A Morphosyntactic Analysis of Ungrammatical Associative Plurals in Turkish

Muhammed İleri (Boğaziçi University, muhammed.ileri@boun.edu.tr)

- There are two exponents for associative plural ASCPL in Turkish: -lAr and -gil.

  (1) a. anne -m   **-ler**   b. anne -m   **-gil**
           mom -POS.1SG -ASCPL   mom -POS.1SG -ASCPL
           'my mom and her associates'   'my mom and her associates'

- Although these two exponents do not share exactly the same distribution, they are both ungrammatical when they attach to a stem ending with the 1PL or 2PL possessive suffix.

  (2) a. *anne -m*iz*   **-ler**   (3) a. *anne -m*iz*   **-gil**
           mom -POS.1PL -ASCPL   mom -POS.1PL -ASCPL
           'our mom & her assoc.'   'our mom & her assoc.'

       b. *anne -n*iz*   **-ler**   b. *anne -n*iz*   **-gil**
           mom -POS.2PL -ASCPL   mom -POS.2PL -ASCPL
           'your(pl) mom & her assoc.'   'your(pl) mom & her assoc.'

- **-gil** is OK when following POS.3PL whereas **-lAr** is not. However, note the phonological similarity between ASCPL and POS.3PL.

  (4) a. *anne -leri   **-ler**   b. anne -leri   **-gil**
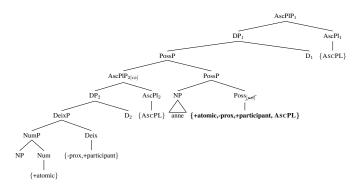   mom -POS.3PL -ASCPL   mom -POS.3PL -ASCPL
           'their mom & her assoc.'   'their mom & her assoc.'

> To account for these observations, I propose that the ungrammaticality of the ASCPL in the environment of the 1PL and 2PL possessive suffixes (2)-(3) possessive suffixes results from a morphosyntactic ban on the linear adjacency of two associative plural features in Turkish. On the other hand, the ungrammaticality of (4a) is (morpho)phonological since it depends on the shape of the exponent.

AscPL Agreement

1. The only difference between the first/second singular and first/second plural pronouns is that 1PL and 2PL have ASCPL feature whereas 1SG and 2SG do not. This is justified by the observation that *we* has the associative meaning 'I and my associates' rather than the additive meaning 'I and I (and ...)' as pointed in the previous work (Moravcsik 1994, Corbett 2000, Daniel & Moravcsik 2013). Hence, by following Dékány's (2021) analysis of Hungarian pronouns, I assume that first and second person plural pronouns in Turkish are derived by the addition of ASCPL to the corresponding singular pronouns.

2. ϕ-agreement takes place via an operation called Agree, which is simply the checking of uninterpretable ϕ-features with interpretable ϕ-features in a given syntactic configuration (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

(5) ***(sizin) annenizler/annenizgil**
     'your(pl) mom and her associates'

- In (5), DP$_2$ is *sen* 'you(sg)'. When AscPlP$_2$ is added, it becomes *siz* 'you(pl)'. Then the Poss head checks its uninterpretable ϕ-features with the interpretable ϕ-features of the AscPlP$_2$. Finally, AscPlP$_1$ is added to the possessive phrase DP$_1$. (Phrases are indexed for the sake of clarity. They have no meaning otherwise.)

> - It logically follows from 1 and 2 that the difference between the agreement markers of first/second person **singular** pronouns and first/second person **plural** pronouns must be the reflex of ASCPL, meaning that the suffix -Iz is the exponent of ASCPL agreement.

Ban on AscPL*AscPL in Turkish

- Richards (2006) proposes Distinctness principle to account for a range of ungrammatical structures caused by adjacent non-distinct nodes in various languages.
- Distinctness prohibits the linearization of non-distinct nodes in a Spell-Out domain (*phase*) (Chomsky 2000, 2001).
- If there is no dissimilation strategy to repair such as haplology (Nevins 2010), the derivation crashes in linearization.
- Theoretically, Distinctness principle and the lack of a strategy to repair the banned sequence [ASCPL*ASCPL] can explain the ungrammaticality of these constructions in Turkish.

References •Chomsky (2000). Minimalist inquiries: the framework. •Chomsky (2001). Derivation by phase. •Corbett (2000). Number •Daniel & Moravcsik (2013). The Associative Plural on WALS. •Dékány (2021). The Hungarian Nominal Functional Sequence. •Moravcsik (1994). Group plural: associative plural or cohort plural. •Nevins (2010). Morphophonological Dissimilation, Morphosyntactic Dissimilation, and the Architecture of Exponence. •Richards (2006). A Distinctness Condition on Linearization.