

# PERSON AGREEMENT IN THE DENIZLI DIALECT (DD) OF TURKISH

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## 1 Introduction: The Predicate Structure in DD<sup>1</sup>

This study aims at accounting for two different kinds of agreement paradigms and their behavior in the D(enizli) D(ialect) of Turkish. One is called *k paradigm* affixed on the verbal predicates and, the other is called *z paradigm* cliticized on the nominal predicates (terms used for the Standard Turkish as well). The main proposal is that there are two different Agreement types with different positions in the structure. The verbal agreement is realized predicate internally and the nominal agreement occurs in the CP layer (adapting Miyagawa, 2010).

The structures that are of concern here are the copular structures, called combined predicates, where the part before the copula<sup>2</sup> (realized as *i*-/lengthening of the preceding vowel represented as *-i*- /null) is *low predicate* and the part above it is *high predicate* (Sağ, 2013). When TAM categories are spelled-out by the past morpheme *-DI* and the conditional morpheme *-sA* (genuine verbal forms), the predicate is verbal. When they are spelled-out by the morphemes such as imperfective *-Iyor*, evidential-*mIş*, aorist *-Ir*, etc. (fake verbal forms), the predicate is participle and behaves nominally (Kornfilt, 1996)<sup>3</sup>.

In Section 2, the nature of the combined predicate structures and the person agreement is presented, and in Section 3, the suspended affixation of the paradigms is discussed. Section 4 summarizes the problems, and Section 5 presents the core analysis of the study. Finally, Section 6 is devoted to the conclusion.

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: 1pl: The first person plural, cond: conditional, cop: copula, evid: evidential, fut: future, imperf: imperfective, QP: question particle

<sup>2</sup> There are two kinds of copula in Turkish and DD. One is the copula *ol-* and the other is *i-*. The person agreement case analyzed here focuses on the copular structures with *i-*.

<sup>3</sup> See Kornfilt (1996) for the discussion on how the predicates show a verbal or nominal behavior based on the different TAM markers inserted into the structure.

## 2 Combined Predicates and Person Agreement

In affirmative forms, the person agreement marker is realized predicate finally, as shown in (1) although in the question forms which are formed by the cliticization of the question particle *mI* on the internal predicate before the copula, the two agreement paradigms show differences. The *k paradigm* behaves differently from the *z paradigm* in that it can be seen on the internal predicate and at the same time in the predicate final position as in (2). On the other hand, the *z paradigm* is only seen on the predicate final position as shown in (3).

- (1) a. oku -du (\*-k) -: -du -k *k paradigm*  
 read-past-(1pl)-cop-past-1pl  
 ‘It was the case that we read (it).’  
 b. oku -ca: (\*-z) -0 -mıř -ız *z paradigm*  
 read-fut-(1pl)-cop-evid -1pl  
 ‘Apparently, we will read (it).’
- (2) a. oku -du (-k) mu -: -du -k *k paradigm*  
 read-past-1pl QP-cop-past-1pl  
 ‘Was it the case that we read (it)?’  
 b. oku -du -k mu -: -du  
 read-past-1pl QP-cop-past  
 ‘Was it the case that we read (it)?’
- (3) oku-ca (\*-z) mı -: -mıř -ız *z paradigm*  
 read-fut-(1pl) QP-cop-evid-1pl  
 ‘Apparently, will we read (it)?’

## 3 Suspended Affixation

The coordination of the internal parts of two words with the outer part attached to the final conjunct maintaining its semantic scope over the whole construction is referred to in the literatures as *suspended affixation* (Lewis, 1967, Kabak, 2007). As shown in (4), the suspended affixation of the *z paradigm* is possible whereas it is not possible with the *k paradigm* as in (5).

- (4) a. [oku-yo -z] ve [anlat -ıyo -z] *coordination without suspended affixation*  
 read-imperf-1pl and explain-imperf-1pl  
 ‘We are reading and explaining it.’  
 b. [oku -yo ve anlat -ıyo] -z *suspended affixation of the z paradigm*  
 [read-imperf and explain-imperf]-1pl  
 ‘We are reading and explaining it.’
- (5) a. [oku-du -k] ve [anlat -tı -k] *coordination without suspended affixation*  
 read-past-1pl and explain-past-1pl  
 ‘We read and explained it.’  
 b. \*[oku -du ve anlat -tı] -k *suspended affixation of the k paradigm*  
 [read-past and explain-past]-1pl  
 ‘We read and explained it.’

As seen in (5), verbal predicates do not show phrasal behavior in the absence of person agreement on them, as opposed to nominal predicates (Bayırlı, 2012). Following Kayne (1994), Bayırlı claims that only phrasal elements can be coordinated, not heads. The ungrammaticality of the suspended affixation of the *k* paradigm person agreement marker in (5b) is the result of this. Because verbs are heads, they cannot be coordinated. However, the coordination of the verbal predicates when they carry the person agreement markers on them is grammatical as in (5a). So, we can conclude that with the existence of overt person agreement a verbal predicate can behave phrasally, allowing its coordination.

