ARGUMENT-ADJUNCT DISTINCTION IN KURMANJI KURDISH

SONGÜL GÜNDOĞDU YÜCEL

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Songül Gündoğdu Yücel

Boğaziçi University

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The thesis of Songül Gündoğdu Yücel

has been approved by:

Assoc. Prof. Balkız Öztürk Başaran
(Thesis Advisor)

Prof. Sumru Özsoy
(Thesis Co-Advisor)

Prof. Aslı Göksel

Assist. Prof. Kadir Gökgöz

Prof. Geoffrey Haig
(External Member)

Assist. Prof. Dilek Uygun Gökmen
(External Member)

December 2018

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Songül GündoğduYücel, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
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- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature S. Gündüz

Date 11.01.2019

ABSTRACT

Argument-Adjunct Distinction in Kurmanji Kurdish

This dissertation investigates the status of a number of constituents in Muş Kurmanji (MK), namely postverbal goals, certain adpositional phrases, and the nominal element of noun-verb complex predicates which fall in between argument and adjunct categories according to the argument-adjunct bipartite classification in syntactic theory. It explores the status of these constituents in the event structure and argument structure of verbs in MK. It proposes that the majority of the noun-verb complex predicates in MK are like unergatives *à la* Hale and Keyser (2002). They are underlyingly transitive structures where an agentive (transitive) light verb incorporates into its nominal object, and the noun element of these complex predicates checks the case of transitive LV as if it were its object. Furthermore, it focuses on the status of postverbal goals and certain adpositional phrases in MK arguing for a relation between the morphological form of the constituents and their status as encoded in the verb's meaning; that is, structural participants are realized with case morphology while constant participants are introduced with adpositions. The data further suggests that there are certain verb classes in MK which pattern alike with respect to argument realization properties, pointing to the existence of certain event types. Based on this observation, it proposes that the verb groups patterning alike in MK project similar simplex (e.g. *v*GO, *v*BE, *v*DO) or complex event types (e.g. *v*DO+*v*BE, *v*DO+*v*GO), and the event participants are introduced either within the event domain and/or through event introducing projections such as VoiceP and ApplP.

ÖZET

Kurmanci Kürtçesinde Temel Üye ve Eklenti Ayrımı

Bu tezde, sözdizimi kuramında iki kutuplu Temel üye-eklenti sınıflandırmasına göre Muş Kurmancisinde (MK) temel üye ve eklenti kategorileri arasında konumlanan eylemin arkasında bulunan öğeler, belli başlı ilgeç öbekleri ve bir ad ve bir eylemden oluşan bileşik eylemlerdeki ad öbeği gibi bir takım öğe ve öbek çeşitlerinin konumu araştırılmaktadır. Bu dildeki öğe ve öbek çeşitlerinin konumu, eylemlerin olay yapısı ve temel üye yapısında nasıl kodlandıkları üzerinden açıklanacaktır. Bu dildeki bir ad ve bir eylemden oluşan bileşik eylemlerin büyük bir çoğunluğunun Hale ve Keyser (2002) çalışmasındaki bulgulara paralel olarak özneli-geçişsiz eylemler olduğu öne sürülmektedir. Bu grup eylemlerin, derin yapıda temel olarak kılıcı bir geçişli yardımcı eylemin kendi adsıl nesnesiyle birleşmesinden oluştuğu ve bu bileşik eylemlerin ad öbeğinin nesne gibi davranarak geçişli yardımcı eylemin durumunu eşlemlediği savunulmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, bu dildeki eylem sonrası öğeler ve belirli ilgeç öbekleri incelenip bu öğelerin biçimbilimsel formları ve eylemin olay yapısı açısından taşıdıkları roller arasında bir bağlantı olduğu tartışılmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu dilde temel üye özellikleri bakımından belirli eylem sınıflarının olabileceği saptanmış ve bunun da belli olay türlerinin varlığına işaret ettiği önerilmiştir. Bu gözlem çerçevesinde, benzer özellikler gösteren eylem sınıflarının bu dilde benzer basit (örn. *e*GİT, *e*OL, *e*YAP) ya da bileşik (örn. *e*YAP+*e*OL, *e*YAP+ *e*GİT) olay türlerini yansıttığı iddia edilmiştir. Bu tür yapılarda, olay yapısı katılımcıları ya yapının olay alanında ya da olay yapısı dışında olay ekleyen öbekler olan Çatı Öbeği ve Aplikatif Öbeği tarafından yapıya eklenir.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME: Songül Gündoğdu Yücel

DEGREES AWARDED

PhD in Linguistics, 2018, Boğaziçi University

Visiting Student, 2016-2017, University of Southern California

MA in Linguistics, 2011, Boğaziçi University

BA in Foreign Language Education, 2007, Boğaziçi University

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Argument structure, event structure, case and ergativity, negation, syntax of Kurdish, language contact and language variation, language description.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant, Department of Kurdish Language and Literature, Mus Alparslan University, 2014 – present

Research Assistant, Department of Political Sciences, Mus Alparslan University, 2011 - 2014

Teaching Assistant, Department of Western Languages and Literatures, Boğaziçi University, 2009-2011

Instructor of English, Muş Gazi Primary School, 2007-2009

AWARDS AND HONORS

Honor Degree, Boğaziçi University, 2007

Research Grant, one-year PhD thesis study, Muş Alparslan University, 2016 - 2017

PUBLICATIONS

Journal Articles

Gündoğdu, S. & A.B. Yakut (2016). NA (contrastive not) in Kurmanji: A Large Conjunct Ellipsis Analysis. *International Journal of Semantics-Syntax Interface, 3*(1), 30-47.

Gündoğdu, S. (2016). Remarks on Vowels and Consonants in Kurdish. *ANEMON (Muş Alparslan University Journal of Social Sciences), 4*(1), 57-69.

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Gündoğdu, S. (2011). Non-verbal Sentence in Pazar Laz. *A Descriptive Grammar of Pazar Laz.* LINCOM EUROPA (Languages of the World/Material). Ozturk, B. and M. Pochtrager (eds.), Boğaziçi University, 119-121.

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Gündoğdu, S. (2016). Muş Kurmancisinde ortaya çıkan farklı ergatif dizim yapıları. In Karacan (ed). *Kürtçe Araştırmaları-Derleme Cilt 1.* Yargı Yayınevi, 343-360.

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Gündoğdu, S. (2017). -Il/-In Morphology in Turkish: Implications for U-syncretism. *Proceedings of 4th International Conference of Graduate Students in Linguistics (PCGL4)*, 85-104.

Conference Presentations

Gündoğdu, S. (2011). Ergativity in Kurmanji. *19th Conference of the Student Organization of Linguistics in Europe (ConSOLE XIX)*, *Groningen University*, *the Netherlands.*

Gündoğdu, S. (2011). Negation in Kurmanji. *3rd Vienna Workshop on Affix Ordering, Vienna University, Austria.*

Gündoğdu, S. (2011). Case and Ergativity in Kurmanji. *4th International Conference on Iranian Linguistics (ICIL 4)*, *Uppsala University, Sweden.*

Gündoğdu, S. (2013). Ergative-accusative Pattern in Kurmanji: Language Internal Change or Turkish Influence? *Patterns of Alignment in Indo-Iranian Languages: Towards a Typology Workshop*, *(LSA 2013 Workshops), University of Michigan, the USA*.

Gündoğdu, S. (2013). Wh-questions in Kurmanji: Move or In situ? *5th International Conference on Iranian Linguistics (ICIL 5)*, *Bamberg University, Germany.*

Gündoğdu, S. (2013). vP Domain in Kurmanji Kurdish: Argument-Adjunct Distinction. *International Workshop on Variation and Change in Kurdish, Bamberg University, Germany*.

Gündoğdu, S. & A.B. Yakut (2014). NA (contrastive not) in Kurmanji: Its functions and properties. *2nd International Conference on Variation and Change in Kurdish*, *Mardin Artuklu University, Turkey.*

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Gündoğdu, S and F. Akkuş. (2015). How does negation operate in Kurmanji Syntax? *6th International Conference on Iranian Linguistics (ICIL 6), G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies-Ilia State University*, *Georgia.*

Gündoğdu, S. (2015). Loss of Gender Distinction in Muş Kurmanji. *48th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea (SLE 48), Leiden University, the Netherlands.*

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Gündoğdu, S. (2017). Goal Constituents Across Kurmanji Dialects. (Poster Presentation). *First North American Conference in Iranian Linguistics (NACIL 1), Stony Brook University, the USA.*

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ACD	antecedent contained deletion
ADP	adposition(al)
ASP	aspect
CAUS	causative
CPr	complex predicate
CTV	core-transitive verb
DAT	dative
DIR	direct case
DIRC	directional
DOC	double-object construction
ERG	ergative
EZ	ezafe
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
INDF	indefinite
LV	light verb
M	masculine

NOM	nominative
NV	non-verbal
N-V CPr	noun-verb complex predicate
NCTV	non-core transitive verb
NEG	negation
OBL	oblique case
OV	object-verb (head-final)
Q	question particle
QR	quantifier raising
PL	plural
PLPRF	pluperfect
PRF	perfect
PRE	prefix
PROG	progressive
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCP	participial
S	singular
SBJV	subjunctive
SUF	suffix
VG	verb-goal

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim

The overall trend in the linguistic theory is to draw a binary line between arguments (complements) and adjuncts (modifiers) based on a general observation that both categories display distinctive features with respect to syntactic and semantic relations (Tesniére, 1959; Vater, 1978; Bresnan, 1982; Radford, 1988; Grimshaw, 1990; Carnie, 2002; Dowty, 2003; Rakosi, 2006a, 2006b; Hornstein & Nunes, 2008; Hwang, 2011, among others). The basic intuition underlying the opposition of both categories is that a typical *argument* is the constituent which is syntactically and semantically obligatory as it is entailed by the predicate whereas a typical *adjunct* is optional both semantically and syntactically as it is not required by the predicate but just acts as a modifier adding extra information to the event rather than being an essential part of the predicate meaning (Vater, 1978; Przepiórkowski, 1999; Ernst, 2001; Carnie, 2002, 2011; Dowty, 2003; Forker, 2014; Hole, 2015). In addition to the definitional criteria, a list of diagnostic tendencies concerning their morphosyntactic properties such as obligatoriness, uniqueness (i.e. (non)-iterability), grammatical relations, word order restriction are proposed to distinguish arguments from adjuncts. The observed asymmetry has also been reflected on the structural configuration, for instance, the generative tradition tends to characterize this asymmetry on the X-bar structure such that *arguments* are attached as *sisters* to the head as in [X YP] while *adjuncts* are sisters to X' (XP in some versions) and *daughters* of another bar-level projection [X'[X' ZP]] (Radford 1988, Carnie 2002; 2011, Hornstein at al 2005).

The boundaries between arguments and adjuncts, however, are not always clear-cut. As many studies argue, although a general definition of these categories is made and some peculiar tests are suggested to display their distinctive behaviors, there is no diagnostic criteria that will reliably differentiate adjuncts from arguments in all cases, and even the use of some tests leads to contradictory results (Dowty, 2003; Hoffman, 2007; Hwang, 2011; Forker, 2014; Hole, 2015). For instance, in a sentence like (1) the PP *in London* is obligatory like an argument though it must be an adjunct as the predicate *live* is not subcategorized for an internal argument, on the other hand, the internal argument in sentence (2) does not seem to be obligatory as it can be omissible unlike a typical argument:

(1) He lived *(in London).
(2) I am eating (a pizza).

Despite the widespread agreement that the distinction between arguments and adjuncts is important, and the basic intuition behind this distinction is clear, there are certain types of phrases that fall in between proto-typical arguments and adjuncts. Depending on the linguistic evidence and theoretical discussions, some new hypotheses appear in the literature for the constituents which do not pattern with *typical arguments* or with *typical adjuncts* such as optional complements (Bierwisch, 2003; Hofmann, 2007; Carnie, 2002, 2011; Hole, 2015,), obligatory adjuncts (Grimshaw & Vikner, 1993), thematic adjuncts (Rakosi, 2006a, 2006b), argument adjuncts (Grimshaw, 1990). Instead of adapting a binary argument-adjunct dichotomy, these studies handle the same phenomenon based on a graded continuum of argumenthood-adjuncthood.

This thesis investigates the status of a number of constituents in Muş Kurmanji (MK, henceforth)[1], such as postverbal goals (3), certain adpositional phrases (4), and the nominal element of certain noun-verb complex predicates (5), which fall in between argument and adjunct categories according to the given classification. For instance, give-type verbs (e.g. *dan* 'give', *firotin* 'sell'), verbs of motion (*avetin* 'throw', *şandin* 'send') and path verbs (e.g. *çûn* 'go', *hatin* 'come') encode their recipient and spatial goals through a case-marked DP in the immediate postverbal position

(3) a. *Ez-ê* peran *bi-d-im* ***te***.
1S.DIR-FUT money.OBL.PL SBJV-give.PRS-1S 2S.OBL
'I will give **you** the money.'

b. *Ewî* *zar-an* *şand* ***zevî-yê***.
3S.OBL child-OBL.PL send.PST.3S field-OBL
'S/he sent the children to the field.'

c. *Em* *çû-bû-n* ***gund***
1PL.DIR go.PST-PLPRF-PL village.OBL
'We went to the village.'

Similarly, certain verbs encode their recipient, addressee and object-like constituents through adpositional phrases:

(4) a. *Ez-ê* ***ji*** ***te*** ***ra*** peran *bi-şîn-im.*
1S.DIR-FUT ADP 2S.OBL. ADP money.OBL.PL SBJV-give.PRS-1S
'I will send you the money.'

[1] Kurmanji (also known as Northern Kurdish) is a dialect of Kurdish, which is a member of the West Iranian branch of Indo-European languages. It is spoken especially in Turkey as well as comprising speakers living in Northern Iraq, parts of Syria, Iran and Russia (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004). This study will present and discuss novel data from Kurmanji Kurdish spoken in Muş province (MK) in Turkey.

b. *Ewî* ***ji*** ***we*** ***ra*** *çi* *got?*
3S.OBL ADP 2PL.OBL ADP what say.PST.3S
'What did s/he say to you?'

c. *Bav-ê* *min* ***li*** ***televizyon-ê*** *di-nêr-e.*
father-EZ.M 1S.OBL ADP television.OBL PROG-look.PRS-3S
'My father is looking at the TV.'

d. *Ez* ***ji*** ***te*** *pir* *hez* *di-k-im.*
1S.DIR ADP 2S.OBL very enjoy PROG-do.PRS-1S
'I love you so much.' (lit: I do enjoy from you.)

Furthermore, the nominal element of certain noun-verb complex predicates behave like a direct object of the light verb such that it triggers ergative alignment in past tenses just like a typical transitive predicate does in MK:[2]

(5) a. *Ez* *sond* *di-xw-im.*
1S.DIR oath PROG-eat.PRS-1S
'I swear.'

b. *Min* *sond* *xwar.*
1S.OBL oath eat.PST.3S
'I swore.'

Considering the morphological coding of the constituents given in (3)-(5) as well as their thematic roles and argument structure properties, it is hard to categorize these constituents as typical arguments (i.e. subject and direct object) or as typical adjuncts (i.e. adverbial expressions) according to the classical argument-adjunct diagnostics

[2] MK has two different alignment patterns; namely accusative alignment in non-past tenses and ergative alignment in past tenses. Ergative case corresponds to Oblique case in MK (throughout Kurmanji). As illustrated in (5), the subject bears the Direct case in accusative alignment (5a) whereas it has the Oblique case in the ergative alignment (5b). This will be discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.6.2 (Alignment).

posited in the linguistics theory. This thesis aims to investigate the status of these constituents in a MK clause by raising the following questions:

(i) What is the status of the noun in complex predicates?

(ii) Why do the noun-verb complex predicates that do not govern a direct object trigger ergative alignment as if they were transitive predicates?

(iii) What is the status of postverbal goals and adpositional phrases in the event structure of a verb in MK?

(iv) What is the relation between the participants of an event and their morphological expression/form in this dialect? Why does MK mark certain constituents with case morphology while expresses others through adpositions?

(v) How does (morpho)syntax distinguish arguments from adjuncts in Kurmanji?

(vi) Which lexical information of a predicate is relevant to syntax?

(vii) What is the syntactic configuration (i.e. argument structure) of the constituents in question?

Addressing each of these research questions in the current and following chapters of this dissertation, I will try to discover the status of postverbal goals, adpositional phrases and the nominal element of certain noun-verb complex predicates in MK by focusing on the event structure and argument structure properties of verbs. Before reasoning the questions at hand, I will present the theoretical discussions on the argument-adjunct asymmetry in the syntactic theory as the background of this study in Section 1.2. I will look at what distinguishes *arguments* from *adjuncts* in syntax

reviewing the diagnostic tools applied to show the opposition of these constituents in a language and discuss whether they are adequate in coding argument-adjunct distinction in a language. Moreover, I will extend the discussion by touching upon some cases in languages such as English, German, French, Hungarian and Turkish where the territory between arguments and adjuncts diminishes. Then, I will provide a brief introduction on the theoretical frameworks that will be adapted in the current dissertation; namely the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995) and the Distributed Morphology model (Halle and Marantz, 1993; Marantz, 1997), in Section 1.3. Finally, I will explain how the data used in this study was collected in Section 1.4. and give the layout of the current dissertation in Section 1.5.

1.2 Argument-adjunct distinction in syntax

Although most formal linguistic theories (Valency Grammar, Generative tradition, LFG, HPSG) agree that there is a distinction between constituents that are arguments and those that are adjuncts, there is not a consensus on how to define what it means to be an argument or an adjunct. This section aims to present a survey of how arguments and adjuncts are distinguished within the syntactic theory and to present unclear cases where such a distinction fails to explain.

1.2.1 Argument-adjunct dichotomy

From a syntactic point of view, arguments are typically considered to be constituents that are syntactically licensed or required by the predicate whereas adjuncts are constituents which have no such restriction or requirement to be present in a phrase. Semantically speaking, arguments are necessary participants in the event or state created by the predicate while adjuncts do not rely on such relational information

conveyed by the predicate but rather they provide extra information about time, location, purpose and the result of the predicating unit - the verb and its arguments (Ernst, 2001; Hwang, 2011; Carnie, 2002; Dowty, 2003; Hwang, 2011; Hole, 2015). Tesniére (1959) proposes three criteria to differentiate arguments (complement in his terms) and adjuncts for the theory of valency (here summarized after Vater, 1978, p. 22):

i. *semantic criterion:* complements express the persons or things participating in the process in a special way while adjuncts express the time, the place, the manner, etc. connected with that process.
ii. *morphological-syntactic criterion*: complement are noun phrases, whereas adjuncts are prepositional phrases.
iii. *functional criterion:* unlike adjuncts, complements are obligatory to complete the meaning of the verb thus the number of complements is limited for every verb but this is not the case for adjuncts.

As Vater (1978) and Przepiórkowski (1999) also argue, these criteria are incompatible as well as contradictory. For instance, the manner adverbs in middle constructions; e.g. *The book sells well*, should be classified as an adjunct according to the semantic criteria but as an argument according to the functional criteria. Furthermore, his second criterion does not always hold because we have many prepositional complements as the one in *the book* [*of syntax*] and bare NP adverbials like *yesterday*, e.g. *I wrote the report* [*yesterday*]. Although the shortcomings of Tesniére's theory has been repeatedly acknowledged (Vater, 1978; Somers, 1984; Przepiórkowski, 1999), similar criteria have been designated and still pursued for argument-adjunct dichotomy by the various linguistic theories such as LFG, HPSG

and Generative tradition. The well-known diagnostic criteria proposed in the literature to distinguish arguments from adjuncts are obligatoriness, uniqueness ((non)-iterability), grammatical relations, word order restriction and morphological marking, each of which will be discussed briefly in the following sub-sections.

1.2.1.1 Obligatoriness – optionality

There is a general tendency to associate obligatoriness with arguments and optionality with adjuncts because arguments are taken to be necessary participants while adjuncts are not. In fact, such reasoning is based on the semantics side of the phenomenon (and for Tesniére, it belongs to both semantic and functional criteria):

> The task of making the distinction between arguments and adjuncts of a verb is in some sense a way of capturing a basic intuition that if a world event or activity must be described, such an event will necessitate participants (e.g. birthday boy in a birthday party or snow in a snowstorm) or other relevant information that is salient to the setting. And as it is in any setting, some information will be more crucial to the described event and other information will be less important (though not necessarily irrelevant). Thus, linguistic intuition is that in an event described by a verb, there will be key participants without which the event would not be complete. Such event will also include other peripheral information that provides descriptors of the general condition or circumstance of the state or event, which are not as central to the meaning of the verb. (Hwang, 2011, p. 2)

The syntactic reflexes of such a semantic distinction is that the elements which are obligatorily required to satisfy the argument structure of the predicate are considered to be arguments. These arguments are licensed and theta-marked by the predicate

hence they must be present in syntax. On the other hand, the elements which are not required and theta-marked by the predicate are adjuncts; they are optional as they do not hold a specific thematic relationship to the predicate (Radford, 1988; Grimshaw, 1990; Carnie, 2001, 2008; Rakosi, 2006; Dowty, 2003; Hole, 2015; Hwang, 2011; among others).[3] To illustrate, in the following sentence two constituents are obligatory while the other two are optional (which are put within the parentheses):

(6) Mary *(carefully)* read the newspaper *(in the garden)*.

The subject *Mary* and the object *the newspaper* are arguments because the verb *read* requires that there is someone reading and something being read, thus these two arguments are part of the meaning of the verb *read* as they complete the predicate. However, the constituents *carefully* and *in the garden* provide a contextual information about the manner and location of the predicate rather than being essential to its meaning. If these obligatory elements or one of them was removed from the sentence as in **Mary read* or **read the newspaper*, the argument structure of the predicate would not be satisfied and the semantics of the sentence would be incomplete due to missing participant, which in turn leads to ungrammaticality.[4] Unlike arguments, the adjuncts *carefully* and *in the garden* are omissible since their

[3] Some studies make a distinction between semantic and syntactic arguments, e.g. the dummy subject in *It is raining* is a syntactic but not a semantic argument (Forker, 2014). Also, some traditions make a distinction between terms used in argument-adjunct dichotomy, for instance the terms *argument* and *adjunct* are reserved for the *semantic* side of the distinction whereas *complement* and *modifier* for the syntactic correlate (Koenig et al. 2003). However, there seems to be confusion on the terminology because Dowty (2003) and Hole (2015) refers to the same classification in the opposite way, i.e. they propose that the terms *argument* and *adjunct* are restricted to the syntax, and *complement* and *modifier* are restricted to the semantics. Note that in the literature the term complement is also used instead of argument unless the argument is a subject.

[4] There are indeed some pro-drop languages such as Turkish and Spanish where subjects may not be present in the clause. Although the external argument is not present in the clause, the morphological ending on the verb generally tells us what person we are referring to, thus these cases do not seem to be counterexamples to obligatoriness-optionality criterion.

absence does not influence either the argument or the thematic structure of the predicate. However, obligatoriness-optionality criteria must be applied with some care because the issue is becoming complicated by the fact that all participants of the predicate may not be expressed in a sentnece nor all modifier-like constituents can be omissible. For instance, a predicate such as *eat* may stand with or without an object thus in a sentence like (7) the internal argument of the predicate *eat* is omissible despite being an argument:

(7) Paul is eating (a pizza). (Hole, 2015, p. 3)

As this example points out, the absence of a constituent does not mean that it is an adjunct. Similarly, there are also some cases whereby the adjunct-like constituent seems to be obligatory like arguments because when they are omitted the sentence will be semantically ill as illustrated in (8) and (9):

(8) Johnny behaved *badly*.
Jonny behaved. (Dowty, 2003, p. 59)

(9) a. Alfred demeure *(á Paris)
'Alfred remains in Paris'

b. Karl fährt *(nach Frankfurt).
'Karl drives to Frankfurt.' (Vater, 1978, p. 23, 24)

Even though the category adverbs (and adjectives) are taken to be typical adjuncts, certain predicates appear to require adverbial arguments (Dowty, 2003; Rakosi, 2006; Forker, 2014). Therefore, it is not safe to abide only by the criteria of syntactic obligatoriness-optionality to assess whether a constituent is argument or it patterns with an adjunct. Rakosi (2006) suggests that if an expression is entailed by the

predicate it must be an argument, and if not, it can only be an adjunct. Likewise, Dowty (2003) proposes that adjuncts should be considered as syntactically optional unless the meaning of their licensing predicates is not *incomplete-incoherent*.

1.2.1.2 Uniqueness and (non)-iterability

The uniqueness-(non)iterability criterion is like the functional criterion of Tesniére's dichotomy and it is the most prominent test for distinguishing complements and adjuncts within LFG, HPSG and Generative tradition (Przepiórkowski, 1999). Uniqueness or non-iterability supposes that every argument bears unique thematic specification hence multiple occurrence of the same thematic role type in the same clause is forbidden, but adjuncts can be added freely to any clause as there can be many adjuncts with a given verb or noun. This is made explicit by Bresnan "…In contrast to the grammatical functions which are assigned to predicate arguments, multiple locative, temporal, and manner adjuncts can occur in a single clause." (Bresnan, 1982, p. 164). From this follows that an argument can be realized by one constituent (10) but two or more adjuncts of the same type can co-occur with the same predicate (11):

(10) a. * I ate [the chicken] [the wing] (Rakosi 2006, p. 102)
b. * [My sister] [my brother] slept
c. * the book [of poems] [of fiction] (Carnie 2002, p. 118)

(11) a. Fred deftly [manner] handed a toy to the baby by reaching behind his back [manner] over lunch [temp] at noon [temp] in a restaurant [loc] last sunday [temp] in Back Bay [Loc] without interrupting the discussion [manner].
(Bresnan 1982, p. 164)

b. the book of poems [with a red cover] [by Robert Burns] [from Blackwell]
(Carnie 2002, p. 119)

However, this criterion does not yield the desired bipartition in arguments vs. adjuncts, either. For instance, by this criterion instrument phrases are arguments since they cannot be iterated:

(12) a. John escaped from prison *with dynamite*
'John used dynamite to escape from prison.'

b. *John escaped from prison *with dynamite with a machine gun*.
'John used dynamite and machine gun to escape from prison.'
(Przepiórkowski, 1999, p. 267)

This result contradicts with the obligatoriness criteria because unlike arguments the instrumental phrase *with dynamite* is neither semantically nor syntactically obligatory as it is not indispensable to complete the meaning nor theta-marked by the predicate.

1.2.1.3 Grammatical relations and category

This criterion is purely syntactic as it depends on the notion of grammatical relation and category. It is indeed similar to Tesniére's morphological-syntactic criterion. Grammatical relation criterion says that canonical arguments are terms; i.e. subject, direct object and indirect object, while adjuncts are always non-terms, i.e. oblique (Forker, 2014). As for grammatical category, arguments (subjects and direct objects) are often DPs and in some cases (indirect objects) PPs but there is not a category restriction for adjuncts (Carnie, 2011). Nevertheless, this is also not a reliable tool to distinguish arguments from adjuncts because they make contradictory predictions, e.g. there are arguments which are non-terms (13), just like certain adpositional phrases in MK (see sentences in (4)). Furthermore, the adverb in a middle

construction is neither DP nor PP but it patterns with arguments as they are obligatory thus non-omissible (14):

(13) a. I was looking [at the newspaper].
b. * I was looking. (Cullicover & Jackendoff, 2005, p. 179)

(14) a. The bureaucrats bribe [easily].
b. * The bureaucrats bribe. (Keyser and Roeper, 1984, p. 381, 385)

1.2.1.4 Word order restriction (relative order)

Another diagnostic criterion is one based on the position of the argument or adjunct with respect to the predicate (head) in a sentence. Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) have chosen to use the words *closer to the verb* to describe the observation that arguments in English stand next to the verb and other constituents are rarely allowed to intervene between the verb and its argument (15b/16b).

(15) a. I *hit the man* with the stick
b. * I *hit* with the stick *the man*

(16) a. *The destruction of the city* by Huns
b. **The destruction* by Huns *of the city*

(Carnie, 2011, p. 200)

The classical observation is that arguments form a constituent with their predicate and act as a single unit within the sentence so an adjunct cannot intervene between the predicate and its argument (Radford, 1988; Culicover & Jackendoff, 2005; Carnie, 2011; Hwang, 2011; Forker, 2014). The *do so* test used in the literature to differentiate complements from adjuncts in a verb phrase is based on this observation because *do so* replaces the verb and its complement acting as a single unit excluding

the adjunct (17)[5].

(17) Robin *read the book* on the train, while Leslie was *doing so* on the bus.
[do so = reading the book; on the bus = adjunct]
(Culicover & Jackendoff , 2005, p.128)

Although the arguments are strictly ordered and must be closer to their predicate (head), adjuncts have more freedom in their ordering as they can be reordered with respect to one another (Ernst, 2002; Carnie, 2011). (Adjuncts are underlined.)

(18) a. The book <u>with the red cover</u> <u>in French</u>.
b. The book <u>in French</u> <u>with the red cover</u>.

(19) a. I hit the man <u>with the stick</u> <u>on Friday</u>.
b. I hit the man <u>on Friday</u> <u>with a stick</u>.
(Carnie, 2011, p. 201)

However, the relative order test is difficult to apply on free word order languages like Turkish, Japanese, Basque, etc. For instance, in a language like Turkish the position of the constituents changes depending on the topic and focus reasons, thus the argument does not need to be closer to its predicate all the time:

(20) a. Ben geçen hafta *kırmızı kitabı* *oku-du-m*.
I.NOM last week red book read-Pst-1s
'I read the red book last week.'

b. Ben *kırmızı kitabı* geçen hafta *okudum.*
c. *Kırmızı kitabı* ben geçen hafta *okudum*.

[5] Note that the term argument comprises the properties of "complement" (of the verb phrase and of the noun phrase) here but not those of the external argument because we know that the external argument and the predicate do not behave as a single unit, e.g. I *never* smoke.

Furthermore, adjuncts are not totally unrestricted in their ordering; for instance, it has long been observed that there are ordering hierarchies for certain adjectives cross-linguistically. In the absence of any special intonation, the order in (21a) is the only option for English speakers while all the other combinations in (21b/c/d) are awkward:

(21) a. beautiful small black purse
b. # beautiful black small purse
c. # small beautiful black purse
d. # small black beautiful purse

(Teodorescu, 2006, p. 359)

Likewise, in the following sentences, the PPs behave free in their ordering like adjuncts but they pattern with typical arguments with respect to obligatoriness criterion, because when they are omitted the sentence would be ungrammatical:

(22) a. Sam lived [in a cottage] [in Hawaii].
b. Sam lived [in Hawaii] [in a cottage].
c. * Sam lived.

As it is clearly seen from these examples, this criterion may lead to contradictory results thus word order test is also not that much reliable to differentiate between arguments and adjuncts.

1.2.1.5 Morphological marking

Typical arguments have a fixed morphological encoding in their basic syntactic realization, e.g. a specific case marker or adposition or position in the clause, because true arguments are not only represented on the argument list of the predicate but their morphological realization is also by default determined in the lexicon. From

this follows that arguments are marked with structural case (23) or an idiosyncratically selected P-element/inherent case (24) (Przepiórkowski, 1999; Rakosi, 2006; Forker, 2014).

(23) *Mary* saw *me*.

(24) A szovjet nõ-k *(*a béké-re*) vágy-*nak.*
The Soviet woman-PL the peace-SUP[6] long.for-3PL
'Soviet women long *(for peace).'

(Rakosi, 2006a, p. 104)

The case marker on the second argument of the subject experiencer predicate *vágyik* 'longs for' in Hungarian cannot be any other case than superessive and it is obligatory, which indicates its argument status (Rakosi, 2006a). On the other hand, morphological marking of adjuncts is more variable as their morphology is not fixed in the lexicon (25) (Przepiórkowski, 1999; Rakosi, 2006a, 2006b; Forker, 2014).

(25) a. The children were playing *in*/*inside*/*behind the garden*
b. They stayed there *in*/*during*/*over the winter*.

(Rakosi, 2006a, p. 105)

However, there are some exceptions to this criterion. For instance, the location argument (place or path) of *put* can bear any goal-type marker:

(26) a. I put the book *on/under/above/behind* the table.

(Rakosi, 2006a, p. 105)

b. Martha put the book *into the drawer/onto the counter*.

(Jackendoff, 1978, p. 391)

Nevertheless, Rakosi (2006a) mentions that the number of these predicates is not

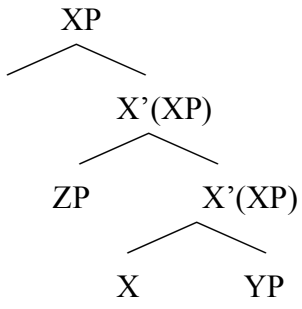
[6] SUP: Superessive case 'onto' (Rakosi 2006)

large thus their existence does not weaken the claim that if a constituent is argument then it has a fixed morphological marking.

1.2.1.6 Arguments and adjuncts in the *Generative Grammar*

The general criteria of argument-adjunct distinction discussed in the previous sub-sections are defined and explained through a structural configuration in the Generative Grammar. Pre-minimalist generative tradition concentrated primarily on the X-bar rules and the lexical entry specifications of predicates to capture the argument-adjunct asymmetry.[7] In Government and Binding model, the basic arguments of a verb as well as its modifiers were defined in structural terms through X-bar Theory. Rules of the X-bar Theory decompose phrases into smaller units considering their grammatical relation as head, complement and specifier. *Arguments (complements)* are attached as *sisters* to their head as in [X YP] while *adjuncts* are sisters to X' (XP in some versions) and *daughters* of another bar-level projection [X'[X' ZP].

(27)



The predicate was considered to have information about the number and types of the arguments (theta-grid) in its lexical entry, thus when it enters into syntax the

[7] Even in an earlier stage before X-bar structure (Standard Theory), phrase structure rules in the form of *rewriting rules* were adopted to yield a structure in syntax with its predicate, two primitives of grammar as subject and object and its modifiers.

structure was built depending on this information respecting X-bar rules. For instance, a verb like *read* requires an *Agent* (external argument-subject) and a *Patient* (internal argument-direct object) to yield a grammatical structure, otherwise the Theta Criterion filters out the deviant structures with fewer or more arguments required by the verb *read.* Apart from theta role, arguments must be assigned Case under a specific government configuration; internal arguments were case assigned by their predicate under complement-head relation while external arguments received their case under Spec-head configuration from the functional element Infl.[8]

The X-bar structure and argument structure specifications of predicates in the lexical entry together account for the distinction between arguments and adjuncts. Arguments are specified in the lexical entry of a predicate and they are subject to Theta Criterion thus they are obligatory, on the other hand, adjuncts are optional as they are not specified in the argument structure of the predicates and they are free of Theta conditions. Since arguments are selected by their heads, they have certain grammatical category as well as grammatical relations to their head while adjuncts do not carry such a property. Furthermore, arguments are projected by the argument structure and there is only one reserved position for each so they are unique (non-iterable). However, projecting adjuncts is not determined by the argument structure but they are rather added on the outside (X' positions) thus there is not an apparent upper bound on the number of adjuncts, which in turn, explains the iterability nature of adjuncts. The position where arguments and adjuncts occupy on the X-bar

[8] Through the emergence of the Minimalist Program, the case assignment was unified under Spec-head configuration in terms of an Agree relation with AgrPs; subject case was assigned within AgrS P and object case within AgrO P (Chomsky, 1995).

structure also tells us why arguments are generally closer to their head while adjuncts behave free with respect to word order. [9]

In the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995 and the subsequent works), on the other hand, the structure is built via *Merge* operation based on the relations (theta, case, etc.) between the elements (probe and goal) in the Numeration, and the resulting object is labeled according to the featural content.[10] Arguments enter into agreement relation (theta, case, phi-features, etc.) with their heads while adjuncts are not, hence it is indeed not clear what features are checked (if there is any) under merger by adjunction. Besides, since arguments are necessary elements for probe-goal relations, they are obligatory, unique and have certain grammatical category. On the other hand, adjuncts are considered to be afterthoughts and interpreted as conjuncts semantically, therefore they are of different category types (Chomsky, 1995; Hornstein et al, 2005).

Argument-adjunct asymmetries in the recent MP are captured through two primitive structure-building operations; *Set-Merge* and *Pair-Merge*. The output of the two merger operations is different; the former generates simple unordered sets which carry the label of its head while the latter produces ordered pairs the label of which is different from the adjoined element. Arguments are subject to Set-Merge

[9] Hornstein and Nunes (2008) propose that "In actuality, adjuncts are so well behaved that they require virtually no grammatical support to function properly. Arguments, in contrast, are refractory and require grammatical aid to allow them to make any propositional contribution." (p. 58). Therefore, theta and case criteria are suggested as the grammatical aid required by the arguments. Even there are studies which propose that since adjuncts are not selected by the verb, they are late inserted into the structure at the position they appear. For instance, Lebeaux (1988) argues that the Projection Principle proposed by Chomsky (1986) requires that arguments but not adjuncts be present at *Merge* thus *Merge* applies to arguments, i.e. to theta marked constituents, but adjuncts which are not theta selected enter the derivation just before SPELL OUT.

[10] For a syntactic object to be interpreted at interfaces, some information is necessary about it such that what kind of an object it is, thus labeling is the process of providing this information (Chomsky, 2013).

whereas adjuncts are subject to Pair-Merge as they do not induce their label on the resulting object (Chomsky, 2004; Hornstein &Nunes, 2008).

To recap, arguments and adjuncts display different behaviors which are captured on a structural configuration; arguments occupy the specifier or sister position (or they are subject to Set-Merge as it is in the recent MP) thus they have a close grammatical relation with their heads while adjuncts project on the bar positions as the outside elements (or ordered elements as a case of Pair-Merge). Unlike adjuncts, arguments are selected, theta marked and case marked expressions specified in the lexical entry of their heads. On the other hand, unlike arguments, adjuncts preserve bar-level information (as it just adds information to its head), they are free in their grammatical category, number and word order.

1.2.1.7 Interim summary

This sub-section has discussed the tendency to distinguish between arguments and adjuncts since Tesniére (1959) along with the diagnostic criteria that have been proposed for argument-adjunct distinction in the literature so far, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1. Diagnostic Criteria for Argument-Adjunct Distinction

	ARGUMENTS	ADJUNCTS
Obligatoriness	obligatory	optional
Uniqueness (non-iterable)	non-iterable	iterable
Grammatical relations	terms (S-DO-IO)	non-terms (oblique)
Grammatical category	DP (and PP)	any category
Word order restriction	fixed order	variable order
Morphological marking	fixed marking	variable marking

The discussion throughout this sub-section demonstrates that these criteria do not always give the desired result with respect to bipartite argument-adjunct dichotomy because they may make incompatible and contradictory predictions. A constituent which patterns with arguments according to one criterion might behave like an adjunct according to another criterion. Therefore, there are cases where two diagnostics will render two different results. For instance, the instrumental phrase in the sentence *John escaped from prison [with dynamite]* is not semantically and syntactically obligatory just like adjuncts, but it cannot be iterated either just like arguments. There are also elements which exhibit both some argument-like and adjunct-like properties hence having an intermediary status, e.g. the agent by phrase of passive constructions in English, dative experiencers in Hungarian, postverbal goals in MK (throughout Kurmanji Kurdish), etc. Since these criteria aim to make a binary distinction, they fail to explain the nature and status of these intermediary constituents. Therefore, new proposals such as argument adjuncts, thematic adjuncts, optional complements, subcategorized adjuncts, etc. have been suggested to account for the behavior of such constituents (Grimshaw, 1990; Grimshaw &Vikner, 1993; Carnie, 2002; Dowty, 2003; Bierwisch, 2003; Rakosi, 2006), which I will discuss in the next sub-section.

1.2.2 Intermediary constituents

1.2.2.1 Argument-adjuncts (Grimshaw (1990)

Grimshaw (1990) states that there is a generally acknowledged and clear distinction between arguments and adjuncts in the literature (with reference to McConnell-Ginet 1982); (i) arguments can be selected and subcategorized; i.e. their presence and form

is under the control of the individual predicates, (ii) they are licensed, that is, they can appear if they are theta-marked by a predicate as a function of the predicate's argument structure; on the other hand, (i) adjuncts are not theta marked, (ii) they are not subcategorized thus their form is free and they are not required by the argument structure (a-structure) and (iii) they don't need to be licensed by relationship to an a-structure (p. 108). However, she also observes that possessive NPs in nominals (28b) and *by*-phrases of passives (28c) are neither proto-typical arguments nor proto-typical adjuncts. She argues that the a-structure representation of these nominals and passives reflects *suppressed* argument positions (Ø means argument suppression):

(28) a. The enemy destroyed the city.
destroy (x (y))
Agent Theme

b. The enemy's destruction of the city
destruction (x-Ø (y))
Agent Theme

c. The city was destroyed by the enemy.
destroyed (x-Ø (y))
Agent Theme

(Grimshaw, 1990, p. 108)

Possesive NPs in nominals and *by*-phrases of passives have subject-like interpretation as they correspond to the subject of matching active verbal predicates. Grimshaw (1990) discusses that if the argument structure position corresponding to the subject of (28a) is suppressed for passives and nominals, then none of these constituents can be an argument although they are semantically similar to arguments. She therefore asserts that these elements resemble to arguments in that they contribute information about the positions in the a-structure of the predicates, e.g.

they provide information about the destroyer argument of the predicate in (28b/c), and they are licensed by the a-structure (suppressed external argument). However, unlike arguments and like adjuncts, they are not theta-marked and they do not satisfy a-structure position, thus these elements as a-adjuncts (argument adjuncts) that are licensed by the a-structure.

1.2.2.2 Obligatory adjuncts (Grimshaw &Vikner, 1993)

Grimshaw and Vikner (1993) state that the general accepted view that arguments can be obligatory or optional depending on the predicates selecting them while adjuncts are always optional is not true in all cases. They explore that the appearance of a *by*-phrase with certain passive predicates are indispensable, hence obligatory:

(29) a. *This house was built/designed/constructed
b. This house was built/designed/constructed *by a French architect*
c. *Tomatoes are grown; * The best tomatoes are grown
d. (The best) tomatoes are grown *by organic farmers*

(Grimshaw &Vikner, 1993, p. 143)

They also demonstrate that in addition to the *by*-phrase, adjuncts of time, place, manner and purpose may save the ungrammaticality of such a sentence:

(30) a. This house was built *yesterday/in ten days/ in a bad part of a town/only with great difficulty.*
b. (The best) tomatoes are grown *in Italy/organically.*

(Grimshaw &Vikner, 1993, p. 143)

They call these expressions as *obligatory adjuncts* as they are obligatorily necessitated by these passive predicates. They find out that only a sub-group of "accomplishments" having a two-part event structure - process and state- takes

obligatory adjuncts and they define this group as follows:

> It seems that what crucially distinguishes a verb that takes obligatory adjuncts from one that does not is that the ones that take obligatory adjuncts have a "constructive" interpretation; the change of state involves creation, or is tantamount to creation because it makes the element undergoing the change available in a way that it was not available before. For *build, grow*, etc., the object comes into existence as a result of the event. For cook, on the other hand, the event of cooking a turkey does not create the turkey, but it does create a turkey dish. A similar point holds for a verb like develop. Thus all of these have in common that the Theme did not exist in its present form before the event occurred. We will refer to this group as the class of *constructive accomplishments*. (Grimshaw & Vikner, 1993, p. 146)

Investigating the nature of these obligatory adjuncts, they propose that these adjuncts are required by the event structure but not by the argument structure. They assert that in the active the sub-events are identified by the elements satisfying the argument structure; for instance, the process component of the verb *design* is identified by the subject and likewise the state component is identified by the object:

(31) *Bill Blass designed the dress*

	argument structure	event structure
design	x,y	[process, state]

(Grimshaw & Vikner, 1993, p. 148)

On the other hand, the requirements of the event structure are not satisfied in the passives because although the argument structure of a passive verb has only one syntactically satisfiable position (which requires only one expression), the event structure of an accomplishment in passive still stays two-part thus requires the

identification of both the process and the resulting state. Therefore, the *by*-phrase are obligatory for the passive forms of these predicates to meet this requirement:

(32) **The dress was designed*

	argument structure	event structure
designed	x- Ø, y	[process, state]

(Grimshaw & Vikner, 1993, p. 148)

They consider the relevant expressions as *obligatory adjuncts* but not arguments because they discuss that (i) they are highly variable in form and semantic type (as illustrated in (30)) while a regular argument is mostly fixed in the form and semantic content as they are selected by the predicate, and (ii) the progressive and perfect aspect influence the obligatoriness of these adjuncts whereas an argument behaves constant under variation in tense and aspect system. As a result, these expressions are adjuncts but not arguments since they are not regulated by the argument structure but by the event structure.[11]

1.2.2.3 Thematic adjuncts (Rakosi, 2006a, 2006b)

Investigating dative experiencers in Hungarian, Rakosi (2006a, 2006b) argues for the relevance of separating non-core thematic expressions from regular arguments and regular adjuncts. He points out that "Ever since the arrival of thematic roles into linguistic theory in the late 1960s it has been observed that certain participant

[11] They show that in the presence of perfect (c) and progressive aspect (d), the appearance of *obligatory adjunct* is not necessary:

a. *This film was developed
b. This film was developed in Geneva/by Fred/on Tuesday/too quickly
c. This film has been developed
d. This film is being developed

(Grimshaw and Vikner, 1993, p. 151)

expressions are less argument like than others while at the same time not being completely adjunct-like either" (p. 94). He proposes that a relatively large group of dative experiencers also belong to the non-core thematic domain together with instruments, comitatives, benefactives or P-sources and P-goals. He calls these expressions as *thematic adjuncts* classifying them as an intermediary category between thematic arguments and non-thematic adjuncts. Thematic adjuncts are treated on a par with arguments in receiving a theta-role and the same sort of thematic specification but they are optional like adjuncts (33):

(33) 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, 2006b, p. 422, 426)

Along with a series of tests (optionality, uniqueness, morphological encoding and licensing), he shows that dative thematic adjuncts have a mixture of argument and adjunct properties. Thematic adjuncts, on a par with adjuncts, are syntactically and semantically optional, they are flexible in morphological marking - 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. However, they receive theta role and cannot be iterated just like

thematic arguments. His proposal is an attempt to account for the constituents displaying properties of something between arguments and adjuncts within the Theta System lexicalist approach (of Reinhart):

> … it is hard to deny that arguments and adjuncts are the two endpoints of what Dowty (2003:60) calls a *'complex psychological continuum'*. Formalizing the endpoints, he argues, is not enough in itself to properly account for the intermediate points, but it still helps us better understand the nature of the whole continuum. What I argue for is that giving a try to the middle of this continuum might further the understanding that we have." (Rakosi, 2006a, p. 98)

1.2.2.4 Dual analysis of adjuncts and complements (Dowty, 2003)

Dowty (2003) argues that although traditional grammar might have sometimes considered *adjunct* and *complement* as fixed syntactic categories such that adjectives and adverbs were taken to be typical adjuncts while noun phrases as complements, it has been recently acknowledged that adjectives and adverbs which behave as typical adjuncts do function like complements in certain contexts. For instance, the verb *tower* takes a locative PP as its complement (34) while the verb *treat* takes an adverb as its complement (35).

(34) a. The campanile towers over the Berkeley campus.
b. # The campanile towers.

(35) a. He always treated me fairly.
b. # He always treated me.

(Dowty, 2003, p. 59)

Dowty (2003) states that these expressions are called as *subcategorized adjunct* in the literature. In fact, he can account for such cases in Categorial Grammar proposing an analysis which does not treat adjuncts and argument as fixed categories but provides a dual treatment of every complement as an adjunct and any adjunct as a potential complement. He asserts that the motivation for such a dual analysis comes from the observation that there are many cases where two parallel constructions (PP, NP, adverb, etc.) have similar semantic and syntactic similarities between an adjunct and complement. The following sentences are just a few examples of such familiar cases: (Dowty, 2003, p. 72)

(36)

	adjunct construction	*complement construction*
a. ADJ	John left work *alone.*	John arrived *alone.*
b. Directional PP	Mary walked *to the park.*	John sang *to Mary.*
c. Instrument PP	John swept the floor *with a broom.*	John loaded the truck *with hay*
d. Other PP	I took it *from the box.*	I learned it *from a doctor.*

Through these examples, he shows that a binary distinction between arguments and adjuncts as fixed categories would fail to explain the dual status of each constituent in such examples, hence a dual analysis is motivated to explain what we find out in natural languages. He points out that the distinction between adjuncts and complements is fluid and a dual analysis is what makes formally; therefore, we should let the psycholinguistics to determine how these cases differ in *mental processing.*

1.2.2.5 Optional complements

There are also arguments which are not obligatory; *optional complements* (Carnie, 2002, 2011; Bierwisch, 2003; Hofmann, 2007; Hole, 2015). For instance, the internal argument selected by the predicate and the complement of the noun are optional in the following examples, as their absence does not lead to any syntactic nor semantic problem.

(37) a. Paul is eating (a pizza) (Hole, 2015, p. 3)
b. She read (the report) (Hofmann, 2007, p. 4)
c. Everybody signed (the petition) (Bierwisch 2003, p. 116)
d. the destruction (of the couch) (Carnie, 2011, p. 123)

They are classified as *optional complements (arguments)*; they exhibit more argument-like properties such that they are selected, case assigned and theta marked by their predicate yet they are optional unlike arguments. Bierwisch (2003) argues that arguments and adjuncts display a *characteristic difference* with respect to optionality; complements can be optional but adjuncts are always optional. This difference may depend on the assumption that it is the head that discharges an argument position, which can be obligatory or optional, under complementation, whereas under adjunction it is the adjunct that discharges the argument position, thus since the head is neutral with respect to the occurrence of an adjunct, they are free. He also states that optionality of an argument position is either a property of particular lexical categories; e.g. complement of nouns and adjectives are always optional, or it is a property of certain lexical items, e.g. the object of *leave* is optional but the object of *meet* is not.

1.2.2.6 Interim summary and discussion

So far, I have presented the discussion on how intermediary elements are treated in various approaches within syntactic theory, which can be summarized as in Table 2:

Table 2. Intermediary Cases: Argument-like and Adjunct-like Constituents

	ARGUMENTS	ADJUNCTS
Argument-Adjuncts	licensed by the a-structure	optional, not theta marked
Obligatory Adjuncts	obligatory	variable in form and semantic typehavca
Thematic Adjuncts	theta-marked	optional, variable in marking
Dual analysis	complements	adjuncts
Optional complements	complements	optional

These might be good attempts to explain the nature of such intermediary cases in various languages but they are not without problems. We should say that the terms *optional complements* and *obligatory adjuncts* lead to questioning the terminology and even the *optionality* criterion adopted in the literature. Optionality-obligatoriness has been proposed as a syntactic-semantic criterion to distinguish arguments from adjuncts, but on the one hand we have *optional complements* that are selected by the predicate/noun which can nevertheless be optional; on the other hand, we have *obligatory adjuncts* which are adjunct like in the sense that they are not required by the argument structure of the predicate but they are obligatory as they are necessary elements to satisfy the event structure. If there are *optional complements* or *obligatory adjuncts,* then optionality-obligatoriness is not a criterion that discriminates between argument and adjuncts. Furthermore, explaining the obligatoriness of certain adjunct-like constituents through an event structure proposal might not yield reliable results. Goldberg and Ackerman (2001) argue that the complex event-structure account of obligatory adjuncts in the sense of Grimshaw and

Vikner (1993) is inadequate because there are predicates with simple event structure - statives and activities- which still require some type of adjuncts:

(38) a. #The claim was believed.
The claim was believed by many/in the seventh century/in the South.

b. #The book was read.
The book was read by many/yesterday/over the airwaves/in the shower.
(Goldberg & Ackerman, 2001, p. 801)

Such examples imply that having a complex event structure cannot be regarded as the sole necessary condition for licensing these obligatory adjuncts but there seems to be further conditions at work. Nonetheless, the discussion of such intermediary cases are fruitful in gaining a general understanding of some of the characteristics of arguments and adjuncts. Although we distinguish between two types of elements as arguments and adjuncts, neither *argument* nor *adjunct* constitutes a homogeneous group or uniform category, but they rather each seem to include sub-constituents exhibiting variable behaviors. It is obvious that on the one hand we have a binary argument-adjunct dichotomy that we successfully accommodate typical arguments and adjuncts with their proto-typical properties, on the other hand, we have constituents with intermediary status which might be classified as more argument-like and/or more adjunct-like elements. As Table 2 illustrates even these intermediary cases differ from each other in their properties, which might be taken as an indication for the existence of a continuum of being an argument and an adjunct on which these intermediary cases can be placed regarding their properties.

1.2.3 Implications for argument-adjunct distinction in MK

Typical arguments such as subjects and direct objects in MK (39) carry almost all argumenthood properties such as they are obligatory or theta-marked (40), non-

iterable (41) and they are terms with fixed morphological marking (as cased-marked NPs in (39)):[12]

(39) a. *Ez* *di-rev-im.*
1S.DIR PROG-run.PRS-1S
'I am running.'

b. *Rojbîn* *pirtûk-ê* *di-xwîn-e.*
Rojbin.DIR book-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
'Rojbin is reading the book.'

c. *Min* *av-ê* *keland.*
1S.OBL water-OBL boil.PST.3S
'I boiled the water.'

(40) a. *(*Ez*) *di-rev-im.*
1S.DIR PROG-run.PRS-1S
Int: '(I) am running.'

b. *(*Rojbîn*) *(*pirtûk-ê*) *di-xwîn-e.*
Rojbin.DIR book-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
Int: '(Rojbin) is reading (the book).'

c. *(*Min*) *(*av-ê*) *keland.*
1S.OBL water-OBL boil.PST.3S
Int: '(I) boiled (the water).'

(41) a. * [*Ez*] [em] *di-rev-im.*
1S.DIR 1PL.DIR PROG-run.PRS-1S
Int: '[I am] [we are] running.'

b. * *Rojbîn* [*pirtûk-ê*] [rojnam-ê] *di-xwîn-e.*
Rojbin.DIR book-OBL newspaper-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
Int: 'Rojbin is reading [the book] [the newspaper].'

In the same vein, typical adjuncts in MK possess all the properties of adjuncthood; they are optional (42), iterable (43), non-terms and they can be of any category (e.g.

[12] Arguments (subject, object, etc.) of a sentence in MK can be omitted if they are known and pragmatically inferable; otherwise, they are always obligatory (Gündoğdu, 2011).

adverb, adjective, or adpositional phrase) with a relatively free order (44). They are not selected by the verb but they add extra information about the time, manner and location of the event.

(42) a. *Sîdar* *(zû)* *di-rev-e.*
Sîdar.DIR fast PROG-run.PRS-3S
'Sidar is running fast.'

b. *Ew* (*do*) *hat.*
3S.DIR yesterday come.PST.3S
'He came yesterday.'

(43) a. *Sîdar* [*di* *zevî-yê* *da*] [*zû*] *di-rev-e.*
Sîdar.DIR ADP field-OBL ADP fast PROG-run.PRS-3S
'Sidar is running fast in the field.'

b. *Ew* [*ji* *Stenbol-ê*] [*do*] [*bi* *ereb-ê*] *hat.*
3S.OBL ADP Istanbul-OBL yesterday ADP car-OBL come.PST.3S
'He came from Istanbul yesterday by car.'

(44) a. *Ew* [*do*] [*ji* *Stenbol-ê*] [*bi* *ereb-ê*] *hat.*
3S.OBL yesterday ADP Istanbul-OBL ADP car-OBL come.PST.3S
'He came from Istanbul yesterday by car.'

b. *Ew* [*bi* *ereb-ê*] [*ji* *Stenbol-ê*] [*do*] *hat.*
3S.OBL ADP car-OBL ADP Istanbul-OBL yesterday come.PST.3S
'He came from Istanbul yesterday by car.'

b. *Ew* [*bi* *ereb-ê*] [*do*] [*ji* *Stenbol-ê*] *hat.*
3S.OBL ADP car-OBL yesterday ADP Istanbul-OBL come.PST.3S
'He came from Istanbul yesterday by car.'

However, postverbal goals, certain adpositional phrases and the nominal element of a number of complex predicates in MK behave a little different from typical arguments and adjuncts of this dialect. They pattern with arguments in that they are obligatory, non-iterable and have fixed order, while they are like adjuncts in being non-terms and having variable morphological marking (e.g. adpositions and case). For instance,

postverbal goals are always case-marked with a fixed order in the immediate postverbal position (45),[13] while object-like adpositional phrases (46a/b) and those expressing recipients and addressees (46c/d) are always introduced with adpositions. Even the form of the adposition (i.e. adposition type) vary across these constituents; i.e. the adposition type of the object-like constituents changes depending on the verb; for instance, the verb *nêrîn* 'look' marks its object with the adposition *li* 'at' (46a) while the verb *hez kirin* 'love (lit: enjoy do)' introduces its object through the adposition *ji* 'from' (46b). But the adposition that expresses recipients (46c) and addressees (46d) is fixed, i.e. only *ji…ra* 'to/for':

(45) a. *Em* *çû-bû-n* ***gund***
1PL.DIR go.PST-PLPRF-PL village.OBL
'We went to the village.'

b. *Ez-ê* peran *bi-d-im* ***te***.
1S.DIR-FUT money.OBL.PL SBJV-give.PRS-1S 2S.OBL
'I will give **you** the money.'

(46) a. *Bav-ê* *min* ***li*** ***televizyon-ê*** *di-nêr-e.*
father-EZ.M 1S.OBL ADP television.OBL PROG-look.PRS-3S
'My father is looking at the TV.'

b. *Ez* ***ji*** ***te*** *pir* *hez* *di-k-im*
1S.DIR ADP 2S.OBL very enjoy PROG-do.PRS-1S
'I love you so much.' (lit: I do enjoy from you.)

c. *Ez-ê* ***ji*** ***te*** ***ra*** peran *bi-şîn-im.*
1S.DIR-FUT ADP 2S.OBL. ADP money.OBL.PL SBJV-give.PRS-1S
'I will send you the money.'

d. *Ewî* ***ji*** ***we*** ***ra*** *çi* *got?*
3S.OBL ADP 2PL.OBL ADP what say.PST.3S
'What did s/he say to you?'

[13] I am aware of the fact that the recipient *dan* 'give' is an indirect object argument. Nevertheless, I include it in the discussion here because I take 'postverbal goals' as a cover term referring to all constituent types occupying this position in MK.

On the contrary, the nominal element of certain noun-verb complex predicates is caseless in the form of a bare NP (47a/b) or a complex NP (47c). As a matter of fact, it is the part of the verb complex although it behaves like a direct object in triggering ergative alignment in past tenses (47b):

(47) a. *Ez* *(*sond*) *di-xw-im*
1S.DIR oath PROG-eat.PRS-1S
'I swear.'

b. Min *(*sond*) xwar
1S.OBL oath eat.PST.3S
'I swore.'

c. *Gundî* *(*pesn-a* *wî* *kur-ê*) *di-d-in*
villager.DIR praise-EZ.F DEM.M boy-OBL PROG-give.PRS-PL
'The villagers always praise that boy.'
(lit. 'the villagers always give praise of that boy.')

Even though these constituents have more argumenthood properties, they are not terms as subjects and objects in this dialect. In any case, it is difficult to fit them into the existing bipartite argument-adjunct dichotomy. Furthermore, the new proposals regarding the constituents with intermediary status also fail to provide an adequate explanation for the syntactic and semantic status of these constituents of this dialect. For instance, they cannot be considered as obligatory adjuncts because their presence is not always sensitive to the event structure (e.g. the nominal element of noun verb complex predicates). Similarly, it is not reasonable, either, to take them as optional complements as they are almost always obligatory. Therefore, instead of trying to categorize these constituents according to the existing argument-adjunct diagnostics, I will look at what kind of a relation these constituents have with their verbs to be able to understand their status in lexical semantics and argument structure. To this end, in the following chapters of this dissertation, I will investigate what roles these

constituents have in an event (i.e. event structure) and how they are projected in syntax (i.e. argument structure).

1.3 Theoretical framework

1.3.1 The minimalist program (MP)

Minimalism is a research program – not a theory – that has been developing inside Generative Grammar (Chomsky, 2000). It aims to propose a model of language which eliminates all complex operations yielding an optimal design for satisfying the conditions at the interface levels; namely PF and LF, which are the only linguistically significant levels. All linguistic outputs in human languages are formed by *Merge* and *Move* operations, and they must be interpretable at the interface levels. Merge takes two syntactic objects and puts them together to form a bigger, single syntactic object, while Move displaces the output syntactic objects to the positions they appear. Move is costlier thus it cannot apply freely but it applies when it must (Last Resort) and it is subject to the economy principle such that an element cannot move over another candidate available in a closer position to the target (Shortest Move) (Chomsky, 2000). Lexical items enter into the derivation from the lexicon equipped with certain interpretable and uninterpretable features (e.g. categorial features like N, V, Adj, and other features such as case, gender, number, person, etc.) and syntactic operations are taking place concerning these features. Uninterpretable features of an XP (i.e. *probe*) are checked hence removed by matching it with a functional head (i.e. *goal*) through *feature-checking* mechanism. This feature checking mechanism between probe and goal is called *Agree* (Chomsky, 2001). The uninterpretable features must be checked and deleted by Agree before the output

representation is reaching to the interface levels, to LF and to Spell Out which carries them off to PF. The output linguistic representation must be phonologically and semantically interpretable at these interface levels, otherwise the derivation would crash (Chomsky, 1995). Furthermore, a linguistic representation is transferred to the Spell-Out cyclically through phase levels, namely vP and CP (Chomsky, 2001). A phase is composed of a domain and an edge. The domain is responsible for argument structure and predication whereas the edge serves as the *escape-hatch* for further movement operations. The reasoning behind cyclic derivation is to reduce the burden on the computation such that the narrow syntactic derivation does not have to wait till the single Spell-Out. Lastly, the computational component (narrow syntax) is subject to two conditions; (i) the *interpretability condition* which states that lexical items cannot have any features other than those interpreted at the interface, and (ii) the *inclusiveness condition* which imposes that syntax cannot introduce any new features other than those already contained in the lexical items (Chomsky, 2000).

1.3.2 Distributed morphology (DM)

Distributed Morphology (DM) is a theory of the architecture of grammar in which word building operations are distributed over several components of the grammar (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Halle & Marantz, 1994; Marantz, 1997; Embick & Halle, 2005). Three properties of DM distinguish it from other morphological theories; *Late Insertion*, *Underspecification* and *Syntactic Hierarchical Structure All the Way Down* (Halle & Marantz, 1994). Late Insertion states that insertion of vocabulary items takes place after syntax. In DM, there is no lexicon as a word formation component in the sense familiar from the generative grammar but rather syntax generates structures by combining morphosyntactic features through Merge and

Move (Harley & Noyer, 1999). All syntactic operations are based on the abstract morphemes which have no phonetic content such as [past] or [pl] and roots that form the open class vocabulary such as √CAT, √OX or √SIT. Only after syntax combine terminal nodes to create words, these terminal entries acquire phonological content (Vocabulary Items) in a process called Spell-Out. There is also *Encyclopedia* which is the list of idioms in a language. It is crucial to note that the term *idiom* used here refers to any expression whose meaning is not predictable from its morphosyntactic structural description (Marantz, 1997). Encyclopedia relates Vocabulary Items to meanings based on world knowledge.

Underspecification is a mechanism that regulates the insertion of Vocabulary Items in a syntactic terminal where they can be inserted. Therefore, phonological expressions don't have to be fully specified to be inserted in a syntactic position; rather, Vocabulary Items have mostly default features that can be inserted in a syntactic position where no more specific form is available. If a vocabulary entry includes a subset of the morphosyntactic features of the terminal node, then it is inserted into that position. However, the phonological information contained in vocabulary entries may not be enough to guarantee that correct phonological output will be generated, thus there is a set of *readjustment and phonological rules* which provide the remaining necessary information about the phonological form in such cases.

