



Rethinking Exceptional Stress Assignment in Turkish

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Introduction to Turkish Stress



General Rule: Stress typically falls on the final syllable of a word in Turkish.



Exceptions: Non-final stress occurs in certain contexts due to:

Loanwords ✗

Place names ✗

Stressed suffixes ✓

Pre-stressing suffixes ✓

Regular Final Stress

a. kitá b. kitap-lár c. kitaplar-ím	‘book’
d. kitaplarım-dá	‘books’
e. kitaplarım-da-kí	‘my books’
f. kitaplarım-daki-lér	‘in my books’
g. kitaplarım-daki-ler-é	‘the one in my books’
	‘the ones in my books’
	‘to the ones in my books’

Stress consistently falls onto the final syllable as more suffixes are added.

Exceptional Stress: Pre-Stressing Suffixes

a. gel-sé- y miş	‘if s/he had arrived’
b. gid-ér- se	‘if s/he goes’
c. otur-úr- ken	‘while sitting’
d. oku-yacák- tır	‘s/he will most certainly read’
e. gít- me -dik	‘we didn’t go’
f. gít- me -di-niz mi ?	‘didn’t you go?’
g. kış- ın	‘in winter’
h. kadín- ca	‘womanly’

Boldfaced suffixes are considered to be pre-stressing as they don’t bear stress.

Exceptional Stress: Stressed Suffixes



(Goksel & Kerslake 2005: 30)

kaz- árak	‘by digging’
bak- máksızın	‘without looking’
gel- íyor -lar	‘s/he is coming’
tut- úver-iyor	‘hold’
şaş- ákal -dı-m	‘I was astounded’

Boldfaced suffixes are polysyllabic morphemes that bear stress on their first syllable.

Morphemes that are relevant for this study

- Two classes of morphemes will be relevant from now on.
 - Complex morphemes:
 - PROG –*lyor*,
 - low modality converbials –*Akal*, –*lver* etc.
 - **Stress is always on the first syllable**
 - Prestressing morpheme:
 - NEG.
 - Never stressed always **prestressing**
- I am aiming to explain these behaviors syntactically.

Phonological Accounts

- *Özçelik's (2014) underlying foot-based approach*

Pre-stressing suffixes

(me)_{Ft} NEG
(de)_{Ft} 'too'
(ken)_{Ft} 'while'
(mi)_{Ft} INTERROG

b. *Stressed suffixes*

(indže)_{Ft} 'when'
(erek)_{Ft} 'by'
(ijor)_{Ft} PRES CONT

- *Kabak & Vogel's (2001) prosodic word adjoiners,*

a. [sev-il-di-**niz**]_{PW} 'You were loved.'
love-PASS-PAST-2PL

b. [[sev-**il**]_{PW}-me_(PWA)-di-niz] 'You were not loved.'
love-PASS-NEG-PAST-2PL

Shortcomings of Phonological Accounts

All these accounts consider exceptional suffixes special in phonology or morphology.

Nothing unifies these morphemes; no natural class

They still stipulate that something is exceptional about these morphemes.

Syntactic Accounts

Kornfilt (1996):

Word-level stress is sensitive to syntactic domains.

Verbal domain is divided into two domains and stress is assigned to smallest domain.

[kal-dí][y-sa-niz]

[stay-past] [COP-COND-2PL]

'If you have stayed'

