THE PHRASE STRUCTURE OF TWO DIALECTS OF KURMANJI KURDISH: STANDARD DIALECT AND MUŞ DIALECT

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Thesis Abstract

Songül Gündoğdu, “The Phrase Structure of Two Dialects of Kurmanji Kurdish: Standard Dialect and Muş Dialect”

This study aims to investigate the phrase structure of Kurmanji Kurdish with a specific focus on ergativity. In the literature, Kurmanji is assumed to exhibit two different case patterns depending on the tense and transitivity of the clause; nominative pattern in non-past transitive constructions and ergative pattern in past tense transitive constructions (Thackston, 2006; Haig, 2004). Adopting the main premises of the Minimalist Program and Distributed Morphology, we analyzed the nature of the case patterns and agreement relations in syntax, as well as, focus on the morphological realization of case and agreement in Kurmanji.

In this study, it is proposed that Kurmanji in fact has two different ergative patterns in past tense transitive constructions; one is observed in the Standard dialect whereas the other is observed in the Muş dialect. On the basis of the fact that ergative case in both dialects is dependent on tense and transitivity but not on theta-roles, along the lines of (Marantz, 1991; Davison, 2004; Bobaljik&Branigan, 2006) it is claimed that ergative is a structural dependent case in Kurmanji. With the evidence from binding and scope tests, it is also argued that despite different case markings they get, ergative and nominative subjects behave fully in parallel syntactically. Adopting DM, we dissociated syntactic case checking and the morphological realization of case-agreement. We presented a uniform syntactic derivation for all the three case patterns in which the T head and little v head check the structural cases of the subject and the object, respectively, in syntax whereas morphological realization of case and agreement takes place post-syntactically at MS, (Marantz, 1991; Halle & Marantz, 1993).

Furthermore, the vP and VP domains in Kurmanji are investigated. We presented the syntactic derivation of intransitive, transitive and ditransitive constructions and discussed the position of theme-goal objects and adjuncts within the vP and VP domains.

Finally, we examined possible word-order variations in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji depending on the information structure of the sentence and discussed their syntactic derivations within the phrase structure that we proposed in this study.

Tez Özeti

Songül Gündoğdu, "Kurmançi Kürtçesi'nin İki Aksanı'nın Öbek Yapısı: Ölçünlü Aksan ve Muş Aksanı"

Bu çalışmanın amacı Kurmançi Kürtçesi'nin öbek yapısını özellikle öze geçişlilik (ergatif) üzerine odaklanarak incelemektir. Kurmançi'nin, tümceciğin geçişlilik ve zaman özelliklerine bağlı olarak iki farklı durum örüntüsüne sahip olduğu varsayılmıştır; geçmiş zamanda olmayan geçişli yapılarda yalın (nominatif) örüntü ve geçmiş zaman geçişli yapılarda öze geçişli (ergatif) örüntü sergilediği öne sürülmüştür (Thackston, 2006; Haig, 2004). Bu çalışmada Yetinmeci Çizgi (YÇ) ve Dağılımcı Biçimbilim (DB)'in ana öncülleri uyarlanarak, söz dizimde durum örüntülerinin ve uyum sisteminin özelliklerini ve durum ve uyum eklerinin biçimbirimsel açıdan ortaya çıkışı analiz edildi.

Bu çalışmada, Kurmançi'nin geçmiş zaman geçişli yapılarda biri Ölçünlü diğeri Muş aksanında olmak üzere aslında iki tür öze geçişlilik gösterdiği öne sürüldü. Her iki aksanda da öze geçişliliğin zaman ve geçişliliğe bağlı fakat anlamsal rollerden bağımsız olmasına dayanarak Marantz, 1991; Davison, 2004; Bobaljik&Branigan, 2006, çalışmaları ışığında öze geçişliliğin Kurmançi'de yapısal ve bağımlı bir durum eki olduğu iddia edildi. Bağlam ve etki alanı testleri bulgularına dayanarak farklı durum ekleri almalarına rağmen yalın ve öze geçişli öznelerin söz dizimsel olarak birbirlerine paralel oldukları tartışıldı. DB modelinde söz dizimsel durum eşlemlemesini ve durum-uyum eklerinin biçimbirimsel olarak ortaya çıkışını ayrıştırdık. Bu dildeki üç durum örüntüsü için ortak bir söz dizimsel türetme önerildi. Bu türetmede söz dizimde zaman başı (T) öznenin, küçük eylem başı (v) ise nesnenin yapısal durumunu eşlemler fakat durum ve uyum eklerinin biçimbirimsel olarak ortaya çıkışı söz dizim sonrası Biçimbirim Yapısında (MS) gerçekleşir (Marantz, 1991; Halle&Marantz, 1993).

Bunun yanı sıra, Kurmançi'deki küçük eylem öbeği (eÖ) ve eylem öbeği (EÖ) alanları incelendi. Geçişsiz, geçişli ve çift-geçişli yapıların söz dizimsel türetimi sunuldu ve etkilenen-erek nesnelerin ve yan öğelerin eÖ ve EÖ alanlarındaki konumları tartışıldı.

Sonuç olarak Kurmançi'nin Muş aksanında, tümcenin bilgisel yapılanmasına bağlamında olası sözcük diziliş farklılıkları incelendi ve bu çalışmada Kurmançi için öne sürülen öbek yapısı çerçevesinde bu diziliş farklılıklarının söz dizimsel türetimi tartışıldı.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 2: PHRASE STRUCTURE AND ERGATIVITY IN KURMANJI

CHAPTER 3: vP DOMAIN

ABBREVIATIONS

1psg	1st person singular
2psg	2nd person singular
3psg	3rd person singular
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
Adv	adverb
AO	agreeing-object
AS	agreeing-subject
Const	construct
Dem	demonstrative
ERG	ergative
F	female
Fut	future
Hab	habitual
IMPF	imperfective
Ind.sg	indefinite singular
INST	instrument
M	masculine
NAO	non-agreeing object
NAS	non-agreeing subject
NOM	nominative
Obj	object
Oblq	oblique
P	preposition/postposition
Past	past

PERF	perfective
PL	plural marker
pl	plural person
Poss	possessive
Pres	present
Prog	progressive
Sbj	subject
sg	singular
Subj	subjunctive

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1.The Aim

The aim of the current study is to examine and analyze the phrase structure of Kurmanji - a dialect of Kurdish spoken in Turkey[1]. In the literature, Kurmanji is assumed to exhibit an ergative pattern in past tense, where subjects bear differentiated case marking, ergative for subjects of transitive verbs vs. nominative for subjects of intransitives (Thackston 2006, Haig, 2004). Adopting the main premises of the Minimalist Program Framework and Distributed Morphology, we will investigate the nature of case and agreement relations of arguments in syntax, as well as, focus on the morphological realization of case and agreement in Kurmanji. We will discuss the nature of ergativity in Kurmanji and discuss whether ergative case which emerges in past tense is a structural or an inherent case. We will not only analyze the case and agreement patterns of the canonical dialect of Kurmanji but also focus on case and agreement in the Muş dialect, which exhibits different case and agreement patterns thanks to the contact it has with Turkish. In addition to these, we will also take a look at another phenomenon related to its phrase structure in Kurmanji, namely, word order.

[1] Kurmanji is a dialect of Kurdish which is a member of the Western Iranian branch of Indo-European languages. Kurdish has four main dialects namely Kurmanji, Sorani, Dumili (Zaza) and Gorani. In terms of the number of speakers, the Northern Group, which is also called as Kurmanji, is the largest group of Kurdish dialects. Kurmanji (also written as Kurmancî or Kurmanc) is mostly spoken in Turkey but also comprise the speakers living in North Iraq, parts of Syria, Iran and the ex-Soviet Union (Bedirxan & Lescot, 1997).

This thesis aims to investigate the following questions:

(i) What are the properties of subjecthood in Kurmanji?

(ii) What is the internal structure of phrases in Kurmanji?

(iii) What is the nature of ergativity in Kurmanji, what conditions trigger this pattern?

(iv) Does being in close contact with Turkish have an influence on the phrase structure of Kurmanji?

(v) What word-order patterns are possible in Kurmanji?

The organization of this thesis is as the following: In the current chapter we will first introduce the theoretical background regarding the frameworks used in this thesis as well as the literature on ergativity. Then we will survey the general properties of Kurmanji. In Chapter 2, we will look into the phrase structure of Kurmanji and discuss the position and properties of the subjects in this language. Moreover, we will investigate the case and agreement relations of arguments in relation to the notion of ergativity in Kurmanji. In Chapter 3, we will explore the internal structure of vP domain. In Chapter 4, we will look at the possible word-order variations in Kurmanji. And finally Chapter 5, we will summarize our findings and discuss the implications of this study for future research.

1.2.Theoretical Background

This thesis assumes the premises of the Minimalist Program (MP) and Distributed Morphology (DM). In the following sections; a brief outline of the general

premises of MP and DM will be introduced, respectively, and the literature on ergativity will be provided.

1.2.1. The Minimalist Program

The Minimalist Program (MP) assumes a mechanism for human language which is composed of a Lexicon and a Computational System (CS). CS is subject to economy restrictions and takes elements from the lexicon and forms linguistic outputs. MP assumes only two levels of representation, namely Phonological Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF).

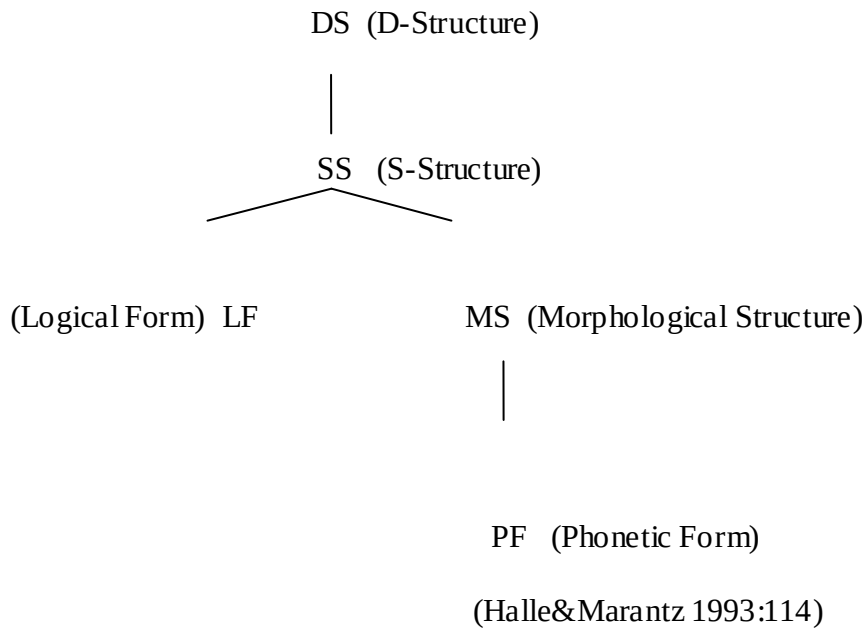
Merge and *Move* are the operations that MP makes use of to form linguistic outputs. *Merge* is more economical and shows the recursive structure of language whereas *Move* is more costly so it cannot apply freely but assumed to be a *Last Resort* operation. Movement operations should obey the economy principle *Shortest Move* which states that an element cannot move over another candidate available in a closer position to the target.

In MP, there is *feature checking* mechanism in which uninterpretable features of an XP will be paired with a functional category matching interpretable case features. Feature checking is assumed to take place either via overt or via covert movement in Chomsky (1995). If feature checking is done via overt movement then the element with uninterpretable features overtly moves, but if feature checking is done via covert movement the constituent stays in situ and only features move. In the latter version of MP (Chomsky 1998, 2001), a mechanism called *Agree* is introduced. *Agree* is a mechanism which allows feature checking to take place in situ through a relation established between a

Probe (a head with [-interpretable] feature) and a Goal (an element with [+interpretable] feature).

1.2.2. Distributed Morphology

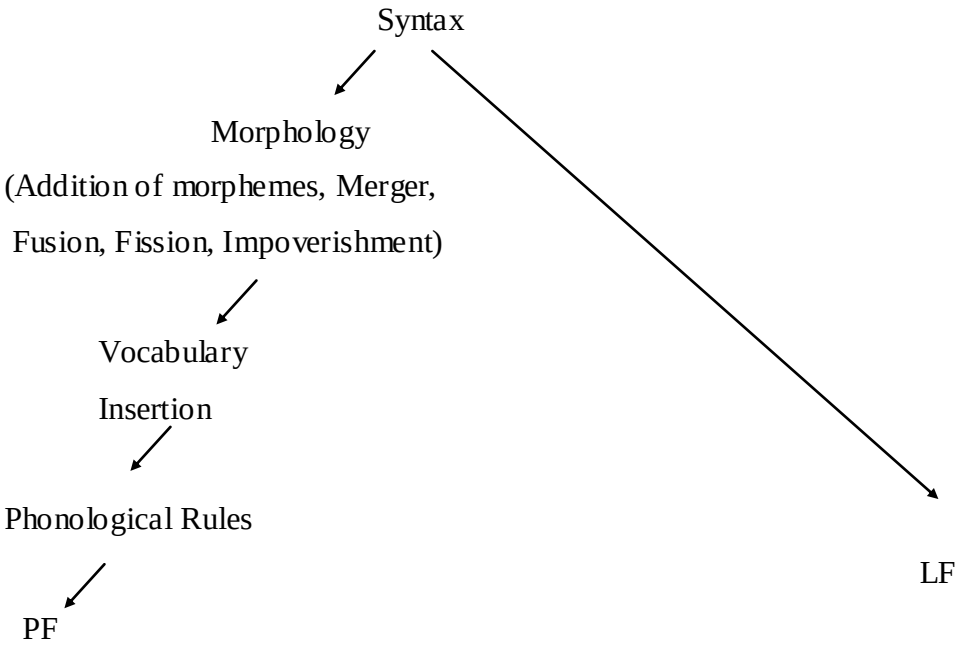
The Distributed Morphology (DM) framework is a realizational model of grammar in which word building operations are distributed over several components of the grammar, (Halle & Marantz, 1993).



(Halle&Marantz 1993:114)

In DM, there are *abstract morphemes* which have no phonetic features such as [past] or [pl] and *roots* that form the open class vocabulary such as √CAT, √OX or √SIT, (Embick & Halle, 2005). Unlike many approaches to morphology, in DM connections between semantic, syntactic, morphological and phonological components are not separate but implemented by means of units which are called "Vocabulary Items", (Halle & Marantz, 1994).

Halle & Marantz (1994) assert that three properties of Vocabulary Items; namely *Late Insertion, Underspecification* and *Syntactic Hierarchical Structure All the Way Down*; differentiate DM model from other theories of morphology. *Late Insertion* implies that the insertion of vocabulary items takes place after syntax. *Underspecification* is a mechanism that organizes vocabulary items to be inserted in a terminal node. Vocabulary items are characteristically underspecified considering the features of the nodes that they will be inserted thus the lexical entries have to compete for insertion instead of being inserted freely. Lastly, *Syntactic Hierarchical Structure All the Way Down* means the hierarchical structure of the terminal nodes in syntax hosting vocabulary items and these hierarchical structures from the syntax may be further modified by morphological operations at MS. In DM model syntactic operations combine terminal nodes to create words and these terminal entries acquire phonological content after Vocabulary insertion at Morphological Structure (MS). Vocabulary insertion takes place if a vocabulary entry includes a subset of the morphosyntactic features of the terminal node. However, the phonological information that vocabulary entries contain is not enough to guarantee that correct phonological output will be generated in all cases; therefore there is a set of *readjustment rules* which provide the remaining parts of the information about the phonological form of the morphemes. There is also *impoverishment* which changes the outcome of the competition.



(Halle & Marantz, 1994; 277)

The MS is the interface level between syntax and phonology and functions as the interpretive component of the grammar which supplies syntactic representations with phonological features. MS has its own principles and properties sensitive to the universal and/or language particular well-formedness conditions. Different grammatical processes take place at MS to fulfill the universal and/or language particular well-formedness conditions for example morphemes may be inserted into a terminal element at MS or a terminal elements may be moved from one position in a tree and added to another position by head-to-head movement.

Halle & Marantz (1993) claim that DM evaluates morphology differently from other traditional views in that morphology is not concentrated in a single component of the grammar but instead it is distributed among several components. For instance, the word formation process may occur at any level through processes like head-movement, adjunction, merge, etc. at MS. Likewise, some morphological operations such as realization of case and agreement morphology do not have to take place in syntax as some other approaches claim

but they may occur at MS level post-syntactically. In these cases, case and agreement morphemes are not present at syntax but they are added to syntactic heads at MS (after syntax) in accordance with morphological well-formedness conditions of the language at hand, (Halle & Marantz, 1993).

The strong claim of this model is that most of the terminal nodes that have phonological realization in affixes are syntactic heads and the rest are created or added at MS in a predictable and principled way and also word formation is syntactic and postsyntactic but not lexical.

1.2.3. Theoretical Background for Ergativity

1.2.3.1.Introduction

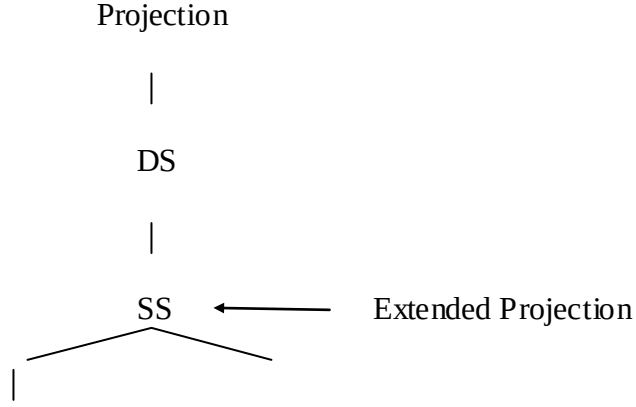
Ergativity is a term used to define an agreement pattern in which the subject of an intransitive clause [S] is treated in the same way as the object of a transitive clause [O], and differently from the subject of a transitive clause [A], (Dixon, 1994). The term 'ergative' was firstly used for the case marking on the transitive subject contrasting with the other case marking on the intransitive subject and transitive object, namely 'nominative' which is later called 'absolutive'. However, this term is extended to be used to describe a syntactic function and a certain grammatical pattern. In the literature, different analyses have been proposed to explain the nature of ergativity observed in typologically different languages. There are two syntactic views regarding the ergative case; one takes ergative as a structural case (Marantz, 1991; Mahajan, 1994; Davison, 2004; Bhatt, 2005; Bobaljik & Branigan, 2006) whereas the other considers it to be an inherent case (Woolford,

1997; 2006; Legate, 2002; 2008; Anand & Nevins, 2006). Furthermore, there is a third approach to ergative case, which assumes ergative to realize post-syntactically as a morphologically dependent case (Marantz 1991). In the following we will introduce these different approaches to ergativity.

1.2.3.2. Ergative as a morphologically dependent case

Marantz (1991) assumes a theory of grammar in which abstract Case is eliminated and case morphology is determined entirely in the morphology component. According to his account, morphological realization of case is determined by a set of principles operating at the Morphological Structure (MS), which is a level of representation intervening between S-Structure (SS) and Phonetic Form (PF) as shown in (1):[2]

(1)



MS= "Morphological Structure"

(Marantz 1991:19)

[2] Note that Marantz (1991) is a precursor of the DM model introduced later by Marantz and Halle (1993).

In the same spirit as Burzio's Generalization, Marantz (1991) puts forward the ergative generalization about the morphological realization of case on subject which is stated in (2). The main distinction is that ergative generalization is related to the morphological realization of ergative case on subjects, whereas Burzio's generalization is related to abstract Case that licenses NPs in object positions, i.e. accusative. Marantz implies that Burzio's generalization may not actually be about abstract case but it is too about morphological case.

(2) Ergative Generalization:

No ergative case on a non-thematic subject.

(i.e., on an argument moved into a non-thematic subject position)

(Marantz 1991:14)

In Marantz (1991), abstract Case is separated from morphological realization of case in that assignment of abstract Case is considered to be a structural form of licensing accomplished by (extended) projection at S-Structure whereas morphological case is taken to be a language particular phenomenon which interprets syntactic structures licensed by projection rather than figuring into licensing (abstract Case):

(3) Nominal arguments are licensed by (extended) projection, not by Case or by morphological properties.

(Marantz 1991:20)

Marantz (1991) proposes a grammar without Case theory in which the presence of case and agreement morphemes is a language particular property, where such morphemes are inserted at the MS level, as part of (morpho)-phonological component. The morpho-phonology of case and agreement does not determine the distribution of NPs in argument positions but just interprets S-Structure relations between constituents. Also, it is language-specific MS realization principles that ascertain what shape case features will take. The guiding principle is stated in (4), and according to this principle what determines the case realized on NP headed by a case feature is government relationship of the chain of this NP.

(4) CASE features are assigned/realized based on what governs the chain of the NP
headed by N +CASE

(Marantz 1991:23)

Case realization obeys a disjunctive hierarchy; more specific and particular CASE requirements win out over more general and less particular CASE requirements. The hierarchy is stated in (5) and it goes down the list.

(5) case realization disjunctive hierarchy:
- lexically governed case
- "dependent" case (accusative and ergative)
- unmarked case (environment sensitive)
- default case

(Marantz 1991:24)

The dependent cases are ergative and accusative cases and their assignment to a particular NP depends on the properties of both the NP itself and of another NP position governed by V+I. However, dependent case assignment is only possible when the NP position governed by V+I is not marked and distinct from the chain that gets assigned dependent case. Marantz (1991)'s principle for dependent case assignment is stated in (6).

(6) Dependent case is assigned by V+I to a position governed by V+I when a distinct position governed by V+I is:

a. not 'marked' (not part of a chain governed by a lexical case determiner)

b. distinct from the chain being assigned dependent case

(Marantz 1991:25)

The variations among languages in terms of which NP is assigned the dependent case is captured by two parameters stated in (7) and by considering this as a language-specific matter.

(7) Dependent case assigned up to subject: ergative

Dependent case assigned down to object: accusative

(Marantz 1991:25)

What Marantz (1991) mainly proposes is that morphological realization of case and agreement assignment is unrelated to syntax but it is based on the government relations (licensing) at SS and is done entirely in morphology. The language

particular MS properties and disjunctive hierarchy determine their shape and to which NP positions they will be assigned.

1.2.3.3. Ergative as a Structural Case

Mahajan (1994) explains the connection between ergativity and tense/aspectual properties of clauses and develops a theory which relates ergativity to the have/be alternation. He considers perfective auxiliary *have* to be a form derived from *be* and an incorporated empty preposition which is the sister of external argument-the subject as given in (8).

(8) … BE [$_{VP}$ [P DP_{SBJ}] [$_{V'}$ V DP_{OBJ}]

He proposes that in French, the proposition incorporating into *be* results in a form of *avoir (have)* as in (9). However, in Hindi this incorporation fails to take place and the preposition is spelled out as the ergative case marking on the subject as in (10). Therefore, ergativity in this language results from the failure of preposition incorporating with the empty position; which leads to the occurrence of a spellout of morphological marking associated with perfective aspect.

(9)	Paul	les	a	repeintes	(French)
	Paul	them	has	repaint-perf	
	'Paul has repainted them'				

(10) raam-ne vah kitaabe paru thu. (Hindi)
Raam-erg those books read-perf be-past
'Ram had read those books'

Davison (2004) basically deals with the syntactic projections of transitive verbs in Hindi/Urdu based on their case and semantic properties within the Minimalist Program. She proposes two kinds of verbal projection for these transitive verbs; one is a simplex VP including a V and an argument (object) and the other one is a standard VP shell projection that separates the light verb projection with the subject argument from the V and object. Transitive verbs are divided into four groups as stated in (11) and their differences are primarily structural rather than semantic.

(11) *Transitive verb classes, by case (Lexical Case in bold)*

	Case of subject	Case of direct object	Case of indirect object
Class A	Obligatorily ergative	Nominative or dative	Dative
Class B	Optionally ergative	Nominative or dative	*
Class C	Dative	Nominative	*
Class D	Nominative	Lexical postposition	*

(Davison 2004: 201)

Classes A and B are the same for the direct object case yet they are different in terms of optionality of ergative case on the subject; ergative is an obligatory case on the subject in the former, although it is optional in the latter. Also, ditransitive verbs belong to Class A. Class C necessitates a dative DP having experiencer or

goal theta role and this DP has subject properties such as binding reflexives. Class D requires a nominative case on the subject and a postpositional case on the object DP. One of the interesting points is that there is no accusative case in Hindi/Urdu. Davison (2004) furthermore makes a major distinction between structural and lexical cases as stated in (12).

(12) *Structural Case (theta independent, assigned by a structural position)*

a. Nominative (subject, direct object)

b. Ergative (subject, Classes A and B)

c. Genitive (NP and non-finite clauses)

d. Dative direct objects

Lexical Case (theta-related, lexically selected)

a. Dative indirect objects (Class A), subject (Class C)

b. Genitive (possession; lexically selected)

As this distinction implies, ergative case is considered to be a structural case here rather than being inherent. The argumentation for this comes from the fact that ergative case in this language indeed is not based on the theta roles of the subject and selected by a specific lexical item. Also it is checked by a functional projection such as AGR or TENSE. In addition, ergative case is sensitive to perfective aspect in this language and what Davison (2004) offers is that ergative case is only licensed by finite TENSE and ASPECT. She supports this with examples from counterfactual or irrealis conditional clauses requiring imperfective aspect. In the following sentences ergative case is ruled out in the

presence of imperfective aspect (13a) but it is marked on subject if there is perfective aspect (13b).

(13) a. Tum-nee/*0 mujhee nahiinN bataa-yaa ki
you-Erg/*Nom I-Dat not tell-Pf that
tum-koo meeraa kahna buraa lag-aa
you-Dat my say-Inf bad strike-Pf
'You did not tell me that what I was saying annoyed you.'

b. Tum (*nee) mujhee bataa-tee ki tum-koo kah-naa
you-Nom/*Erg I-Dat tell-Impf that you-Dat say-Inf
buraa lag-aa, too maiN kahnaa band kar
bad strike-Pf then I-Nom say-Inf shut do
dee-tii
give-Impf
'If you had told me that what I was saying annoyed you, then I would have shut up.'

(Davison 2004:205)

Similarly, dative case on objects in Class A and B are also a structural case due to the same reasons mentioned above; however, dative case on the subject in Class C and on indirect object in Class A is a lexical case because it is theta related-only experiencer and goal theta roles get dative, and it is not checked by a functional projection, such as TENSE or ASPECT. Therefore, a dative experiencer subject is not influenced by perfective/imperfective alternation as in (14).

(14) a. Agar usee meerii baat burii lag-ii hai, too woo
if 3s-Dat my matter bad strike-Pf is then 3s
mujhee bataa -ee- gi
I-Dat tell -Fut- 3fs
"If she was bothered at what I said, then she will tell me."

b. (Agar) usee meerii baat burii lag-tii too woo
if 3s-Dat my matter bad strike-Impf then 3s
mujhee bataa -tii
I-Dat tell -Impf
"If she had been bothered at what I said, then she would have told me."