Syntactic Hierarchical Structure All the Way Down refers to the hypothesis that the hierarchical structures from syntax may be further modified by morphological operations at a level called Morphological Structure (MS). This MS level has its own principles (e.g. fusion and fission) which are sensitive to the

universal and language particular well-formedness conditions; for instance, terminal elements might move from one position to another by head-to-head movement.

Roots are the only lexical categories in DM, which are bundles of encyclopedic and cognitive information, and they do not carry any category information. Their category information is determined depending on the functional syntactic structure that sits on top of the root. For instance, √water is a category-free root and it functions as a verb if it sits under a *v* category in syntax whereas it becomes a noun if it is dominated by an *n* category.

The morphological, phonological and lexical processes (as well as information) are not concentrated in a single component of grammar but they are distributed over several components (see Figure 1 below). For instance, considering the lexical items, there are three lists in DM; (i) List A has morphosyntactic features, (ii) List B contains Vocabulary Items with their phonetic content, which is similar to the lexicon in other theories, and (ii) List C supplies encyclopedic knowledge of Vocabulary Items. Similarly, certain morphological operations such as the realization of case and agreement morphology do not have to take place in syntax as they are not present in syntax (unlike what is assumed in other models) but they are added to syntactic heads at MS post-syntactically (Halle and Marantz, 1993). The strong claim of this model is that most of the terminal nodes that are phonologically realized as affixes are syntactic heads and word formation is syntactic and post-syntactic rather than being lexical.

The architecture of grammar proposed in DM is depicted in Figure 1 (from Harley & Noyer, 1999, p. 3):

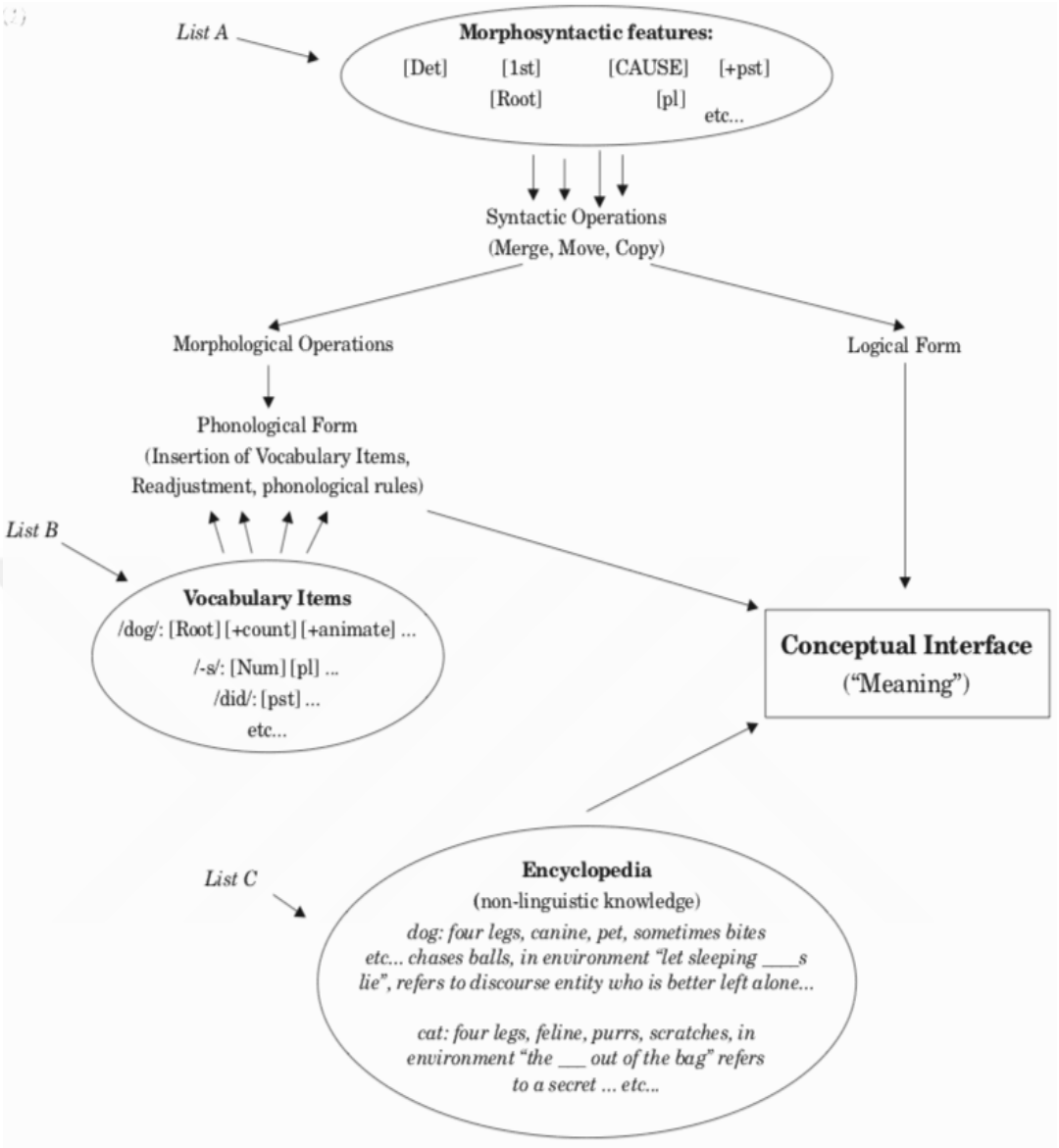


Fig. 1 Architecture of grammar assumed in the distributed morphology (DM)

1.4 Data Collection in Muş

The data used in this dissertation was collected from native speakers of Kurmanji living in Muş province of Turkey. I will provide information about the language setting, data collection procedure and the informants in this sub-section.

1.4.1 Language Setting

Muş Province is located in the eastern part of Turkey. It is divided into 6 districts namely *Muş Center, Korkut, Hasköy, Bulanık, Malazgirt and Varto*, and it has 22 towns (*belde*) and 359 villages. It has a population of 404, 544 according to a 2017 estimate of Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK).

Muş is one of the ethnically diverse cities of Turkey as there are people from various ethnic groups living here such as Turks, Kurmancs, Armenians, Zazas, Arabs and Cherkess.[14] Until 1915 events, Armenian population outnumbered Turkish and Kurdish population here. According to the population census in 1893 during the Ottoman Empire, the population of Muş was 99.560 and Armenian population constituted 54% of the population whereas Turkish and Kurdish population together was 43%. However, after 1915 and following years, Armenian population rapidly decreased and the number of Kurds and Turks increased. In the early years of Turkish Republic, Kurmanji Kurdish was the most widely spoken language with 34.897 speakers in Muş area and the second one is Turkish with 7.283 speakers (according to 1927 population census results) (Yuca, 2011). As the schooling rate has increased gradually, Turkish has become more dominant than it was before. Today, Turkish as the official language of the Turkish Republic is the dominant language of daily life, education and state offices in the city. Apart from Turkish and Kurmanji Kurdish which are most widely spoken languages, there are other languages spoken in the area such as Zazakî, Arabic and Cherkess language. In the city center, mostly Turks live and Turkish is more dominant; on the other hand, Kurmancs, Zazas, Cherkess and Arabs generally live in districts and villages.

[14] Kurmanc is the name used for Kurmanji speakers of Kurdish.

Kurmanji Kurdish is mostly the home language in the city and it is more dominant in villages and among older generation.

1.4.2 Informants and data collection

Data collection took place in different villages and districts of Muş. The data was collected by me, but often with the mediation of my relatives, my friends or my students (who were at the Kurdish Language and Literature Department of Muş Alparslan University). I elicited spontaneous speech data from seven native speakers in September and October 2015. There were three female and four male informants with different ages, linguistic and educational background. The information about their gender, age, education and language background is provided in Table 3:

Table 3. Informants

Name	Sex	Age	first exposure to Kurdish	first exposure to Turkish	Education	Place	Length of recording (min.s)
Ö.Ç.	M	71	from birth	around 19 (in the MS)[15]	none	Malazgirt	04:39
B.G.	F	66	from birth	around 25	none	Korkut	11:45
M.H.	M	63	from birth	around 9	high school	Anzar	32:48
H.Ç.	F	58	from birth	around 40	none	Bulanık	14:05
R.G.	F	49	from birth	around 25	none	Hasköy	24:55
A.A.	M	34	from birth	at 8	university	Muş	08:46
F.Y.	M	27	from birth	at 7	university	Kurtalan	05:10
Mean		52.5		19			total: 100.93

[15] MS here is for Military Service.

Some of the informants talked about their memories and their traditions while some of them told *cîrok*s (a name used for famous Kurdish stories) and fairy tales or religious stories. The length of each recording was about four to thirty-three minutes, and the data was about one hundred minutes in total. I recorded their narration and conversation with a simple audio recorder. Since I know that most people in the region are against being video recorded, I avoided using video recorder during data collection on purpose. I saved the collected data systematically in my laptop, and then I transcribed them in MS Word format by giving a number to each sentence, as illustrated below.

1. Bukê dixwastin, başê roja dewetê berbû diçuna û berbûyê wan jî şeşt heft heb jin bûn.
2. Hena xwe çedikirin deweta xwe dikirin, ew dimanina li mala dewetê.
3. Sibe dewetîye xwe tev dihanîna lê yek care dihatina.

(R.G. from Otaçköy/Hasköy)

While transcribing the MK data, I adopted the conventions of the Latin alphabet following the Modern Kurmanji Kurdish orthography invented by Celadet Bedirxan which is provided in Bedirxan and Lescot (2004). In this orthography, "i" stands for the back high unrounded vowel [ɨ] while "î" stands for the front high unrounded vowel [i]. Similarly, "û" is the back high rounded vowel [u] whereas "u" corresponds to two different sounds; namely [ʊ] sound in English *put*, and [ə] sound in English *bird*. Lastly, "ê" is the mid front unrounded vowel [e] and "e" corresponds to three different sounds; [ɛ], [æ] and pharyngeal [ʕ] in this dialect.

1.5 Layout of the dissertation

Following this Chapter, Chapter 2 describes the basic morphosyntactic properties (i.e. nominal and verbal inflectional morphology and clausal syntactic structure) of Kurmanji Kurdish and presents the aspects where MK displays variation based on the MK data elicited for this study to make the subsequent discussion in this thesis more concrete and easier to follow.

Chapter 3 investigates the argument structure of complex predicates in this dialect discussing the status of the nominal element of N(oun)-V(erb) complex predicates and its implications for MK grammar. It argues that the majority of the N-V complex predicates are like unergative verbs in the sense of Hale and Keyser (2002); they are underlyingly transitive structures in which an agentive light verb selects for (or incorporates into) its nominal object, and the noun element of these complex predicates is not a true direct object although it seems to saturate the argument structure requirements of the complex verb.

Chapter 4 explicates the status of postverbal goals and certain adpositional phrases in MK. It discusses that the morphological realization of the constituents and their linear ordering in MK are sensitive to the correlation between verb meaning and event type. Furthermore, it demonstrates that there are certain verb classes in this dialect (e.g., activity verbs, motion verbs, etc.) which pattern alike with respect to argument realization properties, pointing to the existence of certain event types. The properties of these verb classes are accounted for through an *Event Structure Approach* which analyzes verb meaning and argument representations through event structure templates (specifically Rappaport and Levin, 1998, 2008; Levin and Rappaport, 2007; Levin 1999, 2011).

Chapter 5 investigates the phrase structure of MK in order to find out the syntactic position of the constituents in question (i.e. subject, direct object, certain adpositional phrases and postverbal goals). Since quantifier scope (QP scope) and binding reflect the constituent structure relations hierarchically based on c-command relation, I discuss the QP scope and binding properties of these constituents in this dialect through the results of an experimental study conducted with nineteen native speakers. The scope and binding facts suggest that the linear precedence in the sequence of constituents maps onto structural height in this dialect.

Chapter 6 explores a possible event decompositional syntax (specifically Harley, 1995 and Cuervo, 2003) of these constituents based on the findings of event structure analysis in Chapter 4 and the scope and binding properties investigated in Chapter 5. It is proposed that verb classes (e.g. activity verbs, motion verbs and path verbs) patterning alike in this dialect project similar simplex or complex event types. The event types are distinguished from one another through the presence of distinct event introducing little *v*s (e.g. *v*GO, *v*BE, *v*DO) or their combinations (e.g. *v*DO+ *v*BE), and the event participants (e.g. subject, direct object, postverbal goals, etc.) are introduced either within the event domain (e.g. inner subject position and complement position of Root) and/or through event introducing projections such as VoiceP (Kratzer, 1996) and ApplP (Pylkkänen, 2002; Tsai, 2009).

Chapter 7 finally concludes the dissertation presenting the findings of this study as well as discussing the implications and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

MORPHOSYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF KURMANJI KURDISH

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide brief information about the morphological and syntactic properties of Kurmanji Kurdish and to present the aspects where its Muş dialect (MK) diverges from the standard norm.[1] The discussion in this chapter is based on a few Kurmanji Kurdish grammar books (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Thackston, 20016; Yıldırım, 2013; Ocek, 2014), some linguistic studies done on Kurmanji Kurdish (Dorleijn, 1996; Haig, 1998 and subsequent works, Gündoğdu, 2011, and subsequent works, Haig & Öpengin, 2015, 2018, among others) and the data collected in Muş province. In a recent study, Öpengin and Haig (2014) identify five Kurmanji dialect regions; (i) Southeastern Kurmanji (e.g. Hakkari and Duhok provinces), (ii) Southern Kurdish (e.g. Mardin, Şırnak, Batman, some districts in Diyarbakır, Urfa, Hasaka (Syria) and Sincar (Iraq)), (iii) Southwestern Kurmanji (e.g. dıyama, Antep and Aleppo (Syria)), (iv) Northern Kurmanji (e.g. also known as Serhed Kurdish – includes Ağrı, Muş, Bitlis, Erzurum, Bingöl, etc.), and (v) Northwestern Kurmanji (e.g. Maraş and Malatya). MK stands in the Northern Kurmanji (NK) dialect region according to their tentative classification.

Typologically, Kurmanji Kurdish (and also MK) is a principally SOV and SV language with relative flexibility. It has tense sensitive alignment; it displays ergative alignment in past tense constructions where the subject of an intransitive verb (S) is treated similarly to the object of a transitive verb (O) and differently from the

[1] Standard Kurmanji here refers to the conventions established in the book *Grammaire Kurde*/*Kürtçe Gramer (Kurdish Grammar)* written by Celadet Ali Bedirxan and Roger Lescot. This book has different editions and translations in various languages. I take Bedirxan and Lescot (2004) as the basis for this study.

transitive subject (A), while it has accusative alignment in non-past tense constructions, where S and A are aligned together as opposed to O (Dorleijn, 1996; Haig, 1998, 2004, 2008; Thackston, 2006; Gündoğdu 2011, 2016b, 2017b; Atlamaz, 2012; Baker and Atlamaz 2013, among others). Nouns bear two case markers, namely direct and oblique, depending on their grammatical function, gender (feminine vs. masculine) and number (singular vs. plural). Nominal modifiers follow the noun while numerals and demonstratives precede it in the phrase. Verbal morphology, on the other hand, exhibits both analytic and synthetic properties; tense information is encoded in the verb stem whereas negation, aspect and mood are expressed through prefixes and suffixes. Valency operations such as causativization and passivization are analytic. I will discuss each of these morphological (nominal & verbal) as well as clausal syntactic properties of Kurmanji Kurdish in the following sections. Before doing this, I will mention a number of linguistic studies that have appeared on Kurmanji Kurdish so far.[2]

There are pioneering typological and theoretical linguistic research on certain morphosyntactic properties of Kurmanji such as case and ergativity, alignment change, the structure of nominal phrases with a special focus on ezafe and gender morphology, the structure of complex verbs, etc. Although there are studies that focus on the emergence of ergativity in this language (Trask, 1979; Bynon, 1980; Karimi, 2012), the book by Dorleijn (1996) *The decay of ergativity in Kurdish. Language internal or contact induced?* is the first detailed study that discusses the variation observed in the ergative alignment of Kurmanji Kurdish along with the potential language internal conditions as well as the influence of language contact with Turkish that might favour this process. Following this work, Haig (1998)

[2] I will only mention pioneering linguistic research conducted on Kurmanji Kurdish here, thus the reader is referred to Haig and Öpengin (2014) for a broader critical overview on Kurdish Linguistics including all Kurdish varieties.

presents a detailed analysis of ergativity in Kurmanji discussing its being a relatively superficial morphological phenomenon. Besides, in his later works (Haig, 2004, 2008), he also argues the historical syntax of this language with a specific reference to the alignment pattern within the context of West Iranian. Similarly, Gündoğdu (2011), Atlamaz (2012), Baker and Atlamaz (2013) and Atlamaz and Baker (2018) provide a theoretical syntactic investigation of case system and ergativity in this language through data from different Kurmanji dialects (i.e. Muş and Adıyaman dialects). Furthermore, Gündoğdu (2016b, 2017b) focuses on the potential reasons that trigger different non-canonical, ergative-derived constructions observed in the Muş dialect. Lastly, the work by Mahalingappa (2013) is the first known study on the first-language acquisition of ergativity in Kurmanji.

In addition to alignment system, certain studies investigate the structure of nominal domain in Kurmanji Kurdish. Haig (2011) focuses on the structural and functional properties of the ezafe marker of Kurmanji within the context of West Iranian. Besides, Kahnemuyipour (2014), Samvelian (2007) and Samiian and Larson (2018) refer to the Kurmanji ezafe construction while discussing the function of ezafe marker in Persian. Atlamaz (2016) also provides some theoretical discussion on the syntax of the ezafe construction in Kurmanji in his analysis on arguments and modifiers within NP structure in typologically different languages. Likewise, Erbaşı and Gündoğdu (2017) discusses the phrasal properties of the constructions involving an ezafe marker in Kurmanji and Turkish from a theoretical perspective proposing that the ezafe marker in these languages projects two different phrases, namely φPs and DPs, depending on whether it forms a compound or a possessive construction. Moreover, Haig (2000) and Haig and Öpengin (2015) discuss structural and socio-cultural aspects of gender marking - a prominent feature of nominal morphology- in

this language. A bit differently, Gündoğdu (2015b) investigates the potential reasons for the loss of gender distinction observed in the nominal morphology of MK arguing that this dialect may have undergone a language internal grammatical change with respect to the gender system as other Iranian languages did and this process may have additionally been accelerated by language contact with Turkish and Armenian.

There are also a few studies that focus on the syntactic as well as morphological properties of the verbal domain in this language. An overview of noun-verb complex verbs in Kurmanji is provided in Haig (2002) where he examines their structural properties from a typological perspective classifying them as incorporating and non-incorporating noun-verb complex verbs according to their syntactic properties.[3] In his later work, Haig (2014) and Haig and Thiele (2014) investigate the unusual Verb-Goal order (the occurrence of post-predicate goals) in Kurmanji dialects and neighboring languages with a typological and areal linguistic perspective, which will be further discussed in Chapter 4 of the current study. Similarly, Gündoğdu (2017a) focuses on the variation observed in the morphological form (case vs. adposition) and the position of goal constituents (preverbal vs. postverbal) across Kurmanji dialects spoken in Turkey. Furthermore, while investigating the so-called "future tense" particle in Badini Kurmanji, Unger (2014) examines the differences between Badini Kurmanji and the "standard" variety of Kurmanji with regard to tense and modality marking. Gündoğdu and Akkuş (2015) and Gündoğdu (2015a), on the other hand, can be considered as the first theoretical studies that argue the syntactic and morphological properties of (non-)verbal negation in this language.

[3] I will refer to this work in Chapter 3 in more detail where I will discuss the argument structure properties of complex predicates in MK.

Apart from typological and theoretical studies, there are also dialectal, descriptive and areal linguistic research on Kurmanji. Dialectal variation within Kurmanji based on isoglosses in phonology and morphology, and an initial classification of Kurmanji dialects are provided in Öpengin (2012) and Öpengin and Haig (2014), respectively. The same authors also present a synopsis of the main linguistic features of Kurmanji spoken in Turkey along with a grammar sketch in Haig and Öpengin (2018). Besides, the investigation of Kurdish language including its Kurmanji variety as a part of a putative Anatolian linguistic area is provided in various studies such as Haig (2001, 2006, 2007) and Matras (2002, 2007, 2010).

2.2 Nouns and nominal inflectional morphology

This section presents a brief summary of nominal inflectional morphology such as case, gender, number and (in)definiteness in this language and notes variation observed in MK where relevant.

2.2.1 Gender

Kurmanji Kurdish has a two-way gender distinction; feminine and masculine, which only targets singular nouns in the oblique case and ezafe forms, whereas there is no gender distinction in the plural paradigm (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Thackston, 2006; Yıldırım, 2013; Ocek, 2014; Haig & Öpengin, 2015). Grammatical gender reveals itself in three instances; namely nouns, third person singular pronouns and demonstratives:

(1) a. *Ez* *li* ***wê*** ***jin-ê*** *di-nêr-im*
1S-DIR ADP DEM.F woman-OBL.F PROG-watch.PRS-1S
'I am looking at that woman.'

b. ***Nav-ê*** ***wî*** *çi* *ye?*
Name-EZ.M 3S.OBL.M what COP.3S
'What is his name?'

Gender operates in Kurmanji Kurdish grammar in three different ways, which Haig (2004) classifies as *arbitrary gender, lexical gender* and *common gender.* For inanimate nouns gender assignment is arbitrary, in other words, the principles that determine gender assignment is quite opaque (Haig, 2004; Haig & Öpengin, 2015). A few examples are below:

(2)

masculine		feminine	
derî	'door'	*şev*	'night'
nav	'name'	*mal*	'house'
dest	'hand'	*cejn*	'festival'

On the contrary, in some cases there is a correlation between biological sex and grammatical gender for nouns denoting people or animal (lexical gender), thus nouns referring to females are regularly found in feminine group whereas those referring to males are assigned masculine gender (3):

(3)

masculine		Feminine	
bav	'father'	*dê*	'mother'
bira	'brother'	*xwişk*	'sister'
xal	'maternal uncle'	*xalet*	'maternal aunt'
ap/mam	'paternal uncle'	*met*	'paternal aunt'
mêr	'husband'	*jin*	'woman'
beran	'ram'	*mî*	'sheep'
ga	'ox'	*çêlek*	'cow'

Also, there are certain animal nouns which are inherently either masculine (e.g. *ker* 'donkey') or feminine (e.g. *hirç* 'bear'). Such nouns are further modified by gender indicating adjectives like *mê* 'female' and *nêr* 'male' when the sex of the animal needs to be specified (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004, p. 65):

(4) a. ker-a mê
donkey-EZ.F female
'jenny'

b. ker-ê nêr
donkey-EZ.M male
'jack'

The unusual feature of Kurmanji Kurdish gender system lies in the presence of common gender; that is, a number of words in this language (e.g. *heval* 'friend') has indeterminate gender as the gender of such words changes according to the intended meaning in a particular context (Haig 2004, Haig & Öpengin 2015). For instance, if *heval* 'friend' refers to a female in a given context then it gets feminine gender marker (5a), but if it denotes a male person then it is inflected with masculine gender marker (5b):

(5) a. *Navê* ***heval-a*** *min* *Hêja* *ye.*
name-EZ.M friend-EZ.F 1S.OBL Hêja COP.3S
'My friend's name is Hêja.'

b. ***Heval-ê*** *bira-yê* *min* *ji* *eskerîyê* *hat.*
Friend.EZ.M brother-EZ.M 1S.OBL ADP military come.PST.3S
'My brother's friend came back from army.'

A few frequently used double-gender nouns are provided below (Haig & Öpengin, 2015, p. 255):

(6) *heval* ‘friend’
gundî ‘villager’
karker ‘worker’
cîran/cînar ‘neighbor’
kes ‘person’
duxtor ‘doctor’

2.2.2 Indefinite marking

Kurmanji Kurdish has an indefinite marker which is realized as *-ek* or *-yek* rendering the meaning of indefiniteness and singularity just like *a/an* in English. However, it does not have a definite marker. The constituent that is not marked with the indefinite suffix is considered to be either definite or generic depending on the context (Haig & Öpengin, 2018, p. 16):

(7) a. *vêrê hirç nîne.* ‘There are no bears here’ (generic)
b. *hirç hat.* ‘The bear came’ (definite)
c. *hirç-**ek** hat.* ‘A bear came.’ (indefinite)

Also, this language expresses indefinite plurality through the ending *-in* (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004, p. 104):

(8) a. *mirov-in* ‘(some) men’

b. *Ez* ***mirov-in-a*** *di-bîn-im*
1S.DIR man-INDF.PL-OBL.PL PROG-see.PRS-1S
‘I saw some men.’

Note that the indefinite plural suffix *-in* is rarely attested in Kurmanji Kurdish except for the dialects spoken in the Mardin region and across the border in Syria (Haig & Öpengin, 2018). Likewise, this indefinite plural ending is not used in MK and the indefinite plurality is generally expressed by certain indefinite quantifiers such as *çend* 'some, a few' and *hin(d)ek* 'some, a few':

(9) a. *Em* ***çend*** ***sal-an*** *li* *we derê* *ma-n*
1PL.DIR a few year-OBL.PL ADP there stay.PST-PL
'We stayed there a few years.'

b. *Min* ***hin(d)ek*** ***sêv*** *top* *kir*
1S.OBL some/a few apple gather do.PST.3S
'I picked up some apples.'

2.2.3 Case - number - gender marking

Kurmanji Kurdish inherits a stable two-term case system, namely the null-marked Direct (DIR) case and the overt Oblique (OBL) case derived from the genitive (Stilo, 2009).[4] The distribution of case marking partially depends on tense and transitivity of the clause due to different alignment patterns.[5] The DIR case marks the subject of intransitive verbs (S) in all tenses, the subject of transitive verbs (A) in non-past tenses and the direct object of transitive verbs (O) in past tenses. The OBL case, on the other hand, marks (i) A in past tenses, (ii) O in non-past tenses, (iii) postverbal goals, (iv) the complement of an adposition and (v) the possessor in ezafe constructions. However, MK displays some deviances in the distribution of DIR and OBL case morphology across clausal constituents due to the deviant patterns attested

[4] Direct and Oblique cases are the terms generally used in languages with two case systems (e.g. Iranian and Uto Aztecan languages) where Direct stands for the basic case and Oblique denotes to a case label for the single non-basic case (Haspelmath, 2009).
[5] As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Kurmanji Kurdish displays both accusative and ergative alignment. The alignment patterns observed in this language and its Muş dialect will be examined in Alignment section within this chapter.

in the ergative alignment of this dialect. For instance, the DIR case is mostly restricted to being a subject case in this dialect, which marks S in all tenses and A in non-past tenses. Although a few sentences in which O is marked by the DIR case both in past and non-past tenses are attested in MK data, the general tendency in this dialect is to not express O with the DIR case in past tenses unlike what standard Kurmanji Kurdish does The OBL case, in contrast, extends its domain in MK by marking O in all tenses in addition to expressing A in all tenses. I will further discuss this issue in Alignment Section.

Besides, Kurmanji Kurdish has two numbers as singular and plural, which are explicitly marked only in the OBL case.[6] Although OBL case morphology in this language is intertwined with number, gender and indefiniteness, such distinctions are not reflected morphologically in the DIR case. Thus, the nouns in the DIR case are always unmarked while those in the OBL case are mostly overtly marked with *-ê/-î* for singular and *-an/-in* for plural. The case-number-gender markers in Kurmanji Kurdish are provided in Table 4:

Table 4. Nominal Morphology in Kurmanji Kurdish

			Direct	Oblique
Singular	Feminine	Def.	*Ø*	*-ê*
		Indf.	*-ek*	*-ek-ê*
	Masculine	Def.	*Ø*	*-î / Ø*
		Indf.	*-ek*	*-ek-î*
Plural	(no gender)	Def.	*Ø*	*-an*
		Indf.	*-in/Ø*	*-in*

[6] Note that a plural noun in the DIR case, which generally functions as the subject of the clause, reveals its plurality via number agreement on the verb (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004: 70, Haig & Öpengin, 2018, p. 19):

a. zarok hat
child.DIR come.PST
'The child came.'

b. zarok hat-in
child.DIR come.PST-PL
'The children came.'

Note that although the expression of the OBL is generally absent with masculine nouns in Kurmanji Kurdish, they have an overt OBL marking *-î* when they are modified by a demonstrative (e.g *vî* 'this, these', *wî* 'that, those') and a quantifier (e.g. *her* 'every') or when they are indefinite.[7] This is the same in MK, too. However, gender distinction is being lost in the environment of the indefinite suffix form in the OBL case in this dialect.[8] The distinction in is gradually being reduced to masculine form; feminine indefinite form *-ekê* is lost thus *-ekî* is the only form that marks both feminine and masculine indefinite nouns in the OBL (Gündoğdu 2015b). Although *mal* 'house' is a feminine noun, it is inflected with the masculine OBL marker *-î* when preceded by the indefinite *-ek*:

(10) *Zemane berê, em tev di **malekî** da rudiniştin mîna naha nebû, naha gava ku kurik mezin dibe dizewice û cehê dibe, diçe malekî din digire…*
'In earlier times, we all lived together in **a house** unlike nowadays, now when the son is getting older he gets married and leaves the house, he finds another house...'

Note that this is not specific MK, as the regional variation in gender across Kurmanji dialects has also been mentioned in Akın (2001) and Haig & Öpengin (2018).

There is a third case marker in Kurmanji Kurdish – *vocative* case which is used to mark the noun being addressed (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Haig, 1998; Thackston, 2006; Gündoğdu, 2011). Vocative case morphology is also intertwined with number and gender; *-ê* marks singular feminine nouns while *-o* appears with singular

[7] In certain Kurmanji dialects, the OBL case on masculine nouns are expressed through stem-vowel raising if the stem of such nouns contains an open, non-rounded vowel [a, æ] in a stressed syllable. For instance, the oblique form of masculine nouns such as *nan* 'bread', *bajar* 'city' and *hesp* 'horse' is *nên, bajêr* and *hêsp* (Haig and Öpengin, 2018, p. 18). However, MK does not employ stem-vowel raising as a way of OBL marking of masculine nouns.
[8] In fact, the loss of gender distinction in MK is not restricted to the indefinite oblique form, but it is taking place in a number of environments such as ezafe constructions and pronouns. I will discuss each at relevant points in this chapter.

masculine nouns, and *-(i)no* attaches to plural nouns (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Thackston, 2004):

(11) a. *Wer-e,* *keç-**ê***!
come.PRS-2S girl-VOC.F
'Come here, girl!'

b. *Xort-**o***!
young-VOC.M
'(hey) young!'

c. *Zû* *bi-n,* *heval-**no***!
quick become.PRS-PL friend-VOC.PL
'Be quick, friends!'

2.2.4 Ezafe constructions

The morphological marker that links all attributes to the head noun is known as *ezafe marker* (EZ) in Iranian linguistics literature. The ezafe marker in Kurmanji Kurdish relates post-nominal modifiers to a head noun, and it inflects for gender, number and definiteness. (Haig, 2011; Thackston, 2006; Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004). The head noun is marked with ezafe and it always precedes the attribute. The following genitive/possessive attributes take oblique marker (12a/b) while the adjectival attributes are bare (12c):

(12) a. *nan-ê* *tendûr-ê*
bread-EZ.M tandoori-OBL
'nan / village bread'

b. *mal-a* *min*
house-EZ.F 1S.OBL
'my house'

c. *şev-ên* *tarî*
night-EZ.PL dark
'the dark nights'

Furthermore, ezafe relates head noun to PPs (13) and relative clauses (14) in this language (Haig, 2011, p. 2, 3). Note that the relative clause is mostly introduced by the complementizer *ku.*

(13) *zilam-ê* *li ber* *derî*
man-EZ.M in.front.of door.OBL
'The man in front of the door'

(14) *çîrok-a* [*ku* *wî* *ji* *min* *re* *got*] RC
story-EZ.F [that 3S.OBL ADP 1S.OBL ADP say.PST.3S]
'The story [that he told me]'

Lastly, ezafe marker is also required when a head noun is modified by more than one successive element, as indicated in the following examples (Haig, 2011):

(15) a. keçk-a min **a** piçûk
daughter-EZ.F 1S.OBL EZ.F young(er)
'my young(est) daughter'

b. belav-**ên** te **yên** reş
shoe-EZ.PL 2S.OBL EZ.PL black
'my black shoes'

The forms of ezafe marker in this language are provided in Table 5:

Table 5. The Form of Ezafe Markers in Kurmanji Kurdish

			Ezafe marker	
Singular	Feminine	Def.	*-(y)a*	*şev- a tarî* 'the dark night'
		Indf.	*-ek-e*	*şev-ek- e tarî* 'a dark night'
	Masculine	Def.	*-(y)ê*	*gund-ê mezin* 'the big village'
		Indf.	*-ek-î*	*gund-ek-î mezin* 'a big village'
Plural	(no gender)	Def.	*-(y)ên*	*şev-ên tarî* 'the dark nights'
		Indf.	*-ine*	*gund-in-e mezin* 'big villages'

Although the form of ezafe markers is almost the same in MK, the gender distinction is being lost in the environment of indefinite ezafe form in the singular paradigm. The masculine indefinite form *-ekî* is mostly replacing the feminine *-eke* in this dialect (Gündoğdu, 2015b). For instance, as illustrated in the following example, *zivistan* 'winter' is a feminine noun which is evident in its first use (*zivistana Mûşê* '(lit:) winter of Muş') but it carries indefinite masculine ezafe marker *-ekî* in the second use:

(16) ***Zivistana*** *Mûşê zor e.* ***Zivistanekî*** *pir giran e, gava ku destpedike edî xilas nabe. berfa me zêde ye wisa dibe rê hemû tên girtin…*
'Winter in Muş is difficult, it is a heavy winter. When winter comes it has like no end. There is much snow such that all the roads are blocked/closed…'

2.3 Pronouns and Demonstratives

Personal pronouns and demonstratives directly reflect the inherited DIR vs. OBL case distinction in Kurmanji Kurdish. Thus, there are two sets of personal pronouns and demonstratives; one in the DIR form and the other in the OBL form. Note that case distinction is suppletive (Haig, 2008), and gender only targets the third person singular paradigm in the OBL case, as shown in Table 6:

Table 6. Personal pronouns in Kurmanji Kurdish

	Direct	Oblique
1S	*ez*	*min*
2S	*tu*	*te*
3S	*ew*	*wê (f)/ wî (m)*
1PL	*em*	*me*
2Pl	*hûn*	*we*
3PL	*ew*	*wan*

Demonstratives in this language, which are listed in Table 7, are not only sensitive to number and gender but also to distal vs. proximate feature:

Table 7. Demonstratives in Kurmanji Kurdish

	Singular			Plural	
	Direct	Oblique		Direct	Oblique
		feminine	masculine		
proximate	*ev*	*vê*	*vî*	*ev*	*van*
distal	*ew*	*wê*	*wî*	*ew*	*wan*

MK exhibits some variation in personal pronouns and demonstratives. The variation is specific to third person singular and plural paradigm in the OBL form. First, in most instances the third person pronoun and the demonstrative have an additional initial [e] sound as in *ewî, ewan,* etc. Second, gender distinction is being reduced to masculine in the environment of the third person singular pronouns and singular demonstrative in the OBL form, thus masculine forms *vî /wî* extend over the feminine paradigm. For instance, the third personal masculine pronoun *wî* indeed refers to feminine nouns *bûk* 'bride' and *Ayten* (proper name) in the following sentences. The feminine forms vê/*wê*, on the other hand, are generally used as frozen expressions like *wê derê* 'there' or *li wê* 'there' (Gündoğdu, 2015b):

(17) a. *Me destê **bûk**ê hene dikir, paşê me zerêkî dixist nav deste **wî**…*
'We applied henna to the bride's hand and then put a gold coin on it...'

b. *... hat runişt lê qet dengê xwe dernexist. Min got bira ka **Ayten** li ku derê ye, got welle nizanim min ji do va **wî** nedîtîye. Ez lêdam çûm mala wan, ez çûm **wê derê** lê tu kes tune bû…*
'…he came and sat down but said nothing. I asked him (brother) where Ayten was, he said that he didn't know and he didn't see her since yesterday… I went to their house, I went there but there was nobody…'

In the same vein, the demonstrative pronoun *vî* in the following sentence modifies a feminine noun *çîrok* 'story, tale'. According to Kurmanji Kurdish norms, we expect to see *vê*, but what we have in MK is the masculine form:

(18) *Min **vî** çîrokê ji Tirkan jî bihîstîye, ew dibejin Akdamar lê em dibejin Axtamara…*
'I heard this story from Turks too, they call it Akdamar but we call it Axtamara… '

Third, MK seems to make a distinction among demonstrative oblique plural forms according to argument type and proximate feature. For instance, *evan* and *van* denote proximate nouns while *ewan* and *wan* denote distal nouns. Besides, *evan/ewan* are mostly used for OBL subjects (A in the past) whereas *van/wan* are preferred for other OBL marked constituents such as O, postverbal goals or the complement of an adposition:

(19) a. *Ewan moristang-an mal-a me xirav kir.*
DEM.OBL.PL ant-OBL.PL house-EZ.F 1PL.OBL demolish do.PST
'Those ants devastated us.' (lit: Those ants demolished our house.)

b. *wan* *jin-an* *t-în-e* *mal-a*
DEM.OBL.PL woman-OBL.PL PROG-bring.PRS-3S house-EZ.F
xwe.
self
'S/he took those women to his/her house.'

Table 8 summarizes the variation observed in pronoun and demonstrative set of MK. Although the use of feminine forms is rare, we put them in the table as they are used in few instances. Since the third person singular and plural pronouns are the same as the distal demonstratives, I do not provide an extra table for them:

Table 8. Demonstratives in MK

	Singular			Plural	
	Direct	Oblique		Direct	Oblique
		feminine	masculine		
proximate	*ev*	*(e)vê*	*(e)vî*	*ev*	*evan (for A) van*
distal	*ew*	*(e)wê*	*(e)wî*	*ew*	*ewan (for A) wan*

It should also be pointed that in addition to *wan-van-ewan-evan,* there are also *wana-vana-ewana-evana* forms in Muş data. There seems to be no difference between these forms, as they generally occur in the same environment.

2.4 Adpositions

Adposition are widely used in Kurmanji Kurdish for various functions such as expressing time, location, recipient, benefactor, etc. Haig and Öpengin (2018) distinguish between three basic categories of the adpositional system in this language; namely prepositions, locational nouns and postpositional particles, as indicated in Table 9 below:

Table 9. Adpositions in Kurmanji Kurdish

Basic prepositions		Locational nouns	Postpositional particles
ji	'from'	*nav* 'inside'	*...ra/re*
li	'at'	*ber* 'front'	*...da/de*
bi	'by'	ser 'head'	*...va/ve*
bê	'without'	*bin* 'bottom'	
		dû 'behind'	
		pişt 'back'	
		rex 'side'	
		tenişt 'side'	

Basic prepositions can be used alone as simple adpositions such as *ji* 'from', *li* 'at', *bi* 'with' and *bê* 'without', or they can be combined with a locational noun forming compound adpositions as in *li ber* 'in front of', *ji ber* 'because of', *li ser* 'on, upon, over', etc., or they can further be used in combination with a postpositional particle yielding circumpositions such as *ji…ra* 'for, to', *bi…ra* 'together with', *di…ra* 'through'.[9]

(20) a.

di (nav)... de	'inside'
li ber	'in front of'
ji ber	'because of'
li ser	'on, upon, over'
li bin	'beneath, underneath'
di bin... de	'beneath, underneath'
li dû	'after'
li pişt	'behind'
li rex	'next to, on the side'
li tenişt	'by side'

b.

ji…ra/re	'for, to, benefactor/recipient
di…ra/re	'through'
bi…ra/re	'together with'
bi…de	'towards'

(Haig&Öpengin, 2018, p. 26)

[9] For a detailed list of adposition types, see Bedirxan & Lescot (2004) and Yıldırım (2013).

There are also absolute prepositions in Kurmanji Kurdish such as *pê, jê* and *lê* which are the contracted forms of the basic prepositions plus the third person singular pronoun in the OBL form; *pê =bi + wî/wê*, *lê =li + wî/wê* and *jê =ji + wî/wê*:

(21) a. Çav-ên min **lê** ye
eye-EZ.PL 1S.OBL ADP(li+wî/wê) COP.PRS.3S
'I have my eyes on you.' (lit: My eyes are on you.)

b. Kef-a wî **jê** **ra** te
pleasure-EZ.F 3S.OBL ADP (ji+wî/wê) ADP come.PST.3S
'He liked it.' (lit: His pleasure came to him/her.)

There is a considerable variation in the adpositional system across Kurmanji dialects, though (Haig & Öpengin, 2018; Gündoğdu, 2017a). For instance, the Southeastern Kurmanji dialects (e.g. Hakkari Kurmanji) do not have circumpositions like *ji…ra* or *bi…ra* but they employ simple prepositions like *bo* and *gel*, respectively, for that function. Likewise, in Northwestern Kurmanji dialects (e.g. Malatya Kurmanji), only the postpositional particle is used to express the function of certain circumpositions (e.g. *...ra* instead of *ji…ra*). In contrast, the adpositional system of Kurmanji Kurdish is quite stable in MK such that each adpositional type is used in this dialect and especially the use of circumpositions is very common.

2.5 Quantifiers

There are different types of quantificational expressions in Kurmanji Kurdish which can be classified according to their general quantificational properties such as existential quantifiers (*-ek* 'indefinite marker', *yek* 'one'), universal quantifiers (*her* 'every', *hemû* 'all'), proportional quantifiers (*nîvî* 'half'), cardinal numerals (*du*

'two', *sê* 'three') and morpho-syntactically complex quantifiers (*herî zêde sê* 'more than three'). For the aim of this study, I will only look at the properties of certain existential and universal quantifiers, basically pronominal quantifiers and quantifying determiners in MK. Note that these quantifiers are mostly the same in Kurmanji Kurdish, except for some phonetic variation observed in quantifier words (e.g. *hemî* 'all' in Kurmanji Kurdish but *hemû* 'all' in MK).

2.5.1 Indefinites

An indefinite noun phrase formed by the indefinite marker *-ek* expresses existential quantification in MK:

(22) a. *Merik-ek* *hat.*
man-INDF.DIR come.PST.3S
'A man came.'

b. *Ez-ê* kitêb-ek-î *bi-kir-im.*
1S.DIR-FUT book-INDF-OBL SBJV-buy.PRS-1S
'I will buy a book.'

Apart from the indefinite marker, there is also positive indefinite pronominal quantifier *yek/yekî* meaning 'someone/one' in MK:

(23) a. ***Yek*** *li wê* *pirs-a* *te* *di-k-e.*
one.DIR there ask-EZ.F 2S.OBL PROG-do.PRS-3S
'Someone is asking for you at the door.'

b. *Min* *di* *zevî* *da* ***yek-î*** *dît.*
1S.OBL ADP field.OBL ADP one-OBL see.PST.3S
'I saw someone in the field'

2.5.2 Negative polarity items

MK has also negative indefinite quantifiers (to be more precise, negative polarity items (NPI)) like *kes* 'nobody' and *tu* 'no'.[10] However, unlike English negative phrases *nobody* or *nothing,* negative indefinites in MK cannot express negation without an accompanying sentential negation or interrogation.

Kes 'nobody/no one' is used in interrogative or negative sentences and it can be suffixed with indefinite *-ek*:

(24) a. ***Kes / kes-ek*** *hat?*
nobody / nobody-INDF come.PST
'Did anybody come?'

b. *Min ji* ***kes-î*** *ra ne-got…*
1S.OBL ADP nobody-OBL ADP NEG-say.PST.3S
'I didn't tell anybody about…'

Likewise, *tu* 'no' must be accompanied by interrogation or sentential negation.[11] It has pronominal quantifier forms such as *tukes* 'nobody'[12], *tutişt* 'nothing', *tu car* 'never/no time' and *tu cîh* 'nowhere': (Note that both they might co-occur with the indefinite suffix *-ek.*)

(25) a. *İro* ***tukes*** *çû-y-e* *zevî-yê?*
today nobody.DIR go.PST-3S-PRF field-OBL
'Has anybody gone to the field today?'

[10] I prefer to gloss *kes* as *nobody* and *tu* as *no* rather than *anybody* and *any* , because they are inherently negative, and cannot be used in sentences like *give me any book (you want)* or *call anybody* (you like).

[11] It seems that *tu* 'no' is a Serhad regional (Northern Kurmanji speaking area) variant that covers some of the functions covered by *hič* 'no' in other dialects. However, *tu* 'no' has additional possibilities like *tutişt* 'nothing', *tu car* 'never' that *hič* 'no' cannot express in those dialects. Some of these functions are rather covered by *či* 'what' e.g. *či tišt* 'nothing'. I would like to thank Prof. Geoffrey Haig for bringing this point to my attention.

[12] In fact, *kes* and *tukes* 'nobody' mostly can be used interchangeably in these examples but the latter one implies more emphasis.

b. *Ez her roj di-ç-im lê* ***tukes-î***
1S.DIR every day PROG-go.PRS-1S but nobody-OBL
na-bîn-im.
NEG-see.PRS-1S
'I go (there) every day but I didn't see anybody.'

c. *Min wê derê* ***tutişt-ek-î*** *ne-dît.*
1S.OBL there nothing-INDF-OBL NEG-see.PST.3S
'I don't see anything there.'

d. *Ew* ***tu car*** *der-ê mal-a me*
3PL.DIR no time door-EZ.M. house-EZ.F. 1PL.OBL
ve-na-k-in
Part.-NEG- do.PRS-PL
'They never come to us.' (lit: They never open the door of our house.)

e. ***tu cîh / tu cih-ek-î*** *tune ku em run-in*
nowhere /nowhere-INDF-OBL absent COMP 1PL.DIR sit.PRS-PL
'There is not any place for us to sit.'

Besides it functions as a negative determiner which quantifies common nouns:

(26) a. Ka ***tu*** ***merif-ekî*** *Xwedê jî*
Q no man-EZ.INDF.M. God.OBL too
got ez alî-yê te bi-k-im
say.PST.3S 1S.DIR help-EZ.M 2S.OBL SBJV-do.PRS-1S
'Did any man (any soul) help me?
(Lit: Did any creature/man of God say I would help you?)

b. *Her cîhê xirav kir-in, ji me ra*
every place.OBL demolish do.PST-PL ADP 1PL.OBL ADP
tu ***war-ek-î*** ***tu*** ***welat-ek-î*** *ne-hişt-in*
no place-INDF-OBL no homeland-INDF-OBL NEG-leave.PST-PL
'(they) shattered everywhere, they left us no place no homeland.'

2.5.3 Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals *yek* ‘one’, *du* ‘two’, *sê* ‘three’, *çar* ‘four’, etc. are typical existential quantifying determiners. It is obligatory to have a plural noun in the OBL form with the numerals of two or greater (27). Recall that plural is not explicitly marked in the DIR case (yet it is reflected on the verb agreement if it is the subject) but it is morphologically overt in the OBL case as illustrated in (27b) and (27c) sentences:

(27) a. ***Yek*** ***sêv-êk-î*** *bi-d-e* *min,* *bes*
one apple-INDF-OBL SBJV-give.PRS-2S 1S.OBL enough
e.
COP.PRS-3S
‘Give me one apple, it is enough.’

b. *Na* *na*, ew-ê *bi* *perê* *genimê*
no no 3S.DIR-FUT ADP money-EZ.M wheat-OBL
du ***çelek-an*** *bi-kir-e.*
two cows-OBL.PL SBJV-buy.PRS-3S
‘No, he is going to buy two cows with the money of wheat.’

c. *Min* *ji* *we* *ra* ***deh*** ***hesp-an*** *anî.*
1S.OBL ADP 2PL.OBL ADP ten horse-OBL.PL
bring.PST.3S
‘I brought you ten horses.’

d. *Ji* *gund-î* ***çil*** ***û*** ***penç*** ***mêr*** *çû-n*
ADP village-OBL forty and five man.DIR go.PST-PL
serxweşî-yê.
condolence-OBL
‘Forty-five men from the village went to the condolence.’

Although they are mostly used in their bare form, the numerals can take classifiers (CL) such as *heb* ‘piece’*, kîlo* ‘kilogram’*, şûşe* ‘glass’, etc. (28). When cardinal

numerals are used with classifiers, the following noun is always singular. A cardinal numeral plus classifier coerces a count interpretation with mass nouns. Also, *yek* generally does not co-occur with classifiers but rather the classifier takes the indefinite suffix *-ek* to give the same meaning:

(28) a. ***Heb-ek-î*** ***sêv*** *bi-d-e* *min,* *bes*
CL-INDF-OBL apple SBJV-give.PRS-2S 1S.OBL enough
e.
COP.PRS-3S
'Give me a piece of apple, it is enough.'

b. *Min* *ji* *we* *ra* ***deh*** ***heb*** ***hesp*** *anî.*
1S.OBL ADP 2PL.OBL ADP ten CL horse
bring.PST.3S
'I brought you ten horses.'

c. *Me* ***bîst*** ***şûşe*** ***çay*** *(ve)xwar.*
1PL.OBL twenty CL tea drink.PST.3S
'We drank twenty glasses of tea.'

d. *Her* *yek-î* ***sî*** ***kîlo*** ***goşt*** *kirî*
every one.OBL thirty CL meat buy.PST.3S
'Each bought thirty kilos of meat.'

2.5.4 Value judgement quantifiers

This type of quantifiers expresses some kind of judgement on the quantity they denote and typical examples are *few, many, several,* etc. MK has several value judgement quantifiers such as *gelek* 'many, a lot of', *çend* 'several, a few', *hin(d)ek / hindik* 'a few / a little', and *piçek / pirçikek* 'little / very little'. Excluding *piçek*, they all function both as a quantifier and a quantifying determiner as illustrated in the examples below. Among these quantifiers, *çend* either takes a plural noun or it takes

a classifier, which may have plural marking (29). In contrast, the others do not take classifier (30):

(29) a. *Em* ***çend*** ***sal-an*** *wê derê* *ma-n.*
1PL.DIR a few year-OBL.PL there stay.PST-PL
'We stayed there a few years.'

b. ***Çend*** ***heb*** ***jin*** *pirsa* *te* *di-k-in*
a few/ several CL woman ask-EZF.F 2S.OBL PROG-do.PRS-PL
'A few/several women are asking for you.'

c. *Min* *gazî* ***çend*** ***heb-an*** *ne-kir.*
1S.OBL call a few/several CL-OBL.PL NEG-do.PST.3S
'I didn't invite a few/several ones.'

d. *Min* ***çend*** ***şûşe*** ***dew*** *(ve)xwar.*
1S.OBL a few/several CL ayran drink.PST.3S
'I drank a few glasses of ayran.'

e. ***Çend*** *hat-in* *runişt-in,* *ker* *û* *lal.*
a few/several come.PST-PL sit.PST-PL deaf and mute
'A few/several came and sat, quiet and retiring.'

(30) a. *Ew* *çax* ***gelek*** ***mal*** *şewitî-n,*
DEM.DIR time a lot of/many house burn.PST-PL
tev *xirav* *bû-n* *çû-n.*
all demolish become.PST-PL go.PST-PL
'Those times a lot of houses burned, all were shattered (all were gone).'

b. ***Gelek*** *hat-in* *çûn* *nav-ê* *tukes-î*
many come.PST-PL go.PST-PL name-EZF.M nobody-OBL
ne-ma.
NEG-stay.PST.3S
'Many came and went, but nobody's name remained.'

(31) a. ***Hinek*** ***nan*** *b-în-e* *ser* *sînî-yê.*
a few bread SBJV-bring.PRS-2S on tray-OBL
'Bring a few loaves of bread on the tray.'

c. *Li vir cîh* *ne-ma* ***hinek*** *çû-n* *mal-a*
here place NEG-stay.PST.3S a few go.PST-PL house-EZF.F
we.
2PL.OBL
'No place remained here, a few went to your house.'

(32) *Min* ***piçek/pirçikek*** ***goşt*** *xwar,* *ser vî* *ez*
1S.OBL (a) little meat eat.PST upon it 1S.DIR
nexweş *ket-im.*
sick fall.PST-1S
'I ate a little meat and I got sick.' (lit: I ate a little meat and fell sick upon it.)

2.5.5 Interrogative quantifiers

Interrogative quantifiers in MK are *kîjan* 'which', *çend heb* 'how many' and *çi qas* 'how much'. *Which* asks about the elements in the intersection of two sets (Toosarvandani & Nasser 2015), and it is the quantifier *kîjan* that fulfills this function in MK. It can freely combine with singular or plural nouns:

(33) a. ***Kîjan*** ***zarok*** *sêv-an* *di-diz-e*?
which child.DIR apple-OBL.PL PROG-steal.PRS-3S
'Which child steals the apples?'

b. *Tu* ***kîjan*** ***pêlav-an*** *dixwazî*
2S.DIR which shoe-OBL.PL PROG-want.PRS-2S
bi-kir-î ?
SBJV-buy.PRS-2S
'Which shoes do you want to buy?'

The value judgement quantifier *çend* plus the classifier *heb* are used together to ask for the cardinality in interrogative sentences. It always combines with singular count nouns. In fact, the instances where *çend* is used alone without a classifier is quite common as illustrated in (34b). Besides, *çend* is also used with other classifiers such as *şûşe* and *kîlo* to ask about the quantity of mass or count nouns:

(34) a. *ji bo henê* ***çend heb jin*** *tê-n* ?
ADP hanna a few CL woman.DIR SBJV.come.PRS-PL
'How many women will come to/for the hanna night'

b. *Rojbîn* ***çend sal*** *li Stênbol-ê* *ma*?
Rojbin a few year ADP Istanbul-OBL stay.PST.3S
'How many years did Rojbin stay in Istanbul?'

c. *Te* ***çend şûşe*** ***av*** *(ve)xwar* ?
2S.OBL a few CL water drink.PST.3S
'How many glasses of water did you drink?'

d. *Ez* ***çend kîlo şîr / sêv / savar*** *bi-kir-im*?
1S.DIR a few CL milk/ apple/ bulgur pilaf SBJV-buy.PRS-1S
'How many kilos of milk/apple/bulgur pilaf shall I buy?'

Lastly, *çi qas* 'how much' is used to question the amount of a mass noun:

(35) *Ez* ***çi qas*** ***rûn*** *bi-x-im* *nav hevîr-ê*?
1S.DIR what amount oil SBJV-put.PRS-1S in dough-OBL
'How much oil shall I put in the dough/paste?'

2.5.6 Universal quantifiers

Even though MK has diverse lexical expressions employed for existential quantification, it has a smaller inventory for expressing universal quantification. The

most commonly used universal quantifiers are *her* 'every' and its variants such as *heryek* 'everyone/each', *herkî* 'whoever', *herkes* 'everybody', *hertişt* 'everything'.[13] The restrictor of *her* is always a singular noun, and mostly found in the indefinite state (marked with *-ek*):

(36) a. *Ez* *di-xwaz-im* ***her kitêb-ê***
1S.DIR PROG-want.PRS-1S every book-OBL
bi-kir-im *û* *bi-xwîn-im.*
SBJV-buy.PRS-1S and SBJV-read.PRS-1S
'I want to buy and read every book.'

b. ***Her sibe*** *di-hat* *ber* *derê* *me.*
every morning PROG-come.PST.3S front door-EZ.M 1PL.OBL
'S/he came to our door every morning.'

c. ***Her*** ***jin-ek-î*** *laçik-êkî* *sor* *da*
every woman-INDF-OBL scarf-EZ.INDF red give.PST.3S
serê *xwe.*
head-EZ.M self
'Every woman wore a red scarf.'
(lit: Every woman gave a red scarf on her head.)

(37) a. ***Heryek*** *pesna* *xwe* *di-d-e.*
each-DIR praise-EZ.F self PROG-give.PRS-3S
'Each praises herself/himself.'

b. *Ez* *ji* ***heryek-î*** *jî* *hez* *di-k-im,*
1S.DIR ADP each-OBL too love PROG-do.PRS-1S
çima *wisa* *di-bej-î?*
why so PROG-say.PRS-2S
'I love each (of them), why are you saying so?'

[13] In addition to these, there are also adverbial quantifiers formed with *her* like *her dem* and *her car* meaning 'always / every time / whenever'.

(38) ***Herkî*** *wisa* *di-bêj-e* *derew* *di-k-e.*
whoever.DIR so PROG-say.PRS-3S lie PROG-do.PRS-3S
'Whoever says so, s/he is lying.'

(39) a. ***Herkes*** *hat* *ser* *henê.*
everybody.DIR come.PST on henna.OBL
'Everbody came to the henna night.'

b. *Ez* *ji* ***herkes-î*** *hez* *di-k-im.*
1S.DIR ADP everbody-OBL love PROG-do.PRS-1S
'I love everybody.'

(40) *Bav-ê* *min* *ji bo* *me* *hertişt* *kirî.*
father-EZF.M 1S.OBL ADP 1PL.OBL everything buy.PST.3S
'My father bought everything for us.'

The other universal quantifiers in this language are *hemû* and *gişk/gi* meaning 'all'.[14] *Hemû* is used both as a quantifier and a determiner, and it takes plural nouns in the latter case (41b). On the other hand, *gişk/gi* functions only as a quantifier but it requires plural marking while denoting plural entities (42b).

(41) a. *Ez* ***hemû-yan*** *nas* *di-k-im.*
1S all-OBL.PL recognise PROG-do.PRS-1S
'I know all (of them).'

b. *Ji ber* *dest-ê* *şer-ê* ***hemû*** ***gundî-yan***
ADP hand-EZF.M fight/war-OBL all villiger-OBL.PL
mal-ên *xwe* *berda-n* *û* *çû-n*
house-EZ.PL self release.PST-PL and go.PST-PL
'Due to the war, all the villagers left their homes and went.'

(42) a. *Tu* ***gişk-î*** *di-zan-î.*
2S.DIR all.OBL PROG-know.PRS-2S
'You know all (of them).'

[14] Some speakers from Bulanık and Varto districts in Muş pronounce it as *hemi.*

b. ***Gişkan*** *pê* *xeber* *na-d-in*
all-OBL.PL ADP report NEG-give.PST-PL
'All did not talk about it.' (It is not the case that all talked about it.)

While *her* 'every' strictly imposes distributive reading, the other universal quantifiers express collective readings, thus *her* 'every' is not compatible with the predicate *tov bûn* 'gather' that requires a semantically plural subject:

(43) a. ***Her zarok*** *tov* *bû-n*
her child.DIR gather become.PST-PL
Int: 'Every child gathered.'

b. **Hemû zarok** *tov* *bû-n*
all child.DIR gather become.PST-PL
'All children gathered.'

2.6 Verbs and verbal inflectional morphology

Tense information is encoded in the verb stem rather than being expressed by affixes in Kurmanji Kurdish, thus verbs in this language, on a par with the rest of other Iranian languages, have two distinct stems based on a tense division, namely present and past verb stems (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Thackston, 2006; Yıldırım, 2013; Ocek, 2014; Gündoğdu, 2015a; Haig & Öpengin, 2018). The forms of the stem pairs are mostly irregular; for instance, some stems undergo suppletion; e.g. *bêj* 'say.PRS' vs. *got* 'say.PST', while certain stems are subject to apophony; e.g. *xw* 'eat.PRS' vs. *xwar* 'eat.PST'. In addition to suppletion and apophony, there are some further cases where the verb stem undergoes only one sound change. This may be analyzed as apophony, as well. What happens in these cases is that a consonant in the verb stem turns into a different consonant (*avej* 'throw.PRS' vs. *avet* 'throw.PST') or it drops

(*ki* ‘do.PRS’ vs. *kir* ‘do.PST’) or the stem stands the same (*girî* ‘cry.PRS’ vs. *girî* ‘cry.PST’). Table 10 lists some frequent simplex verbs with their past-present stems in Kurmanji Kurdish (Haig & Öpengin, 2018, p. 27):

Table 10. Frequent Verbs in Past and Present Stems in Kurmanji Kurdish

Infinitive	Past stem	Present stem	Gloss
ajotin	*ajot-*	*-ajo-*	drive
avêtin	*avêt-*	*-avêj-*	throw
bûn	*bû-*	*-b-*	be
çûn	*çû-*	*-ç-/-her-*	go
dan	*da-*	*-d-*	give
dîtin	*dît-*	*-bîn-*	see
girtin	*girt-*	*-gir-*	grasp, hold
gotin	*got-*	*-bêj-*	say
hatin	*hat-*	*-(h)ê-/-wer-*	come
ketin	*ket-*	*-kev-*	fall
kirin	*kir-*	*-ki-*	do, make
kuştin	*kuşt-*	*-kuj-*	kill
xwarin	*xwar-*	*-xw-*	eat
xwastin	*xwast-*	*-xwaz-*	want, request
zanîn	*zanî-*	*-zan-*	know

Kurmanji Kurdish also employs a large number of light verb constructions, which I will call complex predicates (CPrs) henceforth. CPrs consist of a nonverbal element and a light verb to form a single predicate. The verbal element in these predicates ranges over a number of typical simplex verbs such as *bûn* ‘be/become’, *kirin* ‘do’, *dan* ‘give’, whereas the nonverbal element of CPrs ranges over a number of categories such as nouns (*av* ‘water’), adjectives (*acis* ‘bored’), particles (*ra*) and PPs (*ji bîr* ‘from the mind’). Complex predicate formation is one of the main strategies to create new verb meanings in Kurmanji Kurdish. The verbal part contributes to the agentivity as well as valency of the predicate while the nonverbal element carries the main semantic content of the predicate (Haig, 2002; Gündoğdu, 2016a). The internal

structure of CPrs will be investigated in detail in Chapter 3. A small number of CPrs frequently used in this language is provided in Table 11 (Gündoğdu, 2016a):

Table 11. Complex Predicates in Kurmanji Kurdish

CPrs	Non-verbal	Verb	Gloss
acis bûn	*acis* 'bored'	*bûn* 'be, become'	get bored
acis kirin	*acis* 'bored'	*kirin* 'do'	bore somebody
pesn dan	*pesn* 'praise'	*dan* 'give'	praise
şîn girtin	*şîn* 'mourning'	*girtin* 'hold'	mourn
dil ketin	*dil* 'heart'	*ketin* 'fall'	fall in love
sond xwarin	*sond* 'swear'	*xwarin* 'eat'	swear
avdan	*av* 'water'	*dan* 'give'	water
serhildan	*ser* 'head'	*hildan* 'lift'	revolt
jêkirin	*jê (ji wê/wî)* 'from it'	*kirin* 'do'	cut
ji bîr kirin	*ji* 'from' *bîr* 'memory'	*kirin* 'do'	forget
raketin	*ra* (particle)	*ketin* 'fall'	sleep

2.6.1 Agreement

The verb inflects for person and number of the relevant core argument, and the agreement marker occurs on the verb as a suffix. Although the nouns in Kurmanji have gender distinction, this distinction is not reflected on the verb, as shown in Table 12.

Table 12. Person-Number Agreement (PNA) Markers in Kurmanji Kurdish

	Person	Present	Past
1S	Ez	-(i)m	-(i)m
2S	Tu	-î/ -e (imperative)	-(y)î
3S	Ew	-e	- Ø[15]
1/2/3 PL	Em /Hûn /Ew	-(i)n	-(i)n

(Haig & Öpengin 2015, p. 28)

[15] In this study, while segmenting the Kurmanji data, I didn't use Ø symbol for the null third person singular agreement marker. I prefer indicating this null marker in glossing (e.g. .3S).

Agreement morphology in this language is sensitive to the tense and transitivity of the clause; the verb agrees with S in all tenses (44), with A in the non-past tenses (45) and with O in past tenses (46). (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Haig, 1998; Thackston, 2006; Gündoğdu, 2015a, 2017b; Yıldırım, 2013; Incekan, 2014; Ocek, 2014). Note that singular arguments always agree with the verb in person and number whereas plural arguments agree with the verb merely in number (Some of the examples are taken from Gündoğdu, 2011, p. 42; Gündoğdu, 2015a, p. 156):

(44) a. *Tu* *ket-î*
2S.DIR fall.PST-2S
'You fell down.'

b. *Hûn* *di-kev-in*
2PL.DIR PROG-fall.PRS -PL
'You are falling/fall down.'