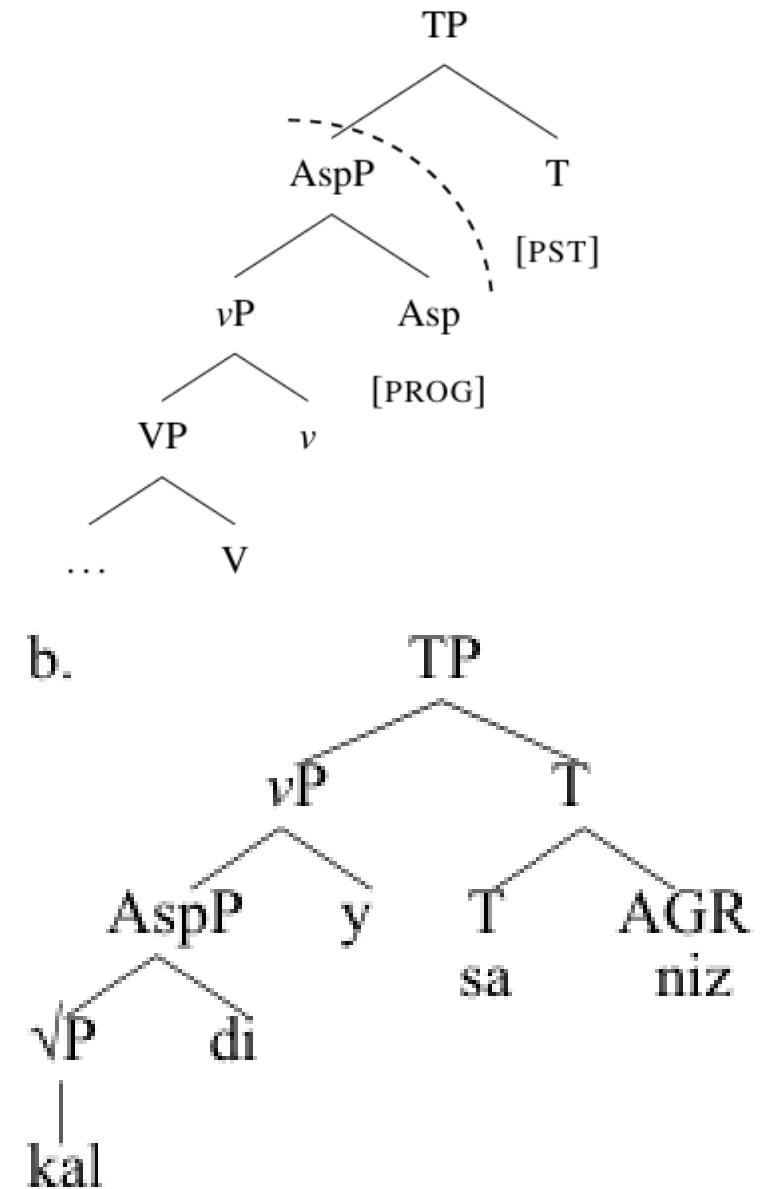
Newell (2008):

Building on Kornfilt (1996), phases determine phonological domains. Stress assignment domain is determined by spell-out.

Fenger (2020):

Stress is assigned when the syntactic word is built

- Apply stress on every last syllable of every highest X^0 with a root



Shortcomings of phase-based stress accounts

- Fenger (2020) does not account for NEG and complex morphemes that bear stress on their first syllable.
- Newell (2008) states NEG can be a phase head and blocks head movement therefore whatever below NEG will be in the first domain.
- PROG is also problematic as second syllable does not bear stress in default assignment.