(Davison 2004:205)

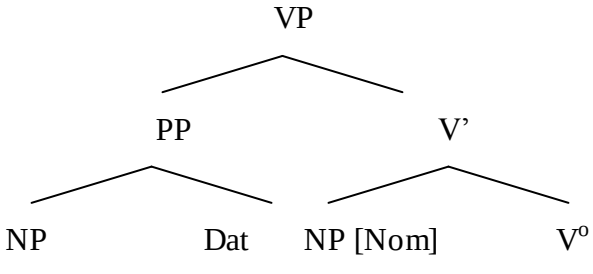
Subject cases and the theta roles associated with them are stated in (15):

(15)	*Subject case*	Dative	Ergative	Nominative
	Theta roles	non agentive	non agentive	non agentive
		*	agentive	agentive

The VP projections associated with different verb classes that Davison (2004) puts forward for transitive verbs in Hindi/Urdu are shown in (16). In accordance with the Minimalist Program, subjects are merged within a verbal projection and get their theta roles during merge. Structural case is checked by a functional projection which in turn triggers movement; subjects having structural case move to a functional projection domain (SPEC /TENSE) to check their case and satisfy

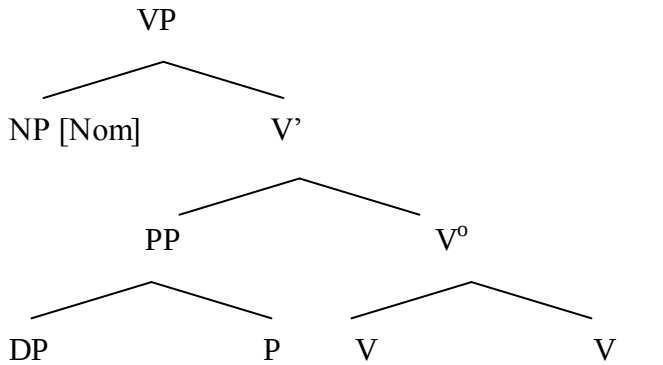
EPP. On the other hand, since lexical case is checked in situ at the time of "theta discharge", they remain in verbal projection domain except for dative subjects in Class C which moves to SPEC /TENSE fro EPP reasons.

(16) a. Class C



suujh-aa
see-Pf
(Davison 2004:207)

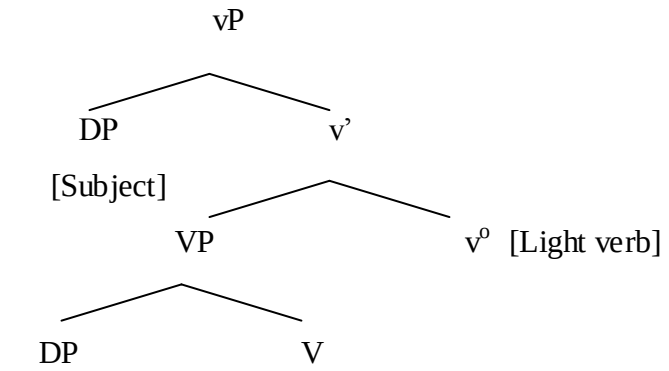
b. Class D



uub *ga-ii*
be-bored go-Pf

(Davison 2004:207)

c. Class A & Class B



(Davison 2004:208/209)

Bhatt (2005) considers ergative as a structural case assigned by Tense (T^o) in association with transitive little v head and dissociates case and agreement and mainly asserts that a functional head does not have to enter into an agree relation with the argument, the case of which it checks. In other words, a functional head can check the case of one argument but can get into an agree relation with another argument. He supports his account with the analysis of Long Distance Agreement in Hindi-Urdu in which a verb agrees with a constituent inside the verb's clausal complement. In this configuration, T head agrees with an argument whose case features are not valued by T head itself, (17).

(17) Ram-nee [rotii khaa-nii chaah-ii thii]
Ram-Erg bread.F eat-Inf.F want-Pfv.F be.Pst.FSg
"*Ram had wanted to eat (the) bread.*"

(Bhatt, 2005:769)

In the sentence above, finite T is the only probe and the closest visible set of φ features belongs to the embedded object. Therefore, the matrix T head values its φ

features with the embedded object's φ features via long distance agreement although it does not value the case features of that embedded object. Furthermore, according to his account there is a close relation between case marking and agreement. If an argument is overtly case marked, its φ features are invisible to T head; hence T head cannot value its uninterpretable φ features with such an argument. This is the reason behind the fact that the main verb and the auxiliary in Hindi-Urdu agree with structurally most prominent argument of the verb which is not case-marked overtly, (18).

(18) a. Nominative subject, Accusative object, both non-overtly case-marked

Rahul	kitaab	parh-taa	thaa
Rahul.M	book.F	read-Hab.MSg	be.Pst.MSg

"*Rahul used to read (a/the) book*."

b. Ergative subject, Accusative object, only object is non-overtly case-marked

Rahul-ne	kitaab	parh-ii	thii
Rahul-Erg	book.F	read-Pfv.F	be.Pst.FSg

"*Rahul used to read (a/the) book*."

(Bhatt, 2005:759)

In (18a), both the subject and the object are non-overtly case-marked so both the verb and the auxiliary agree with the structurally most prominent argument, that is the subject. On the other hand, in (18b) the subject is marked with ERG Case

overtly hence both the verb and the auxiliary agree with the object which is the non-overtly case-marked argument of the main verb.

Bobaljik and Branigan (2006) investigate spurious antipassive (SAP) constructions in Chukchi. They assume that UG permits a single head to check distinct cases on multiple arguments if it is inevitable for derivation to converge. In such a configuration the higher case that is checked first will be the one which is the more marked case in such configurations. In languages with ergative systems, since ergative is regarded as more marked than absolutive, it is checked first. In Chukchi, case marking follows a canonical ergative-absolutive pattern. Agreement depends on a prefix referring to the person-number of the subject and on one or more suffixes corresponding to features of the subject in an intransitive clause but features of object or a combination of both the object and subject features (portmanteau agreement morphology) in transitive clauses as illustrated in transitive (19a) and intransitive (19b) sentences below:

(19) a. ɣəm-nan ɣət tə-ɬʔu- ɣət

I-ERG you.SG(ABS) 1SG.SUB-see-2SG.OBJ

"I saw you."

b. ɣəm tə-kətɣəntat-ɣʔak

I (ABS) 1SG.SUB-run-1SG.SUJ

"I ran."

(Bobaljik & Branigan, 2006:48)

However; in antipassive or SAP constructions, the object has no effect on agreement and agreement is carried by the subject which agrees with the verb twice; thus not only the prefix but also suffix positions are occupied by features of the subject as in (20).

(20) ə-nan γəm Ø-ine-ɬʔu-γʔi *Spurious Antipassive*

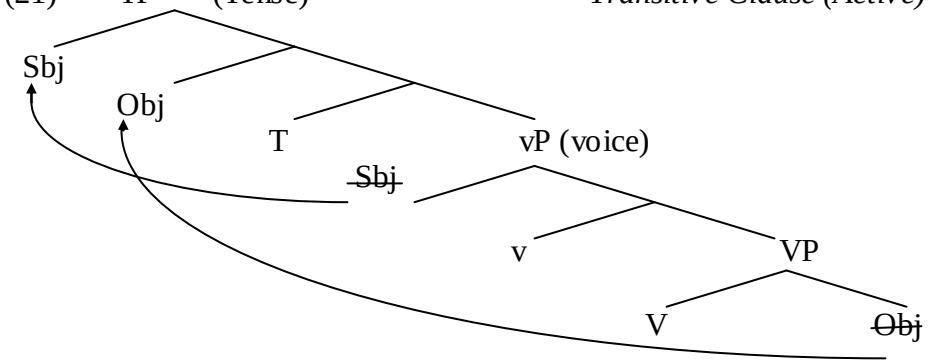
he-ERG I (ABS) 3SG.SUB-AP-see-3SG.SUB

'He saw me.'

(Bobaljik & Branigan 2006:49)

As for case, it is suggested that as observed in many classical ergative languages, in Chukchi the light v head cannot check/license object case, too and in fact this is the property which makes an ergative-absolutive pattern different from a nominative-accusative pattern. What Bobaljik and Branigan (2006) claims is that if it is necessary for convergence, a single head may check case on two arguments and in this language since v head is unable to check/license object case, both subject and object raise to domain of T^o for case checking-tuck in-; which in turn leads to ergative pattern as given in (21). Furthermore, this multiple case checking at T^o head makes portmanteau morphology on verbs possible in Chukchi.

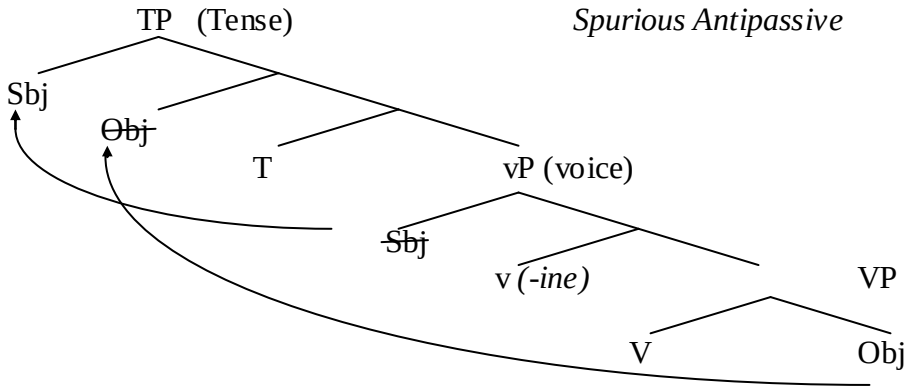
(21) TP (Tense) *Transitive Clause (Active)*



(Bobaljik & Branigan 2006:50)

The SAP is syntactically a normal transitive clause so it has a normal transitive derivation in terms of case checking. However, it is an inverse construction in terms of agreement because only subject features are seen on the verb, in other words, there is an intransitive agreement morphology at the T^o head. Bobaljik & Branigan (2006) propose that in the case where two arguments are in a checking relationship with the same functional head, the offending configuration is resolved by deleting the features of the lower argument (which is object in this sense). Therefore; in SAP constructions in this language, the subject and object raise to domain of T^o head for case checking and the features of object are deleted which results in a syntactically transitive but morphologically intransitive clause.

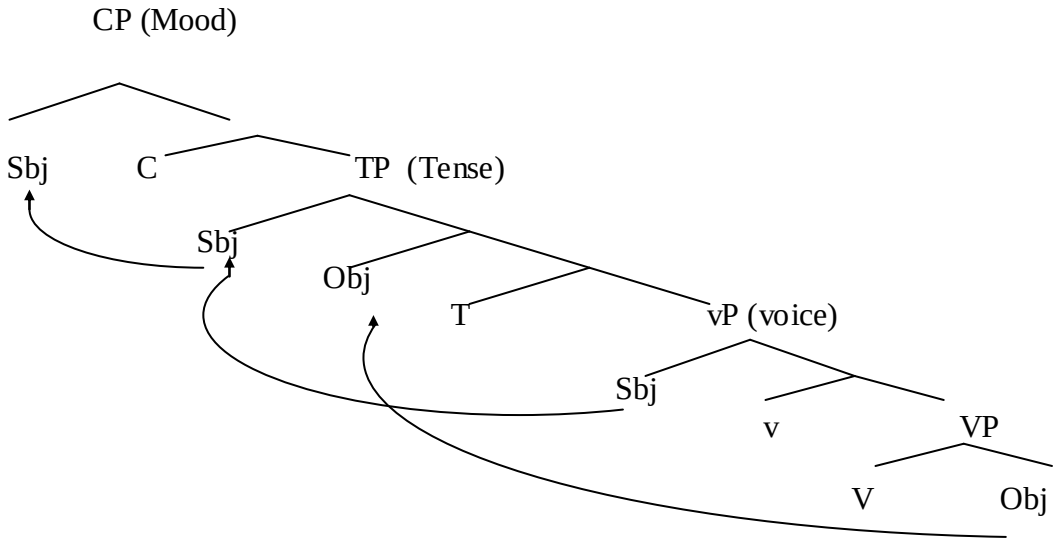
(22)



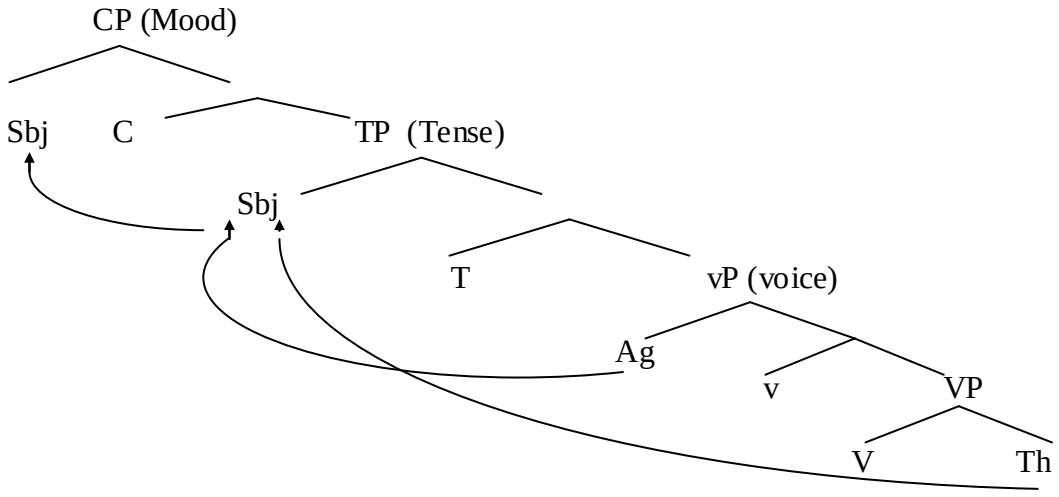
(Bobaljik & Branigan, 2006:51)

He widens his proposal about agreement system in Chukchi by adding the role of C to the configuration. The prefixes reflect indicative, conditional and irrealis/hortative features related to C-like head while suffixes are associated with Tense/Aspect morphology. The fact that the subject features are reflected on both C-agreement and T-agreement in intransitive clauses requires adding a CP to former trees. Likewise, in transitive constructions the subject and object both raise to check case at T^o and tucking in leaves the subject as the highest argument which is then attracted by C. The assumption is that C must check features of the closest argument which is the subject in both transitive and intransitive clauses; hence this forces the subject to raise to T then on to C. The modified version of former trees is shown in (23).

(23) a. *Transitive*



b. *Intransitive*



(Bobaljik & Branigan 2006:57)

Bobaljik & Branigan (2006) also maintain that ergative is a structural case because it is an intimate part of the agreement system and it is not associated with thematic roles or lexical Bobaljik and Branigan (2006) also maintain that ergative is a structural case because it is an intimate part of the agreement system and it is

not associated with thematic roles or lexical properties of verb roots. In Chukchi in the absence of an object requiring a structural case, the agents are obligatorily absolutive but not ergative. In addition, non-agent subjects like instruments, experiencers, causers are marked with ergative case if they are the subject of a transitive clause, as in (24).

(24) a. ə?tv?et jər?et-γ?i mimɬ-e

boat-ABS fill-3SG water-INSTR

'The boat filled with water.'

b. ə?tv?et jər?en-nin mimɬ-e

boat-ABS fill-3SG>3SG water-ERG

'Water filled the boat.'

(Bobaljik & Branigan, 2006:55)

1.2.3.4. Ergative as an inherent case

Woolford (1997) presents three claims regarding Case Theory. First, ergative is not a structural Case like nominative and accusative, but it is a lexical Case like dative. By presenting data from more complex ergative systems such as Nez Perce and Kalkatungu, she shows that ergative is distinct from nominative and accusative as opposed to the view which says ergative and absolutive are other names for nominative and accusative case. There is a parallelism between ergative

and dative case which supports the idea of ergative being a lexical Case as dative. For instance, ergative-accusative pattern is universally prohibited by the same principle which precludes dative-accusative pattern; that is when there is a lexically Cased subject, assignment of structural accusative Case is blocked. Likewise, both dative and ergative Cases are theta role specific; dative is restricted to goals while ergative is associated with agents. She maintains that ergative Case should be accepted as lexical Case rather than structural Case to capture this parallelism between these two Cases. Second, in opposition to the assumption that UG allows for only one structural Case for objects Woolford (1997) proposes that there are indeed two structural object Cases available in UG. One is objective Case assigned/checked in Spec Agr-O and is responsible for object agreement. The other is accusative Case assigned/checked by V inside VP and does not have any effect on object agreement. The need for the second structural object Case comes from the fact that when a lexically Cased subject is available in a structure, the verb loses its ability to assign/check a structural Case to the object and if so there need to be another structural Case that can handle the ERG-OBJ and NOM-OBJ patterns observed in some languages. These two structural Cases may occur together in a ditransitive sentence, as in the following example from Nez Perce (25). The crucial point here is that ergative Case triggers subject agreement because it is in spec Agr-S and objective Case triggers object agreement since it is in spec Agr-O, yet accusative Case does not influence object agreement in any way because it is in VP domain.

(25) Ergative-Objective-Accusative

ʔáayato-m pée-ʔni-ye tíim'es-ø háama-na.

woman-ERG 3/3-give-past book-ACC man-OBJ

"The woman gave the man a book."

(Rude, personal communication cited in Woolford, 1997; 187)

The last claim of Woolford (1997) is that in a clause where there is a lexically Cased subject (ergative or dative), the highest object cannot have structural accusative Case even though that object can have objective Case, as it is exemplified in the ditransitive sentence of Nez Perce above in (25).

Woolford (2006) mainly argues that the classification of case as structural and non-structural is inadequate; there should be a distinction between nonstructural Case, as well. Nonstructural Cases are further subdivided into two as lexical and inherent based on their difference in behavior and licensing. Lexical Case is idiosyncratic and lexically selected whereas inherent Case is inherently associated with certain θ-positions. Woolford (2006) considers ergative Case as a nonstructural inherent case since it is related to theta position; specifically that of the external argument. There are at least two significant differences between these two nonstructural Cases; predictability and θ-positions. Lexical Case is truly idiosyncratic and unpredictable; on the other hand, inherent Case is much more regular and predictable such as ergative Case in ergative languages. There is a complementary distribution among them as stated in (26):

(26) *Complementary distribution of lexical and inherent Case*

Lexical Case may occur on themes/internal arguments, but not on external arguments or on (shifted) DP goal arguments.

Inherent Case may occur on external arguments and on (shifted) DP goal arguments, but not on themes/internal arguments.

(Woolford 2006:113)

In addition to their distribution, nonstructural Cases are different in terms of licensing as stated in (27); lexical Case is inside VP proper whereas inherent Case is in vP proper above VP.

(27) *Nonstructural Case licensing*

a. Lexical Case is licensed only by lexical heads (e.g., V, P)

b. Inherent Case is licensed only by little/light v heads.

(Woolford 2006:117)

Ergative is an inherent Case licensed by v in ergative languages. Woolford (2006) presents some diagnostic tests supporting that ergative Case is inherent. As a nonstructural inherent Case, ergative preserves its Case in the external subject position where nominative is normally licensed as it is in Basque (28).

(28) a. Ni etorri naiz.

I-NOM come AUX

"I came."

b. Gizona-k kurritu du.

man-ERG run AUX

"The man ran."

(Levin (1989) cited in Woolford 2006:122)

Also, nominative objects are possible in cases where the subject has nonstructural dative or ergative Case as it is observed in many ergative languages like Icelandic (29), Hindi, etc.

(29) Barninu batnaði veikin.

child-DAT recovered-from disease-NOM

"The child recovered from the disease."

(Yip, Maling, and Jackendoff (1987) cited in Woolford 2006:122)

Legate (2002) analyzes split ergativity in Walpiri and possible roles of "absolutive" (ABS) in case systems. In parallel to Woolford (1997), she proposes that ergative is an inherent case licensed by light v which introduces external argument in a transitive clause. The account of Legate (2002) is that ergative and absolutive cases should have distinct sources in Walpiri for they display different behaviors with respect to non-finite sentences. Ergative case in this language cannot be dependent of finite T and functional projections above the verb phrase since subject of a gerundive non-finite clause can bear ERG case in this language. However, absolutive case on subjects must be dependent of finite T and functional projections above VP because a subject bearing ABS case is not licensed in gerundive non-finite clauses although the object of transitive clauses with ABS

case is licensed in such clauses. Another proposal of this study is that while ergative is an inherent case on transitive subjects (A), absolutive is a morphologically default case which is used when no case suffix and no syntactic case licenser are available, and it corresponds to structural nominative on intransitive subjects (S) and accusative on transitive objects (A). She also objects to Marantz (1991)'s dependent case assignment parameters by claiming that ergative cannot be regarded as equivalent to accusative case, and the difference between ergative-absolutive languages and nominative -accusative languages cannot be associated with the directionality of dependent case assignment.

Legate (2008) studies ergative and absolutive case features, their morphological realization and influence on agreement across many languages displaying ergativity such as Walpiri, Enga, Niuen, Pama-Nyungan, Hindi. Similar to Legate (2002), Legate (2008) proposes that ergative is an inherent case yet the "absolutive" is the default morphological realization of abstract Case features used when a realization of a particular Case feature is not available. This morphological default Case is realized as nominative case on the intransitive subjects and accusative Case on the transitive object. She makes a distinction between ABS=DEF and ABS=NOM languages. While the former one corresponds to ergative-absolutive languages in which absolutive is morphologically default, the latter one refers to ergative-absolutive languages in which absolutive is structural nominative Case. In ABS=DEF languages, T assigns nominative Case to the intransitive subject (S) and v assigns accusative Case to the transitive object (O). On the other hand, in ABS=NOM languages, nominative Case is assigned to both S and O. As for the assignment of ergative Case, it is suggested in accordance with Woolford (2006) ergative is an inherent

Case assigned by v and ergative marked subject (A) may raise to spec TP to satisfy EPP feature of T where it c-commands absolutive which is compatible with the standard observation. Moreover, In an ABS=DEF language, if the inherent-Case marked subject A may trigger agreement, both A (ergative) and S (nominative) will trigger subject agreement as in Walpiri (30) and Enga, or A may not trigger agreement but only S triggers agreement as in Niuean (31). O (accusative) may not trigger agreement or merely trigger distinct object agreement as in Walpiri (32).

(30) a. Ngajulu-rlu-rna-ngku nyuntu nya-ngu.
I-ERG-1SG.SBJ-2SG.OBJ you.ABS see-PAST
"I saw you"

b. Ngaju-rna parnka-ja.
I-ABS-1SG.SBJ run-PAST
"I ran."

(Legate 2008:71)

(31) Ma-mate tuai a launa.
PL-die PERF ABS they.DUAL
"They are dead."

Seiter (1980) cited in Legate 2008:72)

(32) Nyuntulu-rlu-npa-ju ngaju nya-ngu

you-ERG-2SG.SBJ-1SG.OBJ I.ABS see-PAST

"You saw me."

(Legate 2008:71)

In contrast to Marantz (1991) which regards realization of case as purely determined in morphology and unrelated to syntax, Legate (2008) claims that abstract Case features are determined in the syntax and realized in postsyntactic morphology. This morphological realization of abstract Case is governed by Elsewhere Condition. In addition, Bobaljik and Branigan (2006) argue that agreement is a wholly morphological phenomenon because it should track morphological case therefore it should be determined solely in the morphology. Contrary to this, Legate (2008) asserts that agreement features are established in the syntax based on a structural relation, closest c-command, and are subsequently realized in the morphology. Even though both Marantz (1991) and Bobaljik and Branigan (2006) relate case and agreement relationships to morphology by leaving aside syntax, Legate (2008) insistently defends the idea that morphological approach should rely on syntactic mechanism, hence not only case but also agreement relationships are established in the syntax and then realized in the morphology.

Anand and Nevins (2006) study ergativity in Hindi and presents two different ergative constructions in this language, which are basically ERG-NOM and ERG-OBJ. Ergativity in Hindi is determined by aspectual properties of the predicates and is only observed in perfective transitive constructions. Anand and Nevins (2006) provide three arguments for the inherent nature of ergative in

Hindi, which is only available in transitive constructions under perfective aspect. First, although nominative subjects agree with the verb in Hindi, ergative subjects fail to do so as in (33). Second, ergative and nominative subjects in this language do not display the parallel scope features. While inverse scope can be obtained with nominative subjects which are assumed to enter into an AGREE relation with T as in (34), inverse scope cannot be obtained with non-agreeing ergative subjects, which in turn results in scope freezing. Thirdly, ergative case is theta-role specific as only agents can have ergative case in Hindi.

(33) a. Aurat baccaa bulaa rahii hai
woman-NOM child-ACC call PROG-SG.F be-PRES-3SG.F
"The woman is calling a child."

b. caachii-ne laRkii-se pyaar kiyaa
aunt-ERG child-INST love do-PERF-3SG.M
"The aunt loved the child."

(Anand & Nevins, 2006:8)

(34) a. koi shaayer har ghazal likhtaa hai
some poet-NOM every song-ACC write.M-IMPF be-PRES
"Some poet writes every song."

[some>every, every>some]

b. kisii shaayer-ne har ghazal likhii

some poet-ERG every song-NOM write.F-PERF

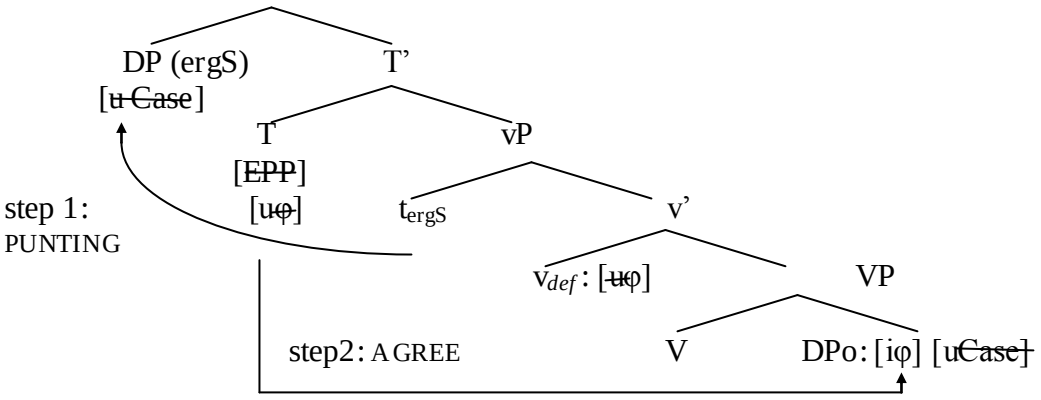
"Some poet wrote every song."

