

Tackling the Augmentative Puzzle in Turkish

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Introduction

One of the most understudied aspects of Turkish is Evaluative Morphology. Apart from existing research on emphatic reduplication in Turkish (Keleşir, 1999), studies on EM in Turkish have been limited to the unpredictable nature of stress assignment (Sebüktekin, 1984; Sezer, 1981; Taylan, 2015; Zimmer, 1970). In these studies, the main focus was on the suffix *-cik*. This work deals with the augmentative suffix *-cl-* in Turkish. It argues that the Turkish Augmentative needs very specific syntactic conditions, such as ScaleP and MinP following the analysis of Fábregas (2016).

Background

Previous analyses do not distinguish between the the augmentative and diminutive uses of *-cik* as visible in Example 1. When *-cik* attaches to a noun, it forms a diminutive meaning as in Example 1b. However, it augments the meaning of an adjective in Example 1d. In the literature, it has been noted that both the augmentative and diminutive *-cik* have a similar stress alignment, placing the stress on the first vowel of the output similar to emphatic reduplication (Sebüktekin, 1984; Sezer, 1981).

- (1) a. kedi 'cat' c. yumuşak 'soft'
 b. kedi-cik 'little/poor cat' d. yumuşa-cık 'softer'

In this work, based on the fact that there is no clear cut distinction between adjectives and nouns in Turkish, I assume Turkish adjectives are not natural classes or independent (Braun & Haig, 2000; Uygun, 2009); rather, they are parasitic structures as proposed by Hale and Keyser (2002). I argue that in addition to their internal syntactic formations, Turkish adjectives are projected with their own scale information, following Fábregas and Marin (2018)'s analysis. As seen in Example 2, relative and absolute adjectives behave differently, unlike in English.

- (2) a. Ahmet bir şoför-e göre *(fazla) sarhoş.
 Ahmet a chauffeur-DAT according.to *(too) drunk.
 Ahmet is drunk for a chauffeur.
 b. Mehmet bir çocuğ-a göre (fazla) uzun.
 Mehmet a kid-DAT according.to too tall
 Mehmet is tall for a kid.

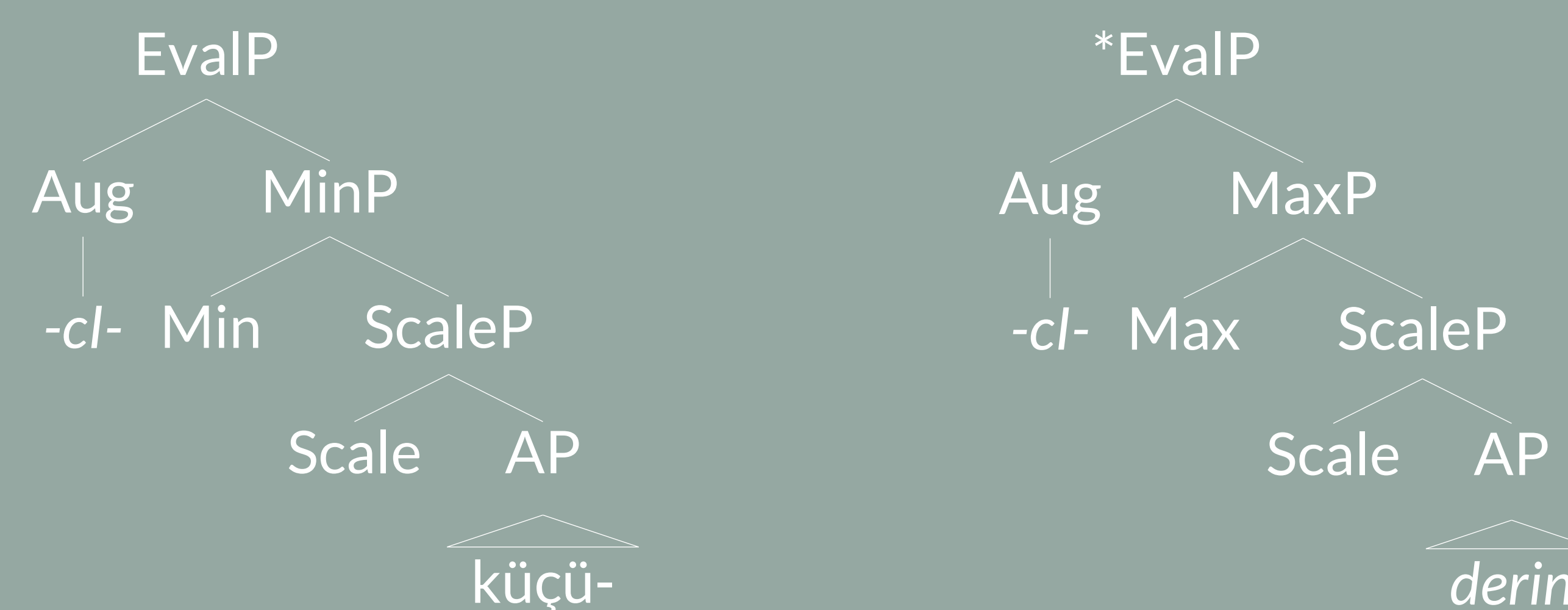
Hypothesis

However, *-cl-* does not augment every adjective. It only augments a small set of adjectives, which are scalable and relative adjectives that are located at the lower boundary of the scale. This meaning is already a part of those adjectives and represented with the word-final *-k*. It surfaces as a spell-out of MinP and ScaleP, adapted from (Fábregas, 2016, p. 11). Thus, I conclude the Turkish Augmentative is not *-cik*, but *-cl-* that comes between the adjectival root and scaling information.