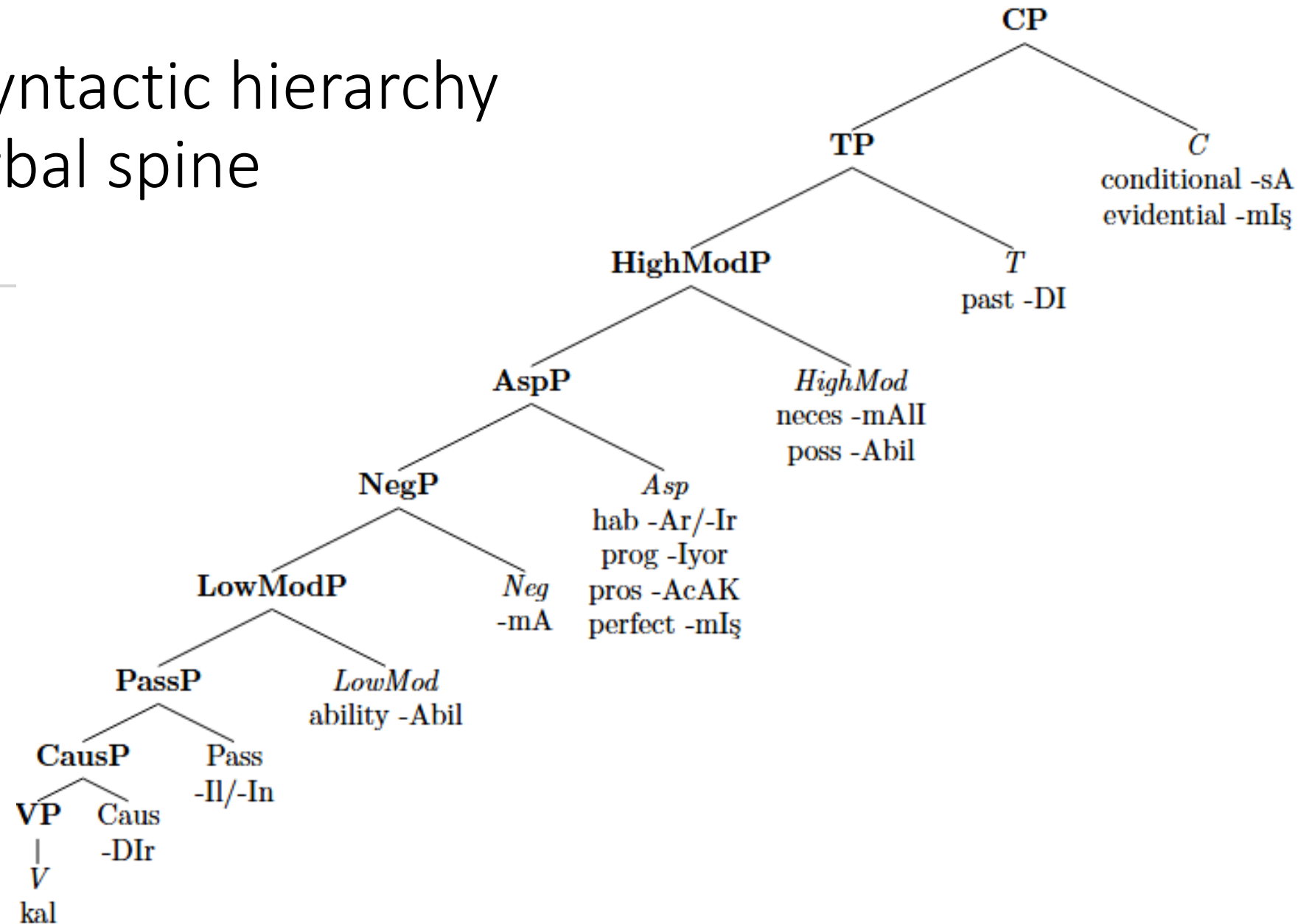
Proposal

- First spell-out domain is stress assignment domain. (Newell 2008, Fenger 2020)
- What will spelled out is dependent on the heads in the sub-numeration. Syntax can restart the numeration. (Chomsky 2000, 2001; Harwood 2015)
- NEG and Aspect extends the vP (inner phase) domain. The interpretation of heads below NEG/ASP is suspended until they are merged. (Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2013).

What is a Phase in Turkish?

- The highest projection of a domain is a phase
 - The extended thematic domain of vP (inner)
 - The combined T and C domains (outer)
- **Phase boundary above aspect**
- NEG and Aspect extends the vP domain. vP is not a phase unless NEG or ASP is merged.

Morphosyntactic hierarchy of the verbal spine



Interpretation Suspension in Turkish

al-ın take-PASS

al-dır-abil take-CAUS-ABIL

These forms cannot be interpreted propositionally in isolation.

Their interpretation depends on higher material, such as a null imperative morpheme, which yields an imperative reading, thereby forming a complete proposition p:

al-ın-Ø take-PASS-IMP ‘be taken!’

al-dır-Ø take-CAUS-IMP ‘cause to take!’

Interpretation Suspension in Turkish

- Alternatively, the merger of a NEG head licenses a negative imperative $\neg p$:

al-ín-ma	take-PASS-NEG	‘don’t be taken’
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al-dír-ma	take-CAUS-NEG	‘don’t cause to take’
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- The same pattern holds for ASP, T, and C heads:

al-ın-íyor	take-PASS-PROG	‘is being taken’
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al-ın-dí	take-PASS-PST	‘was taken’
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al-ın-sá	take-PASS-COND	‘would be taken’
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Interpretation of V, v, and LowMod are suspended until a propositional layer is formed via NEG, ASP, or higher projections such as T or C.