[some>every, *every>some]

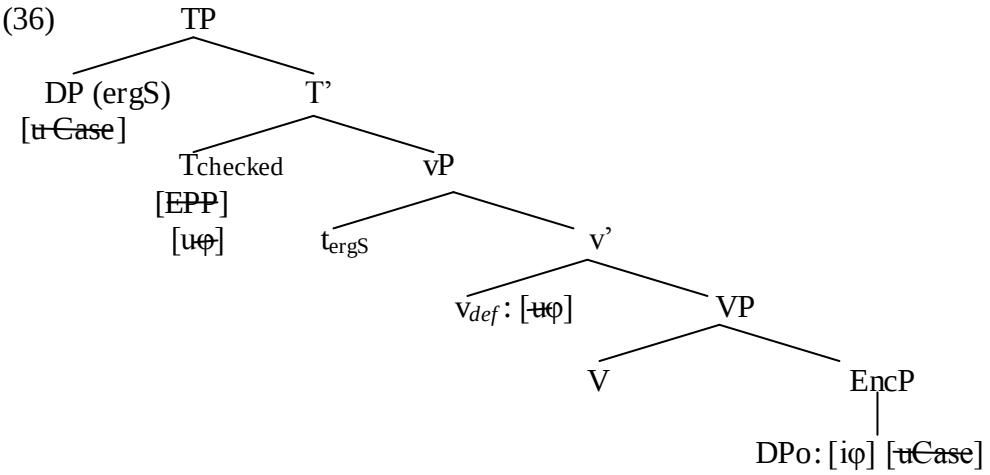
(Anand & Nevins, 2006:5)

Anand and Nevins (2006) discuss the case and agreement checking relations of ERG-NOM and ERG-OBJ patterns within the Minimalist Program. What they propose for ERG-NOM pattern is that since ERG is an inherent case, it absorbs case requirement of the subject DP and renders it inactive; therefore ergative case is not assigned by T and does not enter into any AGREE relation with T. On the other hand, the object DP whose case requirements should be satisfied for the derivation to converge is assigned nominative case by T and enters into an AGREE relation with T as in (35). However, based on the assumption that AGREEment is maximized but not obligatory in Hindi, they suggest that in ERG-OBJ constructions both subject and object DPs have their cases inherently checked and do not enter into a case and agreement relation with T. T enters into the numeration as [$T_{checked}$] which does not require agreement and value case (case checking). In both patterns, subject DPs raise to spec TP position to satisfy EPP, as shown in (36).

(35)



(36)



In Chapter 2, when we analyze ergativity in Kurmanji Kurdish, we will discuss the nature of ergativity in this language with respect to the literature given here and we will adopt "ergative is a structural dependent case" view as a base for our discussion and claims.

1.3.General properties of Kurmanji

In this section, we will introduce a brief survey of the main properties of Kurmanji morpho-syntax.

1.3.1. Basic Word-Order

The basic word order pattern in Kurmanji is SOV in transitive and ditransitive constructions as exemplified in (37) and (38), respectively, while the word order in intransitive constructions is SV as in (39). The direct object of the verb always immediately precedes the verb itself[3].

(37) Ez pirtûkê di-xwîn-im

Subject Object Verb

I book Prog.read.Pres.1psg

"I am reading the book."

(38) Ez ji Ali ra pirtûkê di-şîn-im

Subject Indirect Object Direct Object Verb

I P Ali book Prog.-send.Pres.-1psg

"I am sending the book to Ali."

(39) Ez di-rev-im

Subject Verb

I Prog.-run.Pres.-1psg

"I am running."

[3] The earliest written version of Kurmanji where a version of the Persian alphabet was used dates back to the 7th century AD. The Kurmanji population living in Armenia and Azerbaijan have used the Cyrillic alphabet in their writings (Thackston, 2006). However; for most of their history, Kurds have preferred to use the Arabic, Persian or Latin alphabets for their literary works. Emîr Celadet Bedir Xan is known to be the first person who used the Latin alphabet in Kurmanji writings, and this alphabet is still widely used with some changes (Bedir Xan&Lescot, 1997).

The Kurmanji data used in this thesis is written with the letters used in Modern Kurmanji ortography. In this ortography, "i" stands for the back high unrounded vowel [ɯ] while "î" stands for the front high unrounded vowel [i]. Similarly, "û" is the back high rounded vowel [u] whereas "u" is a sound between [ɯ] and [u].

If the distribution of adjuncts is considered, they may show up before or after the verb. The adjuncts which are encoded in the semantics of the verb (specifically verbs of directed motion) follow the verb as in (40) whereas those which are not directly relevant to the verb semantically but just give extra information about the state/action generally precede the verb, (41).

(40)	Ez	erebê	d-ajo-m	Enqerê
	Subject	Object	Verb	
	I	car	Prog.-drive.Pres.-1psg	Enqere
	"I am driving my car to Enqere."			

(41)	Ez	pirtûkê	li ser	cihe	xwe	di-xwîn-im
	Subject	Object	Adjunct			Verb
	I	book	P	bed	self	Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg
	"I am reading the book on my bed."					

1.3.2. Wh in-situ

Unlike languages like English which have overt wh-movement, in Kurmanji wh-words stand in their base position sentences[4].

[4] Wh-words in Kurmanji

kî	→	who
či	→	what
ku(der)	→	where
kîngê	→	when
kîjan	→	which
čima	→	why
čan(kî)	→	how
čend	→	how many
či qas	→	how much

(42) Tu di-ç-î ku?

You Prog.-go.Pres.-2psg where

"Where are you going?"

(43) Kî pirtûkê di-xwîn-e?

Who book Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg

"Who is reading the book?"

(44) Zana či di-xwîn-e?

Zana what Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg

"What is Zana reading?"

(45) Zana kîngê pirtûkê di-xwîn-e?

Zana when book Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg

"When is Zana reading the book?"

1.3.3. Head Directionality

When the internal structure of Kurmanji phrases is analyzed, it is difficult to propose that Kurmanji is a uniformly head-final or head-initial language because it exhibits the properties of both patterns. DPs, NPs, CPs, TPs and some PPs show head-initial properties because the head appears to the left of the complement (46) while VPs and some PPs illustrate head-final properties in which the head follows the complement (47).

(46) CP → [$_{CP}$[$_{C}$ ku] [$_{TP}$ ez hatibûm]] "that I had come"

TP → [$_{TP}$ [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ pere] $_{T'}$[[$_{T}$ hat] [$_{VP}$ [$_{V}$ şandin]] "money was sent"

DP → [$_{DP}$ [$_{Det}$ vê] [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ pirtûkê]]] "this book"

NP → [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ pirtûk-a] [$_{Adj\ P}$[$_{Adj}$ sor]]] "red book"

PP → [$_{PP}$ [$_{P}$ ji] [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ Enqerê]]] "from Enqere"

(47) VP → [$_{VP}$ [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ pirtûkê]] [$_{V}$ wxand]] "read the book"

PP → [$_{PP}$ [$_{NP}$ [dest-ê te]] [$_{P}$ da]] "at your hand"

In addition to prepositions and postpositions, Kurmanji also has circumpositions as shown in (48):[5]

(48) ji Ehmed ra

preposition NP (complement) postposition

"to Ehmed"

[5] In Kurmanji, there are a few postpositions (*ve*, *de*, *re* or the variants, *va*, *da*, *ra*) which do not necessarily add anything significant to the meaning of the phrase so they are generally used with other prepositions to form circumpositions. Below is a list of common prepositions, postpositions and circumpositions in this language.

ba to, towards
bêî (bêyî, bêy) without
bi with, by means of (see below)
bi tenê except for
derveyî outside of
di … re by, via, with
di bareya …de about, concerning
di nav … de among, amidst, inside of
heta until, as far as
ji … re to, for, with
ji bilî other than, aside from
ji nava from amongst
li (… de) in, at, to
li ber in front of, before
li dora around
li gora according to
li pêş in front of
li ser on, above, about
piştî after
ta until, up to
wek(e) like
ber in front of, toward
berî before
bi … re with, along with
bi xêra due to, thanks to
di … de in
di … ve through
digel with
di navbera … de between
ji from, of (partitive)
ji … ve from; as of, since
ji bo for, for the sake of
ji xeynî other than, aside from
li cem together with
li dijî against
ligel together with
li pey after, behind
li rex beside
mîna like
ser on, to
tevî along with

(Thackston, 2006: 20-21)

1.3.4. Pro-drop

In Kurmanji both the subject and the object can be dropped depending on the discourse. If the subject or the object of the sentence is already known and pragmatically inferable, then they can be omitted. For instance, in (49) the speaker A is asking the speaker B about what s/he did yesterday and while answering this question the speaker B does not need to mention the subject (herself/himself) anymore and similarly in (50) they are talking about the book so the speaker B again does not use the object (the book) in her/his answer since it is already known to both in this context. However, in some contexts it is not possible to drop the subject or the object. For instance in a contrastive context like the one in (51) the subject cannot be omitted but it must be used.

(49) A: Te doh çi kir?
you yesterday what do.Past.3psg
"What did you do yesterday?"
B: razam.
sleep.Past.3psg
"(I) slept"

(50) A: Te vê pirtûkê xilas kir?[6]
You this book finish do.Past.3psg
"Did you finish this book?"

[6] In Kurmanji, there is no question particle for forming yes-no questions, thus speakers use intonation to ask such questions. What they do is basically to stress the verb itself. Interestingly, Turkish-Kurmanji bilingual speakers generally do not use the question particle of Turkish (-mI) when they form yes-no questions in Turkish.

B: Na, hê di-xwûn-im.

No, still Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg

"No, (I am) still reading (this book)"

(51) Ez di-kar-im Kurmancî bi-axiv-im

I Prog.-be able to-1psg Kurmanji Subj.-speak.Pres.-1psg

lê tu ni-kar-î (Kurmancî

but you(sg) Neg.-be able to-2psg Kurmanji

bi-axiv-î)

Subj.-speak.Pres.-2psg

"I can speak Kurmanji but you cannot speak it."

1.3.5. Verbal Morphology

1.3.5.1. Agreement

Kurmanji displays three different agreement patterns determined by the tense and transitivity of the verb; these are namely subject-verb agreement, object-verb agreement and zero agreement. In Kurmanji, in all intransitive and present tense transitive constructions the verb agrees with the subject of the sentence in terms of person and number. The singular subject agrees with the verb both in person and number whereas the plural subject agrees with the verb only in number (52).

(52) a. Tu ket-î

You(sg) fall.Past-2psg

"You fell down."

b. Hûn ket-in

You(pl) fall.Past -pl

"*You (all) fell down."*

In past transitive sentences the verb agrees with the object so the person-number marker on the verb reflects the properties of the object but not the subject, (53a). However, in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji in past transitive sentences the verb agrees with neither the subject nor the object of the sentence but it is found in default third person singular form, (53b).

(53) a. Wan ez dît-im

they-sbj I-obj see.Past-1psg

"They saw me."

b. Wan min dît-Ø

they-sbj I-obj see.Past-3psg

"They saw me."

There are also two sets of pronouns and agreement markers which change according to the tense of the verb. The agreement markers appear on verb final position. Person and number are fused in a single marker and found as a suffix on the verb. Singular subjects have different markers on the verb whereas there is

only one morpheme for all plural subjects denoting number, as shown in the chart below.

Subjects in Intransitives in all dialects and in Present tense Transitives; Object in Past Tense Transitives in Standard Kurmanji		Subjects and Objects in Past Tense Transitives in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji	
Person	marker (person+number)	Person	marker (person+number)
1PSG Ez	-(i)m	1PSG Min	-(y)e/ Ø
PSG Tu	-(y)î/-y[7]	PSG Te	
3PSG Ew	-(y)e/ Ø	3PSG Wê/Wî	
1/2/3PPL (Em, Hûn,Ew)	-(i)n	1/2/3PPL (Me, We,Wan)	

The form of person-number suffixes alternates according to whether the verb stem ends in a vowel or a consonant; as in te-*m* "I am coming" vs. dič-*im* "I am going".

1.3.5.2. Tense-Aspect Inflection

The person-number inflection process is more or less regular; in fact it is much more regular when compared to the tense inflection process. Tense markers appear either as prefixes or suffixes on the verb depending on the particular value of tense. To illustrate, the whole agreement paradigm for the verb *čum* "go" is

[7] Note that the person and number marker of the second person singular sometimes is only *–y* in past tense when the verb stem ends in a vowel as in č*uy* meaning "You went" and *may* meaning "You stayed". Actually, this is the suffix *–i* but it sounds like [j]. The reason why the suffix *-yi* does not occur on the verb in this case is to make these verbs different from their present perfect counterparts. For instance, *čuy* means "You stayed" whereas *čuyi* means "You have gone".

given below. Note that present/continuous, present subjunctive and past continuous are reflected on the verb in prefix form, as *di-*, *bi-*, *di-* prefixes respectively while present perfect and past perfect are marked by the suffixes *–e and –bû* suffixes respectively[8]. The person-number marker follows the past-perfect tense suffix. Simple past tense is expressed in terms of the absence of an overt form, with just person-number suffixes attached to verb stem.

Verb: čun "go"	Present/ Cont.	Present Subjunctive	Simple Past	Past Cont.	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
1PSG Ez	dičim	dičim	čûm	dičûm	čume	čûbûm

Prefix forms change depending on whether there is a vowel or a consonant after them and similarly suffix forms alter according to whether there is a vowel or a consonant before them. For instance, if the stem begins with a vowel, the prefix for past continuous is *d-* as in *davêže* "he is throwing", yet if it begins with a consonant the prefix takes the form of *di-* as in *diçe* "he is going". In the same way, if a verb stems ends in a vowel, the prefix for the past perfect is *–bû* as in *çûbûm* "I had gone" but if the stem ends in a consonant the prefix for this tense is *–ibû* as in *gotibûm* "I had said/told".

The future tense in Kurmanci is different from other tenses in terms of affixation. It is marked on the verb, but also appears as a separate modal which can get cliticized on to pronominal subjects. There is a present subjunctive prefix

[8] The term "tense" is used here in the traditional sense; otherwise, the prefix *di-* is obviously not a tense marker but an aspectual morpheme standing for Progresive Aspect.

on the verb and the marker *-(y)ê* on the subject if it is a pronoun. But if the subject is a full noun, *dê/wê* follows the subject as shown in the following chart.

Pronoun+(y)ê	Proper Noun wê/dê
Ezê bičim *"I will go"* Tuyê bičî *"You will go"* Ewê biče *"S/he will go"* Emê/ Hunê/ Ewê bičin *"We/You/They will go"*	Ruken wê biče *"Ruken will go"* Zana dê biče *"Zana will go"*

Actually, as it is obvious in the data given, the verb root (stem) has two different shapes in the present and past tenses; one is used in present/continuous, present subjunctive and future tenses (first group) whereas the other one is used in present perfect and all past tenses (second group). For instance, in the first group the roots for the verbs "go" and "say" are -č-and -bej-, respectively, while they are -čû- and -got- in the second group, which in turn implies that the verb stem already embodies tense information.

Lastly, although the nouns in this language have gender distinction mainly feminine and masculine, this distinction is not reflected on the verb.

1.3.5.3. Negation

Negation in Kurmanci appears on verb stems as a prefix which has basically three phonological shapes as *n(a)-* , *n(e)- ni-*. In the present/continuous tense, it is realized as *n(a)-* while in all other tenses it is *n(e)-*. *ni-* is only used with the auxiliary *karin* "to be able to" both in the present and in the past tenses. The

interesting point about negation is that the appearance of the negation prefix precludes the appearance of other tense prefixes except for the prefix *di-* used in the past continuous tense. To illustrate, when *dičim* "I am going" is negated, the tense prefix *di-* is replaced by the negation marker, as in *načim* "I am not going".

To summarize, the verbal complex in Kurmanji has an internal structure like the one below:

[PREFIX] + [PREFIX] + [VERB STEM] + [SUFFIX] + [SUFFIX] + SUFFIX]

negation + T/A[9] + lexical stem + T/A + agreement + T/A

T/A

1.3.6. Nominal Morphology

In Kurmanji, nouns have gender; they belong to either the feminine or the masculine class, and this gender distinction influences the markers showing up on nouns. Thackston (2006) discusses four cases that nouns can take in Kurmanji, namely; nominative, oblique, construct and vocative. There is not an overt marking for nominative case in this language thus all nouns no matter whether they are feminine or masculine have -Ø zero marking for nominative case. The demonstrative adjective in nominative has the form *ev* "this, these" *ew* "that, those" for all nouns and the indefinite singular marking in nominative for all singular nouns is –(y)ek. On the other hand, in the oblique case feminine singular nouns are marked with -ê (or yê) whereas unmodified masculine nouns have -Ø zero marking. However, if masculine singular nouns are inflected with the

[9] T/A stands for "tense/aspect".

indefinite singular marking -(y)ek or modified by a demonstrative adjective *vî* "this" *wî* "that" or the quantifier *her* "every" , they are marked with -î in the oblique; e.g. *mirov-ek-î* "a man" or *vî mirov-î* "this man" - *wî mirov-î* "that man" or *her mirov-î* "every man". Also, in oblique both modified and unmodified feminine singular nouns have always the marker -ê; e.g. *jin-ek-ê* "a woman" or *vê jin-ê* "this woman" – *wê jin-ê* "that woman" or *her jin-ê* "every woman". There is no gender distinction for plural nouns in oblique so all plural nouns have -an (or -yan). The nominative and oblique forms of the plural and unmodified masculine nouns are the same. (*mirov* "man", *jin* "woman" *ode* "room")

(54)

	NOMINATIVE	OBLIQUE
MASC. SING.	mirov + Ø	mirov + Ø
FEM. SING.	jin + Ø	jin + ê
	ode + Ø	ode + yê (or odê)
PLURAL	mirov + an	mirov + an
	jin + an	jin + an
	ode + yan	ode + yan

(Thackston, 2006: 8)

The construct case is the marker that shows the possessive and modifier relation and it is also known as "ezafe". The head noun of possessive and adjectival constructions is marked with construct case and the complement is always in the oblique case (Thackston, 2006). For instance, in (55) and (56) the heads of the

possessive and adjectival construction are *mirov* and *jin*, respectively, *and* they are marked with the construct case whereas the rest in (a) is in oblique case.

(55) a. mirov-ê vê bajar-ê
man-Const. this.Oblq city-Oblq
"the man of this city"

b. mirov-ê mezin
man-Const. big
"the big man"

(56) a. jin-a vê bajar-ê
woman-Const. this-Oblq city-Oblq
"the woman of this city"

b. jin-a mezin
woman-Const. big
"the big woman"

The construct case markings for nouns are the ones given below.

	DEF. SING.	INDEF. SING.	PLURAL
MASC.	-ê	-ekî	-en
FEM.	-a	-eke	-en

(Thackston, 2006: 11)

Lastly, in vocative case all the plural nouns have -no endings and the feminine singular nouns is marked with –ê as in *keč-ê* "girl!" whereas the masculine ones are marked with -o as in *kur-o* "boy!".

1.4.Summary

In this chapter, we gave a general overview of the general properties of two theories that we adopt in this study, namely The Minimalist Program and Distributed Morphology. We also presented the most related literature of "ergativity" from different three approaches; (i) ergative as a structural case, (ii) ergative as an inherent case and (iii) ergative as a morphologically dependent case.

Also, general morpho-syntactic properties of Kurmanji Kurdish have been exhibited in the last section. The synractic properties of this language such as head-directionality, the basic word order and affirmative- interrogative constructions are presented as well as its case, tense and agreement morphology.

CHAPTER 2

PHRASE STRUCTURE AND ERGATIVITY IN KURMANJI

2.1. Introduction

In Kurmanji[10], there are two case markers occurring on the subject and the object in a transitive construction; one is the zero morpheme (-Ø) and the other is (*-ê*) . Both of these case morphemes can mark both the subject and the object; thus it is possible to have a subject with -Ø or *-ê* morpheme as well as having an object with -Ø or *-ê* morpheme as illustrated in (1).

(1) a. Ruken-Ø pirtûk-ê di-xwîn-e
Ruken-Ø(sbj) book-ê (obj) Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg
"Ruken is reading the book."

b. Ruken-ê pirtûk-Ø xwand-Ø
Ruken-ê(sbj) book-Ø (obj) read.Past.-3psg
"Ruken read the book."

If the sentences above are constructed with pronouns, the same morphological alternations of case on the subject and the object will be reflected on the pronouns, as well. The sentences in (1a) and (1b) are re-written with pronouns in (2a) and (2b), respectively.

[10] Kurmanji is a dialect of Kurdish spoken especially in Turkey as well as comprising speakers living in Northern Iraq, parts of Syria, Iran and Russia. Kurdish is a member of the Western Iranian branch of Indo-European languages. This study will present novel data for case both from standard Kurmanji as well as a specific dialect of it spoken in Muş in Turkey.

(2) a. Ew wê di-xwîn-e

S/he (sbj) she (feminine, obj) Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg

"She is reading it (fem.)"

b. Wê ew xwand-Ø

She (feminine, sbj) s/he (obj) read.Past.-3psg

"She read it."

The pronouns in Kurmanji Kurdish are listed in (3):

(3)

Agreeing Pronouns	Non-Agreeing Pronouns	
Ez	Min	(I)
Tu	Te	(You (sg))
Ew	Wê (feminine)	(She)
	Wî (masculine)	(He)
Em	Me	(We)
Hûn	We	(You (pl))
Ew	Ewan/Wan	(They)

As we will discuss in detail in the following sections, the distribution of these case markers is sensitive to the tense information of the clause. Subjects with– *ê* are only possible in the past tense, while zero marked subjects are found in non-past constructions. However, although the expected number of combinations of these case morphemes on the subject and the object arguments is four, what we get is three case patterns. This in turn, implies that the combination at hand is not

arbitrary but sensitive to language specific constraints of Kurmanji. The expected four combinations are listed in (4):

(4)

i. subject+ Ø – object+ ê

ii. subject+ ê – object+ Ø

iii. subject+ ê – object+ ê

iv. *subject+ Ø – object+ Ø

In Kurmanji, the first three possible combinations are observed in different dialects; (i) and (ii) are used in Standard Kurmanji whereas (i) and (iii) are used in Muş dialect of Kurmanji. These three patterns are not used together in one dialect but it seems that (ii) and (iii) are mutually exclusive. The argument having zero morpheme (-Ø) agrees with the verb in terms of number and person, whereas the argument with the overt morpheme (-ê) does not enter into an agree relation with the verb. The ungrammaticality of (iv) is thus predicted: the inflection of two arguments on itself as two arguments cannot agree with the verb at the same time. The impossibility of (iv) also predicts the possibility of (iii) because the fact that neither argument in (iii) marks the verb obeys the constraints of agreement morphology of this language.

Note that in Kurmanji, the morpheme *-ê* is only observed on feminine nouns when they function as non-agreeing subjects or objects but not on masculine nouns having the same function as seen in (5).

(5) a. Rojbîn û Sîdar-Ø merik-Ø di-bîn-in

Rojbin and Sidar-AS man-NAO Prog.-see.Pres.-pl

"Rojbin and Sidar see man"

b. Merik-Ø Rojbîn û Sîdar-Ø dît-in

man-NAS Rojbin and Sidar-AO see.Past.-pl

"Man saw Rojbin and Sidar"

c. Merik-Ø Rojbîn û Sîdar-Ø dît-Ø

man-NAS Rojbin and Sidar-NAO see.Past.-3psg

"Man saw Rojbin and Sidar"

Actually, masculine nouns do not have the overt exponent only when they are unmodified. However, they are marked with *-î* morpheme when they are modified by demonstrative adjectives such as *vî* (this, these) or *wî* (that, those) or by *her* (every) or when they are inflected with indefinite singular ending *–(y)ek*. Therefore, when unmodified masculine nouns as well as modified ones are replaced by a pronoun, a pronominal change is observed and non-agreeing pronouns are used; thus these masculine nouns are also included in the group of non-agreeing arguments even though they are morphologically identical to agreeing nouns. The sentences in (5) are replaced with pronouns in (6).

(6) a. Ew wî di-bîn-in

They-AS he-NAO Prog.-see.Pres.-pl

"They see him."

b. Wî ew dît-in

he-NAS they-AO see.Past-pl

"He saw them."

c. Wî wan dît-Ø

he-NAS they-NAO see.Past.-3psg

"He saw them."

In other words, Ø case morpheme is not the only condition for agreement because although unmodified masculine nouns also have zero case marking when they function as non-agreeing nouns, they do not enter into an agree relation with the verb. Therefore, since morphological case marking and agreement are not as parallel as they seem, we prefer to describe the patterns observed in Kurmanji in terms of agreeing arguments vs. non-agreeing arguments rather than in terms of morphological case (-Ø vs. -ê). The arguments marked with zero morpheme (-Ø) will be named Agreeing Subject (henceforth, AS) if they function as the subject of the sentence and Agreeing Object (henceforth, AO) if they function as the object of the sentence. On the other hand; the arguments marked with the overt morpheme (-ê) will be termed as Non-agreeing Subject (henceforth, NAS) if they bear subject role or Non-agreeing Object (henceforth, NAO) if they bear object role. The possible combination of case morphemes given in (4) is revised in (7) with the new terms.

(7)

i. AS - NAO

ii. NAS - AO

iii. NAS - NAO

iv. * AS - AO

These patterns (i, ii, iii) are also observed in languages like Hindi. In Hindi, an agreeing subject is called the Nominative subject whereas a non-agreeing subject is called the Ergative subject. As for objects, Nominative is used for agreeing objects while Accusative (objective) is used for non-agreeing objects. There is a long discussion on such Ergative subjects in the literature as to whether Ergative is a structural or an inherent case, whether its checking mechanism, as well as its agreement patterns are in parallel to those of the Nominative subjects (Marantz (1991), Woolford (1997), (2006); Legate (2002), (2008), Davison (2004) and Bobaljik&Branigan (2006) and Anand&Nevins (2006)). However, in order to avoid any biases that may arise due to the previous studies done on other languages, we will not adopt the terminology Ergative vs. Nominative in the literature; instead we will use the terminology that we set in (7).

The main aim of this chapter is to analyze the three patterns given in (7), which are observed in the transitive constructions in Kurmanji, namely AS-NAO, NAS-AO and NAS-NAO, in pursuit of answering whether the non-agreeing case marker on the subject is a structural or inherent case in this language. It will be argued that in Kurmanji NAS bears a structural case, which is independent of theta-roles but dependent on tense and transitivity. Adopting the Distributed Morphology (DM) model, it will be claimed that syntactically the case realized on NAS is fully in parallel to the case on AS, but the differences between the three case patterns lie in the post-syntactic realization of case and agreement morphology sensitive to the features of tense and transitivity.

2.2. Case and Subject/Object-Verb Agreement in Kurmanji

The case patterns in Kurmanji differs with respect to transitivity and tense feature (past vs. non-past) of the sentence (Haig, 2004). In all intransitive constructions, the subject has zero (-Ø) case morpheme and its person and number features are reflected on the verb as it is in (8).

(8) a. Ez ket-im
I-AS fall.Past-1psg
"I fell down."

b. Em di-rev-in
we-AS Prog.-run.Pres-pl
"*We are running."*

On the other hand, for transitive constructions, Kurmanji has two patterns which are also illustrated above, namely, (i) AS-NAO and (ii) NAS-AO. AS-NAO case pattern is observed in all non-past transitive constructions. The external argument (subject) is marked with -Ø case morpheme and the internal argument (object), when it is feminine, has the overt case marker, *-ê*. In this construction, the singular subject always agrees with the verb in person and number as in (9), whereas the plural subject agrees with the verb merely in number as in (10).

(9) Ez cil-an di-şû-m
I-AS cloth-PL.NAO Prog.- wash.Pres.-1psg
"I am washing the clothes."

(10) Em/Hun cil-an di-şû-n

we/you(pl)-AS cloth-PL.NAO Prog.- wash.Pres.-pl

"We/You are washing the clothes."

The NAS-AO case pattern appears in all past transitive constructions. The external argument (subject), when it is feminine, has the overt case marker which is -ê while the internal argument (object) gets Ø case marker. This is called *canonical ergative construction* in Kurmanji in Haig (2004). The agreement relation of this pattern is different from the one of AS-NAO pattern because in this construction not the -ê marked subject but the -Ø marked object agrees with the verb in terms of person and number. In other words, the -Ø marked argument governs agreement both in intransitive and past transitive constructions but the person and number properties of the non-agreeing subject cannot be reflected on the verb as seen in (11).