(45) a. *Ez* *cil-an* *di-şû-m*
1S.DIR cloth-OBL.PL PROG-wash.PRS-1S
'I am washing clothes.'

b. *Em-ê* *cil-an* *bi-şû-n*
1PL.DIR-FUT. cloth-OBL.PL SBJV-wash.PRS-PL
'We will wash clothes.'

(46) a. *Wan* *ez* *dît-im*
3PL.OBL 1S.DIR see.PST-1S
'They saw me.'

b. *Min* *ew* *dît-in*
1S.OBL 3PL.DIR see.PST-PL
'I saw them.'

However, there is another agreement pattern in MK, which one can call as *no agreement pattern*. In most of the past tense transitive constructions in this dialect, neither A nor O agrees with the verb thus the verb carries the default third person singular agreement. The MK equivalents of (46a/b) will be as follows: (cf. Gündoğdu, 2011, 2016b, 2017b):

(47) a. *Wan* *min* *dît.*
3PL.OBL 1S.OBL see.PST.3S
'They saw me.'

b. *Min* *wan* *dît.*
1S.OBL 3PL.OBL see.PST.3S
'I saw them.'

The case and agreement properties of this pattern will be further discussed in Section 2.7.2 (Alignment) in this chapter.

2.6.2 Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM)

As mentioned before, tense information is carried by verb stems in this language, but aspect and mood information are coded through prefixes and suffixes, as indicated in Table 13. Progressive aspect is expressed by attaching the *di-* prefix to the present and past stem yielding present and past progressive, respectively. The very same prefix also expresses present indicative when it attaches to the present verb stem. Moreover, subjunctive is formed by attaching the *bi-* prefix to the present and past verbs stem, which expresses irrealis mood, imperative, and possible-intended outcomes in the subordinate clauses. Future is expressed through the particles *-ê/dê/wê* plus a subjunctive form of the verb; e.g. *Ez dê biçim* 'I will go'. Perfective, on the other hand, is carried by suffixes appearing on the past verb stem; *-e* for

present perfect and *-bû* for past perfect or pluperfect (Thackston, 2006; Gündoğdu, 2015a; Haig & Öpengin, 2018). Note that person-number agreement (PNA) markers precede the perfect suffix *-e* but follow the pluperfect suffix *-bû*:

Table 13. TAM Markers in Kurmanji Kurdish

TAM markers	Function	Conjugation
di-	Progressive	*di*-$V_{present}$ - PNA *di*-V_{past} – PNA
bi-	Subjunctive	*bi*-$V_{present}$ - PNA *bi*-V_{past} - PNA
ê/dê/wê	Future	S/A *ê/dê/wê* *bi*-$V_{present}$ – PNA
-e *-bû*	Perfect	V_{past} - PNA *-e* V_{past} *-bû* - PNA

Table 14 illustrates the inflection paradigm of the verb *çûn* 'go' (from Gündoğdu, 2015a, p. 158):[16]

Table 14. Conjugation of the verb *çûn* 'go' in Kurmanji Kurdish

Inflection Paradigm of the verb *çûn* 'go'						
	Present		Past			
	Prog.	Subjv.	Past	Prog.	Perfect	Pluperfect
Ez (1S)	*di-ç-im*	*bi-ç-im*	*çû-m*	*di-çû-m*	*çû-m-e*	*çû-bû-m*
Tu (2S)	*di-ç-î*	*bi-ç-î*	*çû-y*	*di-çû-y*	*çû-y-e/î*	*çû-bû-y*
Ew (3S)	*di-ç-e*	*bi-ç-e*	*çû-Ø*	*di-çû-Ø*	*çû-y-e*	*çû-bû-Ø*
Em /Hûn /Ew (1/2/3PL)	*di-ç-in*	*bi-ç-in*	*çû-n*	*di-çû-n*	*çû-n-e*	*çû-bû-n*

[16] I do not include past counterfactuals here, which are formed by the past subjunctive plus past conditional suffix *-a*. see Bedirxan and Lescot (2004), Thackston (2006) and Gündoğdu (2015a) for the full paradigm of TAM markers and sample conjugations.

Note that all is the same in MK except for the fact that the perfect suffix *-e* is realized as *-î* for the second singular person.

2.6.3 Negation

Negation in this language appears on verb stems as a prefix that has four phonological shapes as *n(a)-*, *n(e)-*, *ni-* and prohibitive *me-* (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Thackston, 2006; Gündoğdu, 2015a; Haig & Öpengin, 2018). It is realized as *n(a)-* in the present/progressive whereas it is *–n(e)* in all other tenses. *ni-*, on the other hand, is only used with the auxiliary *karin* 'to be able to' and with the verb *zanîn* 'know' in present and past tenses. Lastly, *-me* is specific to prohibitive imperative forms (*biçe* 'go' vs. *meçe* 'don't go'). The important point about negation in Kurmanji is that negation prefixes preclude the appearance of the *di-* and *bi-* on the present verb stems. The comparison of Table-14 above with Table-15 below demonstrates this point more explicitly:

Table 15. Negation in Kurmanji Kurdish

Inflection Paradigm of the verb *çûn* 'go'						
	Present		Past			
	Prog.	Subjv.	Past	Prog.	Perfect	Pluperfect
Ez (1S)	*na-ç-im*	*ne-ç-im*	*ne-çû-m*	*ne-di-çû-m*	*ne-çû-m-e*	*ne-çû-bû-m*
Tu (2S)	*na-ç-î*	*ne-ç-î*	*ne-çû-y*	*ne-di-çû-y*	*ne-çû-y-e/î*	*ne-çû-bû-y*
Ew (3S)	*na-ç-e*	*ne-ç-e*	*ne-çû-Ø*	*ne-di-çû-Ø*	*ne-çû-y-e*	*ne-çû-bû-Ø*
Em/Hûn/ Ew (1/2/3PL)	*na-ç-in*	*ne-ç-in*	*ne-çû-n*	*ne-di-çû-n*	*ne-çû-n-e*	*ne-çû-bû-n*

Note that the locus of TAM, negation and agreement markers is the verbal mponent of the CPrs in this language; e.g. *acis ne-di-bû-n* 'they were not getting bored'.

Although some CPrs are written together with the stem as a single item as in *derketin* 'go out' or *'raketin'* 'sleep', negation *na/ne-* and aspect-mood *di-/bi-* prefixes are inserted between the preverb and the light verb; e.g. *der-**na-**kev-e* 'he is not going out' or *der-**di-**kev-e* 'he is going out'. Thus, they are not incorporated forms. However, in some Kurmanji dialects (e.g. Mardin Kurmanji), these types of CPrs behave like incorporated forms as these prefixes show up on the nonverbal element of the CPr rather than being inserted between its parts; e.g. ***ne-**der-kev-in* 'he is not going out' or ***di-**der-kev-e* 'he is going out'. Nevertheless, MK patterns with Kurmanji Kurdish in this respect.

2.6.4 Copula

Non-verbal sentences are usually formed with copula which carries both tense and agreement morphology in Kurmanji Kurdish. The present tense copulas are enclitics (see Table 16 below) although they are written as separate words (48). However, the copula verb *bûn* 'be/become' is inflected with TAM markers in all other tenses (49) (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Thackston, 2006):

Table 16. Copula in the Present Tense in Kurmanji Kurdish

	Enclitic Copulas	
Person	Post-consonantal	Post vocalic
Ez (1S)	-im	-me
Tu (2S)	-î	-yî
Ew (3S)	-e	-ye
Em /Hûn /Ew (1/2/3PL)	-in	-ne

(Thackston, 2006, p. 30)

(48) a. *Ez* *xwandekar* *im.*
1S.DIR student be.PRS.1S
'I am a student.'

b. *Hûn* *xwandekar* *in.*
2PL.DIR student be.PRS.PL
'You are students.'

(49) a. *Ez* *xwandekar* *bû-m.*
1S.DIR student be.PST-1S
'I was a student.'

b. *ku* *tu* *hişdar* *(bi)-b-î.*
COMP 2S.DIR clever (SBJV)-be.PRS-2S
'If you become clever,...'

c. *ka* *ew* *di-b-e* *merif?*
Q 3S.DIR PROG-become.PRS-3S human
'Does he become wiser?' (lit: Does he become human?)

Note that the copula verb *bûn* has two functions; expressing a state meaning (*be*) and denoting a change of state meaning (*become*). This distinction is reflected linearly in Kurmanji Kurdish (as throughout all Kurmanji dialects); the complement of the stative *bûn* 'be' is always in the preverbal position (49a/b) while the complement of the inchoative *bûn* 'become' must occur in the postverbal position (49c).

The negative counterpart of the copula is formed in two different ways; (i) attaching the negation prefix *ne-* to the nonverbal predicate with enclitic copulas (50) and (ii) attaching *ne-/na-* prefixes to the TAM markers with the copula verb *bûn* 'be/become' (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004):

(50) a. *Ez* ***ne*** *xwandekar* *im.*
1S.DIR NEG student be.PRS.1S
'I'm not a student.'

b. *Ez* *xwandekar* ***ne-****bû-m.*
1S.DIR student NEG-be.PST-1S
'I was not a student.'

c. ka *ew* ***na****-b-e* *merif.*
Q 3S.DIR NEG-be.PRS-3S human
'He does not become wiser!' (lit: He does not become human.)

d. ku tu *hişdar* ***ne****-b-î.*
COMP 2S.DIR clever NEG-be.PRS-2S
'If you don't/won't become clever,...'

In MK, the affirmative form of the copula is the same as in Kurmanji Kurdish, however, its negative copula is formed in a different way. In contrast to Kurmanji Kurdish, negation prefix is always attached to the copula in MK no matter whether the copula carries TAM markers or not. The present enclitic copula is negated by *nî-* (51a) while in other instances *ne-/na-* is attached to the TAM markers depending on the aspect and mood prefixes (51b/c/d) (Gündoğdu & Akkuş, 2015):

(51) a. *Ez* *xwandekar* ***nî****-im.*
1S.DIR student NEG-be.PRS.1S
'I'm not a student.'

b. *Ez* *xwandekar* ***ne-****bû-m*
1S.DIR student NEG-be.PST-1S
'I was not a student.'

c. ka *ew* ***na****-b-e* *merif.*
Q 3S.DIR NEG-be.PRS-3S human
'He does not become wiser!' (lit: He does not become human.)

d. ku tu *baqil* ***ne****-b-î.*
COMP 2S.DIR clever NEG-be.PRS-2S
'If you don't/won't become clever,...'

2.6.5 Nominalization

The infinitive form of the verb in Kurmanji Kurdish (as in MK) is formed by adding –(i)n to the past stem of the verb; e.g. *got-in* 'to say', *çû-n* 'to go', *avdan* 'to irrigate'. They carry most of the nominal characteristics; for instance, they can be heads of noun phrases (52a), they can be modified by an adjective (52b) and they can take certain nominal inflections such as ezafe (52a/b/c), indefinite suffix (52c) and OBL case suffix (52d):

(52) a. gotin-ên pêşî-yan
say.INF-EZ.PL ancestor-OBL.PL
'proverbs.' (lit: the sayings of the elders)

b. gotin-ên mezin
say.INF-EZ.PL big
'big talk' (lit: the big sayings)

c. gotin-ek-î te heye?
say.INF-INDF-EZ 2S.OBL exist.PRS.3S
'Do you have anything to say?' (lit: Are there a saying of you?)

d. piştê avdan-ê
after irrigate.INF-OBL
'after irrigating'

Given that the infinitive forms carry the major properties of nominals, it can be asserted that –(i)n suffix in infinitive forms in Kurmanji Kurdish is a nominalization formative.

2.7 Clausal syntax

I will discuss the basic syntactic properties of Kurmanji Kurdish (e.g. the order of arguments, alignment patterns, syntax of voice and different clause types) and I will present the aspects where MK exhibits variation with respect to these syntactic properties throughout this section.

2.7.1 Word order

The default word order (pragmatically neutral) in Kurmanji is SOV(G), where G refers to 'goals' as "a cover term for spatial goals of verbs of movement, recipients of verbs of transfer, and addressees of verbs of speech" (Haig and Öpengin, 2018, p. 33). Given that only such verbs have goals, I use parenthesis to mention that each clause does not have to have a goal constituent.

(53) SOV

a. *Ez* *nên* *di-xw-im.*
1S.DIR bread.OBL PROG.-eat.PRS-1S
'I am eating bread/meal.'

SOVG

b. *Me* *nan-ê* *wan* *di-bir* *zevî-yê.*
1PL.OBL bread-EZ.M 3PL.OBL PROG.-take.PST.3S field-OBL
'We took their bread to the field/cropland.'

However, word order is not rigidly SOV(G) all the time; for instance, we may also have OSV order where the direct object is fronted for pragmatic purposes (54).

(54) OSV

Wan *kitêb-an* *tu* *bi-xwîn-e.*
DEM.PL.OBL book-PL 2S.DIR SBJV-read.PRS-2S
'(You) read these books!'

Moreover, the position of the goal varies according to the verb type; e.g. the recipient of *dan* 'give' is always encoded as an OBL-marked goal in the immediate postverbal position(55a) while the recipients and benefactives of some verbs are always adpositional and precede the verb, yielding SOV order (55b), in some dialects (Haig & Öpengin, 2018).

(55) SOVG

a. *Min* *pere* *da* ***te***.
1S.OBL money.DIR give.PST.3S 2S.OBL
'I gave you money.'

SGOV

b. *Min* ***ji*** ***te*** ***ra*** *pere* *şand.*
1S.OBL ADP 2S.OBL ADP money.DIR send.PST.3S
'I sent money to you.'

In the same vein, similar SOV(G) (56) and object-initial OSV(G) (57) orders are attested in the MK data:

(56) a. *Kes* *bi* *gotin-a* *min* *zar-ên* *xwe*
nobody.DIR ADP saying-EZ.F 1S.OBL chil-EZ.PL self
na-d-e.
NEG-give.PRS-3S
'Nobody gave their children upon my word.'
(B.G. from Korkut)

b. *Xwedê* *bar-ek-î* *pir* *mezin* *da-y-e*
god.OBL burden-INDF-OBL very big PROG-give.PRS-3S-PRF
ser *pişta* *min.*
ADP back- EZ.F 1S.OBL
'God gave me heavy responsibility. '
(M.H. from Anzar)

(57) a. *Nav-ê* *kurê* *din-ê* *min* *ji* *bîr* *kir.*
name-EZ.M boy-OBL other-OBL 1S.OBL ADP mind do.PST.3S
'I forgot the other boy's name.'

(B.G. from Korkut)

b. *yalniz* *vê* *dar-a* *hanê* *hûn* *jê* *na-xw-in.*
but DEM.F.OBL tree-EZ.F this 2PL.DIR ADP NEG-eat.PRS-PL
'But you won't eat from this tree.'

(M.H. from Anzar)

There are also OV(G) ordered sentences with an implicit 3S/3PL subject (58):

(58) a. *…çop-ek* *nan* *ji* *firaq-a* *xwe*
roll-INDF.DIR bread ADP dish-EZ.F self
der-di-x-e, *d-av(ej)-e* *ber* *pişîk-ê.*
PRV-PROG-put.PRS-3S PROG-throw.PRS-3S front cat-OBL
'He takes a slice of bread from his dish/plate, throws it to the cat.'

(H.Ç. from Bulanık)

b. *roj-ê* *penç cinaze şeş cinaze* *d-avet-in*
day-OBL six corpse six corpse PROG-throw.PST-3PL
heliqoptêr-ê ...
helicopter-OBL
'They put five or six corpses into the helicopter every day.'

(B.G. from Korkut)

Note that postverbal goals also appear with intransitive verbs which inherit a directed motion (i.e. *path verbs*) like *'go', 'fall'* and *'come',* rendering SVG order:

(59) a. *her* *sê* *bi* *hev* *ra* *ket-in* *ç'al-ê.*
every three ADP each other ADP fall.PST-PL culvert-OBL
'They all three fell to the culvert/hole together.'

(H.Ç. from Bulanık)

b. *Kes* *edî* *ne-di-çû* *çîyê.*
Nobody.DIR anymore NEG-PROG-go.PST.3S mountain.OBL
'Nobody went to the mountain anymore.'

(B.G. from Korkut)

In the MK data, on a par with Kurmanji Kurdish, there are also clauses with SGOV order in which goals appear in the preverbal position. As a matter of fact, MK is one of the Kurmanji dialects which makes extended use of circumposition *ji…ra* for recipients, addressees of verbs of speech and benefactives, hence coding such goals always in the preverbal position:

(60) a. *Xwedê* ***jê (=ji wî)*** ***ra*** *ayet* *şand.*
god.OBL ADP ADP verse send.PST.3S
'God sent him the verse of the Koran.'

(M.H. from Anzar-Muş Center)

b. *ûr-ekî* *pez* ***ji*** ***mi(n)*** ***ra*** *b-în-e*
tripe-INDF.OBL sheep ADP 1S.OBL ADP SBJV-bring.PRS-2S
çarsûy-ê.
bazar-OBL
'Bring me some tripe of sheep to bazar.'

(H.Ç. from Bulanık)

c. *keçel-o* ***ji*** ***me*** ***ra*** *mesele-kî*
slaphead-VOC ADP 1PL.OBL ADP topic-INDF.OBL
bêj-e.
SBJV.say.PRS-2S
'The slaphead, tell us something!'

(H.Ç. from Bulanık)

Similar to Kurmanji Kurdish, it has been attested that the order of the copula verb and its predicate is not fixed in MK, too; the copula may follow or precede it yielding different readings. The sentence has a state meaning if the copula follows its

predicate (61a) whereas it denotes a change of state meaning when it precedes its predicate (61b):

(61) a. *Av-a* *zar-ên* *wî* *zer* ***bû***.
Water-EZ.F child-EZ.PL 3S.OBL yellow copula.PST.3S
'The water of her children was yellow.'

b. *Av-a* *zar-ên* *wî* ***bû*** *zer.*
Water-EZ.F child-EZ.PL 3S.OBL copula.PST.3S yellow
'The water of her children became yellow.'
(H.Ç. from Bulanık)

Lastly, verb-initial orders VSO and VOS, and subject final order OVS are not attested in the MK data at all.

2.7.2 Alignment

Recall that Kurmanji Kurdish is a split ergative language with two different alignment patterns; namely accusative and ergative, which are sensitive to tense and transitivity. In all intransitive constructions, S is in the DIR case and it controls agreement on the verb (62) (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Thackston, 2006; Yıldırım, 2013; Incekan, 2014; Ocek, 2014):

(62) a. *Ez* *revî-m.*
1S.DIR run.PST-1S
'I fell down.'

b. *Em* *di-rev-in.*
1PL.DIR PROG.-run.PRS-PL
'We are running.'

Almost all intransitive sentences conform to this pattern in MK, except for a few deviant instances. In the MK data, we came across intransitive sentences with an OBL S which is always 3PL and controls verb agreement (63):

(63) a. *Ewana jî di-ç-in eynî wî cîh-ê.*
3PL.OBL too PROG-go.PRS-3PL same DEM.M.OBL place-OBL
'They are going to the same place, too.'
(Ö.Ç. from Malazgirt)

b. *van insan-an di demiryolu-yê da xebitî-n-e ...*
DEM.PL.OBL human-PL P railroad-OBL Part. work.PST-PL-PRF
'These people have worked in the railroad station…'
(F.Y. from Kurtalan)

This can be taken as an indication that S always agrees with the verb no matter which case it bears (DIR or OBL) in MK.

In transitive sentences, however, case and agreement relations of A and O is sensitive to tense in Kurmanji Kurdish. It has accusative alignment in the non-past transitive constructions while past tense transitive constructions trigger ergative alignment in this language (Dorleijn, 1996; Haig, 1998, 2004, 2008; Gündoğdu, 2011; Karimi 2012). In the accusative alignment, A is marked with the DIR case while O bears the OBL case, and the verb agrees with the DIR-case marked A yielding DIR-OBL pattern:

(64) a. *Ew min di-bîn-in.*
3PL.DIR 1.S.OBL PROG-see.PRS-PL
'They see me.'

b. *Ez-ê cil-an bi-şû-m.*
1S.DIR.FUT cloth-OBL.PL SBJV-wash.PRS-1S
'I will wash clothes.'

Almost all non-past tense transitive constructions of MK conform to case and agreement properties of the accusative alignment (65):

(65) *(ka met-ê,)* *ez-ê* *jin-an* *ji* *ku* *bi-bîn-im?*
(Q aunt-VOC) 1S.DIR-FUT woman-PL ADP where SBJV-see.PRS-1S
'(hey aunt), where will I see the women?'
(H.Ç. from Bulanık)

However, there are few sentences which diverge from the accusative alignment, where both A and O are in the DIR case and the verb agrees with A. Although O is to be in the OBL according to the accusative alignment, it is also in the DIR case in these sentences yielding DIR-OBL pattern. The crucial point is that most DIR-case marked O arguments in such deviant sentences have the indefinite suffix *–ek* and the OBL case marker (*-ê/î*) following this indefinite suffix is missing:

(66) a. *em* ***tişt-ek*** *na-xwaz-in,* *(em sade dixwazin ku...)*
1PL.DIR thing-INDF NEG-want.PRS-PL (we only want that)
'We don't want anything, we only want that…'
(F.Y. from Kurtalan-Muş Center)

b. *(tu çima bê jin î?)* *ji* *xwe* *ra* ***jin-ek***
(why are you without woman) ADP self ADP woman-INDF
bîn-e!
SBJV.bring.PRS-2S
'Why are you without a woman? Bring a woman for yourself! '
(H.Ç. from Bulanık)

c. *ser-ê* *mal-ê* ***dewar-ek*** *bi-d-e* *te,...*
head-EZ.M house.OBL cattle-INDF SBJV-give.PRS-3S 2S.OBL
'Let each house give you a cattle.'
(B.G. from Korkut)

There are also sentences where O is again in the DIR case but this time it is in the definite state (without having the indefinite suffix *–ek*). These sentences also do not follow accusative alignment as O is not in the OBL. For instance, as illustrated in the following sentence, O in is OBL-marked (*nanê* 'bread') in the first clause while it is in the DIR form (*av* 'water') in the second one:

(67) *(keçelo,)* *nan-ê* *b-în-e,* *av* *b-în-e!*
(slaphead) bread-OBL SBJV-bring.PRS-2S water.DIR SBJV-bring.PRS-2S
'Hey slaphead! Bring bread, bring water!'
(H.Ç. from Bulanık)

In the past tenses of Kurmanji, on the other hand, A bears OBL while O is of the DIR case and triggers verb agreement (Dorleijn, 1996; Haig, 1998, 2004, 2008; Gündoğdu, 2011, 2016b, 2017b; Karimi 2012). Case and agreement properties of this pattern conform to the ergative alignment described by Comrie (1978) and Dixon (1994) in which S aligns with O as opposed to A. This is called as *canonical ergative pattern* in Kurmanji Kurdish (Haig, 1998, 2004, 2008):

(68) a. *Wan* *ez* *dît-im.*
3PL.OBL 1S.DIR see.PST-1S
'They saw me.'

b. *Min* *cil* *di-şûşt-in.*
1S.OBL cloth.DIR(PL) PROG-wash.PST-PL
'I was washing clothes.'

However, not all past transitive constructions conform to this canonical ergative pattern in MK. For instance, there are only a few examples of canonical ergative constructions in the MK data, one of which is provided below:

(69) *Wan* *ez* *gellekî* *acis* *kir-im.*
3PL.OBL 1S.DIR very bored do.PST-1S
'They bored me so much.'
(Ö.Ç. from Malazgirt)

In the MK data, I observe different non-canonical, ergative-derived constructions that deviate from this canonical ergative pattern in transitive past-tense constructions. The first and most common pattern is the *double oblique constructions* (Haig, 1998, 2008), where both A and O have the OBL case and neither of them controls agreement on the verb. The verb appears in the default third person singular form (Gündoğdu, 2011, 2016b, 2017b). Compare sentences in (68) with the ones below:

(70) a. *Wan* *min* *dît.*
3PL.OBL 1S.OBL see.PST.3S
'They saw me.'

b. *Min* *cil-an* *di-şûşt.*
1S.DIR.FUT cloth.PL PROG-wash.PST.3S
'I was washing clothes.'

The double oblique pattern is a deviant case pattern because its case and agreement properties diverge from the canonical ergative construction in two ways: first, O is put into the OBL case instead of DIR, and second, the verb does not show agreement. The following examples are from the current MK data:

(71) a. *Ku* *te* *şimik-ê* *hilda* *(tu revî ew diqîre.)*
COMP 2S.OBL slipper-OBL up.give.PST.3S
'when you held the slipper, (you ran away it screamed.)'
(H.Ç. from Bulanık)

b. *Me* *vana* *kuşt-Ø* *û dû ra…*
1PL.OBL 3PL.OBL kill.PST- and then
'We killed them and then…'
(F.Y. from Kurtalan-Muş Center)

Even though most of the past transitive sentences exhibit the double oblique pattern in the MK data, there are some other deviant patterns too. For instance, in some double oblique constructions, a plural triggers verb agreement (72). This generally takes place in sentences with an overt third person plural A or an impersonal and not overtly expressed plural A (73). Note that the existence of similar constructions has also been documented in other Kurmanji varieties (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Dorleijn, 1996; Haig, 1998).

(72) *…paşê* *camer-an* *şivan-ek-î* *berda-n.*
then man (high-minded)-OBL.PL shepherd-INDF-OBL release.PST-3PL
'Then the high-minded men released the shepherd.'
(B.G. from Korkut)

(73) *bûk-ê* *di-xwast-in,* *di-anî-n,* *(hena xwe çedikirin, ...)*
bride-OBL PROG-want.PST-3PL PROG-bring.PST-3PL
'(They) asked for the bride's hand, (brought her made their henna),…)'
(R.G. from Hasköy)

These two sentences here differ from the double oblique constructions in that A controls agreement on the verb despite OBL case morphology. Moreover, they display deviations from the canonical ergative construction in two ways: first, O has

OBL case instead of DIR, and second, there is subject-verb agreement rather than object-verb agreement. Furthermore, there are few sentences in the MK data in which both A and O are in the plural OBL and the verb has plural agreement, but one cannot know for certain whether it is A or O that controls the agreement on the verb:

(74) *hema* *camêr-an,* *wî çaxê* *wan*
but man (high-minded)-PL that time 3PL.OBL
bir-in *û* *berda-n.*
take.PST-3PL and release.PST-3PL
'but the high-minded men took them away and released them at that time '
(B.G. from Korkut)

The last deviant pattern attested in the MK data is the sentences conforming to the accusative pattern where A has DIR case while O has OBL case and A agrees with the verb (75) despite the verb being in the past. The case and agreement properties of this pattern stand in direct opposition to the canonical ergative construction:[17]

(75) *genc-ek* *mîna* *İsmail û Ömer* *bûk-ê*
young-INDF.DIR like İ and Ö bride-OBL.
di-bir.
PROG-take.PST.3S
'A young (boy) like İsmail and Ömer was taking the bride away.'
(R.G. from Hasköy)

There are unclear cases, too, where A is in the DIR form and agrees with the verb while O is a complex NP, the case of which is not known:

[17] I presented only a few examples for each deviant pattern attested in the MK data without discussing their implications for the grammatical system of this dialect. For more examples and relevant discussion, see Gündoğdu (2017b).

(76) *kes* [*zar-ên* *xwe*] *ne-da.*
nobody.DIR child-EZ.PL self NEG-give.PST.3S
'Nobody gave their children.'

(B.G. from Korkut)

Note that in Kurmanji Kurdish, the case distinction on a complex NP is neutralized irrespective of its syntactic function, hence one cannot understand whether the complex NP is either in direct or oblique case. Only word order and the context distinguish them. For instance, the complex NP *apê min* 'my uncle' functions as A and *kurê mezin* 'the tall boy' as O in the first sentence (77a) while they have the reverse order and function in the second one (77b) such that *kurê mezin* 'the tall boy' is A and *apê min* 'my uncle' is O (Haig, 1998:156):

(77) a. [*ap-ê* *min*] [*kur-ê* *mezin*] *di-bîn-e.*
uncle-EZ.M 1S.OBL boy-EZ.M large PROG-see.PRS-3S
'My uncle sees the tall boy'

b. [*kur-ê* *mezin*] [*ap-ê* *min*] *di-bîn-e.*
boy-EZ.M large uncle-EZ.M 1S.OBL PROG-see.PRS-3S
'The tall boy sees my uncle'.

Nevertheless, one can determine whether the complex NP is singular or plural based on the ezafe marker; e.g. *ap**ê** min* 'my uncle' vs. *ap**ên** min* 'my uncles' and this can give an idea about which NP controls the agreement in some instances:

(78) a. [*ap-ên* *min*] [*kur-ê* *mezin*] *di-bîn-in.*
uncle-EZ.PL 1S.OBL boy-EZ.M large PROG-see.PRS-PL
'My uncles see the tall boy'

b. [*ap-ê* *min*] [*kur-ên* *mezin*] *di-bîn-e.*
uncle-EZ.M 1S.OBL boy-EZ.PL large PROG-see.PRS-3S
'My uncle sees the tall boys'

Also, if the complex NP is introduced with a demonstrative, then the case of the complex NP becomes visible on the demonstrative; e.g. wan 'those.OBL' vs. ew 'those.DIR' (79):[18]

(79) a. *Gund di nav* [***wan*** *çiya-yên* *bilind*] *da*
village ADP middle DEM.PL.OBL mountain-EZ.PL high ADP
ye.
COP.3S
'The village is in between those high mountains.'

b. [***ew*** *çiya-yên* *bilind*] *li ser sînor in.*
DEM.DIR mountain-EZ.PL high ADP above border COP.PL
'Those high mountains are on the border.'

(Haig & Opengin 2018, p. 23)

Therefore, it can be asserted that a number of sentences in the MK data poses problems for us because either A or O (or sometimes both) is in the form of a complex NP without any clue about its case and number properties. Furthermore, there are also sentences with noun-verb complex predicates that trigger ergative alignment in the past although they do have a direct object.[19] A is in the OBL and there is no verb agreement (80):

[18] The basic structure of an NP in Kurmanji is provided below. Note that only the noun is obligatory while the rest is optional (Haig&Öpengin 2015:21):

DEM	NUM	NOUN –EZF	POSS	EZF	ADJ
e*v*	*sê*	*kum-ên*	*min*	*yên*	*reš*
these	three	hat-EZ.PL	1S.OBL EZ.PL	black	

'these three black hats of mine'

[19] In Kurmanji, there is a group of CPrs formed by a noun and a light verb which are all *lexically transitive* in terms of Haig (2002); they trigger ergative alignment in past tenses but they do not

(80) a. … *wexta* *çêkir,* *melaîket-a(n)* ***pif*** ***kir-e***…
when do.PST.3S angel-OBL.PL blow do.PST.3S-PRF
'When he did it, the angels blew (it).'

b. ... *ewî* ***bal-a*** *xwe* ***da,*** *(du heb qirang li hev xist)*
3S.OBL attention-EZ.F self give.PST.3S
'He realized (that two crows beat each other).'
(lit: he gave his attention that…)
(M.H. from Anzar-Muş Center)

I have discussed the alignment patterns observed in Kurmanji Kurdish and its Muş dialect so far. (81) presents the patterns in the transitive constructions of Kurmanji Kurdish whereas the ones in (82) lists the patterns observed in MK:

(81) KURMANJI KURDISH

Present tenses

A_{DIR} – O_{OBL} – V_A

Past tenses

A_{OBL} – O_{DIR} – V_O (canonical ergative pattern)

(82) MUŞ KURMANJI

Present tenses

a. A_{DIR} – O_{OBL} – V_A
b. A_{DIR} – O_{DIR} – V_A

Past tenses

c. A_{OBL} – O_{DIR} – V_P
d. A_{OBL} – O_{OBL} – $V_{\text{no agreement}}$ (double oblique pattern)
e. A_{OBL} – O_{OBL} – V_A
f. impersonal A – O_{OBL} – V_A
g. A_{DIR} – O_{OBL} – V_A

govern a typical direct object (ii). I will discuss the argument structure properties of these complex predicates in Chapter 3.

The existence of these patterns in MK seems to imply that verb agreement with O is not preferred in this dialect as it is generally the A argument - regardless of its case - that indexes the verb for person-number in both alignment types. Hence, it can be asserted that either A agrees with the verb or there occurs no agreement at all in MK.

2.7.3 Passive clauses

A passive clause in Kurmanji Kurdish has analytical is formed by the auxiliary *hatin* 'come' plus the infinitive form of the main verb. The auxiliary is inflected with TAM, negation and person-number agreement while the main verb is always in the infinitive form. S (underlyingy O) is always in the DIR form and controls agreement on the auxiliary. Besides, the agent can be expressed by-phrases like *bi destê*... 'with the hand of…' or *ji aliyê*... 'from the side of…' (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Thackston, 2006; Yıldırım, 2013; Ocek, 2014). Note that passive formation is the same in MK:

(83) a. *Ez* *dê* *bê-m* *girtin.*
1S.DIR FUT SBJV.come.PRS-1S hold
'I will be arrested.'

b. *axa-yê* *me* *bi* *dest-ê* *Mişo* *hat-iy-e*
agha-EZ.M 1PL.OBL ADP hand-EZ.M Mişo come.PST-3S-PRF
birîndar kirin.
wound do
'Our Agha has been wounded by Mişo.'
(Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004, p.197)

2.7.4 Causative clauses

In Kurmanji Kurdish, the formation of a periphrastic causative construction is similar to analytic passives; it is formed by the auxiliary *dan* 'give' plus the infinitive form

of the main verb. The auxiliary is inflected with TAM, negation and person-number agreement while the main verb is always in the infinitive form (Ciwan, 1992; Dorleijn, 1996; Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Haig & Öpengin, 2018). Note that the preposition *bi* 'with' marks the *causee* when it is overtly expressed in the sentence:

(84) a. *Min* *xanî* *da* *avakirin.*
1S.OBL house.DIR give.PST.3S build
'I had the house built.'

(Ciwan, 1992, p. 96)

b. *ez* *wî* *bi* *te* *di-d-im* *çêkirin.*
1S.DIR 3S.OBL ADP 2S.OBL. PROG-give.PRS-1S make
'I make you produce it.'

(Dorleijn, 1996, p. 43)

There is another way of causativization in this language; adding suffix *-and* to the present stem of a group of inchoatives yields a causative verb; e.g. *kelîn* 'boil (int)' – *kel-and-in* 'boil (tr)'. This suffix can also be considered as a transitivizing suffix:

(85) a. *Av* *di-kel-e.*
water.DIR PROG-boil.PRS-3S
'The water is boiling/boils.'

b. *Ez* *av-ê* *di-kel-în-im.*
1S.DIR water-OBL PROG-boil.PRS-CAUS-1S
'I am boiling/boil the water.'

Both types of causativization with the same properties are available in MK.

2.7.5 Interrogatives

2.7.5.1 Polar questions

Polar questions, also known as yes/no questions, in this language are segmentally identical to the corresponding declaratives; they are distinguished from declaratives by a special intonation (Gündoğdu, 2013). When the verb has a high pitch followed by a fall, the structure is interpreted as a non-contrastive polar question (86). On the contrary, when the word that is the topic for contrast bears stress, the structure is interpreted as a contrastive polar question (87). Otherwise, it is a declarative sentence (88). This is the same in MK. (Intonation is indicated via capitalization.)

(86) *Tu* *vê* *kitêb-ê* *DI-XWÎN-Î ?*
2S.DIR DEM.F.OBL book-OBL PROG-read.PRS-2S
'Are you reading this book?'

(87) *Tu* *VÊ* *KITÊB-Ê* *di-xwîn-î ?*
2S.DIR DEM.F.OBL book-OBL PROG-read.PRS-2S
'Is it this book that you are reading?'

(88) *Tu* *vê* *kitêb-ê* *di-xwîn-î.*
2S.DIR DEM.F.OBL book-OBL PROG-read.PRS-2S
'You are reading this book.'

2.7.5.2 WH-questions

There are a number of *wh*-words used in such content questions in this language: (MK has all except the feminine form of *who*.)

(89) *kî* (masculine) 'who'
kê (feminine) 'who'
çi 'what'
ku(der) 'where'

kengî/kengê	'when'
çima/çira	'why'
kîjan	'which'
çawa(n)/ça(n)kî	'how'
çiqas	'how much'
çend	'how many'

Kurmanji Kurdish exhibits the properties of a *wh*-in-situ language in which w*h*-questions are formed with *wh*-phrases appearing in the positions where their corresponding NP/DP counterparts are base generated and taking scope in this position through intonation (Gündoğdu, 2013):

(90) *KÎ* *vê* *kitêb-ê* *di-xwîn-e ?*
who DEM.F.OBL book-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
'Who is reading this book?'

(91) *Tu* *ÇÎ* *di-xwîn-î ?*
2S.DIR what PROG-read.PRS-2S
'What are you reading?'

(92) *Tu* *KENGE* *çû-yî* *Stenbol-ê ?*
2S.DIR when go.PST-2S Istanbl-OBL
'When did you got to Istanbul?'

The *wh*-phrases corresponding to a postverbal goal appears in the same position (Thackston, 2006; Gündoğdu, 2011, 2013):[20]

(93) *Tu* *vê* *kitêb-ê* *di-d-î* *KÎ?*
2S.DIR DEM.F.OBL book-OBL PROG-give.PRS-2S who
'Whom are you giving this book?'

[20] This is crucial because postverbal goals in this language (also throughout MK) pattern with typical arguments such as the subject and the direct object with respect to wh-properties. This provides support for the core argument status of these constituents, which I will discuss in Chapter 4 in detail.

(94) *Tu* *çû-yî* *KU?*
2S.DIR go.PST-2S where
'Where did you go?'

Multiple *wh*-phrases within a root question are also possible; all *wh*-phrases take scope over the construction (95), thus the construction has pair list reading:

(95) *KÎ* *Çİ* *di-xwîn-e?*
who what PROG-read.PRS-3S
'Who is reading/read what?'

A possible answer: Sîdar is reading newspaper, Hêja is reading a magazine.

However, there seems to be an asymmetry between *wh*-phrases considering the scrambling. For instance, as the contrast in (96a) and (96b) demonstrates, scrambling of *wh*-phrases like *who* and *what* is not possible while scrambling of other *wh*-prases like *when, why or how* is licensed (I deliberately avoid using terms like *wh-argument* and *wh-adjunct*):

(96) a. **ÇİKÎ* *di-xwîn-e*
what who PROG-read.PRS-3S

b. (*ÇIMA/ÇANKI/KENGÊ*) *tu* *ÇIMA/ÇANKI/KENGÊ* *çû-yî?*
why/how/when 2S.DIR why/how/when go.PST-2S
'why/when/how did you go?'

Kurmanji Kurdish also has a few question particles (*gelo, ma, ka*) that can be used both in polar and *wh*-questions to intensify them: (In the MK data, the most frequent question particle is *ka*).

(97) *Gelo/ka/ma* *ew* *HATİ-Y-E?*
Q 3S.DIR come.PST-3S-PRF
'Did he come?'

(98) *Ka* *te* *ÇI* *da* *wan ?*
Q 2S.OBL what give.PST.3S 3PL.OBL
'What did you give them?"

These particles in fact have discourse related functions such that *gelo* generally has a neutral interpretation but expresses an extra curiosity while *ka* is mostly bound in the immediate context. In contrast, *ma* introduces an affirmative question to which a negative answer is expected, as in English "you don't know, do you" (99a), or it introduces a negative question to which we expect an affirmative answer (99b) (Thackston, 2006; Gündoğdu, 2013):

(99) a. *Ma* *RAST* *e?*
Q right COP.3S
'That's not right, is it?'

b. *Ma* *em* *jî* *NE-ÇÛ-N?*
Q 1PL.OBL too NEG.-go.PST-PL
'We went too, didn't we?'

It is also possible to have *wh*-phrases in an embedded clause headed by the complementizer *ku* (which can also be phonologically null). In such cases, *wh*-phrases can only have embedded scope.[21] *wh*-phrases in the embedded clause cannot

[21] Kurmanji is similar to Hindi in this respect. In Hindi also *wh*-phrases in the embedded clause can only take scope over the embedded clause. Hindi employs two strategies to form wide scope readings; (i) use of question particle *kyaa* in the clause in which the *wh*-phrase takes scope, and (ii) moving the *wh*-phrase to the matrix clause at s-structure (Mahajan, 1990 and Dayal, 2005). However, Kurmanji Kurdish seems to have neither of these strategies. Kurmanji speakers say something like Who did you say that Mary saw yesterday? either in the form of a simple question as in *Mele bi KÎ ra zewicîye, te got*? (The imam has married to whom, you said?) or with an interrogative matrix clause as exemplified in (100b).

have matrix scope hence the construction is interpreted as a declarative sentence unless the matrix verb has a question interpretation as in (100):

(100) a. *Tu ni-zan-î (ku) mele bi **kî** ra zewicî-y-e*
2S.DIR NEG-know.PRS-2S that imam ADP **who** ADP marry.PST-3S-PRF
'You don't know to whom the imam has married.'

b. *Tu NI-ZAN-Î (ku) mele bi **kî** ra zewicî-y-e* ?
2S.DIR NEG-know.PRS-2S that imam ADP **who** ADP marry.PRS-3S-PRF
'Don't you know to whom the imam's son has married?'

Here, there are two possible answers to this question: *Yes I know* or N*o, I don't know (to whom he is marrying).* If the answer is *yes,* then the person can give the expected answer to *wh*-phrase in the embedded clause:

(101) *Ere, (ez dizanim), bi xwişk-a Şeşo ra.*
yes, (I know) ADP girl-EZ.F Şeşo ADP
'Yes (I know), to Şeşo's sister.'

A *wh*-phrase may be clefted from an interrogative sentence. Although it is not possible to extract *wh*-phrases from their base position over the complementizer *ku*, they can raise into *ew…ye/ew…bû* constructions crossing over *ku* to have focus in cleft sentences (102). However, all *wh*-phrases cannot occur in a cleft construction; for instance, the occurrence of *why, when and how* in a cleft construction is totally ungrammatical (103) (Gündoğdu, 2013):

(102) a. *Ew KÎ$_i$ ye (ku) **t$_i$** li derî di-d-e?*
It who COP.3S that ADP door.OBL PROG.-beat.PRS-3S
'Who is it that is knocking the door?'

b. *Ew ÇI$_i$ bû (ku) te **t$_i$** xwar?*
It what be.PST.3S that 2S.OBL eat.PST.3S
'What was it that you ate?'

(103) **Ew ÇAKI$_i$ / ÇIMA$_i$ / KENGÊ$_i$ ye (ku) Rojbîn **t$_i$** kitêb-ê xwand?*
It how / why / when COP.3S that book-OBL read.PST.3S

All properties of wh-matrix and embedded questions are the same in MK.

2.7.6 Subordinate clauses

This section briefly introduces three types of subordinating clauses in Kurmanji Kurdish (which are the same in MK); namely complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. (Subordinate clauses in the examples are underlined.)

2.7.6.1 Complement clauses

Complement clauses in Kurmanji are generally formed with the complementizer *ku* (or its dialectal variant *ko*) and they follow the main verb. However, they can be subordinated by mere juxtaposition without *ku/ko* (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Dorleijn, 1996):

(104) a. *dit ko gotin-a wî rast e*
see.PST.3S COMP speaking-EZ.F 3S.OBL right COP.3S
'He saw that what he said was right.'
(lit: he saw that his sayings were right.)

b. *ez di-zan-im ew ne-çû-y-e*
1S.DIR PROG-know.PRS-1S 3S.DIR NEG-go.PST-3S-PRF
'I know that he has not gone.'

c. *Dê* *bêj-e,* *te* *çawa(n)* *kir*
MOD.PRT say.PRS-2S 2S.OBL how do.PST.3S
'go on, say how you did it?'

The complement clause generally agrees in tense with the main clause but this is not always the case as illustrated in (104b/c). Besides, the degree of certainty of the proposition expressed determines whether the complement clause of the verbs of speech or thought is in the subjunctive or not (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004:337, Haig & Opengin, 2018:31). For instance, sentences in (104) are not in the subjunctive while the one in (105) is in the subjunctive:

(105) *ni-zanî-bû* *ko* *çawan* *bê* *pere* *ve-ger-e*
NEG-know.PST.3S COMP how ADP money PRV-return.PRS.SBJV-3S
malê.
home.OBL
'He didn't know how he would return home without any money'

2.7.6.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are always final in the NP, and introduced by the complementizer *ku* (or *ko*) which is connected to the noun head by the *ezafe* marker (Dorleijn, 1996, p. 44; Thackston, 2006, p. 75):

(106) a. *Ev* *kur-ê* *ko* *tu* *di-bîn-î…*
DEM.S.DIR boy-EZ.M COMP 2S.DIR PROG-see.PRS-2S
'This boy that you see…'

b. *Min* *maqaley-ên* *ku* *bi* *ziman-ê* *Kurdî*
1S.OBL article-EZ.PL COMP ADP language-EZ.M Kurdish
hat-bû-n *nivîsandin* *dît-in.*
come.PST-PLPRF-PL write see.PST-PL
'I saw articles that had been written n the Kurdish language.'

2.7.6.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are generally introduced by a subordinating conjunction or an adverbial locution (Dorleijn, 1996; Bedirxan & Lescot 2004; Thackston, 2006). The widely used subordinating conjunctions in Kurmanji Kurdish can be listed as follows (Thackston, 2006 , p. 72):

(107)	*berî (or beriya) ku*	before
	paşê ku / piştî ku	after
	bê(î) ku	without
	çaxê ku / dema (ku)	when
	gava (ku)/ wexta (ku)	when
	da ku	in order that
	digel ku	although
	hema ku	as soon as
	herwekî ku	just as
	ji ber ku	because, on account of the fact that
	ji bo ku / jibona (ku)	in order that
	mîna ku	as though
	ta ku	as long as
	weke (ku)	as

Note that tense agreement between the main clause and the subordinating part is important for certain adverbial clauses like the ones with *paşê ku* 'after', *berî ku* 'before', etc. Also, subordinating clause with some conjunctions like *ji bo ku/ jibona (ku)* 'in order that' must be in the subjunctive form (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004 and Thackston, 2006 for a detail overview of adverbial clauses). Here are some examples of adverbial clauses of Kurmanji Kurdish:

(108) a. *Paşê ku min pîsîtî-ya wan dît, (ez ji wan dûr ketim)*
then COMP 1S.OBL badness-EZ.F 3PL.OBL see.PST.3S
'After I saw how bad they were, (I avoided them)'

b. *Gava lawik ji nêçîr-ê tê, (xatîya wî diçê peşîya wî..)*
when boy.DIR ADP hunting-OBL come.PRS.3S
'When the boy comes from the hunting, (his aunt meets him…)'

c. *Dinya sar e ji ber ko berf di-bar-e*
world cold COP.3S because snow PROG-snow.PRS-3S
'It is cold because it is snowing.'

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I tried to describe the principal aspects of the nominal and inflectional morphology and certain clausal syntactic properties of Kurmanji Kurdish and note the aspects where MK displays variation. This chapter aimed at both providing a preliminary understanding of the grammar of MK and to facilitate the understanding of the subsequent discussion in the following chapters. However, given that the scope of this thesis is restricted to investigation of certain morphosyntactic properties of MK, many of the grammatical topics (e.g. phonology and phonetics) were not presented here. Nevertheless, the description of the Muş dialect based on naturalistic data will contribute to the future dialect studies of Kurmanji Kurdish.

CHAPTER 3

COMPLEX PREDICATES IN KURMANJI KURDISH

3.1 Introduction

The term *complex predicate* (CPr) is used for diverse phenomena including more than one predicate, such as morphologically simplex unergative verbs in English (e.g. 'dance'), particle plus a verb lexeme (e.g. *reki rohan* 'toward rush' in Hungarian), predicates with a single morphologically complex word (e.g. causatives in Chichewa*),* serial verb constructions (e.g. V+V constructions in Urdu), auxiliary plus main verb constructions of some languages of Europe, noun/nonverbal element plus verb combinations (e.g. N+V in Hindi, Persian and Kurmanji Kurdish) (Haig, 2002) and inherent complement verbs (ICV) found in West African languages (Korsah, 2014). Considering these different types, Butt (1997) asserts that the argument structure of CPrs is complex but their grammatical function is like a simple predicate and their phrase structure may be simplex or complex. Similarly, Alsina *et al.* (1997) propose that CPrs are multi-headed constructions composing of more than one grammatical event and each of them contributes to the information associated with a head. In a very recent study, Karimi (2013) defines CPrs as structures with more than one element in which each component contributes to the predicate information that is generally encoded in a single verb in a language.

Kurmanji Kurdish employs a large number of complex predicates that consist of a nonverbal element and a light verb to form a single predicate. CPrs are very common in Kurmanji; they outnumber the simplex predicates. Despite constituting the majority of verbs, CPrs in this language have not received much attention in the literature. This chapter investigates the argument structure of CPrs in the Muş dialect

of Kurmanji (MK) based on the vast literature on complex predicate formation in various languages (Mithun, 1984; Baker, 1988; Mohanan, 1997; Massam, 2001; Hale & Keyser, 2002; Haig, 2002; Butt, 2003; Öztürk, 2009; Folli et al., 2005; Megerdoomian, 2002, 2012, among many others).[1]

I will first present general information about CPrs in MK, then I specifically deal with Noun-Verb CPrs in this dialect discussing their structural properties, classification and the status of their nominal element. Lastly, I will propose a syntactic analysis based on Hale and Keyser (1997, 2002) *l-syntax* approach to explain the argument structure properties of CPrs and the status of the nominal element of certain N-V CPrs in this dialect.

3.2 Complex predicates in MK

CPrs in MK (throughout Kurmanji Kurdish) are composed of a non-verbal element and a verbal element. The non-verbal element of CPrs ranges over a number of categories such as nouns, adjectives, particles and adpositions (which I will take as

[1] CPr formation is highly productive in Iranian languages (e.g. Persian, Kurdish, Zazaki). Since noun-to-verb derivation is weak or lacking in these languages, new verbal expressions are created through CPr formation (Haig, 2002). For instance, loan words productively enter into nominal complex predicate formation:

e.g.	*telefon kirin*	(telephone do, French 'telephone')	'to telephone'
	zilm kirin	(cruelty do, Arabic 'zlm' ظلم)	'to persecute'
	sağ bûn	(alive become, Turkish 'sağ')	'to heal'

Even in contact situations, an element is copied from the dominant language and used as the non-verbal element of the CPr; for instance, as an output of language contact with Turkish, I observe new verbs composed of a Turkish participle and a light verb in Kurmanji:

e.g.	*anlamîş kirin*	(understand do - Turkish 'anlamış'-)	'to understand'
	dinlemiş kirin	(listen do - Turkish 'dinlemiş'-)	'to listen to'
	evlenmiş bûn	(marrying become - Turkish 'evlenmiş'-)	'to get married'

Bulut (2006) presents similar examples from Kurmanji spoken in Adana, and she calls them as compound verbs made of a Turkish verb stem + *mIş* and Kurdish auxiliary *kirin/bûn* 'do/be'. She argues that copies of Turkic verbs + *mIş* in Iranian languages are common, especially in Persian, Northern Tajik, Kurmanji, Zazaki, Talish, and Tati.

PPs throughout this chapter) (1):

(1) a. Noun + V

bal dan	(attention give)	'to pay attention'
sond xwarin	(oath eat)	'to swear'
şîn girtin	(mourn hold)	'to mourn'

b. Adjective + V

acis bûn	(bored become)	'to get bored'
acis kirin	(bored do)	'to bore'
nexweş ketin	(ill fall)	'to get sick'

c. Particle (adposition) + V[2]

daçûn	(particle go)	'to sink'
derketin	(particle fall)	'to go out'
jêkirin	(particle do)	'to cut'

d. Prepositional Phrase (PP) + V

bi rê ketin	(with road fall)	'to set off (on a journey)'
ji bîr kirin	(from mind do)	'to forget'
li xwe kirin	(to self do)	'to dress'

A large number of CPrs in MK contains a noun or an adjective as their NV while CPrs in the form of a particle or a PP plus LV constitute a small group.[3] Particles or

[2] The CPrs consisting of preverbal particles such as the adpositions *da* and *ra,* absolute prepositions like *jê* and *lê* and adverbs such as *der* 'out' in Kurmanji are usually written together with the stem as a single item in the infinitive form (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Haig, 2002; Thackston, 2006), as provided in (1c). However, when they are inflected with negation *na/ne-* or imperfective aspect *di-*, inflectional prefixes are inserted between the preverb and the light verb in MK, as in *der-**na**-kev-e* 'he is not going out' or *der-**di**-kev-e* 'he is going out'. Thus, they are not incorporated forms.

[3] The MK data includes 692 complex predicates; about 600 of them are nominal (noun/adjective) CPrs while the rest are CPrs with a particle or a prepositional phrase. Pointing out the imbalanced distribution among the types of CPrs, Haig (2002) argues that although in Indo-European languages particle CPrs are widespread, in Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages N+V CPrs have developed due to some structural properties such as OV-word order, lack of morphological means for verb-noun derivation, differential object marking and lack of articles in these languages. Similarly, Butt (2003) mentions that Old Indo-Aryan employed a set of preverbs which combined with the main verb and gave rise to a complex range of meanings, e.g.: *ati* 'across beyond past, and *nis* 'out forth'. However, the modern Indo-Aryan languages such as Urdu/Hindi and Bengali have lost these preverbs completely.

preverbs in CPrs have different sources; some of them are etymologically related to adpositions such as *da* or *ra* whereas some are relevant to adverbs such as *der* 'out' (Haig, 2002). In fact, these particles are not totally meaningless and like other NVs, they also contribute to the meaning of the CPr; for instance, all CPrs with *der* has a meaning of 'something going out' and likewise all CPrs with the adposition *da* implies the meaning of 'something going downwards'. Moreover, some particles such as *lê* and *jê,* also known as absolute prepositions, are the contracted forms of the prepositions *li/ji* plus third person singular pronoun in the Oblique case; *lê* =li + wî/wê and *jê* =ji + wî/wê (Bedirxan and Lescot 2004; Thackston 2006). As illustrated in (1d), PPs either contain a preposition and an Oblique case marked NP (2a) or a preposition and a complex NP (2b):

(2) a. *Em* *sibe* *bi* ***rê*** *di-kev-in.*
1PL.DIR tomorrow P way.OBL PROG-fall.PRS-PL
'We are setting off a journey tomorrow.'

b. *Pere* *bi* ***dest-ê*** ***me*** *na-kev-e.*
Money.DIR P hand-EZ.M 1PL.OBL NEG-fall.PRS-3S
'We cannot obtain money.' (lit. money does not fall our hands).

The verbal element in CPrs also ranges over a number of typical simplex verbs (3):

(3)

bûn	'become'	*avetin*	'throw'
kirin	'do'	*xwarin*	'eat'
dan	'give'	*ketin*	'fall'
girtin	'hold'	*hatin*	'come'
xistin	'put'	*berdan*	'release'

The verbal element of the complex predicates in various languages are usually referred to as light verbs (LV) since their semantic content is partially or completely bleached (Grimshaw & Mester, 1988 for Japanese; Haig, 2002 for Kurmanji Kurdish; Karimi-Doostan, 2005; Folli et al., 2005 and Megerdoomian, 2012 for Persian). In fact, the contrasts in (4) imply that the verbal element of the MK CPrs is semantically bleached and it is mostly the nonverbal element which determines the semantic content of the CPr. Note that Haig (2002) also argues that it is the noun which carries the main semantic content in the N+V complex predicates in Kurmanji Kurdish:

(4)	a.	*av dan*	(water give)	'to water'
		bal dan	(attention give)	'to pay attention'
		gire dan	(knot give)	'to tie'
		xeber dan	(info/swear give)	'to speak'
	b.	*acis kirin*	(bored do)	'to bore'
		pacî kirin	(kiss do)	'to kiss'
		ji bîr kirin	(from mind do)	'to forget'
		jêkirin	(particle do)	'to cut'
	c.	*acis bûn*	(bored become)	'to get bored'
		hêrs bûn	(angry become)	'to get angry'
		bi cîh bûn	(with place become)	'to settle down'
		vebûn	(particle become)	'to become open'

Butt (2003) argues that LVs are not entirely devoid of semantic predicative power because there is a clear difference between *take a bath* and *give a bath*. She says that LVs do not have full semantic power but they are not completely depleted, either. Moreover, Mohanan (1997) states that LVs in Hindi contribute to valency and argument meanings of CPrs so they are not totally light as argued for Japanese *suru*

'do'. Considering the following pairs of Kurmanji CPrs, one can argue that LVs are not semantically empty because the choice of LV lends a slightly different sense to the construction (5):

(5)	a.	*eşkere bûn*	(obvious become)	'to become obvious'
		eşkere kirin	(obvious do)	'to make obvious/clear'
	b.	*vebûn*	(particle become)	'to get opened'
		vekirin	(particle do)	'to open'
	c.	*bi rê ketin*	(with road fall)	'to set off (on a journey)'
		bi rê kirin	(with road do)	'to see off'

These pairs show that although LVs do not predicate fully as main verbs do they still contribute to the agentivity as well as valency of the predicate in MK. This is because the first member of these pairs is non-agentive and intransitive whereas the second member is agentive and transitive. Each of the light verbs corresponds to a heavy (thematic) verb and they are form-identical to these verbs carrying aspect and negation morphology (6).

(6)	a.	*xwarin*	'eat'	=	***di**xwim*	'I'm eating.'
					***na**xwim*	'I'm not eating.'
	b.	*sond xwarin*	'to swear'	=	*sond **di**xwim*	'I am swearing.'
					*sond **na**xwim*	'I am not swearing.'

However, LVs do not have the same thematic content and argument structure as thematic verbs. For instance, the verb *xwarin* 'to eat' has semantically and syntactically a fully inflected direct object and expresses the meaning of *eating*

action in (7a). However, the verb in (7b) has neither an object nor does it define the act of eating in a real sense but has a bare noun with which it expresses the meaning of the whole predicate, namely ‘to swear’.

(7) a. *Ez* *sêv-an* ***di-****xw-im.*
1S.DIR apple-PL.OBL PROG-eat.PRS-1S
‘I am eating apples.’

b. *Ez* *sond* ***di-****xw-im*
1S.DIR oath PROG-eat.PRS-1S
‘I swear.’

To sum up, I propose that LVs in CPrs do not have the same semantics and argument structure of their thematic counterparts, rather they determine the agentivity and valency of the CPrs in this dialect, whereas the NV supplies the semantic content.

3.3 Argument structure properties of CPrs in MK

In this section, I will discuss the argument structure properties of CPrs with respect to transitivity and case alignment, which are closely related to MK verb system. First, I will present how transitivity and case alignment works in MK syntax and then I will show how CPrs behave with respect to transitivity and case alignment. I will discuss its implications for complex predicate formation as well as the status of the noun within N-V CPrs in this dialect.

3.3.1 Transitivity and alignment in MK

Recall that MK possesses two different alignment types: accusative alignment in non-past tense and ergative alignment in past tenses (Gündoğdu 2011, 2016b, 2017b). Therefore, transitivity and intransitivity of the verb in Kurmanji are assessed

with respect to ergative alignment in the past tense constructions. S is always marked with the DIR case (8), whereas A bears the DIR case in non-past tenses (9a) and has the OBL case in past tenses (9b). The verb always agrees with the DIR case-marked argument, otherwise it appears in the default third-person singular form:

(8) a. *Ez* *di-kev-im.*
1S.DIR PROG-fall.PRS-1S
'I am falling down.'

b. *Ez* *ket-im.*
1S.DIR fall.PST-1S
'I fell down.'

(9) a. *Ez* *te* *di-bîn-im.*
1S.DIR 2S.OBL PROG-see.PRS-1S
'I see you.'

b. *Min* *te* *dît.*
1S.OBL 2S.OBL see.PST.3S
'I saw you.'

Ergative alignment enables us to discuss the properties of CPrs more clearly with respect to syntactic transitivity as well as intransitivity, and to understand the status of the non-verbal element within the CPrs, which I will cover in the following sub-section.

3.3.2 Syntax of CPrs in MK

It is observed that the majority of CPrs in MK behaves like a transitive predicate as they trigger ergative alignment in the past tense transitive constructions. However, a more thorough analysis of their argument structure indicates that all transitive-like CPrs are not true transitive verbs because they do not govern a typical direct object just like a transitive verb does in this dialect. Haig (2002) discusses that there are

lexically transitive verbs in Kurmanji Kurdish (such as *sond wxarin* 'to swear') which semantically express intransitive propositions but trigger ergative alignment in past tenses although they do not govern a direct object. He proposes that lexical transitivity is a property of *individual simplex verb lexeme* while syntactic transitivity is *a property of clauses*. What he classifies as lexically transitive verbs all include nominal CPrs (noun+light verb), which are all unergative verbs except for *can dan* 'to die' (literally 'give soul'). His analysis implies that the absence of an overt direct object does not guarantee the verb to be intransitive although its presence overtly indicates that the verb is transitive. Considering the behavior of CPrs with respect to ergativity-transitivity and Haig's generalization, I will classify CPrs in MK into three groups; transitive CPrs, unergative CPrs and unaccusative CPrs.

3.3.2.1 Transitive CPrs

CPrs in this group are syntactically transitive in this dialect because they all have overt direct objects and thus trigger ergative alignment in the past tenses, (10):

(10) a. *Ez* *dar-an* ***av*** ***di-d-im.***
1S.DIR tree-PL.OBL water PROG-give.PRS-1S
'I am watering the trees.'

b. *Min* *dar-an* ***av*** ***da.***
1S.OBL tree-PL.OBL water give.PST.3S
'I watered the trees.

Haig (2002) argues that in Kurmanji"… a clause is transitive if it permits the expression of a direct object NP…" (p. 20)[4] and categorizes CPrs governing a direct

[4] Haig (2002) proposes five properties that a direct object has in Kurmanji: (Note that (iv) is not valid for MK as the object takes the OBL case thus cannot influence person-number agreement.)

object as *incorporating CPrs* as the whole CPr functions as a single predicate.[5] The CPr *avdan* 'to irrigate' is transitive as it governs a direct object, *dar(an)* 'tree(s)', which carries the proto-typical properties of a direct object in MK; it is non-adpositional, bears OBL case and functions as the subject under passivization:

(11) *Dar* *hat-in* ***avdan.***
tree.NOM come.PST-PL irrigate (lit: water give)
'The trees were watered.'

Moreover, the direct object can scramble in its immediate clause (12a), while the noun element within the transitive CPrs is not free to scramble (12b):

(12) a. *Dar-an* *ez* ***av*** ***di-d-im.***
tree-PL.OBL 1S.DIR water PROG-give.PRS-1S
'I am watering the trees.'

b. * *Ez* ***av*** *dar-an* ***di-d-im.***
1S.DIR water tree-PL.OBL PROG-give.PRS-1S

The examples provided in (11-12) indicate that these CPrs govern a direct object, and the noun element in these CPrs is like an incorporated part of the CPr (Baker, 1988). For instance, the noun of the transitive CPrs is always bare; it does not bear case (13a) nor is it modified (13b).

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i. Direct objects are non-adpositional.
ii. In pragmatically neutral clauses, direct objects are immediately pre-predicate.
iii. With accusative alignment, the direct object takes the oblique case (unless used with a generic or sortal sense).
iv. With ergative alignment, the direct object determines person and number agreement on the predicate.
v. Only direct objects achieve subjecthood under passivization.

[5] Note that Haig (2002) uses the term *incorporation* to refer to 'the loss of all argument status'.