The Turkish augmentative *-cl-* only targets adjectives specified for scalarity and lower boundary.

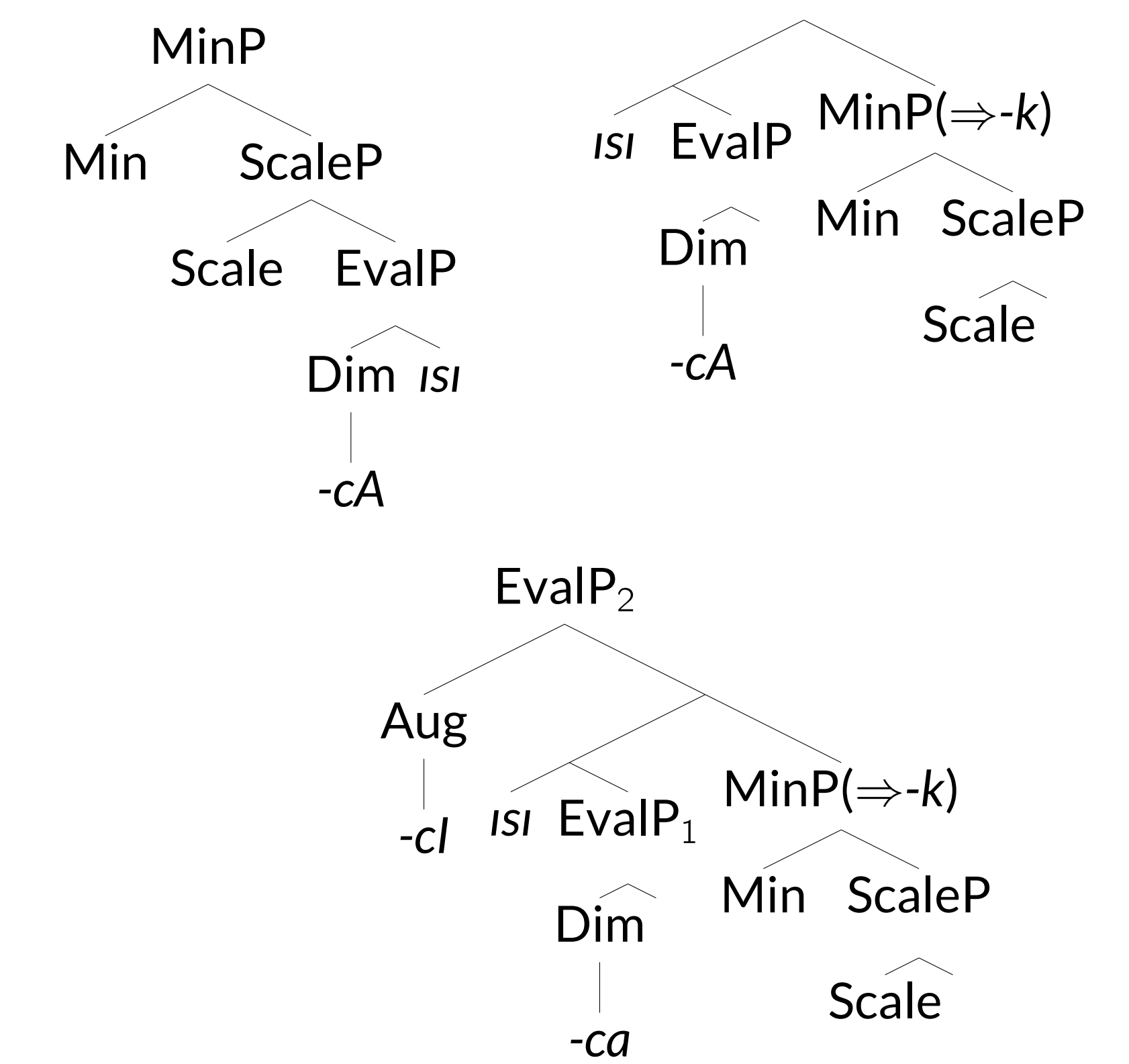
Historical data show that Turkish adjectives are decomposable and the word-final *-k* indicates [Min] and [Scale] information.



- (3) küçük ev 'small home' 'A small home'
 (4) küçücük ev 'small.AUG home' 'A very small home'
 (5) derin göl 'deep lake' 'A deep lake'
 (6) *derin-cik göl 'deep-AUG lake' 'A very deep lake'
 (7) derin-ce göl 'deep-DIM lake' 'A deepish lake'
 (8) derin-ce-cik göl 'deep-DIM-AUG lake' 'A not-so-deep lake'

Historical Look for Sıcak

To this generalization of scalarity, there is only one counter-example: *Sıcak* meaning hot. Even though it ends with a word-final *-k*, it is not in the lower boundary of the scale. However, upon closer examination, historical data shows that it is formed from the root *ısı*, with diminutive marker *-cA* and *-k* (Clauson, 1972). In contrast with *ısıli*, *ısıcak* means *slightly warm*. It bears the traces of previous processes: introducing a scale, placing it low in the scale, and then in Modern Turkish, augmenting the smallness.



Further Research

In this work, I was unable to discuss a complete nature of Evaluative Morphology in Turkish. With the cues prevalent in stress assignment, a comprehensive theory of evaluative morphology within the framework of Nanosyntax would be the next most logical step. One other aspect that is not discussed in this work is the complete predication of adjectives, which needs a full-fledged investigation of its own. One may follow the recent proposal of Fábregas (2016). Lastly, the movements in the spell-out of EvalP cannot be explained completely without the pointer mechanism, which is too powerful. An investigation of such tools would further consolidate both this research and Nanosyntax framework.

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