(11) a. Min tu dît-î

I-NAS you(sg)-AO see.Past-2psg

"*I saw you."*

b. Wan ez dît-im

they-NAS I-AO see.Past-1psg

"They saw me."

However, not all past transitive constructions conform to this canonical pattern. In the Muş dialect of Kurmanji, there is another case pattern, that is NAS-NAO. In

this dialect, in non-past constructions we always find AS-NAO in parallel to the form observed in other dialects, but in past constructions we only find the NAS-NAO pattern. Thus, the canonical NAS-AO case pattern is not observed at all in this dialect; instead the NAS-NAO pattern is used. This pattern is called Double Oblique Construction (or a kind of deviation from canonical ergativity) in Haig (2004). In this deviant construction, neither the subject nor the object agrees with the verb but the verb appears in the default third person singular form as in (12):

(12) a. Min te dît-Ø
I-NAS you(sg)-NAO see.Past-3psg
"*I saw you.*"

b. Wan min dît-Ø
they-NAS I-NAO see.Past-3psg
"They saw me."

In the following, we will discuss the derivation of the above mentioned case patterns and introduce a basic phrase structure model for Kurmanji. We will first start with the notion of subjecthood and the role of EPP in Kurmanji phrase structure and then turn to analyzing the case patterns.

2.3. Subjecthood in Kurmanji

As also illustrated above, subjects in Kurmanji bear various morphological case marking which is determined by the tense and transitivity of the sentence. The subject in all intransitive and non-past transitive constructions gets zero (-Ø) case

marker while the subject in all past transitive constructions bears -ê case marker as illustrated in Section 1 above. Even though they have different morphological marking, these subjects illustrate a number of properties in common which make it possible to assert that there is a fixed position associated with subjects in Kurmanji.

2.3.1. Evidence from Binding

One piece of evidence for the argument that AS and NAS occupy a fixed subject position in Kurmanji comes from binding facts. As discussed in Haig (2004) in Kurmanji there is a reflexive *xwe*, which is strictly subject oriented and therefore can only be bound by the subject of the clause but not by internal arguments as seen in (13):

(13)

Ez$_i$	Ruken-ê$_j$	gazî	mala	xwe$_{i/*j}$	di-k-im.
I-AS	Ruken-NAO	call	home	self	Prog-do.Pres.-1psg

"*I am calling Ruken to my house.*"

As a reflexive, *xwe* requires its antecedent to appear in the immediate binding domain. In (14), the subjects of the matrix clause *ez* "I-AS" or *min* "I-NAS" cannot bind the reflexive *xwe* because they are not in the same domain; therefore only the subject of embedded clause, *ew* "s/he", can bind the reflexive *xwe* and be its antecedent as they are in the same clause.

(14) a. Ez_i ji wî ra di-bej-im ku ew_j

I-AS P him P Prog.-say.Pres.-1psg that s/he-AS

her-e mala $xwe_{j/*i}$ / $min_{i/*j}$

Subj-go-3psg home self / 1ps.Poss. pronoun

"I want him to go to his/my home."

b. Min_i ji wî ra got-Ø ku ew_j her-e

I-NAS to him Dat say.Past-3psg thats/he-AS Subj-go-3psg

mala $xwe_{j/*i}$ / $min_{i/*j}$

home self / 1ps.Poss. pronoun

"I wanted him to go to his/my home."

As shown in (15), both AS and NAS can bind the reflexive pronoun *xwe*. This implies that structurally both AS and NAS equally qualify as a potential subject which can bind *xwe*:

(15) a. Ez_i xwe_i di-bîn-im

I-AS self Prog.-see.Pres.-1psg

"I see myself."

b. Min_i xwe_i dît-Ø

I-NAS self see.Past-3psg

"I saw myself."

"*xwe*" is a subject oriented reflexive as seen in the examples above and the ability to bind subject-oriented reflexives is not a property of thematic subjects generated under spec vP which can be supported with the following passive sentence in (16).

(16) Zana$_i$ bi tifinga xwe$_i$ hat-Ø ledan
Zana with gun self come.Past-3psg to shoot
"*Zana was shot with his gun.*"

Although the subject *Zana* of the passive sentence above is actually the promoted object, it can still bind the subject oriented reflexive *xwe* because it functions as the subject of the sentence, which in turn implies that all subjects in Kurmanji raises to a fixed position where they acquire the role of structural subject of the sentence. We interpret this position to be spec TP, a position where arguments regardless of their case morphology or theta-roles function as the subject of the sentence.

2.3.2. Evidence from Scope

Another piece of evidence supporting that AS and NAS syntactically share the same position comes from their parallel scopal properties. In the following sentences, regardless of different case markings the subjects have identical scopal behavior as seen in (17).[11] If there are five children, the total number of the books read is ten.

[11] In languages like Hindi, ergative and nominative subjects do not display the parallel scope features. While inverse scope can be obtained with nominative subjects which are assumed to enter into an agree relation with T as in (ia), inverse scope cannot be obtained with non-agreeing ergative subject, which in turn results in scope freezing as in (ib).

(17) a. Her zarok-Ø du pirtûk-an di-xwîn-e
every child-AS two book-PL.NAO Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg
"Every child read two books." [every>two]

b. Her zarok-î du pirtûk-an xwand-Ø
every child-NAS two book-PL.NAO read.Past-3psg
"Every child read two books." [every>two]

The binding and scope facts presented above indicate that subjecthood in this language is independent from the case morphology but is completely determined by the structural position of the DP. Therefore, AS and NAS must occupy the same position since they behave the same with respect to binding and scope properties.

2.4. EPP in Kurmanji

In the Minimalist Program, it is generally assumed that agentive subjects are generated under spec vP, which is the functional projection introducing the external theta role. However, this is not necessarily the surface position of

---

(i) a. koi shaayer har ghazal likhtaa hai
some poet-nom every song-acc write.m-impf be-pre
"Some poet writes every song."
[some>every, every>some]

b. kisii shaayer-ne har ghazal likhii
some poet-erg every song-nom write.f-perf
"Some poet wrote every song."
[some>every, *every>some]

(Anand and Nevins, 2006:5)

subjects in a given language. In some Celtic languages like Irish, subjects can remain inside the vP domain whereas in languages like English subjects leave the spec vP position and raise into spec TP (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 1998). Given that case can be checked via in situ Agree, the basic motivation for the subject to raise to spec TP is assumed to check EPP feature. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) propose that EPP can be checked either via Move/Merge XP (argument/adjunct raising to spec XP) or via Move X (verb raising). In the following I will show that Kurmanji is one of the languages which require EPP checking via Move/Merge XP.

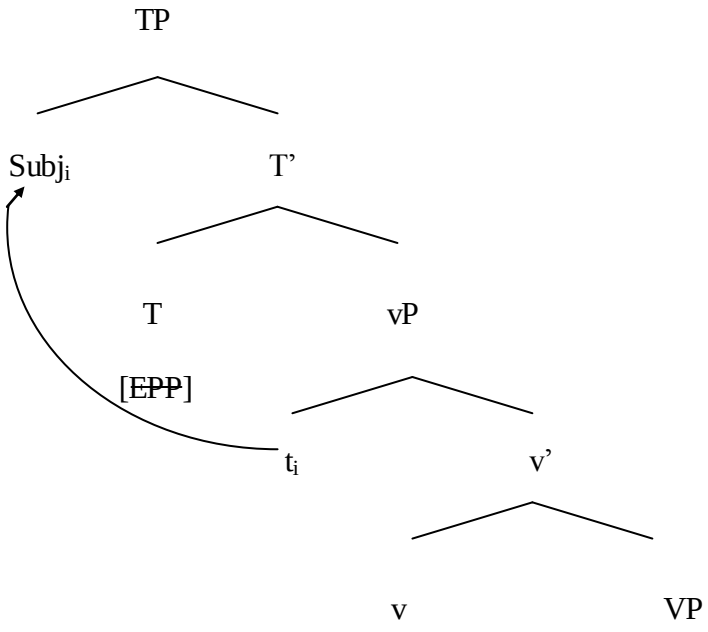
In Kurmanji, in accordance with the MP; the subject is generated vP internally, then raises to the spec position of TP for EPP reasons. One piece of evidence for subject raising to Spec, TP for EPP reasons comes from future tense constructions in this language. In Kurmanji, the future tense is formed with the morphemes *(y)ê/dê/wê* and with the subjunctive form of the verb as exemplified in (18a). Another evidence for subject raising to spec TP position for EPP is from binding facts observed in passive constructions, (18b).

(18) a. Rojbîn wê bi-ç-e
Rojbin Fut. Subj.-go.3ps
"Rojbin will go."

b. Rojbîn$_i$ wê be-Ø şandin mal-a xwe$_{i/*j}$
Rojbin Fut. Subj.come.3ps to send house-Const self
"Rojbin will be sent to her house."

If the future tense marker is under T, then the subject must raise to a position higher to precede the future marker; that is to spec TP. Also, as mentioned before the ability to bind the subject-oriented reflexive *xwe* is not a property of the thematic subject base-generated under spec vP but it is a property of a subject in a higher position. The examples in (16) and also in (18b) support that the subject in these sentences raise to Spec,TP since the promoted object can still bind the reflexive *xwe* as the subject of the sentence. (18b) also shows that in a future passive construction the promoted object functioning as the subject of the sentence appears higher than the future tense marker so if the subject binding the reflexive *xwe* is not under spec vP and future tense marker is under T, in order to get this marker the subject must raise to a higher position which we assume to be spec TP. Consequently, it is proposed that EPP is a strong feature in Kurmanji and subjects generated under spec vP raises to spec TP to check this feature no matter which case they bear, (19).

(19)



2.5. Accounting for the Case Patterns in Kurmanji

In this section, the three case patterns observed in transitive constructions in Kurmanji, namely AS-NAO, NAS-AO, NAS-NAO, will be analyzed with respect to their case checking and agreement properties. Before analyzing these three case patterns in this language, we will first focus on the nature of the case on non-agreeing subjects in Kurmanji as this will be a determining factor for the derivations of the three patterns. We also question whether these agreeing and non-agreeing cases are syntactically or morphologically different; that is whether their cases are checked at different functional heads in syntax or only their morphological shapes are different and they have the same syntax. We will show that NAS-case in Kurmanji is tense-based unlike aspect-based ergative systems found in typologically related languages like Hindi. We will also discuss the role of transitivity as a factor determining the subject case.

2.5.1. NAS-case as a structural case in Kurmanji

Woolford (1997, 2006), Legate (2002, 2008) and Anand & Nevins (2006) assert that the case that NAS bears in languages like Hindi, which is called ergative (ERG) is a non-structural inherent case assigned by little v head to the external argument. Contrary to these accounts, however, we argue that in Kurmanji the case that NAS bear is a structural case for basically three reasons which are also mentioned in Davison (2004) and Bobaljik & Branigan (2006) for Hindi and Chukchi respectively. What Davison (2004) and Bobaljik & Branigan (2006) assert for ergative case is that ERG is structural because it is not associated with

thematic roles or lexical properties of verb roots, it is sensitive to tense and aspectual properties of the verb and lastly it is checked by a functional projection. In the following, we will show that the case on NAS's in Kurmanji carries properties of a structural case.

Woolford (1997, 2006), Legate (2002, 2008) and Anand & Nevins (2006) treat ergative case as an inherent case determined by little v and support this views with the fact that ergative case is sensitive to theta roles since only agentive subjects get ERG Case. For instance, in Hindi which is a typologically related language to Kurdish only agents can have ergative case in perfective transitive constructions, as in (20).

(20)	Aadmii-ne	rotii	khayi	thii
	man-ERG	bread-NOM	eat-PERF	be-Past

"The man had eaten the bread"

(A&N 2006:23)

However, in Kurmanji NAS-case does not depend on the theta role; a subject DP has this case in a transitive construction in past tense no matter which theta role it has. In other words, in Kurmanji not only agentive subjects but also non-agentive subjects like experiencers, causers, instruments can be marked with NAS-case if they are the subject of a past transitive clause, as illustrated in (21). If NAS-case (ergative) were theta related and lexically selected, then it should change depending on the verb itself, but this is not the case.

(21) a. Agent:

Me pace-yê (pacê) vekir-Ø

we-NAS door-NAO open.Past-3psg

"We opened the window."

b. Experiencer:

Min te dît-Ø

I- NAS you (sg)-NAO see.Past-3psg

"I saw you."

c. Cause:

Ba-yê vî derî-yî şikand-Ø

wind- NAS Dem. door-NAO break.Past-3psg

"Wind broke this door."

d. Instrument:

Nifte-yê (niftê) vî derî-yî vekir-Ø

key-NAS Dem. door-NAO open.Past-3psg

"The key open this door."

Despite the various theta roles they have, it might be thought at first that all the subjects in the sentences above embody an actor role which is the doer of the action so their being marked with the case on NAS is more or less predictable. However, the sentence in (22) proves that this case is not theta-role dependent because even a subject having indirect causer theta role gets NAS if it is the subject of a past transitive construction in this language.

(22) Indirect Causer

Dav-ê gul-an mezin kir-Ø

sun-NAS rose-PL.NAO big-do.Past-3psg

"*The sun ripened the roses."*

The most striking piece of evidence for the structural nature of the case on NAS (ergative) in Kurmanji comes from the fact that this case is totally tense-based. Ergative case in some languages like Hindi is aspect based (Davison, 2004; Anand&Nevins, 2006) but in Kurmanji the aspectual properties of the verb do not affect the NAS-case because this case emerges even in the case of imperfective aspect as long as there is past tense (23).

(23) Min doh van çağ-an pirtûk-ê dixwand-Ø

I-NAS yesterday this time-PL book-NAO Prog.read.Past-3psg

"At this time yesterday, I was reading book."

In Kurmanji, a transitive verb simply has a zero case-marked Agreeing subject in non-past tenses whereas the same verb has an overt case-marked Non-agreeing subject in past-tenses (as illustrated in (11) and (12). Therefore, we propose that T head must be involved in the checking of NAS-case.

Another property of NAS-case in Kurmanji which suggests that it is structural is that it is dependent on other cases (Marantz, 1991). Marantz (1991) states that nominative case may be the unmarked case inside IPs whereas ergative and accusative cases are dependent cases and their assignment to a particular NP

depends on the properties of both the NP itself and of another NP position governed by V+I. Marantz (1991)'s principle for dependent case assignment (24):

(24) a. Dependent case is assigned by V+I to a position governed by V+I when a distinct position governed by V+I is:

b. not 'marked' (not part of a chain governed by a lexical case determiner)

c. distinct from the chain being assigned dependent case

(Marantz 1991:25)

The variations among languages in terms of which NP is assigned the dependent case is captured by two parameters stated in (25) and by considering this as a language-specific matter.

(25) Dependent case assigned up to subject: ergative

Dependent case assigned down to object: accusative

(Marantz 1991:25)

This means that the occurrence of ergative case in a language depends on the presence of another NP in the same clause which in turn explains the reason why ergative case is restricted to transitive constructions. For instance, in Kurmanji the subject of an intransitive sentence always bears a zero case marker (AS) no matter what the verb carries, i.e., whether it carries present or past tense properties as in (26a/b). On the other hand, the subject of a transitive sentence always has an overt case marker i.e. NAS-case in past tense (27a) while it always gets a zero

case marker in non-past tense constructions (28b). As NAS-case appears only in a particular configuration necessitating the presence of another NP, we take it to be in parallel to what Marantz (1991) calls ergative, i.e. structural dependent case.

(26) a. Ez te-m
I-AS Prog.come.Pres.-1psg
"I am coming."

b. Ez/*Min hat-im
I-AS/*NAS come.Past-1psg
"I came."

(27) a. Tu pirtûk-ê di-xwîn-î
you(sg)-AS book-NAO Prog.-read.Pres.-2psg
"You are reading the book."

b. Te pirtûk-ê xwand
you(sg)- NAS book-NAO read.Past-3psg
"You read the book."

The support for the transitivity requirement of NAS comes from prepositional constructions formed with *ji*. The subject in these constructions is always a zero case-marked Agreeing subject even in past tense constructions because the internal argument checks its case properties with the P head but not with the little v head. Therefore the construction is taken as intransitive. In the following examples in (28), *"ji"* behaves as a prepositional head checking the case feature of *"gur"*. Therefore the sentence is interpreted as intransitive and the subject never gets case on NAS.

(28) a. Ez ji gur di-tirs-im

I-AS Prep. wolf Prog.-be afraid.Pres.-1psg

"I'm afraid of wolf."

b. Ez ji gur tirsîya-m

I-AS Prep. wolf be afraid.Past-1psg

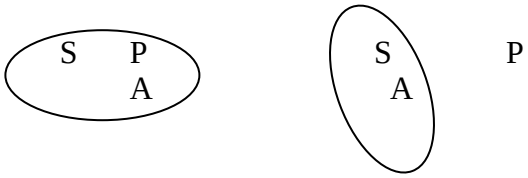
"I was afraid of wolf."

The case on NAS is not only determined by past tense in Kurmanji but the existence of another NP (transitivity) is also required for the emergence of this case. Therefore, we propose that NAS-case in this language is structural whose morphological realization is dependent on transitivity, that is, NAS-case requires the presence of another NP having structural case in the structure as well the presence of a T head having past tense feature. In accordance with Bobaljik&Branigan (2006) and Davison (2004) who argue that ERG is a structural case so it must be assigned/checked by a functional head, we also assume that NAS-case is checked by a functional head, T head, in Kurmanji, as well.

Under Marantz (1991), NAS-case is parallel to the dependent case (the case that he calls ergative). Also we observe that the distribution of NAS-case parallels the distribution of ergative in other systems. Comrie (1978) calls case systems which align S (the sole argument of an intransitive verb) with P (the more 'patientive' argument of a transitive verb) as opposed to A (the more 'agentive' argument of a transitive verb) as ergative as seen in (29a). Those which align S with A, on the other hand, are called nominative-accusative systems as in (29b). As shown above, Kurmanji exhibits a nominative accusative pattern in the present

tense, whereas the canonical pattern that we observe in the past tense is fully in parallel to an ergative system.

(29) a. Ergative b. Nominative-Accusative



Based on these, and following the literature on Kurmanji, as well as the literature on other typologically related languages such as Hindi, from this point on we will also call the NAS-case ergative. Furthermore, as in Kurmanji AS-case is the default case and can be found both in transitive and intransitive constructions, we call it nominative.

In addition to ergative and nominative, we will also use the term 'accusative' for the NAO and thus will name two-types of morphological case markers that we find on the arguments in three different ways. This is because although the case morphemes have basically two shapes zero and overt, they have different functions with respect to whether they are realized on the subject or on the object as well as their having different syntactic relations for case checking with the functional categories such as TP and vP, In parallel to what is used for agreeing arguments in the literature (Direct Case in Haig (2004) for Kurmanji; Nominative Case in Anand&Nevins (2006) for Hindi), we will prefer the term Nominative (henceforth, NOM) for the zero morpheme both on the subject and the object as this case has agreement relations with the verb. As this case can be observed both in transitive and intransitive constructions as the default case, it qualifies to be what Marantz 1991 calls nominative. As for the overt case which

is found on subjects of transitive constructions in past tense we will use the term Ergative (henceforth, ERG), as it patterns fully in parallel to what Marantz (1991) calls ergative, namely the dependent case which appears on subjects. As for the overt case on the object we will use the term Accusative (henceforth, ACC) as it qualifies as the dependent case found on objects under Marantz (1991). Even though the shape of overt case on the subject and on the object is the same and they cannot both agree with the verb, we name the overt case realized on the subject and the object differently since ERG is not equal to the overt case on the object which we call ACC. For instance, the appearance of ergative case on the subject is restricted to past tense transitive constructions. However, the overt case on the object (ACC) can occur both in past and present tenses in the Muş dialect. What is more, this case on the object in the Muş dialect behaves as a complete object case observed in languages having typical NOM-ACC case pattern such as English. Therefore, since there is a strict dependency on tense for the ERG case but not for the ACC case all the time, it would be more coherent to give them two different names.

The case patterns given in (7) are revised with new terms in (30).

(30)
i. AS-NAO → NOM-ACC
ii. NAS-AO → ERG-NOM
iii. NAS-NAO → ERG-ACC
iv. *AS-AO → *NOM-NOM

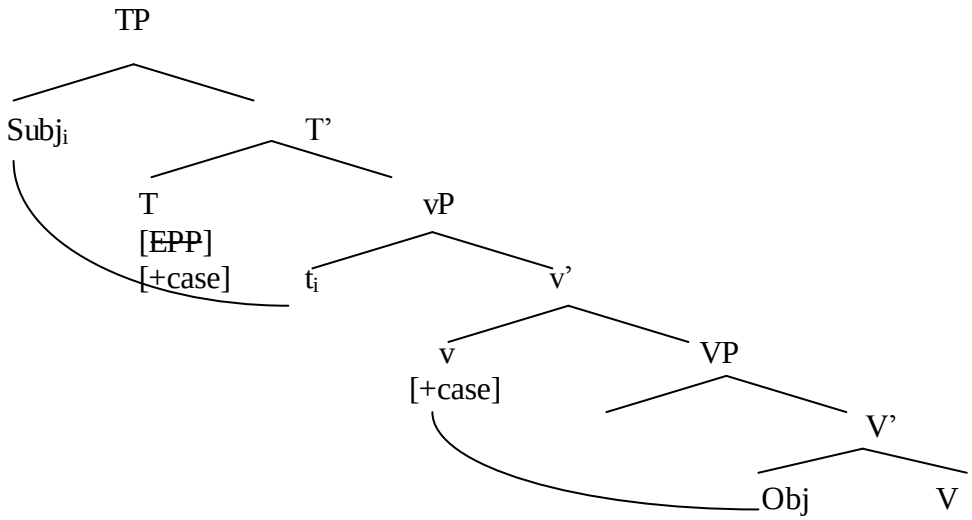
2.5.2. Syntactic Derivations of the three case patterns

In this section, we will take a look at the syntactic derivations of the three case patterns illustrated in (30) above. As the discussion above shows, ergative in Kurmanji is a structural case, which is also checked by the T head. Thus in terms of its syntactic checking, it is fully in parallel to the checking of nominative on subjects. We specifically propose that in general in syntax T is responsible for the checking of structural subject case in Kurmanji, whereas v takes care of structural object case in transitive constructions. Thus, syntactically, there is no difference between the ergative on Non-agreeing subjects and nominative on Agreeing subjects as well as between the cases (nominative vs. accusative) on Agreeing and Non-agreeing objects.

The difference between the three case patterns in transitive constructions is due to the morphological realization of case post-syntactically. Adopting DM, we dissociate syntactic case checking and morphological realization of case by assuming that case checking takes place in syntax but its morphological realization occurs post-syntactically in the morphological component (Halle and Marantz 1993).

The following syntactic tree, thus, represents the derivation of all the three types of case patterns found in transitive constructions in Kurmanji; NOM-ACC, ERG-NOM and ERG-ACC:

(31) Transitive Construction

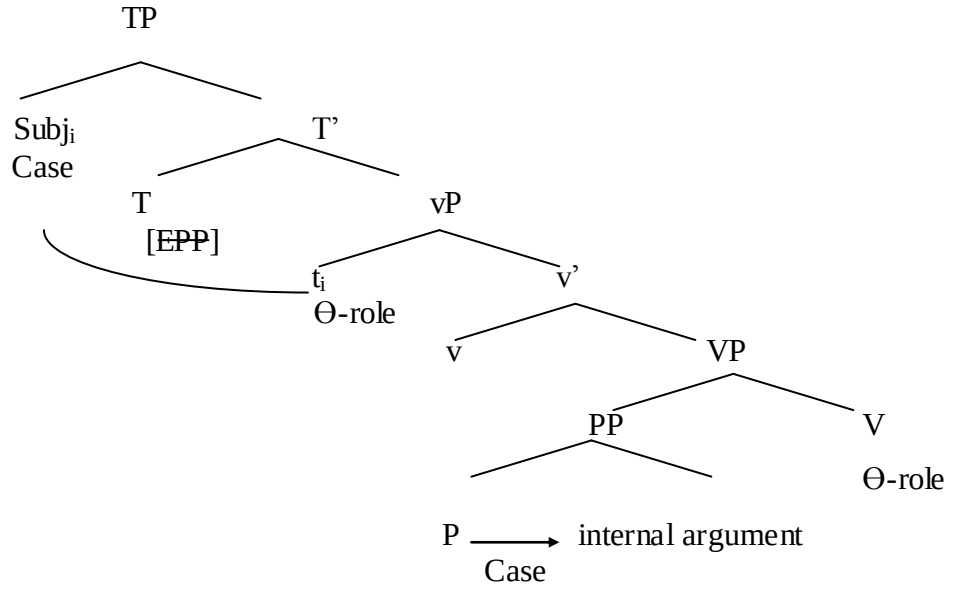


As seen in (31) T is responsible for subject case checking in Kurmanji, regardless of whether they will be realized as ERG or NOM post-syntactically and objects in transitive constructions always check their case with v, again regardless of whether they are marked as NOM or ACC after syntax. Given that EPP is checked by MOVE/MERGE NP in Kurmanji, all subjects raise to Spec, TP. Thus, we assume a uniformed model for the syntactic checking for the transitive constructions in Kurmanji, regardless of their individual morphological patterns of case and agreement.

The tree in (32), on the other hand, represents the derivation of intransitive constructions, NOM and NOM-PP. In intransitive constructions, the subject DP checks its structural case with T head. Then it raises to spec TP position to satisfy EPP. In NOM-PP pattern, the internal argument is generated as a complement of P^o in PP. It is the P head which checks the case feature of the internal argument. As mentioned before, since the P head checks the case features of the internal argument the structure is taken as intransitive. Therefore both in past and in non-

past tenses the subject always bears NOM case, but never has ERG case as this requires transitivity:

(32) Intransitive Construction



As shown in Section 3, it is observed that ergative (non-agreeing) and nominative (agreeing) subjects in this language occupy the same syntactic position; they both raise to spec TP position for EPP reasons, which then would explain why ERG subjects behave in parallel to NOM subjects in terms of their scope and binding properties as illustrated in (15) and (17) above. We propose that in Kurmanji both ERG and NOM are syntactically the same case but their morphological reflection on DPs is different. In other words, T and v are the heads responsible for checking the structural case for subject and object respectively. However, the difference between the three patterns emerges due to the morphological realization of these structural case features. When the tense features of T head changes into past from present, the morphological realization of case on DPs changes too. The existence of present tense blocks the emergence of ergative case morphology or vice versa.

Both cases are structurally (syntactically) the same but their morphological reflection is different only, which we will discuss in the following.

2.5.3. Conditions for the morphological realization of case and agreement in Kurmanji

Now let us turn to how different case and agreement patterns are realized post-syntactically in Kurmanji. Even though the syntactic checking relations of the three case patterns are the same, at the level of morphology, depending on the type of T feature available and the transitivity of the structure, we find different realizations of case and agreement patterns.

As discussed above, in Kurmanji intransitive constructions always require NOM subjects, which agree with the verb both in past and non-past constructions as illustrated in (8) and repeated here as (33).

(33) a. Ez ket-im
I-NOM fall.Past-1psg
"I fell down."

b. Em di-rev-in
we-NOM Prog.-run.Pres.-pl
"*We are running."*

In non-past transitive constructions, on the other hand, Kurmanji exhibits NOM-ACC case pattern, where the subject DP bears NOM and the object DP bears

ACC. In these constructions, the NOM subject always agrees with the verb in person and number as in (34).