(13) a. * Ez dar-an **av-**ê **di-d-im**
1S.DIR tree-PL.OBL water-OBL PROG-give.PRS-1S

b. * Ez dar-an **av-**a cemidî **di-d-im**
1S.DIR tree-PL.OBL water-EZ.F cold PROG-give.PRS-1S

The majority of transitive CPrs in MK consist of an adjective, a particle or a PP as the nonverbal element while noun CPrs are less in number. Although Haig (2002) proposes that transitive CPrs (incorporating CPrs in Haig's term) are limited to only two lexical verbs namely *kirin* 'do' and *dan* 'give', CPrs including other lexical verbs such as *hold, put, bring,* etc, are attested in the MK data, though they are small in number. Some common transitive CPrs in this dialect are as follows:

(14) *av dan* (water give) 'to irrigate'
girê dan (tie give) 'to tie'
xwey kirin (salt do) 'to salt'
pacî kirin (kiss do) 'to kiss'
teng kirin (narrow do) 'to narrow down'
hêsîr girtin (captive hold) 'to make somebody captive'
bi dest xistin (with hand put) 'to access'
derxistin (particle put) 'to wheel out, to clear out'

3.3.2.2 Unergative CPrs

CPrs in this group are all lexically transitive in terms of Haig (2002); they semantically express intransitive propositions but nevertheless trigger ergative alignment in past tenses despite the lack of a direct object.[6] Observing that all CPrs

[6] A possible explanation for why unergative CPrs trigger ergative alignment just like a transitive verb in this dialect will be discussed in Section 3.3.3.1. Also note that unlike what the terminology implies, subjects of an unergative verb can bear ERG case, which is quite common in Hindi, Basque and Georgian (Marantz, 1991). Marantz (1991) proposes that ergative is a 'dependent' case (whose realization is dependent on the availability of another case, e.g. Absolutive or unmarked cases) and it can be realized on the subject of an unergative verb in certain languages if the object position, which is empty, counts as a distinct 'unmarked' position that is visible to the realization of a dependent case.

in this group contain a noun as their non-verbal element and a transitive LV, and also that the great majority of them semantically corresponds to an unergative verb such as *work, make a fire, fast, speak*, I propose that these CPrs are like unergative verbs in the sense of Hale & Keyser (1997, 1998, 2002); they are underlyingly transitive structures in which an agentive LV selects for (or incorporates into) its nominal object, which I will discuss in detail in Section 3.3.3.2. However, unergative CPrs display some differences with respect to their subcategorizational properties and the behavior of their noun element. Haig (2002) calls these CPrs as *non-incorporating complex predicates* (p. 26) and he classifies them into three groups considering the behavior of their noun element; (i) *adpositional complement CPrs*, (ii) *possessor complement CPrs*, and (iii) *saturated CPrs* (p. 29). I will refer to his classification while discussing each group.

3.3.2.2.1 Adpositional complement CPrs

The first type of unergative CPrs is subcategorized for an adpositional argument; this type requires an additional argument appearing in an adpositional phrase because this oblique argument is conventionally associated with the CPr (Bedirxan & Lescot, 2004; Haig, 2002). This additional argument must be introduced within an adpositional phrase (ADP) otherwise the sentence would be ungrammatical (15c). Also, as (15d) shows, the ADP is like the subcategorized argument of the CPr thus its omission leads to ungrammaticality.

(15) a. *Ez* *li* *televizyon-ê* ***temaşe*** ***di-k-im***.
1S.DIR ADP television-OBL watch PROG-do.PRS-1S
'I am watching television.'

b. *Min* *li* *televizyon-ê* ***temaşe*** ***di-kir***.
1S.OBL ADP television-OBL watch PROG-do.PST.3S
'I was watching television.'

c. * *Min* *televizyon-ê* ***temaşe*** ***di-kir***.
1S.OBL television-OBL watch PROG-do.PST.3S

d. * *Min* ***temaşe*** ***di-kir***.
1S.OBL watch PROG-do.PST.3S

A few examples of adpositional complement CPrs are given in (16). Underlyingly they pattern with unergative verbs as in *do work* 'to work', but they do not govern an overt direct object and their noun element is always bare.

(16)

xeber dan	(info/swear give)	'to speak'
govend girtin	(halay hold)	'to dance the halay'
tinaz kirin	(joke do)	'to joke'
hez kirin	(love do)	'to love'
bawer kirin	(belief do)	'to believe'

3.3.2.2.2 Possessor complement CPrs

These CPrs necessitate an additional argument in the form of a possessor linked to the noun element through an *ezafe* marker (EZ). For instance, the verb *praise somebody* is expressed through *praise* + *possessor give* lit. 'give one's praise':

(17) a. *Gundî* *zehf* ***pesn***-*a* *wî* *kur-ê* ***di-d-in.***
villager.DIR very praise-EZ.F DEM.M boy-OBL PROG-give.PRS-3PL
'The villagers praise that boy much.' (lit. … praise of that boy give)

b. *Gundî-yan* *zehf* ***pesn***-*a* *wî* *kur-ê* ***di-da.***
villager-PL.OBL very praise-EZ.F DEM.M boy-OBL PROG-give.PST.3S
'The villagers were praising that boy much.'

Although the majority of these CPrs express a transitive proposition such as *help someone*, *praise someone/something*, *listen to somebody/something or teach somebody/something*, underlyingly they are like unergatives in the form of a possessor NP with an *ezafe* and an LV; e.g. *one's help+do*, *one's praise+give*, *one's ear+give*, etc. Some of these CPrs are presented in (18).

(18)	*pesn dan*	(praise give)	'to praise'
	guh dan	(ear give)	'to listen to'
	alîkarî kirin	(help do)	'to help'
	hîn kirin	(teaching do)	'to teach'
	şîn girtin	(mourning hold)	'to mourn'
	mar birîn	(spousal cut)	'to solemnise'

3.3.2.2.3 Saturated CPrs

The third type of unergative CPrs also triggers the ergative alignment in past tenses despite the lack of a direct object (19):

(19) a. *Gundî* ***destnimêj*** ***di-gir-in.***
villager.PL.DIR ablution PROG-hold.PRS-3PL
'The villagers are performing an ablution.'

b. *Gundî-yan* ***destnimêj*** ***girt.***
villager-PL.OBL ablution hold.PST.3S
'The villagers performed an ablution.'

The noun in some CPrs is totally bare as is not inflected for case, gender and number (20). On the other hand, the noun in other CPrs in this sub-group can be modified by a noun or by an adjective (21). This point will be discussed in detail in the following sub-section (3.3.2.2.4).

(20)	*baz dan*	(jump/running give)	'to run, to jump'
	bang dan	(call/azan give)	'to call, to recite the azan'
	destnimej girtin	(ablution hold)	'to perform an ablution'
	agir kirin	(fire do)	'to make a fire'
	cot kirin	(plough do)	'to plough'

(21)	*bîryar dan*	(decision give)	'to decide'
	rojî girtin	(day hold)	'to fast'
	serma girtin	(chilliness do)	'to catch cold'
	ceng kirin	(war do)	'make war'

3.3.2.2.4 The status of the noun element within unergative CPrs

As presented in the previous sub-sections, the noun element of unergative CPrs may be modified by a noun (22a), by an adjective (22b), by a possessor (22c), or it may be bare (22d).[7] Unlike direct objects, they do not have an overt OBL case. Nevertheless, all sentences with such CPrs have ergative alignment in the past despite the lack of a direct object:

(22) a. *Ew* ***rojî-ya*** *Remezan-ê* ***di-gir-e.***
3S.DIR day-EZ.F Ramadan-OBL PROG-hold.PRS-3S
'He is fasting Ramadan.' (lit. He holds the day of Ramadan)

b. *Min* ***serma****-yek-î* *giran* ***girti-bû.***
1S.OBL cold-INDF-EZ.M heavy hold.PST-PLPRF.3S
'I caught a bad cold.' (lit. I held a heavy cold)

c. *Ez-ê* ***behn****-a* *xwe* ***bi-d-im***.
1S.DIR-FUT breath-EZ.F self SNJV-give.PRS.1S
'I will have a rest.' (lit. I will give my breath)

[7] This indeed points to the fact that these nouns have phrasal category, which I will take as NP. The fact that the emphatic particle *jî,* which is a clitic hosted by a phrase, can intervene between the NV element and the LV of the CPrs provides further support for the phrasal category of these nouns:

(i) *Ew* ***rojî*** *jî* ***di-gir-e.***
3S.DIR day also PROG-hold.PRS-3S
'He is also fasting.'

(ii) *Me* *serê sibe* ***destnimêj*** *jî* ***girt***.
1PL.OBL morning ablution also hold.PST.3S
'We also performed ablution(s) this morning.'

d. *Me* *serê sibe* ***destnimêj*** ***girt***.
1PL.OBL morning ablution hold.PST.3S
'We performed ablution(s) this morning.'
(lit. We held ablution this morning.)

These noun elements do not carry the properties of the direct object in MK; for instance, they are not free to scramble in their immediate clause (23) unlike direct objects in this dialect (recall the example in (12)).

(23) a. * *Ez* ***temaşe*** *li* *televizyon-ê* ***di-k-im.***
1S.DIR watch ADP television-OBL PROG-do.PRS-1S
lit. 'I watch at television do.'

b. * ***Pesn****-a* *wî* *gundî* *her dem* ***di-d-in.***
praise-EZ.M 3S.OBL villager.PL.DIR every time PROG-give.PRS-3PL
lit. 'his praise the villagers every time give.'

c. * ***destnimêj*** *gundi-yan* ***di-gir-in***.
ablution villager-PL.OBL PROG-hold.PRS-3PL
lit. 'ablution the villager hold.'

d. * ***serma****-yek-î* *giran* *min* ***girti-bû.***
cold-INDF-EZ.M heavy 1S.OBL hold.PST-PERF.3S
lit. 'a heavy cold I hold.'

Furthermore, unlike direct objects (as illustrated in (11)), these noun elements cannot achieve subjecthood under passivization (24):[8]

[8] Assuming that a referential nominal introduces an entity in the discourse (Massam 2001), the nouns of certain unergative CPrs (e.g. adpositional and most saturated CPrs) are non-referential NPs; they do not introduce a potential discourse referent hence cannot antecede a pronominal element directly referring to the very same nouns. For instance, the following sentences are not acceptable under the reading where the pronoun *ew* refers to the noun *temaşe* 'watch', meaning 'the watch is long', and *serma* 'cold', literally meaning 'the cold was heavy':
(i) * *Ez* *li* *televizyon-ê* ***temaşe*** *di-k-im.* ***Ew*** *dirêj e.*
1S.DIR ADP television-OBL watch PROG-do.PRS-1S. 3S.DIR long COP.PRS.3S

(24) a. * ***temaşe*** *te* ***kirin***.
watch come.PRS.3S to do
lit. 'watch is done'

b. * ***pesn-a*** *wî* *hat* ***dan.***
praise-EZ.M 3S.OBL come.PST.3S to give
lit. 'his praise was given'

c. * ***destnimej*** *hat* ***girtin.***
ablution come.PST.3S to hold
lit. 'ablution was held.'

d. * ***serma****-yek-î* *giran* *te* ***girtin***.
cold-INDF-EZ.M heavy come.PRS.3S to hold
'lit. a heavy cold is held.'

The examples in (10-14) have clearly demonstrated that the noun element of transitive CPrs seems to be incorporated;[9] it neither functions as a true direct object

Lit: 'I watch TV. It is long.'

(ii) * *Min* ***serma*** *girti-bû.* ***Ew*** *gellek giran bû.*
1S.OBL cold hold.PST-PLPRF.3S 3S.DIR very heavy COP.PST.3S
Lit: 'I caught cold. It was heavy.'

The fact that these nouns cannot achieve subjecthood under passivization can be attributed to their being non-referential NPs as passives require a referential noun as its subject (unless it is an impersonal passive construction which we don't have in MK). Furthermore, the fact that these nouns cannot scramble in their immediate clause also might be due to the same reason because a non-referential noun is generally not free to scramble. However, the noun of another group of unergative CPrs, namely possessor complement CPrs, requires an additional possessor complement linked to itself through ezafe marker thus it is in the form of genitive-possessive noun phrase which can be considered as referential NPs or DPs (see example in (17)). Nevertheless, as illustrated in (23b) and (24b), the passivization and scrambling of the noun of such unergative CPrs also yields ungrammaticality. These examples clearly indicate that there does not have to be a direct relation between referentiality and passivization & scrambling. As provided in examples (11) and (12a), only a direct object can achieve subjecthood under passivization as well as scramble in its immediate clause in this dialect because it is case-marked. It is reasonable to assume that the noun of unergative CPrs displays distinct properties than the direct object in this dialect is because the different merge positions they have; i.e. the noun of such CPrs merge in a lower position than the direct object. This point will be further discussed in Section 3.3.3.1. Moreover, all the nouns of CPrs (transitive as well as saturated and adpositional unergative CPrs) except for the possessive complement unergative CPrs lack of referentiality, but since whether the noun of the CPrs is referential or not do not make any difference in the analysis I will be developing here, I will no longer focus on their referentiality properties in this study, and I will leave the interaction between case and referentiality as well as passivization and scrambling in this dialect to be further investigated in a future study.

[9] Haig (2002) also proposes that the bare noun in CPrs like *avdan* 'to irrigate', which I take as transitive CPrs, are like incorporated nouns as they are caseless, number neutral and cannot be modified, thus they lack an NP status. He further suggests that since they are bare just like

– as there is already a direct object in the sentence - nor does it influence the alignment pattern in this dialect. Likewise, the properties of the noun element within the unergative CPrs as illustrated in (23-24) also suggest that the noun element of these CPrs is not a true direct object, either, rather it seems to saturate the argument requirements of the unergative CPrs, rendering the ergative alignment in the past. The observation that the noun element displays such behavior supports the claim that these CPrs are like unergative verbs; which are underlyingly transitive structures.

3.3.2.3 Unaccusative CPrs

The last group of CPrs in MK neither governs a direct object nor requires an additional argument. They also do not trigger ergative alignment in the past tense constructions (25). They are like typical intransitive (unaccusative) CPrs:

(25) a. *Ez* *gellek* ***acis*** ***di-bi-m.***
1S.DIR very bored PROG-be.PRS-1S
'I am bored.'

b. *Ez* *gellek* ***acis*** ***bû-m.***
1S.DIR very bored be.PST-1S
'I was bored.'

c. *Tu* ***nexweş*** ***di-kev-î.***
2S.DIR ill PROG-fall.PRS-2S
'You are getting ill.'

d. *Tu* ***nexweş*** ***ket-î***
2S.DIR ill fall.PST-2S
'You were ill.'

adjectives, these bare nouns are adjective-like. This is quite in parallel with Dayal (2011) which asserts that number neutrality seems to be a feature of incorporated nominal that holds cross-linguistically and the incorporated noun loses its individual status both semantically and syntactically, hence it no longer refers to a specific entity but rather it simply narrows down the scope of V.

A few examples of CPrs in this group are listed in (26). Note that there are only two CPrs whose NV is a noun; e.g. *dil ketin* 'to fall in love with' and *hev hatin* 'to compromise', while the rest includes CPrs formed with an adjective, a particle or a PP. The verbal element of these CPrs all include predicates such as *be, fall, come,* etc., the heavy counterparts of which are typical intransitive verbs:

(26)	*hêrs bûn*	(angry become)	'to get angry'
	nexweş ketin	(ill fall)	'to get sick'
	dil ketin	(heart fall)	'to fall in love'
	hev hatin	(each other come)	'to compromise'
	bi cîh bûn	(with place become)	'to settle down'
	bi rê ketin	(with road fall)	'to set off (on a journey)'
	derketin	(particle fall)	'to go out'
	rabûn	(particle become)	'to wake up'

3.3.3 The argument structure of CPrs in MK: a syntactic analysis

This section explores a syntactic analysis to account for the argument structure properties of Noun-Verb CPrs and other transitive and unaccusative CPrs in MK.[10] It also presents a few prominent syntactic analyses on complex predicate formation proposed in the literature and discusses the reasons why they fall short of explaining the complex predicate formation in this dialect.

3.3.3.1 The argument structure of noun-verb CPrs in MK

Hale & Keyser (1993) and their subsequent works (1997, 1998, 2002) argue that complex predicates are the norm rather than a special phenomenon because even simplex verbs in the lexicon are internally complex. In their framework, verbs are

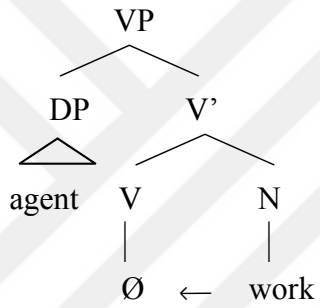
[10] The analysis presented in this section will be further revised through a more elaborated event decompositional syntactic model in Chapter 6 Section 6.4.

decomposed into basic *atomic units* that are put together by syntactic mechanisms such as complementation and adjunction, thus the argument structure is determined by the syntactic configuration depending on the properties of lexical items. The main outcome of their work is to eliminate lexical rules and generate all-argument structure alternations in syntax. Therefore, the location and interpretation of each of the arguments in a verb phrase is going to be determined automatically when the verb is inserted into a particular syntactic structure. Their radical approach presupposes that verbs are not syntactically simplex items but rather they are composites of a non-verbal element and a verb nucleus which undergo incorporation in some languages, such as English, while remaining unincorporated in other languages, such as Basque (and Kurmanji Kurdish in our case). For instance, unergative verbs in English, as well as those in Basque, are underlyingly transitive structures wherein the N object is selected by and optionally incorporated into an agentive light verb. Since the light verb is morphologically visible in Basque, unergative verbs have analytic forms that directly reflect the underlying transitive structure as in *lan egin* 'work do'. On the contrary, the English counterpart is morphologically invisible hence synthetic as it is in *work*, which is underlyingly 'do work'.[11] Furthermore, they reject the notion of theta roles and postulate that there are only the relations determined by the categories verb, noun, adjective, preposition and their projections; hence theta roles are just positionally defined within the structural configuration. I will claim that all MK CPrs provide striking confirmation for the structure of verb complexes in Hale & Keyser's model.

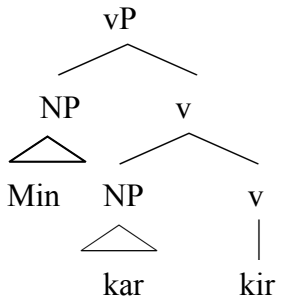
[11] However, as we know there are also unergative verbs in form of complex predicates (with an overt light verb) such as *make a fuss, make a claim* in English. In fact, Hale & Keyser (2002) adopt the term *root* for non-verbal element (compatible with Distributed Morphology approach by Halle and Marantz (1993)) and *verb nucleus* for light verb or verbalizing affix. When the verb nucleus is overt as a light verb, it must have an overt complement because light verbs cannot license a non-overt complement. Therefore, as an overt verb nucleus, *make* is a light verb requiring an overt object.

Based on our findings, I argue that Noun-Verb CPrs in this group behave like unergative verbs in the sense of Hale & Keyser (2002); they are underlyingly transitive structures in which an agentive LV selects for its nominal object (the derivation is merged in the syntax). The difference is that MK has the unincorporated counterparts of English denominal unergative verbs. Due to the difference in head-directionality, the structures in English (head-initial) and MK (head final) are represented as reversed (27).

(27) a. English [denominal verbs] 'work'



b. MK [unergative CPrs]. '*kar kir* ' (do work)



LVs of the unergative CPrs are already transitive verbs whose thematic counterparts always govern a direct object, which is in line with Hale & Keyser (2002) and Karimi-Doostan (2005) who propose that LVs such as 'do', 'make' or 'give' are

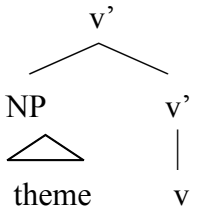
transitive thus must have an object.[12] The fact that unergatives have a transitive underlying structure in this model lets us elaborate as to why these CPrs behave like transitive predicates. Triggering ergative alignment implies that even though the noun elements of unergative CPrs do not act as syntactic arguments, they are still associated with syntactic case. In line with Karimi-Doostan (2005), I argue that the LV in unergative CPrs in Kurmanji is transitive hence it has a structural object case (known as Accusative, which corresponds to OBL in MK) to be checked. When no direct object is introduced into the system, the nominal element checks the case of the LV as a last resort strategy so that the derivation will converge. Gündoğdu (2011) argued that the little v head is responsible for structural object case checking in Kurmanji syntax so all transitive LVs sit in the v head position. Since the nominal element saturates the case feature of the LV, the structure is interpreted as transitive therefore ergative alignment is triggered in the past tense constructions.

However, the noun in these CPrs does not behave like a true direct object syntactically despite checking the case of the light verb; for instance, it cannot scramble (see (23)) and cannot achieve subjecthood under passivization (see (24)). From a semantic perspective, direct objects are the complements of the verb that express elements participating in a process in a special way, thus they have a thematic role. However, unlike direct objects, saturated objects simply determine the semantic content of the complex predicate. This raises the question as to what makes the noun in these CPrs different from the real direct objects in this language. Haig (2002) states that one must consider *a graded concept of objecthood* for N+V CPrs in

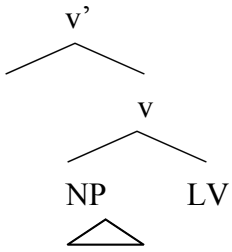
[12] Questioning the main role of the light verb (LV) in Persian complex predicates, Karimi-Doostan (2005) asserts that 'when we have DO type LVs, the internal arguments function as direct objects and when the DO types LVs are replaced by BECOME type LVs, the direct objects of DO type LVs function as subjects. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that DO LVs are capable of assigning accusative case, but BECOME LVs lack such an ability.' (p. 1743-1744).

Kurmanji, for instance, he proposes that the N of possessor complement CPrs has NP argument status while the N of adpositional CPrs has argument status but lacks NP status, on the other hand, the N of incorporating CPrs inherits none (for more see Haig 2002, p. 43). Considering his intuitive idea of *graded objecthood* and expanding it to the objecthood in general but not just for CPrs, I propose that the difference in objecthood status may be due to the difference in structural position of these items. I suggest that that the noun of unergative CPrs is a part of the verbal domain whereas the real direct object is the internal argument of the thematic verb. Given that theta roles are not present in the system of Hale & Keyser (2002), but are instead defined positionally, I propose that real direct objects merge into the internal specifier position (28a), whereas the noun of the unergative CPr is introduced as the sister of LV within the CPr domain (28b). It saturates the case of the transitive LV thus they are saturated objects. The difference in structural positions of these items leads to different objecthood status:

(28) a. direct object



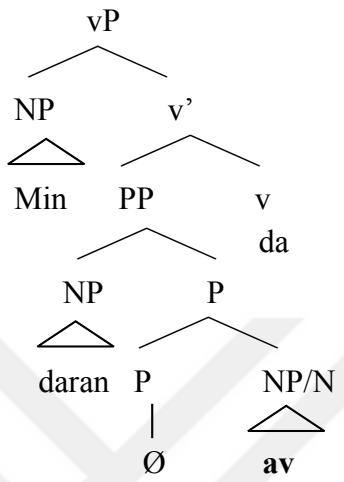
b. saturated object



As for the transitive Noun-Verb CPrs which are fewer in number, they are all agent-manner verbs; they do not have intransitive counterparts and are externally caused hence only compatible with an agentive LV such as *kirin* 'to do', or *dan* 'to give'. The CPrs in this group, e.g. *av dan* 'to water' and *gire dan* 'to tie', underlyingly have a PP structure, which implicates a relation between the specifier and the complement

(29). The P head in this structure is morphologically empty and it conflates with its NP complement:[13]

(29) *Min daran av da*. 'I watered the trees' (like 'trees with water')



The next question relates to the reasons why the noun of unergative CPrs has an objecthood status but the noun of transitive CPrs does not. Our answer is that the difference is due to the structural position and the case properties; the noun of unergative CPrs sits in the sister position of the LV and checks its case while the noun of transitive CPrs is in the complement position of the P head (of PP in the sister position of the verb) and does not check the case of LV. True direct objects, on the other hand, are the internal specifier of the verbal complex and they check case (see (28a)). This in turn points to a 'graded objecthood' status in MK. (30) illustrates

[13] It is crucial to note that Hale & Keyser (2002) distinguish agent manner verbs such as *smear* from patient manner verbs such as *splash* by proposing that the latter group has a kind of adverbial semantic feature identifying a physical motion or an attitude denoted by the patient occupying the internal specifier position, while the former group has an adverbial feature describing the actions of entities denoted by an external argument, i.e. agent. Therefore, given that syntactic configurations with an internal specifier position belong to the alternating type, patient manner verbs enter into intransitive-transitive alternation whereas agent-manner verbs do not as they do not project an internal specifier.

the degree of objecthood depending on the syntactic position where they are merged and the case taken.

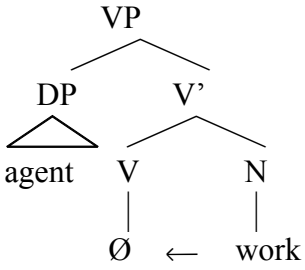
(30) Object ⟷ Non-object

direct objects	saturated object	N of transitive CPr
(+case, +referential)	(+case, -/+referential)	(-case, -referential)
(internal Spec position)	(sister to LV position)	(under PP sister to LV)

3.3.3.2 Hale & Keyser (2002) for other types of Kurmanji CPrs

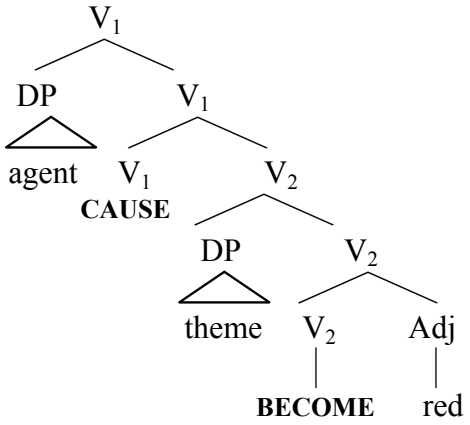
Hale & Keyser's (2002) approach posits monadic and dyadic structures with three kinds of non-verbal constituent, namely noun heads (31a), adjectival heads (32b), and prepositional small clauses (33c). Note that adjectives and prepositions are predicative thus they force the verb to project a specifier position for an internal subject. As such they have dyadic structure and can be transitivized, whereas nouns are entities thus they have monadic structure and cannot be transitivized (Hale & Keyser 2002).[14]

(31) a. Denominal verbs (unergatives)

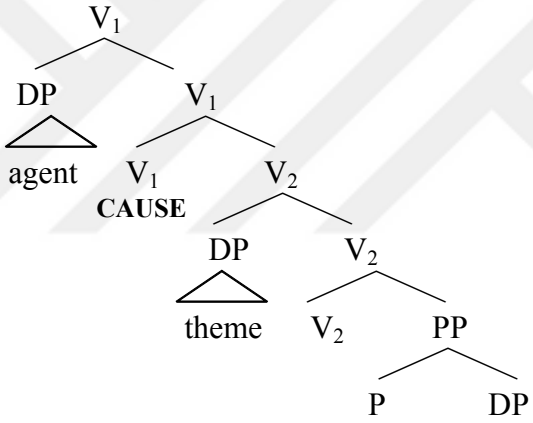


[14] It is crucial to note that Hale & Keyser (2002) do not make a distinction between lexical V and little v but rather they use notations like V, V_1 and V2. Instead of these notations, I adopt vP structure; VP stands for V_2 (intransitive) and vP for V1 (transitive) structures.

b. Deadjectival verbs
(V_1 is transitive (causative), V_2 is intransitive (inchoative))



c. Denominal locatum/locational verbs (splash-type patient-manner verbs)



The argument structure of the verb phrase within H&K's model is reasonable and applicable to the CPrs in MK. Firstly, regardless of head directionality, the CPrs in this dialect seem to have an obvious one-to-one mapping with the underlying argument structure of verb complexes proposed in this model, assuming that the non-verbal element is not incorporated into LV. Secondly, all MK CPrs that are classified as unergatives contain only a noun (or NP) but not an adjective, particle or a prepositional phrase (PP), and this cannot be considered as a coincidence. As discussed in the previous section these CPrs have the exact underlying

correspondence to what H&K propose for unergative (denominal) verbs in general, e.g. *alîkarî kirin* 'to help' (lit: 'help do'). Thirdly, almost all Kurmanji CPrs with an adjective, a particle or a PP have a transitive and an intransitive form which supports H&K's proposal that adjectives and prepositions are predicative, with a dyadic structure (alternating type) and enter into intransitive-transitive alternation (32):

(32) Intransitive

Adj+LV	*eşkere bûn*	(obvious become)	'to become obvious'
P+LV	*vebûn*	(particle become)	'to get opened'
PP+LV	*bi rê ketin*	(with road fall)	'to set off (on a journey)'

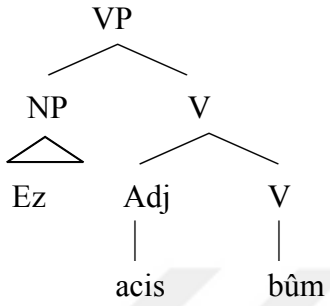
Transitive

Adj+LV	*eşkere kirin*	(obvious do)	'to make obvious/clear'
P+LV	*vekirin*	(particle do)	'to open'
PP+LV	*bi rê kirin*	(with road do)	'to see off'

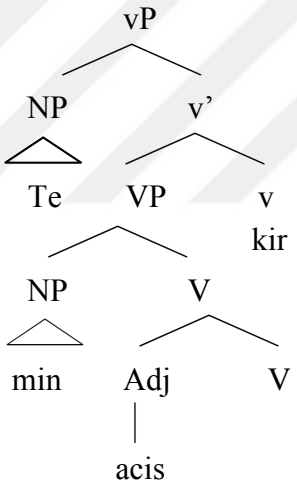
For these CPrs, the nonverbal element of which includes an adjective (33), a PP (34) or a particle (35), H&K's dyadic structure will translate directly. The intransitive CPrs are within V head and their transitive counterparts are derived through the projection of little vP. Before presenting their derivations, I would like to summarize some points: I argued that transitivity is determined by the LV and transitive LVs have structural object case to be checked. In fact, all transitive verbs sit in the v head position so in line with Gündoğdu (2011) it is little v head that is responsible for structural object case checking in Kurmanji syntax. Moreover, I showed that agentivity of the CPr depends on the LV (see examples in (5)). In the current Hale & Keyser system, theta roles are not considered as features to be checked in syntax but they are positionally defined. Thus, following Hale & Keyser (2002), I assume that the specifier internal to the lexical argument structure is reserved for theme

arguments while external arguments are introduced into the external specifier position which I will take as Spec of vP for the time of being:

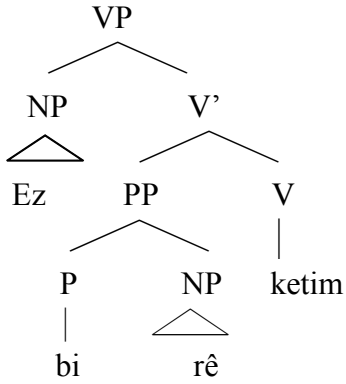
(33) Dyadic structure of Kurmanji CPrs in the form of Adj+LV
a. intransitive = *Ez acis bûm.* 'I got bored'



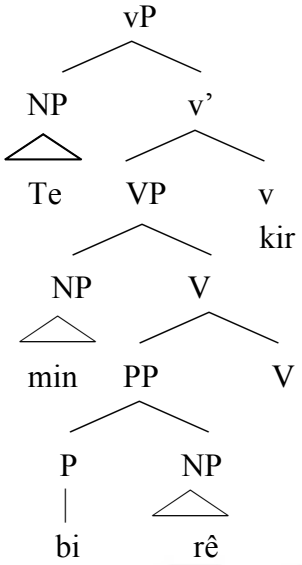
b. transitive = *Te min acis kir.* 'You bored me.'



(34) Dyadic structure of Kurmanji CPrs in the form of PP+LV
a. intransitive = *Ez bi re ketim.* 'I set off a journey.'

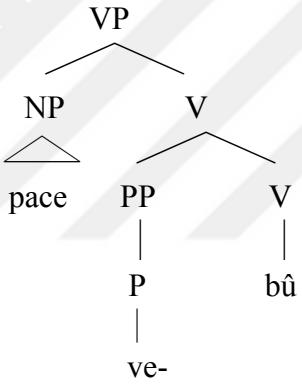


b. transitive = *Te min bi re kir.* 'You saw me off.'

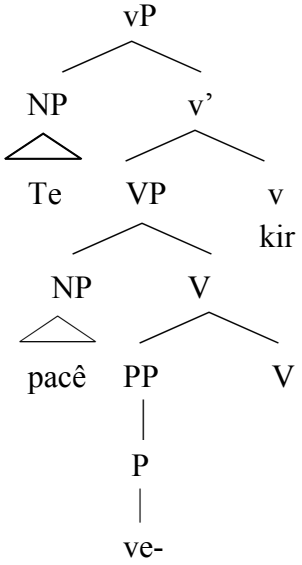


(35) Dyadic structure of Kurmanji CPrs in the form of P+LV

a. intransitive = *Pace vebû.* 'The window opened.'



b. transitive = *Te pacê vekir.* 'You opened the window.'



Also, as argued before, the particle in the CPrs are mostly like adpositions in MK, thus I propose the same structure of PP+LV for the CPrs formed with a particle (35). The only difference is that PP does not contain an NP hence it directly goes to P head (through P'). Proposing the same structure for these CPrs enables us to explain the cases where absolute prepositions like *lê* and *jê* are not contracted as in *li* + *min* + *da* 'P+me LV' (instead of *lêdan* 'to beat'), because in such cases the oblique pronoun *min* 'me' will appear in the NP position of PP. Incorporation of V head into the little v head yields the transitive variant.

So far, I have tried to show that CPrs in MK vary depending on the type of their non-verbal element as well as their syntactic structures, and that the Hale & Keyser model can successfully provide an explanation for their argument structure. In the next sub-section I will present other syntactic analyses proposed in the literature regarding complex predicate formation and discuss the reasons why they fall short of explaining complex predicate formation in this language.

3.4 Why not other syntactic accounts?

Although the general assumption shared by syntactic approaches is the same (complex predicates are the product of syntax), each approach treats the formation process differently. The most famous approach to complex predicate formation in world languages is incorporation analysis. The influential work of Baker (1988, 1995, 2009) gives an account whereby complex predicates are the result of syntactic incorporation (specifically noun incorporation) driven by head movement, whereas Massam (2001) proposes a pseudo-noun incorporation analysis in which a verb phrase (complex predicate) is formed through ordinary syntactic Merge operation but not movement. In fact, an impressive body of literature has been built around these

syntactic approaches through their application to various languages. That said, this section will only cover these two approaches and refer to their applications to different languages when necessary. In the following sub-sections, I will argue that incorporation analyses fall short of explaining CPrs in Kurmanji, unlike the argument structure model of Hale & Keyser (2002).

3.4.1. Head-incorporation analysis of Baker (1988)

The incorporation analysis of Baker is a subcase of Move-Alpha operation and states that an X^o category moves into Y^o which properly governs XP and theta-marks it, hence X^o governs and chain-coindexes with its trace. For instance, the object is integrated into the verb and constitutes a complex predicate as a result of noun incorporation in syntax. Example (36a) illustrates an unincorporated object-verb construction in Onandaga (an Iroquoian language of eastern North America) in which the object nominal appears as a separate word that heads its own phrase and receives its theta role from the verb. Example (36b), on the other hand, exemplifies a case of noun incorporation comprising a morphologically complex verb with a basic verb root and a noun root. Baker (1988, p. 76-77) proposes that (36b) is a thematic paraphrase of the (36a).

(36) a. Pet wa?-ha-**htu**-?t-a ne? o-**hwist**-a?
Pet PAST-3MS/3N-lost-CAUS-ASP the PRE-money-SUF
'Pat lost the money'

b. Pet wa?-ha-**hwist-ahtu**-?t-a
Pet PAST-3MS-**money-lost**-CAUS-ASP
'Pat lost money'

Baker's incorporation analysis successfully accounts for complex structures such as noun/verb/preposition incorporation phenomena in many polysynthetic languages such as Mohawk, Onondaga, Tiwa, Greenlandic, Chichewa, and Kinyarwanda. However, his incorporation analysis cannot explain CPr constructions in Kurmanji for several reasons. First, all types of incorporation proposed by Baker (1988) require a head category which is subject to a movement operation, but as discussed in Section 5.2, the non-verbal category of CPrs in MK contains not only head but also phrase categories, e.g. particles in ***ra****kirin* 'to lift' or ***ve****kirin* 'to open' behave like a head while preposition plus noun in CPrs like ***bi cîh*** *kirin* 'to settle in' or ***bi rê*** *ketin* 'to set off (on a journey)' is absolutely a phrase. Therefore, given that phrase incorporation is not a possible operation (see Baker, 1988, p.71), incorporation analysis does not provide a uniform account for all types of CPrs in this dialect as it cannot explain the formation of CPrs whose non-verbal element is an NP and a PP.

Second, Baker (1988) proposes three types of incorporation: noun incorporation (p. 76), verb incorporation (p. 147), and preposition (specifically applicative) incorporation (p. 229), however, his incorporation analysis does not say anything about complex verbs formed with an adjective or a PP which exist in MK (see examples provided in (1)).

Lastly, and most importantly, incorporation is a transformational analysis which presupposes the existence of the unincorporated paraphrases, therefore all incorporation examples (i.e. noun/verb/preposition incorporation) provided by Baker have also unincorporated counterparts (as also illustrated in (36)). Moreover, Baker (1988) and similarly Mithun (1984) state that languages having noun incorporation also have their syntactic paraphrases with an unincorporated N head. However, this is not the case in MK, because none of the CPrs in this dialect have another

counterpart. To illustrate, the CPr *avdan* 'to irrigate' does not have a specific counterpart such as **avê dan* which would be ungrammatical (see (13a)). Given that CPrs outnumber the simplex verbs and CPr is a productive verb formation strategy adopted to create new verbal expressions in MK (and in Kurdish as well as all Iranian languages as per Haig (2002)), we do not expect to find such unincorporated cases.

3.4.2. Pseudo-noun incorporation analysis of Massam (2001)

Massam (2001), on the other hand, argues that what has been previously analyzed as a case of head incorporation in Niuean (Austronesian) is simply the result of forming a verb phrase through ordinary syntactic Merge (hence no movement), which she refers to as pseudo-noun incorporation. In contrast to the incorporation analysis, in Massam (2001)'s analysis, the incorporated part is not a bare noun, but an NP which is non-specific and non-referential. When the direct object merges with the verb and fails to check object case, it cannot scramble or undergo object shift to a position out of the VP and remains adjacent to the verb in the same syntactic phrase and undergoes predicate fronting, yielding the predicate initial VOS word order in Niuean rather than the default VSO word order. Example (37a) illustrates the canonical VSO word order: V-particles-Subject-Object, while (37b) shows the pseudo-noun incorporated word order VOS wherein the object stands adjacent to the verb and precedes the particles, thus: V- Object-particles-Subject (Massam, 2001, p.157).

(37) a. (Niuean VSO order)

Takafaga	tiimau	ni	e	ia	e	tau	**ika**
hunt	always	EMPH	ERG	he	ABS	PL	fish

'He is always fishing.'

b. (Niuean VOS order)

Takafaga	**ika**	tuimau	ni	a	ia
hunt	fish	always	EMPH	ABS	he

'He is always fishing.'

Massam (2001) also points out that the agent is ergative in (37a) but absolutive in (37b), which in turn indicates that a pseudo-noun incorporated sentence is intransitive.

Considering this pseudo-noun incorporation analysis with respect to the MK CPrs, one can easily predict that this account by no means explains CPrs with adjectives, particles and PP as it only targets bare NP plus verb constructions. Nevertheless, it may provide an explanation only for CPrs with bare nouns/NPs. However, in Massam's system, pseudo-noun incorporation turns a transitive verb into an intransitive predicate, but all Kurmanji CPrs with a noun are transitive as they trigger ergative alignment in the past tense; either they have an overt direct object or their nominal element behaves like an object. Thus, none of the CPrs in this dialect have an unincorporated counterpart - neither transitive nor intransitive.

Applying the analysis of Massam (2001) to Turkish a bit differently, Öztürk (2009) explains preverbal bare nouns and light verb constructions in Turkish through pseudo-incorporation. She shows that an immediately preverbal bare noun like ***kitap*** *okudum* 'I did book reading' has full NP status but it lacks case and referentiality hence it is predicative. According to her analysis, in pseudo-incorporation, the case feature is weak and is not compatible with referential NPs. Therefore, bare nouns that are merged as complements of the lexical verb check weak case of Theme head and they retain thematic interpretation via *in situ* case checking through Agree (as a last resort strategy) so that the derivation will not crash. Öztürk (2009, p. 348) shows that although immediately preverbal bare nouns in Turkish pattern with unergatives,

it is impossible to add an accusative marked direct object to the sentence (e.g. *Ali [*Romeo ve Juliet-i] kitap okudu* 'Ali book-read Romeo and Juliet') and to a causative construction (e.g. *Ayşe [*Ali-yi] balık tutturdu* 'Ayşe made Ali go fishing'). This implies that they are associated with syntactic case and theme theta role though they are not true syntactic arguments, hence a pseudo-incorporated construction such as ***kitap*** *okudum* 'I did book reading' is transitive.

In fact, Öztürk's treatment of pseudo-noun incorporation can provide an explanation for why unergative CPrs with a bare NP (adpositional and some saturated unergative CPrs) behave as a transitive predicate in MK such that they trigger ergative alignment in the past tense although they cannot take a direct object. If the transitive light verb has a case to be checked (assuming that transitive light verbs assign case) and no direct object is introduced into the system, then the bare NP is going to check the case of the light verb as a last resort strategy so that the derivation will converge.

As for light verb constructions such as *redd-etmek* 'reject' in Turkish (38), she proposes that the light verb *et-* 'do' functions as true denominalizer because in the absence of the light verb, the nominal element has the same arguments with the same theta-roles and case markers (Öztürk, 2009, p. 346).[15]

(38) a. Meclis yasa-yı [$_{NP}$ redd] et-ti
assembly law-ACC reject do-PST
'The assembly rejected the law.'

[15] A similar assumption has been made by Key & Tat (2012) who proposes that in Type II complex predicates of Turkish (such as *davet etmek* 'invite', *ziyaret etmek* 'visit'), transitivity is determined by the non-verbal element *davet* 'invitation'/*ziyaret* 'visiting' as it can take accusative argument on its own in the absence of the light verb.

b. Meclis-in yasa-yı redd-i
assembly-GEN law-ACC reject
'The assembly's rejecting the law.'

Öztürk (2009) argues that the bare NP in light verb constructions is not associated with a theta role thus unlike pseudo-incorporated verbs they allow the occurrence of an object; i.e. transitive. Nevertheless, light verb constructions and pseudo-incorporation share the same [NP+V] structure, so sisterhood to the lexical verb gives rise to complex predicate formation. At first sight, such an analysis of light verb constructions seems to explain the behaviors of transitive Kurmanji CPrs with bare NPs such as *avdan* 'to irrigate', but upon closer inspection we can see that bare NPs of such CPrs cannot assign any case and theta role (39c), and they always have to be used with the light verb (39b). Therefore, this analysis fails to explain the behaviors of these CPrs.

(39) a. *Min* *dar-an* ***av*** ***da***.
1S.OBL tree-PL.OBL water give.PST.3S
'I watered the trees'

b. *avdan-a* *daran* *zor* *e.*
irrigating-EZ.F tree-PL.OBL difficult COP.3S
'Watering trees is difficult'

c.* *av-a* *daran* *zor* *e.*
water-EZ.F tree-PL.OBL difficult COP.3S
Intended: 'Watering trees is difficult'

Considering structural as well as language-specific differences, among the available analyses, making syntactic generalizations and proposing a uniform analysis for CPrs in MK is challenging. The analyses proposed in the literature on complex predicate

formation mostly focus on N+V type CPrs (or V+V type CPrs which do not exist in MK). However, we have also Adj+V, Particle+V and PP+V type CPrs in addition to N+V type CPrs in this dialect. As discussed in this section, the incorporation analyses of Baker (1988) and Massam (2001) fall short of explaining the properties and argument structure of the MK CPrs in general, and even they cannot account for the properties of Noun-Verb type CPrs. Incorporation is a transformational analysis and all incorporation examples provided in both analyses also have unincorporated counterparts; however, none of the Kurmanji CPrs have unincorporated syntactic paraphrases. Moreover, all types of incorporation proposed by Baker require a head category which is subject to movement operation and that proposed by Massam necessitates a bare NP, but the noun category of unergative CPrs in MK is mostly a phrase category in the form of NP as presented in the previous section. On the other hand, it is shown that the argument structure of the verb phrase within H&K's model is reasonable and largely explanatory for all types of CPrs in this dialect.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter investigated the argument structure properties of CPrs in MK with a specific focus on the Noun-Verb CPrs in MK, discussed the status of the noun element in such CPRs and its implications for MK syntax. The CPrs were classified into three groups: (i) transitive, (ii) unergative and (iii) unaccusative CPrs. The former group behaves like a typical transitive verb; they govern a typical direct object and trigger ergative alignment in the past. Likewise, the third group is like typical unaccusative verbs. On the other hand, the second group does not have a direct object although it also triggers ergative in the past. Considering their syntactic properties, I proposed that the CPrs in the second group are *unergative verbs* in the

sense of Hale & Keyser (2002); they are underlyingly transitive structures in which an agentive LV selects for its nominal object. I argued that the noun element in these CPrs is not a true direct object despite fulfilling the argument requirements of the CPr. The noun element checks the case of transitive LV as if it were its object, which in turn, points to a different objecthood status in MK syntax: the noun of unergative CPrs is a part of the verbal domain whereas the real direct object is the internal argument of the thematic verb. Moreover, this chapter presented information about the properties of other types of Kurmanji CPrs and discussed that Hale & Keyser's (2002) model can also account for each type of CPrs in this language, where other proposals, e.g. incorporation, fall short of explaining CPrs overall. In fact, a thorough investigation of the various complex predicates in other Kurmanji dialects as well as other Kurdish varieties (e.g. Central Kurdish (Sorani)) and their comparison with each other could shed light on the internal structure of complex verbs in this language.

CHAPTER 4

OBLIQUE CASE-MARKED VS. ADPOSITIONAL ARGUMENTS IN KURMANJI KURDISH: AN EVENT STRUCTURE PROPOSAL

4.1 Introduction

MK employs two morphological tools to indicate clausal constituents: case marking (direct vs. oblique) and adpositions (prepositions, postpositions, and circumpositions). Case marked NPs[1] generally encode event participants such as agent, patient and recipient, while adpositional phrases introduce a wide range of semantic roles like causee, patient, recipient, benefactor, addressee, location, source and path.[2] However, case morphology and the adpositional system in this language overlap in expressing certain participant roles such as patient and recipient. Furthermore, in some instances this overlap is sensitive to the position of the constituent (preverbal vs. postverbal) in the clause. The current chapter investigates the following three asymmetries attested in a MK clause based on data collected in Muş:

i. Verbs having an OBL patient and those having an ADP patient;
ii. OBL recipients with *give* and ADP recipients with *send*;
iii. ADP recipients are preverbal while OBL-marked recipients and spatial goals are postverbal.

[1] Whether the case-marked noun phrases are NP (noun phrase) or DP (determiner phrase) is an issue beyond the scope of this chapter. Given that such a distinction does not make any difference for the discussion here, for the sake of simplicity, I take all noun phrases as NPs.

[2] Note that in this study, the semantic role *patient* is used in line with Dowty's *Patient Proto-Role*, which covers all the patient/theme properties that can function as an object in a clause. Dowty (1991) specifies the contributing properties for the Patient Proto-Role as follows: "(a) undergoes change of state, (b) incremental theme, (c) causally affected by other participants, (d) stationary relative to movement of another participant and (e) does not exist independently of an event, or not at all." (p. 572). Furthermore, the terms *object* and *patient* are sometimes used interchangeably in this study to refer to a clausal object but none of these terms directly refer to *direct object.*

I will demonstrate that the morphological realization of the constituents and their linear ordering in MK are sensitive to the correlation between verb meaning and event type. For instance, there are certain verb classes (e.g., activity verbs, motion verbs) which pattern alike with respect to argument realization properties, pointing to the existence of certain event types. Considering the MK data, I will provide an explanation for these asymmetries through an *event structure approach* which analyzes verb meaning and argument representation through event structure templates (specifically Rappaport and Levin 1998, 2008; Levin and Rappaport 2007; Levin 1999, 2011). Proceeding from this Introduction, I will present a descriptive observation on the relationship between the participant roles and their morphological marking in terms of syntactic function. Then I will discuss the asymmetries attested in a MK clause along with their implications for an event structure proposal. I will further elucidate the position of goal constituents with respect to the verb in MK through a discussion on dialectal variation and contact influence.

4.2 Case marking and adpositions across participants roles in MK

Event participants are expressed by either morphologically marked NPs or adpositional phrases in MK. The direct (DIR) case is generally reserved for agents[3] in certain tenses (i.e. S in all tenses and A in non-past tenses) while the Oblique (OBL) case has a wider distribution. The OBL case expresses constituents with various participant roles and grammatical function, such as agents (i.e. A in past tenses), patients, recipients and spatial goals. The fact that both the DIR and OBL cases mark A in certain tenses ((1) vs. (2)) is due to the split ergative system of this

[3] A*gent role* here refers to the *Agent-Proto Role* by Dowty (1991) which covers all the agent properties that can function as a subject (S and A) in a clause; such as experiencer, instrument, causer etc. Note that non-canonical subjects in MK are not included in the categorization and discussion here.

dialect:

(1) *Ez-ê* *genim-ê* *bi-d-im* *te.*
1S.DIR-FUT wheat-OBL SBJV-give.PRS-1S 2S.OBL
'I will give the wheat to you.'

(2) *Me* *kêrî-yê* *anî* *gund.*
1PL.OBL flock-OB**L** bring.PST.3S village.OBL
'We brought the flock to the village'

Taking for granted that S/A and O are the core arguments of a verb, the OBL case not only marks core arguments (i.e. A and O) but it also marks non-core arguments such as recipients and spatial goals in this dialect. In contrast, the DIR case marking is restricted to core arguments S and A. Although the DIR case is marked in terms of its distribution, the OBL case is the default form. Table 17 summarizes the distribution of the DIR and OBL cases across participant roles in this dialect:

Table 17. Case Marking across Participant Roles in MK

	DIR case	OBL case
Agent	*-Ø*	*-ê/î/an*
Patient		*-ê/î/an*
Recipient		*-ê/î/an*
Spatial goal		*-ê/î/an*

The fact that the same marker expresses different roles and functions is not a phenomenon specific to MK, rather it is also observed in some other languages. For instance, the dative case *-a/e* in Turkish marks various participant roles such as recipients (e.g. *Ali'ye kitabı verdim* 'I gave the book to Ali'), directional goals (e.g. *Ankara'ya gittim* 'I went to Ankara') and benefactives (*'Anneme elma topladım* 'I

picked apples for my mother'). Similarly, the genitive case in Russian marks both possessors and indirect objects (Caha, 2009). And such examples can be enumerated. The interesting thing is that in MK, the OBL case fulfills a major part of these functions (core vs. non-core arguments) by itself.

Adpositional phrases (ADP, henceforth), on the other hand, encode participant roles such as cause, patient, recipient, addressee, benefactor, location, source, etc. in MK, as provided in Table 18. The same adposition may appear with phrases denoting different participant roles, as illustrated with the gray shaded areas:

Table 18. Adpositions across Participant Roles in MK

	bi	li	ji	ji…ra	di…ra	bi…ra	di…da
Causee	bi						
Patient		li	ji				
Source			ji				
Recipient				ji…ra			
Benefactor				ji…ra			
Addressee				ji…ra			
Location		li					di…da
Path					di…ra		
Manner	bi						
Instrument	bi						
Accompaniment						bi…ra	

As seen in the table, there is an overlap in expressing certain participant roles in this dialect. For instance, the adposition *ji…ra* 'to' introduces the participants such as addressee (3a), recipient (3b) and benefactor (3c), which are meaning wise relevant and expressed by the same marker or preposition in many languages (e.g. Turkish; Tonyalı, 2015). Similarly, the preposition *bi* 'with' can express the causee of an action (or the underlying agent) (4a), the manner of an action (4b) or the instrument with which the action is done or carried (4c). (Note that the NP complements of the ADPs also have the OBL case marker, but this is not relevant to the discussion here.)

(3) a. *Ez* *ji* *we* *ra* *meselek-î* *bi-bêj-im.*
1S.DIR ADP 2PL.OBL ADP topic.INDF-OBL SBJV-say.PRS-1S
'I will tell you about a topic.'

b. *Xwed-ê* *ji* *wî* *ra* *ayet* *şand.*
god.OBL ADP 3S.M.OBL ADP verse send.PST.3S
'God sent him the verse of the Koran.'

c. *Me* *ji* *wan* *ra* *gebol* [4] *çekir-ibû.*
1PL.OBL ADP 3PL.OBL ADP meal make.PST-PLPRF.3S
'We cooked meal of *gebol* for them.'

(4) a. *Min* *zevî-yê* *bi* *wî* *da* *rakirin.*
1S.OBL field-OBL ADP 3S.OBL give.PST.3S remove
'I made him plough the field.'

b. *bi* *dizî* *çû* *peşî-ya* *wan.*
ADP hidden go.PST.3S front-EZ.F 3PL.OBL
'He went to meet them **secretly.**'

c. *bi* *hesp-ê* *xwe* *te.*
ADP horse-EZ.M self come.PRS.3S
'He came with his horse.'

There are also adpositions such as *ji* 'from' and *li* 'at' which encode core arguments such as patient (5a/6a) apart from adjunct-like participants; source (5b) and location (6b). This overlap is not meaning wise relevant, though.

(5) a. *Me* *ji* *wan* *hez* *di-kir*
1S.OBL ADP 3PL.OBL pleasure PROG-do.PST.3S
'We loved them.' (lit: we got pleasure from them)

b. *ji* *gundîy-an* *xeraç-an* *di-xwast-in.*
ADP villager-PL.OBL racket-PL.OBL PROG-want.PST-3PL
'They asked them to give money.'
(lit: they wanted racket from the villagers)

[4] *Gebol* is a traditional Kurdish meal which is similar to *keşkek* in Turkey; a dish of mutton or chicken and coursely ground with wheat.

(6) a. *Mêsîçî* *li* *tor-ê* *di-nêr-e*
fisherman.DIR ADP fishnet-OBL PROG-look.PRS-3S
'The fisherman is looking at the fishnet.'

b. *ew* *çax* *li* *çîyê* *ma-n*
DEM.DIR time ADP mountain.OBL stay.PST-PL
'They stayed at the mountain at that time.'

It is common across languages that a functional preposition introduces different constituents in terms of role and function (Caha, 2009), such as 'with' in English and *ile* 'with' in Turkish which express both the instrumentals and comitatives.[5] However, what we see in MK and also in other languages is not arbitrary. A closer look at the case morphology and adposition system in this dialect reveals that there is overlap in expressing certain participant roles and syntactic functions, as shown in Table 19. For instance, core constituents like agent which mostly functions as S/A, patient that generally fulfills the DO function, and other non-core constituents such as recipient are introduced either by an OBL case-marked NP or by an ADP. In contrast, other adjunct-like participants such as instrument or source are always and only encoded by ADPs.

Table 19. OBL case and ADP overlap across Participant Roles in MK

	OBL case	ADP
Patient	*-ê/î/an*	li, ji
Recipient	*-ê/î/an*	ji…ra

Expressing the same participant role and syntactic function (e.g. patient) with two different tools cannot be arbitrary in MK. This brings up the following questions:

[5] Caha (2009) proposes that case and functional prepositions are not different phenomena because functional prepositions in one language spell out the same features as case suffixes in other languages.

i. Why does MK mark certain constituents with both the OBL case and ADP?

ii. Do these constituents have the same properties?

iii. What determines this distribution?

Given that languages implement morphological tools such as case, adpositions, clitics, etc. to express the event participants as well as manifest their relations to the event, the overlap between case and ADP system attested in this dialect must be meaningful. I will discuss the implications of this overlap for MK morphosyntax seeking answers to these questions in the following sections.

4.3 Asymmetries in MK morphosyntax and implications

In MK, a clausal object either carries the OBL case or it is adpositional, and this variation is not arbitrary but sensitive to the verb type. Verbs like *şikandin* 'break', *anîn* 'bring', and *xwarin* 'eat' have OBL-marked objects while other verbs such as *hez kirin* 'like/love (lit. love do)', *temaşe kirin* 'watch', *bawer kirin* 'believe' and *nêrîn* 'look' take ADP objects. The same verb cannot mark its object with OBL or ADP in the same environment. To illustrate, the verb *şikandin* 'break' (7a) can only have an OBL object while object of the verb *nêrîn* 'look' must be adpositional (8a). Not meeting these conditions leads to ungrammaticality, as in putative (7b) and (8b) (objects in bold).

(7) a. *Min* ***der-ê*** ***wan*** *şikand.*
1S.OBL door-EZ.M 3PL.OBL break.PST.3S
'I broke their door.

b. * *Min* [**ADP+ *derê wan***] *şikand.*

(8) a. *Mêsîçî* ***li*** ***tor-ê*** *di-nêr-e.*
fisher.DIR ADP fishnet-OBL PROG-look.PRS-3S
'The fisherman is looking at the fish net.'

b. **Mêsîçî* ***torê*** *dinêre.*

Likewise, morphological marking and the position of recipients display differences based on verb type. The verbs *dan* 'give' and *firotin* 'sell' mark their recipient with OBL case and place them in the immediate postverbal position whereas the verb *şandin* 'send' expresses its recipient through ADP in the preverbal position, as in (9)-(10) (recipients in bold face).

(9) *Ser-ê* *mal-ê* *dewar-ek* *bi-d-e* ***te***.
head-EZ.M house.OBL cattle-INDF.DIR. SBJV-give.PRS-3S 2S.OBL
'Let each house give **you** a head of cattle.'

(10) *Xwedê* ***ji*** ***wî*** ***ra*** *ayet* *şand.*
God.OBL ADP 3S.OBL ADP verse send.PST.3S
'God sent **him** the verse of the Koran.'

In fact, the distinction that appears in linear ordering is not specific to the recipients of these two types of verbs. We observe a similar restriction on the distribution of other goal constituents, namely goals of verbs of movement, recipients of verbs of transfer, and addressees of verbs of speech (Haig, 2014, p. 413). For instance, just like the recipient of *şandin* 'send', addressees also appear in preverbal position and are adpositional (5). On the other hand, goals of verbs of movement show up in postverbal position and mostly bear the OBL case (6).[6]

[6] These verbs may sometimes take adpositional postverbal goals, although it is not common (Haig, 2014). These adpositional postverbal goals are expressed by location nouns, which evolve historically from nouns (Haig, 2014; Haig & Thiele, 2014), like *ber* 'in front of', *nav* 'inside', *ser* 'on/above', *cem* 'next to', as in *ber min* 'in front of me', *nav malê* 'inside the home' and *cem wî* 'next to him'. Since,

(11) *Ez* ***ji*** ***we*** ***ra*** *meselek-î* *bi-bêj-im.*
1S.DIR ADP 2PL.OBL ADP topic.INDF-OBL SBJV-say.PRS-1S
'I will tell you about a topic.'

(12) a. *Me* *kêrî-yê* *anî* ***gund.***
1PL.OBL flock-OBL bring.PST.3S village.OBL
'We brought the flock to the village.'

b. *Her* *sê* *bi* *hev* *ra* *ket-in* ***ç'al-ê.***
every three ADP each other ADP fall.PST-PL culvert-OBL
'Three of them together felt into the culvert.'

These examples clearly indicate that the morphological form and linear ordering of certain participant roles are totally dependent on the verb type; in other words, they reflect a distinction associated with specific verbs. The next section will focus on the lexical semantics of the verbs in order to identify the reason for this distinction.

4.4 An event structure proposal

Theories of argument realization (Baker, 1988, 1997; Larson, 1988; Marantz ,1997; Borer, 1998; Hale & Keyser, 1993, 2002; Cuervo, 2003; Levin & Rappaport, 2005; Ramchand, 2008, among others) aim to account for the relation between the verbs and their syntactic context by distinguishing between their structural and idiosyncratic aspects of meaning in terms of event structure and root. One intuitive idea is that verbs in sentences express events and arguments encode participants of events (Cuervo, 2013). However, these theories differ in the way that arguments of a verb are projected in syntax, which aspects of verb meaning are relevant to argument realization, and how verbs get their meaning. For instance, "projectionist"

unlike functional prepositions, they are derived from nouns, they do not pose problems for the analysis in this study.

approaches propose that argument structure of a verb is projected into syntax through theta-role assignment and subcategorizational features (Chomsky, 1981; Bresnan, 1982; Larson, 1988; Baker, 1988, 1997; Grimshaw, 1990). The idea at the heart of this view is that there is a lexicon where each verb is stored with semantically (e.g., theta roles) and syntactically (e.g., number of arguments) relevant information, and that the argument structure of a verb is determined based on this lexical information. On the other hand, "constructivist" approaches take the opposite view of argument structure, emphasizing the idea that verb meaning resides in the syntactic context. That is, the lexical entry of a verb registers only its core meaning (root) and the meaning of a verb is determined compositionally within the syntactic structure it builds up (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Chomsky, 1995; Hale & Keyser, 2002; Borer, 2005; Ramchand, 2008; Marantz, 2013). Although they seem different, the main idea of both approaches is similar: each verb has its own argument structure realization, either stored in the lexicon or determined within the syntactic context.

The MK data clearly demonstrate that certain groups of verbs pattern alike with respect to argument realization properties. This implies that there are a number of verb classes which share the same semantic structure which in turn determines their morphosyntactic realization. Thus, an event structure approach that takes a number of primitive predicates (e.g., ACT, CAUSE, BECOME etc.) to determine the event type of certain verb classes and their grammatical behaviors seems superior to argument realization approaches for the time of being to be able to understand the nature of the asymmetries attested in MK as well as the status of these adpositional and OBL-marked goal constituents in this dialect. Therefore, I will draw on the event structure based approaches in the literature, specifically those proposed by Rappaport and Levin (1998, 2008), Levin and Rappaport (2007) and Levin (1999, 2011).

In their work, Rappaport and Levin (1998) argue that event structure denotes the representation of verb meaning and determines various grammatical properties, including the realization of arguments. In their approach, a verb's meaning is bipartite: event structure and core meaning. The former refers to the structure that the verbs share with other verbs of the same semantic type, so it is the *structural facet* of verb meaning which defines the possible event types. In contrast, the latter is directly relevant to what is idiosyncratic to that verb, thus it is the *idiosyncratic facet* of verb meaning that differentiates one verb from others sharing the same structural facets of meaning (i.e., constant).[7] The authors assume a small set of event structure templates that contain the inventory of possible event types, which are to some extent aspectually motivated, namely simplex and complex event structure templates. Simplex event templates consist of one single sub-event whereas complex event templates contain two sub-events:

(13) Simple event structure templates

a. [x ACT <*MANNER*>]	(activity)
b. [x <*STATE*>]	(state)
c. [BECOME [x <*STATE*>]]	(achievement)

(14) Complex event structure template:
[[x ACT<*MANNER*> CAUSE [BECOME [y <*STATE*>]]] (causative)
(Levin, 1999, p. 9)

It is crucial to specify that two types of participants are encoded in an event structure: "structural participants", which are required as well as licensed by virtue of

[7] In fact, such a distinction also exists in other verb-meaning based argument structure approaches; for instance, structural facet corresponds to *semantic structure* of Grimshaw (1990) or *structural configuration* of Hale and Keyser (1993), likewise idiosyncratic facet is the *semantic content* or *head* inserted in the structure in these studies, respectively.

both the event structure template and by the verb meaning, and "constant participants", which are only required and licensed by virtue of the constant alone.[8] In Levin's work, structural participants are expressed by variables as "x" and "y" and constants are indicated as underlined variables such as "y". The main idea is that simplex event templates have only one structural participant but may have one or more constant participants based on the idiosyncratic meaning of the verb. Complex event templates have two structural participants and may have constant participants if licensed. For instance, *sweep* is an activity verb that needs minimally a *sweeper* and a *surface* hence its meaning is associated with two participants: the structural participant *sweeper* and the constant participant *floor,* as in *I swept the floor.* Similarly, a causative (or accomplishment) verb such as *break* has two structural participants: the actor who breaks and the thing and the undergoer which is broken.