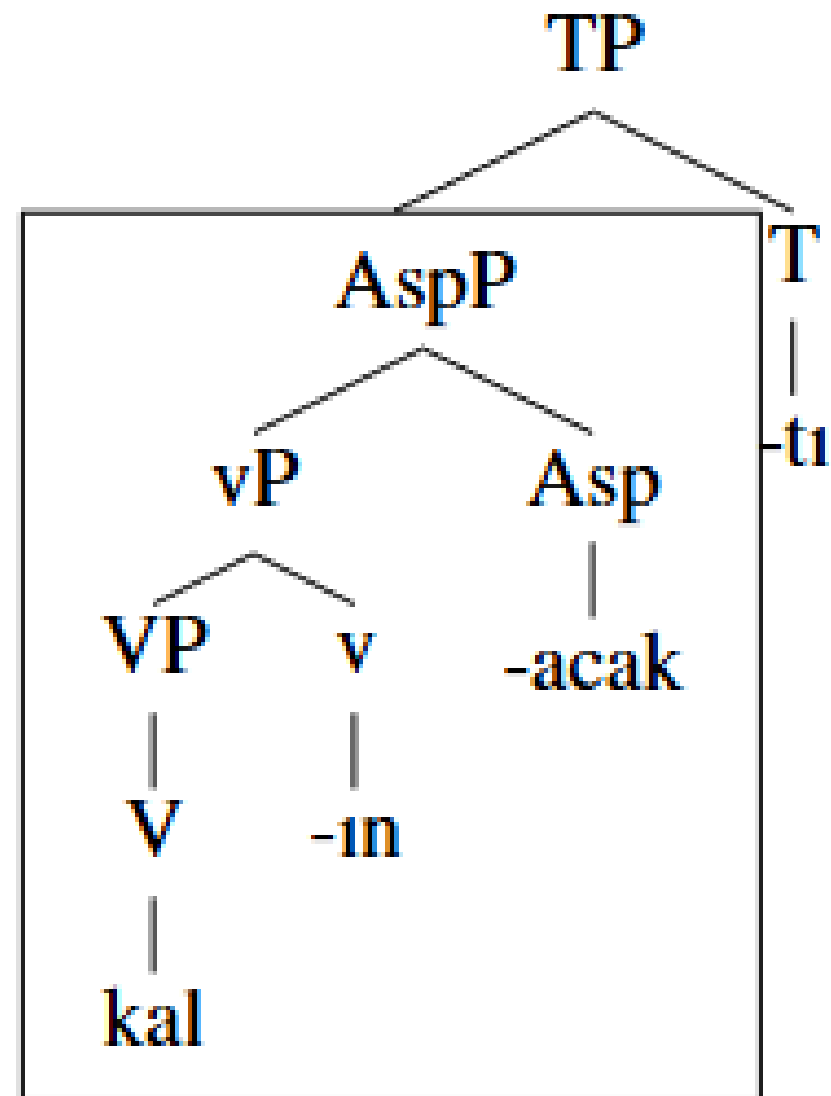
Building Syntactic Domains

- When vP domain is extended, spell out happens.
- ASP head is spelled out whereas NEG's complement is spelled out.
- (kal-in-abil-ecék)-ti
stay-PASS-ABIL-FUT-PST
“(it) could have been stayed at”
[V+v+LM+ASP] [T]
ASP extends the vP domain forms p. Spell-out happens.
- (kal-in-á)-ma-yacak-ti
stay-PASS-ABIL-NEG-FUT-PST
“It couldn't have been stayed at”
[V+v+LM] [NEG+ASP+T]
NEG extends the vP domain, forms ¬p. Spell-out happens.

$[[V+v+ASP]_{VP} [T]]_{CP}$
/kal-in-acak-tı/
stay-PASS-FUT-PST'

[kalinacákti]