(34) Ew cil-an di-şû-Ø
S/he-NOM cloth-PL.ACC Prog.- see.Pres.-3psg
"I am washing the clothes."

In past transitive constructions, on the other hand, we find ERG-NOM pattern, where the subject bears ERG Case and the object has NOM Case. In this construction, verbal agreement morphology reflects features of the internal argument marked as NOM as in (35).

(35) Te ez dît-im
you(sg)-ERG I-NOM see.Past-1psg
"You saw me."

Thus, even though in syntax both for NOM-ACC and ERG-NOM pattern T is responsible for the checking of subject case and v takes care of object case, we observe different realization of case and agreement features morphologically:

(36) Intransitive: $NOM_{subject}$ $V_{subject}$
Transitive: $NOM_{subject}$-ACC_{object} $V_{subject}$
$ERG_{subject}$ –NOM_{object} V_{object}

These case patterns imply that NOM is the default case marker in Kurmanji both for subject and object DPs. If there is a single argument checking structural case

in syntax, post-syntactically this is realized as NOM. If we have a transitive construction, where we have two arguments checking structural case in syntax, then the nature of the T head determines what case can be selected for the subject. If T is non-past and v also checks the case of the object, then the subject gets NOM and the object is marked with ACC, which is a dependent case, requiring the presence of NOM in the structure (Marantz 1991). If T is past and there is a case checking v, then ERG is realized on the subject, which is also dependent on the presence of the NOM case. Thus, in Kurmanji, NOM is the default case, whereas ACC and ERG are dependent cases requiring the presence of NOM subject and NOM object respectively.

In the Muş dialect, on the other hand, we also find the intransitive pattern NOM-(PP) given in (32) and the non-past transitive pattern NOM-ACC given in (34) above. But we do not find the past transitive pattern ERG-NOM given in (35), instead we find the ERG-ACC case pattern, where the subject gets ERG case and the object bears ACC and the verb appears in the default 3rd person singular form in terms of agreement:

(37) a. Min te dît
I-ERG you(sg)-ACC see.Past-3psg
"*I saw you.*"

Again in syntax we assume both for NOM-ACC and ERG-AC pattern, T is responsible for the checking of subject case, and v takes care of object case, but we find different realization of case and agreement features morphologically in Muş Kurmanji:

(38) Intransitive: $NOM_{subject}$ $V_{subject}$

Transitive: $NOM_{subject}$-ACC_{object} $V_{subject}$
$ERG_{subject}$ –ACC_{object} $V_{3ps.default}$

The patterns given in (38) above indicates that in the Muş dialect NOM is the default case for the subject, but it is never found on the objects. Thus it is the default case for subjects in intransitive and non-past transitive constructions. ACC is always found on the objects, and it requires the presence of a subject checking structural case. Given that it can emerge both in the case of NOM and ERG subjects, it is not strictly dependent on the presence of a NOM subject as observed in non-Muş dialects. It simply requires the presence of a subject, checking structural case in syntax. Thus, in a sense it is like the default case for objects in the Muş dialect. ERG, on the other hand, emerges in past transitive constructions and it simply requires the presence of an object with a structural case. Again, unlike the canonical ERG-NOM pattern in (34) above, it is not dependent on NOM object but the presence of T_{past} and an object with structural case is enough for its realization.

The table below summarizes the conditions for morphological realizations of case in Kurmanji:

Syntactic Features	Morphological Realization
T + v -past -case +case	$NOM_{subject}$
T + v +past -case +case	$NOM_{subject}$
T + v -past +case +case	$NOM_{subject}$-ACC_{object}
T + v +past +case +case	$ERG_{subject}$-NOM_{object} (Canonical) $ERG_{subject}$-ACC_{object} (Muş Dialect)

Now let us turn to agreement in Kurmanji. It is seen that only NOM case marked arguments can agree with the verb in Kurmanji, regardless of their being the subject or the object. As seen in (39a) below, only the NOM subject can agree with the verb, whereas in (39b) verb agrees with the NOM object. Finally in (39c) given that there are no NOM arguments available in the structure, the verb can agree neither with the subject nor with the object and appears in the default 3rd person singular.

(39) a. Ez te di-bîn-im.
I-NOM you (sg)-ACC Prog.-see.Pres-1psg
"I see you"

b. Min tu dît-î.
I-ERG you(sg)-NOM see.Past-2psg
"I saw you."

c. Min te dît.
I-ERG you(sg)-ACC see.Past-3psg
"I saw you."

In the literature, there are different approaches how agreement morphology emerges. Some approaches consider agreement as syntactic by positing some questions on whether agreement features project a separate functional agreement phrase such as AgrP in the syntax (e.g. The Mirror Principle by Baker (1985)) or they attach parasitically to other functional heads instead of heading their own projection as a separate phrasal category in the structure of the clause. On the other hand, one argument puts forward that the feature content of agreement morphemes is identified under spec-head configuration whereas another claim

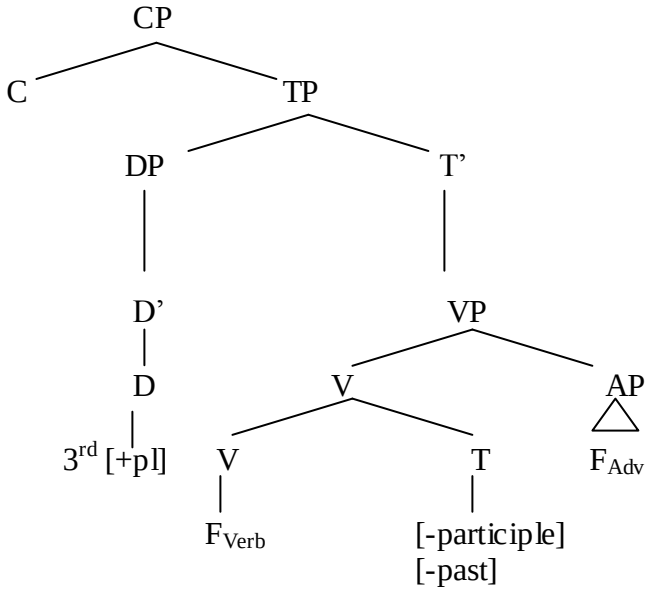
makes use of the AGREE mechanism of Chomsky (2000) which basically allows long-distance agreement and assumes that agreement morphology takes place as a result of the closest c-command structural relation rather than spec-head relation. There is also a different proposal made by Distributed Morphology model which regards agreement as a post syntactic process by advocating that agreement morphemes have phonological content post-syntactically and agreement markers are added to a functional head (head adjunction) at Morphological Structure (MS). In parallel to case, we also assume that agreement is post syntactic in Kurmanji. Following Halle & Marantz (1993) and Fuβ (2008) we consider that agreement is introduced as a dissociated node required by the well-formedness conditions of Kurmanji verbal morphology. Its morphological realization in Kurmanji is sensitive to the presence of non-overtly marked case, that is, NOM, as only NOM arguments can agree with the verb. Note that that agreement is possible only with non-overtly case-marked arguments is in the same spirit as Bhatt (2005), who dissociates case and agreement checking in syntax and suggest in Hindi and Urdu T can agree only with the non-overtly case-marked NOM arguments, but we propose that the distribution of agreement morphology is independent of syntactic checking. Agreement is post-syntactically introduced and agreement morpheme is added to the functional head having the features of the non-overtly case-marked NOM argument.[12]

Halle & Marantz (1993) assert that case and agreement morphemes are added to syntactic heads at MS according to language particular requirements that form "a morphologically well-formed word" in that language. They analyze the agreement morpheme required by well-formed finite verbs in languages like

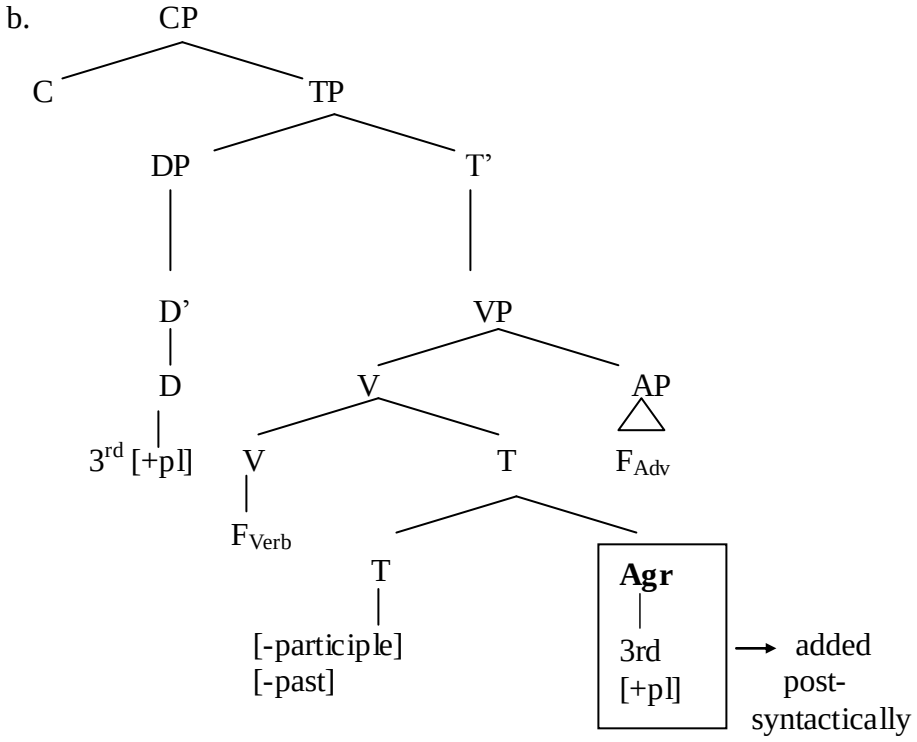
[12] Note that this implies the morphological realization of the dissociated morpheme agreement follows the morphological realization of case. Thus, there is a strict ordering of morphological realization of case and agreement.

Russian, Latin, Latvian and English with the post-syntactic insertion of Agr morpheme onto the syntactic head having appropriate features of the subject. For instance, in English the Agr morpheme is not present in a syntactic derivation as in (40a) but it is added to the T head post-syntactically as shown in (40b).

(40) a. They sleep well. (Halle & Marantz, 1993:135-136)



b.



Similarly, Fuβ (2008) explains the complementizer agreement in Germanic languages assuming that a dissociated agreement morpheme has been added to C^0 post-syntactically at the level of MS (Agr-on-C) but unlike the English case of Halle and Marantz (1993), Fuβ (2008) considers the Agr morpheme adjoining to C^0 parasitic on the presence of an Agr morpheme which is responsible for subject-verb agreement in the syntax because the complementizer agreement in Germanic is based on the subject-verb agreement, hence the post-syntactic Agr morpheme insertion onto C head is seen as "Agr-on-C is a copy of Agr-on-T". Also, Kural (1993) asserts that in Turkish Agr is not an independent head projected in syntax but is spelled out at S-structure after head-movement forms the language particular verbal complex. Likewise, Iatridou (1990) objects to Pollock (1989)'s Split Infl Hypothesis arguing that Agr(P) is not a structural position or an independent head in syntax but rather it is a spec-head relationship.

In the same spirit as Halle&Marantz (1993)'s analysis of agreement in English, we propose that in Kurmanji agreement morphemes are also dissociated morphemes which are not present in the syntactic part of the derivation but are added to a syntactic head at MS just after case morphology since agreement is sensitive to case morphology of the arguments. Unlike English in which Agr morphemes are added to T head, in Kurmanji we propose that agreement morphemes are added to the *v* head because the *v* head is in a relation with both the agentive subject and the object. The post-syntactic agreement process in Kurmanji is shown in (41).

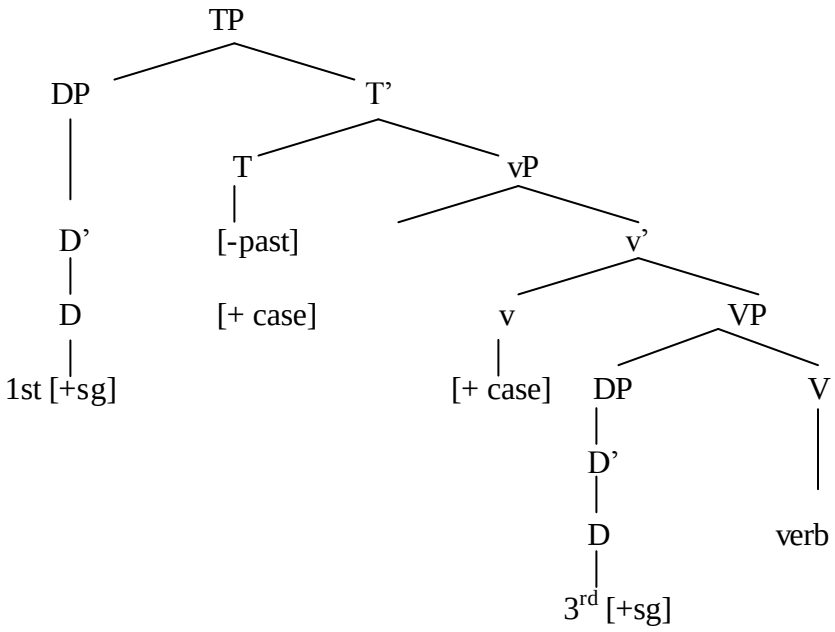
(41) Syntactic Structure: [[Root *v*] T [past/present]]

Morphological Structure: [[Root [*v*+Agr] [T [past/present]]]

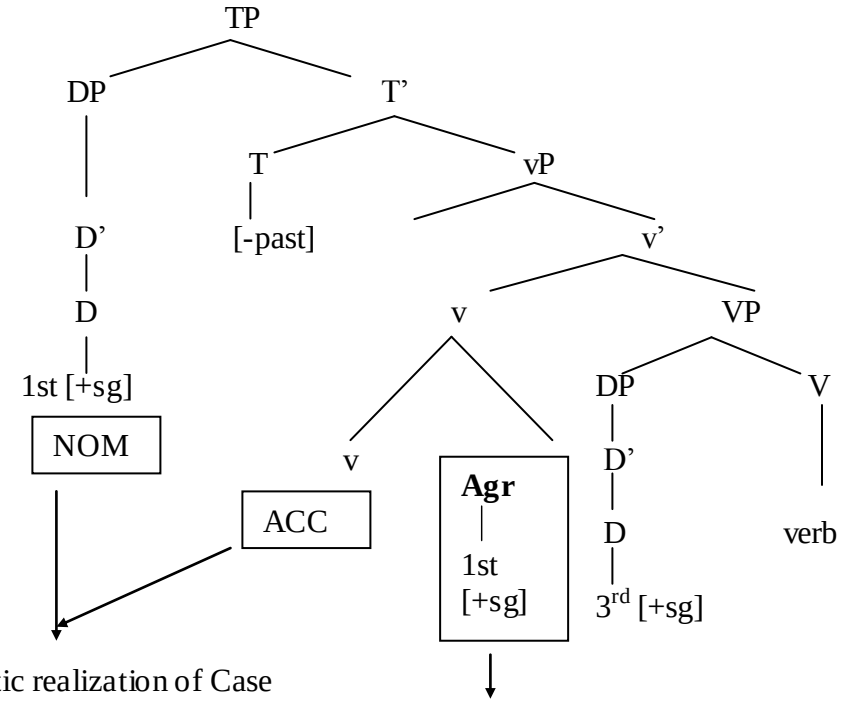
Ez	pirtûk-ê	di-xwîn-im
I-NOM	book-ACC	Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg

"I am reading the book."

a.



b.



1. Post-syntactic realization of Case

2. Post-syntactic insertion of Agr

To summarize, as the above discussion shows, we argue that the emergence of different case and agreement patterns in Kurmanji is due to the post-syntactic realization of case and agreement morphology.

2.6. ERG-ACC pattern and Language Contact

Although the canonical ergative case pattern in Kurmanji is ERG-NOM, as discussed above in Muş dialect of Kurmanji a deviant ergative case pattern, i.e. ERG-ACC, has developed. We repeat the case and agreement patterns discussed for Muş dialect above in (42) below:

(42)

	Subject	Object	Verb
Intransitive:	$NOM_{subject}$	---	$V_{subject}$
Transitive:	$NOM_{subject}$	ACC_{object}	$V_{subject}$
	$ERG_{subject}$	ACC_{object}	$V_{3ps.default}$

While in the canonical pattern NOM can be realized on the object in Kurmanji in the Muş dialect NOM can only be found on the subject, whereas ACC is reserved only for the objects. Furthermore, given that verb can only agree with NOM marked arguments in Kurmanji, in the Muş dialect we see that only subjects can agree with the verb, since only they can be marked for NOM. The rise of this pattern might have been due to language contact with Turkish, as most Kurmanji speakers are also native or near-native speakers of Turkish as well. Turkish is a language with NOM-ACC case system. In Turkish, NOM is the default case on subjects whereas ACC is the most typical object case in this language. And only NOM subjects can agree with the verb in Turkish:

(43) Ben kitab-ı oku-du-m.
I-NOM book-ACC read-Past-1ps
"I read the book."

It might be the case that due to contact with Turkish, in the Muş dialect there has been a morpho-syntactic leveling, which resulted in marking all the objects in Kurmanji with ACC case in parallel to ACC object case in Turkish or the language contact with Turkish has triggered the appearance of ERG-ACC case pattern which is a possible pattern obeying constraints of agreement morphology of Kurmanji. In this dialect NOM also has become a case which can only be found on subjects but never on objects, which then caused verbal agreement to be possible only with subjects but not with objects again fully in parallel to the NOM-ACC system observed in Turkish. Thus, the ERG-ACC pattern in Muş dialect of Kurmanji might be due to Turkish influence. However, any conclusive account of this issue requires further investigation, which we leave for future study.

2.7. Summary

In this chapter, we analyzed three case patterns in Kurmanji by dissociating syntactic case checking and morphological realization of case adopting DM. We also show that ergativity in this language is structural because it is not theta-role specific but dependent on tense and transitivity. We argued that ERG is syntactically fully in parallel to NOM case but the differences between the case

patterns observed in transitive and intransitive constructions are due to the post-syntactic realization of case and agreement morphology.

CHAPTER 3

THE vP DOMAIN

3.1. Introduction

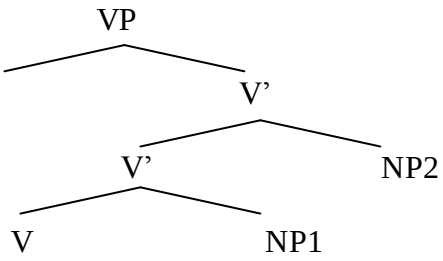
In this chapter, the syntactic derivation of intransitive, transitive and ditransitive constructions in Kurmanji will be presented and the position of theme and goal objects and adjuncts, within the VP domain will be discussed with relevant data.

We will start the discussion with ditransitive constructions as they reveal an interesting pattern regarding the distribution of goal arguments, which will be crucial to understand the distribution of certain types of adjuncts in transitive and intransitive constructions.

3.2. Ditransitive Constructions in Kurmanji

In the literature (Chomsky, 1981), ditransitive constructions are represented in a way that one of the complements of the verb appears in an adjunct position, as the sister of V' as in (1).

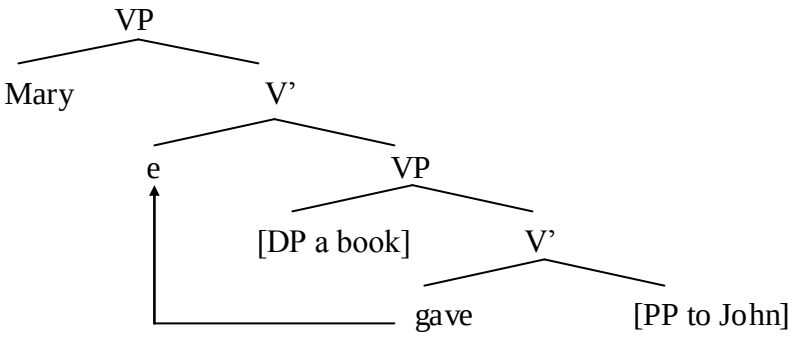
(1) Earlier Ditransitive Tree Representation (Chomsky, 1981)



Later, Larson (1988) developed the VP-Shell hypothesis which states that since a ditransitive verb has two arguments as its complements, neither of them can be merged in an adjunct position thus there must be a position higher than VP domain which hosts the lexical V head after movement. Larson (1988) represents the theme in the specifier position of VP and the goal as the sister of V head. Also, the lexical verb moves to the higher position above VP domain to reflect the surface structure, as shown in (2).

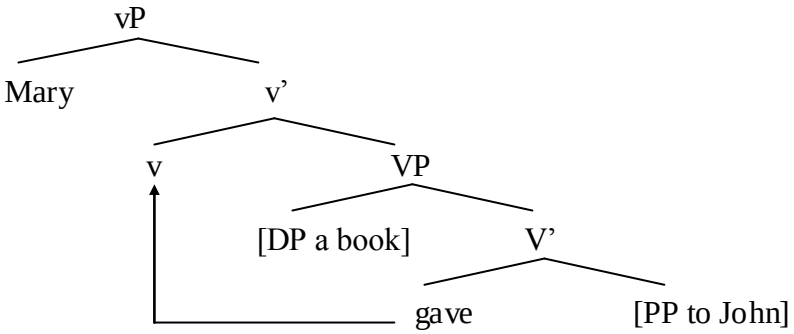
(2) Mary gave a book to John.

VP-Shell (Larson, 1988)



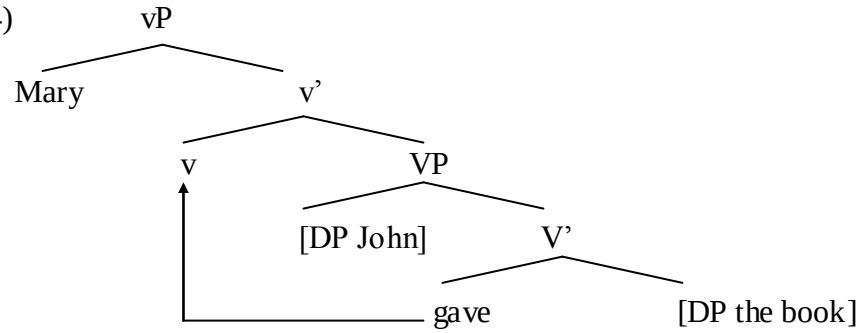
Later, Chomsky (1995) proposes the little vP structure, which corresponds to Larson (1988)'s VP-Shell Hypothesis.

(3) little vP (Chomsky, 1995)



In languages like English, there are indeed two different representations for ditransitive constructions because the sentence *"Mary gave John the book"* cannot be represented with the tree structure above. Therefore, to represent the structure of this sentence the goal should be introduced in the specifier position of VP while the theme should be generated as the complement of lexical V head, (4).

(4)



The evidence for having different representations associated with these two sentences comes from the fact that both theme and goal of these sentences can be passivized as in (5).

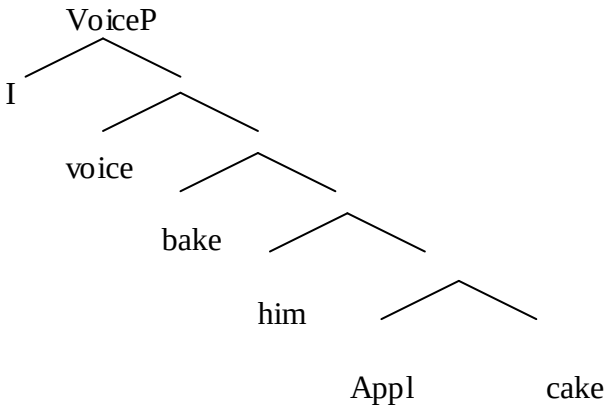
(5) a. John was given the book.

b. The book was given to John.

As for the ditransitive representation given in (4) above, Pylkkänen (2002) argues that these constructions involve a low applicative head which form a relation between two entities. The low ApplP in languages like English introduces the benefactor/goal/location/possessor in its Spec and checks its case, while taking the theme argument as its complement. These constructions denote a transfer relation between two entities, namely a theme and a goal/location/benefactor. She argues that low applicatives not only introduce non-core arguments as the benefactor/goal 'him' in (6) but also the core arguments of ditransitive verbs such as give and send, which bear goal/possessor roles:

(6) Low Applicative (English)

"I baked him a cake."



Pylkkänen (2002:3)

As transitivity, that is, having a direct object is a must for low applicatives, Pylkkänen (2002) shows that low applicatives are never possible with unergative verbs but they can only be observed with unaccusative verbs and transitive predicates which can take direct objects.

When we take a look at ditransitive constructions in Kurmanji, we see that the

theme always appears in the preverbal position while the goal can show up both in the preverbal and postverbal position. In the following example, the theme *pirtûk-ê* "book" precedes the verb *şand* "sent" but goal arguments either precede the verb as in (7a) or follow the same verb as in (7b). The crucial point here is that when goals appear postverbally they are in the form of DPs, whereas they are introduced as PPs when they are in the preverbal domain.

(7) a. Min ji Ehmed ra pirtûk-ê şand-Ø
I-ERG P Ehmed book-ACC send.Past.-3psg
"I sent the book to Ehmed."

b. Min pirtûk-ê şand-Ø vê dibistanê
I-ERG book-ACC send.Past-3psg this school
"I sent the book to this school."

Although the goal arguments can appear both preverbally and postverbally, this distribution does not seem to be arbitrary. The following examples indicate that some goals may occur in the preverbal position as a complement of a preposition while some cannot. For instance, in the sentence (7a) repeated as (8a)), *Ehmed* shows up in the preverbal as the complement of the preposition *ji…ra* but it cannot appear in the postverbal position so (8b) is ungrammatical. On the other hand, in (9) *gund* "village" cannot occur in the preverbal position even within a PP construction thus (9b) is ungrammatical. Nevertheless, in (10b) *Enqerê* can be found in the preverbal position as a complement of *di…*, but it functions as an adjunct here and the meaning changes, as well.

(8) a. Min ji Ehmed ra pirtûk-ê şand-Ø

I-ERG P Ehmed book-ACC send.Past.-3psg

"I sent the book to Ehmed."

b. *Min pirtûk-ê şand-Ø Ehmed

I-ERG book-ACC send.Past.-3psg Ehmed

"I sent the book to Ehmed."

(9) a.Min leşker-an şand-Ø gund

I-ERG soldier-PL.ACC send.Past.-3psg village

"I sent the soldiers to the village."

b. *Min ji gund ra leşker-an şand

I-ERG P village P soldier-PL.ACC send.Past.3psg

"I sent the soldiers to the village."

(10) a. Min qutî-yê şand-Ø Enqerê

I-ERG box-ACC send.Past.-3psg Enqere

"I sent the box to Enqere (the capital city of Turkey)."

b. Min di Enqerê ra qutî-yê şand-Ø

I-ERG P Enqere box-ACC send.Past.-3psg

"I sent the box through Enqere."