### 3.1 Suspended Affixation in the Combined Predicate Structures

The high predicate in the conjunction of two combined predicates can be in the suspended affixation form. As shown in (6), when the low predicates are nominal, the person agreement is required to be absent in both conjuncts, but realized on the high predicate in the suspended form.

- (6) a. [gel -iyo (\*-z) ve gid-iyo (\*-z)] -: -du -k  
 [come-imperf-1pl and go-imperf-1pl]-cop-past-1pl  
 ‘Were were coming and going.’

However, when the low predicates are verbal, the person agreement is obligatorily realized on the first conjunct as well as on the high predicate in the suspended form as in (7b) as opposed to the nominal agreement. When it occurs or does not occur on both conjuncts, the structure becomes ungrammatical as in (7a) similar to the nominal agreement case.

- (7) a. \*[gör-dü (\*-k) de beğen-di (\*-k)] -: -di -k  
 [see-past-1pl and like-past-1pl] -cop -past-1pl  
 ‘It was the case that we saw and (then) liked it.’  
 b. [gör-dü -k de beğen -di] -: -di -k  
 [see-past-1pl and like -past]-cop-past-1pl  
 ‘It was the case that we saw and (then) liked it.’

## 4 Problems at Hand

The first problem this study aims at accounting for is the following. Why do the *k* and *z* paradigms behave differently as seen in the data presented in the previous sections?

Remember that the *k* paradigm is different from the *z* paradigm in that (i) it can be realized on the low predicate as well as the high predicate in the question forms (leading to double person agreement in one predicate), and (ii) it is required to occur on the first conjunct as well as on the high predicate in the coordinated combined predicates with the suspended affixation of the high predicate. The *z* paradigm can only be seen on the high predicate in both cases compared to the *k* paradigm.

The second question is the following. Why cannot the *k* paradigm be seen on the second conjunct of the coordinated structure, but only on the first conjunct?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Note the following examples. In (i), the low predicates are nominal and the high predicate is verbal. Based on that, one can attribute the ungrammaticality of (ia) to the morphological incompatibility of the *z* paradigm on the low

## 5 Analysis

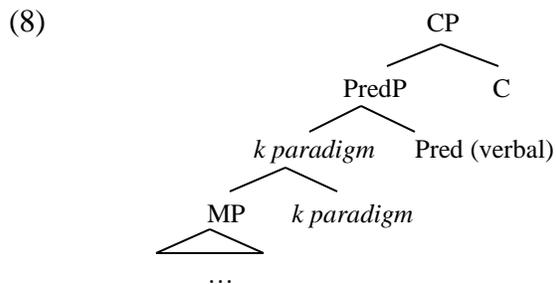
Miyagawa (2010) claims that agreement is a functional relation between lexical relations (argument structure/vP level) and functional structure, which is realized in the CP level. Partially following Miyagawa and adopting Chomsky's Agree operation (2000, 2001, 2005, 2008), I propose that there are two kinds of agreement in DD.

One is the verbal agreement realized by the *k paradigm* and it establishes the relation between the argument structure and the highest functional categories inside a predicate. (Note that this kind of agreement does not originate at C, contra Miyagawa, but following Baker (2008)). The other one is the nominal agreement realized by the *z paradigm* which establishes the same kind of relation as the verbal agreement, but occurs outside the predicate structure in a higher position than the *k paradigm*. I argue that this layer is CP and this agreement type is similar to the one claimed by Miyagawa.

For the sake of representing each predicate in the structure, I assume that there exists a Pred(icate)P(hrase) (or such a layer in the tree) on each predicate structure (single or low, and high predicates in the combined predicate structures) following Baker (2008), and Bowers (2010).

### 5.1 Verbal Agreement

The story for the verbal agreement is such that verbal predicates have the Pred head above the person agreement and the PredP requires the verbal person agreement to be realized inside it, which, in turn, makes the verbal predicate behave phrasally. Otherwise, the predicate cannot be coordinated. The structure of the verbal predicates is shown in (8).



The verbal predicate requires person agreement in order for the Pred head above it to project, and another predicate can be merged above this PredP. Since the verbal person agreement is internal to the PredP (not in a higher place than the predicate level), it allows another PredP to be merged

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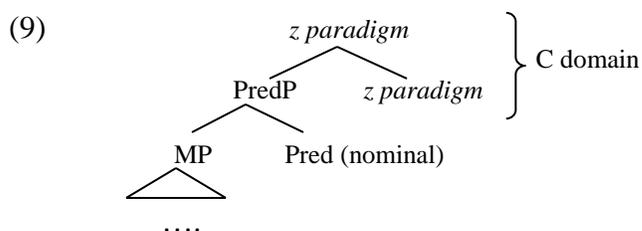
predicate with the *k paradigm* on the high predicate. However, this cannot be the case due to the example in (ib), where both the low and high predicates are nominal, but the structure is still not possible.

