

Decomposing Augmentatives in Turkish

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Roadmap

- ▶ Turkish Evaluative Morphology (EM)
- ▶ Setting the Stage: Turkish EM Literature
- ▶ Setting the Stage: Misconceptions
- ▶ Proposal
- ▶ Assumptions
- ▶ Syntactic Evidence
- ▶ Predictions and Formal Representation
- ▶ Problems

Turkish EM

In the literature, there are 4 EM morphemes: -Clk, -CAk, -CAğlz¹, and prefixal reduplication.

(1) küçük → küçücük

small → tiny

(2) köpek → köpekcik

dog → poor dog

(3) büyük → büyücek

big → not-so-big

(4) çocuk → çocukcağız

kid → poor kid

(5) tatlı → taptatlı

sweet → extremely sweet

¹ C → [ç, ʧ]

l → [ɯ, i, u, y]

A → [a, e]

Setting the stage: Turkish EM Literature

- ▶ Mainly (and exhaustively), two approaches exist:
 1. Work on the selection of filler consonant in prefixal augmentatives (Kelepir, 1999; Underhill, 1976)

(6) sıcak → sım-sıcak

[suɟʒák^h] → [súm-suɟʒák^h]
hot → C₁V₁C-hot

hot → really hot

2. Stress Change in “diminutives” (Sebüktekin, 1984; Sezer, 1981; Taylan, 2015; Zimmer, 1970)

(7) küçük → kücü-cük

[k^hyʈʃy^hk^h] → [k^hyʈʃy-ɟy^hk^h]
small → small-clk

small → tiny

Setting the stage: Misconception I

In the literature **-clk** is always treated as a diminutive. However, it seems that rather than making the adjective “smaller”, it amplifies the smallness of the adjective Göksel and Kerslake (2005).

- (8) *küçük* → *küçü-cük*
small → small-clk
small → tiny
- (9) *yumuşak* → *yumuşa-cık*
soft → soft-clk
soft → softer

Setting the stage: Misconception II

Another misconception: *-cik* suffixes that attach to nominals and adjectivals are the same. However, when attached to nominals, *-cik* always denotes an endearment and/or pity meaning. Only with certain lexicalized verbs like *kitapçık*, booklet, it denotes a diminutive reading.

(10) *kedî*
'cat'

(11) *kedî-cik*
'little/poor cat'

Setting the stage: Misconception III

It has been assumed that there is no regularity among the (limited, $n=11$) words *-Clk* can attach to.

-Clk can only follow:

- ▶ 11 words, 10 of them are on the lower part of the scale.
- ▶ 7 of 11 words have a word-final *[k]* sound. The remaining three are loan words from Arabic and Persian.

Setting the stage: Misconception IV

It is widely accepted in the literature that the final [k] sound may or may not be deleted before a EM suffix. However, we see that it is only deleted in adjectives, but not in nominals.

(12) küçük (*small*) → küçü(~~k~~)çük (*tiny*)

(13) büyük (*big*) → büyü(~~k~~)cek (*not-so-big*)

(14) köpek (*dog*) → köpekcik / köpekceğiz (*poor dog*)

Oddly enough, we also see a suffix that always inhabits the most outer edge in Old Turkic: -klyA (< -KlñA) which gives a “smallness” reading (Clauson, 1972; Erdal, 1991).

Interim Summary: Observations

Therefore, why don't we say:

- ▶ -*Clk* on **adjectives** is an augmentative, not a diminutive.
- ▶ -*Clk* on adjectives and -*Clk* on nominals are different morphemes.
- ▶ The word-final [*k*] is never deleted; it becomes a part of the EM suffix.

Proposal

Following these observations, I argue that

- ▶ The Turkish augmentative is an intermediary suffix with the form *-CI-*, and it only targets adjectives that are specified for scalarity and lower boundary of the scale.
- ▶ Historical data shows that Turkish adjectives are decomposable, and the word final [k] indicates [Min] and [Scale] semantic information.