The difference observed in the behaviors of goals indicates that all goals are not identical. They are in fact different in terms of their theta roles. In the sentence (8), *Ehmed* is the goal functioning as the recipient or possessor, whereas in (9) *gund* is the goal indicating location. In (10), *Enqerê* also denotes location, but

when it is used within a PP as it is in (10b) it does not function as the locative goal complement any more but indicates direction as an adjunct. The data above shows that the possessor goal occurs in the preverbal position within PPs whereas the locative goal is restricted to the postverbal position It is important to note that locative goals can appear in the preverbal positions as introduced within PPs due to scope purposes and when animate/instituitional receivers or possessors are implied. In the sentence (11), the quantifier forces the locative goal to move to the preverbal position to have scope over the theme. Likewise, in (12) the locative goal *gund* "village" appearing in the preverbal position does not denote location (village here), but it in fact it implies the people in that village, who are the recipients.

(11) Min ji her malê ra du zarokan şand-Ø
I-ERG P every house P two child.PL send.Past.-3psg
"I sent two children to every house."
[every>two]

(12) Min ji gund ra perê şand-Ø
I-ERG P village P money.ACC send.Past.-3psg
"I sent money to the village"
(There is a person or there are people who received that money in the village)

It is obvious that except for scope purposes and animate/institutional entity implication, the locative goal is always in the postverbal position appearing as an DP, while the possessor goal always appears in the preverbal position within PPs.

Miyagawa & Tsujioka (2004) argues for English and Japanese that (with reference to Bresnan (1978, 1982)) the goal phrase in double object constructions (DOC) is more restricted than in the *to*-dative constructions; for instance, DOC does not tolerate an inanimate goal because this goal is considered as the ultimate possessor of the theme whereas the *to*-dative construction does not have such a restriction. Therefore, since the goal in (13a) is animate it is grammatical but (13b) is ungrammatical due to having an inanimate goal which is not acceptable in DOC, and (13c) is grammatical because both animate and inanimate objects are possible in *to-dative* constructions.

(13) a. I sent the boarder a package.

b. *I sent the border a package.

c. I sent a package to the boarder / to the border.

(Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004:2)

In Kurmanji ditransitive constructions having postverbal goal arguments, at first, seem to be double object constructions (DOCs) with two DPs whereas the ones having preverbal goal arguments are similar to *to-dative* constructions with a DP and PP. Unlike the DOCs in English, DOC in Kurmanji does allow inanimate goals but instead does not allow animate goals because postverbal goals always denote to a location (locative goals). On the other hand, *to dative* constructions generally allow animate (specifically human) goals except for inanimate goals occurring within PPs due to scope purposes and animate/institutional entity implication. There is one exception to this case; the verb *dayin* "to give" can have its possessor goal in the postverbal position as well as in the preverbal position

again within PP as in (14). [13] Only the verb *dayin* "give" behaves the same as English DOC constructions in terms of allowing only animate goals (14a).

(14) a. Min pirtûk-ê da-Ø Ehmed
I-ERG book-ACC give.Past.-3psg Ehmed
"I gave the book to Ehmed."

b. Min ji Ehmed ra pirtûk-ê da-Ø
I-ERG P Ehmed book-ACC give.Past.-3psg
"I gave the book to Ehmed."

Unlike English DOCs, in these constructions in Kurmanji, we see that only the theme *pirtûk-a wî* "his book" can be passivizied, but the goal cannot undergo passivization as seen in (15). This implies that it is the theme argument but not the goal which needs to undergo case-checking.

(15) a. Pirtûk-a wî hat-Ø dayin
book-ezf he.Oblq come.Past-3psg to give
"His book was given."

b. *Ehmed hat-Ø pirtûk dayin
Ehmed come.Past-3psg book to give
"Ehmed was given the book"

c. * Pirtûk-a wî hat-Ø dayin Ehmed
book-ezf he.Oblq come.Past-3ps to give Ehmed
"The book was given to Ehmed"

[13] For some native speakers of Kurmanji, (26b) is not possible while for some it is acceptable.

The binding tests in (16) indicates that the postverbal possessor goal is not the immediate complement of the verb but rather it should be in higher position because the sentence in (16) has two readings; the pronominal element *wî* denotes *Ehmed* or *someone else* which means that *Ehmed* is in a position higher than the theme *wî* and can bind it. If *Ehmed* were the immediate complement of the verb it would be lower than the theme thus *Ehmed* cannot bind the pronominal element *wî* and the sentence would have only one reading in which *wî* refers to someone else.

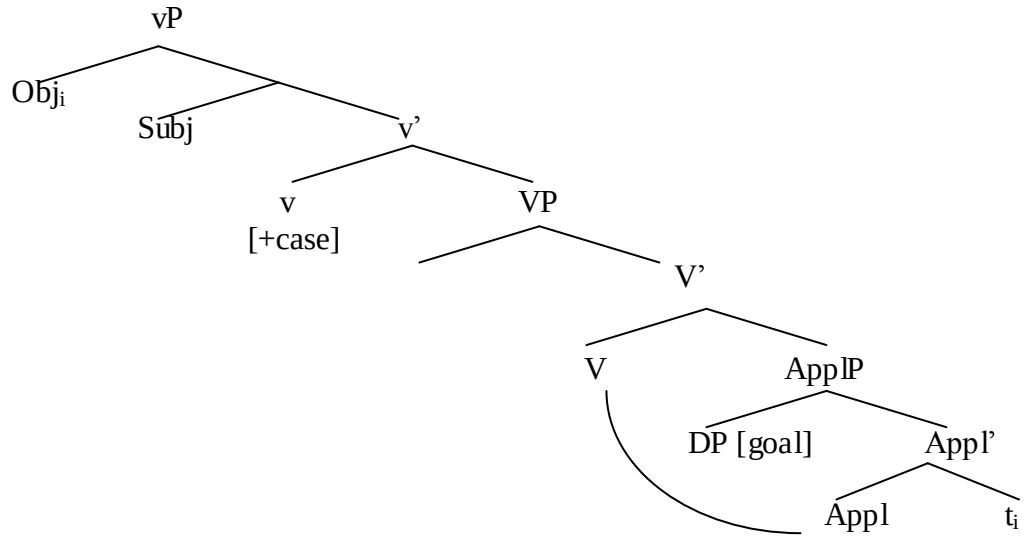
(16) Min pirtûk-a $wî_{i/j}$ da-Ø $Ehmed_i$

I-ERG book-ezf him/himself give.Past.-3ps Ehmed

1. *"I gave Ehmed's book to Ehmed himself."*
2. *"I gave someone else's book to Ehmed."*

Based on these we propose that the derivation of inanimate locative goals of verbs like *şand* 'send' and the possessor goal of the verb *dayin* "give" involves a low applicative head as proposed by Pylkkänen (2002).

(17) Derivation for ditransitive constructions of Kurmanji
(theme + V + locative goals (also possessor goal of the verb *dayin*))



The applied argument in ditransitive constructions function as the goal of the predicate and the low applicative head establishes a transfer/possession relationship between a theme DP and the applied argument (goal). This postverbal goal argument is generated in the spec low Appl position and checks its case features at low Appl head. As for the theme object, it is base generated as the complement of the low Appl head but raises to spec little v position for case reasons, (17). In fact, in the Minimalist Program the case features are checked via in-situ agreement thus movement for case reasons is not necessary as well as economical. However; in-situ agree mechanism may face problems due to locality reasons; i.e. if in a case checking domain there is more than one candidate whose case features must be interpreted by the potential probe then the higher argument may block in-situ case checking between the probe and the lower argument as a potential target. Similarly, in Kurmanji, little v which is the probe has two candidates for case checking; one is the DP goal in the Spec ApplP while the other is the theme DP, complement of Appl. The higher one, DP goal, does not get into

an agree relation with little v for case checking since its case features have already been checked by the low Appl head but it blocks the case checking of theme DP with the probe via in-situ Agree[14]. Therefore, the theme DP must escape from ApplP domain and raise to Spec little vP position to check its case. In the literature, various 'escape hatch' analyses are proposed for the movement of the object DP out of ApplP domain. For instance, Anagnostopoulou (2003) proposes *The specifier to vAppl parameter* for symmetric applicative/double object constructions in languages such as Kinyarwanda in which DO proceeds to Spec, ApplP on its way to Spec, TP. On the other hand, McGinnis (2001) proposes a phase-based approach in which DO moves to Spec, high ApplP to satisfy phase-EPP feature. For Kurmanji, we claim that the movement of the object DP to Spec, vP is due to case reasons but not EPP because if we consider object movement to this position to satisfy EPP feature of little v then in the ditransitive constructions with preverbal goals the object DP must move to Spec, vP for EPP reasons, too, but this is not the case.

The binding fact presented in the example (16) can be accounted for with the tree in (17) because the DP goal (Ehmed) can bind the pronominal element in theme (wî) before the movement of the theme DP to Spec, vP or its trace after movement. It seems that the binding relation between the theme and the postverbal goal is in two-way because the sentence in (18) illustrates that the theme can bind the pronominal element in the postverbal goal; which in turn supports the existence of the object movement to a position higher than the goal. The following sentence has two readings; the pronominal element *wî* "his" refers to the theme *zarok* "child" or somebody else.

[14] There is a similar analysis for Dutch, in which DO moves a position above IO for case reasons. Although IO is inherently case checked, it blocks case checking of DO via in-situ agree (see Jeong, 2007 on Applicatives)

(18) Min zarok-Ø$_i$ da-Ø deya wî $_{i/j}$

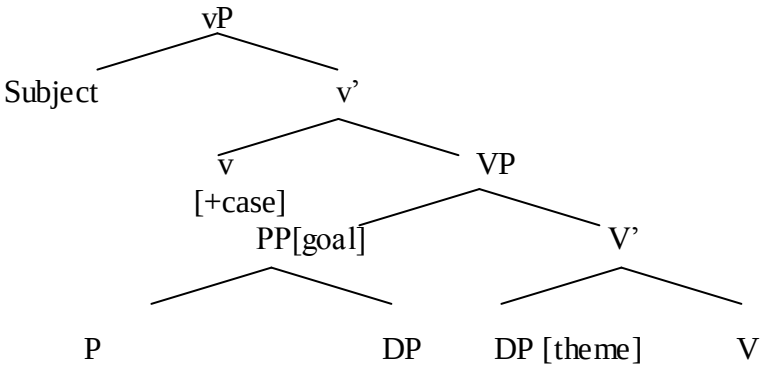
I-ERG child-ACC give.Past-3psg mother his

1. *I gave the child to his mother*.
2. *I gave the child to somebody else's mother*.

On the other hand, as for the derivation of the possessor goals; the possessor goal is introduced within PP in the specifier position of lexical VP and it checks its case features at P head whereas the theme object is generated as the complement of lexical V head and checks its case features at little v head, (19). Unlike the derivation in (17), the theme DP does not raise to Spec little vP position because there is not an intervening or blocking DP between the probe (v) and the target (theme DP) in this derivation so case checking via in-situ agree is obviously possible.[15]

[15] Obviously, considering the derivation in (17) and (19) our assumption faces a head directionality problem; in (17) where there is a low ApplP the VP domain is head initial whereas in (19) the VP domain is head-final. The position and semantics of the goals necessitate providing 2 different derivations for ditransitive constructions rather than a uniform model for this language. There may be a split VP system in Kurmanji but still I do not have an exact analysis for this issue and it needs further investigation.

(19) Derivation for ditransitive constructions of Kurmanji (possessor goals + theme + V)



In fact, "two goal" constructions support our proposal; there are two different positions for the goal arguments; the possessor goal shows up preverbally while the locative goal appears postverbally. The positions of the possessor goal and the locative goal with respect to the theme and the verb can be observed clearly in ditransitive constructions allowing two goals to appear at the same time. Miyagawa&Tsujioka (2004) proposes that the word order is quite rigid in "two goal" constructions in Japanese, that's the low goal cannot precede the high goal, (20).

(20) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni Tokyo-ni nimoyu-o okutta
Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat Tokyo-to package-Acc sent
"Taro sent Hanako a package to Tokyo."

b. *Taroo-ga Tokyo-ni Hanako-ni nimoyu-o okutta
Taro-Nom Tokyo-to Hanako-Dat package-Acc sent
"Taro sent Hanako a package to Tokyo."

(Miyagawa &Tsujioka 2004:7)

Hanako-ni is the high goal (possessor) and *Tokyo-ni* is the low goal (location) in the examples above. The reason why (20b) is ungrammatical is that the low goal precedes the high goal.

Miyagawa&Tsujioka's proposal is also valid for Kurmanji in terms of the order of the high and low goals. In Kurmanji, the high goal or the possessor goal can appear in the preverbal position but the low goal or the locative goal always has to occur in the postverbal position except for scope purposes and having an animate entity implication as illustrated in (11) and (12). When both goals are used at the same time, the high goal appears in the preverbal position within a PP while the low goal occurs in the postverbal position; so the high goal always precedes the low goal and is always positionally higher than the low goal as it is shown in the derivation given in (17) and (19). In the sentence (21), *Ali* is the high goal and *Enqerê* is the low goal, and *Ali* always has to be higher than *Enqerê* otherwise the sentence would be unacceptable as in (21b) and (21c)[16].

(21) a. Min (ji) Ali-ra quti-yê şand-Ø Enqerê
I-ERG (P) Ali box-ACC send.Past.-3psg Enqere
"I sent the box to Ali to Enqere."

b. *Min (ji) Ali-ra Enqerê quti-yê şand-Ø
I-ERG (P) Ali Enqere box-ACC send.Past.-3psg

c. *Min quti-yê şand-Ø (ji) Ali-ra Enqerê
I-ERG box-ACC send.Past.3psg (P) Ali Enqerê

[16] In this sentence, the theme object can precede the PP goal as in "Min quti-yê **(ji) Ali-ra** şand **Enqerê**" however then the sentence has a contrastive reading in which the PP goal *ji Ali ra* has contrastive focus and is contrasted with somebody else. Therefore, since this "theme DP-PP goal" order is related to the informational structure, I do not consider it as object movement to a higher position in the derivation.

As shown above, the only exception to this pattern comes from the verb *dayin* 'give' in Kurmanji, which can take its animate goal postverbally in contrast to verbs like *şand* 'send', which does not allow for postverbal animate goals. The low applicative in Kurmanji typically introduces locative goals but not possessor goals. Possessor goals with verbs like *send* cannot be introduced as applied arguments, but must be introduced as PPs, which are not directly selected by the Appl head. Thus, structurally while locative goals behave as a true complement of the complex head V+Appl, possessor goals are introduced as PPs. We can speculate that the asymmetry we observe in the case of give and send can be related to the difference in the semantics of the two verbs. For the verb *send* location counts as a more prominent thematic relation than possession, therefore, location is what is introduced as an DP complement. The verb *give* unlike *send* semantically always requires a possessive goal as a complement but cannot take a locative goal and therefore it must be introduced within the applicative construction even though it constitutes an exception to the general pattern we observe in Kurmanji. Note that cross-linguistically *give* is a canonical example of ditransitive predicates, which Pylkkänen (2002) maps onto a low applicative construction. Therefore, it is not surprising that we find a low goal representation of give in Kurmanji.

3.3. Transitive Constructions in Kurmanji

In transitive constructions in Kurmanji, the theme is base generated in the preverbal position and it generally precedes the verb.[17] To illustrate, in (22), *pirtûk* "book" is the complement of the verb *xwandin* "to read" and immediately precedes the verb itself.[18]

(22) Ez pirtûk-ê di-xwîn-im
I-NOM book-ACC Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg
"I am reading the book."

Adjuncts in transitive predicates typically appear preverbally. Sentence (23) illustrates the distribution of a locative adjunct, while the sentence (24) illustrates a temporal adjunct. Note that the position of the complement does not change if the sentence contains adjuncts as it is in (23). The adjunct in (23) appears in the preverbal position and can precede or follow the theme but cannot occur in the postverbal position otherwise it would be ungrammatical, (23c).

(23) a. Ez li ser cihe xwe pirtûk-ê di-xwîn-im
I-NOM P bed self book-ACC Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg
"I am reading the book on my bed."

b. Ez pirtûk-ê li ser cihe xwe di-xwîn-im
I-NOM book-ACC P bed self Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg

[17] See Chapter 4 for the discussion of word order variation under information structure in Kurmanji.
[18] The complement of the verb may move to different positions in the sentence due to focus purposes. This will be analyzed in detail in chapter 4.

c. *Ez pirtûk-ê di-xwîn-im li ser cihe xwe
I-NOM book-ACC Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg P bed self

(24) a. Min ji vî du sal evul-tir wê dît-Ø
I-ERG P this two year before-cmpr her.ACC see.Past-3psg
"I saw you two years ago."

However, when adjuncts denoting goal/location are used with verbs denoting motion such as 'drive a car' we see a different pattern. Just like the locative goals of ditransitive predicates, such adjuncts have to be coded in the postverbal position as shown in (25a) below. The crucial point here is that again these postverbal adjuncts appear as DPs in form and do not require a PP. If the postverbal adjunct is to be used within PPs in the preverbal position then it does not express the same meaning of the postverbal adjunct but gives different (extra) information about the action, as illustrated in (25b).

(25) a. Ez erebe-yê (or erebê) d-ajo-m Enqerê
I-NOM car-ACC Prog.-drive.Pres.-1psg Enqere
"I am driving my car to Enqere."

b. Ez erebê di Enqerê ra d-ajo-m
I-NOM car.ACC P Enqere Prog.-drive.Pres.-1psg
"I am driving my car through Enqere."

Note that such constructions (25a) semantically imply a transfer relation between two entities similar to the pattern we observe in ditransitives. Therefore, we propose that these constructions also involve a low applicative construction which introduces the location in its Spec. As such DPs are introduced at Spec, ApplP they check case with the ApplP. This raises the question of what the status of *Enqere* is as it is introduced in Spec, ApplP and checks case with it. Is it an adjunct or an argument?

Grimshaw (1990) argues that there are some adjuncts which provide information about positions in the argument structure (a-structure) of predicates such as *by* phrases of passive constructions or the possessive subject of the noun as illustrated in (26). She considers these adjuncts as a-adjuncts which are licensed by a-structure thus have an intermediate status. Unlike core arguments these a-adjuncts are not theta-marked and they do not satisfy a-structure position but like arguments they are licensed.

(26) a. The city was destroyed *by the army*.

b. *Pete's* destruction of the city

(Grimshaw, 1990)

Rakosi (2006), on the other hand, argues that there is an intermediate category between thematic arguments and non-thematic adjuncts, which he calls thematic adjuncts, which can bear a theta-role and receive the same sort of thematic specification as regular arguments, (27). He proposes that thematic adjuncts are different from thematic arguments in being optional. Most PPs are taken as *commitatives, instruments, benefactives, sources* and *goals* are in this *"non-core*

thematic domain". In standard LFG approach these are considered as *"possible grammatical arguments of the verb"*. Rakosi (2006) investigates dative arguments and dative thematic adjuncts in Hungarian and asserts that there are mainly three criteria that distinguish a thematic adjunct from a thematic argument; thematic adjuncts are optional, either marked with the dative case or by the postposition *számára* (whereas dative arguments necessarily require dative case) and they do not need to be interpreted as experiencers.

(27) a. Thematic argument

Kati tetsz-ik János-nak / *Janos számára

Kate appeal-3ps John-DAT / * John for.3ps

*"Kate appeals to John / *for John."*

b. Thematic adjunct

Ez fontos János-nak / Janos számára

this important John-DAT / John for.3ps

"This is important to John / for John"

c. Non-thematic adjunct

Számomra / nek-em a barátsag az barátsag

for.1ps / DAT.1ps the friendship that friendship

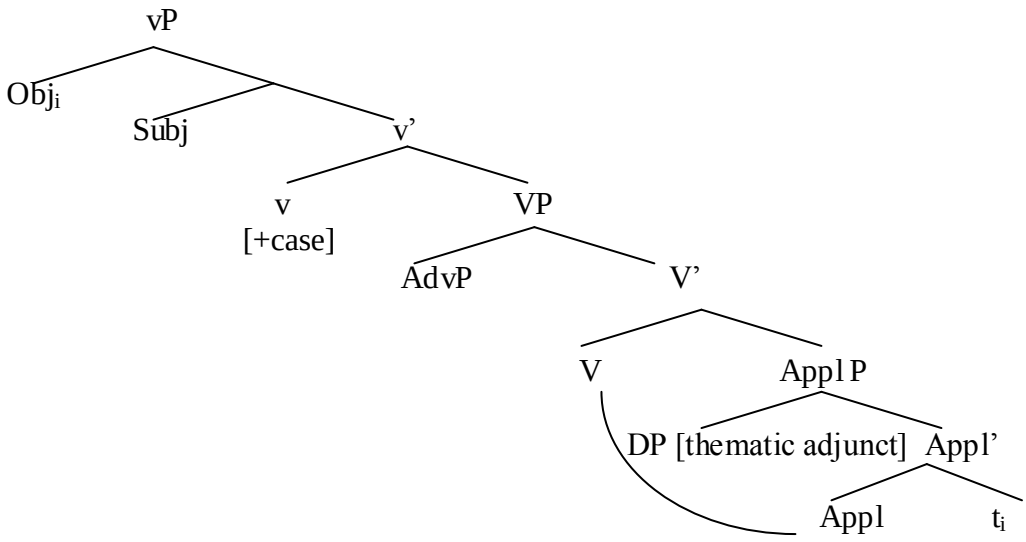
"For/to me, friendship is friendship"

(Rakosi, 2006)

The postverbal DP adjuncts that we see in Kurmanji in transitive predicates are an intermediate category as well. In (23c) on my bed even though it introduces a location it cannot appear postverbally, whereas a locative/goal like Enqere as in

(25a) has to appear postverbally. Crucially, the postverbal adjuncts all bear the thematic role goal. In the current framework, case-checking is crucial for theta-role assignment. These adjuncts are not obligatory as arguments, but they are thematically specified as arguments. If we say that it is the applicative head which introduces these adjuncts and checks their case so that they can bear thematic roles, then in a sense these are structurally no different than locative goals of ditransitives. Note that applicatives can introduce non-core arguments. This implies that the adjunct-argument distinction in Kurmanji when it comes to DPs denoting locative goals is not as clear cut as it is in other systems like English and locative goals appear as an intermediate category. This issue definitely requires further investigation. However, for the time being we propose that such postverbal adjuncts, which are in the form of DPs and bear the thematic role goal/theme are introduced within a low applicative construction:

(28) Derivation for transitive constructions of Kurmanji (with postverbal thematic adjuncts)



As seen in the tree above, postverbal DP adjuncts are introduced in the specifier position of the low ApplP while the theme object is base generated as the complement of the applicative head and raises to spec little v position, (28).

Note that these transitive constructions may have manner adverbs, as illustrated in (29) below and that is why they are given in Spec VP position in the tree above:

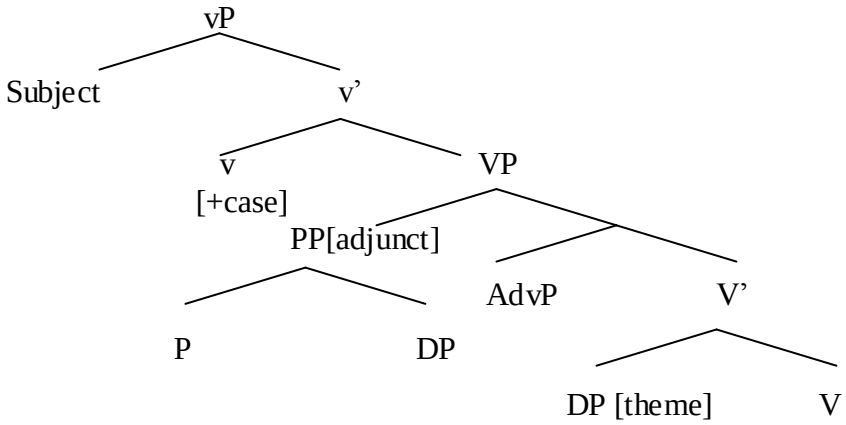
(29)	Min	erebê	hedî	ajot-Ø	Enqerê
	I-ERG	car.ACC	slowly	drive.Past-3psg	Enqere
	"I drove my car to Enqere slowly."				

In parallel to the distribution of manner adjuncts, object movement to a higher position in Kurmanji is reasonable because the sentence in (29) indicates that a manner adverb which typically modifies VPs needs to show up between the object and the verb and cannot precede the object. This in turn implies that there must be object movement in these constructions.

As for preverbal adjuncts in transitive constructions we propose that they are generated in the preverbal position within PP. The derivation for the sentences in (23) and (24) in which adjuncts occur preverbally is given in (30); the theme object is base generated as the complement of the lexical V head and check its case features at little v head while the pure adjunct is generated within PP in the specifier position of lexical VP[19].

[19] In Kurmanji, when a PP adjunct and a manner adverb co-occur in a transitive sentence, the object shows up between the PP adjunct and the manner adverb, (i). The following example implies that in such transitive constructions the object moves to a position higher than the manner adverb but lower than the PP adjunct since when the manner adverb precedes the object the sentence would be ungrammatical, (ii).

(30) Derivation for transitive constructions of Kurmanji (with preverbal adjuncts)



Note that in the derivations above, we argued for Appl to V movement and object movement into Spec, vP in the case of low applicatives but we did not consider whether lexical verbs move any higher in Kurmanji, that is, whether there is V-to-v movement in this language needs attention. When we consider the relative position of manner adverbs with respect to the lexical V we can argue that there is

---

(i) Ez li ser cîhe xwe **pirtûk-ê** zû di-xwîn-im
I-NOM P bed self book-ACC fast Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg
"I am reading the book fast on my bed."

(ii) *Ez li ser cîhe xwe zû **pirtûk-ê** di-xwîn-im
I-NOM P bed self fast book-ACC Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg

Note that although there seems to be object movement here, unlike the object in low ApplP constructions, it obviously does not move up to Spec, vP since it appears lower than the PP adjunct which is proposed to be generated in the Spec, VP. The object must move to an intermediary position between these two adjuncts. Maybe in this language each adverb/adjunct projects its functional projection (Chinque, 1999), i.e., the PP adjunct in (i) projects its locative adjunct projection while the manner adverb projects its adverbial projection in the lexical VP layer as both modify the lexical verb and the object moves an intermediary position within lexical VP domain. On the other hand; when the object, a PP adjunct, a manner adverb and a postverbal adjunct co-occur together in the same sentence the object DP appears in the left most, (iii). This supports that the object introduced in a low ApplP moves to Spec, vP position unlike the object in the construction above.

(iii) Min **erebê** di Enqerê ra zû ajot-Ø Stenbolê
I-ERG car.ACC P Enqere fast drive.Past-3ps İstanbul
"I drove my car fast to Istanbul through Enqere."

However, this is a tentative analysis and the distribution of adverbs- what adverb occupies which position- needs further investigation.

no V-to-v movement in Kurmanji. The relative order between a true manner adverb, which marks the left edge of the VP, and the verb points out that the verb stays within the VP domain and also there is object movement in Kurmanji, (31).

(31) Ez pirtûk-ê [$_{VP}$ zû/ hedî di-xwîn-im]
I-NOM book-ACC fast/ slowly Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg
"I am reading the book fast/slowly."

The occurrence of the negation and aspect markers on the lexical verb in Kurmanji also further leads to the question of whether there is v-to-AspP movement in this language. As illustrated in the following sentences both negation and the progressive aspect markers appear on the lexical verb and in fact they seem to occupy the same position because they are mutually exclusive; one precludes the other, (for more discussion see Gündoğdu, 2011).