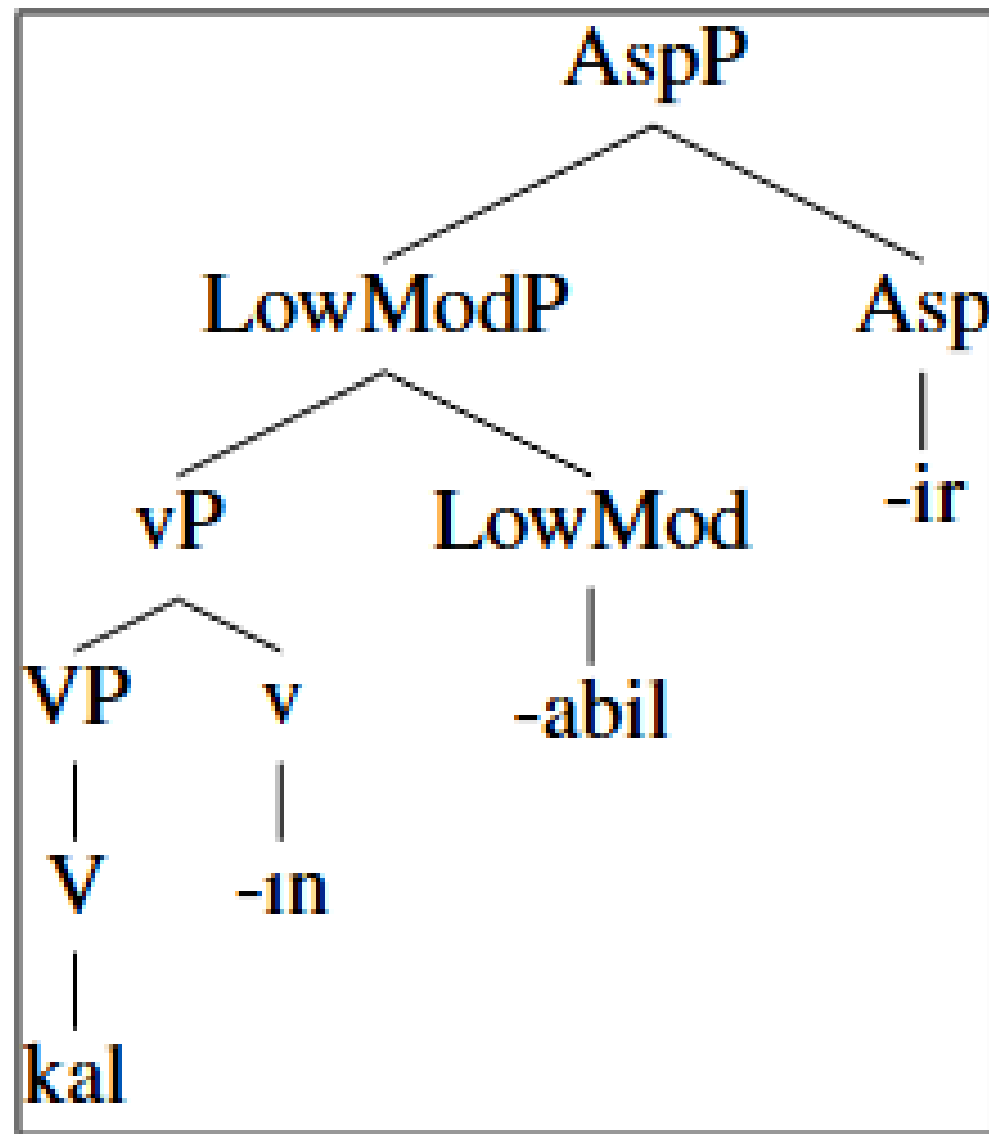
T head falls outside
of the stress domain.



$[[V+v+LowMod+ASP]_{vP}]_{CP}$
/kal-in-abil-ir/
stay-PASS-ABIL-AOR

[kalɪnabilír]

Right edges of vP and CP domains align.

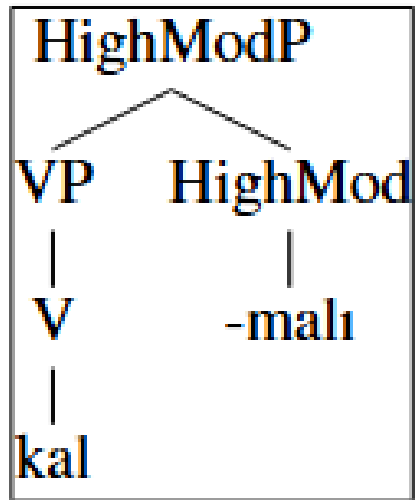


[[V+HighMod]]_{CP}

/kal-malı/

stay-NECES

[kalmalı]

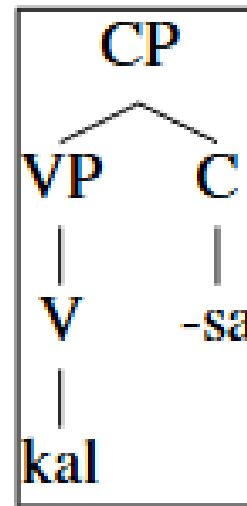


[[V+C]]_{CP}

/kal-sa/

stay-COND

[kalsá]