4.4.1 Two types of verbs

The fact that verbs introduce their objects in different morphological forms is not specific to MK or Kurmanji in general. Croft (1993) points out that although languages are not uniform in argument realization of non-causative psych-verbs (e.g., *fear*), they are consistently uniform in the argument expression of causative psych-verbs (e.g., *frighten*). Levin (1999) also observes that languages are uniform in expressing the arguments of causative verbs such as *cut, kill* and *break,* but they display variation in the argument realization of non-causative verbs in general like *sweep, greet* and *answer*. The object(-like) arguments of these latter verbs show more than one potential morphosyntactic realization in English and across languages.

[8] Grimshaw and Vikner (1993) also establish a dichotomy between arguments based on their behavior: structure arguments are licensed by semantic structure while content arguments are licensed by the semantic content.

Levin proposes that verbs with complex/causative event structures are core transitive verbs (CTV): they are obligatorily transitive, since they have two structural participants required by the event structure template, and these participants are mapped onto syntax as subject and direct object. On the other hand, non-causative verbs are two-argument verbs with simplex event structures. They are non-core transitive verbs (NCTV) thus they may – but need not – be transitive as the constant participant (i.e., the argument licensed by the verb's core meaning) does not fall under the event structure-to-syntax mapping principle and is generally realized as oblique argument in syntax. In fact, the contrast that we observe in the morphosyntactic realizations of objects in MK is similar to the distinction between CTV and NCTV made by Levin (1999). This contrast stems from the fact that the objects in this dialect differ in their status with respect to their source in the event structure template.

When we look at verbs with ADP objects in MK, we see that they are all activity verbs like *nêrîn* 'look' (simplex verbs) and *temaşe kirin* 'watch'*, hez kirin* 'like/love (lit. love do)', *se'h kirin* 'listen' (complex verbs). The significant point is that the objects of these verbs do not carry the properties of a typical direct object in Kurmanji. Direct objects in this language are non-adpositional and achieve subjecthood under passivization (Haig, 2002, p. 20) as illustrated in (15). On the contrary, ADP objects are always adpositional (8a is repeated as 16a) and they cannot be the subject of the passivized verb (16b).

(15) a. *Zarok-an* ***pişîk-ê*** *kuşt.* (*active*)
child-PL.OBL cat-OBL kill.PST.3S
'The children killed the cat.'

b. ***Pişîk*** *hat* *kuştin.* (*passive*)
cat.DIR come.PST.3S kill
'The cat was killed.'

(16) a. *Mêsîçî* ***li*** ***tor-ê*** *di-nêr-e.*
fisherman.DIR ADP fishnet-OBL PROG-look.PRS-3S
'The fisher is looking at the fishnet.'

b. * ***li*** ***tor-ê*** *hat* *nêrîn*
ADP fishnet-OBL come.PST.3S look

However, verbs with ADP objects behave parallel to the verbs with true direct objects with respect to the ergative alignment in past tense constructions. Based on this observation, Haig (2002) makes a distinction between clausal and lexical transitivity in Kurmanji, proposing that "only transitive verbs can govern a direct object; intransitive verbs cannot. However, not all transitive verbs govern a direct object" (p. 20). According to this classification, transitive verbs have direct objects while lexically transitive verbs do not; but the latter group licenses ADP objects. I argue that in MK, verbs with ADP objects are indeed non-core transitive verbs; they are all single activity verbs with simple event templates consisting of two participants: structural and constant participants.[9] The structural participant of these verbs is the doer of the action (actor or initiator) and they are morphologically realized as a case-marked NP. The constant participant of these verbs, on the other hand, may be a person, a thing, a location or manner (oblique argument) and their morphological realization is an ADP phrase.[10] For instance, the event template of a

[9] Note that stative verbs like *zanîn* 'know' in MK also have ADP objects, which is in line with the fact that stative verbs represent simple events just like single activity verbs.
[10] The majority of non-core transitive verbs in this dialect constitute complex predicates which have been classified as "unergative complex predicates" in Chapter 3. The adpositional phrases of noun-verb CPrs, which I call as *adpositional complement CPrs*, are their constant participants. I will not elaborate on them here, see Chapter 3 and Chapter 6 for a detailed syntactic account of these verbs.

NCTV like *nêrîn* ‘look’ can be expressed as follows: (Note that ‘y’ stands for the constant participant in (17)).

(17) a. [x ACT <*manner*> y]
b. [x ACT <*nêrîn*> y]
c. [SUBJECT ACT <*nêrîn*> ADP OBJECT]

Core transitive verbs with complex event structure templates have obligatory OBL objects, which qualify as true direct objects in MK. They have two structural participants: actor (subject) and undergoer (direct object), both of which are morphologically realized as case-marked NPs. The event template of a verb like *şikandin* ‘break’ would be a good example of a CTV. It should be noted that what is idiosyncratic to a CTV is the state it lexicalizes, thus *şikestî* ‘broken’ in (18b) is the state that the event *şikandin* ‘break’ lexicalizes in its event structure template. (18) roughly means that there is an external causer (i.e., subject) which acts upon an object (i.e., undergoer) and changes its state:

(18) a. [[x ACT<*manner*>] CAUSE [BECOME [y *STATE*]]] (causative)
b. [[x ACT<*manner*>] CAUSE [BECOME [y *ŞİKESTÎ*]]]
[SUBJECT ACT<*manner*> CAUSE [BECOME OBL OBJECT *ŞİKESTÎ*]]

However, there are a few verbs such as *dîtin* ‘see’ and *xwandin* ‘read’ which are definitely not core transitive verbs but nevertheless license OBL objects in MK. In fact, these verbs behave like a core transitive verb in terms of morphological marking of their objects in many languages (e.g., English, Turkish, Persian, Japanese, Basque, Warrungu, etc.) (Tsunoda, 1985). It seems that such verbs have a strong preference for a transitive syntactic frame in these languages, and this is why they require their

object to be OBL-marked just like core transitive verbs in MK (as throughout Kurmanji).

4.4.2 Two types of recipients

As stated in Section 4.3, the form of the recipients in this dialect is also sensitive to the verb type, as *give*-type verbs have OBL recipients while *send*-type verbs have ADP recipients. I will argue that this difference is due to the fact that these verbs lexicalize different properties of "transfer" information in their event structure, hence this distinction is morpho-syntactically reflected.

Investigating the different argument realizations of three-participant constructions such as *give, sell, send* in dative alternations across languages under the "verb sensitivity approach", Levin and Rappaport (2007) and Levin (2011) argue that *give*-type verbs (e.g., *give, sell, hand, rent*) inherently lexicalize only caused possession in their meaning. Therefore, these verbs are only associated with the change of possession or "caused possession" event type (19). On the other hand, *send-type verbs* (e.g., *send, mail, ship,* etc.) inherently lexicalize spatial goals and thus their roots are associated with caused motion as they denote a physical change of location of the theme (20):

(19) caused possession: (adapted from Levin a& Rappaport, 2007)
'X_{AGENT} ACT CAUSE $Y_{RECIPIENT}$ HAVE Z_{THEME}'

(20) caused motion: (adapted from Levin, 2011)
'X_{AGENT} ACT CAUSE Z_{THEME} BE LOC $Y_{SPATIAL\ GOAL}$'

Both event templates have three inherently involved participants, but they differ in lexicalizing the participant that denotes a change: *give*-type verbs lexicalize the

agent, theme and recipient (change of possession), whereas *send*-type verbs lexicalize the agent, theme and spatial goal (change of location). In English, the participant roles in the caused possession event type can give rise to two syntactic configurations, namely (a) double-object construction (DOC) – V NP NP, and (b) the *to*-prepositional ditransitive variant – V NP *to* NP.

(21) a. *Sandy gave Terry a copy of the new grammar.*
b. *Sandy gave a copy of the new grammar to Terry.*
(Levin & Rappaport, 2007, p. 1)

Nevertheless, this event type lacks a conceptual path and thus it does not entail a physical transfer of possession from a source to a goal/recipient but rather it merely denotes a change of possession taking place between the original possession and the recipient. Therefore, in both syntactic configurations, only the caused possession is encoded, regardless of the recipient being realized as the first object in DOC or as the complement of the preposition *to* (Levin & Rappaport, 2007; Levin, 2011). Even though the roots of *send*-type verbs do not inherently lexicalize caused possession, they may be associated with the caused possession in some languages, e.g., English:

(22) a. *Mary sent some newspapers to the library.*
(spatial goal–caused motion)

b. *Mary sent some newspapers to Jane.*
(caused motion or caused possession where Jane is interpreted as a recipient)

c. *Mary sent Jane some newspapers.*
(caused possession where Jane is interpreted as the recipient)

The basic distinction between the event structures of these two verb types, based on which participant role is lexicalized, is crucial for the MK data. Morphological

marking seems to point to a distinction between structural and constant participants in MK: structural participants are realized with case morphology while constant participants are expressed by adpositions. If this is the case, then we expect to find that the recipient of *dan* 'give' (and also *firotin* 'sell') appears in OBL as it lexicalizes caused possession,[11] whereas the recipient of *şandin* 'send' is expressed through ADP since it does not lexicalize caused possession. Furthermore, since *şandin* 'send' lexicalizes *caused motion* as it refers to a physical change of location, we expect to find the location as an OBL spatial goal– the constituent denoting the spatial endpoint of the event. This is what we get in MK; *give*-type verbs have OBL recipients (23) while *send*-type verbs have ADP recipients but OBL spatial goals (24).[12]

(23) *ser-ê* *mal-ê* *dewar-ek* *bi-d-e* ***te.***
head-EZ.M house.OBL cattle-INDF.DIR SBJV-give.PRS-3S 2S.OBL
'Let each [person] give **you** a head of cattle.'

[11] Hovav and Levin (2008) argue that verbs like *give* and *sell* have only caused possession meaning hence they have only caused possession event type. In fact, unlike what they propose, the verb *dan* 'give' can also lexicalize a caused motion event structure in MK, as we find sentences where *dan* 'give' has a spatial goal, which is OBL-marked occurring in the postverbal position:

Kimik-ê bi-de ser-ê xwe!
cap-OBL SBJV-give.PRS.2S head-EZ.M. self
'Wear the cap!' (lit: Give the cap on your head!)

However, in such cases, *dan* 'give' semantically patterns with the verb *danîn* 'put', which can be classified as a caused motion verb, rather than expressing a giving event.

[12] In contrast to *şandin* 'send', *avetin* 'throw' lexicalizes both caused motion (i) and caused possession (i) event type in MK thus both the recipient/possessor and the spatial goal are realized as an OBL-marked NP:

(i) Top-ê b-avej-e min!
ball-OBL SBJV-throw.PRS.2S 1S.OBL
'Throw me the ball!'

(ii) Top-ê b-avej-e erd-ê!
ball-OBL SBJV-throw.PRS.2S floor-OBL
'Throw the ball on the floor.!'

Hovav and Levin (2008) argue that verbs like *send* and *throw* have both caused motion and caused possession meaning hence they have both event templates. However, MK data illustrates that only *avetin* 'throw' but not *şandin* 'send' conforms to this pattern. Although *şandin* 'send' can license a recipient, it is different from the recipient of a caused possession verb like *dan* 'give'. In Chapter 6, I will discuss in detail that the recipient of *şandin* 'send' is not a pure recipient/possessor but it rather has a recipient-benefactive nature in this dialect. See Chapter 6 Section 6.3.4.2. for discussion.

(24) *Min* *nan-ê* *wan* ***ji*** ***wan*** ***ra*** *şand* ***zevî-yê.***
1S.OBL bread-EZ.M 3PL.OBL ADP 3PL.OBL ADP send.PST.3S field-OBL
'I sent them their meal to the field.'

To summarize, the fact that the recipients of *give-type* verbs and of *send-type* verbs carry different morphology is not arbitrary, but rather is sensitive to the event structure of these verbs; more specifically, it depends on whether the recipient is the structural participant (i.e., inherently lexicalized) or the constant participant (i.e., licensed by the idiosyncratic meaning of the verb). However, the reason why the recipients of these verbs appear in different positions within the clause still needs explanation.

4.4.3 Two types of positions for goal constituents

Levin (2011) observes that the actual realization of the caused possession and caused motion event schema shows differences across languages due to different types of morphosyntactic resources that languages make use of for expressing these schemata. She finds that (i) some languages have the same realization for both goals and recipients while (ii) in other languages there are two realizations for recipients, one of which is shared by the goal and (iii) still other languages allow two realizations of goals, one of which is the same as the recipient. As illustrated in (17) and (18), the event schema of three participant verbs such as *give* and *send* in MK corresponds to the morphosyntactic realization attested in type (ii) languages (25):

(25) a. *dan* 'give' = NP_{AGENT} NP_{OBJECT} VERB $_{GIVE}$ **$NP_{RECIPIENT}$**
b. *şandin* 'send' = NP_{AGENT} **PP $_{RECIPIENT}$** NP_{OBJECT} VERB $_{SEND}$ **$NP_{SPATIAL\ GOAL}$**

The recipient of *dan* 'give' and the spatial goal of *şandin* 'send' appear in the same position and as the structural participants of these verbs; they are both OBL-marked. However, the recipient of *şandin* 'send' shows up in the preverbal position and is introduced with an ADP as the constant participant of this verb.

So far, what we observe in MK, viewed through the lens of the proposals of the event structure approach (along with the claims of the verb sensitivity approach), is that this dialect reflects the distinction between structural and constant participants not only through morphology (case vs. adposition) but also through the position of the constituent with respect to the verb (pre- vs. post-predicate). Therefore, structural participants other than the actor/initiator and patient/theme/undergoer appear in the immediate postverbal position of the clause, e.g., the recipient of *dan* 'give' and the spatial goal of *şandin* 'send'; whereas the constant participants appear in the preverbal position. This proposal receives further support from other goal constituents in MK. Recall that the addressee patterns alike with the recipient of *şandin* 'send'; both are adpositional and appear in the preverbal position. Similarly, the goals of verbs of movement display the same properties as the spatial goal of *şandin* 'send': they bear Oblique case and show up in the immediate postverbal position. Therefore, the MK data points to two different goal positions in the sentence (26):

(26) **G**OAL (RECIPIENTS, ADDRESSEE) **V**ERB **G**OAL (RECIPIENTS, SPATIAL GOAL)

To this end, I wish to address the following question: how should we approach addressee constituents in the preverbal position and spatial goal constituents in the postverbal position? I suggest that the addressees of speech verbs showing up in the

preverbal goal position in MK are not inherently lexicalized, and thus they are constant participants just like the recipient of *şandin* 'send'. In other words, the addressee is not, in fact, a part of the event structure; whereas the meaning of the verb *gotin* 'say/tell' already implies the presence of a hearer or listener.

Likewise, in addition to *şandin* 'send', there is a group of verbs of movement that place their spatial goals in the postverbal position. Below is a list of these verbs attested in the MK data:

(27) Verbs with spatial goals in MK:

a.	*anîn*	'bring'
	avetin	'throw'
	birin	'carry, take to somewhere'
	danîn	'put, leave'
	xistin	'put'
	berdan	'release'
b.	*derketin*	'go out, leave'
	hatin	'come, arrive'
	ketin	'fall, enter'
	çûn	'go'

The verbs in (27a) are just like the verb *şandin* 'send' in terms of their event schema because each denotes a physical change of location of the object as a result of a caused motion. Therefore, their spatial goals are indeed inherently lexicalized and licensed both by the verb root and its event structure. On the other hand, the verbs in (27b) are all path verbs (Levin & Rappaport, 1995; Kudrnáčová, 2008) which obligatorily encode the directionality of the motion, thus Rosen (1984) considers this type of verbs to be "verbs of inherently directed motion". In fact, the inherent directionality of path verbs in general necessitates a spatial grounding or an achieved

location (the second type of result verbs in Rappaport and Levin (1998)). Kudrnáčová (2008) explains the semantics of path verbs as follows: "they express pure translation by specifying the motion of an entity as changes in the entity's positions with respect to a spatial reference point" (p. 35). Consequently, the directional path encoded in path verbs is obligatory and non-additive. This suggests that the spatial goals of path verbs are also licensed by the verb root as well as its event structure. In fact, all spatial goals in MK carry the properties of a final state of the event or the result subevent (resultee), in terms of Ramchand (2002, 2008), which means that they are not only encoded in the event schemata but are also expressed as an argument of the predicate in syntax. Based on this observation, I take spatial goals of path verbs as the same as the spatial goals of verbs of caused motion in MK and claim that they are all linked to a position in the event structure of the verb as its structural participants. This explains why they usually carry case morphology in the same way as the structural participants do in MK and similarly why they occur in the immediate postverbal position just like other non-actor/non-patient structural participants in this dialect.

4.5 Further issues: Dialectal variation and language contact

The morphosyntactic asymmetries attested in MK demonstrate that the distinction between structural vs. constant participants is reflected morphologically (case vs. adposition) and linearly (preverbal vs. postverbal):

Structural participants (OBL) Constant Participants (ADP)	VERB	Structural participants (OBL)

However, the question as to why some structural participants appear in the preverbal position while others are placed in the postverbal position is still unresolved. Given that structural participants are already distinguished by case morphology from other types of participants, why does MK need to make a further distinction between structural participants through linear ordering in a clause? The phenomenon of postverbal goals and variation observed in their positions in other Kurmanji dialects provide us with insights that help to answer to this question.

The morphological coding and linear positioning of participants display variation across Kurmanji dialects.[13] This variation is mostly conditioned by language contact (Haig, 2014) and areal linguistic typology (Stilo, 2005, 2009), and the distribution of goals in all dialects is sensitive to the verb type. However, in addition to the verb type, the morphological form of the goals as well as the type of the adpositions that goals are expressed by (preposition vs. circumposition vs. postposition) seem to have an influence on this distribution. To the best of my knowledge, spatial goals of verbs of motion are always in the immediate postverbal position in all Kurmanji dialects, since an allative reading is available only in this position; however, their morphological form may vary depending on the dialect region. Some dialects such as Muş and Malatya prefer OBL spatial goals while other dialects like Hakkari and Şırnak tolerate both ADP and OBL spatial goals.[14] Furthermore, in all dialects, the recipient of *give*-type verbs is almost always OBL-marked and appears in the immediate postverbal position[15] while the recipient of

[13] See Haig (2014) and Haig and Thiele (2014) for more examples and extensive discussion on the regional variation observed in Kurdish with respect to preverbal and postverbal goals.
[14] The data for this section came from 13 Kurmanji speakers living in different districts of Hakkari, Van, Şırnak, Mardin, Muş, Bingöl, Malatya and Adıyaman provinces. 11 of them were undergraduate students at Muş Alparslan University and 2 of them were working in Malatya when the data were elicited.
[15] Malatya Kurmanji is exceptional to some extent because not all recipient of all *give*- type verbs does not exhibit the same properties; e.g., the recipient of *dan* 'give' is adpositional and appears in the

send-type verbs is always adpositional and shows up in the preverbal position (Gündoğdu, 2017a). In contrast, the morphological form and the position of addressee display variation. For instance, unlike MK (11 is repeated as 28), in the southeastern section of Kurmanji (in and around Duhok and Hakkari provinces), addressees are case marked and postverbal (29):

(28) *Ez* ***ji*** ***we*** ***ra*** *meselek-î* *bi-bêj-im.*
1S.DIR ADP 2PL.OBL ADP topic.INDF-OBL SBJV-say.PRS-1S
'I will tell you about a topic.'

(29) *Henê* *meselek* *gût-e* ***min***.
Henê.DIR topic.INDF.DIR say.PST.3S-DIRC 1S.OBL
'Henê told me about a topic.'

Drawing attention to the fact that the appearance of goal constituents (G) in the immediate postverbal position in an OV language like Kurdish is typologically unusual, Haig (2014) and Haig and Thiele (2014) assert that this unusual word order (OVG) might emerge as a result of contact-induced change. Haig (2014) argues that an original 'proto-Kurdish' had V(erb)G(oal) order which was characterized through early Aramaic/Iranian contact. In due course this pattern has undergone changes in some Kurmanji dialects due to contact with various languages. For instance, in the southernmost Kurmanji dialects, VG order has been mostly preserved due to the contact with Neo-Aramaic, which is a VO language, and thus goals are predominantly postverbal. On the other hand, goals are overwhelmingly preverbal in the Kurmanji dialects to the north and west (which Haig labels as Central Anatolian dialects) because of the influence of Armenian and Turkish varieties, both of which

preverbal position whereas the recipient of *firotin* 'sell' is OBL and postverbal. I will mention this distinction while discussing the example given in (30).

are OV languages. In keeping with his analysis, MK is one of the dialects in which certain goals have been shifted to preverbal position due to language contact with Armenian and Turkish whereas southeastern dialects like Hakkari Kurmanji mostly preserve the VG order retained from proto-Kurdish.

Furthermore, variation across dialects also has something to do with the adpositional system of a given dialect. Despite being an OV language where postpositions are the norm (Dryer, 2013), Kurmanji Kurdish has prepositions, postpositions and circumpositions. Stilo (2005, 2009) proposes that Iranian languages are sandwiched between prepositional (Semitic) and postpositional (Turkic, Armenian, Indic) patterns, and they resolve this conflict by creating an intersection zone which accommodates both patterns. As an Iranian language bordering an area between prepositional Neo-Aramaic and postpositional Armenian and Turkic, Kurmanji has both opposite typologies (e.g., preposition and postposition) and a hybridized pattern formed by the merge of these two opposites (e.g., circumpositions). The southernmost dialects (e.g., Hakkari) are mostly prepositional and goals are predominantly postverbal; on the other hand, northern and western dialects have circumpositions or independent postpositions and use both pre- and postverbal positions actively to disambiguate goal types (Gündoğdu, 2017a). In fact, the dialects that shift certain goal constituents to the preverbal position as a result of language contact (Haig, 2014) are those that have developed circumposition *ji…ra* (e.g., Muş) or independent postposition *...ra* (e.g., Malatya). For instance, MK introduces addressee (28) through *ji…ra*, while Malatya Kurmanji places both the addressee and the recipient of verb *dan* 'give' in the preverbal position (30).[16] Note that the goal arguments introduced within circumpositions are

[16] There is also an example from Şahînê Bekirê Soreklî's book *Roja dawîn ji jiyana Mistê kurê Salha Temo* (1982) in which the recipient of verb *dan* 'give' is introduced with the preposition *bi* 'with' in

always preverbal and postverbal placement of such phrases is not an option.

(30) a. *Bahar-ê* *vaha* ***mi*** ***ra*** *ne-got.*
Bahar-OBL as such 1S.OBL ADP NEG-say.PST.3S
'Bahar didn't tell **me** like that.'

b. *Zana* ***Rojday*** ***ra*** *kitap* *da-y-e.*
Zana Rojda.OBL ADP book give.PST-3S-PRF
'Zana gave the book **to Rojda**.'

As mentioned in the previous page, recipient of *send*-type verbs is preverbal in all dialects. Assuming that addressee is also a type of recipient (Goldberg, 1995),[17] northern and western dialects demonstrate that there is a tendency to shift human goals expressed by recipient roles to the preverbal position while reserving the postverbal position for locational/spatial goals for allative reading.

The data provided here demonstrate that OBL-marked goal constituents do not survive in the preverbal domain in all Kurmanji dialects, and that those appearing in the preverbal position are always adpositional. This observation implies that the linear order of goal constituents in this language is sensitive to morphological marking. It seems that more than two OBL-marked constituents cannot be licensed in the preverbal domain; therefore, a third case-marked constituent is obligatorily placed in the postverbal position. I propose that Kurmanji imposes the following

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the preverbal position. The author of the book is from Kobanê, Syria. (I would like to thank Dr. Ergin Öpengin for bringing this sentence to my attention.):

Min sandiqeke tijî şûşeyên kazozê li dera hanê dî. Were ez yekê ***bi te*** *dim; bi rê va vexwe…*
(I saw there a box full of bottles of soft drink. Come, I **give you** one; drink it on your way…)

[17] In many languages, addressees of speech verbs are marked with dative case or with dative-like prepositions. This overlap is generally explained through addressee being construed as the recipient of the speech act, which is indeed the information being transferred.

general restriction on the linear order of constituents:

(31) In a Kurmanji clause, at most, two case-marked NPs (subject and direct object) are licensed in the preverbal position.

To sum up, dialectal variation suggests that goal constituents appear in the postverbal position in Kurmanji due to the VG order retained from proto-Kurdish. The reason why some goal constituents are shifted to the preverbal position in some dialects is because of the contact these dialects have had with OV/postpositional languages such as Armenian and Turkic. MK is one of the dialects which has a long history of language contact with Armenian and Turkish and has thus it developed circumpositions and shifted addressees to the preverbal position. I suggest that, as a result of language contact, MK has adapted its synchronic grammar in such a way that it ends up with a morphological and linear distinction between structural and constant participants.

4.6 Argument-adjunct asymmetry revisited

In Chapter 1, based on the various examples of argument and adjunct coding in different languages, it has been concluded that neither argument nor adjunct constitutes a homogeneous group or a uniform category, but they rather each seem to include sub-constituents exhibiting variable behaviors. It is certainly clear that on the one hand we have a binary argument-adjunct dichotomy that we successfully accommodate typical arguments and adjuncts with their proto-typical properties, on the other hand, we have constituents with intermediary status which might be classified as more argument-like and/or more adjunct-like elements. In fact, the

discussion provided in Levin and Rappaport's works clearly demonstrates that what we call as 'arguments' in syntax is not a homogeneous group; there are structural participants and constant participants both of which have the properties of arguments but they are or might be expressed through different morphosyntactic tools in languages. The MK data provided in this chapter constitutes a good example for such a distinction. The existence of oblique case-marked vs. adpositional arguments in this dialect illustrates that there are two types of arguments which are distinguished through their statutes encoded in the verb's event structure (e.g. licensed by the verb's event structure and/or its idiosyncratic meaning) and by their morphological marking (case vs. adposition).

Although the notion of 'argument' seems necessary while defining the relationship of a (noun) phrase with its predicate in syntax, it is not a homogeneous category. Rather, its expression as well as certain properties may be similar or quite different in languages depending on the morpho-syntactic tools the languages employ for encoding them (e.g. case, adposition, agreement, word order etc.). In other words, languages make a distinction among argument types or even between arguments and adjuncts based on the morphosyntactic tools they have and some other criteria such as event semantics or Aktionsart. To give an example, being a direct object -hence a structural participant - in certain languages is directly relevant to the telicity of an action. For instance, in Kabardian if an action is telic (i.e. accomplishment) then it patterns with transitive paradigm in which the subject is marked with the Ergative/Oblique case while the direct object carries the Nominative case (32a); in contrast, if an action is atelic (i.e. activity) then it behaves like an intransitive verb which marks its subject with the Nominative case whereas the lower (indirect) object is realized with the Ergative/Oblique case (32b) (Matasović, 2008).

Thus, the transitive pair licenses a direct object while the intransitive pair does not:

(32) a. ś′āla-r txəł-əm y-aw-dža
boy-NOM book-ERG 3S-PRES-read
'The boy is reading the book.'

b. ś′āla-m txəł-ər ya-dž
boy-ERG book-NOM 3S-read
'The boy is reading the book (to the end).'

(Matasović, 2008, p. 68)

Although *the book* has argumenthood status in both transitive and intransitive pairs in Kabardian, it corresponds to different types of arguments in both pairs, which is also distinguished by the use of different case marking in each pair.

The data from different languages allow us to agree with Hornstein and Nunes (2008) who propose that adjuncts are free as they don't need any grammatical support to function properly in a given structure, whereas arguments need certain grammatical aid (e.g. case, theta, verb semantics, etc.) to be licensed in a given structure. For instance, although verb semantics do not influence the expression or the morphological form of adjuncts in MK, the expression or the morphological form of arguments are dependent on verb semantics. Assuming that the grammatical aid which is necessary for encoding and licensing arguments is determined by the morphosyntactic tools of a language and languages have various morphosyntactic tools, it is not surprising that languages determine different criteria when making a distinction between/among argument types as well as in their expression. Thus, considering the category of 'argument' as homogeneous and proposing distinguishing criteria such as 'arguments are always case marked' or 'arguments have fixed marking and fixed order' does not yield reliable cross-linguistic results. It

seems that the most distinguishing criterion is obligatoriness; arguments are obligatory while adjuncts are optional.[18] Other criteria suggested for distinguishing arguments from adjuncts such as being terms vs. non-terms, fixed vs. variable marking, fixed vs. variable order, being DP and PP vs. any category are open to cross-linguistic variation as such morphosyntactic properties may change from one language to another.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an event structure analysis in order to explain the status of certain adpositional constituents and goal arguments in MK as well as account for salient asymmetries attested in its morphosyntax. The data have demonstrated that there is a relation between the morphological form of the constituents and their status as encoded in the verb's meaning in MK; that is, structural participants are realized with case morphology while constant participants are introduced with adpositions. Therefore, I have proposed that the objects of core transitive verbs are structural participants and thus are marked with OBL case. In contrast, the objects of non-core transitive verbs (or single activity verbs) are constant participants and thus are expressed through adpositions. Similarly, although both *send-type verbs* and *give-type verbs* license recipients as their event participants, the status of the recipient is different in the event structures of these verb groups. Recipients of the former group (caused-motion verbs) are not inherently lexicalized but are only licensed by the verb meaning, hence it is a constant participant. The recipients of the verbs in the latter group (caused-possession verbs) are inherently lexicalized thus are the structural participants of the verbs. This distinction is also

[18] Chomsky also suggests that if a constituent is obligatory and cannot be an element of an iterated structure then presumably it is a case of set-merge (an argument) (p.c.).

morphologically reflected in MK; the recipient of *send* is adpositional while the recipient of *give* is case-marked. Further evidence for the distinction between structural and constant participants comes from other participant roles (i.e., goal constituents); that is, the spatial goals of motion verbs and path verbs are structural participants and they are case marked whereas the addressees of speech verbs are expressed with adpositions, since they are constant participants. Furthermore, I have suggested that the reason why MK makes a distinction in the linear ordering of structural participants is indeed a word-order property (VG) retained from proto-Kurdish and further constrained by the (morpho-)syntactic properties of Kurmanji. The data from other dialects as well as the findings in the literature have demonstrated that postverbal goals are preserved in the southernmost dialects while certain goal constituents have been shifted to the preverbal position in certain dialects under the influence of contact with OV languages. I have argued that MK is one of these dialects and that it adapts its synchronic grammar in such a way that it ends up with a distinction between structural and constant participants – a distinction that is reflected morphologically and linearly.

In the following two chapters, I will explore a possible syntactic configuration of these constituents based on their status encoded in the event structure.

CHAPTER 5

PHRASE STRUCTURE OF KURMANJI KURDISH: EVIDENCE FROM QUANTIFIER SCOPE AND BINDING

5.1 Introduction

In MK, subject, direct object and certain goal constituents like *addressee of speech verbs* appear in the preverbal position while other dative-like constituents (e.g. *recipient of give-type verbs, spatial goal of motion verbs,* etc.) obligatorily occur in the postverbal position. This distribution is sensitive to the verb type, more explicitly to the event structure of the verb in this dialect as discussed in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I aim to explore the syntactic position of these constituents in this dialect. For this purpose, I benefit from the scope and binding relations of constituents in a MK clause as these are the phenomena that reflect the constituent structure relations hierarchically based on c-command. Before presenting how quantifier scope and binding relations work in this dialect, I will review some major approaches to quantification and binding in the literature to make the discussion more straightforward.

5.2 Quantification and quantifier scope

The fact that quantified DPs or quantifier phrases (QP) display different semantic and syntactic behaviors from regular noun phrases paves the way for a theory of generalized quantifier. A generalized quantifier is not an expression (syntactic object) but it is considered to be something that expressions can denote (semantic object) because they behave like a function while noun phrases act as individuals (van Benthem & Westerståhl, 1995; Szabolcsi, 1997). To put it more explicitly, DPs are

generally proper names, definite descriptions, pronouns and traces thus their denotations are individuals (type *e,* D_e), but the extensions of QPs express relations between sets of individuals, thus treating QPs as individuals would be misleading (De Swart, 1998; Heim & Kratzer, 1998). It is clear that *John came* vs. *Everybody came* are different because in the former one *John* is the sole walker, i.e., the single individual argument of the predicate, while in the latter one the walkers are a set of individuals like {John, Mary, Bill, …}. This distinction between DPs and QPs becomes more salient in some contexts. For instance, DPs license inferences from subsets to supersets (1) but QPs do not (2). (Note that the symbol '⇒' means 'entail' and '⇏' stands for 'not entail'.)

(1) a. John came yesterday morning
    b. ⇒ John came yesterday.
(2) a. At most one letter came yesterday morning.
    b. ⇏At most one letter came yesterday.

(Heim & Kratzer, 1998, p. 133)

Moreover, although p ∧¬ p expresses a contradiction for sentences with DPs (3), QPs generally fail to express contradiction in such cases (4). Since the DP *Mount Rainier* cannot be on this side and other side of the border simultaneously, (3) leads to contradiction. On the other hand, *more than two mountains* denotes not a single individual but a set of at least two mountains, hence (4) is not contradictory:

(3) Mount Rainier is on this side of the border, and Mount Rainier is on the other side of the border.
(4) More than two mountains are on this side of the border, and more than two mountains are on the other side of the border.

(Heim & Kratzer, 1998, p. 134)

The observation that QPs fail to express entailment (from subsets to supersets) and

contradiction suggest that QPs cannot be referential of type *e* unlike DPs. If QPs were R-expressions, they should be able to co-refer with pronouns but this is not generally the case as illustrated in (6):

(5) Sam saw Jane$_i$. She$_i$ was waiting for the bus.
(6) Sam saw no one$_i$. #She$_i$ was waiting for the bus.

Lastly, definite DPs do not give rise to scope ambiguities (7) but quantifiers typically do when they interact with other quantifiers (8):

(7) a. Mary saw John.
b. Mary saw three boys.
c. Mary saw every boy.
e. Mary saw nobody.

(8) a. Each student speaks two languages.
(i) direct: 'For each student, there is a potentially different pair of languages…'
(ii) inverse: 'There are two languages that each student speaks.'

b. Two students speak each language.
(i) direct: 'There are two student who speak each language.'
(ii) inverse: 'For each language, there is a potentially different pair of students…'

(Szabolcsi, 2001, p. 4)

In the linguistic literature, semantic, syntactic and pragmatic/multi factor approaches have been developed to capture the essential differences between QPs and DPs and to have a better understanding of the scope of quantifiers (QP scope, henceforth). Before discussing the properties of QP scope in MK, a brief historical prelude to QP scope through some of these leading approaches would be enlightening. I will only review the very major works to give the basic understanding about how

quantification is treated in the linguistic literature, especially how scope of quantifiers is dealt with in syntax.

5.2.1 Semantic approaches to quantifiers

Among semantic approaches to quantification, I will present the main premises of generative semantic account by Heim and Kratzer (1998) and the discourse representation theory by Kamp, Genabith and Reyle (2011).

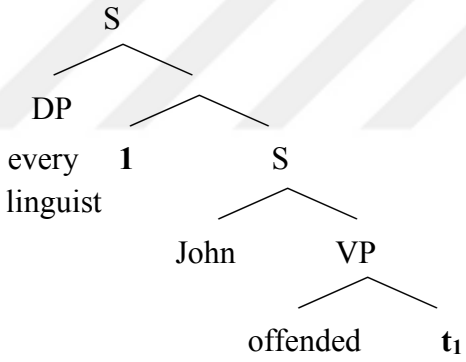
5.2.1.1 Quantifiers in Generative Semantics (Heim & Kratzer, 1998)

The semantic theory developed by Heim and Kratzer (1998) assumes a semantic computation that takes the output of syntactic derivation represented on a level of LF as its input. Adopting the *principle of compositionality,* which states that the meaning of a complex expression is determined by the meaning of its parts, they postulate a tight link between syntax and semantics. The syntactic categories such as DP, VP, etc. correspond to semantic types, i.e., <e> and <e,t>, while syntactic operations (e.g.: MERGE) have semantic equivalents like functional application and predicate modification. Given that the QPs display distinct properties than DPs thus they cannot be R-expressions, Heim and Kratzer propose that quantificational DPs (i.e., QPs) cannot be of semantic type *e.* They argue that QPs denote functions from functions of type <e,t> to truth values; therefore, they must be of type <<e,t>, t>.[1] When QPs are composed in subject position, everything seems unproblematic because they take the predicate which is of type <e,t> as their argument. However, when QPs appear in object position, the problem of type mismatch arises. For

[1] Note that the semantic type of quantifying determiners like *ever, some* and *no* is <<e,t>, <<e,t>, t>> and they take noun phrases of type <e,t> like *painting, student,* etc. as their arguments. The output type of the whole DP (or let's say QP) has the same semantic type <<e,t>, t> as QP like *everyone, someone,* etc. (Heim & Kratzer, 1998, p. 146).

instance, the semantic type of a transitive verb is <e, <e,t>> and it needs an argument which is of type *e*; however, the QP in object position is of type <<e,t>, t> thus they cannot combine through Functional Application due to type mismatch. To repair the type mismatch problem, they adopt the view that the QP should move out of object position and adjoin to S (IP or TP) through Predicate Abstraction rule (a rule which links the creation of predicates to movement structures) leaving behind a trace of type *e.* The predicate now can combine with the trace whose semantic type is *e.* Traces must bear an index so that they can be interpretable, and each trace must be bound in their system, hence the indexed trace is interpreted by Trace and Pronoun Rule:

(9) a. John offended every linguist.



b. *Predicate Abstraction Rule (PA):*
Let α be a branching node with daughters β and γ, where β dominates only a numerical index i. Then, for any variable assignment a, $[\alpha]^a=\lambda x \in D.\ [\gamma]^{a\,[i\text{-}x]}$

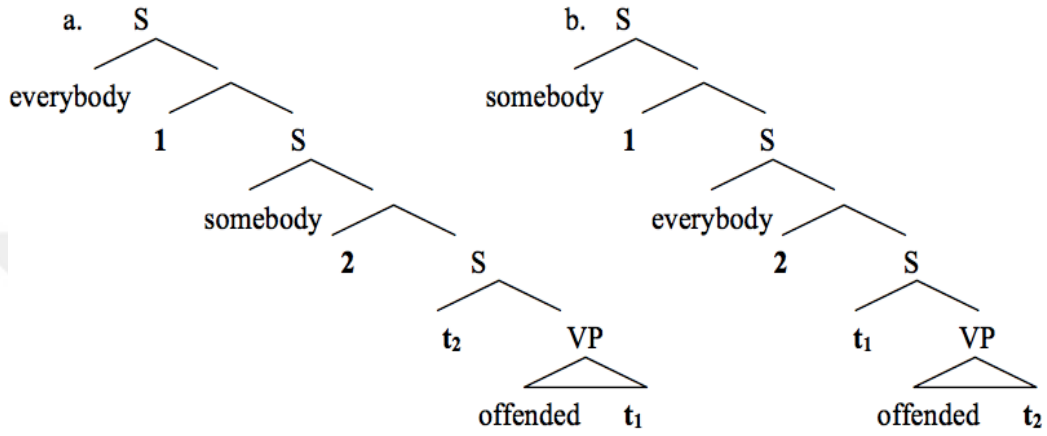
c. *Traces and Pronouns Rule*:
If α is a pronoun or a trace, a is a variable assignment, and i ∈ dom(a), then $[\alpha_i]^a = a(i)$.

(Heim & Kratzer, 1998, p. 186)

They extend the QP movement analysis to subject QPs to provide an explanation for scope ambiguities observed in sentences like *Somebody offended everybody,* which

are difficult to account for with an in-situ proposal. By doing so, they also achieve uniformity. To get the inverse scope reading, *everybody* raises and adjoins to S position just like indicated in (10a) while direct reading is taken through movement of *somebody* to a higher position than the object *everybody* (10b):

(10)

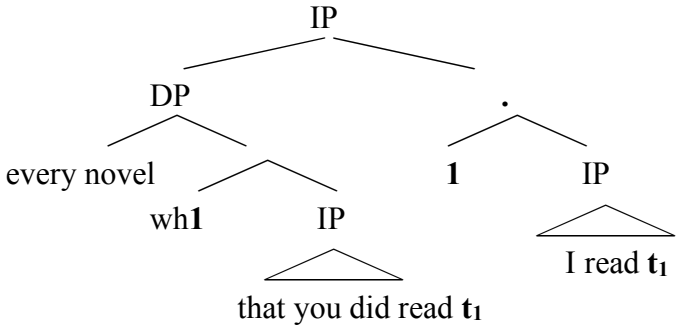


In addition to scope ambiguities, QP movement approach successfully captures antecedent contained deletion (ACD) cases with quantifiers, which are again problematic for in-situ QP analyses.

(11) a. I read *War and Peace* before you did. (ACD)
b. I read *every novel* that you did. (ACD with quantifier)
(Heim & Kratzer, 1998, p. 198)

In a sentence like (11b), VP ellipsis contained in the relative clause whose head is a QP [*every novel*] is a part of the matrix VP, thus the antecedent site contains the ellipsis site. This leads to infinite regress. However, the problem is resolved through QP movement; the quantifier inside the elided VP is removed through movement with a trace left behind, which is then bound by the index on the relevant operator when the elided VP is interpreted:

(12)



(Heim & Kratzer, 1998, p. 198)

Lastly, Heim and Kratzer can also explain the cases where quantifiers bind anaphors, e.g.: *No woman blamed herself*. They entertain the option of co-indexing the anaphor with the trace left behind by the moved quantifier as in [no woman **1** $\mathbf{t_1}$ blamed herself$_1$] thus the quantifier binds both its trace and the anaphor *herself*.

The semantic QP-movement proposal by Heim and Kratzer (1998) is consistent with the syntactic approaches that posit *Quantifier Raising* (QR, May, 1977) to explicate scope ambiguities. In fact, May's account becomes inspiration for Heim and Kratzer (1998). However, despite the common properties of quantifier movement in both accounts, they differ in their flexibility; in May's account QR is syntactically constrained while in Heim and Kratzer QR is flexible - it can apply whenever it can.

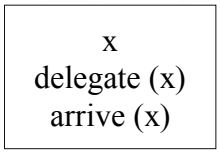
5.2.1.2 Quantifiers in Discourse Representation Theory (Kamp et al., 2011)

Discourse Representation Theory (DRT) is one of the dynamic semantics theories developed by Kamp (1981) and recently modified by Kamp, Genabith and Reyle (2011). The central claim of this theory is that meaning cannot be calculated solely based on the truth but it should also account for the context dependence of the meaning. They propose that each utterance is interpreted in a context and the result of this processing is a new context, which in turn informs the interpretation of

whatever context comes next. In this sense, content and context are not only closely related but they also determine each other. They take the view that a sequence of sentences uttered by the speaker must be interpreted in the context of a representation structure hence they provide a framework for expressing the meaning of a sentence as an operation of updating context. With this aspect, it diverges from formal semantics approaches that explicate meaning solely in terms of truth conditions.

In this theory, *the discourse context* is represented by *discourse representation structure (DRS)* that involves discourse referents (referred to as universe - U) and a set of DRS-conditions (Con): < U, Con >. (Note that DRS is often indicated with 'box notation'.)

(13) a. A delegate arrived.
< {x}, {delegate (x), arrive (x)} >



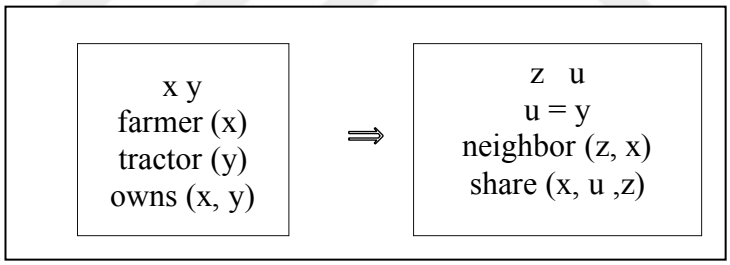
(Kamp, Genabith & Reyle, 2011, p. 133)

The discourse context given in (13) says that the indefinite *a delegate* contributes the discourse referent *x* to the universe of the DRS and the condition *delegate(x)* to its set of conditions, and the VP *arrived* contributes the condition *arrive(x)*. This simple DRS is true in a model where there exists a mapping from the discourse referents of DRS into the universe of the model such that all the conditions in the set of conditions come out true. This system assumes a representational language where operations such as (i) introducing a new entity into the discourse context and (ii) referring back to the current context are possible. In this system, pronouns are treated

in a similar way to definite NPs as they refer to objects in the current context; i.e., they introduce the variables that are linked to an already established context. On the other hand, indefinites have a different treatment because they introduce new variables into the context. Kamp et al. (2011) assert that discourse referents in DRT have dual function; they act as antecedents for anaphoric expressions like *pronouns* and they serve as the *bound variables* for quantification theory. When they function as bound variables, discourse referents must stand to each other in certain scope relations which are indicated through *sub-DRS.* The implication operator ⟹ acts as *quantifier* here; it operates on both the left and the right sub-DRSs and it is unselective such that it binds all the discourse referents in the universe of the first argument DRS.

(14) a. Every farmer who uses a tractor has a neighbor with whom he shares it.

b.



The proponents of DRT propose a fairly standard analysis for quantified expressions like *all, every, most,* etc.; that is, a quantifier binds a variable or a block of variables and delivers truth conditions. Also, they assume that generalized quantifiers do not introduce discourse referents to the contexts but rather they bind the existing variables. Nevertheless, they emphasize the role of the context and do not resort to a set-theoretic account of quantification. One of the central claims of DRT is that certain expressions such as indefinites which are considered as quantifiers by earlier theories shouldn't be treated as quantificational expressions, because the

quantificational force that indefinites seem to have in fact derives from their interactions with scopal operators like negation and implication. Therefore, the larger context determines whether indefinites get an existential reading or not; indefinites either introduce quantified variables when they are in the scope of an operator (e.g. *Every child owns a dog* or *A dog didn't bark*) or they introduce new variables to the discourse (e.g. *A dog barked. It/The dog was big.*).

Some syntactic accounts of QP-scope (e.g. Szabolcsi, 1997; Beghelli & Stowell, 1997) adopt and even develop the basic tenets of DRT semantics, and I will touch upon them in Section 5.2.2.3.

5.2.2 Syntactic approaches of QP scope

The study of quantification within the generative grammar aims to find the principled ways of explaining scopal dependencies and interactions in languages (Dayal, 2013). Quantifiers are generally treated as operator-like elements that have scope over a domain in the syntactic configuration. However, the definition of scope and to what extent the syntactic structures delimit scopal interactions might alter according to the view adopted to explain where or at what level the scope of QP is determined. I will present three basic claims about where and how scopal relations are determined; namely (Q)uantifier (R)aising at LF (May, 1977, 1985), QR as A-movement in narrow syntax (Hornstein 1995) and checking theory of the syntax of scope at LF or visible syntax (Beghelli & Stowell, 1997; Szabolcsi, 1997). Before presenting the main points of these syntactic approaches to quantifier scope, I will touch very briefly the empirical reasons why scope of quantifiers is considered as a syntactic phenomenon.

As mentioned earlier in the previous section, QPs differ from definite DPs in that the former gives rise to scope ambiguities when they interact with other quantifiers while the latter does not. Although a sentence like *John saw Mary/two boys/some boys* does not pose any structural ambiguity, sentences with two QPs such as *Someone loves everybody* are mostly ambiguous. However, certain syntactic reorganizations influence the scope of quantifiers although they do not affect the truth conditional content of sentences with definite DPs. For instance, the scope of quantifier is constrained by clausal boundary thus it cannot scope over another quantifier (15b) nor binds a variable (15d) out of its domain; on the other hand, definite DPs are fine in such cases (15e) (examples are from Szabolcsi, 2001, p. 1, 2):

(15) a. Every boy named a planet.
'for every boy, there is a possibly different planet that he named.'
b. That every boy left upset a teacher.
'* for every boy, there is a possibly different teacher who was upset by the fact that the boy left.'
c. [Every boy]$_i$ read his$_i$ book.
d. *That [every boy]$_i$ left upset his$_i$ teacher.
e. That John$_i$ left upset his$_i$ teacher.

The fact that syntactic structure constrains the interpretive effects of quantifiers implies syntax must play a role in determining the QP scope.

5.2.2.1 Quantifier raising at LF

Assuming that quantifier scope is not independent from the syntactic configuration, the principles that determine and delimit the scope of a QP should be defined. Reinhart (1976) holds the view that surface c-command determines the relative scope of quantifiers:

> A logical structure in which a quantifier binding a variable x has wide scope over a quantifier binding a (distinct) variable y is a possible interpretation for a given structure S just in case in the surface structure of S the quantified expression corresponding to y is in the (c-command) domain of the quantified expression corresponding to x. (Reinhart, 1976, p. 191)

Her proposal successfully predicts direct readings based on the surface c-command relation; that is, in a sentence like *Every boy upset some teacher,* the subject universal quantifier takes scope over the object existential quantifier. However, the inverse scope reading where *some teacher* scopes over *everybody* in such a sentence cannot be predicted by this proposal. She proposes that there is not a true case of scope ambiguity because the inverse scope reading is already predicted by the direct reading as direct reading includes the interpretation of *a possibly different teacher.* Nevertheless, her proposal fails to account for cases where only inverse scope reading is available (16):

(16) Everybody in some city voted for Debs.
(some > every, * every > some)

(May, 1977, p. 40)

In contrast to Reinhart's proposal, May (1977, 1985) argues that quantifier scope does not depend on the surface c-command relation but it is determined through *Quantifier Raising* at the abstract level of LF.[2] QR is in fact a rule that maps S-Structure onto LF. Observing that matrix clause quantifiers generally have wider

[2] Chomsky (1975) and May (1977) stipulate that there is an intermediate level of representation between surface form and semantic interpretation, namely Logical Form (LF), where scope of operators is determined by rules without influencing the phonological interpretation.

scope than embedded clause quantifiers, he proposes that QR out of finite clauses is not allowed thus quantification is clause-bounded:

(17) Someone hissed that Smith liked every painting in the museum.
'There is a person such that he hissed that Smith liked every painting.'
'* for each painting in the museum, there is someone (or other) who hissed that Smith like that painting.'

(May, 1977, p. 175)

May takes QR as an instance of A'-movement because it displays properties of A'-movement operations like *wh*-movement; i.e., it is sensitive to island-effects (i.e., *Subjacency Condition* as in (15)), and it leads to weak cross-over (WCO) effects, e.g.: *His_i *mother saw* [*everyone*]$_i$. He defines the landing site of QR as adjunction position to S (later changed as IP) and derives different scope readings for sentences like (18) based on the order of quantifiers undergoing QR at LF, ((18a) for direct reading while (18b) for inverse reading). Thus, an ambiguous sentence has two different LF representations. Also note that the scope of a quantifier is considered everything that it commands at LF.

(18) Every man loves some woman.
a. $[_{Si}$ [every man]$_\alpha$ $[_{Sj}$ some woman]$_\beta$ $[_{Sk}$ α loves β]]]
b. $[_{Si}$ [some woman]$_\beta$ $[_{Sj}$ every man]$_\alpha$ $[_{Sk}$ α loves β]]]

(May, 1977, p. 30)

In this approach, QR rule determines scope depending on c-command and binding relation. Furthermore, he disambiguates the scope of quantifiers based on their order at LF, thus each scope reading has a different LF representation. However, later in 1985, May revised his QR approach in such a way that QR determines quantifier scope but does not disambiguate it anymore (Szabolcsi, 2001). In this new account,

multiple LF representations proposed for scope ambiguities are dispensed with and both scope readings are derived from a single LF representation through adjoining two quantifiers to S (or IP) where they govern each other and take scope in either order. He assigns an absolute scope to each quantifier and proposes the *Scope Principle* to regulate the interaction of scope (May, 1985, p. 33, 34):

(19) a. *Scope Principle*
Members of S-sequences are free to take on any type of relative scope relation.
b. *Government*
a governs b iff a c-commands b and b c-commands a, and there are no maximal projection boundaries between a and b .
c. *C-command*
a c-commands b iff every maximal projection dominating a dominates b, and a does not dominate b.

In line with the Scope Principle, mutually governing quantifiers can take scope in either order through c-command relation. In a sentence like *Every student admires some professor,* the scope ambiguity is explained through the following single LF representation (20). Note that the S node does not count as a maximal projection, thus government properly holds as no maximal projection boundary intervenes between two quantifiers. Since quantifiers *every* and *some* can govern each other, they can be interpreted in either order, (May, 1985, p. 35):[3]

(20) Every student admires some professor
[S´ [S some professor$_3$ [S every student$_2$ [S e$_2$ admires e$_3$]]]]

An important improvement of May (1985) is that Spec of VP (it can be thought as

[3] Note that May (1985) also introduces the term Q*uantifier Lowering* to explain subject-to-subject raising examples like *A hippogryph is likely to be apprehended* where raised indefinites seem to be able to have scope in the lower clause. I will not deal with these specific examples and their treatments here, for further information see Chapter 4 in May (1985).

current vP) is posited as a possible landing position for quantifiers.[4] This enables the current approach to explain the interaction of QPs with *wh*-movement. For instance, the subject *who* in the following sentence is in Spec of S and adjoins to S' for *wh*-interpretation purposes, thus raising of *everything* to S position through QR is not permitted as it intrudes between *wh*-phrase and its trace, resulting in ECP violation. QP adjunction to VP, therefore, is an applicable procedure for scope interpretation:

(21) Who bought everything for Max?
[S´ who$_3$ [S e$_3$ [VP everything$_2$ [VP bought e$_2$ for Max]]]]
(May, 1985, p. 42)

May's QR account of QP scope is a crucial development within the generative tradition; it is not without problems, though. QR is defined as an A'-movement but unlike other A'-movement operations such as *wh*-movement, topicalization, etc. it does not allow long distant movement (Johnson, 2000; Szabolcsi, 2001; Cecchetto, 2004; Dayal, 2013). For instance, although QR cannot escape the boundary of a finite clause (22), other A'-movement operations can apply out of finite clauses (23) (Cecchetto, 2004; Johnson, 2000).

(22) A technician said that John inspected every plane.
(i) direct: There is a (single) technician who said that John inspected every plane.
(ii) inverse:* For every plane, a possibly different technician said that John inspected it.

(23) a. What did a technician say that John inspected? (wh)
b. ''Syntactic Structure'' I believe you should read. (topicalization)

[4] Adjunction of QP to VP (or vP) is a significant departure in the theory because later this idea will be related to the phases (Chomsky, 2001), see Cecchetto (2004) for a phase-based account of QR.

May suggests that the distinction between QR and *wh*-movement is due to the different positions they target, that is, the former is a movement to COMP [Spec, CP] while the latter is an adjunction to S. However, such a distinction also fails to explain the nature of QR as a type of A'-movement; that is, given that both wh-*movemen*t and QR are the instances of the same operation Move, why one is more local than the other still remains an open question. The locality constraints of QR led Fox (2000) to suggest that the clause-boundedness of QR follows from a combination of Scope Economy and a locality condition on movement: [5]

(24) a. *Scope Economy*
QR must have a semantic effect.
b. *Shortest Move*
QR moves to QP to the closest position in which it is interpretable.
(Fox, 2000, p. 23):

According to his proposal, Scope Economy applies in a local fashion and QR is blocked when it is semantically vacuous. He successfully accounts for cases where QP cannot have scope out of finite clauses. For instance, the impossibility of inverse scope in (22) repeated below as (25) follows from the fact that it violates both economy and movement constraints:

(25) A technician said that John inspected every plane.
inverse:* For every plane, a possibly different technician said that John inspected it.

[5] In the Minimalist framework, the movement is triggered as a last resort operation by a morphological feature of the moved category that needs to be checked by a functional head in a Spec-Head configuration. However, QR and adjunction do not match this pattern, as there is no functional head in need of feature checking. To dissolve this mismatch, Chomsky (1995) proposes that certain maximal functional projections (mainly those that provide landing sites for QR) have an optional affix feature which enables them to host a [quant] category. Similar to Fox's proposal, he argues that the economy considerations regulate this affix feature thus it is licensed if it makes a difference, in other words, if it leads to a new interpretation.

a.*[$_{IP}$ every plane [$_{IP}$ a technician said [$_{CP}$ that [$_{IP}$ John inspected *every plane*]]]]
(violates *Shortest Move* because QR must proceed through adjunction to CP)

b.*[$_{IP}$ every plane [$_{IP}$ a technician…[$_{CP}$ *every plane* [$_{CP}$ that [$_{IP}$ John …*every plane*]]]]]
(violates *Scope Economy* because adjunction to CP is semantically vacuous)

Since May (1977, 1985), different treatments of QR within the generative syntax have been proposed to understand the nature of quantifier movement as well as explain the peculiar locality conditions of QR. Fox (2000) argues that the local nature of QR is because of economy and shortest move while Cecchetto (2004) postulates that the locality of QR is due to the Phase Impenetrability Condition. On the other hand, Johnson (2000) suggests that QR should considered as an instance of Scrambling rather than A'-movement as it has many properties with scrambling facts observed in German and Dutch. Despite different assumptions they have, all these accounts in a way assume that QR exists.

5.2.2.2 QR as A-movement in narrow syntax: a minimalist account

Hornstein (1995) postulates that the unexpected locality of QR is indeed an argument against its existence and it is not in line with the minimalist considerations. He suggests that relative scope is a property of A-chains rather than an output of an adjunction rule QR. Hornstein (1995, 1999) basically proposes three arguments against QR from a minimalist perspective: (i) although core grammatical processes do not involve adjunction, QR is an adjunction, (ii) movements are feature driven but QR applies to assign scope hence it is not feature-driven, and (iii) other movement rules target specific position (e.g., wh-movement targets Spec of CP, topicalization targets Spec of TopicP, etc.) while QR does not target a specific position thus creates optionality which minimalism strictly avoids (Dayal, 2013; Kiss, 2005; Szabolcsi, 2001). Adopting the copy theory of traces and the earlier minimalist version of Case

theory, he argues that scope relations are determined in narrow syntax as by-product of A-movement. According to his proposal, noun phrases are base-generated in VP-internal position and raise to Spec AGR positions for case checking. Nominative Case is checked via movement to Spec, AGRsP while Accusative Case is checked through movement to Spec, AGRoP, and QP scope is determined based on the copy-chain link that the moved quantified NPs create. The crucial point is that only one copy-chain link can survive at PF. In subject wide scope readings, both subject and object are interpreted in Spec of AGR positions and the lower copies of each chain are deleted at PF (26a). On the other hand, in object wide readings, the object QP in Spec of AGRoP and the copy of subject QP inside VP (or vP) are interpreted while the remaining members of each chain are deleted at PF (26b). He eliminates two possible representations where *every* stays inside VP based on the Mapping Hypothesis (Diesing, 1992) which asserts that quantifiers cannot stay inside within VP: (Deleted member of a chain is indicated within the parentheses.)

(26) Someone attended every seminar.
a. [$_{AgrS}$ someone [$_{TP}$ T [$_{AgrO}$ every seminar [$_{VP}$ (someone) attended (every seminar)]]]]
b. [$_{AgrS}$ (someone) [$_{TP}$ T [$_{AgrO}$ every seminar [$_{VP}$ someone attended (every seminar)]]]]
(Hornstein, 1999, p. 49)

This approach can easily account for why quantifier scope is largely confined to the finite clauses by reducing quantifier scope to A-movement. In fact, Hornstein takes the clause boundedness property of quantifier scope as an evidence for its being A-movement. As further evidence for this proposal, he discusses that quantifier scope is predicted not to license parasitic gaps unlike other A'-movement operations such as *wh*-movement and topicalization, and this prediction is born out (Hornstein, 1995; Szabolcsi, 2001).

(27) a. Which paper$_i$ did you file t$_i$ without reading *pg$_i$*?
(*wh*- as A'-movement)

b. This paper I filled t$_i$ without reading *pg$_i$*.
(topicalization as A'-movement)

c. *This paper was filed t$_i$ without reading *pg$_i$*
(passive as A-movement)

d. *You filed every paper$_i$ without reading *pg$_i$*.
[$_S$ every paper$_i$ [$_S$ you filed t$_i$ without reading *pg$_i$*]]
(QP scope as A-movement)

However, this approach has some drawbacks such that it cannot provide an explanation for ACD (e.g.: *I read every novel that you did*) and cross over effects (e.g.: **His$_i$ mother saw [everyone]$_i$*) as it lacks a mechanism like QP-raising (Dayal, 2013). In this respect, QR approach of May seems more explanatory. Also, it assumes the presence of AGR projections as case-checking landing sites in syntax although these functional projections are done away with in recent versions of minimalism. In fact, QR and QP-scope as A-movement stand in direct opposition to each other. For instance, May (1977, 1985) suggests that all QPs must undergo movement from their case positions to distinct scope positions at LF because case position can never serve as scope positions. On the contrary, Hornstein (1995, 1999) assumes that QP-scope is determined in narrow syntax based on the link of the QPs in the A-chain thus both merge position and case position are possible scope positions. Nevertheless, the common property of both approaches is that they treat all quantifiers equal as if they had the same scopal properties.

5.2.2.3 Checking theory of scope assignment

Both QR as A'-movement and quantifier scope as A-movement chain approach are

similar in that they ignore the different scope-taking abilities of different quantifiers and focus on quantifiers such as *every* and *some* (Liu, 1990; Ben-Shalom, 1993; Beghelli & Stowell, 1997; Szabolsci, 1997). Beghelli and Stowell (1997) and Szabolsci (1997) opposed these syntactic accounts proposing that all quantifiers do not have the same scope-taking properties therefore their scope shouldn't be calculated with the same tool. For instance, the scopal property of QPs like *every* and *few* or *fewer than five* is not the same because the object-wide reading is possible for a QP like *every* while it is disfavored with QPs such as *few, fewer than five* (28) (Ben-Shalom, 1993; Szabolcsi, 1997):

(28) a. Three referees read every abstract. (every>three)
b. Three referees read fewer than five abstracts. (*fewer than five>three)
c. Three referees read few abstracts. (*few>three)

Similarly, Szabolcsi (1997) argues that some but not all direct object QPs can take scope over negation; although *many* scopes over negation, *few* cannot:

(29) a. John didn't read many abstracts. (many>not)
b. John didn't read few abstracts. (*few>not)

Beghelli (1997) and Beghelli and Stowell (1997) also reject the assumption that all QPs have the same scope possibilities and propose a hybrid theory of QP scope that take the distinctions among various QP-types into consideration:

(30) *Scopal Diversity:* Distinct QP types have distinct scope positions and participate in distinct scope assignment processes. (Beghelli, 1997, p. 369)

Basically, they claim that scope-taking abilities of QPs are different such that certain

QP-types may have scope in their case position while other QP-types have to raise distinct LF positions to take scope. They take scope as the by-product of agreement processes which are determined by c-command relations, and postulate that QPs move to their scope position to check features associated to their QP-types. More precisely, QPs either directly move to their scope position through leftward/upward movement or they reconstruct to a lower link in the chain of the QP by rightward/downward movement, and this process is governed by the need to check scope features of QPs. The innovative aspect of this account is that they divide QPs into five groups and propose different scope positions according to their scopal properties. The QP types and their scope positions are as follows (Beghelli & Stowell, 1997, p. 74, 75):

i. WhQPs are interrogative QPs like *who, what, which*. These QPs bear the [+Wh] feature and take scope in the Spec of CP.

ii. NQPs are negative QPs like *nobody, no girl.* They bear a feature [+Neg] and take scope in the Spec of NegP.

iii. DQPs are distributive-Universal QPs headed by *every* and *each.* They bear a distributive-universal feature [+Dist] and they move to Spec of DistP to have scope.

iv. GQPs are group-denotating QPs that denote groups, including plural individuals, such as indefinite QPs headed by a*, some, several*, bare-numeral QPs *three men* and definite QPs like *the*. They may select different scope positions in line with the interpretation they will receive. They need to check group reference feature [+ group ref] with an existential operator-head (∃) which is located in both $Share^0$ and Ref^0:

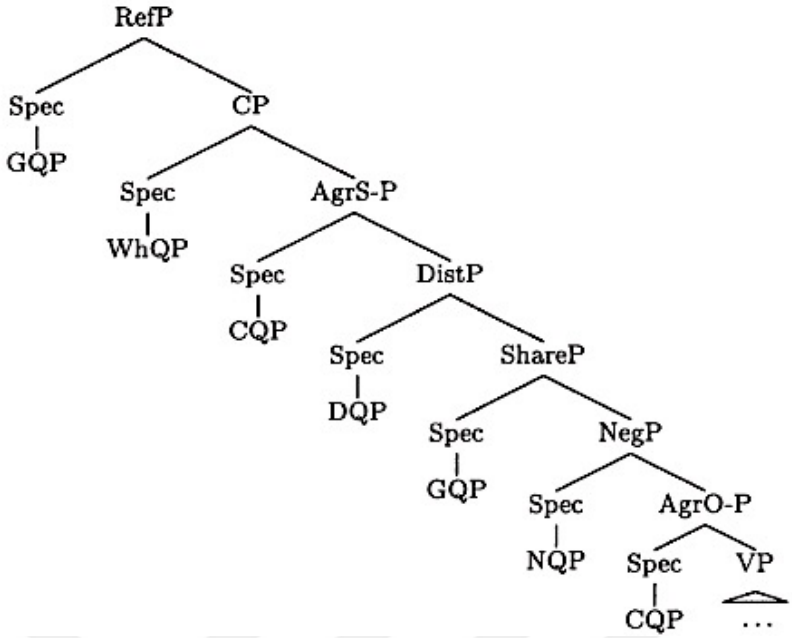
- referentially independent (definite) GQPs normally occupy the Spec of RefP and are interpreted with widest scope
- indefinites and bare numerals having specific reference occupy the Spec of ShareP. Specific indefinite GQPs can take scope either in the Spec of RefP or in the Spec of ShareP.
- non-specific indefinites and bare plurals take scope in their case position (in-situ).

v. CQPs are counting QPs such as *few, fewer than five, more than five*, etc. They are interpreted in their case positions.