(32) a. Ez di-ç-im
I-NOM Prog.-go.Pres.-1psg
"I am going."

b. Ez na-ç-im
I-NOM Neg.-go.Pres.-1psg
"I am not going."

However, the occurrence of negation and aspect markers on the verb does not mean that there is verb movement to NegP and AspP in the syntax. In fact according to the DM model that we adopt in this study, in syntax there are only

abstract features and the morphological realization of these features takes place post-syntactically at MS level, thus the verb gets its morphemes at MS level under some operations. It can be assumed that negation and aspect, which are two local heads, undergo head fusion post syntactically and creates a single morphological slot for vocabulary insertion. This then gives us the output in (32b), where the negation marker blocks the occurrence of the progressive aspect marker. Furthermore, the position of the aspectual adverbs indicates that little v head does not move to AspP in syntax because the aspectual adverb stays external to the vP domain, (33).

(33) Sîdar [$_{AspP}$ di sê sal-an da [$_{vP}$ mal-ek-ê çekir-Ø]]
Sidar-ERG P three year-PL house-Ind.sg.-ACC build.Past-3psg
"Sidar built a house in three years."

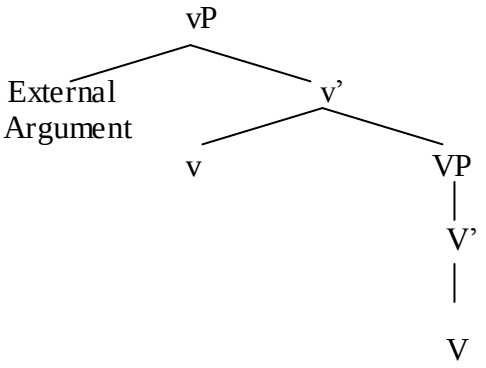
Therefore, despite the morphology on the verb the position of certain adverbs demonstrates that there is object movement but there is neither V-to-v nor v-to-AspP movement in syntax of this language. Also, the post-syntactic morphology account (DM) can explain these facts without resorting to a need for any movement in syntax, which is also more economical. However, the nature of head-movement in this language needs further investigation.

3.4. Intransitive Predicates

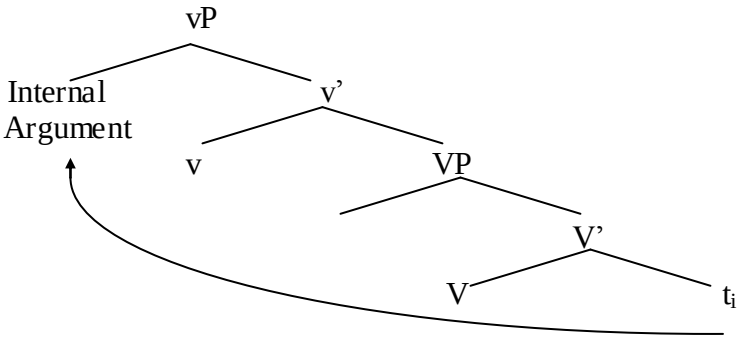
As illustrated in (34), an unergative verb has an external argument generated in the specifier position of little vP but no direct internal argument whereas an

unaccusative verb has a direct internal argument but no external argument. The internal argument of an unaccusative verb functions as the subject of the sentence so it raises to the specifier position of little vP where grammatical subjects are generated.

(34) a. Unergatives



b. Unaccusatives



In Kurmanji, unaccusative and unergative verbs behave in the same way when they are modified by a manner adjunct (35) or by a time adjunct (36).

(35) a. Ez zû ket-im

I-NOM fast fall.Past-1psg

"I fell down fast."

b. Ez zû revî-m

I-NOM fast run.Past-1psg

"I ran fast."

(36) a. Ez (di) saet sê-yan da çû-m

I-NOM (P) time three go.Past-1psg

"I went at three o'clock."

b. Ez (di) bîst û yek-an da hat-im.

I-NOM (P) twenty and one- come.Past-1psg

"I came on the 21st March."

c. Ez (di) saet sê-yan da revî-m

I-NOM (P) time three go.Past-1psg

"I ran at three oclock."

However, when we consider the distribution of adjuncts denoting goal or location we again see an asymmetry between unergative and unaccusative verbs in parallel to what we observed in the case of transitive predicates.

In Kurmanji adjuncts which appear with unergative verbs indicating location cannot appear in the postverbal position but in fact they have to occur in the preverbal position within PP constructions as in (37).

(37) a. Ez li ser cîy-ê xwe di-hilkît-im

I-NOM P bed self Prog.-jump.Pres.-1psg

"I am jumping on my bed."

b. Em di nav dar-an da di-rev-in
we-NOM P tree-PL P Prog.-run.Pres.-pl
"We are running through the trees."

c. Ez alîye berav ra soberî di-k-im.
I-NOM side shore P swim Prog.-do.Pres.-1psg
"I am swimming towards the shore."

On the other hand, when unaccusative verbs take locative goals as adjuncts such adjuncts have to occur postverbally as DPs. Thus, they exhibit identical behavior to locative goals of ditransitive and locative goal adjuncts of transitives.

(38) a. Ez çû-m Enqerê
I-NOM go.Past-1psg Enqere
"I went to Enqere."

b. Zarok-an hat-in hundir
child-PL-NOM come-Past-pl indoors
"The children came indoors."

c. Top ket-Ø xarê
ball-NOM fall.Past-3psg ground
"The ball fell down /on the ground."

The adjuncts in (38a) and (38b) can appear in the preverbal positions as the complement of a circumposition such as *di-ra* "through" or a preposition like *ji* "from" as illustrated in (39) yet the meaning changes because the adjuncts occupying the preverbal position within PPs do not express the meaning encoded

in the semantics of these verbs.

(39) a. Ez (di) Enqere ra çû-m[20]
I-NOM P Enqere go.past-1psg
"I went through Enqere."

b. Zarok-an ji hundir hat-in
child-PL-NOM P indoors come.Past-pl
"The children came from indoors."

c. *Ez hat-im (di) bîst û yek-an da
I-NOM come.Past-1psg (P) twenty and one P
"I came on the 21st March."

This asymmetry again makes us think of the low applicative construction which introduces locative goals in the case of ditransitives and transitives that we discussed above. Note that Pylkkänen (2002) specifically argues that transitivity, that is, having a direct object is a must for low applicatives, low applicatives are never possible with unergative verbs but they can only be observed with unccusative verbs and transitive predicates which can take direct objects. Given that such locative goals are not possible with unergatives but only with unaccusatives in Kurmanji, we again propose that these postverbal DP goals are

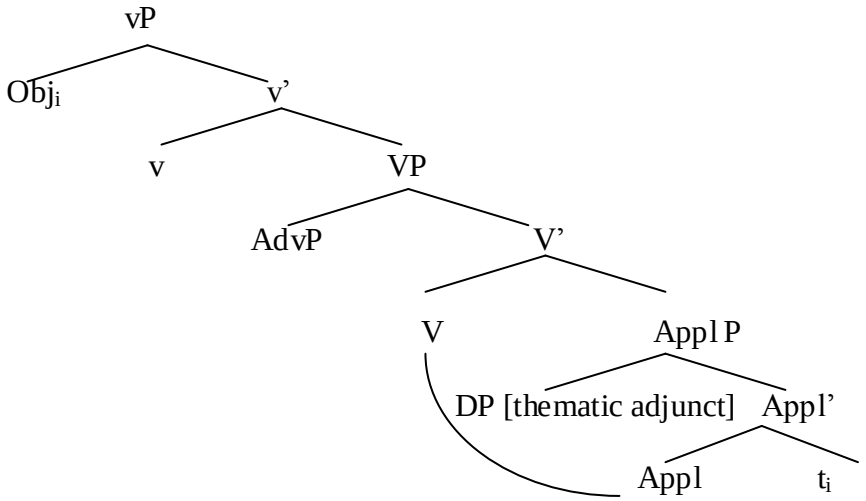
[20] Thackston (2006) considers constructions like *di...ra, ji...ra,di...da* as circumpositions. And this is what we are assuming as well. Note that it is not possible to assume these as PP constructions, where di and ji are the P heads, and ra and da are case markers, as such constructions require already case marked DPs or pronouns:

e.g. ji jin-ê ra OR ji wê ra
P woman-Oblq P she.Oblq
"to the woman" *"to her"*

In these constructions, the prepositional parts of these circumpositions are generally optional and most probably what makes this optionality possible is the existence of the postpositional part.

introduced into the syntax by the *low applicative head* as an applied argument. This again implies that locative goals of unaccusatives are of an intermediate category between being an adjunct and an argument. Since they are introduced by the Appl head, they are case-marked by it, which then allows them to be theta-marked.[21] Again the true nature of these constructions requires further research.

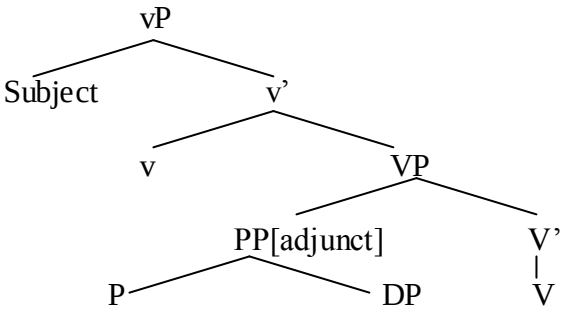
(40) Derivation for Unaccusative verbs in Kurmanji



Note that in the tree above, there may be manner adjuncts and these adjuncts are base generated in the Spec VP position in accordance with the data in (35) above. Unergatives on the other hand do not involve such an applicative head and always introduce their adjuncts preverbally. These are generated in the specifier position of lexical VP within PP and they exhibits behaviors of a pure adjunct because they totally express extra information about the predicate.

[21] Note that the unaccusative predicates which can select a postverbal locative goal such as "go, come, fall" are categorized as verbs of directed motion which inherently indicate a directed motion, therefore, they imply the presence of a locative goal in their lexical-semantic representation (Rappaport&Levin, 2000). Although the presence of such goals in the structure is not obligatory and optional as adjuncts, they are already coded in the semantics of the verb. This might further contribute to the intermediate nature of these postverbal DP as argument-like adjuncts. What we observe here is whether an adjunct is implied in the lexical-semantics of the verb also matters for the distribution of the adjuncts. This futher implies that in Kurmanji there can be a direct mapping between the lexical semantic representation of the verb and its syntax in support of Rappaport&Levin, (2000).

(41) Derivation for Unergative verbs in Kurmanji



3.5. Summary

In this section, the derivation of verbal domain and the internal structure of little vP and lexical VP in Kurmanji are analyzed and the positions where theme-goal arguments and adjuncts can appear are discussed. It is indicated that there are two different positions for theme- goal arguments and adjuncts in all types of sentences; namely intransitive, transitive and ditransitive constructions, and they behave parallel in each construction. Possessor goals and true adjuncts occupy preverbal position and they are generated within PP constructions in Spec VP position in which lexical V has theme DP as its complement. On the other hand, locative goals as well as the possessor goal of the verb *dayin* "give" and DP adjuncts appear in the postverbal position. It has been proposed that these postverbal adjuncts are neither core arguments nor true adjuncts but they have an intermediary status. These thematic adjuncts and postverbal goals are introduced by a low applicative head as an applied argument in parallel to Pylkkänen (2002).

As for case checking, it is proposed that the theme DP checks its case features at little v head via in-situ agreement when it is generated as the

complement of the lexical V head while it checks its case features at little v head via movement to Spec little vP position when it is introduced in a low ApplP. The reason for object movement to that position is that since the DP goal/ thematic adjunct is introduced in the Spec ApplP position by the Appl head, it intervenes in between the case checking domain of little v and blocks case checking of the theme DP at little v head via in-situ agreement; thus the object has to move to escape from ApplP domain so that it can check its case. Preverbal goal arguments check their case features at P head whereas postverbal goal arguments interpret their case features at Appl head. Also, it is shown that in Kurmanji, Double Object Constructions and *to dative* constructions are different from the ones in English in terms of animacy restrictions because unlike English, in Kurmanji DOCs allow the occurrence of inanimate goals.

CHAPTER 4

WORD ORDER VARIATON IN THE MUŞ DIALECT OF KURMANJI

4.1. Introduction

The main concern of the current chapter is to examine the possible word-order variations in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji[22]. The basic word order of Kurmanji (also in The Muş dialect) is SOV and it exhibits word order variation – though limited - depending on the information structure of the sentence. We will investigate the word order possibilities and the information related conditions that trigger them, such as old information (Topic) and new information (Focus). We will also discuss the syntactic derivations of these word order possibilities in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji.

4.2. Information Structure and Word Order

As analyzed in the Chapter 2 and 3, the main word order in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji is SOV. In the following, we will take a look at how many different word orders are possible in this dialect and how they reflect information structure.

[22] The data for this chapter is elicited from native speakers of Kurmanji living in Muş. I would like to thank my informants; my parents and my friends Kerem Yel, Fırat Yıldız, Zeynep Argün, Emine Durmaz, Özlem Çetin, and Suna Özen.

4.2.1. Word Order Patterns in Kurmanji

Under the default basic word order SOV in present, future and past tenses as illustrated in (1a), (1b) and (1c) respectively, the sentential stress falls on the sentence-final arguments which are the verbs here, *dixwînim*, *bixwînim* and *xwand*. Note that we are indicating focus via capitalization.

(1) a. Ez pirtûk-ê Dİ-XWÎN-İM
I-NOM book-ACC Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg
"I am reading the book."

b. Ez-ê pirtûk-ê Bİ-XWÎN-İM
I-NOM-Fut. book-ACC Subj.-read.Pres.-1psg
"I will read the book."

c. Min pirtûk-ê XWAND-Ø
I-ERG book-ACC read.Past-3psg
"I read the book."

If the stress is on the immediately preverbal argument, namely the object, under the SOV order, this expresses contrastive focus. In the sentences in (2), the object of the sentence has a contrastive focus. These sentences can be used in a context where in addition to a book, there are other materials such as newspapers, magazines, etc., which can be read and the person is being asked which one s/he is reading/will read/ read. (2a) has the reading *I am reading the book(i.e., but not the newspaper or the magazine)* and similarly (2b) and (2c) exhibit the same reading in the future tense and in the past tense, respectively.

(2) a. Ez PİRTÛK-Ê di-xwîn-im

I-NOM book-ACC Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg

"I am reading the book. (i.e., but not the newspaper or the magazine)"

b. Ez-ê PİRTÛK-Ê bi-xwîn-im

I-NOM-Fut. book-ACC Subj.-read.Pres.-1psg

"I will read the book. (i.e., but not the newspaper or the magazine)"

c. Min PİRTÛK-Ê xwand-Ø

I-ERG book-ACC read.Past-3psg

"I read the book. (i.e., but not the newspaper or the magazine)"

Thus, it is important to note that SOV order in fact has two different readings; the verb has sentential stress in the default reading while the object has contrastive focus in the other reading.

Note that when the verb has a high pitch followed by a fall, then the sentence is interpreted as a yes-no question, as there is no question particle for such question formation in Kurmanji:

(3) a. Tu vê pirtuk-ê Dİ-XWÎN-Î ?

You (sg)-NOM Dem. book-ACC Prog.-read.Pres.-2psg

"Are you reading this book?"

b. Te vê pirtuk-ê XWAND-Ø ?

You (sg)-ERG Dem. book-ACC read.Past-3psg

"Did you read this book?"

The SVO word order is also possible in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji, (4). This word order emerges in a context where there is a question such as *why is this book here?* (4a-b) or to answer a question such as *who saw Zana?* as in (4c).

(4) a. SÎDAR di-xwîn-e vê (pirtûk-ê)
I-NOM Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg Dem. (book-ACC)
"Sidar is reading it (book)."

b. SÎDAR dê bi-xwîn-e vê (pirtûk-ê)
I-NOM Fut. Subj.-read.Pres.-3psg Dem. (book-ACC)
"Sidar will read it (book)."

c. SÎDAR dît-Ø wî
Sidar-ERG see.Past-3psg he-ACC
"Sidar (but not me) saw him (Zana)"

As (4c) shows in past tense SVO word order is used for contrastive purposes; the preverbal argument which is the subject of the sentence here is contrasted with somebody else in that certain context. In past tenses, if the object is contrasted with somebody or something else then SOV word order in which the object has contrastive focus emerges, but if the subject has to have contrastive focus then native speakers place the object to the postverbal position and leave the subject in the immediately preverbal position (SVO) which hosts contrastive focus. The postverbal constituent denotes old information and is backgrounded.

The reason why Kurmanji speakers in Muş cannot move the object to the sentence initial position is not surprising because as discussed in detailed in Chapter 2 in this dialect in past tense transitive constructions there is ERG-ACC

case pattern in which the subject and the object bear the same case marking as the morphological realization of ergative and accusative cases are the same and the verb agrees with neither the subject nor the object of the sentence but has 3rd person singular form. The identical case markings on the arguments and the absence of the agreement with neither argument lead to being strict in scrambling. It seems that in past tense transitive constructions the sentence initial position is always for the subject thus what occupies this position is interpreted as the subject of the sentence. For instance, (5a) *Sidar* is the subject of the sentence while *Zana* functions as the object; but when their positions are changed as in (5b) *Zana* functions as the subject and *Sidar* as the object which in turn alters the meaning of the sentence.

(5)	a.	Sîdar	Zana	DÎT-Ø
		Sidar (Subject)	Zana (Object)	see.Past-3psg
		"Sidar saw Zana."		
	b.	Zana	Sîdar	DÎT-Ø
		Zana (Subject)	Sidar (Object)	see.Past-3psg
		"Zana saw Sidar."		

Since the pronominal form of the ergative subject and the accusative object are also the same, the change in position results in meaning change as illustrated in (6).

(6) a. Min te DÎT-Ø

I-ERG you(sg)-ACC see.Past-3psg

"I saw you."

b. Te min DÎT-Ø

You(sg)-ERG I-ACC see.Past-3psg

"You saw me."

Interestingly, in past tense transitive constructions although the object cannot move to the sentence initial position, it can move to the postverbal position so that the subject can get contrastive focus as illustrated in (4c) but this SVO order is not accepted by some native speakers when both nouns are unmodified masculine nouns having zero case marking (7c). The nouns in (7a) also are masculine nouns and have zero case marking but since they are proper nouns the sentence is acceptable.

(7) a. SÎDAR dît-Ø Zana

Sidar-ERG see.Past-3psg Zana-ACC

"Sidar saw Zana."

b. JİN-EK-Ê dît-Ø (vê) mirîşk-ek-ê

woman-Ind.sg.-ERG see.Past-3ps (Dem.) chicken-Ind.sg.-ACC

"A woman saw a chicken."

c. ? MERİK-Ø dît-Ø dîk-Ø

man-ERG see.Past-3psg roaster-ACC

"Man saw roaster"

It seems that arguments in these constructions are positionally encoded; the argument occupying the sentence initial position is interpreted as the subject of the sentence whereas the object can occur anywhere else. Therefore, in past tense transitive constructions of the Muş dialect of Kurmanji since the movement of the object to the sentence initial position is not possible, object-initial orders such as OSV and OVS are not observed and only SOV and SVO orders are possible.[23]

In the non-past tenses of this dialect (present and future) in addition to the SOV and SVO orders, we observe other possible word orders. In the present tense, we find SOV, SVO, OSV and OVS. In the future tense, only the SOV, SVO and OSV orders are possible, but not the OVS order. The fact that word order variation is more flexible in non-past tense constructions is due to the presence of subject verb agreement and differentiated case-marking of the subject and the object. As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, in non-past tenses the subject of the sentence agrees with the verb, and also the case markings that the subject and object carry are different. The subject has nominative (zero) case marking whereas the object carries an overt accusative case marking (*-ê* for feminine nouns and *–î* for modified masculine nouns see chapter 2). Unlike past tenses, the presence of subject agreement marking on the verb and the different case markings arguments allow for more word order variation in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji[24]; namely SOV, SVO, OSV and OVS in the present and SOV, SVO and OSV in the future. SOV and SVO are illustrated in (1/2a-b) and (4a-b); respectively. OSV is used when the subject has to be in the domain of contrastive

[23] In Standard Kurmanji the word-order variation is expected to be more flexible because in past tense transitive ergative construction there is object-verb agreement and the presence of object agreement marker on the verb may allow object moving to the sentence initial position without leading to any meaning change; but it is important to note that this is a predictable assumption about word order variation in Standard Kurmanji. However, we leave this for future work.

[24] These four possible word orders are most probably possible in Standard Kurmanji too because there is no difference between the present tense transitive constructions of either dialect.

focus so the sentence in (8) expresses a contrast like *it is not you but me who is reading/will read the book*.

(8) OSV

a. Wê pirtûk-ê EZ di-xwîn-im
Dem. book-ACC I-NOM Prog.-read.Pres.-1psg
"I am reading that book."

b. Wê pirtûk-ê EZ-Ê bi-xwîn-im
Dem. book-ACC I-NOM-Fut. Subj.-read.Pres.-1psg
"I will read that book."

On the other hand, OVS is preferred in the present tense when the object is the focused element and the subject expresses old information. For example, in (9a) the book is being read by the speaker in a context when s/he is told that s/he may not know the book that another speaker is talking about. Note that in the future tense OVS is not acceptable so (9b) is out because in future tense the subject and the future marker that follows it cannot be separated. The future marker is assumed to be under T head (see Chapter 2) and the subject must be in a higher position (spec TP) to get this marker so that they form a phonological unit; hence the subject cannot move from spec TP position to anywhere else. This will be discussed in Section 4.3.

(9) a. OVS

WÊ	PİRTÛK-Ê	di-zan-im	ez
Dem.	book-ACC	Prog.-know.Pres.-1psg	I-NOM

"I know that book . (I have read it)"

b. OVS (in future)

*WÊ	PİRTÛK-Ê	bi-zan-im	ez-ê
Dem.	book-ACC	Subj.-know.Pres.-1psg	I-NOM-Fut.

These four word orders are also possible with pronouns since unlike in past tenses the pronominal form of the nominative subject and the accusative object are different in non-past tenses as illustrated in (10-13). Note that again the OVS order is out in the future tense (13b).

(10) SOV

a.

Ez	wî	Dİ-ZAN-İM
I-NOM	he-ACC	Prog.-know.Pres-1psg

"I know him."

b.

Ez-ê	wî	Bİ-BÎN-İM
I-NOM-Fut.	he-ACC	Subj.-see.Pres-1psg

"I will see him."

(11) SVO

a.

EZ	di-zan-im	wî
I-NOM	Prog.-know.Pres-1psg	he-ACC

"I know him."

b. EZ-Ê bi-bîn-im wî

I-NOM-Fut. Subj-see.Pres-1psg he-ACC

"I will see him."

(12) OSV

a. Wî EZ di-zan-im

He-ACC I-NOM Prog.-know.Pres-1psg

"I know him. (but not you or anybody else)"

b. Wî EZ-Ê bi-bîn-im

He-ACC I-NOM-Fut.. Subj-see.Pres.-1psg

"I will see him."

(13) OVS (not acceptable in future tense)

a. WÎ di-zan-im ez

He-ACC Prog.-know.Pres-1psg I-NOM

"I know him."

b. *WÎ bi-bîn-im ez-ê

He-ACC Subj-see.Pres.1psg I-NOM-Fut.

Nevertheless, for any tenses the VSO and VOS orders are not possible and are not accepted by native speakers of Kurmanji living in Muş, even when possible contexts were presented to them.

(14) a. VSO

*Di-xwîn-im	ez	pirtûk-ê
Prog.-read.Past-1ps	I-NOM	book-ACC

b. VOS

*Di-xwîn-im	pirtûk-ê	ez
Prog.-read.Past-1ps	book-ACC	I-NOM

The reason for the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (14) is that since in Kurmanji EPP is a strong feature there must be an argument- either the subject or object- in the preverbal position to check EPP. If so, why cannot V check EPP feature in these word orders in Kurmanji? Alexiadou&Anagnostopoulou (1998) propose that if EPP is a strong feature in a language, it must be checked either via Move/Merge XP or via Move/Merge X. Languages behave differently with respect to EPP checking; in some languages EPP is checked by an expletive (Merge XP) whereas in some languages EPP is checked via the subject or object movement to Spec,TP (Move XP). Also there are languages in which EPP is checked via V-movement; generally by verbal agreement having pronominal status of a pronoun in pro-drop languages. According to their proposal, EPP checking is parametrized thus a language selects one of these checking options. As discussed in Chapter 2, Kurmanji is one of the languages which requires EPP checking via Move XP; movement of the subject DP to Spec,TP position. Therefore since V-movement for EPP checking is not a possible option in Kurmanji, EPP must be checked by either the subject or the object. This in turn makes it impossible for more than one constituent to move to the postverbal position, so verb-initial word orders are not acceptable in this language.

Even though the examples given so far indicate that focus is restricted to the preverbal domain in Kurmanji, it is important to note that an argument base generated post-verbally can get focus in its base position. Thus, it is possible to have focus in the postverbal domain, unlike languages like Turkish, which Kurmanji is in close contact with (Göksel and Özsoy 2000). As discussed in Chapter 3, some adjuncts and goal arguments which are required by the semantics of the verb are generated in the postverbal position and their movement to the preverbal position would lead to ungrammaticality. If a postverbal adjunct (15a) or goal argument (15b) has to be focused, they can get focus in their base position though it is a postverbal position.

(15) a. Ew çû-Ø ENQERÊ
S/he-NOM go.Past-3psg Enqere
"S/he went to Enqere. (not to İstanbul)"

b. Min pirtûk-ê da-Ø EHMED
I-ERG book-ACC give.Past-3psg Ehmed
"I gave the book to Ehmed. (not to Ali)"

These observations lead us to conclude that in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji the focus is not restricted to the preverbal position but rather focus is a domain containing both the preverbal and the postverbal positions. The fact that wh-words, which by default require focus, also can occupy the postverbal position in interrogative sentences supports this conclusion, too:

(16) Tu- çû-y KU ?

You(sg)-NOM go.Past-2psg where

"Where did you go?"

However, it should be emphasized that under the SVO and OVS orders in which the object and the subject scramble postverbally, respectively, these constituents cannot bear focus since they are not base-generated in the postverbal position and are obligatorily interpreted as background information. This indicates that derivationally, such constituents and the postverbal constituents which are illustrated in (15) and (16) behave differently and target different syntactic positions, which we will discuss in Section 4.3.

4.2.2. Word Order Patterns in Wh-questions

In Kurmanji, wh-words stand in their base position and receive focus in this position. Therefore, focus in wh-questions may be in the preverbal position as well as in the postverbal position depending on which argument will be questioned. If the argument being questioned is the subject or the object or a preverbal adjunct then wh-words appear in the preverbal position (17) yet if the argument is a postverbal adjunct or goal then it occupies the postverbal position (18).

(17) a. Subject

KÎ vê pirtuk-ê di-xwîn-e?

who Dem. book-ACC Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg

"Who is reading this book?"

b. Object

Tu ÇÎ di-xwîn-î?

You (sg)-NOM what Prog.-read.Pres.-2psg

"What are you reading?"

c. Preverbal Adjunct

Tu li KU di-j-î?

You (sg)-NOM P where Prog.-live.Pres.-2psg

"Where are you living?"

d. Te ÇÎ da-Ø Ehmed?

You(sg)-ERG what give.Past-3psg Ehmed

"What did you give Ehmed?"

(18) a. Postverbal Adjunct

Tu- çû-y KU?

