Clause Level Concord of Interrogative Morphology in Aymara
Nicholas Rolle, UC Berkeley

Main Observations and Claims
1) Aymara has two suffixes used in interrogatives: -ti (i) and -sti (ii).
2) Suffix -ti marks the at-issue component of the clause.
3) Suffix -sti does not express a specific semantic function like -ti.
4) Suffix -sti attaches to multiple constituents within a clause.
5) Analysis: There is a Q° functional projection in C-Domain.
   ii. Clause level concord of interrogative morphology.
   iii. Involves Ornamental Morphology Insertion at the interface between syntax and phonology (DM; Embick & Noyer 2007:305).
6) Larger importance: (1) shows rare clause-type iterative marking, (2) potentially adds to typology of concord systems, (3) PF insertion of features can be interrogative features – no known case.

Aymara Background
1) Aymara [aym;nucl1667] - Isolate family spoken in Peru/Bolivia.
2) "SO(x)V(x)" word order, but subject to numerous permutations.
3) Aymara has two suffixes used in interrogatives: -ti and -sti.
4) "Is the dog eating the duck?" (nrr_20141003:47)
5) "When is he gunna leave?" (nrr_20141118:83)

Basics of Question Formation
1) Anu-x chhux mana-gu-ki.
   he-TOP duck-eat PROG-3-QM.
   "Is the dog eating the duck?" (irr_20141003:47)
2) Jupa-x chhux-t mana-gu-i-st.
   Nm Top duck-eat Qm-
   "The dog is eating the duck."

Information structure morphemes –sti and –ti are used in many contexts.

Distribution of -stI Iteration
1) Grammatical -stI marking - Across constituents in a clause
   a) "Who's gunna cook the pig, Magdelena or Nayra?"
   b) "Is it the dog that's eating the fish?"

2) Ungrammatical -stI marking - Nominalized clause restriction -
   a) "Who's gunna cook the pig, Magdelena or Nayra?"
   b) "Is it the dog that's eating the fish?"

Conflicts
- Overridden by left-dislocated constituent
- Account for the optionality of -stI (unclear semantic effect)

Cases
- Iterative –stI marking – clause-level concord interrogative morphology
- Optional copying of Q° features to lower constituents
- Ornamental Morphology Insertion at the interface between syntax and phonology (DM; Embick & Noyer 2007:305; Trommer 2001:93)
- Insertion of AGR

Analysis & Wider Discussion
1) Desiderata of an analysis
   i. Capture the semantic difference between –ti and –stI
   ii. Account for iterative existence of –stI

2) A Q° functional projection occurs in C-Domain (clause level semantics).
3) Iterative –stI marking = clause-level concord interrogative morphology
4) Optional copying of Q° features to lower constituents
5) Ornamental Morphology Insertion at the interface between syntax and phonology (DM; Embick & Noyer 2007:305; Trommer 2001:93)
6) Feature copying: A feature present on a node X in the narrow syntax is copied onto another node Y at PF (Embick and Noyer 2007:309).
7) DP Concord – Icelandic
   a) All rhin-rh rh in-snig–1–nir min–1–f or rh
      b) All CM, other CM, little CM, small NOM.M.PL, the CM, my CM, four CM.
8) CP Case Concord – Kayardild (Tangkile, Australia)
   a) Oblique Case
      b) Nominative
      c) Instrumental
      d) Prepositional
      e) Nominative

References
- A Grammar of Muylaq’ Aymara: Aymara as spoken in Southern Peru
- Distributed Morphology and the Syntax—Morphology Interface.
- The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Interfaces. OUP.
- Multiple cases marking in Australian languages.