One of the crucial points is that the distributive relation holds when the head of DistP is activated by Spec-Head agreement with a DQP which functions as the *distributor,* and Dist selects ShareP as its *distributee*. The share semantically must be an *existentially quantified term* that can co-vary with the distributor. A GQP or a covert existential QP over the event argument qualifies as share hence can occur in Spec of ShareP position.[6] The scope positions of QP-types within the functional structure that they propose for English is provided in (31) (the tree is taken from Beghelli & Stowell, 1997, p. 76):

[6] The motivation behind this idea is that a DQP like *every* is interpreted as a strong distributive quantifier when the set variable that *every* introduces is bound by an existential operator (Beghelli, 1997; Beghelli & Stowell, 1997).

(31)



The main assumption of this hierarchy is that each QP-type has a logico-semantic feature (e.g. [+Dist] or [+wh]) that they need to check with a relevant operator hosted in a relevant head position through Spec-Head agreement process. For instance, WhQPs has to check their [+wh] feature with a Wh-operator in C^o or a DQP needs to check its [+Dist] feature with a distributive operator (∀) hosted in Dist-head. Beghelli and Stowell (1997) assert that QPs cannot reconstruct to their theta/merge position after moving to the relevant Spec positions to check their features because *every QP must syntactically bind a trace as a variable in the LF representation.* Therefore, if QPs could reconstruct to their theta position then there would be no trace to bind in the lower position.

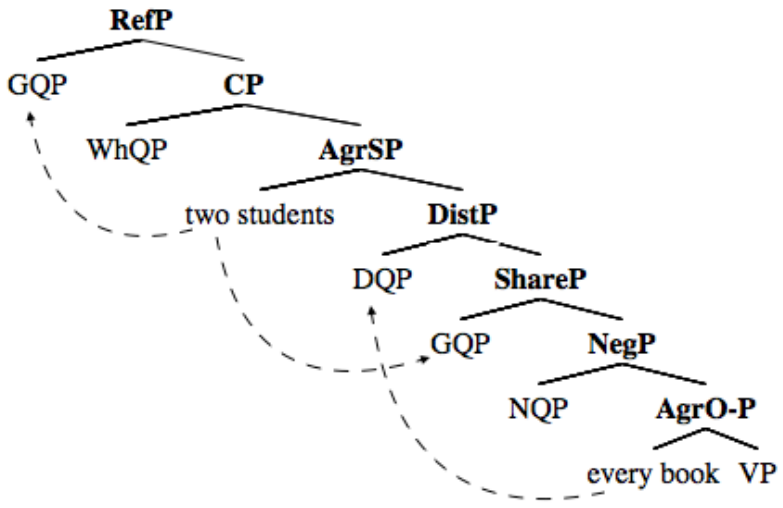
The scope hierarchy can account for the distinct scopal properties of different QP-types in English. For instance, a CQP in the object position can never take inverse scope over a GQP or DQP subject (32) because the object CQP necessarily takes scope in its case position which is Spec of AgrOP, and a subject GQP cannot reconstruct lower than Spec of ShareP nor a subject DQP can reconstruct lower than

Spec of DistP:

(32) a. Some/one of the students visited more than two girls.
b. Every student visited more/fewer than three girls.
(Beghelli & Stowell, 1997, p. 83):

Moreover, this hierarchy predicts that a GQP can have ambiguous scope with respect to a DQP in the same clause depending on whether GQP moves to Spec of RefP or Spec of ShareP. In such cases, DQPs always move to Spec of DistP to check [+Dist] feature and have scope there, but the scopal ambiguity arises due to the fact that GQPs inherit ambiguous quantificational property thus have two possible LF landing sites. When GQPs end up in Spec of ShareP they have narrow scope construal; however, when they move to Spec of RefP they get wide scope over DQPs (Beghelli & Stowell 1997).

(33) Two students read every/each book.



Most importantly, they suggest that DQPs always move from their case position to Spec of DistP if they are strongly-distributive, but languages are parameterized with respect to whether this movement takes place in visible syntax before Spell-Out or at

LF after Spell-Out. For instance, in the Bantu Language KiLega and Palestinian Arabic universal QPs corresponding to *every, each* undergo overt leftward movement in visible syntax (Beghelli & Stowell, 1997). They propose that in these languages DQPs move overtly to Spec of DistP in syntax but not at LF and they are spelled out in this position. This is in fact parallel to what we observe in wh-movement languages like English which must spell out WhQPs in Spec of CP position. Besides, Szabolcsi (1997) provides further support for Beghelli and Stowell's proposal from Hungarian. Given that surface order in Hungarian disambiguates scopal ambiguity, she asserts that surface structure of QPs corresponds quite closely to the specifier positions of functional categories proposed by Beghelli and Stowell (1997) and QP-movement to these different functional positions is overt in Hungarian. In other words, Hungarian has QP-movement in syntax while English has it at LF.

Lastly, Beghelli and Stowell (1997) adopts a modified version of Discourse Representation Theory semantics. They follow DRT in assuming that GQPs introduce discourse referents in the form of restricted group variables; on the other hand, generalized quantifiers such as CQP do no introduce discourse referents thus they do not undergo movement beyond their case-position at LF. However, they departure from DRT suggesting that DQPs also introduce discourse referents in the form of set variables and they are bound either by a definite operator (since DQPs have definiteness feature) or by an existential operator. In sum, Beghelli and Stowell's theory eliminates QR and replaces it with an articulated syntactic theory in which different types of QPs end up at the specifier positions of different functional projections at LF. The order of QPs in this configuration determines scopal relations.

5.2.3 Pragmatic/multi-factor approaches to QP scope

Pragmatic and/or multi-factor approaches criticize the idea that the relative scope of quantifiers/operators is free and determined by c-command relation as presumed by the configurational theories. They rather suggest that the interaction of several factors together with lexical properties of quantifiers determine the relative scope. Scope readings are gradient in nature.

Ioup (1975) identifies two universal scope factors which determine scope relations; hierarchy of quantifier expressions (34) and hierarchy of grammatical functions of quantifiers (35). According to his proposal, there is a hierarchy which scales quantified expressions based on their tendency to have wide scope, and universal quantifiers with distributive properties are at the top of this hierarchy.

(34) *Quantifier Hierarchy:* each> every>all>most>many>several> some (+Npl)>a few

(Ioup, 1975, p. 42)

Moreover, the grammatical function of the quantified expressions influences their scope-taking possibilities thus the quantified entity ranked higher in the hierarchy- which is subject- tends to have wide scope:

(35) *Hierarchy of grammatical functions*
topic > subject which is deep and surface subject > subject which is deep or surface subject, but not both > indirect object > prepositional object > direct object.

(Ioup, 1975, p. 57)

Similarly, Kuno (1991) postulates eight syntactic and discourse-based factors that influence and regulate the relative scope of QP in English (36). He notes that these different factors are each weighed differently, and this affects certain interpretations by native speakers.

(36) a. *lefthand Q > righthand Q*
(a QP to the left of another tend to have wider scope)

b. *subject Q > non-subject Q*
(a QP more closely linked to the subject has wider scope)

c. *D-linked Q > less D-linked* Q
(a discourse-linked Q tend to have wider scope)

d. *logophoric Q > nonlogophoric Q*
(a Q on the NP that refers to the speaker or the hearer is more likely to have wider scope)

e. *Quantifier Hierarchy*:
each> *some (+Nsg)* >every>all>most>many>several> some(+Npl)>a few[7]

f. *more human Q >less human Q*
(a Q attached to a human NP tends to have wider scope than one on an NP referring to a non-human entity)

g. *topicalized Q > non-topicalized Q*
(a Q that is syntactically made the topic of a sentence appears to always have scope over a nontopicalized one. This factor only applies to fronted wh-expressions when they are within a relative clause.)

h. *pragmatic factors*
(the context of situation, tense and aspect of the sentence, etc.)

One or more factors simultaneously might be at play to influence the relative scope in a multiple-quantifier sentence. For instance, two factors favor *many>some* interpretation while no factor favors the reverse *some>many* interpretation in (37), which makes inverse scope impossible in this sentence (Kuno, 1991, p. 271, 275):

(37) a. Many psychologists distrust some linguists.
(i) many > some: 1. *lefthand Q > righthand Q*
2. *subject Q > non-subject Q*
(ii) some > many: 0

[7] Kuno (1991) notes that 'some' is exceptional to this hierarchy and seems to slot in between 'each' and 'every'. Also, he says that it is difficult to locate wh-expressions on this hierarchy but it is possible to propose that 'each' is more likely to have wider scope than wh-expressions.

b. Who bought everything for Max?

(i) who > every:	1. *lefthand Q > righthand Q*
	2. *subject Q > non-subject Q*
	3. *more human Q > less human Q*
(ii) every > who:	0

However, in some multiple-quantifier sentences different factors might favor both $Q_1 > Q_2$ and $Q_2 > Q_1$ interpretation (38) thus both surface and inverse scope interpretation are available in such cases (Kuno, 1991, p. 276):

(38) What is giving each of you his biggest headache?

(i) what > each:	1. *lefthand Q > righthand Q*
	2. *subject Q > non-subject Q*
(ii) each > what:	1. *more D-linked Q > less D-linked Q*
	2. *logophoric Q > nonlogophoric Q*
	3. *Quantifier Hierarchy: each>what*
	4. *more human Q > less human Q*

In some cases, he asserts that, the pragmatic factors influence the quantifier scope. For instance, *each>what* interpretation is much easier to obtain in (39b) rather than (39a) because a list of games with their winners' names is commonplace while it is not the case for the viewers' names:

(39) a. Who viewed each game?
b. Who won each game?

The starting point of Kuno (1991) was a criticism of May's QR account. He discusses that QR is a misconception because relative scope of quantifiers is a complex issue that cannot be exclusively accounted for by c-command relation and its being sensitive to certain constraints such as ECP, Subjacency, Path Containment Condition, etc. He, then, proposes these factors to indicate that there are multiple elements that affect QP-scope and all of them are not necessarily syntactic. Later,

Kuno, Takami and Wu (1999) publish a similar work that criticizes the modified approach of QR in Aoun and Li (1993) and they explain QP-scope in English, Chinese and Japanese languages with these factors. In a recent corpus study, AnderBois, Brasoveanu, and Henderson (2012) find out that the linear order and grammatical function of quantifiers influence their scope-taking properties, which in a way confirm the influence of the factors proposed by Kuno.

These studies accept the relevance of QP scope to syntax but they reject the idea that the QP scope is exclusively determined by the syntactic configuration and constraints. They propose multiple factors that can affect QP scope to cope with the complex pattern of ambiguous and unequivocal sentences as well as the gradient nature of scope readings. In addition to the syntactic factors such as linear order, grammatical function, they also emphasize the role of pragmatic factors, the character of the quantificational elements (e.g., distributivity) and the relevance of discourse (e.g., being D-linked or not).

5.3 QP scope in MK

The scopal properties of QPs in a multiple-quantifier sentence give us clues about the hierarchical positions of these quantifiers because it is assumed that a QP takes wide scope over another QP when the former c-commands the latter in the same clause. Given that all syntactic approaches to QP scope analyze the output scope relations mostly based on the c-command relation, scopal interactions of QPs in different positions will help us find out the positions of constituents in a MK clause, and this is what I am going to do in this section. Recall that Kurmanji is known as an S(G)OV(G) language in which G refers to the postverbal goal constituents expressing recipients of *give-type verbs,* destination of verbs of directed motion (e.g.

çûn ‘go’, *ketin* ‘fall’) and of verbs of caused motion (e.g. *şandin* ‘send’ and *avetin* ‘throw’) and preverbal goals such as *the addressee of verbs of speech* (e.g. *gotin* ‘say’) and the recipients of *send-type verbs*:

(40) SOV
Ez *kitêb-ê* *di-xwîn-im*
1S.DIR book-OBL PROG-read.PRS-1S
‘I am reading the book.’

(41) SOVG
Min *perê* *da* *dê-ya* *xwe*
1S.OBL money.OBL give.PST.3S mother-EZ.F. self
‘I gave the money to my mother.’

(42) SGOV
Ez *ji* *we* *ra* *meselek-î* *bi-bêj-im*
1SG.DIR ADP 2PL.OBL ADP topic.INDF-OBL SBJV-say.PRS-1S
‘Let me tell you about a topic/matter.’

(43) SGOVG
Min *ji* *wan* *ra* *nan-ê* *wan* *şand* *zevî-yê*
1SG.OBL ADP 3PL.OBL ADP bread-EZ.M 3PL.OBL send.PST.3S field-OBL
‘I sent them their meal to the field.’

As the sentences demonstrate, the linear order of constituents of a MK clause is SGOVG. However, surface order of the constituents may or may not always reflect their hierarchical organization in syntax. For instance, in an English *to dative* sentence, the verb appears preceding the direct object (44a) although it is argued to take the indirect object as its complement (44b) and to yield the surface order as a result of verb raising (44c):

(44) a. John sent a letter to Mary.
b. [John [a letter *sent* to Mary]]
c. [John [*sent* a letter __ to Mary]]

(adapted from Larson, 1988, p. 342)

The question that needs to be dealt with at this point is whether the surface order of constituents in this dialect reflects their hierarchical positions in syntax or they have a different hierarchical organization. The linear ordering (SGOVG) suggests that the subject occupies the highest position while the postverbal goal sits in the lowest position and other constituents are between them. Testing this hypothesis will provide one of the following two results; either it is true, i.e. the constituents have the same hierarchical organization in syntax as seen on the surface order, or it is false, i.e. the constituents have different hierarchical positions in syntax from what is reflected on the surface order. In any case, the result will indicate what kind of a syntactic configuration MK has and which positions the constituents occupy in the phrase structure. To test this hypothesis, I conducted an experimental study on QP scope in MK, which I will discuss in the next sub-section.

5.3.1 Experimental study on QP scope in MK

The current experimental study aimed to investigate the interaction of linear order with scope to be able to figure out whether scope is read off only the surface order of QPs or whether inverse scope is possible in this dialect.

5.3.1.1 Items and fillers

There were eight items and twelve fillers in the experimental study (twenty in total). All the items and fillers included two pictures and one target sentence (see Appendix A and B). The eight items tested the scopal interaction between the subject-object, object-postverbal goal and preverbal goal-object based on the possibility of having inverse scope vs. direct scope readings. All the target sentences of items included

QPs *her* 'every' and *–ek(î)* 'a/one'. [8] Only these two QPs were used in order to avoid introducing new variables that might influence the interpretation. The results of a previously conducted pilot study revealed that inverse scope is not possible in MK.[9] Based on this observation, the four target sentences used in the experimental study were expected to be judged as ungrammatical/unacceptable considering the information provided in the context. The contexts provided in the (1)st, (3)rd, (5)th and (7)th items triggered inverse scope reading hence they were expected to be judged as ungrammatical/unacceptable. Target sentences of items used in the experimental study are as follows: (see Appendix A)

1. *Ferzo zevî-yek-î di-froş-e her pismam-ek-î xwe* (✗)
   Ferzo field-INDF-OBL PROG-sell.PRS-3S every relative-OBL.INDF self
   'Ferzo sells a field to each of his relatives.'

2. *Ferzo zevî-yek-î di-froş-e her pismam-ek-î xwe* (✓)
   Ferzo field-INDF-OBL PROG-sell.PRS-3S every relative-OBL.INDF self
   'Ferzo sells a field to each of his relatives.'

3. *Mixtar her mal-ek-î ra zar-ekî di-şîn-e* (✗)
   v.headman every house-INDF-OBL ADP child-INDF-OBL PROG-send.PRS-3S
   'The village headman sends a child to every house.'

[8] Beghelli and Stowell (1997, p. 86) discussed that scope judgements involving QPs are commonly based on 3 types of interpretation:
(i) interaction of existential quantifiers with a variety of logical operators:
e.g.: *John wants to marry a Canadian princess*. (QP>want *or* want>QP)
(ii) scope interactions with negation and other downward-entailing operators:
e.g.: *John didn't read a book* (∃>not *or* not >∃)
John didn't read every book. (not > every *or* every > not *if focused*)
(iii) scope interactions between indefinite QPs and a variety of other QP-types concerning distributivity: if a given QP takes scope over the indefinite then it is distributive, but if the QP has narrow scope under the indefinite then it is non-distributive:
e.g.: Every boy read two books. (every>two *or* two>every)

[9] Before designing the main experimental study, I conducted a pilot study with four native speakers of MK. It included six different contexts, which triggered either inverse or direct scope reading. Each context was accompanied by a multiple-quantifier target sentence and two relevant pictures; one depicted the direct scopal reading while the other depicted the inverse scope reading. The content and procedure of the pilot study was similar to the main experimental study.

4. *Mixtar her mal-ek-î ra zar-ekî di-şîn-e* (✓)
v.headman every house-INDF-OBL ADP child-INDF-OBL PROG-send.PRS-3S
'The village headman sends a child to every house.'

5. *Her zar-ek kitêb-ek-î di-xwîn-e.* (✗)
every child-INDF book-INDF-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
'Every child reads a book.'

6. *Her zar-ek kitêb-ek-î di-xwîn-e.* (✓)
every child-INDF book-INDF-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
'Every child reads a book.'

7. *Rojda fotraf-ek-î ji her xwişk-ek-î* (✗)
Rojda photo-INDF-OBL ADP every sister-INDF-OBL
xwe ra di-şîn-e
self ADP PROG-send.PRS-3S
'Rojda sends a photo to each of her sister.'

8. *Rojda fotraf-ek-î ji her xwişk-ek-î* (✓)
Rojda photo-INDF-OBL ADP every sister-INDF-OBL
xwe ra di-şîn-e
self ADP PROG-send.PRS-3S
'Rojda sends a photo to each of her sister.'

The items in (1) and (2) were testing the scopal interaction between the direct object (DO) and the postverbal goal constituents of *give-type verbs* (e.g.: *firotin* 'sell') while the ones in (3) and (4) were testing the scopal interaction between the DO and the postverbal goal constituents of *send-type verbs* (e.g.: *şandin* 'send'). The items in (5) and (6) were used to understand the scopal interaction between the subject and the DO while the ones in (7) and (8) were for the scopal relation between the preverbal goal and DO.

On the other hand, the target sentences of fillers have QPs like *–ek(î)* 'a/one', *hemû* 'all', *tukes/kes* 'nobody', *tutiştekî* 'nothing' *çend* 'a few, some' and numeral expressions such as *du* 'two' and *sê* 'three'. Considering the information provided in the contexts, six of the target sentences in fillers were to be acceptable whereas three

of them were unacceptable/wrong due to misinformation. Moreover, three of the target sentences were obviously ungrammatical (*) as they violated the typical grammatical rules of Kurmanji. The unacceptable and ungrammatical target sentences were included in the fillers on purpose in order to understand whether the respondents/subjects would give random and unconscious responses or they gave conscious responses during the experiment. Target sentences of filler contexts are as follows: [10] (see Appendix B)

1. *Hemû zebeş kal ne-bû-n.* (acceptable)
   all watermelon unripe NEG-become.PST-PL
   'All watermelons are not unripe.'

2. **Tukes gocik-ê xwe tîn-e.* (ungrammatical)
   noone coat-EZ.M self PROG.bring.PRS-3S
   Int: 'Noone brings their coat.'

3. *Hemû çîçek ji bê avî-yê hişk bi-bû-n.* (acceptable)
   all flower ADP without watery-OBL withered SBJV-become.PST-PL
   'All flowers wilted due to the lack of water.'

4. *Mamoste ji kes-î ra tişte-k-î na-kir-e.* (wrong)
   teacher ADP no one-OBL ADP nothing-OBL NEG-buy.PRS-3S
   'The teacher does not buy anything for anybody.'

5. *Sê zarok di golet-ê da soberî di-k-in.* (acceptable)
   three child ADP small lake-OBL ADP swimming PROG-do.PRS-PL
   'Three children are swimming in the small lake.'

6. **Çend polîs gund-ek-î çû-n-e.* (ungrammatical)
   a few policeman village-INDF-OBL go.PST-PL-PRF
   Int: 'A few policemen went to a village.'

[10] The target sentences of fillers in (2), (6) and (10) are ungrammatical because; the QP *tukes* 'nobody' requires a negated verb like *nayne* 'not-bring-3S' rather than an affirmative one *tîne* 'bring-3S' in (2). In (6), as a verb of directed motion, *çûn* 'went' takes its locational goal in the postverbal position as in *çûne gundekî* 'went to the village' rather than in the preverbal position as in the example above **gundekî çûne*. Similarly, the verb *dan* 'give' places its recipient in the postverbal position but not in the preverbal position as given in (10). The correct form should be *Hecî Pîran hemû hespên xwe dide du merfên xwe* 'Heci Piran is giving all his horses to his two relatives.' See Chapter 2 Section 2.5 for detailed information about quantifiers in MK.

7. *Helîn ji hemû xwarzî-yên xwe ra* (acceptable)
   Helin ADP all niece & nephew-EZ.PL self ADP
   pêlav-an di-kir-e.
   shoe-PL.OBL PROG-buy.PRS-3S
   'Helin is buying shoes for all of her nieces and nephews.'

8. *Heval-ên Meral ji wî ra xalîçek-î* (wrong)
   friend-EZ.PL Meral ADP 3S.OBL ADP carpet.INDF-OBL
   di-kir-in.
   PROG-buy.PRS-PL
   'Meral's friends are buying a carpet for her.'

9. *Hemû cînar-ên me her sal spîndar û bî* (acceptable)
   all neighbor-EZ.PL 1PL.OBL ever year poplar and willow tree
   da-tîn-in.
   Part-PROG.plant.PRS-PL
   'All our neighbors plant poplar and willow trees.'

10. **Hecî Pîran hemû hesp-ên xwe du merf-ên* (ungrammatical)
    H.P. all horse-EZ.PL self two relative-EZ.PL
    xwe di-d-e.
    self PROG- give.PRS-3S
    Int: 'Heci Piran gives all of his horses to two of his relatives'

11. *Zar-ek-î hemû balon-an firand.* (acceptable)
    child-INDF-OBL all balloon-PL.OBL fly.PST.3S
    'A child flew all balloons.'

12. *Mihemed hertişt-ê xwe di-froş-e.* (wrong)
    Muhammed everything-EZ.M self PROG-sell.PRS-3S
    'Muhammed sells everything.'

5.3.1.2 Procedure

The experiment was conducted in two different sessions on different days. In each session, the subjects listened to four item contexts and six filler contexts and judged the target sentences accordingly. I used a pseudo-random order where the items and fillers are intermixed somewhat randomly but at the same time avoiding long chains of similar trials:

1st session:

Filler 1-*Item 1*-*Item 4*-Filler 2-Filler-*Item 7*-Filler 3-*Item 6*-Filler 4-Filler 5

2ndsession:

Filler 7-*Item 3*-*Item 2*-Filler 8-Filler 9-*Item 5*-Filler 10-*Item 8*-Filler 12-Filler 13

Each context in the experimental study had two pictures and one target sentence. The contexts were provided verbally thus all the contexts and target sentences were recorded beforehand (there was no written data). Besides, the pictures were put on the slides. There were two tasks that the subjects/respondents were asked to do: (i) to decide which of two pictures provided the best representation of the state of affairs expressed by the context, and (ii) to judge whether the target sentence was grammatical or acceptable in the intended interpretation. While listening to each context, the subjects saw two pictures on the slide and they were asked to decide which of two pictures depicted the context best. Then they were asked to judge whether the sentence they would hear in a while was grammatical/acceptable based on the given context. They heard the target sentence just after this instruction. If the respondents found the target sentence as grammatical/acceptable, then they were provided with the next context. However, if they did not find the target sentence as grammatical/acceptable for the interpretation, then they were asked to re-formulate the target sentence to yield a grammatical/ an acceptable one. During the experiment, only Kurmanji Kurdish was used in interacting with the respondents.

5.3.1.3 Participants

The experiment was conducted with nineteen native speakers of MK living in different districts/villages of Muş:

Table 20. Participants of the Experimental Study

	Name	Sex	Age	Education	Job	Place
1	C.K.	M	23	MA student (Kurdish Lang. & Lit.)	Translator	Korkut (Karakale -Kelereş)
2	F.B.	F	26	MA student (Kurdish Lang. & Lit.)	Teacher	Muş (Yaygın)
3	Ö.K.	M	21	BA student (Kurdish Lang. & Lit Dep.)	Student	Korkut (Karakale -Kelereş)
4	N.G.	F	34	BA student (Kurdish Lang. & Lit Dep.)	Student	Muş (Zengök - Qerehemz)
5	L.A.	F	24	BA student (Kurdish Lang. & Lit Dep.)	Student	Bulanık (Olurdere-Kop)
6	E.D.	F	33	BA degree-University	Teacher	Muş (Kıyık -Qijiltax)
7	E.Ö.	F	23	BA degree-University	Engineer	Muş (Alaniçi - Şênik)
8	Z.K.	M	37	College Degree	Technician	Varto
9	N.G.	F	24	BA student (Religious Science)	Student	Hasköy (Otaçköyü-Zirkêt)
10	R.G.	F	25	BA student (Turkish Lang. & Lit. Dep.)	Student	Hasköy (Otaçköyü-Zirkêt)
9	A.G.	M	19	BA student (Management Dep.)	Student	Malazgirt (Karıncalı-Morîkan)
10	T.Y.	F	22	BA student (Science Education Dep.)	Student	Muş (Azaxpûr-Özdilek)
11	E.B.	F	20	BA student (Math. Education Dep.)	Student	Varto (Dallıöz-Gomagorgo)
12	E.Y.	F	22	BA student (Kurdish Lang. & Lit Dep.)	Student	Malazgirt
13	B.Ç.	F	21	BA student (Kurdish Lang. & Lit Dep.)	Student	Muş (Muratgören-Kanîreş)
16	A.A.	M	35	BA Degree - University	Doctor	Bulanık
17	R.Ö.	F	43	High School degree	Housewife-Author	Muş (Kızılağaç-Qerehemze)
18	F.T.	M	46	High School degree	Officer	Korkut (Pınarstü-Bardîk)
19	Z.Ç.	M	29	College Degree	Nurse	Bulanık (Karaağıl-Hemzeşêx)

Twelve of them were female while seven of them were male. They had different educational background and most of them were students at Muş Alparslan University at the time when the experiment was conducted, as it was also provided in the table above.

5.3.1.4 Results

The results of the experiment were quite consistent with the results of the pilot study; inverse scope is not possible in MK. The participants were expected to reject the target sentences of items in (1), (3), (5) and (7) while they were expected to accept the target sentences of items in (2), (4), (6) and (8), and the results were almost the same as what was expected to be, as shown in Figure 2:

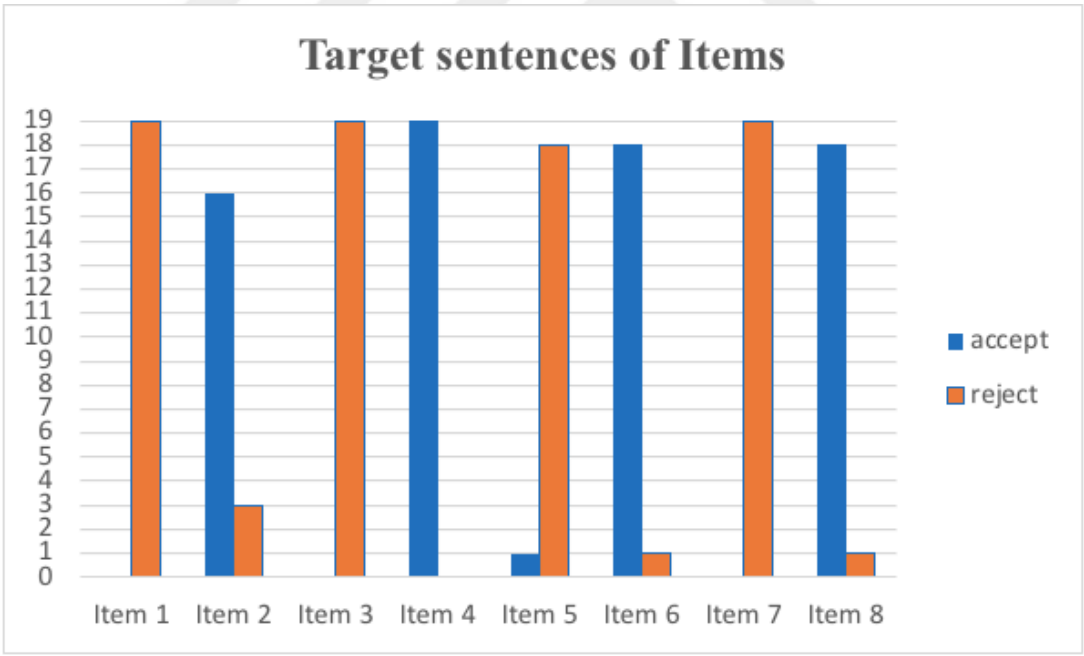


Fig. 2 Participants' response to the target sentences of items

I will discuss the responses of the subjects to each item along with their implications in the following sub-sections.

5.3.1.4.1 Item 1 and Item 2: scopal relation between DO and postverbal goal

The target sentences of Item-1and Item-2 were the same but they are accompanied with opposite contexts. Both tested the scopal interaction between the DO and the postverbal goal of *give-type verb*s:

(45) *Ferzo zevî-yek-î di-froş-e her pismam-ek-î xwe*
Ferzo field-INDF-OBL PROG-sell.PRS-3S every relative-INDF-EZ.M self
'Ferzo sells a field to each of his relatives.' (one>every)

The context of Item-1 triggered a distributive reading (every>one) while the target sentence had *one-every* order (45). None of the subjects found the target sentence as grammatical/acceptable. When they were asked to reformulate the target sentence, they preferred to shift the postverbal goal (*her pismamekî xwe* 'each of his relatives') to the preverbal position where the universal QP takes scope over the indefinite DO yielding a distributive reading, compatible with the given context (46):[11]

(46) *Ferzo (ji) her pismam-ek-î xwe ra zevî-yek-î*
Ferzo (ADP) every relative-INDF-EZ.M self ADP field-INDF-OBL
di-froş-e
PROG- sell.PRS-3S
'Ferzo sells a field to each of his relatives.' (every>one)

The context of Item-2, on the other hand, triggered a non-distributive reading (one>every) and, in the same vein, the target sentence had *one-every* order (45).[12] All

[11] Almost all of my subjects used the circumposition *(ji)…ra* 'to' when they shifted such quantified postverbal goals to the preverbal position. This can be taken as a support to the claim in Chapter 4; only two case-marked NPs survive in the preverbal position in a MK clause and these are subject and DO. When a third one has to occur in the preverbal position, it has to be expressed through adpositions, as my subjects did in (46). Also note that some of the subjects drop the first preposition part (*ji*) of the circumposition '*ji…ra*', thus I showed it within parentheses in these sentences.

[12] In such non-distributive contexts, the indefinite constituent (i.e. here, the direct object) is interpreted as specific. The fact that the native speakers who didn't find the target sentence of Item 2 grammatical/acceptable reformulated it by modifying the direct object with the adjective *eyni* 'same' provides further support for the specific interpretation of the indefinite constituent. Note that

of the subjects except for three found the target sentence as grammatical/acceptable. The ones who rejected the target sentence pointed out that they were not comfortable with [Verb+*her* NP] order when the postverbal goal is quantified by the universal QP *her* 'every'. When they were asked to reformulate the target sentence, they preferred to shift the postverbal goal to the preverbal position and modify the DO with the adjective *eynî* 'same' (47a), or they used the postverbal goal in its usual position but with a non-distributive universal QP (i.e. *hemû* 'all') (47b). In both cases, the reformulated target sentence expresses a non-distributive reading as triggered by the given context:

(47) a. *Ferzo (ji) her pismam-ek-î xwe ra eynî zevî-yê di-froş-e*
Ferzo (ADP) every relative-INDF-EZ.M self ADP same field-OBL PROG-sell.PRS-3S
'Ferzo sells the same field to each of his relatives.'

b. *Ferzo zevî-yek-î di-froş-e hemû pismam-ên xwe*
Ferzo field-INDF-OBL PROG-sell.PRS-3S all relative-EZ.PL self
'Ferzo sells a field to all of his relatives.'

The results suggest that the surface order of quantified DO and quantified postverbal goal reflects their scopal interactions thus only direct scope reading is available in MK.

The observation that quantified postverbal goals are shifted to the preverbal position in certain cases is interesting because the movement of postverbal goals to the preverbal position normally yields ungrammaticality in MK (throughout Kurmanji Kurdish):

specificity is not marked morphologically in Kurmanji Kurdish thus it is the context that tells us whether an (indefinite) NP is specific or not. All the contexts that triggered non-distributive reading in the experiment render indefinite specific interpretation.

(48) a. *Min* *şekir* *da* ***zarok-an***
1S.OBL candy-DIR give.PST.3S child-PL.OBL
'I gave the candy to the children.'

b. * *Min* ***zarok-an*** *şekir* *da*
1S.OBL child-PL.OBL candy-DIR give.PST.3S

c. * *Min* *şekir* ***zarok-an*** *da*
1S.OBL candy-DIR child-PL.OBL give.PST.3S

One might think that the reason why the postverbal goal quantified by *her* 'every' moves to the preverbal position is because this position is opaque to quantifier or operator scope. However, the responses given to Item-2 demonstrate that this is not the case. Besides, as a type of operator, wh-elements surface and get interpretation in this position (49):

(49) a. *Te* *wê* *fistan-ê* *da* ***KÎ ?***
2S.OBL DEM.OBL.F dress-OBL give.PST.3S **who**
'To whom did you give that dress?'

b. *Ez* *zarok-an* *bi-şîn-im* ***KU?***
1S.DIR child- OBL.PL SBJV-send.PRS-1S **where**
'Where do I send the children?'

Furthermore, the nature of the object also makes an influence here. For instance, if the object is not a QP but a definite or a proper noun, then *her* 'every' appears in the postverbal position without leading to any ungrammaticality (50):

(50) a. *Min* *Sîdar* *şand* *her* *mal-ek-î*
1S.OBL Sidar send.PST.3S every house-INDF-OBL
'I sent Sidar to every house.'

b. *Min* *dewetî-ya* *xwe* *da* *herkes-î*
1S.OBL invitation-EZ.F self give.PST.3S everybody-OBL
'I gave my invitation to everybody.'

Therefore, it seems that the unacceptability of the universal QP *her* 'every' in the postverbal position (in the presence of a quantified/indefinite DO) is due to its distributive nature. It cannot have distributive scope over a quantified DO in this position, thus it moves overtly to the preverbal position to yield wide scope reading.[13] One last point I want to make is that even though a postverbal goal with *her* 'every' moves to the preverbal position to yield distributive reading, an indefinite postverbal goal cannot move to the preverbal goal to get a specific interpretation. [14] The MK speakers judged the sentence in (51b) as ungrammatical:

(51) a. *Ferzo her zevî-yek-î di-froş-e pismam-ek-î xwe*
Ferzo every field-IND-OBL PROG-sell.PRS-3S relative-INDF.EZ.M self
'Ferzo sells every field to one of his relatives.'

b. **Ferzo (ji) pismam-ek-î xwe ra her zevî-yêk-î*
Ferzo ADP relative-INDF.EZ.M self ADP every field-INDF-OBL
di-froş-e
PROG-sell.PRS-3S
(Int: There is a particular relative of Ferzo such that he sells every field to him.)

[13] Unlike a quantified/indefinite DO, a quantified/indefinite subject does not influence the interpretation and grammaticality of *her* 'every' in the postverbal position, though. The native speakers were quite fine with sentences like (a) while they found the one in (b) as weird. This suggests that postverbal *her* 'every' is not sensitive to a quantified subject but a quantified object:

(a) *Jin-ek* *bi serê xwe* *di-ç-e* *her* *cîh-ê.*
woman-INDF.DIR alone PROG-go.PRS-3S every place-OBL
'A woman goes to everywhere.'

(b) * *Jinek her cîhê bi serê xwe diçe.*

[14] My discussion with the native speakers of Kurmanji from other dialect groups in Turkey (e.g., Van, Hakkari, Malatya, Şırnak) suggested that the restriction posed by *her* 'every' in distributive contexts is not peculiar to MK, rather it seems to be valid for Kurmanji Kurdish in general.

5.3.1.4.2 Item 3 and Item 4: scopal relation between DO and postverbal goal

The Item-3 and Item-4 had the same target sentences but the contexts triggered opposite readings. Both tested the scopal interaction between the DO and the postverbal goal of *send-type verb*s. Unlike the items in (1) and (2), the quantified postverbal goal (*her malekî* 'every house') was not in its usual place (i.e. in the postverbal position) in the target sentence of Item-3 and Item-4, rather it was placed in the preverbal position:

(52) *Mixtar (ji) her mal-ek-î ra zar-ek-î*
v. headman (ADP) every house-INDF-OBL ADP child-INDF-OBL
di-şîn-e
PROG-send.PRS-3S
'The village headman sends a child to every house.' (every>one)

The context of Item-3 triggered a non-distributive reading (one>every) while the target sentence had *every-one* order. None of the subjects found the target sentence as grammatical/acceptable. When they were asked to reformulate the target sentence, sixteen of them preferred to place the postverbal goal (*her malekî xwe* 'each of his relatives') in its usual postverbal position, where the indefinite DO takes scope over the quantified postverbal goal, yielding a non-distributive reading (53):

(53) *Mixtar zar-ek-î di-şîn-e her mal-ek-î*
v. headman child-INDF-OBL PROG-send.PRS-3S every house-INDF-OBL
'The village headman sends a child to every house.' (one>every)

Three of the subjects who were not comfortable with *her* 'every' in the postverbal position, on the other hand, reformulated the target sentence by keeping the postverbal goal in the preverbal position but modified the DO with the adjective *eynî*

'same' (54a).[15] They also stated that the target sentence would be compatible with what was expressed in the given context if the postverbal goal was quantified by a non-distributive universal QP (i.e. *hemû* 'all') (54b):

(54) a. *Mixtar* *her* *sê* *mal-an* *ra* *eynî* *zar-ê*
village headman every three house-OBL.PL ADP same child- OBL
di-şîn-e
PROG-send.PRS-3S
'The village headman sends the same child to every (three) house.'

b. *Mixtar* *zar-ek-î* *di-şîn-e* *hemû* *mal-an*
v. headman child-INDF-OBL PROG-send.PRS-3S all house-OBL.PL
'The village headman sends a child to all houses.')

The context of Item-4, on the contrary, triggered a distributive reading (every>one) and likewise the target sentence had *every-one* order (52). All of the participants judged the target sentence as grammatical/acceptable. The results again revealed that only direct scope reading is available in MK and the surface order of quantified DO and quantified postverbal goal reflects their scopal interactions.

5.3.1.4.3 Item 5 and Item 6: scopal relation between subject and DO

Item-5 and Item-6 tested the scopal interaction between the subject and the DO. They both had the same target sentence but again with opposite contexts.

(55) *Her* *zar-ek* *kitêb-ek-î* *di-xwîn-e*
every child-INDF book-INDF-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
'Every child reads a book.' (every>one)

[15] Instead of '*her*+NP-*ek*' structure, they used *her* 'every' with a numeral *sê* 'three' ('*her sê* NP+PL') here, as there were three houses in the given context.

The context of Item-5 triggered a non-distributive reading (one>every) and the target sentence had *every-one* order (55). Almost all subjects found the target sentence as ungrammatical/unacceptable. When they were asked to reformulate the target sentence, they modified the DO with the adjective *eynî*/*heman* 'same' to render specific interpretation of the DO:

(56) *Her* *zar-ek* *eynî/heman* *kitêb-ê* *di-xwîn-e*
every child-INDF same book- OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
'Every child reads the same book.'

When they were asked whether it was possible to front the indefinite DO to get a specific interpretation in this non-distributive context, they rejected the sentence in (57):

(57) * *kitêb-ek-î* *her* *zar-ek* *di-xwîn-e*
book-INDF-OBL every child-INDF PROG-read.PRS-3S
(Int: There is a particular book such that every child reads it. (one>every))

Crucially, in a reverse scenario, the indefinite subject takes wide scope construal over the DO with *her* 'every' yielding a non-distributive reading (58a). However, the DO cannot be fronted for wide scope even if the context renders a distributive reading (58b):

(58) a. *Zar-ek-î* *her* *kitêb-ek-î* *di-xwîn-e*
child-INDF-OBL every book-INDF-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
'A child reads every book.' (one>every)

b. **her* *kitêb-ek-î* *zar-ek-î* *di-xwîn-e*
every book-INDF-OBL child-INDF-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
(Int: For every child, there is possibly a different book such that s/he reads it)

This demonstrates that although DOs may be fronted for pragmatic purposes (59), they cannot be fronted to have wide scope over the subject in MK:

(59) *nav-ê* *kurê* *dinê,* *min* *ji* *bîr* *kir*
name-EZ.M boy-OBL other 1SG.OBL ADP mind do.PST.3S
'The other boy's name, I forgot it.'

In contrast, the context of Item-6 triggered a distributive reading (every>one) and the target sentence had *every-one* order (55). Almost all participants judged the target sentence as grammatical/acceptable. Note that only one participant gave opposite responses to Item-5 and Item-6; she reported that it was clear from the given context that every child reads a book but she didn't understand whether the children read the same book or a different book.

Therefore, the results indicated that the scope relations of QP subject and indefinite DO are also read off based on the surface order, and the indefinite DO cannot be fronted for wide scope purposes yielding an indefinite specific interpretation.

5.3.1.4.4 Item 7 and Item 8: scopal relation between preverbal goal and DO

Lastly, Item-7 and Item-8 tested the scopal interaction between the preverbal goal and the DO. They had the same target sentence (60) with contrastive contexts. Note that although the preverbal goal precedes the DO (G-O) in the pragmatically-neutral sentences in MK (see (42)), it followed the indefinite DO in the target sentence to see whether the quantified preverbal goal can have narrow scope construal under the indefinite DO.

(60) *Rojda fotraf-ek-î ji her xwişk-ek-î xwe ra*
Rojda photo-INDF-OBL ADP every sister-INDF-EZ.M self ADP
di-şîn-e
PROG-send.PRS-3S
'Rojda sends a photograph to each of her sister.' (one>every)

The context of Item-7 triggered a distributive reading (every>one) while the target sentence had *one-every* order. All participants rejected the target sentence and reformulated it by moving the preverbal goal to the left of the indefinite DO, whereby *her* 'every' takes wide scope construal (61):

(61) *Rojda ji her xwişk-ek-î xwe ra fotraf-ek-î*
Rojda ADP every sister-INDF-EZ.M self ADP photo-INDF-OBL
di-şîn-e
PROG-send.PRS-3S
'Rojda sends a photograph to each of her sister.' (every>one)

In contrast, the context of Item-8 implied a non-distributive reading (one>every) and similarly the target sentence had *one-every* order. All participants except for one accepted the target sentence as grammatical/acceptable. The one participant who rejected the target sentence are one of those who were not comfortable with *her* 'every' in the postverbal position in the presence of an indefinite DO in the previous items. He reported that [*her*+NP-*ek*] must always come first and reformulated the target sentence by modifying the DO with the adjective *heman* 'same'. This would yield indefinite specific interpretation of the DO:

(62) *Rojda ji her xwişk-ek-î xwe ra heman fotraf-ê*
Rojda ADP every sister-INDF-EZ.M self ADP same photo-OBL
di-şîn-e
PROG-send.PRS-3S
'Rojda sends the same photograph to each of her sister.'

The results suggest that the scope relations of QPs in these positions are also read off based on the surface order; the leftmost QP takes wide scope over the following QP.

5.3.1.5 Interim summary: findings and implications

The discussion so far demonstrates that MK is a scope-rigid language in which the surface position of QPs reflects their scopal interactions. The results revealed that only direct scope reading is available because we do not observe scope ambiguities in multiple-quantifier sentences in this dialect unlike English. However, the scope relations of QPs in the verbal domain display differences from the QPs in subject and object position. The findings can be summarized as follows:

(i) QPs in subject position always take wide scope over QPs in object position.

(ii) QP-object never appears before QP-subject even when it is quantified by *her* 'every'.

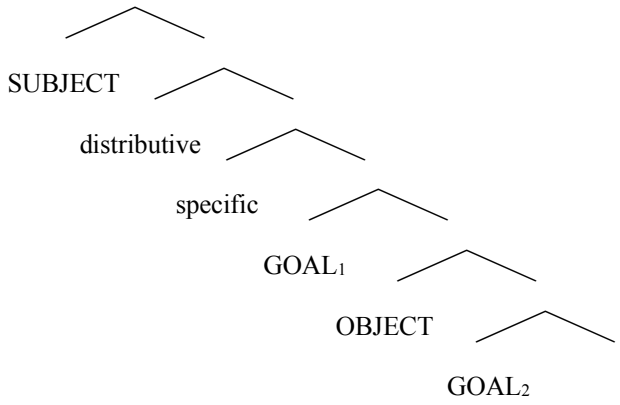
(iii) A QP in object position generally has scope over the quantified postverbal goal, while it takes scope under the quantified preverbal goal. However, there are cases where specificity and distributivity are at play:

- If DO is an indefinite specific then it has scope over the postverbal goal quantified with *her* 'every', yielding a non-distributive reading.
- If DO is an indefinite specific then it has scope over the preverbal goal quantified with *her* 'every' thus moves to the left of the preverbal goal constituent for wide scope purposes, again rendering a non-distributive reading.
- If the goal constituent (both preverbal and postverbal goals) is quantified with *her* 'every' which has a strong distributive property, it always precedes the indefinite DO.

The context is crucial for scopal readings within the verbal domain. In the absence of a specific context, native speakers find sentences with *her* 'every' in the postverbal position as unacceptable when they hear them out of blue. If the context triggers a non-distributive reading, then such sentences would be acceptable.

The findings bring up some questions: Although a postverbal goal with *her* 'every' moves to the preverbal position to induce distributive reading, why cannot a DO with *her* 'every' move over a QP-subject for the same purposes? Besides, an indefinite DO moves over the preverbal goal to induce specific reading, but why cannot it move over a QP-subject for the same purpose? Likewise, why doesn't an indefinite postverbal goal move to the preverbal position to get a specific interpretation? It seems that the nature of the quantifier (distributive vs. non-distributive) and specificity are the basic factors that regulate the movement of QPs and their scopal interactions in MK, but these mostly influence the QP-scope interaction between the DO and the goal constituents. It might be the case that specific and strongly distributive QPs raise out of the vP in this dialect because they are presuppositional and strong noun phrases, just as suggested by Diesing (1992). Given that the scopal relations are determined by c-command relation from a syntactic point of view, there must be a higher position where a specific or distributive QP-direct object as well as a distributive postverbal goal can move to take wide scope construal. In the light of these findings, I suggest that linear precedence in the sequence of constituents maps onto structural height in MK, thus the constituents in this dialect have the following hierarchical organization in syntax (63). Note that I also assume two distinct positions for specific indefinites and distributive QPs, respectively, because they are different features:

(63)



I will discuss possible syntactic analysis for QP-scope in MK in the following section.[16]

5.3.2 A possible analysis of QP-scope in MK

As reviewed previously in Section 5.2., there are three basic syntactic approaches to QP-scope; namely, Quantifier Raising (May, 1977, 1985), QP-scope as A-movement chain operation (Hornstein, 1995, 1999) and Checking theory of scope assignment (Beghelli & Stowell, 1997). I will discuss the QP-scope properties of MK through approaches and propose that checking theory of scope assignment (Beghelli & Stowell, 1997) captures the QP-scopal facts of this dialect better with a clear implication of possible landing positions of the constituents in question.

Recall that in QR approach of May (1977, 1985) QP-scope is determined depending on c-command and binding relations at LF. However, languages with free word order (e.g., Hungarian) are often considered to 'wear their LF on their sleeves' (Szabolcsi, 1997), which means that QR is a visible operation in such languages. Given that QR adjoins quantifiers to VP or S (or IP) nodes for scope interpretation, then this operation takes place either at LF as in English or in overt syntax as in

[16] The binding relations in MK provide further support for this configuration, which I will discuss in Section 5.4.2.

Hungarian. However, QP-scope data of MK demonstrate that this dialect is neither like English nor like Hungarian but it stands somewhere between both languages. For instance, non-distributive postverbal goals seem to get their scopal interpretation in their usual position (i.e., postverbal position) while the distributive ones move to a higher position for a wide-scope construal. If one adopts QR approach to explain QP-scope in this dialect, then it should be said that QR applies in visible syntax in certain cases (e.g., distributive and specific contexts) as in (64) while it applies at LF, or after Spell-Out, in other circumstances (e.g., non-distributive and non-specific contexts) as in (65). (LF movement is indicated in *italics*.)

(64) *Ferzo ji her pismam-ek-î xwe ra zevî-yek-î*
Ferzo ADP every relative-INDF.EZ.M self ADP field- INDF-OBL
di-froş-e
PROG-sell.PRS-3S
'For each of his relatives, there is a field such that Ferzo sells to them.'
[S [VP every relative$_1$ *a field$_2$* [VP *e$_2$* sell e$_1$]]]

(65) *Ferzo zevî-yek-î di-froş-e her pismam-ek-î xwe*
Ferzo field- INDF-OBL PROG-sell.PRS-3S every relative-INDF.EZ.M self
'There is a particular field such that Ferzo sells to each of his relatives.'
[S [VP a field$_1$ *every relative$_2$* [VP e$_1$ sell *e$_2$*]]]

If we assume that QR exists in MK, then we should also assume that it takes place at two different levels without providing any plausible reason. Most importantly, given that QR applies freely as it is proposed by May, then we don't expect to find MK cases in which an indefinite DO cannot have scope over the QP-subject even in non-distributive contexts, or an indefinite postverbal goal cannot have a specific interpretation. However, this is what we have in this dialect. Therefore, I suggest that QR approach fails to provide a straightforward explanation for QP-scope in MK.

Hornstein's approach of QP-scope as A-movement operation seems to handle MK data better at first sight but it faces some problems, as well. Recall that scope relations are determined in narrow syntax as by-product of A-movement in this approach. The basic assumption is that NPs are base-generated in VP-internal position and raise to Spec AGR positions for case checking, and the copy-chain link created by the moved quantified NPs regulates QP-scope. If the copy in the higher case position survives at PF, then it gets wide scope construal whereas if the copy in the merge position survives at PF then it has narrow scope construal. The scope data in MK is accountable in this approach if we assume that the quantified constituents having wide scope construal always have their higher copies spelled out at PF. For instance, the subject gets wide scope reading in (66) because its higher copy always survives at PF while its lower copy is deleted. (Deleted copies are indicated within (parentheses).)

(66) *Her* *zar-ek* *kitêb-ek-î* *di-xwîn-e*
every child-INDF book-INDF-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
'For every child, there is a book such that s/he reads it.'
[$_{AgrS}$ every child [$_{TP}$ [$_{AgrO}$ a book [$_{VP}$ (every child) (a book) read]]]]

Similarly, in distributive context the higher copy of *her* 'every' is spelled out at PF while its lower copy is deleted (67), on the other hand, in non-distributive context its higher copy is deleted whereas its lower copy survives at PF (68).

(67) *Ferzo* *ji* *her* *pismam-ekî* *xwe* *ra* *zevî-yek-î*
Ferzo ADP every relative-INDF.EZ self ADP field- INDF-OBL
di-froş-e
PROG-sell.PRS-3S
'For every relative, there is a field such that Ferzo sells to them.'
[S Ferzo [$_{AgrIO}$ every relative [$_{AgrO}$ (a field) [VP a field sell (every relative)]]]

(68) *Ferzo zevî-yek-î di-froş-e her pismam-ekî xwe*
Ferzo field- INDF-OBL PROG-sell.PRS-3S every relative-INDF.EZ self
'There is a particular field such that Ferzo sells to his every relative.'
[S Ferzo [$_{AgrIO}$ (every relative) [$_{AgrO}$ a field [VP (a field) sell every relative]]]

Although this approach shows us the merge position of constituents as well as why certain QPs appear in a different position from their merge positions in MK, we need constraints like the ones in (69) in line with Mapping Hypothesis of Diesing (1992) to regulate which copies will survive and which ones must be deleted at PF. The distributive and specific quantifiers must raise outside VP and their higher copies must be spelled out.

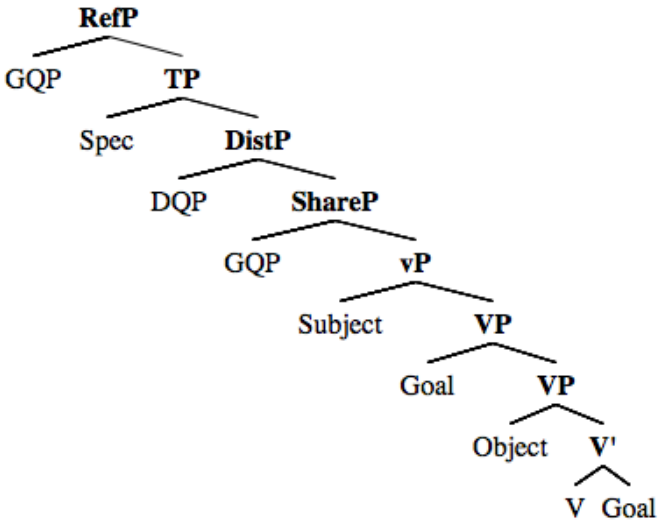
(69) (i) *her* 'every' must be spelled out in its case position if it is distributive, otherwise delete its higher copy.
(ii) specific indefinites must be spelled out in their case position, otherwise delete the higher copies.

Nevertheless; just like QR approach, QP-scope as A-movement also cannot explain the mechanism that prevents a QP-object to have a specific or distributive construal over the QP-subject, nor it explains the reason why postverbal goals cannot have specific interpretation in MK. If we adopt one of these approaches to account for QP-scope in this dialect, we need to assume the presence of some constraints like *objects cannot have wide scope over the subject in MK* as well as the ones given in (69), none of which are explanatory enough. In fact, since both QR approach and QP-scope as A-movement chain approach ignore the different scope-taking abilities of QPs in general, they need to be accompanied by such further constraints to account for the scope facts in a language. The MK data clearly indicate that there are different factors that influence QP-scope in this dialect, just as proposed by Kuno (1991) for QP-scope in English. For instance, the scopal properties of all QPs are not

the same (quantifier hierarchy) thus distributive *her* 'every' exhibits distinct properties than non-distributive *her* 'every' and other universal QPs like *hemû* 'all' and *gişk* 'all'. Likewise, indefinites behave differently considering their specificity properties. More importantly, the pragmatic factors such as the context affects the scope-taking ability of a QP in this dialect. The grammatical function seems to play a crucial role, too, because a QP-subject always take wide scope over the QP-direct object (subject Q >non-subject Q).

Integrating these factors within a syntactic account, I assume the following syntactic configuration for MK based on Beghelli and Stowell's Checking theory of scope assignment:

(70)



I propose that QP-scope assignment in MK is the by-product of agreement processes which are determined by c-command relations; it is regulated by feature-checking at relevant functional heads. If there is a feature ([+F]) it must be checked by overt movement in narrow syntax unless the movement is blocked. Certain QP-types need to check their features such as [+distributive] or [+specific] with a relevant operator hosted in the head positions of certain functional projections, i.e. DistP and ShareP, through agreement process, and this movement takes place in visible syntax in MK.

Other QPs (e.g., non-specific and counting quantifiers) take their scope in their case position in this dialect.

(71) a. DQPs: distributive universal QP headed by *her* 'every'.[17]

b. GQPs: group denoting QPs such as indefinite QPs (N+ek 'a', *hin* 'some', *çend* 'several'), and bare-numeral QPs *du xwişk* 'two sisters'.

- indefinites and bare numerals having specific reference occupy the Spec of ShareP, but if they are the subject of the predication they move to Spec of RefP.
- non-specific indefinites, bare numerals and non-distributive universal QPs (*her* 'every', *hemû* 'all') take scope in their case position.[18]

c. CQPs: counting QPs such as *hinek* 'few/little', *herî zedê sê* 'at most three', *herî kêm sê* 'at least three', etc. They are interpreted in their case positions and always have local scope.

In line with Beghelli and Stowell (1997), I suggest that DQPs and GQPs with specific interpretation in this dialect raise to the Spec positions of DistP and RefP/ShareP functional projections, respectively, to check their strong features. However, in their account, a distributive QP (*her* 'every') can move to Spec of DistP for feature-checking only if there is an active Dist head. The Dist head becomes active when its complement ShareP is occupied by a distribute, either with a specific

[17] I will not argue the scope-taking properties of WhQPs (CP) and NegQPs (NegP) in this study as they are not directly relevant to my discussion here.

[18] Note that Beghelli and Stowell (1997) argue that weak distributive QPs like *all* and *every* in certain cases are like GQPs and they do not make use of distributor movement to the targeted scope position such as Spec of DistP. Thus, I also assume that these non-distributive universal QPs are weak distributive hence they do not raise to a scope position, but they rather have local scope in their case position.

GQP or with a covert existential quantifier (∃). Recall that in MK specificity and distributivity seem to be in complementary distribution; i.e. in distributive scope readings the indefinite QPs have non-specific interpretation while they have specific interpretation in non-distributive contexts. This means that a Dist head cannot be active in the presence of a specific GQP in ShareP position because a specific GQP does not function as distributee that can co-vary with the distributor. Therefore, I assert that the Dist head becomes active only when its complement ShareP is occupied with a covert existential quantifier over events as its distributee. For the time of being, I assume that subjects always move to Spec,TP for case-checking while the DO and goal constituents have their case checked in-situ within vP/VP domain.[19] The QP-scope facts of MK now can get a straightforward explanation in this account. The derivation starts from bottom to up and the QPs get their scope after case checking, thus the higher constituents trigger the activations of functional heads first. For instance, a quantified subject always takes wide scope in MK because it raises to Spec TP position for case-checking ending up in a higher position than a quantified DO. If the subject is *her* 'every' it raises to the Spec of DistP and triggers the movement of a covert existential quantifier over events to the Spec of ShareP position to activate Dist head, yielding a distributive reading. This explains why a GQP in the object position never has a specific reading; since Spec of ShareP is filled up by a covert existential quantifier over events, the GQP cannot raise to this position. Similarly, the object cannot raise to Spec of RefP position, either as only the subject of predication can occur there; which in turn, explains why a QP-direct object never appears before a QP-subject rendering wide scope construal with a

[19] In line with the recent Minimalist Program which dispenses with AGR projections as landing sites for case-checking, I will assume other functional and lexical heads such as T, v, P and V heads as case-checkers. In a previous study (Gündoğdu, 2011), it was discussed that subjects raise to Spec, TP for EPP and case checking. See Chapter 6 for detail explanation.

specific reading. On the other hand, if the subject is a GQP it can raise to the Spec of RefP after case checking and induce a specific reading.

(72) a. *Her* *zar-ek* *kitêb-ek-î* *di-xwîn-e*
every child-INDF book-INDF-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
'For every child, there is a book such that s/he reads it.'
[$_{RefP}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~every child~~ [$_{DistP}$ every child [$_{ShareP}$ ∃ [$_{vP}$ ~~every child~~ [$_{VP}$ a book read]]]]]]

b. *Zar-ek-î* *her* *kitêb-ek-î* *di-xwîn-e*
child-INDF-OBL every book-INDF-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S
'There is a particular child such that s/he reads every book.'
[$_{RefP}$ a child [$_{TP}$ ~~a child~~ [$_{DistP}$ [$_{ShareP}$ [$_{vP}$ ~~a child~~ [$_{VP}$ every book read]]]]]]

Similarly, this configuration also accounts for why postverbal goals move to the preverbal position appearing left of the DO in a distributive context. The postverbal goal with distributive *her* 'every' moves to Spec DistP to check its [+Dist] feature and it triggers a covert existential quantifier to move to the Spec of ShareP yielding the following representation and surface order in (73):

(73) *Ferzo* *ji* *her* *pismam-ek-î* *xwe* *ra* *zevî-yek-î* *di-froş-e*
Ferzo ADP every relative-INDF.EZ.M self ADP field- INDF-OBL PROG-sell.PRS-3S
'For every relative, there is a field such that Ferzo sells to them.'
[$_{RefP}$ [$_{TP}$ Ferzo [$_{DistP}$ every relative [$_{ShareP}$ ∃ [$_{vP}$ ~~Ferzo~~ [$_{VP}$ a field sell ~~every relative~~]]]]]]

However, when the DO is a GQP having a specific referent defined in the given context, then it raises to Spec,ShareP. This prevents the postverbal *her* 'every' from raising to DistP because DistP cannot be activated as the ShareP is filled by the specific GQP (74):

(74) *Ferzo* *zevî-yek-î* *di-froş-e* *her* *pismam-ek-î* *xwe*
Ferzo field- INDF-OBL PROG-sell.PRS-3S every relative-INDF.EZ.M self
'There is a particular field such that Ferzo sells to his every relative.'
[$_{RefP}$ [$_{TP}$ Ferzo [$_{DistP}$ [$_{ShareP}$ a field [$_{vP}$ ~~Ferzo~~ [$_{VP}$ ~~a field~~ sell every relative]]]]]]

The configuration suggested for MK also explains why a postverbal goal cannot have a specific reading in this dialect. When the DO is *her* 'every', it must raise to the DistP and triggers a covert existential quantifier to move to the Spec of ShareP. Since the ShareP is filled now, the postverbal goal cannot move to this position for scope purposes:

(75) *Ferzo her zevî-yek-î di-froş-e pismam-ek-î xwe*
Ferzo every field-IND-OBL PROG-sell.PRS-3S relative-INDF.EZ.M self
'For every field, there is one of his relatives such that Ferzo sells them.'
[$_{RefP}$ [$_{TP}$ Ferzo [$_{DistP}$ every field [$_{ShareP}$ ∃ [$_{vP}$ ~~Ferzo~~ [$_{VP}$ ~~every field~~ sell one relative]]]]]]

The scopal interaction between a quantified preverbal goal and a quantified DO also follows this path. When the preverbal goal is with *her* 'every' it moves to Spec DistP for feature checking and this movement is followed by the raising of a covert existential to the Spec of ShareP. Hence, the indefinite DO cannot have a specific interpretation (76a). However, if the DO is quantified by *her* 'every' then it raises to the Spec of DistP followed by the same operations (76b).