You(sg)-NOM go.Past-2psg where

"Where did you go?"

b. Postverbal Goal

Te wê pirtûk-ê da-Ø KÎ?

You(sg)-ERG Dem. book-ACC give.Past-3psg who

"To whom did you give that book?"

Word order variation with wh-elements is higly restricted. Even in the present tense which exhibits the biggest number of word order variation we only find the SOV and OSV orders, when the subject is questioned. Only the wh-element *kî* used for asking the subject of the sentence seems to scramble within the preverbal

position (19b) but the other wh-words cannot do so, i.e., the sentence is ungrammatical when the wh-word moves from its base position to another position of the sentence, (20).

(19) a. KÎ pirtûk-ê di-xwîn-e / xwand-Ø?
who book-ACC Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg /read.Past-3psg
"Who is reading / read the book?"

b. t_i pirtûk-ê KÎ$_i$ di-xwîn-e / xwand-Ø?
book-ACC who Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg /read.Past-3psg
"Who is reading / read the book?"

(20) a. *Tu t_i di-xwîn-î ÇÎ$_i$?
You(sg)-NOM Prog.-read.Pres.-2ps what

b. * ÇÎ$_i$ tu t_i di-xwîn-î ?
what you(sg)-NOM Prog.-read.Pres.-2ps

c. * Sîdar pirtûk-ê KÎ$_i$ da-Ø t_i?
Sidar-ERG book-ACC who give.Past-3ps

d. * Zana KU$_i$ çû-Ø t_i ?
Zana where go.Past-3ps

Note that it is also possible to have more than one wh-word in an interrogative sentence as in (21). The leftmost element in these sentences has the focus and scrambling in these sentences is by no means possible.

(21) a. KÎ çi xwand-Ø / di-xwûn-e ?

who what read.Past-3ps / Prog.-read.Pres.-3ps

"Who read/is reading what?"

b. KÎ çi da-Ø Zana ?

who what give.Past-3ps Zana

"Who gave what to Zana?"

c. Sîdar ÇÎ da-Ø kî ?

Sidar-ERG what give.Past-3ps who

"What did Sidar give to whom?"

d. KÎ çi da-3ps kî ?

who what give.Past-3ps who

"Who gave what to whom?"

4.2.3. Summary

To summarize, the word order variation in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji is in fact closely related to the tense of the predicate:

(22) Past: SOV-OSV

Present: SOV-OSV-SVO-OVS

Future: SOV-OSV-SVO

In past tenses only subject-initial orders SOV and SVO are possible because any argument occupying this position is interpreted as the subject of the sentence. The reason why object-initial orders OSV and OVS are not acceptable in past tense in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji is that the subject and the object of the sentence bear

the same morphological case marking and the verb does not carry person-number markers of either of them but rather has 3rd person singular form so the change in arguments' position will result in meaning change. On the other hand, in present tenses the movement of arguments to the different positions of the sentence is more flexible thanks to the subject verb agreement and the different case markings arguments have, hence both subject and object-initial orders are possible; SOV, SVO, OSV and OVS. These orders except for OVS are also acceptable in future tense. However, across all tenses VOS and VSO orders are not acceptable in this dialect due to EPP reasons.

The other preliminary conclusion is that focus is not positional but extends over a domain containing both the preverbal and postverbal positions. This is supported by the fact that in addition to the elements in the preverbal position, both postverbal adjuncts and goals and postverbally generated wh-elements can have focus in their base position.

4.3. Syntactic Derivation of Word Order Patterns

Within the framework used in this study, namely, the Minimalist Program, we assume that word order variation is derived via movement, that is, via the feature-driven scrambling of constituents out of a base order. In this section, taking SOV as the base order, we will discuss the nature of the scrambling of the arguments in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji and investigate the syntactic derivation of word order patterns introduced in Section 1.2.

Mahajan (1990) proposes that there are two types of movement relevant for scrambling in syntax; A-movement and A'- movement. In A-movement, a phrase

moves to an argument (A) position such as [SPEC, TP] or [SPEC, vP] to check features such as case and EPP. This movement creates new binders, overrides weak crossover effects (WCO) and does not exhibit reconstruction at LF. In A'-movement, on the other hand, a phrase moves to a non-argument position (A'), such as an adjunction position or [SPEC, CP] to check features such as Q, Wh-, Topic and Focus. This type of movement cannot create new binders, is subject to WCO effects and exhibits reconstruction at LF. In the following we will argue whether the patterns of scrambling in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji are derived via A- or A'-movement or exemplify both. We will use the scope tests as a diagnostic tool for our analysis.

Note that in previous sections we try to reconcile the fact that certain word order combinations are not allowed in past and future tenses due to the lack of case markings for the subject and the object as well as the absence of verbal agreement in the past and the co-occurrence of the subject and the future tense marker in the future. On the other hand, in Chapter 2 by adopting the Distributed Morphology model we propose that structural case checking takes place in syntax while the morphological realization of the case and agreement occurs at Morphological Structure post-syntactically. At this point, the question is that if the realization of case and agreement morphemes is post-syntactic then how case and agreement block scrambling of certain arguments to certain positions in syntax. At what level of the grammar (syntax, PF and LF), do the word order restrictions arise or marked to be grammatical/ungrammatical? We claim that scrambling takes place in overt syntax but case and agreement morphology marks certain word orders as unacceptable, i.e., OSV and OVS in past tense while OVS in

future tense, after syntax at PF. More specifically, the mismatch between PF and LF does not allow for the occurrence of these word orders in Kurmanji.

In Kurmanji, SOV is the default word order in which the subject is generated under spec vP then moves to spec TP position for EPP reasons and the object is merged with the lexical V head as a complement of it. When sentence (23) is considered we see that the subject being in an A-position takes wide scope over the object which is vP internal:

(23) [$_{TP}$[Her zarok-Ø] $_{vP}$[$_{VP}$ [$_{NP}$[pirtûk-ek-ê] $_{V}$[di-xwîn-e]]

every child-NOM book-Ind.sg.-AC Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg

"Every child is reading a book. (distributed reading)"

[every > one]

The sentences in (24), on the other hand, have the SVO order and exhibit identical scope pattern to sentence (23), where the subject takes scope over the object. The sentences in (24) have distributed reading; i.e., every child reads a different book thus if there are five children the number of the books read is five, and this reading holds in all tenses. As illustrated in the tree structure in (25), if we assume that the subject is in [SPEC, TP] position for EPP reasons, then the derived position of the object can be an adjunction position implying that the object has undergone A'-movement. Given that the postverbal constituents bear a backgrounded reading then we can assume that the object moves to [SPEC, CP] – the projection which bears the features regarding information structure such as topic and focus. If the object undergoes rightward-adjunction to [SPEC, CP] for

topic reasons, then it can reconstruct back to its vP-internal position at LF and take scope below the subject.

(24) SVO [in all tenses]

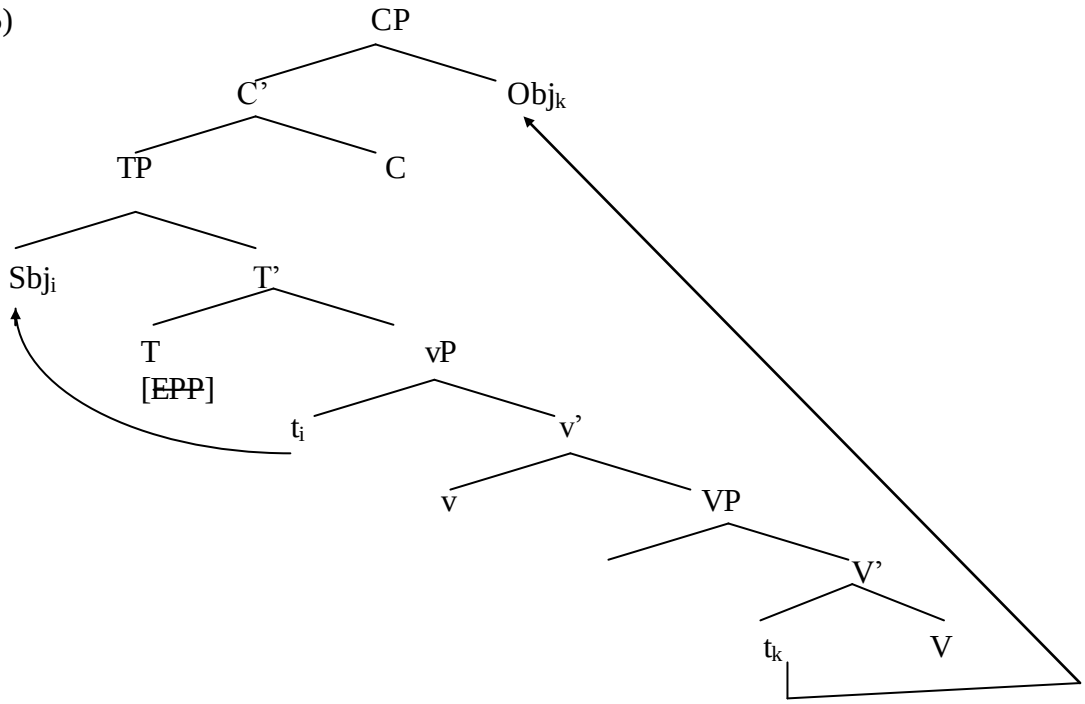
a. Her zarok-Ø di-xwîn-e pirtûk-ek-ê
every child-NOM Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg book-Ind.sg.-ACC
"Every child is reading a book. (distributed reading)"

b. Her zarok-Ø dê bi-xwîn-e pirtûk-ek-ê
every child-NOM Fut. Subj.-read.Pres.-3psg book-Ind.sg.-ACC
"Every child will read a book. (distributed reading)"

c. Her zarok-î xwand-Ø pirtûk-ek-ê
every child-ERG read.Past-3ps book-Ind.sg.-ACC
"Every child read a book. (distributed reading)"

It is important to note that in (25) for the derivation of the sentences above we consider the postverbal object DP adjoin to CP but not to VP or vP. In fact, here the directionality of the adjunction is crucial so the object DP adjunction to any functional projection would not make any difference in our account unless it is *rightward adjunction.*

(25)



On the other hand, the sentence in (26) has different implications. In this sentence, which is in present tense, the object takes wider scope over the subject because the reading is that there is only one book that every child is reading. Therefore, it is proposed that this reading stems from the A-movement of the object. The object moves to [SPEC, TP] position to satisfy EPP, while the subject stays vP internally as show in (27). Therefore, the reconstruction of the scrambled element is not possible at LF. This illustrates that in addition to the subject, objects can also satisfy EPP in Kurmanji, which has been proposed to be possible for languages like Japanese (Miyagawa 2003) and Turkish (Öztürk 2004, 2005). In fact, Öztürk (2004, 2005) asserts that in Turkish objects can raise to spec TP to satisfy the focus feature on T head which is perculated by C head.

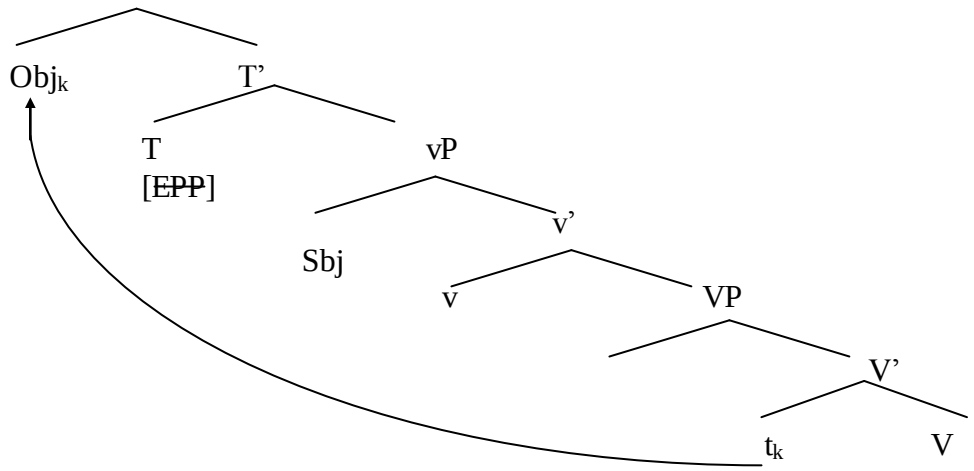
(26) OSV [present]

Pirtûk-ek-ê her zarok-Ø di-xwîn-e

book-Ind.sg.-ACC every child-NOM Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg

"Every child is reading a book."

(27) TP



However, in the future tense the OSV order does not express the reading in (26). In other words, as illustrated in (28) in the OSV order of the future tense the object cannot take wide scope over the subject unlike (26), but it unambiguously takes scope below the subject. The reason for this is that in the future tense the subject has to check the EPP feature as the future tense marker *-ê* or *wê* or *dê* and the subject has to form a phonological phrase with this marker at the level of PF as shown in (28a). If the object precedes the future marker, this results in ungrammaticality at the level of PF as seen in (28b). Therefore, in the future tense since the [SPEC, TP] position is already filled by the subject, the object has to move to the [SPEC, CP] position via A'-movement as shown in (29). As this

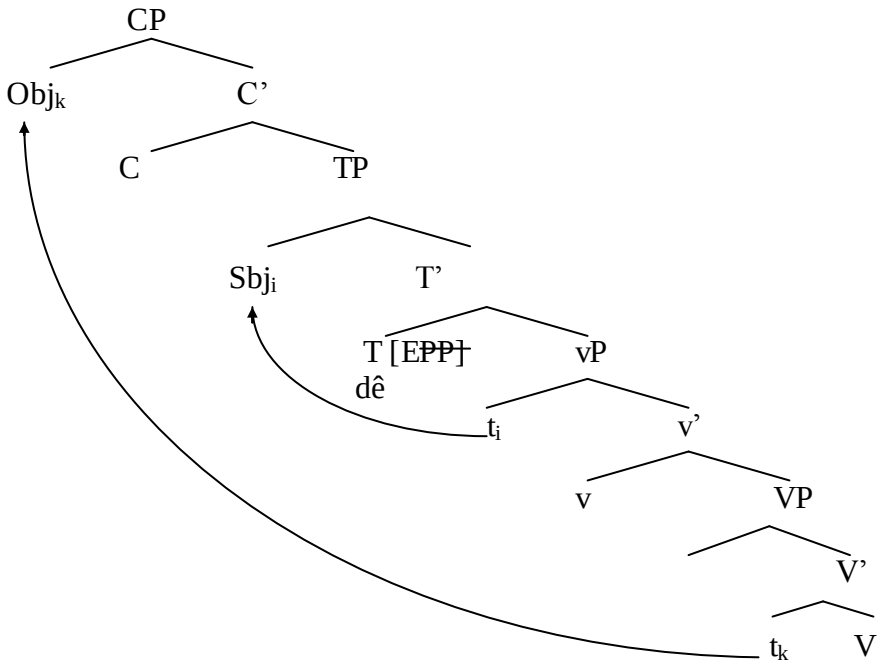
results in reconstruction at LF, in the future under the OSV order the object always takes narrow scope below the subject unlike the case in (26).

(28) OSV [future]

a. Pirtûk-ek-ê her zarok-Ø dê bi-xwîn-e
book-Ind.sg.-ACC every child-NOM Fut. Subj.-read.Pres.-3psg
"Every child will read a book. (distributed reading)"

b. *Pirtûk-ek-ê dê her zarok-Ø bi-xwîn-e
book-Ind.sg.-ACC Fut. every child-NOM Subj.-read.Pres.-3psg

(29)



As for the OVS order, it is not possible both in the future (30b) and the past tense (30c) as mentioned in the previous section, but available only in the present tense (30a):

(30) OVS

a. Pirtûk-ek-ê di-xwîn-e her zarok-Ø
book-Ind.sg.-ACC Prog.-read.Pres.-3psg every child-NOM
"Every child is reading a book."

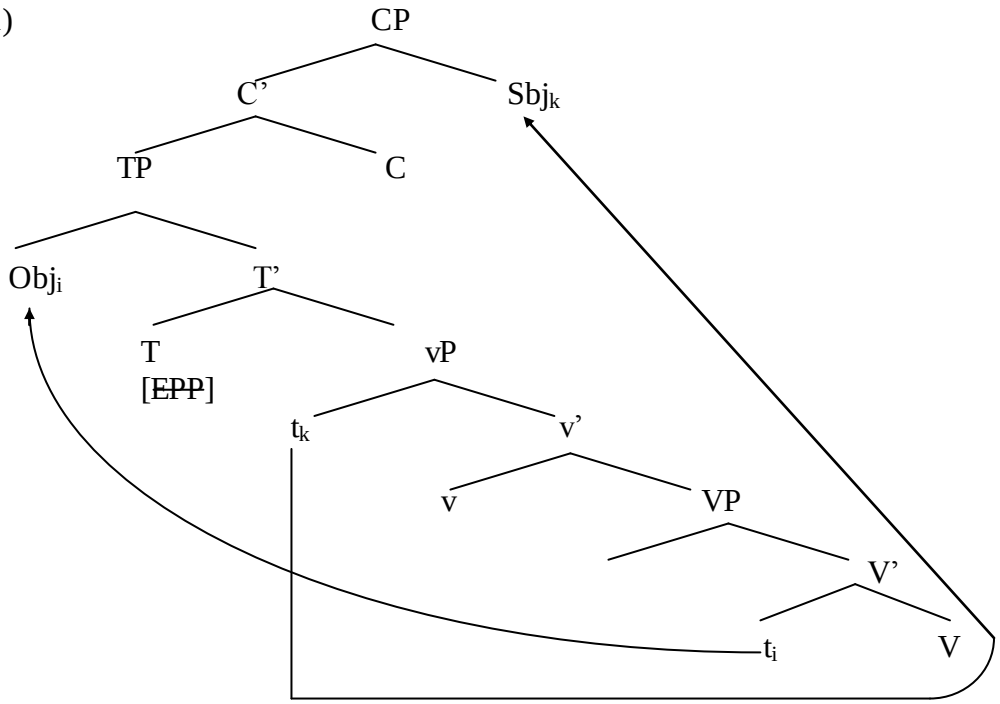
b. *Pirtûk-ek-ê bi-xwîn-e her
book-Ind.sg.-ACC Subj.-read.Pres.-3psg every
zarok-Ø dê
child-NOM Fut.

c. *Pirtûk-ek-ê her zarok-î xwand-Ø
book-Ind.sg.-ACC every child-ERG read.Past-3psg

The impossibility of the OVS order in future is predictable because to capture OVS order the object has to move to [SPEC, TP] to satisfy EPP which leads to ungrammaticality because the subject then cannot precede the future tense marker and form a phonological unit at PF. Furthermore, its unavailability in the past tense is again due to the ambiguity which results from the lack of differentiated case-marking of the object and the subject in the past tense. This construction is always interpreted as a case of SVO order, which we discussed above.

In the present tense, on the other hand, it is possible to have the OVS order in (30a) in which the quantified object *one* takes wider scope over the subject *every* because the subject stays vP internal whereas the object moves to [SPEC, TP] to satisfy EPP and since this is an A-movement the reconstruction of the scrambled object is not possible at LF. The subject on the other hand undergoes rightward adjunction to [SPEC, CP] and reconstructs at LF back into its vP internal position, ensuring that it takes narrow scope as shown in (31).

(31)



Thus the above discussion shows that word order variation in Kurmanji is a result of both A- and A’- movement. EPP, as proposed by Miyagawa (2003) for Japanese, plays a major role in the derivation of these word order patterns.

4.4. Summary

To sum up, word order variation in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji is sensitive to the tense of the predicate due to the case that arguments bear and the agreement realized on the verb. In past tenses, only two orders are possible; SOV-OSV, whereas in present tenses four orders are observed; namely SOV-SVO-OSV-OVS and in future tense three orders are available; SOV-SVO-OSV. Verb-initial word orders, VSO and VOS, are by no means possible in this language due to EPP reasons. Scrambling of the certain arguments takes place in overt syntax but at the level of PF these word orders are blocked.

Also, the affirmative and interrogative sentences show focus in this language is a domain containing both the preverbal and the postverbal positions; preverbally derived constituents get focus in preverbal domain while postverbally generated constituents have focus in their base position. However, postverbal position is also the domain that hosts backgrounded arguments; for instance, a preverbally generated constituent moves to the postverbal position since it is old information. Finally, as the scope tests indicate, the scrambling in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji is done both via A-movement and A'-movement.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis examined the phrase structure of two dialects of Kurmanji Kurdish, the Standard and Muş dialects. It aims to answer three basic questions: a) What is the general properties of Kurmanji? b) What is the nature of the ergative case in this language; is it an inherent or a structural case? c) What are the possible word order variations in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji?

In order to investigate the answer to the first question, we considered the ergative case in Kurmanji from three different perspectives given in the literature; "ergative as an inherent case" (Woolford, 1997; 2006; Legate, 2002; 2008; Anand&Nevins, 2006), "ergative as a structural case" (Davison, 2004; Bobaljik&Branigan, 2006) and "ergative as a morphologically dependent case" (Marantz, 1991). We found that ergative in this language is not inherent because it is independent of theta-roles and lexical properties of the verb, but it is a structural case whose morphological realization is dependent on past tense and transitivity of the clause. Within the MP, we examined three different case patterns observed in transitive constructions in Kurmanji, namely NOM-ACC, ERG-NOM and ERG-ACC and concluded that both the ergative and the nominative subjects display parallel behaviors considering the binding and scopal facts. Adopting DM we dissociated syntactic case checking and morphological realization of case and agreement by presenting a uniform syntactic derivation for all these three case patterns in syntax whereas morphological realization of case and agreement takes place post-syntactically at MS, (Marantz, 1991; Halle&Marantz, 1993). We

argued that ERG is syntactically fully in parallel to NOM case but the differences between the case patterns observed in transitive and intransitive constructions are due to the post-syntactic realization of case and agreement morphology.

Then, in Chapter 3 we analyzed the verbal domain and the internal structure of vP and VP domains in Kurmanji. We presented the syntactic derivation of intransitive, transitive and ditransitive VP constructions and discussed the position where the theme and goal objects as well as the adjuncts occupy in the VP domain. We showed that there are two different positions in the VP domain for theme- goal arguments and adjuncts which behave parallel in each construction. We also argued that in Kurmanji there are two types of adjuncts; true adjuncts which appear in the preverbal position within PPs and the adjuncts that show up in the postverbal position as DPs. Along the lines of Rakosi (2006), these postverbal DP adjuncts are thematic adjuncts because they all bear the theta role goal hence they are thematically specified similar to arguments though they are not obligatory unlike arguments. Therefore, we claimed that these adjuncts in parallel to postverbal goals are introduced by a low applicative head as an applied argument in parallel to Pylkkänen (2002).

After establishing the phrase structure of Kurmanji, in Chapter 4 we examined the possible word-order variations depending on the information structure in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji. We looked at the information related conditions that trigger word order possibilities, such as old information (Topic) and new information (Focus) and discussed their syntactic derivations. We found that word order variation in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji is sensitive to the tense of the predicate due to the case that arguments bear and the agreement realized on the verb. We argued that in past tenses only two orders are possible; SOV-OSV,

whereas in present tenses four orders are observed; namely SOV-SVO-OSV-OVS and in future tense three orders are available; SOV-SVO-OSV. On the other hand, verb-initial orders VSO and VOS are by no means possible in this language due to EPP reasons. We also proposed that scrambling of the certain arguments takes place in overt syntax both via A-movement and A'-movement but at the level of PF some of these word orders are blocked concerning tense and case-agreement morphology. Finally, in the light of evidence from affirmative and interrogative sentences we claimed that focus in this language is a not positional but it can be encoded on constituents appearing both in the preverbal and postverbal positions, and it can be checked via in-situ Agree.

However, there are some points that need to be investigated in future studies. In Chapter 2, we argued that the ergative case pattern emerges in past tense transitive constructions. However, in Kurmanji if an intransitive and a transitive verb are coordinated in the past tense, the subject of the sentence gets ergative case, (2)[25]. Note that the subject of an intransitive construction always has nominative case no matter whether the tense is past or non-past as in (1a) while the subject of a past tense transitive construction has ergative case (1b). The sentence in (2) shows that when an intransitive and a transitive sentence whose subjects are the same person are coordinated, the subject of the transitive sentence which has ergative case becomes the subject of the coordinated sentence. Also, since the ergative subject does not agree with the verb in person and number, the verb in such sentences is in the default 3rd person singular form. Interestingly, the use of coordinator is optional.

[25] This was independently observed by Atlamaz, Umit, 2009. Ergativity, case and coordination in Adıyaman Kurmanji, Boğaziçi University, Ms.

(1) a. Ez çû-m

I-NOM go.Past-1psg

"I went."

b. Min nan-Ø xwar-Ø

I-ERG bread-ACC eat.Past-3psg

"I ate bread/meal."

(2) Min çû-Ø (û) nan-Ø xwar-Ø

I-ERG go.Past-3psg (and) bread-ACC eat.Past-3psg

"I went (and) ate bread/meal."

This construction may emerge due to coordination effects because when two sentences with the common subject are coordinated, the subject is used only once. However, the preference of the ergative subject over the nominative subject in such coordinated constructions in Kurmanji as well as its syntactic derivation must have some implications for future studies.

Moreover, in Chapter 2 we investigated two different ergative patterns in past tense transitive constructions; ERG-NOM pattern is observed in the Standard dialect whereas ERG-ACC pattern is observed in the Muş dialect of Kurmanji. In the literature the former pattern is considered as the canonical ergative pattern whereas the latter one is thought to be a deviation from this canonical pattern, (Haig, 2004). The emergence of this ERG-ACC pattern in fact is permissible in Kurmanji because the fact that neither argument marks the verb obeys the constraints of agreement morphology of this language. We argued that the rise of this pattern might have been due to language contact with Turkish, as most

Kurmanji speakers are also native or near-native speakers of Turkish as well. We proposed that due to contact with Turkish, in the Muş dialect there has been a morpho-syntactic leveling, which resulted in marking all the objects in Kurmanji with ACC case in parallel to ACC object case in Turkish or the language contact with Turkish has triggered the appearance of this possible and permissible ERG-ACC case pattern. However, we did not develop a conclusive account of this issue and leave it for future study.

In Chapter 3, we developed two different VP models for all intransitive, transitive and ditransitive constructions because the position and the semantics of the goals and adjuncts prevent us from providing a uniform VP model for Kurmanji. One of them includes a low ApplP in which the theme and postverbal goals or thematic adjuncts are generated whereas the other one is a typical VP without an applicative construction which introduced the theme and preverbal goals or adjuncts. At this point, our assumption faces a head directionality problem because the former VP is head-initial while the latter VP is head-final. It might be the case that Kurmanji has a split VP system which needs further investigation.

Lastly, the nature of the adverbial adjuncts and the distribution of the adverbs in Kurmanji have to be analyzed to learn more about the internal structure of vP and VP domains.

The aim of this thesis was to give a general view about the phrase structure as well as case and agreement relations of arguments in Kurmanji Kurdish but a full analysis of relevant issues like head-directionality or the distribution of adverbs is beyond the scope of this thesis. Although this thesis gave an introductory analysis of word order variation and information structure, more

studies must be done on these issues including focus and intonation in this language. However, we believe that this study might pave the way for further research on Kurmanji phrase structure, case and agreement morphology as well as information structure, and indirectly contribute to the cross-linguistic understanding of these issues in general.

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