siniz -mi
go-FUT -Q -COP-2.PL	go -FUT-COP-2.PL -Q		
"Will you go?"			

(Kornfilt 1996)

Additionally, it interacts with the phonology because main stress directly precedes Q, a deviation from the main stress rule which assigns main stress on the final syllable (Inkelas & Orgun 2003, Kabak & Vogel 2001).

Two different proposals try to account for Q's positional variation and have brought us closer to a better understanding of its syntactic position. A discussion based on both proposals will offer a better understanding of the correspondence the phonological form with what seems to be irregular stress in Turkish verbal constructions and the syntactic structure representation.

Firstly, Kahnemuyipour & Kornfilt (K&K) (2011) propose a focus phrase (FP) analysis to account for the stress behaviour when Q is present. They show Q being merged in a high focus position above T/AgrP in verbs having a simple syntactic construction or it being merged in a low *v*P-internal focus position above T/A/MP in verbs with complex syntactic construction. They take the obligatory low merger of Q due to the required merging as early as possible. The lower domain does not qualify for Q merger in A agreement as it lacks a fully functional T/A/M projection. They propose Q as the head of FP, and it attracts its complement to its specifier. This movement is accompanied by prosodic prominence emerging on the moved constituent.

Secondly, Skinner (SK) (2009) proposes that Q is an interrogative head generated in C°. The verb (vP) in does not raise to T°, but T° to C° is allowed. Agreement suffixes are merged above CP, in an assumed Topic position. A lowers to a complex head created by T°-to-C° movement but B does not and remains in situ during the Spell-out of CP. However, not all operations occur exclusively in narrow syntax (Adger 2006). The positioning of A/B agreement and Q are the result of post-syntactic processes on the PF branch, the former A lowering before Vocabulary Insertion (VI) licensed by the complex head via T°-to-C° raising, the latter prosodic inversion after VI with Q appearing on the right edge of all morphemes within the word corresponding with the complex head. B agreement follows Q because lowering is not licensed.

In this research I demonstrate a greater empirical success and theoretical appeal of the previous analyses of additional data introduced here.

(2) a. gid-ecék-mi-y -miş -siniz go -FUT-Q -COP-EVID-2.PL "Is it said that you were going to go?"
b. *gid-ecék-Ø -miş -siniz-mi go -FUT-COP-EVID-2.PL-Q

(Kornfilt 1996)

It is evident that Q is a focusing element from the research on Turkish information structure (i.e. Issever 2003, Kılıçaslan 2004 and many others). K&K's focus phrase analysis predicts the phonological form correctly but predicts the logical form incorrectly of Turkish verbal constructions. (2) shows interesting evidence that Q seems to have a wide scope over the entire verb. This means Q must be interpreted high semantically and in a high position in the syntactic structure. If Q was interpreted low, the only part of the verb questioned would be go-FUT and the expected semantic interpretation would be along the line of *It was asked if you were going* to go or It was said that there was a question if you were going to go. In this case Q would only have a scope over the lower vP-domain in a semantic interpretation and would not take into account the higher domain. Following a Distributed Morphology framework (Harley & Nover 1999), I propose a feature bundle [+Q, +Foc] in C^o in the narrow syntax. Regarding SK, the merging of the feature bundles representing agreement above CP and the post-syntactic operation of lowering to check the feature [-nominal] in the complex head by inserting the A agreement allomorph results in unattested outputs. Post-syntactic operations and cyclic Spellout predicts wrong positions of Q and incorrect main stress assignment within the verb seen in (2). For this reason, I propose agreement suffixes are merged in a position lower than CP.

Newell (2008) offers a brief beginning to an analysis of the facts regarding Q surfacing in two verbal positions suggesting that the question suffix is parasitic on domains that would be treated as independent stress domains regardless of the presence of Q or not. The distribution of Q seems to be dependent on a phonological rather than a syntactic domain. To take this into account, an operation of prosodic inversion on the PF branch is suggested. Infixion is a phenomenon that is possible (Yu 2003). They originate in peripherals and attach to edges. Therefore, I propose by an operation of prosodic inversion, Q is attracted to the right-edge of the phonological word previously interpreted.

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