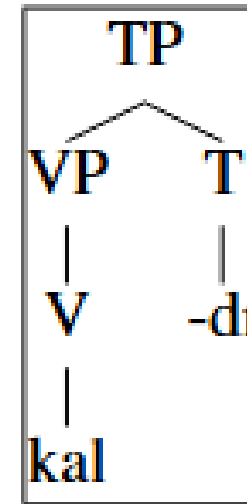


[[V+T]]_{CP}

/kal-dı/

stay-PST

[kaldı]



Morphemes from outer domains fall into the stress domain if there's no NEG or ASP.

No reason to spell out vP domain.

Prestressing Behavior of NEG

Stress predictions with NEG

a. *[Kal-má]_{VP} [-yacak-sa]_{CP}
 [stay-NEG]_{1st Spell-out} [FUT-COND]

b. [kál]_{VP} [-ma-yacak-sa]_{CP}
 [stay]_{1st Spell-out} [NEG-FUT-COND]

- I stipulate that NEG triggers spell-out of their complements, whereas other heads are spelled together with their complements.
- Not clear if this is phonologically or syntactically conditioned.

Behavior of Complex Morphemes

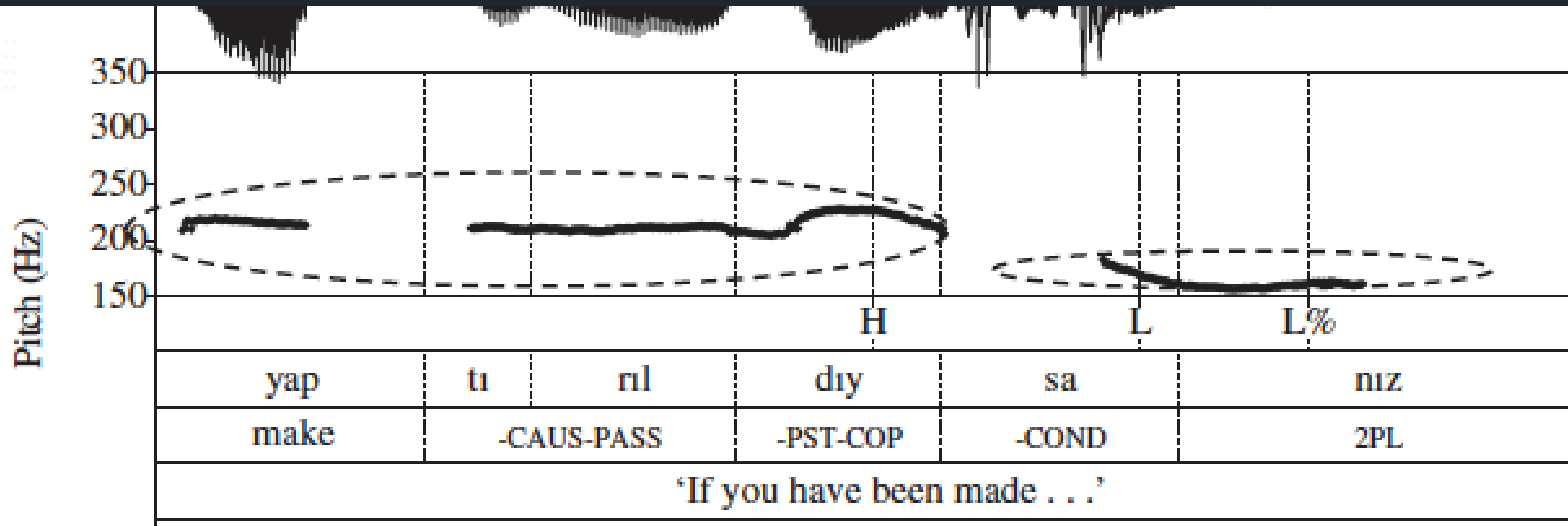
Complex morphemes:

- PROG *-lyor*,
 - low modality converbials *-Akal*, *-lver* etc.
-
- These morphemes include some sort of a verbal morphology (VM) and a lexical verb that diachronically became a suffix.
 - *lyor* → I + *yor* 'walk'
 - *Akal* → A + *kal* 'stay'
 - *lver* → I + *ver* 'give'
- Therefore, in the syntax → VM+V
- **Stress is always on the first syllable.**
 - **The verb roots do not receive stress (at least not in default assignment)**

Sub-numeration Restarts

a.	Kal-ákal-ıyor-du	'stay-Akal-PROG-PST'	[[V+ VM] [V+ASP+T]]
b.	Kál-ma-yakal-ıyor-du	'stay-NEG-Akal-PROG-PST'	[[V] [NEG+VM+V+ASP+T]]
c.	Kal-abil-ıyor-du	'stay-ABIL-PROG-PST'	[[V+LowMod+ VM] [V+T]]

- Syntax restarts the sub-numeration once it encounters a lexical verb root (V)
- Once the sub-numeration restarts, previous sub-numeration is obligatorily spelled out.
- This explains why *–lyor*, *–Akal*, *–lver* are always stressed in their first syllable. Their second syllable is a verb root.



Syntax Prosody Mapping

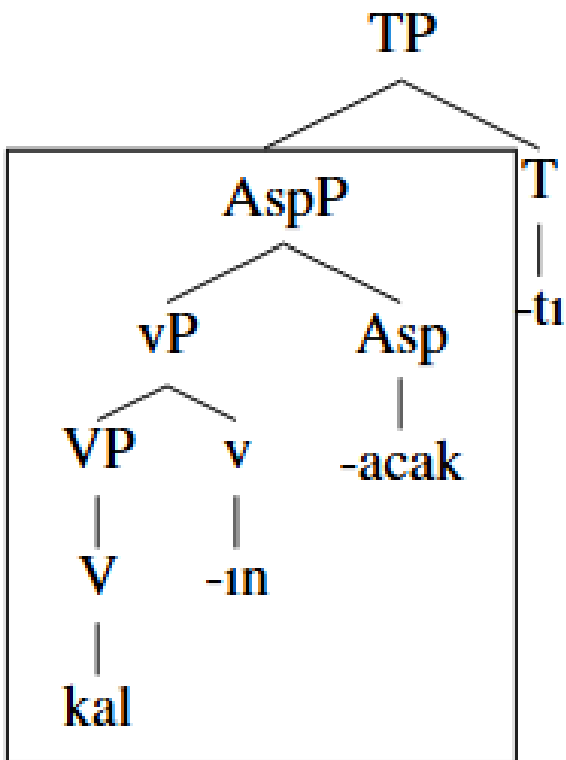
- Split- ω in Turkish (from Güneş 2021: 154)
- Spell-out domains are mapped into prosodic words.
- Prosodic phrases (ϕ s) in Turkish can only have two prosodic words maximally
- $[(yap-tır-ıl-dı)_{\omega} (ysa-nız)_{\omega}]_{\phi}$

Constraints for stress assignment in Turkish

- Culminativity:
 - Assign a violation whenever there is more than one stress in the phonological phrase.
- Ident[Stress]:
 - Assign a violation whenever stress in a prespecified root does not correspond to the stress
- Align-R[Stress, ω]
 - Assign a violation whenever stress is not aligned at the right edge of the ω .

Culm >> Ident[Stress] >> Align-R[Stress, ω].

Syntactic structure to prosodic structure



/kal+ın+acak/	CULM	IDENT _[Stress]	ALIGN-R[STRESS,ω]
a. (kalınacak) _ω	*!		*
b. (kálnacak) _ω		*	*!
c. (kalınacák) _ω		*	

/((kalınacák) _ω +t1)/	CULM	IDENT _[Stress]	ALIGN-R[STRESS,ω]
a. [(kalınacák) _ω (t1) _ω] _φ	*!	*	
b. [(kalınacak) _ω (t1) _ω] _φ		*!* _!	*
c. [(kalınacák) _ω (t1) _ω] _φ			*

- Split-ω structure behaves like phrasal stress in Turkish (Leftmost ω receives stress)
- Spell-out timing determines prosodic structure.

Conclusion

- Exceptional morphemes are not exceptional.
- Non-final stress is like phrasal stress due to split syntactic and prosodic domains.
- Phonology still assigns final stress to the leftmost domain.
- No need for morphological, underlying or positional specifications.

References

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