Assumptions

What I will assume in the following discussion:

- ▶ That diachronic data shed light on linguistic processes.
- ▶ The parasitic nature of adjectives (Fábregas, 2016; Hale & Keyser, 2002, among many others) and for Turkish see Braun and Haig (2000) and Uygun (2009).
- ▶ More than one terminal node can surface as one phonological output (Caha, 2009; Pantcheva, 2011; Starke, 2010).

Syntactic Evidence

Following tests of Fábregas and Marin (2018), relative and absolutive adjectives behave differently in Turkish.

- (15) a. *Ahmet bir cellad-a göre *(fazla) sıcakkanlı.*
Ahmet a executioner-DAT according.to too friendly
Intended meaning: Ahmet is friendly for an executioner.
- b. *Mehmet bir çocuğ-a göre (fazla) uzun.*
Mehmet a kid-DAT according.to too tall
Mehmet is tall for a kid.

Prediction

An adjective that is not specified for [Min] and [Scale] should not be targeted by *-CI-*. As shown below.

(16) *küçük ev*
small home

‘A small home’

(17) *küçücük ev*
small.AUG home

‘A very small home’

(18) *derin göl*
deep lake

‘A deep lake’

(19) **derin-cik göl*
deep-AUG lake

‘A very deep lake’

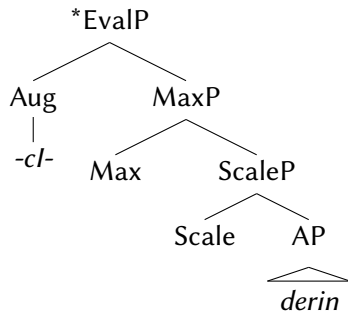
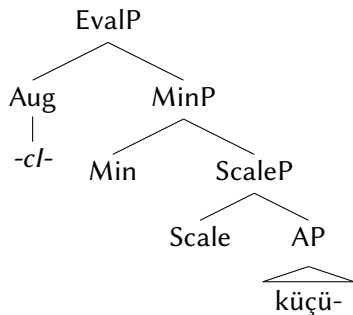
(20) *derin-ce göl*
deep-DIM lake

‘A deepish lake’

(21) *derin-ce-cik göl*
deep-DIM-AUG lake

‘A not-so-deep lake’

Formal Representation I

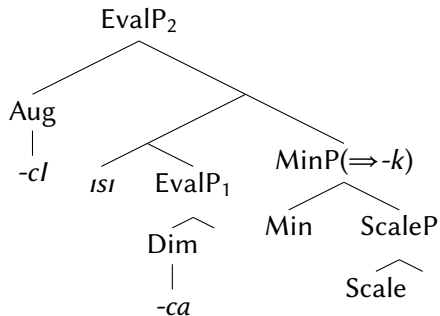
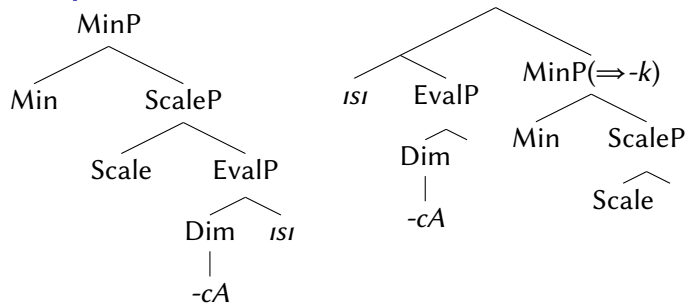


The Unfortunate One: sıcak

11 words, 10 of them are on the lower part of the scale.

Words: **sıcak** (*hot*), küçük (*small*), alçak (*low*), minnak (*tiny*), minik (*tiny*), ufak (*tiny*), tefek (*tiny*), az (*few*), dar (*tight*), ince (*thin*), kısa (*short*)

Formal Representation II



Problems

- ▶ The analysis does not go far from being descriptive.
- ▶ I do not have an explanation for stress change.
- ▶ The analysis does not currently offer a comprehensive account for all EM markers.

Selected References

Thank you!

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