An underlying (s)1(n)

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The Turkish 3^{rd} person possessive marker -(s)r(n) offers (i) ample support for the proposal that its output realizations are derived from a single underlying form, and (ii) evidence against phonological surface optimization. First, consider the well-known fact that the initial consonant of this morpheme is variably overt, depending on the consonantal or vocalic nature of the final segment of its base.

(1) a. bedel-í 'its price' b. fire-sí 'its attrition' (Paster 2006:99)

This alternation interacts in an opaque manner with the deletion of /k/ in intervocalic position in the language.

(2) a. açlı-í 'its hunger' (cf. açlık 'hunger') b. bebe-í 'its baby' (cf. bebek 'baby') (ibid.)

Opaque patterns are generally argued to be difficult to account for in a surface-oriented framework. It is fairly simple, however, to account for (1) and (2) by appealing to restrictions on underlying structures. /s/ variability does not occur for all instances of /s/ that follow a consonant (cf. the negative morpheme -siz ex. kolsuz 'without arms'). A natural, phonological way in which to frame this alternation is (ex.) postulating a floating consonant (cf. French). A floating /s/ in -(s)r(n), along with a rule triggering hiatus repair on the CV-tier through the insertion of a C(V)-slot to host the /s/ gives us the proper outputs. A C-final base will not trigger this insertion; the vowel will link to/merge with the Final Empty Nucleus. In such a configuration the /s/ deletes. The alternation in (2) is then triggered and opacity ensues. An output-oriented account of the missing /s/ is unmotivated here.

At the other edge of the 3rd person possessive affix, we have another non-optimizing alternation. The /n/ of the suffix is not produced when final in the word/string, but emerges when it is non-final, regardless of the qualities of the following segment.

(3) a. arabasí 'his/her car (NOM)' b. arabasındá 'in his/her car' c. arabasıná 'to his/her car'

Like with the hiatus examples in (2), the emergence of a consonant when followed by another consonant is non-optimising. Neither final consonants nor final /n/s are generally suppressed in the language (cf. heyecan 'enthusiasm'). We do not currently have an account of this suppression/emergence pattern, but what is of interest here is that there is a class of constructions where this /n/ does not emerge, even though it is non-final. Underhill (1976) notes that in pre-copular position, the alternating final (n) (in the possessive and in pronominal forms) is not pronounced.

(4) a. arabasíydı 'it was his/her car' *arabasındı b. ódur 'it is he' *ondur araba-(s)ı(n)-y-dı o(n)-dIr car-3.poss-cop-past 3-cop(be/epistemic)

Copulae are verbalizing suffixes that host tense morphemes in participial constructions in Turkish. They are known to demarcate a phonological boundary to their left, as indicated by the deviation from the normal final stress pattern of Turkish in constructions that contain them. Given that the /n/ here is final in its phonological domain, yet not surface-final, an output-based account is again sub-optimal. A derivational morpho-syntactic account of the construction is arguably more explanatory here (Kornfilt 1996, Newell 2008). This type of account necessitates that the possessive morpheme/pronoun has a single underlying stored form (and that the same be true for the affixes that follow o(n)/-(s)r(n)).

There are two constructions where the /n/ emerges despite the fact that the position of stress indicates a word-internal phonological boundary: colloquial *araba-sin-la* 'with his/her car' (p.c. A. Göksel: the standard form being *araba-si-yla*) and *arabasinca* 'by means of his/her car'. Interestingly, one could offer a paradigmatic account of /n/ emergence in these forms based on other forms suffixed with CASE morphology (3). The fatal issue raised by such an account is that the position of stress in these forms is distinctly not predicted by paradigm uniformity. This pattern warrants future study.

Korn filt, J. 1996. On some copular clitics in Turkish. in A. Alexiadou, N. Fuhrop, P. Law & S. Lohken (eds.) ZAS Papers in Linguistics: Papers on the conference 'The word as a phonetic unit'. Berlin: Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft. 96-114., Newell, H. 2008. Aspects of the morphology and phonology of phases. PhD. McGill., Paster, M. 2006. Phonological conditions on affixation. PhD. UCBerkley., Underhill, R. (1976). Turkish grammar. MIT Press.