(76) a. *Rojda ji her xwişk-ek-î xwe ra fotraf-ek-î*
Rojda ADP every sister-INDF-EZ.M self ADP photo-INDF-OBL
di-şîn-e
PROG-send.PRS-3S
'For every sister, there is a particular photograph such that Rojda is sending to them.'
[$_{RefP}$ [$_{TP}$ Rojda [$_{DistP}$ every sister [$_{ShareP}$ ∃ [$_{vP}$ ~~Rojda~~ [$_{VP}$ ~~every sister~~ a photo send]]]]]]

b. *Rojda her fotraf-ek-î ji xwişk-ek-î xwe*
Rojda every photo-INDF-OBL ADP sister-INDF-EZ.M self
ra di-şîn-e
ADP PROG-send.PRS-3S
'For every photo, there is a particular sister such that Rojda is sending them.'
[$_{RefP}$ [$_{TP}$ Rojda [$_{DistP}$ every photo [$_{ShareP}$ ∃ [$_{vP}$ ~~I~~ [$_{VP}$ a sister ~~every photo~~ send]]]]]]

On the other hand, if the DO is a GQP with a specific referent, then GQP moves to the Spec of ShareP position precluding the distributive reading of preverbal goal *her* 'every' (77):

(77) *Rojda fotraf-ek-î ji her xwişk-ek-î xwe ra*
Rojda photo-INDF-OBL ADP every sister-INDF-EZ.M self ADP
di-şîn-e
PROG-send.PRS-3S
'There is a particular photo such that Rojda is sending to each of her sisters.'
[$_{RefP}$ [$_{TP}$ Rojda [$_{DistP}$ [$_{ShareP}$ a photo [$_{vP}$ ~~Rojda~~ [$_{VP}$ every sister a photo send]]]]]]

Note that if one of the QPs is *her* 'every' in sentences with a preverbal goal and a DO, the most natural reading is the distributive reading where *her* 'every' appears (moves to) before the indefinite constituent it takes scope over. It is the context that triggers the specific reading of a GQP. Since both the preverbal goal and the object stand in the specifier positions of VP, they are indeed equidistant to DistP and ShareP positions. Therefore, in such cases it is not the hierarchical position but the context that determines which QP raises to the Spec of DistP and ShareP. Recall that in Beghelli and Stowell's account, both DQPs and GQPs can introduce discourse referents into the discourse context, hence the influence of context on QP-scope can be integrated within this system. In fact, the scopal relations of QPs in MK clearly show that *her* 'every' has a strong distributive nature thus it always forces overt movement to have wide-scope construal unless there is a context favoring a non-distributive reading where an indefinite gets specific interpretation.

Despite the presence of a specific context, there are certain cases in which an indefinite cannot get a specific interpretation. For instance, an indefinite DO cannot get a specific reading over a DQP-subject, and likewise an indefinite postverbal goal cannot have a specific reading over a DQP-direct object. Under this account, these

cases also get an explanation such that these infinitive constituents cannot have specific reading because they are lower in the hierarchy than the DQP-constituents inducing distributive reading. In other words, an indefinite might get a specific reading if it is higher than *her* 'every' or equidistant to it in the hierarchical configuration.

5.4 Binding

Apart from QP-scope, binding relations of referential expressions might also give us an idea about the hierarchical positions of constituents in a language as it is a phenomenon mostly determined by c-command relation. In this section, I will first provide a brief background on the Binding Theory and its different treatments in the syntactic literature. Then, I will look at the binding properties of anaphors and pronouns in MK and discuss that the findings of binding data provide further support for the hierarchical configuration proposed for MK in the previous section ($S>G_1>O>V>G_2$).

5.4.1 Background: Binding Theory

Referential noun phrases are considered to be of three types in human languages; namely, R-expressions, pronominals and anaphors. R-expressions are proper names and common nouns which have fixed reference either determined by the context (*the teacher*) or inherent as for proper names (*Mary*) but independent on other noun phrases in a clause. On the other hand, pronominals are elements like *I, you, him,* etc. that do not have inherent referential specification, rather they are specified for their phi-features like gender, number, person, etc. The pronominals don't need to be dependent on other expressions because their reference can be taken from the

context. The third type of noun phrases is anaphors like *myself, herself,* etc., which depend on other elements for their reference in a sentence as their antecedents. Classical Binding Theory expresses a system that regulates the interpretation and distribution of referential noun phrases in the syntactic theory, and it is formulated in terms of three principles in Chomsky (1981, 1986):[20]

(78) Binding Theory
a. An anaphor is bound in a local domain. (Condition A)
b. A pronominal is free in a local domain. (Condition B)
c. An R-expression is free (in the domain of the head of its chain)(Condition C)
(Chomsky, 1986, p. 166)

Anaphors are reflexives and reciprocals as well as NP-traces while pronominals are pronouns. R-expressions, on the other hand, are neither anaphoric nor pronominal thus they are NPs (or DPs) like *Mary, the teacher.* As seen above, the three principles of this theory are described based on the *binding* relation and the *local domain*. In his proposal, Chomsky defines these notions as follows:

(79) a. *Binding:*
An anaphor α is bound in β if there is a category c-commanding it and coindexed with it in β. Otherwise, α is free in β.
(Chomsky, 1980, p.10)

b. *Local domain*
The local domain for an anaphor or pronominal α is the least CFC containing a lexical governor of α - the minimal governing category of α (MGC(α)).

---

[20] The domain where the binding properties of an anaphor and a pronominal are determined was defined as *governing category* in Chomsky (1981, p. 188). It was further developed as *local domain* in his later work (Chomsky, 1986):

(i) An anaphor is bound in its governing category.
(ii) A pronominal is free in its governing category.
(iii) An R-expression is free.

And he defines *governing category* as follows (Chomsky 1981, p.188):

(iv) Governing Category:
α is the governing category for β if and only if α is the minimal category containing β and α governor of β, where α = NP or S.

c. *Complete Functional Complex (CFC)*
A governing category is a "complete functional complex" (CFC) in the sense that all grammatical functions compatible with its head are realized in it.
(Chomsky, 1986, p.169)

Later, Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) reformulated the Binding Theory along the lines of the Minimalist Program in terms of interpretive principles doing away with indices, because the postulation of indices as syntactic primitives is barred by the Inclusiveness Condition.[21] (Note that I keep using the indices in the examples just for expository purposes.)

(80) Binding Theory
a. *Principle A:*
If α is an anaphor, interpret it as coreferential with a c-commanding phrase in its domain.
b. *Principle B:*
If α is a pronoun, interpret it as disjoint from every c-commanding phrase in its domain.
c. *Principle C:*
If α is an R-expression, interpret it as disjoint from every c-commanding phrase.

The antecedent must be in an A- and c-commanding position. For a node A to c-command B, the following relation should hold: "A c-commands node B if every node dominating A also dominates B, and neither A nor B dominates the other" (Carnie, 2013, p. 111). According to these principles, an anaphor must be co-referent with its antecedent in its immediate minimal domain (81a) whereas a pronoun must be free in its minimal domain (81b). As for R-expressions, they must always be free; i.e. not bound:

[21] Inclusiveness Condition imposes that syntax cannot introduce any new features other than those already contained in the lexical items (Chomsky, 2000).

(81) a. [John$_i$ saw pictures of himself$_i$]
b. John$_i$ said [that he$_i$ likes Mary]
c. She$_{j/*i}$ asked John to bring Sue$_i$

Although classical Binding Theory mostly accounts for the properties of anaphors and pronouns in English, it fails to explain the properties of these referential expressions in some other languages. For instance, the reflexive pronoun in some languages have long-distance binding properties while they display subject-oriented properties in certain languages, both of which pose problems to the Binding Theory. In order to explain the properties of such reflexive pronouns, different analyses have been developed so far, which I would like to touch on briefly before discussing the MK data.

Reflexive pronouns in Chinese (Huang & Tang, 1991), Icelandic (Sigurðsson, 1990), Italian (Giorgi, 1984) and Turkish (Yakut, 2015) exhibit long-distance binding as they can also be bound by an antecedent located outside of their clause (82):

(82) a. (Chinese)
Zangsan$_i$ renwei Lisi$_j$ hai-le ziji$_i$
Zangsan thought Lisi hurt-ASP self
'Zangsan thought that Lisi hurt him.'

b. (Icelandic)
Jón$_i$ segir að Maria$_j$ elski sig$_{i/j}$
Jon says that Maria loves (subjunctive) Refl
'Jon$_i$ says that Maria$_j$ loves him$_{i/j}$'

c. (Italian)
Gianni$_i$ pensava che quella casa appartenesse ancora alla propria$_i$ famiglia.
Gianni$_i$ thought that this house belonged still to self's$_i$ family.
'Gianni thought that this house still belonged$_{SUBJ}$ to his family.'

d. (Turkish)
Büşra$_i$ Meltem'-i$_k$ kendin-e$_{i/k/*j}$ söz ver-di zannet-ti.
Büşra Meltem -Acc. self -Dat. promise -Past suppose -Past.
'Büşra supposed Meltem to have promised herself$_2$/her$_{1/*3}$.'

Giorgi (1984), Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and Yakut (2015) argue that long-distance reflexives do not have to follow the traditional Binding Theory because they are *logophors* although they are phonologically similar to reflexives.[22] Reinhart and Reuland (1993) propose that binding governs the reflexivizing function of anaphors which they define as a restriction on coarguments of a predicate, but the relation between the antecedent and the reflexive in long-distance binding instances does not correspond to this pattern. Thus, they suggest that if a reflexive is used for any other reason than establishing a coreference between coarguments of a predicate, then it is not reflexive but logophoric use, which is not subject to Binding Theory. On the other hand, Manzini and Wexler (1987) assert that binding domain or government category is not the same in all languages; i.e. government category is restricted to the presence of *subject* in English while it refers to a larger domain in some other languages like Italian, Icelandic, etc. They point out that languages are parameterized with respect to the definition of governing category thus the properties of anaphor binding exhibit differences. For instance, governing category is *subject* in English, *a referential Tense* in Italian and Icelandic, *Tense* in Russian while *a root Tense* in East-Asian languages, thus an anaphor can be bound by an antecedent within its governing category in these languages.

Furthermore, anaphors in certain languages display *subject-orientation*

[22] Sell (1987) proposes that logophoric pronouns "[report] the attitude, a mental state of the subject or other argument of the superordinate clause" (p. 29). Logophors are sometimes also called as *emphatic pronouns*.

property, which again poses problems to the classical Binding Theory. According to the Condition/Principle A, an anaphor can be bound by any antecedent in its local domain, thus a sentence like (83) is ambiguous in English as both the subject and the object are potential antecedents for *herself.*

(83) Sue$_{i}$ told Mary$_{j}$ about herself$_{i/j}$.

However, unlike English, in some languages like Russian, Norwegian and Danish, no argument other than subjects (i.e. direct and indirect objects) can be the antecedents of an anaphor (86):

(84) a. Ivan$_{i}$ rasskazal Borisu$_{j}$ o sebe$_{i/*j}$.
Ivan.NOM told Borisu.DAT about self
'Ivan$_{i}$ told Boris$_{j}$ about himself$_{i/*j}$.'
(Russian; Antonenka, 2012, p. 13)

b. Jon$_{i}$ fortalte meg$_{j}$ om seg sjølv$_{i/*j}$.
Jon told me about self
'Jon$_{i}$ told me about himself$_{i}$.'
(Norwegian; Strahan, 2001, p. 91)

c. Jeg$_{i}$ fortæller om Hans$_{j}$ sig$_{i/*j}$
'I told John about himself.'
(Danish; Pica, 1987, p. 485)

Manzini and Wexler (1987)'s account of parameterized governing category fails to explain the subject-oriented nature of such anaphors. In their approach, just like subjects, other arguments like objects might also bind the anaphor within the same governing, because there is nothing that prevents these arguments from binding the anaphor. However, Pica (1987) proposes that it is not the parameterized governing category but the LF-raising nature of the anaphors that determine their binding

properties in these instances. He asserts that all anaphors undergo LF-raising but they have different landing sites. Monomorphemic anaphors (e.g., *sig, seg* and *sebe* 'self') are heads (X^0) and they can undergo LF head-movement to INFL. Since anaphor binding takes place after that raising, the only element that c-commands the anaphor is the subject. Thus, objects cannot bind the anaphor. On the other hand, complex anaphors (e.g., *himself*) cannot undergo head-movement because they are phrases (XP) but not heads, hence they adjoin to the category they are contained, which is VP. Therefore, they can be bound by objects as well.

In addition to anaphors, the properties of pronominal elements in certain languages are also problematic for the Binding Theory. For instance, in Norwegian, Danish, Russian, Turkish and Hindi-Urdu, a pronoun can have any argument other than the subject as its antecedent in the same clause, unlike what we observe in English (85):

(85) a. Ali$_{i}$ Can'a$_{k}$ o-nun$_{*i/k}$ araba-sın-ı gösterdi
Ali Can-DAT 3S-GEN car-POSS-ACC sold
'Ali$_{i}$ showed his$_{*i/k}$ car to Can$_{k}$.'
(Turkish; Özyıldız, 2014, p. 3)

b. John$_{i}$ fortalte Per$_{j}$ om hans$_{*i/j}$ kone.
John told Peter about his wife
'John$_{i}$ told Peter$_{j}$ about his$_{*i/j}$ wife.'
(Norwegian; Hetsvik, 1992, p. 558)

c. Petja$_{i}$ predstavil Maše$_{j}$ *ego$_{i}$ / ee$_{i}$ tetju.
Peter introduced Mary$_{j}$-DAT *his$_{i}$-POSS / her$_{j}$-POSS aunt.
'Peter$_{i}$ introduced *his$_{i}$ / her$_{j}$ aunt to Mary$_{j}$.'
(Russian; Asarina, 2005, p. 1)

d. John$_{i}$ sold his$_{i/j}$ car. (English)

These pronouns are called as *anti-subject oriented pronouns* since they cannot have the subject as their antecedents. Assuming that a pronoun must be free in its local domain in line with Condition/Principle B, the notion of local domain must be redefined to capture the properties of such pronouns. It is clear that *local domain* does not correspond to the same thing in every language as illustrated by the sentences in (85). There are some analyses that favor this option in order to account for these cases. For instance, Vikner (1985) and Manzini and Wexler (1987) suggest that the Binding Theory is parameterized and Condition B must be revised as *'a pronoun must not be bound by a subject in its binding domain'* so that it can explain the behavior of pronouns in anti-subject oriented (ASO) languages. Under this approach, ASO languages make use of the revised version of Condition B while the standard version of Condition B is in use in non-ASO languages (e.g.: English). What is parameterized in languages is the extension of the binding domain; i.e., in non-ASO languages the binding domain of pronouns excludes all potential antecedents like subjects and objects whereas in ASO languages it excludes only subjects. On the other hand, a group of studies argue for the LF-movement of pronouns for ASO-type languages. Hestvik (1992) postulates that the difference between languages with respect to Condition B depends on the types of pronouns they have. ASO languages have head-pronouns which must adjoin to functional head by LF-movement while non-ASO languages have phrasal-pronouns that must be in the Spec position of their governing heads. When a head-pronoun adjoins to INFL at LF, the pronoun and the subject occur within the same binding domain (the IP) hence it cannot be bound by the subject, rather it can only be bound by the objects as they reside in a different binding domain. A bit differently, Asarina (2005) proposes that the features [+F] or [-F] that anaphors and pronouns possess can explain the different

binding behaviors of pronouns in both types of languages. ASO languages have pronouns with [+F] feature which must occur in a functional head whereas non-ASO languages have pronouns with [-F] feature that must stay in the Spec of their governors. A pronoun with [+F] feature must occur in T at LF which in turn allows it to be within the same binding domain as the subject, thus it cannot be bound by the subject. Adopting a modified version of the feature-driven approach of Asarina (2005), Aydın and İşsever (2013) propose that the relevant features of pronouns are not abstract [F] features but they are categorical features such as [+PRONOUN] in Turkish, and these features move to the relevant functional heads in narrow syntax rather than LF, banning the subject being a potential antecedent. The mechanism in Hestvik and Asarina is quite similar in that both account for the distinctive binding behaviors of pronouns through a difference observed in the nature of the pronouns (head/phrasal vs. [+F]/[-F]).

In addition to these syntactic approaches, there are also semantic analyses suggested for the different binding behaviors of pronouns in languages. For instance, Reinhart (1983) considers *binding* and *coreference* as two distinct mechanisms and argues that binding is encoded syntactically while coreference is established contextually hence it has a pragmatic nature. If the intended coreference of a pronoun with an antecedent in the minimal domain is semantically indistinguishable from its binding alternative (the anaphor), then the Coreference Rule rules out such a construction. However, if it is semantically distinguishable then it is permitted:

(86) *Coreference Rule:* A speaker will never use a logical form LF in a context C if LF is semantically indistinguishable from one of its binding alternatives in C.
(Reinhart, 1983, p. 169)

For instance, in a language like Norwegian in which the anaphors are subject oriented while the pronouns are anti-subject oriented, the coreference properties of these referential expressions are semantically always distinguishable thus the interpretation of pronouns in such a language is accountable under the Coreference Rule. Likewise, Heim and Kratzer (1998) explain similar English examples like *John$_i$ hates his$_i$ father,* where the coreference reading is considered as exceptional by Condition B, through Predicate Abstraction Rule. When the antecedent quantifier raises (QRs) to a higher position, it assigns an index to the pronoun (variable) and semantically binds it in the LF.

(87) *Predicate abstraction Rule (PA):* Let α be a branching node with daughters β and γ, where β dominates only a numerical index i. Then, for any variable assignment a, $[\alpha]^a=\lambda x$ in the domain of D. $[\gamma]^{a\,[i\text{-}x]}$

The discussion so far demonstrates that the distribution of anaphors and pronouns are indeed sensitive to some constraints like the conditions of the Binding Theory but the notions used to define these constraints do not conform to the same constructs in all languages. The local domain where the anaphor must be bound yet the pronoun must be free does not correspond to the same domain in all languages, thus we find instances where an anaphor exhibits long-distance binding in one language while it has a very local antecedent in another language. Nevertheless, despite their different treatments and modifications to the Binding Theory, almost all of the syntactic approaches accept the presence of c-command relation for binding. While investigating the binding properties of anaphors and pronouns in MK in the next sub-section, I will also consider the possibility of c-command relation for binding in order to get an idea about the hierarchical position of the constituents in this dialect.

5.4.2 Binding in MK

Kurmanji Kurdish (also MK) has two anaphors and two sets of pronouns (direct vs. oblique) as shown in Table 21:

Table 21. Pronouns in Kurmanji Kurdish

	Direct Pronouns	Oblique Pronouns	Reflexive Pronoun	Reciprocal Pronoun
1S	ez	min		
2S	tu	te		
3S	ew	wê/wî	xwe	hevdu
1PL	em	me		
2PL	hûn	we		
3PL	ew	(e)wan		

Kurmanji Kurdish has one reflexive pronoun *xwe* which can be used both as an NP, an argument of a verb and as the possessor in an ezafe-construction (Haig, 2004). It seems to be strictly subject-oriented thus its referent must be determined based on the grammatical relation of 'subject'. Haig (2004, p. 87) proposes the following informal rule for the use of reflexive pronoun in this language:

(88) Use *xwe* instead of a personal pronoun when the intended reference of *xwe* is identical to the syntactic subject of the first verb dominating *xwe*.

Haig also provides some tests to support its subject-oriented nature. For instance, *xwe* is coreferential with the syntactic subject in all tenses no matter what case it bears (i.e. direct case in accusative alignment and oblique case in ergative alignment). The use of personal pronoun *min* yields ungrammaticality in both sentences (Haig, 2004, p. 87):

(89) a. Min_i ji diy-a xwe_i / (*min_i) re got
1S.OBL ADP mother-EZ.F REFL ADP say.PST.3S
'I said to my mother.'

b. Ez$_i$ ji diy-a xwe$_i$ / (*min$_i$) re di-bej-im
1S.DIR ADP mother-EZ.F REFL ADP say.PRS-1S
'I say to my mother.'

This is the same in MK; the syntactic subject binds *xwe* in all tenses as illustrated below (Gündoğdu 2011). Note that the control of the pronoun *wi* 'her/him' by the subject in each sentence yields ungrammaticality, however, the pronoun may be coreferential with another constituent other than the subject as illustrated in (90c) and (90d).

(90) a. Ez$_i$ xwe$_i$ / min$_{*i}$ / wî$_{j/*i}$ di-bîn-im
1S.DIR REFL / 1S.OBL / 3S.OBL PROG-see.PRS-1S
'I see myself/him.'

b. Min$_i$ xwe$_i$ / min$_{*i}$ / wî$_{j/*i}$ dît
1S.OBL REFL / 1S.OBL / 3S.OBL see.PST.3S
'I saw myself/him.'

c. Min$_i$ Sîdar$_j$ şand zevî-ya xwe $_{i/*j}$ / wî$_{j/*i}$
1S.OBL send.PST.3S field-EZ.F REFL / 3S.OBL
'I sent Sidar to my/his house.'

The fact that the syntactic subject of the matrix clause cannot bind the reflexive pronoun *xwe* in the embedded clause indicates that the binding domain of *xwe* is strictly local in MK (91), a fact which is also observed in Haig (2004) for Kurmanji Kurdish: "Control of reflexives cannot cross clause boundaries in Kurdish." (p.88). For instance, in the following sentence the syntactic subject of the matrix clause *min* cannot bind *xwe* in the embedded clause.

(91) *Min$_i$* *wisa* *got* *ku* *ew$_j$* *xwe$_{j/*i}$ /min$_{*j/i}$* *wunda*
1S.OBL so say.PST.3S COMP 3S.DIR REFL /1S.OBL lose
ne-k-e
NEG.SBJV-do.PRS-3S
'I said so that he didn't lose himself/me.'

These examples demonstrate that *xwe* is subject oriented and its binding domain is the minimal domain that includes only the subject. The rules governing the use of the reflexive pronoun *xwe* in MK also hold for the reciprocal pronoun *hevdu.* The syntactic subject binds *hevdu* in its minimal domain (92) and the binding of the reciprocal across boundaries is by no means possible (93). Lastly, a QP-subject can also bind the anaphors (94):

(92) a. [*Zana û Sîdar*]$_i$ *li* *mal-a* *me* *hevdu$_i$ / wan$_{j/*i}$* *dît-in*
Z & S ADP house-EZ.F 1PL.OBL RECP/3PL.OBL see.PST-PL
'Zana and Sîdar saw each other/them at our house.'

b. *Em$_i$* *êdî* *hevdu$_i$* *rind* *nas* *di-k-in*
1PL.DIR anymore RECP good know PROG-do.PRS-PL
'We know each other well now.'

(93) *Ewan$_i$* *wisa* *got* *ku* *ew$_j$* *hevdu$_{j/*i}$ /wan$_{*j/i}$* *wunda*
3PL.OBL so say.PST.3S COMP 3S.DIR RECP/3PL.OBL lose
ne-k-e
NEG-do.PRS-3S
'They said so that they didn't lose each other/them.'

(94) a. *Herkes$_i$* *di* *eynik-ê* *da* *li* *xwe$_{i/*j}$* *di-nêr-e*
everbody ADP mirror-OBL ADP ADP REFL PROG-raise.PRS-3S
'Everybody is looking at herself/himself in the mirror.'

b. *Tukes-î$_i$* *hevdû$_{i/*j}$* *ne-dît*
anybody-OBL each other NEG-see.PST-3S
'Nobody saw each other.' (Anybody didn't see each other.)

All these examples indicate that anaphors in MK (in Kurmanji in general) are strictly subject oriented thus they must be bound by the syntactic subject in their minimal domain.

In contrast, the binding properties of pronouns in MK stand in direct opposition to anaphors. A scenario where the subject binds the pronoun is considered as ungrammatical (see (90b/c)), but the pronoun might be coreferential with a constituent other than the subject in the immediate clause, or it might refer to someone else (indicated by the index $_k$) in a given context. The crucial point is that when the antecedent of a pronoun is one of the non-subject constituents within the immediate clause, it must linearly precede the pronoun to control it. For instance, the third person pronoun *wî/wan* has two potential antecedents in the following (a) sentences; the direct object/indirect object and someone else, whereas it only refers to someone else in sentences of (b) and (c):[23] Also note that the availability of QP binding cases presented in (97) and (98) shows that we are dealing with binding but not simple coreference:

(95) a. *Min* *ji* *Sîdar$_i$* *ra* *per-ê* *wî$_{i/k}$* *şand.*
1S.OBL ADP Sidar ADP money-EZ.M 3S.OBL send.PST
'I sent Sidar$_i$ his$_{i/k}$ money.'

b. *Min* *per-ê* *wî$_{*i/k}$* *ji* *Sîdar$_i$* *ra* *şand.*
1S.OBL money-EZ.M 3S.OBL ADP Sidar ADP send.PST
'I sent his$_{*i/k}$ money to Sidar$_i$.'

c. *Min* *ji* *wî$_{*i/k}$* *ra* *per-ê* *Sîdar$_i$* *şand.*
1S.OBL ADP 3S.OBL ADP money-EZ.M Sidar send.PST
'I sent Sidar$_i$'s money to him$_i$.'

[23] Unlike (95a) and (97a), the preverbal goal in (95b) and (97b) have a contrastive reading.

(96) a. *Min* *per-ê* *Sîdar$_i$* *da* *wî$_{i/k}$*
1S.OBL money-EZ.M Sidar give.PST 3S.OBL
'I gave Sidar$_i$'s money to him$_i$.'

b. *Min* *per-ê* *wî$_{*i/k}$* *da* *Sîdar$_i$*
1S.OBL money-EZ.M 3S.OBL give.PST Sidar
'I gave Sidar$_i$ his$_{*i}$ money.'

(97) a. *Min* *ji* *herkes$_i$-î* *ra* *kitêb-ên* *wan$_{i/k}$* *şand.*
1S.OBL ADP everybody-OBL ADP book-EZ.PL 3PL.OBL send.PST
'??I sent their$_{i/k}$ books to everybody$_i$.'

b. *Min* *kitêb-ên* *wan$_{*i/k}$* *ji* *herkes$_i$-î* *ra* *şand.*
1S.OBL book-EZ.PL 3PL.OBL ADP everybody-OBL ADP send.PST
'??I sent their$_{i/k}$ books to everybody$_i$.'

c. *Min* *kitêb-ên* *wan$_{*i/k}$* *da* *herkes$_i$-î*
1S.OBL book-EZ.PL 3PL.OBL give.PST everybody-OBL
'??I gave their$_{i/k}$ books to everybody$_i$.'

(98) *Gava ku ders xilas dibe* (when the class is over),

a. *mamoste* *her* *telefon$_i$-ê* *di-d-e* *xweyîyê* *wî$_{i/k}$*
teacher every telephone-OBL PROG-give.PRS-3S owner-EZ.M 3S.OBL
'??the teacher gave every telephone to its owner.'

b. *mamoste* *telefon-a* *wî$_{*i/k}$* *di-d-e* *her* *xwandekar$_i$-ê*
teacher telephone-EZ.F 3S.OBL PROG-give.PRS-3S every student-OBL
'??the teacher gave his telephone to every student.'

Sentences in (b) and (c) clearly indicate that the linear precedence matters for the control of pronouns because the pronoun is in disjoint reference with the direct object or the indirect object (i.e. the goal constituents) that it linearly precedes. It should however be emphasized here that linear precedence does not influence the interpretation of anaphors as they are always bound only by the subject (99):

(99) *Di* *dewet-a* *xwe$_i$* *da,* *ez$_i$* *gellek* *leyîst-im*
ADP wedding-EZ.F REFL ADP 1S.DIR much play.PST-1S
'In my wedding party, I danced a lot.'

However, first and second person pronouns can be in joint reference with each other:

(100) a. *Sidar* *per-ê* ***min$_i$*** *ne-da* ***min$_i$***
Sidar money-EZ.M 1S.OBL NEG-give.PST 1S.OBL
'Sidar didn't give me my money.'

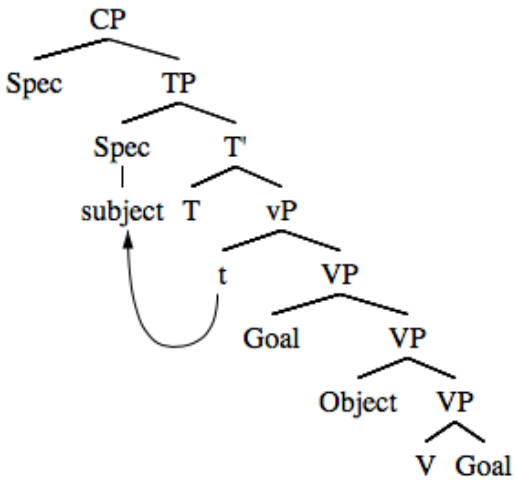
a. *Sidar* *per-ê* ***we$_i$*** *DA* ***we$_i$?***
Sidar money-EZ.M 2PL.OBL give.PST 2PL.OBL
'Did Sidar give you your money?'

The MK data clearly demonstrates that anaphors are strictly subject oriented in their domain just like the anaphors in languages like Russian, Norwegian and Danish. In contrast, pronouns in this dialect display anti-subject oriented properties like the pronouns in other ASO languages (Turkish, Russian, Norwegian, etc.). Although the position of the anaphor within the clause does not matter for its antecedent, linear precedence is of utmost importance for pronouns to be bound. Moreover, in this dialect the anaphors do not have any phi-features like person, gender and number whereas pronouns inherit these features. In every aspect they have contrastive properties and they are in complementary distribution.

The conditions of the Binding Theory have filter-like nature as they evaluate whether a structure satisfies certain criteria at certain levels of representation. However, since representational levels such as Deep Structure (DS) and surface Structure (SS) are eliminated in the current Minimalist Program, it is hard to formulate as well as integrate such conditions within the current syntactic derivational approach, which operates based on Merge/Move and Agree operations.

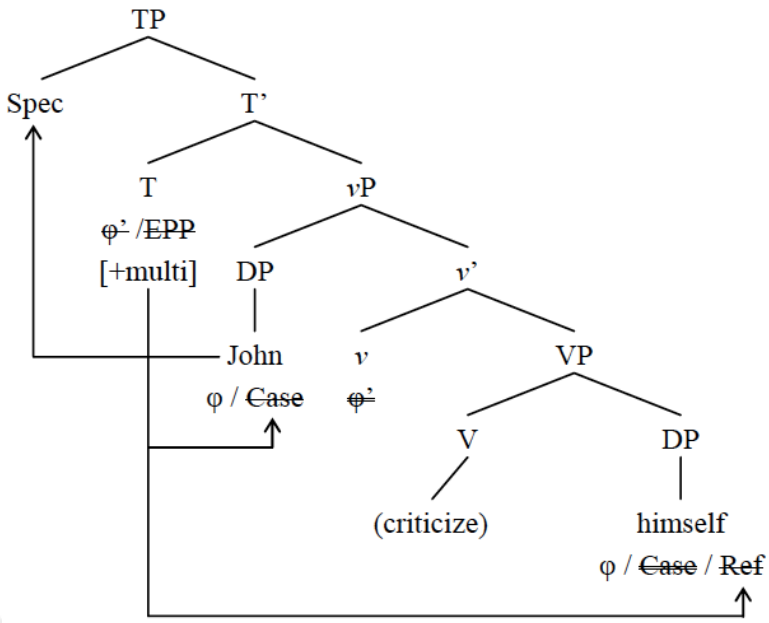
In line with the minimalist considerations, some recent studies suggest that binding conditions might be reduced to narrow syntactic operations such as feature movement/feature checking all taking place in narrow syntax (Epstein et al., 1998; Kayne, 2002; Zwart, 2002; Hasegawa, 2005). In the same vein, I also propose that binding takes place in visible syntax based on only Agree and c-command relation throughout the derivation in MK. I assume that linear precedence in the sequence of constituents maps onto structural height, which is also supported by the observation that MK displays scope-rigidity (101): (Note that I do not include functional projections involved in quantifier scope assignment here.)

(101)



Hasegawa (2005) proposes that the relation between a reflexive and its antecedent is obtained as a result of the *Multiple Agreement* process holding the probe T and the two goals (e.g. *John* and the reflexive *himself* in the following tree). The probe T has [+multi] feature while the goals have case and reflexive features; namely [case] feature of *John* and [ref] feature of *himself*. The uninterpretable features of T and those of two goals are checked and deleted through multiple agreement process. *John* moves to the Spec of TP position to check and delete the EPP feature of T (Hasegawa, 2005, p. 93):

(102)



He suggests that the multiple agree feature of T head here is similar to the case where the C head with a Q feature enters into an agreement relation with multiple wh-elements. Although the C head agrees with multiple wh-elements, only one of them is moved to the Spec, CP.

In line with Hasegawa, I suggest that T head in MK has a [+multi] feature that enables the binding relation between the subject and the anaphor. T head first probes the subject for case-checking properties and then it further probes an anaphor within vP. If there is an anaphor within this domain it induces the binding relation between these two goals; the anaphor and its antecedent (subject). Since anaphors lack phi-features in this dialect (also in Kurmanji Kurdish), they get their features valued as a result of this multiple agree process. On the other hand, pronouns enter the derivation with their phi-features thus they do not need to get their features valued. They can be bound by an antecedent if their phi-features match and if the antecedent c-commands them. Given that the subject can enter in a binding relation only with an anaphor under multiple agree mechanism initiated by T head, the subject is not a potential

binder for pronouns anymore. Therefore, any constituent other than subject can bind the pronoun if it c-commands the pronoun and if their phi-features match. When a constituent does not c-command the pronoun, the binding does not take place even if their phi-features match. This in turn explains that an NP in the postverbal goal position cannot bind a pronoun in an object position as it does not c-command the pronoun. Likewise, an object NP cannot bind a pronoun that linearly precedes it as the NP does not c-command it.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the scopal relations of QPs and the binding properties of anaphors and pronouns in MK in order to find out their positions in a possible syntactic configuration. It has been demonstrated that MK is a scope-rigid language in which the surface position of QPs reflects their scopal interactions in syntax. Besides, distributivity and specificity are two significant features that regulates the distribution of QPs in this dialect; strong distributive QPs move to the left of the QPs for wide scope construal. Likewise, specific indefinite QPs might move to a higher position for wide scope purposes. It has been illustrated that context plays a crucial role here; if the given context triggers a non-distributive reading then the indefinite QP has specific interpretation. However, there are cases where even the given context cannot trigger the movement of a QP to another position to take wide scope; e.g. an indefinite QP-direct object cannot move to a higher position than a QP-subject. In order to account the QP scope properties of constituents in this dialect, I have adopted Beghelli and Stowell (1997) Checking theory of scope assignment which successfully integrates factors like nature of QPs (e.g. distributivity) and the influence of a given context in a hierarchical syntactic configuration. I have proposed

that the surface order of QPs in this dialect reflects their hierarchical organization in syntax, and the properties of QP scope are determined by feature checking mechanism depending on their hierarchical relation (i.e. c-command). Moreover, the binding data have also suggested that the surface order of referential expressions in MK (SGOVG) reflects their syntactic hierarchy. It has been argued that anaphors and pronouns are in complementary distribution in this dialect; anaphors are subject-oriented and lack of any phi-features while pronouns are anti-subject oriented and they have phi-features. And their distinct binding properties can be accounted for by c-command relation within a syntactic configuration directly reflecting the surface order of the constituents (i.e. S>G>O>G). In line with recent minimalist considerations, I have suggested that anaphor and pronoun binding take place in narrow syntax based on feature checking mechanism and c-command relation. The anaphors are subject-oriented because for valuing their features they enter into an agree relation only with T head, which hosts the subject in its specifier position. On the contrary, pronouns in this dialect enter into derivation with their features thus they are only bound by an NP if only if their features match and it c-commands the pronoun.

CHAPTER 6

EVENT STRUCTURE-ARGUMENT STRUCTURE MAPPING IN KURMANJI KURDISH

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an event structure-argument structure mapping based on (i) the distinction between different types of arguments within an event structure-based model of argument realization (Rappaport & Levin 1998, 2008; Levin & Rappaport 2007; Levin 1999, 2011) and (ii) quantifier and binding scope facts in Muş Kurmanji (MK). The event structure analysis that I have proposed for MK in Chapter 4 has pointed to a relation between the morphological form of the constituents and their status as encoded in the verb's meaning. That is, structural participants, which are licensed by the event structure of the verb as well as its idiosyncratic meaning are realized with case morphology while constant participants which are only licensed by the idiosyncratic meaning of the verb, are introduced with adpositions in this dialect. I have argued that the object of core transitive verbs (1a), the recipient of *give-type* verbs (1b), and the spatial goals of *send-type* verbs (1c), motion verbs (1d) and path verbs (1e) are structural participants, whereas the object of non-core transitive verbs (2a), the recipient of *send-type* verbs (2b) and the addressee of speech verbs (2c) are constant participants:

(1) a. *Zarok-an* ***pişîk-ê*** *kuşt.*
child-PL.OBL cat-OBL kill.PST.3S
'The children killed the cat.'

b. *Ser-ê* *mal-ê* *dewar-ek-î* *bi-d-e* ***te,*** *...*
head-EZ.M house-OBL cattle-INDF-OBL SBJV-give.PRS-3S 2S.OBL
'Let each house give you a head of cattle.'

c. *Min* *nan-ê* *wan* *şand-ibû* ***zevî-yê.***
1S.OBL bread-EZ.M 3PL.OBL send.PST-PERF.3S field-OBL
'I had sent their meal to the field.'

d. *Me* *kêrî-yê* *anî* ***gund.***
1PL.OBL flock-OBL bring.PST.3S village.OBL
'We brought the flock to the village'

e. *Her* *sê* *bi* *hev* *ra* *ket-in* ***ç'al-ê.***
every three ADP each other ADP fall.PST-PL culvert-OBL
'Three of them felt into the culvert together.'

(2) a. *Mesîçî* ***li*** ***tor-ê*** *di-nêr-e.*
fisherman.DIR ADP fishnet-OBL PROG-look.PRS-3S
'The fisherman is looking at the fishnet.'

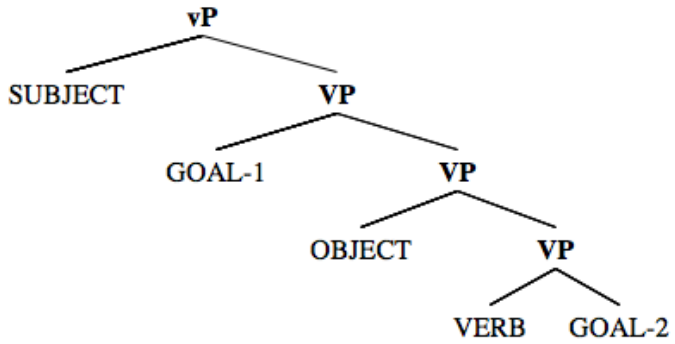
b. *Xwed-ê* ***ji*** ***wî*** ***ra*** *ayet* *şand.*
god.OBL ADP 3S.OBL ADP verse send.PST.3S
'God sent him the verse of the Koran.'

c. *Ez* ***ji*** ***we*** ***ra*** *meselekî* *bi-bêj-im.*
1S.DIR ADP 2PL.OBL ADP topic-OBL.INDF SBJV-say.PRS-1S
'I will tell you about a topic/matter.'

Besides, these sentences clearly demonstrate that the linear order of constituents of a MK clause is SG_1OVG_2, in which G_1 refers to the preverbal goal constituents and G_2 refers to the postverbal goal constituents. Note that Haig and Öpengin (2015, p. 33) and Haig (2014, p. 413) will term the recipients of verbs of transfer, addressees of speech verbs, destinations of verbs of caused motion and of verbs of directed motion as Goals. Adopting their terminology, I have called the constant participants which express the recipient of *send-type* verbs and the addressee of speech verbs as preverbal goals (G_1). Likewise, I have taken the structural participants that encode the recipient of *give-type* verbs, the spatial goals of *send-type* verbs and of motion

verbs (both types refer to the caused motion verbs), and the spatial goals of path verbs (i.e., verbs of directed motion) as postverbal goals (G_2). The quantifier scope and binding facts suggest that linear precedence in the sequence of constituents maps onto structural height in this dialect, thus I have proposed that a MK clause with SG_1OVG_2 surface order possibly has the following hierarchical structure in syntax:

(3)



The fact that there are certain verb classes (e.g. activity verbs, motion verbs, path verbs) which pattern alike with respect to argument realization properties in MK points to the existence of certain event types. Based on these findings, I will explore a possible syntactic configuration of constituents in this dialect through a constructivist syntactic model (Marantz, 1997; Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002; Harley, 1995; Cuervo, 2003; among others) in which different event types have diverse syntactic representations rather being mapped onto syntax according to their lexical representations.

6.2 Syntax of argument structure: main proposals

The syntactic expression of a verb's arguments has received much attention in the generative grammar. The intuitive idea is that verbs in sentences express events and arguments encode participants of events. Various theories have been proposed to

explain how arguments of a verb are projected in syntax, which aspects of verb meaning are relevant to argument realization in syntax and how verbs get their meaning they have (Baker, 1988, 1997; Larson, 1988; Marantz, 1997; Borer, 1998; Hale & Keyser, 1993, 2002; Ramchand, 2002, 2008, 2013; Cuervo, 2003; Levin & Rappaport, 2005; among others). Before discussing a possible syntactic configuration for MK, I want to present some leading proposals of argument structure in the generative grammar literature.

There is considerable amount of discussion on the syntax of argument structure, seeking the relation between the meaning of arguments, their linguistic coding and their structural expression in sentences. Three approaches are quite influential in the progress of syntactic literature; namely lexicalist and projectionist vs. constructivist approaches.[1] Classical generative grammar approaches presume the existence of a lexicon whereby lexical items are stored with certain lexical information such as idiosyncratic meaning, semantic selection (s-selection) and syntactic/categorial selection (c-selection). The lexicalist approaches in this framework focus on the role of verbs in projecting the syntax of argument structure and take the view that the syntactic structure of a verb is projected based on the semantically anchored argument structure information encoded in its lexical entry, and syntax mapping is achieved via linking rules (Levin, 1993; Levin & Rappaport, 1995, 2005; Rappaport & Levin, 1998). The syntactic view of argument structure adopted in Levin and Rappaport's works is also known as lexical semantics approach. They assume that verbs are classified according to their event types (activities, accomplishments, etc.) and each event type has a different event structure template that includes information about event type, number of participants and the

[1] This section provides a very brief summary of these approaches, and the reader is referred to Marantz (2013), Ramchand (2013) and Levin & Rappaport (2005) for further discussion.

type of event participants lexically and/or structurally required by the verb's event structure and the verb meaning. The syntax is built on this information encoded in a verb's event structure template and event structure-syntax mapping is regulated by the following principle:

(4) THE STRUCTURE PARTICIPANT CONDITION: There must be an argument XP in the syntax for each structure participant in the event structure.
(Rappaport & Levin, 1998, p. 113)

Thus, each structural participant must be expressed in syntax, while constant participants may or may not be expressed without violating this principle. Constant participants may have their syntactic expression through language-specific rules such as *oblique-argument linking rule*.

Similarly (but slightly different), the projectionist approaches propose that argument structure of a verb is projected into syntax through theta-role assignment and subcategorizational features (Chomsky, 1981; Larson, 1988; Baker, 1988, 1997; Grimshaw, 1990). The Projection Principle and the Theta Criterion are the most general principles that mediate the lexicon-syntax mapping:

(5) *The Projection Principle*
Representations at each syntactic level (i.e., LF, and D- and S-structure) are projected from the lexicon, in that they observe the subcategorization properties of lexical items.
(Chomsky, 1981, p. 29)

The Theta Criterion
Each argument bears one and only one θ -role, and each θ -role is assigned to one and only one argument.
(Chomsky, 1981, p. 36)

These principles in turn disallow the loss of the information encoded in the lexicon during the course of a syntactic derivation and enforce one-to-one mapping between

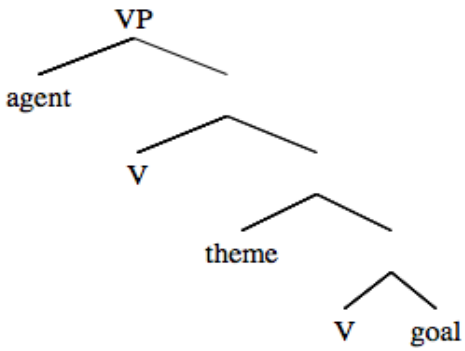
argument positions in the lexicon and syntactic argument positions through thematic role information. Various absolute mapping-principles as well as thematic hierarchies have been proposed since then in order to formalize lexicon-syntax mapping in a better way. For instance, Larson (1988) and Grimshaw (1990) suggested a 'thematic hierarchy' that links the thematic participants of a verb to their structural positions in syntax:

(6) Larson (1988): Agent < Theme <Goal < Oblique (manner location, time)
(7) Grimshaw (1990): (Agent (Experiencer (Goal/Source/Location (Theme))))

Likewise, Baker (1988, 1997) developed a strict syntactic approach to verbal argument structure where semantic roles encoded in the lexical entry of a verb map onto certain syntactic positions. In his approach, a systematic mapping between structure and meaning is assumed as each type of thematic role has its own special structural position, and this is regulated by UTAH (8). He recognizes three broad semantic roles such as agent, theme and goal/path/location, which are necessary for the purpose of mapping (9).

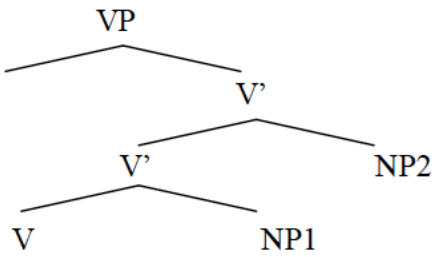
(8) *The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH)*
Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure.
(Baker 1988, p. 46)

(9)



Furthermore, during the discussion of mapping principles and thematic hierarchies some further explorations about modeling the syntax of argument structures have been made. For instance, the introduction of VP-Shells by Larson (1988) solved a big problem that was encountered during the lexicon-syntax mapping of ditransitive verbs. Before the use of VP-Shells, a single verbal projection didn't have enough distinct syntactic positions for all possible arguments of a verb to distinguish the necessary semantic meaning differences among verb classes, thus ditransitive constructions are represented in such a way that one of the complements of the verb appears in an adjunct position as the sister of the second V' (Chomsky, 1981). The following syntactic representation is provided for a double-object verb construction where the syntax lacks the necessary position for NP2 to represent the exact relation between NP2 with the verb.

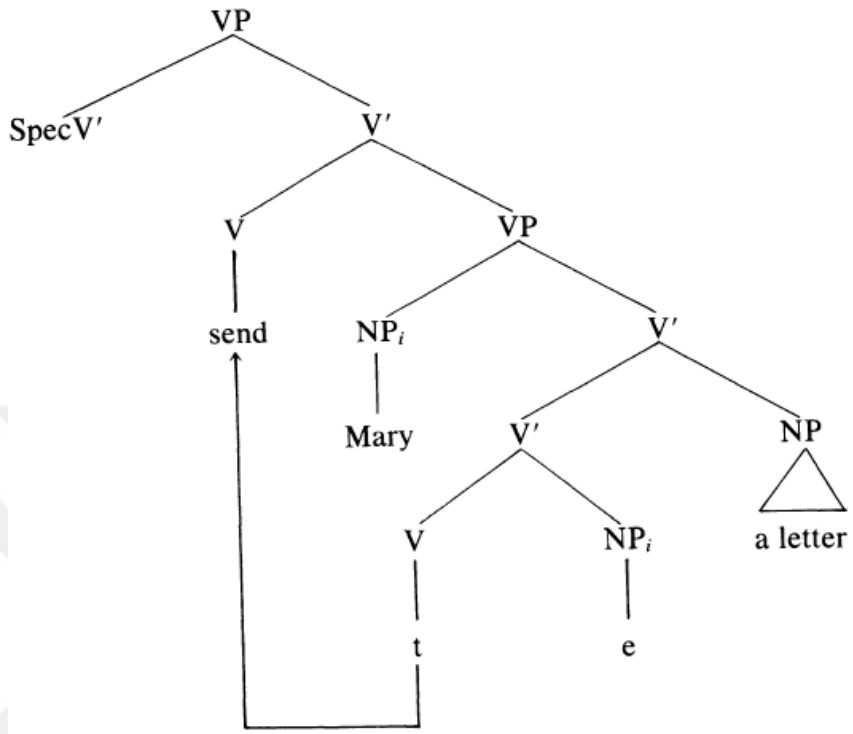
(10)



The VP-Shell hypothesis developed by Larson (1988) provided such a syntactic position for the second internal argument of a ditransitive verb as the use of VP-Shells increases the number of NP positions in the verbal domain. For instance, he posited a hierarchical structure for the verb phrase with two VP-Shells where goal argument is generated as the complement of the lower VP, and theme argument stands in the specifier of the lower VP after movement operations take place. Thus, a double object verb specified with two internal arguments could easily project distinct

syntactic positions for its theme and goal arguments preserving distinct semantic meanings in syntax (through his thematic role hierarchy) (11):

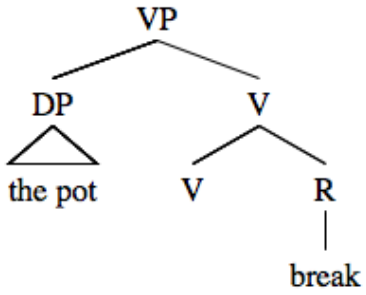
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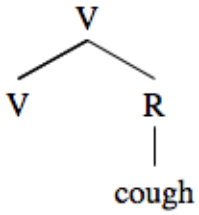
The core idea at the heart of the projectionist and lexicalist approaches is that there is a lexicon as a genuine module where verbs are stored with semantically and syntactically relevant information, and argument structure of a verb is projected in syntax based on this lexical information through some linking or mapping principles. Therefore, they divide the labor between the lexicon and syntax, each of which has its own rules and processes, and syntax is projected based on the verb meaning. On the other hand, constructivist approaches take the opposite view of argument structure emphasizing the fact that verb meaning resides in the syntactic context. That is, the lexical entry of a verb registers only its core meaning (root) and the meaning of a verb is determined compositionally within the syntactic structure it builds up. Since there are not separate lexical representations that the syntax built

upon but all lexical representations are in fact syntactic representations, no mapping problem arises. One of the earliest and influential constructivist syntactic model has been developed by Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002). Observing that syntactic facts constrain the composition of all logically possible verb meanings (e.g. (13d)), they propose that argument structure is determined by the syntactic configuration a verb must appear in based on two syntactic relations; namely *complement* and *specifier,* which permit binary branching in addition to precluding iteration. In their system, the verbal component takes a complement which is realized as the root (R).

(12) a.



b.



They suggest that the reason why the sentence given in (13d) cannot undergo the causative-inchoative alternation is due to the fact the root *break* forces the verb to project a specifier as it requires an internal argument while the root *cough* cannot force the verb to project a specifier position as the existence of an internal argument is not licensed:

(13) a. The pot broke.
b. The engine coughed.
c. I broke the pot.
d. * I coughed the engine.

(Hale & Keyser, 2002, p. 1)

The representation of argument structure they developed is subject to syntactic principles such as conflation, selection, merge, and the ability of lexical roots to

project a specifier position. Their model is also known as *l-syntax* (lexical syntax) where lexical items are decomposed into basic atomic units (verbal meaning) and they are put together by syntactic mechanism.[2] The main outcome of their works is to eliminate lexical rules and theta roles, and generate all argument structure alternation in syntax. Note that they reject the notion of theta roles suggesting that theta roles are positionally defined within the structural configuration, e.g., the internal specifier position (the lower VP) is projected when there is an internal argument. This, in other words, means that there is a correspondence between the syntactic position of of an argument and its semantic role. Their ideas became very influential generally in the study of argument structure and particularly on later constructivist approaches. The syntactic models developed in Marantz (1997) and Borer (1998) are well known examples of these. They also reject the idea of lexicon as a separate submodule, where lexical rules are operated, suggesting that syntax is the sole generative engine of the grammar. Thus lexical items possess no syntactically relevant information or processes somewhere called lexicon but they enter into syntax with their core meaning as roots. In their models, the roots are the only lexical categories, which are bundles of encyclopedic and cognitive information, and they do not carry any category information. However, their category information is determined depending on the functional syntactic structure that sits on top of the root. For instance, √water is a category-free root and it functions as a verb if it sits under a *v* category in syntax whereas it becomes a noun if it is dominated by an *n* category. Besides, contrary to the projectionist and lexical approaches, Marantz (1981, 1984, 1997) proposes that subjects are not the arguments

[2] The architectural status of 'lexical syntax' is not clear though, as Hale and Keyser sometimes imply its being a level of syntax while call it a lexical representation at other times (Ramchand, 2013).

of the verb because the meaning of the external argument/subject depends on the properties of the verbal phrase while the semantic character of internal arguments can trigger a particular interpretation of a verb (14):

(14) "take"
a. take a book from the shelf
b. take a bus to New York
c. take a nap
d. take an aspirin
e. take a letter in shorthand

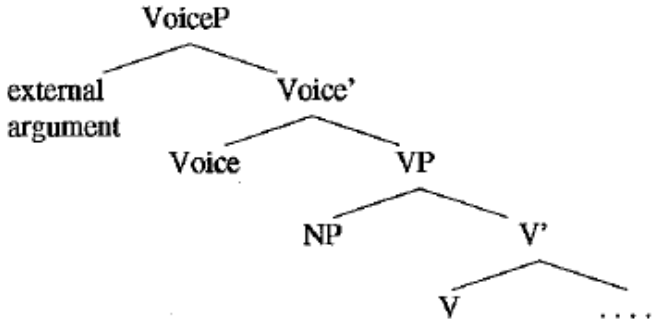
(Marantz, 1981, p. 49)

Therefore, he suggests that objects are true arguments of the verb and licensed in the domain of VP but subjects are derived structurally outside the VP domain. In Borer's structure, on the other hand, the external argument is also outside VP domain but there is an aspectual quantity phrase on top of the VP which is responsible for checking the [+quantity] feature of the internal argument. Since Borer thinks that aspectual properties of the internal arguments are not lexical but determined structurally, she captured the telicity and object quantity effects through this Asp_Q Phrase (Borer, 2005).[3]

Considering the observation by Marantz, Kratzer (1996) developed a theory of Voice in which the external arguments are arguments of a hierarchically superior functional head which she calls Voice. The Voice head is responsible for licensing the external argument semantically and syntactically. She basically adds Voice with its new semantic content just above VP where it takes the VP as its complement, and the external argument is projected in its specifier position (Kratzer, 1996, p. 132):

[3] For further discussion see Borer (2005) Part II.

(15)

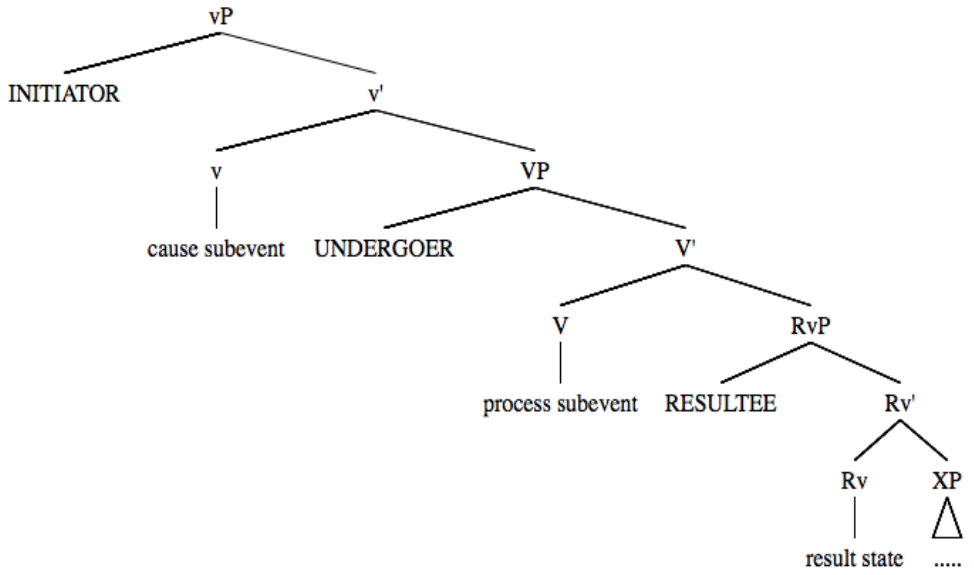


This VoiceP analysis leads to new ideas within the generative grammar (note that VoiceP is equally used as little vP in this framework (Chomsky, 1995, 2001)) such as introducing different types of external arguments by different little *v* heads like v_{CAUS}, v_{BE}, v_{GO}, v_{DO} (e.g., Harley, 1995; Folli and Harley, 2004; Cuervo, 2003).

Ramchand (2002, 2008), on the other hand, proposes a lexical syntactic approach to argument structure which is a synthesis of these studies. Her model (known as *First Phase Syntax*) is neither radically constructivist nor blind to the findings of lexical semantics. Just like constructivist approaches, lexicon as a separate word formation component is eliminated in this model, and in line with Hale and Keyser (2002) it has been assumed that generalized and systematic lexical behavior of verbs is due to syntactic modes of combination rather than distinct lexicon-internal processes. The syntactic arguments of a verb are projected based on the event structure. Ramchand posits a three-way decomposition of subevents to represent the distinct event structure templates (e.g., cause, activity, etc.) as well as the aspectual properties of arguments (e.g., incremental theme, quantized theme, etc.) in syntax (16): (the tree in (17) is adapted from Ramchand, 2002, 2008)

(16) a. a cause subevent – *Initiation*
b. a process subevent – *Process*
c. a result subevent - *Result*

(17)



The syntactic projections that a verb needs to specify in its l-syntax are defined by these subevents. For instance, vP (*initiation phrase*) introduces causation or the initiation event licensing the INITIATOR (external argument) in its specifier position while VP (*process phrase*) specifies the nature of change and licenses an UNDERGOER in its specifier position. On the other hand, RvP (*result phrase*) represents the result state or 'telos' and licenses a RESULTEE holding the result state. In this model, a *process* subevent is assumed to be present with all verb types thus each lexical verb further needs to specify a number of interpretable category features such as the presence or absence of (i) a *cause* subevent and (ii) a *result* subevent in its l-syntactic structure. The information in l-syntax and the specifier positions of subevents are then interpreted by *a strict event-compositional semantic component* that feeds off the syntactic representation of verbs.

Similarly, in her analysis of datives, Cuervo (2003) develops an event-decompositional syntactic model in the spirit of Hale and Keyser (2002), Marantz (1997), Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) and Folli and Harley (2004). In her model,

arguments are licensed on the basis of event structures which are determined by the three types of heads (18), and by two possible syntactic relations of complement and specifier. Following Marantz (1997), she further assumes that verbs are formed in syntax through the combination of a lexical root and a verbalizing head *v*.

(18) Three types of heads
a. Event introducers: little *v*
b. Argument introducers: Voice and Applicative[4]
c. Roots

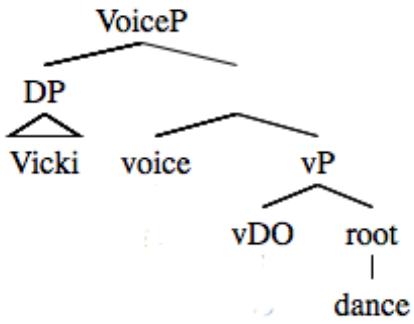
(Cuervo, 2003, p. 17)

In line with Harley (1995), she assumes that there are three types of event introducing little *v* corresponding to three types of simple events; *v*DO represents dynamic, agentive *activities* such as *dance* and *run*, *v*GO introduces verbs of change which are simple dynamic unaccusatives like *fall* or *arrive,* and finally *v*BE corresponds to *states* such as *like* or *admire.* On the other hand, complex or bi-eventive causative and inchoative structures are created by the combination of these simple event types; e.g. *v*DO+ *v*BE forms causative event structures of verbs like *break* and *burn* while *v*GO+ *v*BE forms their inchoative counterparts. Roots and little *v* build event predicates by combining in syntax, and the properties of a head that licenses the argument will determine if an argument is projected as a specifier or as a complement. Moreover, in line with Levin (1999), Cuervo also asserts that not only

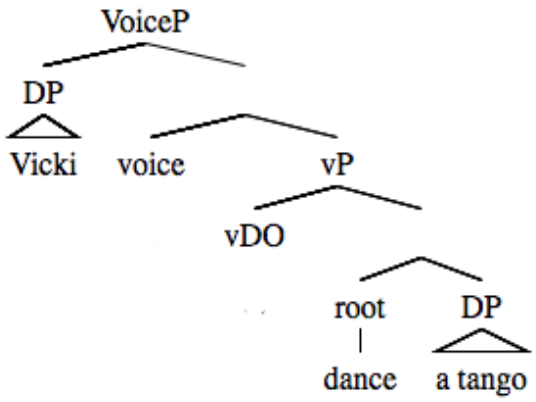
[4] Cuervo projects dative arguments such as recipients/source and benefactors through Applicative Phrases in the spirit of Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), who proposes that an applicative is a functional head that can introduce an affected non-core participant into the structure of verb. Pylkkänen further proposes that languages exhibit two types of applicative constructions cross-linguistically; *low applicatives* denote a dynamic relation of transfer of possession between two individuals thus it merges as the complement of V, whereas *high applicatives* denote relation between an individual and an event hence it takes VP (event) as its complement. I will not cover applicatives in this section as I will mention them in the following section where I discuss the syntactic configuration of recipients and addresses in MK.

argument introducers like Voice and Applicative but roots can also license an argument. Thus, a root can take a complement which is licensed by its lexical meaning (a constant argument in Levin's terms) although it is not required nor licensed by its event structure as illustrated in (19b). The structural representations of one simple and two complex event types are provided below (adapted from Cuervo 2003):

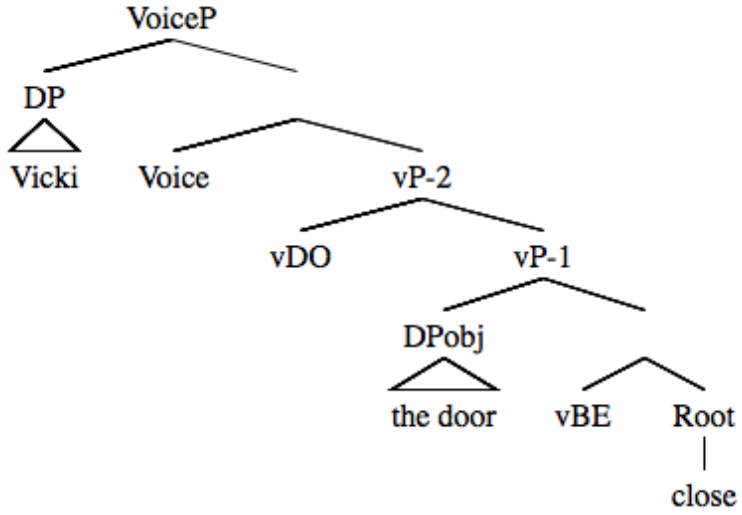
(19) a. Vicki danced.



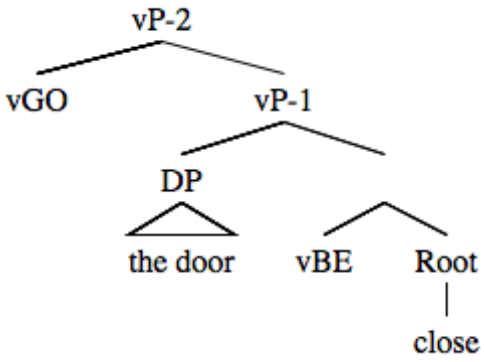
b. Vicki danced a tango.



(20) a. Vicki closed the door.



b. The door closed.



Cuervo's syntactic model can be seen as a good syntactic representation of the event structure templates proposed in Levin (1999), which I will further discuss in the next section. However, it should be noted that contrary to Levin, Cuervo suggests distinct syntactic representations for causatives and inchoatives such that inchoative structure does not project an external argument hence does not license Voice.