- (i) a. \*[oku-yo -z da anlat -1yo] -: -du -k  
 [read-imperf-1pl and explain-imperf]-cop-past -1pl  
 Intended meaning: 'We were reading and (then) explaining it.'
- b. \*[oku-yo -z da anlat -1yo] -: -muş -uz  
 [read-imperf-1pl and explain-imperf]-cop-evid -1pl  
 Intended meaning: 'Apparently, we were reading and (then) explaining it.'

in a hierarchically higher place. Hence, there is nothing to prevent the verbal agreement relation to be established on the low predicate as well as on the high predicate.

## 5.2 Nominal Agreement

The Pred head is merged just above the nominal predicates and does not require the person agreement to be realized inside it, so the nominal predicates are already phrasal even in the absence of the person agreement, which is merged above the PredP as shown in (9).



The Pred projection occurs immediately above the nominal predicate and the nominal agreement relation is established outside this PredP in the C level. Once agreement occurs on the nominal predicate it means that another PredP cannot be merged above this nominal predicate because the structure is already in the C domain by the nominal agreement; hence, the lack of the *z paradigm* in the low predicates.

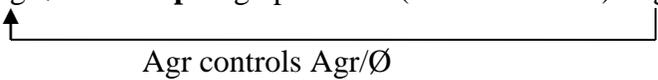
## 5.3 Double Person Agreement in the Existence of a Verbal Low Predicate

Double Person Agreement is seen when the low predicate is verbal regardless of the type of the high predicate in the question forms. The TAM categories in the low verbal predicate (spelled-out by *-DI* and *-sA*) bear a person probe and person agreement is realized above them, which is controlled by the agreement on the high predicate (either *k paradigm* or *z paradigm*). The fact that it is controlled by the higher person agreement means that it has the same number and person features as the one on the high predicate, not the same phonological shape. Compare the example (2a) above and (10), where the agreement in the low and high predicates can be the same as in (2a) or different as in (10).

- (10) gel -se (-k) mi -: -miş -iz  
 come-cond-1pl QP-cop-evid-1pl  
 ‘Does this mean that we should have come?’

In the affirmative structures, the copula blocks the overt person agreement preceding it, but the question particle *mi* removes this effect of the copula if it intervenes between the copula and the person agreement preceding it<sup>5</sup>. Agreement system in the affirmative and question forms is summarized in (11).

<sup>5</sup> Note that, *mi* makes the overt realization of the person agreement optional. The reason I suggest for this is the following: One overt agreement in a combined predicate structure is enough for the derivation to be grammatical and it can either be on the low predicate or on the high predicate. This is the case only if both of them are verbal, though. Why and how the question particle *mi* does this remains a mystery left for future work.

- (11) a. low predicate (verbal)+ $\emptyset$ +cop+high predicate (verbal/nominal)+Agr  
  
 Agr controls  $\emptyset$
- b. low predicate (verbal)+Agr/ $\emptyset$ +mI+cop+high predicate (verbal/nominal)+Agr  
  
 Agr controls Agr/ $\emptyset$

## 5.4 Verbal Agreement and Suspended Affixation

The steps that I propose for the person agreement in the coordinated structure with the suspended affixation of the high predicate as in (7b) shown in Section 3.1 are the following:

(i) The low verbal predicates are coordinated with ‘dA’ meaning ‘and (then)’ and the high predicate is suspended and detached from the low predicates taking scope over the coordination phrase. Note that the low predicates have the person agreement on them although it is realized covertly. (ii) Because the blockage effect of the copula disappears on the low predicates, the internal Agreement slots are spelled-out overtly. (iii) The copula and the high predicate cliticize onto the second conjunct of the coordinated phrase, and the copula blocks the overt realization of the agreement on the second low predicate.<sup>6</sup> Because the copula is still away from the first low predicate, it does not block its overt realization.

The verbal agreement on the second conjunct (the second low predicate) can optionally be realized overtly by the *k paradigm* person agreement markers when it is detached from the copula by the question particle *mI* intervening between the agreement and the copula as shown in (12). This shows that the overt realization of the agreement in the second conjunct in the affirmative forms is under the blockage effect of the copula.

- (12) [gör-dü -k de beğen-di -(k)] -mi -: -di -k  
 [see-past-1pl and like -past-(1pl)]-QP-cop-past-1pl  
 ‘Was it the case that we saw and (then) liked it?’

## 6 Conclusion

In summary, the verbal agreement (the *k paradigm*) can occur on the low predicate of a combined predicate structure as well as on the high predicate, and it allows the addition of higher predicates. On the other hand, the nominal agreement (the *z paradigm*) can only occur on a single nominal predicate or above a whole combined predicate structure, not on the low predicate. It does not allow the merge of higher predicates. The former can be controlled by a higher person agreement which might be the *k paradigm* inside the whole predicate or the *z paradigm* outside it on the C level (adapting Miyagawa, 2010).

As a final note, I suggest that the affixal nature of the *k paradigm* comes from the fact that it is established inside the whole predicate structure, under PredP and is a part of the predicate. The cliticization nature of the *z paradigm* comes from the fact that it is not a direct part of the predicate structure but occurs as an external part of it. Namely, it is not an internal part but an external, and at the same time, a necessary part of it, which is the nature of a clitic.

<sup>6</sup> This structure is similar to the case of ‘special clitics’ in Anderson (1992).

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