To recap, both projectionist & lexicalist and constructivist approaches make ambitious attempts to figure out how verbs systematically appear in a variety of syntactic structure depending on their meaning, event type as well as their flexibility

to appear within a set of alternating frames, which results in a considerable progress towards the understanding of argument structure and argument realization. They basically emphasize the role of verb meaning or the role of the syntactic context that a verb is embedded into in order to understand how verb meaning is formed and how arguments of a verb are projected in syntax. Considering MK facts, I am inclined to propose an event structure-argument structure mapping for this dialect based on certain findings and discussion in the syntax of argument structure literature. I will propose an event decompositional syntactic configuration for MK verbs as such a model will enable us to project the event type of certain verb classes in this dialect without assuming the existence of a lexicon where the event structure information is stored nor the presence of some lexicon-syntax mapping principles.

6.3 Event structure- argument structure mapping in MK

In this section, I will explore a potential event structure-argument structure mapping for constant and structural participants of a verb in MK adopting the main premises of constructivist approaches, specifically event-decomposition model of Cuervo (2003) and applicative analysis of Pylkkänen (2002). Recall that the event structure analysis that I propose for constituents of a verb in MK is based on the event structure templates in Levin (1999) which are compatible with the syntactic representations of event types provided in Cuervo (2003). The simplex event structure templates of Levin correspond to Cuervo's simple event types (a) and likewise the complex event structure template of Levin is in parallel to Cuervo's complex event types (b).

(21) a. Simple event structure templates

[x ACT <*manner*>] (activity)
[x *STATE*] (state)
[BECOME [x *STATE*]] (achievement)

b. Complex event structure template:

[[x ACT<*manner*>] CAUSE [BECOME [y *STATE*]]] (causative)

(Levin, 1999, p. 9)

(22) a. Simple events

3 types of little *v*	3 types of simple events	Examples
*v*DO	ACTIVITIES	dance, sweep, run
*v*GO	CHANGES	fall, go, die, grow
*v*BE	STATES	like, admire, lack

b. Complex events

Possible combinations	Types of complex events	Examples
*v*DO + *v*DO	CAUSATIVES	make wash, make laugh
*v*DO + *v*GO	CAUSATIVES	make grow, make fall
*v*DO + *v*BE	CAUSATIVES	break, burn, close
*v*GO + *v*BE	INCHOATIVES	Intr: break, burn, close

(Cuervo, 2003, p. 18, 19)

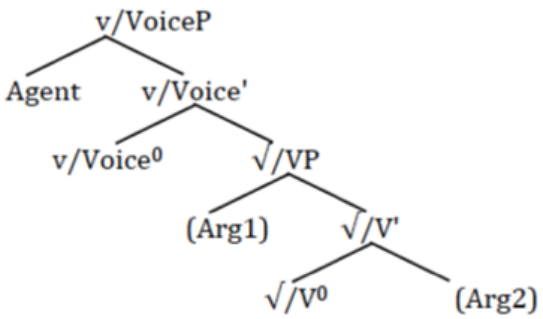
I think that distinct event structure templates of verbs as well as the distinction between constant vs. structural participants of a verb in MK can be reflected syntactically in Cuervo's model without using linking rules or mapping principles as it has been done in lexicalist-projectionist approaches. In the following subsections, I will explore how event types and different participants of an event in a MK clause are represented in syntax. Before doing that, I want to discuss the status of VoiceP in MK.

6.3.1 VoiceP and vP: bundled or split in MK?

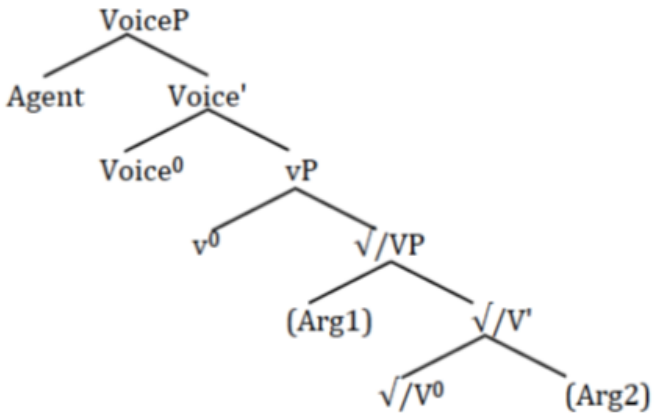
Various names and properties (e.g. VP, vP, VoiceP) have been ascribed to the external argument introducing projection within the generative syntactic tradition

(Larson, 1988; Chomsky, 1995; Kratzer, 1996; Hale & Keyser, 2002). The common assumption of these proposals is that external argument is introduced in the specifier position of a new functional head which takes the verbal phrase as its complement. The recent approaches project the external argument either in the specifier of vP (following Chomsky (1995) and Harley (1995)) or in the specifier of VoiceP (in line with Kratzer (1996)). Uniting both proposals, Pylkkänen (2002) and Harley (2017) suggest that external argument introducer VoiceP is distinct from the verbalizing vP but languages are parametrized with respect to having single bundled VoiceP/vP projection (23a) and split VoiceP and vP projections (23b).

(23) a. single bundled VoiceP/vP



b. split VoiceP and vP



(Harley, 2017, p. 4)

In a single bundled VoiceP/vP language (23a), all functions of VoiceP and vP such as accusative case assignment, external argument introduction and verbalization are accomplished by a single head. Whereas, in a split VoiceP/vP language (23b) these functions are distributed across the two projections; for instance, Voice head introduces the external argument while little v head is responsible for verbalization.

I will discuss that VoiceP and vP are split projections in MK; there is a separate Voice head overtly realized in periphrastic causative and analytic passive constructions while v head has overt realization in agentive and non-agentive verbs. Before discussing MK examples, I want to present the basic properties of bundled and split VoiceP/vP languages based on examples from Persian (Iranian language - a typologically related language to MK) and Hiaki (Uto-Aztecan language).

6.3.1.1 Persian as a bundled VoiceP/vP language (Harley, 2017)

Harley (2017) proposes that Persian is a good example of VoiceP/vP bundle language. Almost all verbal expressions in Persian are formed by a light verb, which is the realization of v^o, and a non-verbal element, which supply the lexical content (Folli et al., 2005). Harley suggests that if the v head bundles both v and Voice functions together in this language, then the agent-introducing light verb will be in the complementary distribution with the non-agent introducing light verb in Persian as both are supplied by a single head (i.e. v). And this is exactly what happens in Persian: a complex verb with an agentive light verb *dadan* 'give' has an agent in the sentence while its passivized non-agent version is sustained by a non-agentive the light verb *xordan* 'collide' (24), rather than by a true passive construction.

(24) a. tim-e mâ unâ-ro shekast *dâd*
team-EZ we they-râ defeat gave
'Our team defeated them.'

b. tim-e mâ az unâ-ro shekast *xord*
team-EZ we of they-râ defeat collide
'Our team was defeated them by them.'
(Lit: 'Our team encountered defeat from them.')

(Harley, 2017, p. 8)

Furthermore, causative/inchoative alternations in Persian are very similar to this kind of light verb alternations. For instance, the inchoative involves a non-agentive light verb and the causative is derived when it is substituted by an agentive light verb (25):

(25) a. âb be jush âmad
water to boil came
'The water boiled.'

b. Nimâ âb-ro be jush âvard
Nima water-ra to boil brought
'Nima boiled the water.'

(Harley, 2017, p. 8)

The fact that light verbs in (a) and (b) examples are in complementary distribution demonstrate that the same head is responsible for agentive and passive as well as inchoative and causative structures in Persian. Moreover, passives are not built upon agentive structures but rather both passive and agentive structures have equipollent relationship in this language. Therefore, Harley concludes that properties of Voice and v are united in a single head in Persian, and the fact that there is not a productive passive construction in this language is a by-product of this bundling structure.

6.3.1.2 Hiaki as a split VoiceP/vP language (Harley, 2013, 2017)

Based on the evidence from Hiaki, Harley (2013) proposes that the verb phrase has a tripartite structure made up of VoiceP (external argument introducer), vP (verbalizer) and VP/√P (lexical verb). Harley (2017) illustrates that in Hiaki a single morpheme encodes verbalization and causative-inchoative semantics simultaneously, which must be taken as a realization of v^o (26). *-ta* in the following sentences functions both as verbalizer and causativizer:

(26) a. Maria vaso-ta ham-**ta**-k
Maria glass-ACC break-TR-PRF
'Maria broke the glass.'

b. Uu vaaso ham-**te**-k
The.NOM glass break-INTR-PRF
'The glass broke.'

(Harley, 2017, p. 10)

When such a sentence is passivized, a passive morpheme *-wa* is stacked outside *-ta* (27a) and likewise when a periphrastic causative is formed, a new causative morpheme *-tua* attaches to *-ta* (27b), both leaving the verbalizing morpheme unaffected:

(27) a. Uu vaaso ham-**ta**-wa-k
The.NOM glass break-TR-PASS-PRF
'The glass was broken./ Someone broke the glass.'

b. Juan Maria-ta vaaso-ta ham-**ta**-tua-k
Juan Maria-ACC glass-ACC break-TR-CAUS.DIR-PRF
'Juan made Maria break the glass.'

(Harley, 2017, p. 11)

She discusses that if Hiaki were a bundled VoiceP/vP language, then one would expect to find a separate third morpheme for passive or causative replacing the verbalizer and causativizer morpheme *-ta* (e.g. **ham-wa-k*), as all these functions are accomplished by the same head. However, as illustrated in (27), such structures are formed by adding another morpheme to *-ta*. Given the key assumption that a single terminal node is realized by a single morpheme, the passive morpheme *-wa* or the periphrastic causative morpheme *-tua* is the actual realization of Voice head, which selects for vP as its complement.

To sum up, in bundled VoiceP/vP languages like Persian, eliminating the external argument involves changing the properties of the light verb (or verbalizer morpheme). Since the presence of external argument and the properties of verbalizer have an equipollent relationship, it is suggested that in such languages the two functions are bundled in a single head Voice/v. On the contrary, in split VoiceP/vP languages like Hiaki, eliminating the external argument or adding a new one involves attaching a new morpheme to the existing verbalizer structure which, in turn, indicates that the functions of Voice and v heads are differentiated.

6.3.1.3 MK is a split VoiceP/vP language

Although at a quick glance the verbal phrase in MK looks like the bundled VoiceP/vP language Persian, I will show that it in fact displays crucial differences from Persian in voice morphology. Very similar to Persian, in MK (as throughout Kurmanji) too, a great majority of verbal expressions is in the form of complex predicates which are formed by a light verb and a non-verbal lexical element. The light verb determines the agentivity while the non-verbal element supplies the lexical

content. The causative/inchoative alternations are accomplished by changing the light verb (28):[5]

(28) a. *xanî-yê* *me* ***xirav*** ***bû***
house-EZ.M 1PL.OBL demolished become.PST.3S
'Our house was demolished.'

b. *Ewan* *xanî-yê* *me* ***xirav*** ***kir***
3PL.OBL house-EZ.M 1PL.OBL demolished do.PST.3S
'They demolished our house.'

Furthermore, a set of simplex intransitive verbs are transitivized or causativized by attaching the *-and* morpheme (29):

(29) a. *Zevî* ***şewitî***
field.DIR burn.PST.3S
'The field burnt.'

b. *Mêrik-an* *zevî-yê* ***şewit-and***
man-PL.OBL field-OBL burn.PST-CAUS.3S
'The men burnt the field.'

Recall that in bundled VoiceP/vP language like Persian, light verbs fail to passivize thus a non-agentive passive like structure is achieved through changing the light verb. In contrast, MK has an analytic passive construction, and both causative/agentive light verbs and simplex verbs in (28b) and (29b) can be passivized in this dialect:[6]

[5] For more examples, see Chapter 3 where complex predicates in MK are discussed in detail.
[6] The passive is formed by verb *hatin* 'come' plus the infinitive form of the verb. *Hatin* 'come' functions as the passive auxiliary and it inflects for TAM, negation and number-person agreement. See Chapter 2 for further explanations and examples of passive construction in this dialect.

(30) a. *Xanî-yê* *me* ***hat-e*** *xirav* *kirin*
house-EZ.M 1PL.OBL come.PST-PERF.3S demolished to do
'Our house was demolished.'

b. *Zevî* ***hat-î-ye*** *şewitandin*
field.DIR come.PST-PTCP-COP.3S to burn
'The filed was burnt.'

Likewise, causative/agentive light verbs and simplex verbs in (28b) and (29b) can be further causativized in MK:[7]

(31) a. *Şeşo* *xanî-yê* *me* ***da*** *xirav* *kirin*
Şeşo house-EZ.M 1PL.OBL give.PST.3S demolished to do
'Şeşo had our house demolished.'

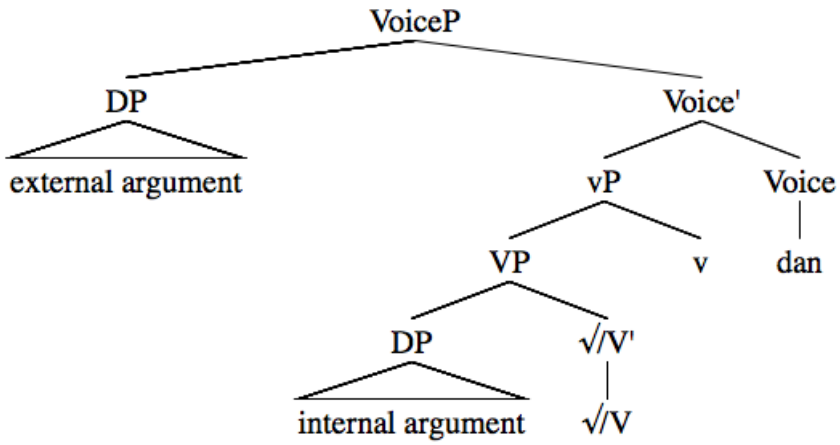
b. *Şeşo* *bi* *mêrik-an* *zevî-yê* ***da*** *şewitandin*
Şeşo ADP man-PL.OBL field-OBL give.PST.3S to burn
'Şeşo made the men burn the field.'

As shown in (30) and (31), the passive and causative auxiliary selects for vP as its complement. MK data suggest that eliminating or introducing the external argument in this dialect involves adding a separate voice auxiliary to the existing verbalizing structure. If causative/agentive light verbs and the morpheme *-and* are taken as the realization of v^{o}, then the passive and causative auxiliaries should be considered as the realization of Voice^{o} in this dialect (32).[8] Hence, this presents empirical evidence for the presence of a separate VoiceP in MK.

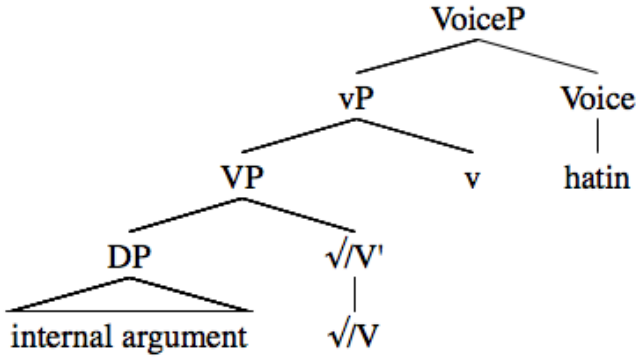
[7] MK has also a periphrastic causative construction which is formed by verb *dan* 'give' plus the infinitive form of the verb. *Dan* 'give' functions as the causative auxiliary and it inflects for TAM, negation and number-person agreement. See Chapter 2 for further explanations and examples of periphrastic causative construction in this dialect.

[8] The surface order 'auxiliary + verb' in analytic passive and periphrastic causative constructions of MK is derived by the movement of the v head to Voice head yielding [Voice + v] either in syntax or at Morphological Structure (MS) before Spell-Out, which is an issue I will not elaborate on in this study. It should be noted that there might be a separate (infinitive) layer on top of vP in the tree diagram provided in (32) as the voice auxiliary does take the infinitive form of the matrix verb. The

(32) a. (periphrastic causative)



b. (analytic passive)[9]



infinitive form of the verb in Kurmanji (as in MK) is described as adding –(i)n to the past stem of the verb; e.g. *şand-in* 'to send', *xiravkir-in* 'to demolish', *çû-n* 'to go' etc., but its internal structure and implications have not been studied from a theoretical perspective yet. All we know is that the infinitive form has the same morphological form as the nominalized verb. In fact, –(i)n suffix in infinitive forms can be considered as nominalization formative as it carries some major properties of nominals; e.g. they can be heads in NP, they can have nominal inflections such as ezafe and indefinite (see Section 2.6.5 on nominalization in Chapter 2 for further information.). From a DM perspective, if –(i)n is nominalization suffix then it is the category-changing morpheme (i.e. the realization of n head). In such a scenario, the Voice head selects for a nominalized/infinitive [nP [n vP]] rather than the vP. Nevertheless, such a scenario does not provide counter-evidence to the presence of VoiceP in MK. I will leave the internal structure of nominalizations in Kurmanji/MK to future research.

[9] In line with Embick (1997, 2004), I assume that passives lack an external argument in their structural configuration.

The MK data suggest that VoiceP and vP are split in this dialect in which the external argument introducing projection VoiceP is distinct from the verbalizing projection vP. It also provides empirical evidence for the presence of a separate Voice projection in syntax as discussed by Kratzer (1996) and for the proposals that verbalizing v is distinct from external argument introducing Voice (Pylkkänen, 2008; Harley, 2013; Legate, 2014). I, therefore, propose that Voice is responsible for introducing external argument and accusative case while v head functions as verbalizer in this dialect.[10]

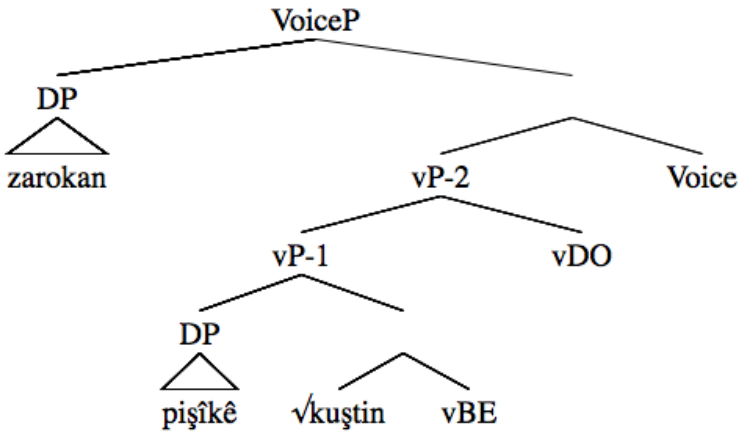
6.3.2 Structural participants of CTV and constant participants of NCTV in MK

Levin (1999) proposes that verbs with complex/causative event structures are core transitive verbs (CTV); they are obligatorily transitive as they have two structural participants required by the event structure template, which are mapped onto syntax as subject and direct object. On the other hand, noncausative verbs are two-argument verbs with simplex event structures; they are non-core transitive verbs (NCTV) thus they may - but need not- be transitive as the constant participant (i.e. the argument licensed by the verb's core meaning) does not fall under the event structure-to-syntax mapping principle and is generally realized as oblique argument in syntax. Based on this distinction and considering MK facts, I have discussed that CTV verbs have OBL-patients (e.g. *kuştin* 'kill', *şikandin* 'break', *birîn* 'cut') as they have complex event structure templates. They have two structural participants; actor (subject) and undergoer (direct object), both of which are morphologically realized as case-marked

[10] Accusative case here refers to the structural object case assigned/checked under a special configuration by a Voice/v head in syntax rather than a morphological case. Needless to say, it is apparent that neither MK nor Kurmanji does have a morphological case that can be termed as accusative case. However, as also discussed in Gündoğdu (2011), the oblique case realized on objects in MK has the same syntax as accusative case with respect to case checking properties.

NPs. On the other hand, verbs with ADP objects (e.g. *nêrîn* 'look', *bawer kirin* 'believe') are indeed NCTV; they are all activity verbs with simple event templates consisting two participants; structural and constant participants. The structural participant of these verbs is the doer of the action (actor or initiator) and they are morphologically realized as case-marked NP, while the constant participant of these verbs is a person, thing or location (oblique argument) and their morphological realization is an ADP phrase. Accordingly, I propose that a CTV projects a causative complex event type in syntax (33), where one little *v* head corresponds to the causing event while the other one corresponds to the caused event. The structural participants of a CTV are its external argument (subject) and its internal argument (direct object); the former being introduced by Voice (in line with Kratzer (1996)) and the latter being licensed in the specifier of lower little *v*BE head.[11]

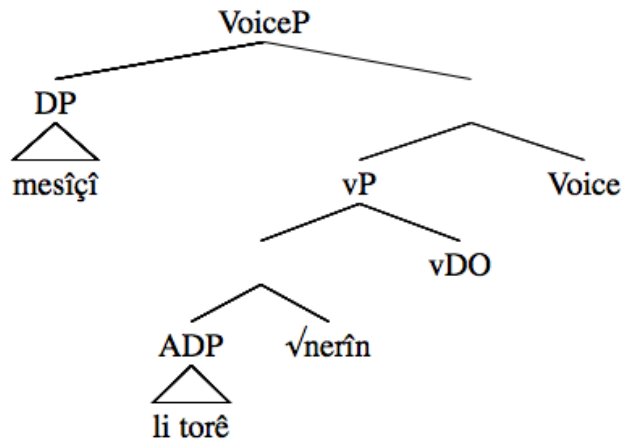
(33) a. *Zarok-an* ***pişîk-ê*** *kuşt.* (*active*)
child-PL.OBL cat-OBL kill.PST.3S
'The children killed the cat.'



[11] Note that vP-2 here corresponds to vP while vP-1 refers to VP in trees provided in (32) in the previous sub-section. Therefore, *v*DO is like the verbalizer little v head and *v*BE is similar to the lexical V head.

On the other hand, a NCTV projects a simple activity event type in syntax (34), where a root combines with *v*DO. The structural participant of a NCTV is its external argument which is introduced by Voice, while its constant participant is licensed by Root merging its complement position.[12]

(34) a. *Mesîçî* ***li*** ***tor-ê*** *di-nêr-e*
fisherman.DIR ADP fishnet-OBL PROG-look.PRS-3S
'The fisherman is looking at the fishnet.'



Note that all ADP objects in MK do not share the same adposition but the choice of adpositions differ according to the idiosyncratic meaning of the root, which provides further support for the fact that ADP objects are only licensed by the root. For instance, the constant object of a verb like *hez kirin* 'love (lit. 'enjoy do') is expressed through the adposition *ji* 'from' while the constant object of the verb *xeber dan* 'speak (lit: 'information give') is introduced by the adposition *bi* … ra 'together with' (35):

[12] Roots provided within √ are uninflected forms in these tree diagrams. Given that the projection(s) responsible for Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) and person-number agreement is/are above VoiceP, I assume that roots under v category get their inflectional morphemes at MS post-syntactically. It is crucial to note that tense information is encoded in the verb stem in MK, on a par with the rest of Kurmanji/Iranian languages, hence each verb has two distinct stems based on tense-division, namely past and present; e.g. *ç* 'go.PRS' vs. *çû* 'go.PST', *bêj* 'say.PRS' vs. *got* 'say.PST' (see Chapter 2). Since it is quite difficult to decide what the bare root of a verb is, I will provide the citation forms within √ in this study.

(35) a. *Bav û kal-ên me ji dengbêj-an*
father and grandpa-EZ.PL 1PL.OBL ADP singer-PL.OBL
hez di-k-in
enjoy PROG-do.PRS-PL
'Our ancestors love traditional singers.'
(lit: Our father and grandfathers did enjoy from traditional singers.)

b. *Ez her roj bi wî ra xeber di-d-im*
1S.DIR every day ADP 3S.OBL ADP info. PROG-give.PRS-PL
'I speak to him every day.' (lit: 'I give info together with him every day.')

The structural representation of CTV and NCTV provided above captures both the difference in the event types of verbs and the status of their event participants. In so doing, the difference between structural and constant participants in the event structure of a verb is preserved in the syntactic structure, as well, which provides a reasonable explanation for why these OBL objects semantically and morphologically behave differently from ADP objects in this dialect.

6.3.3 Structural participants as postverbal goals in MK

Recall that the recipients of *give-type* verbs, and the spatial goals of caused motion verbs (*send-type* verbs and motion verbs), and path verbs (or verbs of directed motion) are structural participants appearing in the postverbal position in MK. Before discussing the structural representation of each of these participants with their event types in the following sub-subsections, I want to mention a few studies on double object constructions and ditransitive structures which are relevant to the discussion in this section.

Based on Levin and Rappaport (2007) and Levin (2011), In Chapter 4 I have discussed that the recipient of *give-type* verbs and the spatial goal of *send-type* verbs are their structural participants as they are inherently lexicalized by the event

structure of these verbs. Therefore *give-type* verbs have caused-possession event type structure while caused motion verbs have caused-motion event type structure:

(36) a. Caused Possession: (adapted from Levin & Rappaport, 2007)
'X_{AGENT} ACT CAUSE $Y_{RECIPIENT}$ HAVE Z $_{THEME}$'

b. Caused Motion: (adapted from Levin, 2011)
'X_{AGENT} ACT CAUSE Z $_{THEME}$ BE LOC $Y_{SPATIAL\ GOAL}$'

I have also indicated that the recipient of *give-type* verbs pattern with spatial goals of caused motion verbs in terms of argument realization properties on the surface order as they both occur in the postverbal position. Moreover, the binding and scope tests as discussed in detail in Chapter 5 demonstrate that recipients and spatial goals must stand in a lower position than the direct object in the hierarchical structure as implied by the linear order. For instance, as illustrated in the following sentences, the pronoun in the postverbal position can get a joint reference with the direct object (37a/b) while the pronoun in the object position must be in disjoint reference with the postverbal goal that it linearly precedes (37c). Likewise, scope facts also imply that the QP in the postverbal position (recipient or spatial goal) takes narrow scope under the QP in the object position (38):

(37) a. *Min* *per-ê* *Sîdar$_i$* *da* *wî$_{i/k}$*
1S.OBL money-EZ.M Sidar give.PST 3S.OBL
'I gave Sidar$_i$'s money to him$_i$.'

b. *Min* *herkes-î$_i$* *şand* *mal-a* *wî$_{i/j}$*
1S.OBL everybody-OBL send.PST house-EZ.F 3S.OBL
'I sent everybody$_i$ to his/her$_{i/j}$ home.'

c. *Min* *per-ê* *wî$_{*i/k}$* *da* *Sîdar$_i$*
1S.OBL money-EZ.M 3S.OBL give.PST Sidar
'I gave Sidar$_i$ his$_{*i}$ money.'

(38) a. *Ferzo zevî-yek-î di-froş-e her pismam-ekî xwe*
Ferzo field- INDF-OBL PROG-sell.PRS-3S every relative-INDF.EZ. self
'There is a particular field such that Ferzo sells to his every relative.'
(one > every)

b. *Mixtar zar-ek-î di-şîn-e her mal-ek-î*
v. headman child-INDF-OBL PROG-send.PRS-3S every house-INDF-OBL
'There is a particular child such that he goes to every house.'
(one > every)

Given that the direct object c-commands the recipient and the spatial goal in the postverbal position in MK, we need to explore a syntactic structure where the direct object c-commands the recipient/spatial goal (postverbal goal).

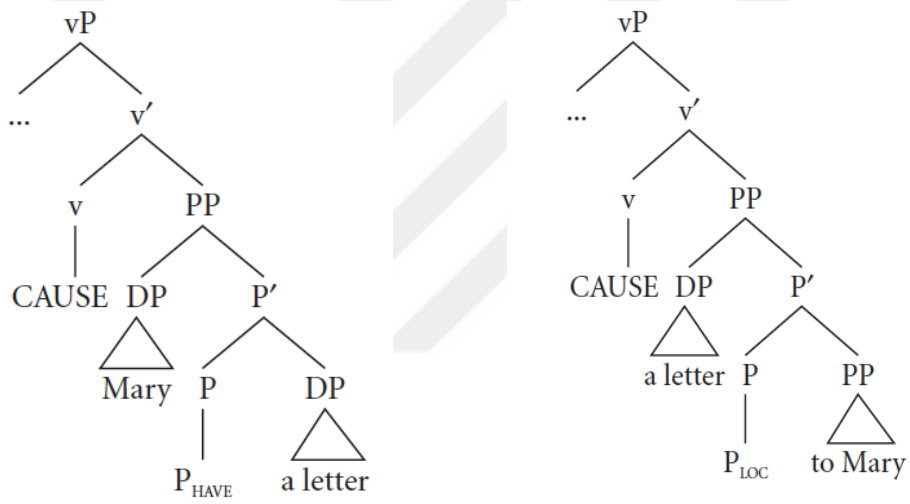
Different syntactic structures have been proposed for double object construction (DOC) and/or ditransitives (*to-dative*) in the generative grammar:

(39) a. Sandy gave Terry a copy of the new grammar. (DOC)
b. Sandy gave a copy of the new grammar to Terry. (*to-dative*)
(Levin & Rappaport, 2007, p. 1)

Some studies suggested two different hierarchical structures; one for DOC where the goal argument c-commands the direct object, and one for *to-datives* in which the direct object c-commands the goal argument (Larson, 1988; Pesetsky, 1995; Harley, 1995, 2002), because they believe that different orders represent different base-generated argument structures. Considering the hierarchical relation between the direct object and the postverbal goal argument, the syntactic structures posited for DOCs are not compatible for MK. Besides, the structural representation posited for *to-datives* in these studies do not capture the behavior of postverbal goals in this dialect, either. For instance, Harley (1995, 2002) proposes that *double-object verbs* compose into two heads; a prepositional element P_{HAVE} or P_{LOC} and an external argument selecting CAUSE predicate (v_{CAUSE}). Typologically, a language may have

both P_{HAVE} and P_{LOC} structures or just one of them. Languages with P_{HAVE} allows the goal to c-command the direct object (40a), while languages with P_{LOC} allows the direct object to c-command the goal argument (40b). She further asserts that a language shows no evidence of a DOC if the goal cannot c-command the direct object. Note that Harley's P_{HAVE} and P_{LOC} are like syntactic representations of caused-possession and caused-motion event structure templates of Levin, respectively.

(40) a. b.



(Harley, 2002, p. 32)

According to Harley's classification, apparently MK is a language without P_{HAVE} structure as the direct object c-commands the postverbal goal in our case. However, MK cannot have P_{LOC} structure either, although P_{LOC} seems to reflect the hierarchical relation between the direct object and the postverbal goal argument in this dialect. Here is the reason: Harley argues that languages with P_{LOC} structure represent the possession relation with a locative structure like *Mary is in garden*. Irish, which expresses locative, existential and possessive through a locative structure (41), is a good example for this:

(41) a. *Tá* *an* *mhin* *sa* *phota.*
BE the (oat)meal in.the pot
V **Theme** **Location**
'The oatmeal is in the pot'. (locative)

b. *Tá* *min* *sa* *phota.*
BE (oat)meal in.the pot
V **Theme** **Location**
'There is oatmeal in the pot'. (existential)

c. *Tá* *an* *peann* *ag* *Máire*
BE the pen at Mary
V **Theme** **Location**
'Mary has the pan.' (possessive)

(Harley, 2002, p. 50)

But MK is not such a language because it expresses possessives with the existential predicate *hebûn* while locatives are expressed with adpositions +copula:

(42) a. *nan* *li ser* *masê* *ye*
bread.DIR ADP table.OBL COP.3S
'Bread is on the table.'

b. *li ser* *masê* *nan* *heye*
ADP table.OBL bread exist.PRS.3S
'There is bread on the table. (lit: on the table bread exists.)'

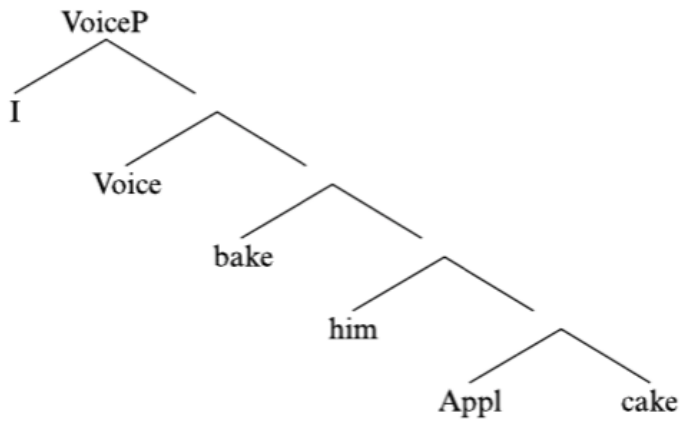
c. *per-ê* *min* *heye*
money-EZ.M 1S.OBL exist.PRS.3S
'I have money. (lit: my money exists.)'

Based on this observation, I assert that MK has neither P_{HAVE} nor P_{LOC} structure, thus it must project the argument structure of caused possession and caused motion verbs in a different way.

Some other studies, on the other hand, merely focus on DOCs proposing one syntactic structure to capture their argument realization properties (Pylkkänen, 2002,

2008; Cuervo, 2003). For instance, the low applicative structure posited for DOCs in Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) introduces the goal argument in the specifier position of the low applicative head while it merges the theme argument in its complement position, thus again we have a structure where the goal argument c-commands the theme argument, which is contrary to what we have in MK:

(43)



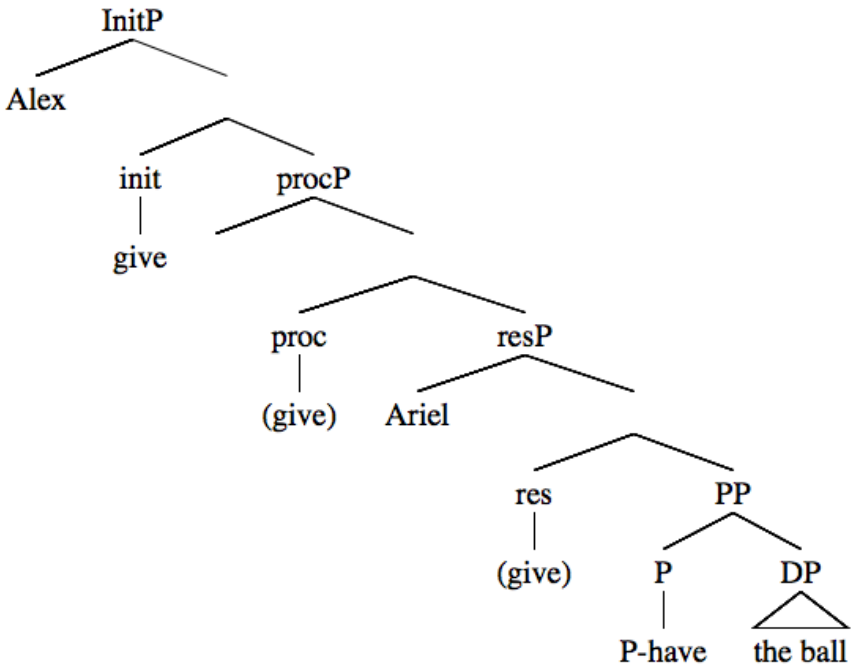
(Pylkkänen, 2008, p. 14)

Cuervo (2003) also adopts this low applicative structure for the syntactic representation of double object constructions, where she merges a low Appl phrase with little *v.* Given that the low applicative structure reflects the opposite hierarchical relation between the direct object and the postverbal goal in MK, it is not applicable in our case.

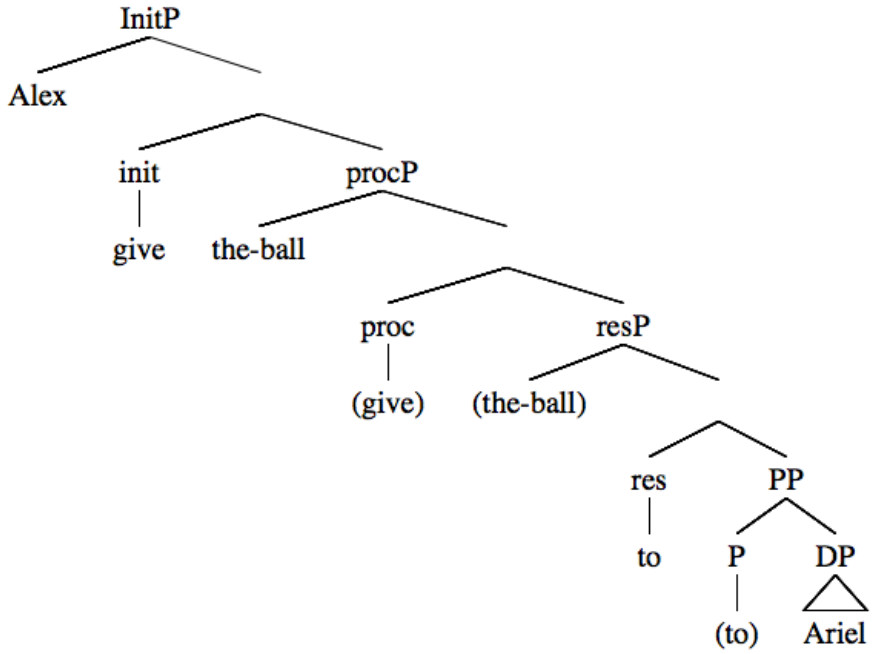
The l-syntax model of Ramchand, however, projects the arguments of double object verbs (both DOC and *to-datives*) in the same structure through merging the goal argument and the direct object at different positions in DOC and *to-datives.* She asserts that double object verbs have v, V, Rv category features in their l-syntax thus they project vP, VP and RvP (result state) in syntax (see the tree diagram given in (17)). She projects the goal argument and the direct object within RvP through PPs in

the spirit of Harley (1995, 2002). In the syntactic structure of DOCs, the goal argument merges as the RESULTEE in the specifier position of Rv while the direct object sits in the complement position of P_{have}, which is the complement of Rv (44a). On the other hand, in the syntactic representation of *to-datives* the direct object merges as RESULTEE while [*to* goal] argument is projected in the complement position of Rv (44b). The motivation for Ramchand to adopt a similar Harleyan PP structure is the presence of the preposition *to* in *to-datives* as she considers *to* as a directional preposition that has a *res* (result) feature in its lexical entry. Otherwise, she generally projects events with result states through RvP/resP. Trees in (44) are adapted from Ramchand (2008, p. 102, 103). (Note that initP is vP, procP is VP and resP is RvP).

(44) a. Alex gave Ariel the ball.



b. Alex gave the ball to Ariel.



Although the caused possession, caused motion and path verbs in MK embody the meaning of a directional preposition, possession or motion relation between the postverbal goal argument and the direct object is not mediated through a preposition or adposition in this dialect. Hence, it is not reasonable to represent the argument structure of the MK postverbal goals through RvP of Ramchand. However, the reasoning here might pave the way for the discovery of a position for postverbal goals. As the examples also demonstrate, postverbal goals in this dialect can be considered as the result states or endpoints of events. [13] Recall that in Cuervo's

[13] As discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.6.4 and Section 2.7.1), copula *bûn* 'be, become' expresses a state meaning (i) and a change of state meaning (ii) in MK and this distinction is reflected syntactically; the predicate of stative *bûn* 'be' precedes it while the predicate of inchoative *bûn* 'become' obligatorily follows it:

(i) *Av-a* *zar-ên* *wî* *zer* ***bû***.
water-EZ.F child-EZ.PL 3S.OBL yellow copula.PST.3S
'The water of her children was yellow.'

(ii) *Av-a* *zar-ên* *wî* ***bû*** *zer.*
water-EZ.F child-EZ.PL 3S.OBL copula.PST.3S yellow
'The water of her children became yellow.'

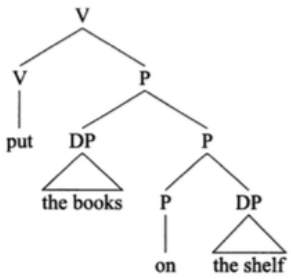
The fact that its predicate or complement immediately follows inchoative *bûn* 'become' yielding a change of state meaning provides further support for our claim that postverbal (or post-copular)

model, there are three types of event introducers little *v* (*v*DO, *v*GO, *v*BE) that express simple event types, and different combinations of these little *v* types express various types of complex events like causatives and inchoatives. Moreover, roots under certain event introducers little *v*s can introduce an argument in their complement position (e.g. a root under *v*DO can license a constant object while a root under *v*GO projects the internal argument - its surface subject- in its complement position). I suggest that all event types licensing a postverbal goal in MK all are complex events because they express a change relation between two arguments. For instance, such a complex event denotes a change of possession relation between the internal argument and the recipient of a caused possession verb, and likewise it denotes a change of location relation between the internal argument and the spatial goal argument of cause motion verb or path verb. I propose that this change relation is represented by *v*BE subevent and the root sitting under *v*BE is a complex root (*â la* Marantz (2001) and Panagiotidis (2005)) containing an abstract preposition such as TO which encodes the directional meaning. [14] This complex root

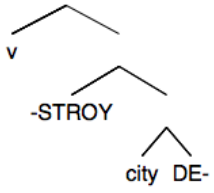
position hosts the arguments or complements that expresses the result/end state of a change relation in this dialect.

[14] The way Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002) analyze locative and locatum verbs such as *saddle* and *shelve* provides the inspiration for the possibility of having complex roots in syntax. For instance, a verb like *shelve* is derived by a category changing mechanism whereby the noun *shelf* incorporates into an abstract preposition meaning 'to put X on a shelf. Assuming that a similar mechanism might operate on certain roots in DM model, Marantz (2001) proposes that certain transitive verbs must be based on a complex root domain. He suggests that a transitive verb like *destroy* is based not on a simplex root but it is derived from a complex root in which a manner root √STROY incorporates a particle spelled out as *de-*, taking an inner subject:

(a) Incorporation (Hale & Keyser, 2002, p. 7)



(b) A complex root domain (Marantz, 2001, p. 21)



[√root$_{TO}$] licenses the result state or end state of this change relation in its complement position, which we see as postverbal goals in MK.

The assumption that such verbs have a complex root domain containing an abstract directional proposition is not unreasonable because these verbs carry a directional suffix in some Kurmanji dialects, which can be taken as the morphological realization of this abstract preposition (45). (The sentences are from Hakkari and Van (Gürpınar))

(45) a. *Ewî* *ber-ek* *firand-**e*** *ser-ê* *min*
3S.OBL stone-INDF.DIR throw.PST.3S-DIRC head-EZ.M 1S.OBL
'He threw a stone at my head.'

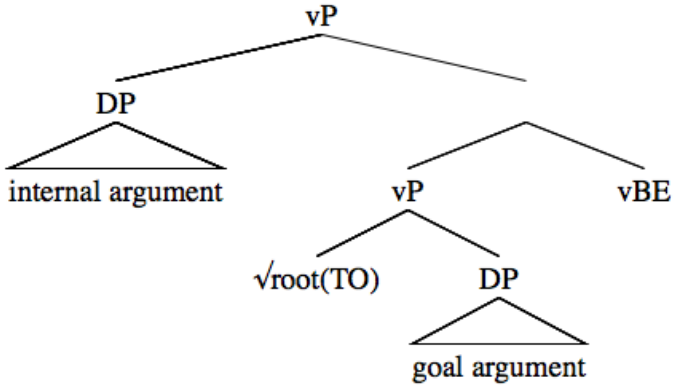
b. *Min* *hesp-ê* *xo* *firut-**e*** bray-ê xo
1S.OBL horse-EZ.M self sell.PST.3S-DIRC brother-EZ.M self
'I sold my horse to my brother.'

I propose that all verbs with a postverbal goal in MK have the following subevent type in their syntactic representation: [15]

Likewise, Panagiotidis (2005) also claims that certain roots in languages might need a complex mechanism just like Hale and Keyser incorporation analysis. For instance, some innovations derived from the root √bottle can be predicted easily if this root is assumed to have a complex structure containing an abstract preposition like AT (c) or ON (d) in the following sentences (Panagiotidis, 2005, p. 1189):
(c) We were stoned and bottled by the spectators as we marched down the street. (√bottle+ AT)
(d) Female domestic violence victims may be stabbed or bottled as well as punched. (√bottle+ TO)

[15] I am quite aware of the fact the head directionality of roots is not stable here. Unlike the simplex root under activity event types (*v*DO), the complex root in this structure has a head-initial structure. Although this might seem to be a bit unexpected at first glance for a language like Kurmanji & its MK dialect which is considered to be a head final language, the trees indeed reflect the mixed head directionality typology of MK. Haig (2014) points out that the appearance of the goal arguments in the immediate postverbal position in an OV language like Kurdish (in all dialects and varieties) is typologically unusual; however, as he also mentions, Kurdish is not consistently a head-final language. For instance, in addition to the postverbal goals, the CP, DP and certain adpositional domains too exhibit head initial properties. The head directionality differences observed in certain lexical and functional domains in MK (throughout Kurdish) become clearer when we consider the influence of areal typology (Stilo, 2005, 2009b) and language contact induced changes (Haig, 2014; Gündoğdu, 2017). Given that MK is a bilingual grammar as most of its speakers are Kurmanji-Turkish bilingual people and it has still an intense language contact with Turkish, this mixed typology is also a crucial part of its syntax. However, this property of MK (and Kurdish) might have some

(46)



A structure like (46) where the verb (i.e. the complex root) and the goal argument have a complement relation also accounts for why the verb and the goal argument behave like they stick together in this dialect. Since the goal argument is in its complement position, nothing can intervene between them, as illustrated in (47):

(47) Min erebê ajot (*hedî hedî) ***newal-ê***
1S.OBL car.OBL drive.PST.3S (slowly slowly) valley-OBL
'I drove the car towards valley.'

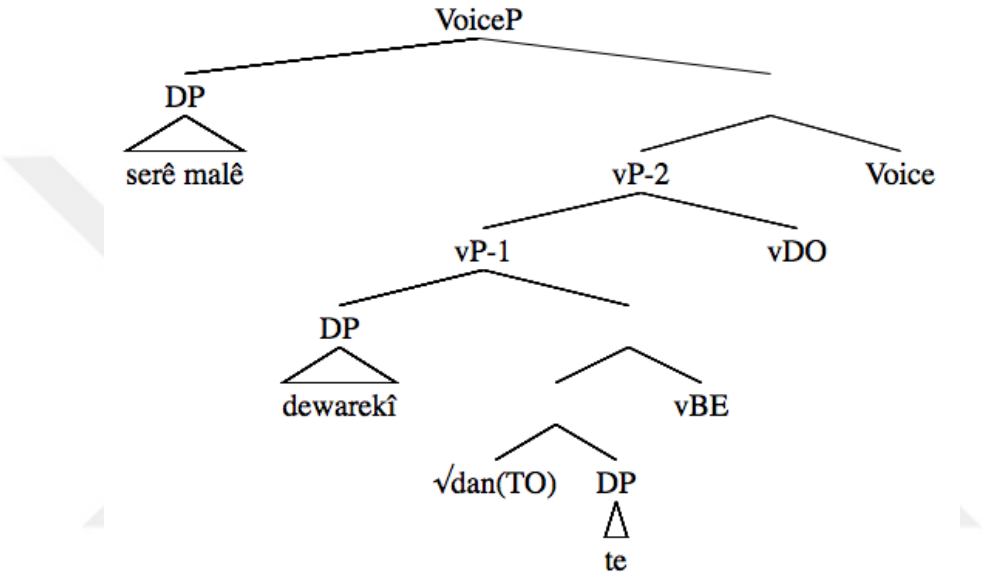
6.3.3.1 Recipient of *give-type* verbs

I propose that *give-type* verbs or caused possession verbs in MK projects a complex event type with a result state (*v*DO+ *v*BE) where one little v head corresponds to the causing event while the other little v head refers to the change relation and its result state (48). This structure can be read as follows; there is a change of possession relation between the internal argument and the goal argument as a result of giving event which has both activity (*v*DO) and change of state+result (*v*BE) in its event

implications for *the Final-Over-Final Constraint* (*FOFC*) (Holmberg, 2000; Sheenan, 2013; Biberauer et al., 2014). Since the focus of this study is on the argument structure of events and the hierarchical relations between event participants in syntax, deriving surface order of constituents in this dialect is left for future research.

decomposition. By this configuration, we can also represent the appropriate hierarchical relation between the internal argument and the goal argument in MK, in which the former always c-commands the latter.

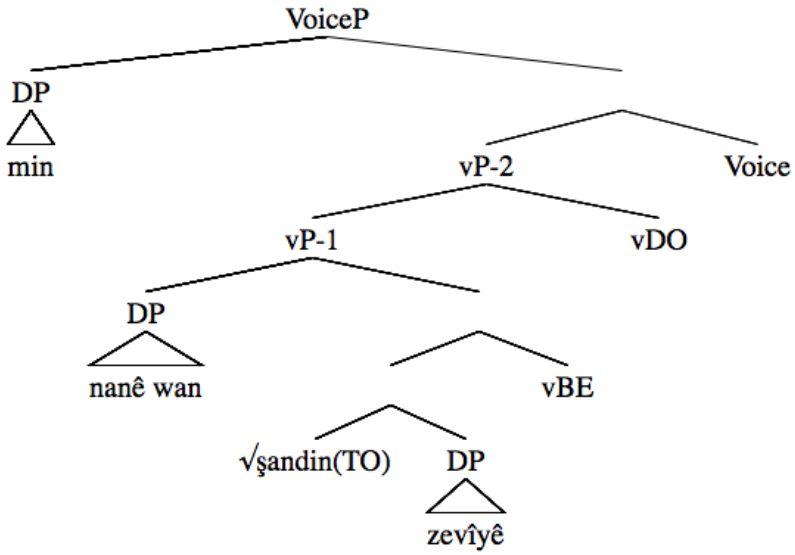
(48) *ser-ê* *mal-ê* *dewar-ek-î* *bi-d-e* ***te,*** *...*
head-EZ.M house.EZ.OBL cattle-INDF-OBL SBJV-give.PRS-3S 2S.OBL
'Let each house give you a head of cattle.'



6.3.3.2 Spatial goals of *caused motion* verbs

For caused motion verbs in MK, I propose that they project the same complex event type as caused possession verbs do in this dialect.

(49) Min nanê wan şand-ibû **zevî-yê**
1S.OBL bread-EZ.M 3PL.OBL send.PST-PERF.3S field-OBL
'I had sent their meal to the field.'

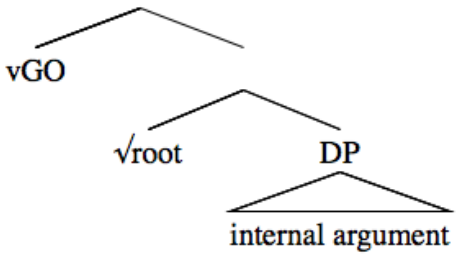


This time, *v*DO+ *v*BE complex event type expresses a change of location relation between the internal argument and the goal argument as a result of motion event. Note that I assume that the *v*BE subevent expresses a change relation between VP internal event participants and the type of this change relation is determined by the verb root. Therefore, if *v*DO+ *v*BE complex event type has a motion root, then it denotes a change of location relation.

6.3.3.3 Spatial goals of *path verbs* (verbs of directed motion)

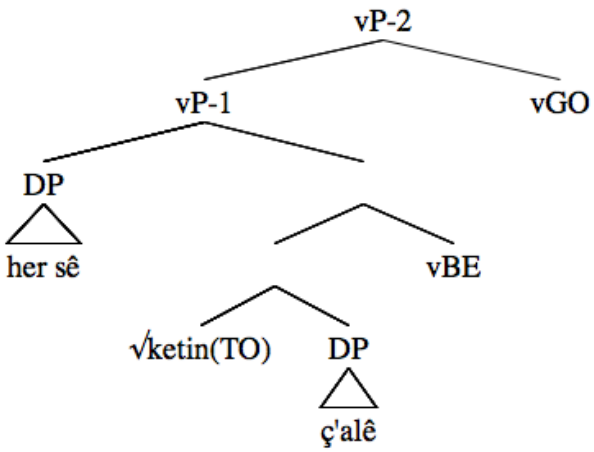
Recall that path verbs suchi as *hatin/werin* 'come, arrive', *ketin* 'fall, enter', *çûn/herin* 'go' and *derketin* 'go out, leave' also take spatial goals to express a spatial grounding or an achieved location which is necessitated by their inherent directionality. Rappaport and Levin (1998) classified such verbs as second type result verbs as they result in a change of position with respect to a spatial reference point. In Cuervo's model, these verbs correspond to predicates of change or dynamic unaccusative verbs which are projected by *v*GO simple event (adapted from Cuervo 2003: 25):

(50)



She suggests that since predicates of change semantically license a theme and state or path described by the movement, the presence of Voice projection that introduces external arguments would be incompatible with the semantics of these verbs. Thus, they do not project Voice in their event type. Considering the fact that path verbs, or predicates of change in Cuervo's terms, take spatial goals in MK, I propose that these verbs also have *v*BE in their event decomposition. They project a complex event type with *v*GO+*v*BE:

(51) *her sê bi hev ra ket-in* ***ç'al-ê***
every three ADP each other ADP fall.PST-PL culvert-OBL
'Three of them felt into the culvert together.'



The complex event type formed with *v*GO+*v*BE expresses a change of location relation between the internal argument (which is surface subject here) and the spatial goal argument as a result of a directed motion event.[16]

To sum up, the combination of *v*BE containing a complex root with other simple event introducer little *v*s enables us to represent the argument structure of caused possession verbs, caused motion verbs and path verbs in MK (52):

(52)

Combinations	Events	Relation	Examples
*v*DO + *v*BE	caused possession	change of possession	give, sell
*v*DO + *v*BE	caused motion	change of location	send, throw
*v*GO + *v*BE	directed motion	change of location	go, come, fall

6.3.4 Constant participants as preverbal goals in MK

I have argued that the recipient of *send-type* verbs and the addressee of speech verbs are constant participants because they are only licensed by the verb meaning rather than being inherently lexicalized by the verb event structure. Thus, they are introduced through adpositions just like other constant participants are in MK. I have termed them as preverbal goals. I propose that these participants are similar to non-core dative participants in the events described by the verb and they are projected in the specifier of a middle applicative phrase in syntax. Before presenting the analysis, I want to refer to some leading studies done on applicatives.

[16] Given that inchoative *bûn* 'become' expresses a change of state meaning, it must have a similar syntactic structure represented in (55). I propose that unlike stative *bûn* 'be', inchoative *bûn* 'become' has a complex event type formed with *v*GO+*v*BE in which a complex root under *v*BE licenses the predicate – which might be a DP or an AdjP- in its complement position.

6.3.4.1 Applicatives as syntactic projections

Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) suggests that additional indirect objects or non-core nominal arguments such as benefactives and instruments are added to the argument structure of a verb by applicative head. Her claim was based on the applicative constructions in Bantu languages where an additional semantic role is introduced to the structure through verbal affixes incorporated into the verb (53). These additional arguments introduced by applicative affix are called applied arguments. ((53a) is from Venda and (53b) is from Chichewa languages.)

(53) a. Mukasa o-nok-is-**el**-a Katonga mahada.
Mukasa 3SG.PST-melt-CAUSE-**APPL**-FV Katonga snow
'Mukasa melted Katongo the snow.'

(Pylkkänen, 2008, p. 2)

b. Mavuto a-na-umb-**ir**-a mpeni mtsuko
Mavuto SP-PST-mold-**APPL**-ASP knife waterpot
'Mavuto molded the waterpot with a knife.'

(Pylkkänen, 2002, p. 18)

Extending the term applicative to the constructions without overt applicative morphology (e.g. double object construction in English), Marantz (1993) and Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) propose that non-core participants cross-linguistically are licensed by an applicative head in syntax no matter whether a language shows phonologically an overt applicative morphology on the verb or not. Pylkkänen further postulates that the syntactic properties of applicative constructions differ across languages although they seem to have similar meanings. For instance, both Chaga (a Bantu language) and English have a double object construction with an applied benefactive argument yet only the former one licenses a construction where a benefactive argument can be added to an unergative verb:

(54) English
a. I baked a cake.
b. I baked **him** a cake.
c. I ran.
d. * I ran **him**.

(55) Chaga

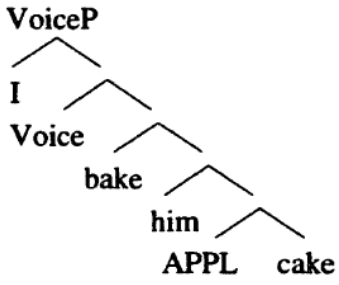
a. N-ã-ï-lyì-í-à	**m-kà**	k-élyà
FOC-1SG-PRES-eat-APPL-FV	**1-wife**	7-food
'He is eating food for his **wife**.'		

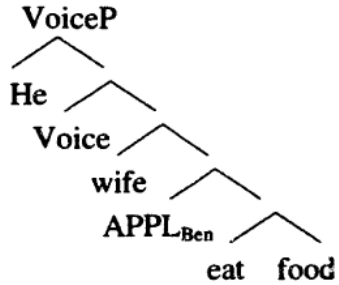
b. N- ã-i-zrìc-í-à	**mbùyà**
FOC-1SG-PRES-run-APPL-FV	**9-friend**
'He is running for a **friend**.'	

(Pylkkänen, 2002, p. 17)

Observing such a structural difference, she asserts that cross-linguistically languages display two types of applicative constructions based on the position they project in syntax and the lexical-semantic relation they have with the verb. *Low applicatives* merge as the complement of V as it denotes a transfer of possession relation between two individuals; i.e. the indirect object in its specifier and the direct object in its complement position (56a). Whereas, *high applicatives* take VP as its complement as it relates the DP in its specifier to an event (VP) (56b). Following Kratzer (1996), she locates the external argument in the specifier of VoiceP (Pylkkänen, 2002, p. 19):

(56) a. Low Applicative (English) b. High Applicative (Chaga)





She also proposes certain diagnostics for distinguishing between high and low applicatives such as transitivity restrictions and verb semantics. For instance, low applicatives cannot occur in a structure that lacks a direct object as it denotes a relation between the direct and indirect object of an event. Likewise, since low applicatives imply a transfer of possession relation, they cannot combine with static verbs. However, high applicatives do not have such restrictions thus they can in principle combine with any type of verbs (e.g. unergative verbs and stative verbs). To illustrate, a sentence like '*I held him the bag' is bad in English as it lacks a high applicative structure, but it is quite natural and grammatical in a high applicative language like Luganda and Spanish (Pylkkänen, 2002; Cuervo, 2003; McGinnis, 2008). From a cross-linguistic perspective, some languages either have a low applicative structure (e.g. English, Korean) or a high applicative structure (e.g. Chaga, Venda, Luganda, Albanian) while some languages might possess both types in its syntax (e.g. Kinyarwanda, Spanish, Greek) (Pylkkänen, 2002; Cuervo, 2003; McGinnis & Gerdts, 2004; Georgala, 2012).

Although a number of empirical generalizations is captured by this low vs. high applicative distinction, Pylkkänen's applicative analysis faces some semantic and syntactic challenges in the literature. Larson (2010) discusses that separating IO from the event structure of the verb in low applicatives results in incorrect semantic inferences. For instance, Pylkkänen (2018) states that "low applied arguments bear no semantic relation to the verb whatsoever; they only bear a transfer-of-possession relation to the direct object" (p. 14) thus a sentence like *I wrote John a letter* means that *I wrote a letter and the letter was to the possession of John*. However, Larson shows that this low applicative semantics is not preserved under conjunction where

the DO refers to the same entity in both conjuncts, hence predicting incorrect inference from (57a) to (57b):

(57) a. John wrote a letter and Bill gave Mary that letter.
b. John wrote Mary that letter.

(Larson, 2010, p. 702)

He points out that *John's writing a letter and that letter's coming into Mary's possession* does not entail that *John wrote the letter to Mary,* as Mary is related to the giving event but not to the writing event.

Furthermore, given that low applicative phrase is the complement of VP where DO and IO are part of the same minimal constituent, VP-adjoined modifiers shouldn't intervene between IO and DO. However, the data from different languages such as Mandarin, English, German and Greek indicate that VP adverbial modifiers like manner/frequency adverbs and adverbial quantifiers can intervene between the direct object (DO) and the indirect object (IO) in low applicative constructions (Georgala & Whitman, 2007; Pylkkänen, 2008; Georgala, 2012; Paul & Whitman, 2010). Under the assumption that these modifiers are adjoined to VP, the following sentences pose problems to low applicative analysis: ((a) is from German and (b) is from Greek)

(58) a. Der Hiwi hat den Studenten
the.NOM teaching.assistant.NOM has the.DAT students.DAT
heimlich einen alten Test ausgeteilt
secretly an.ACC old.ACC quiz.ACC distributed
'The teaching assistant secretly distributed an old quiz to the students.'

(Georgala, 2012, p. 73)

b. Estelnes tis Lenas *sihna/amesos* lefta?
were sending.2SG the.GEN Lena.GEN often/immediately money.ACC
'Were you often/immediately sending Lena money?'

(Georgala & Whitman, 2007, p. 6)

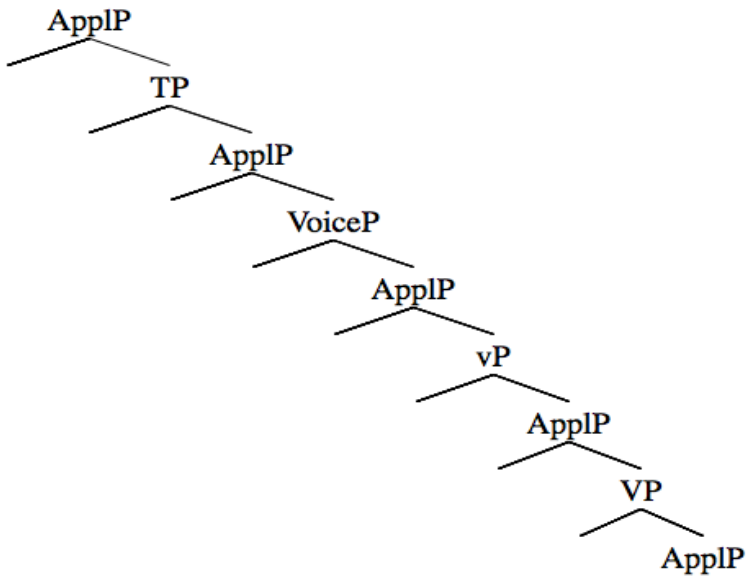
Besides, Tsai (2009) discusses that the high vs. low applicative dichotomy fails to capture the syntactic and semantic idiosyncrasies of affective and benefactive constructions in Chinese as these construals show some properties belonging to both applicative types. As a consequence, these observations lead to developing new treatments of applicative analyses.

Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) proposes a single applicative structure positioned above VP to capture the properties of benefactive and recipient DOCs both in Greek and across languages. Georgala et al. (2008) and Georgala (2012) also posit a similar applicative structure in the same position but their applicative projection has two types; namely *Thematic* and *Raising* applicatives distinguishing recipients from benefactive and instrument applied arguments in Greek. In addition to such uniform account of high and low applicatives, several researchers introduce new types of applicative projections. For instance, Kim (2012) examines the morphological causatives in Korean, experiencer *have* in English and experiencer constructions in Georgian and suggests that there is a third type of applicative head - *Peripheral Appl* positioned above VoiceP. The *Peripheral Appl* introduces an external argument like Voice but it is non-agentive like high applicative head. Moreover, investigating the applicative constructions in Mandarin, Tsai (2009) argues that a three-way distinction of applicatives has to be made according to the structural positions that an applicative projection is situated; *high applicatives* (relevant to information structure thus above TP), *middle applicatives* (involved in the event structure thus above VP) and *low applicatives* (related to the argument structure thus within VP). These three applicative types have certain structural and semantic consequences depending on their merge position, which are tested by

transitivity restriction, verb semantics (static vs. non-static) and relevance of information structure (exclamative force and speaker-orientedness).

Considering the diverse properties of applicative constructions across languages along with the new proposals, the syntactic positions that a language can possibly project an applicative phrase can be summed up as follows (59):

(59) a. high appl → above TP (Tsai, 2009)
b. peripheral appl → above VoiceP (Kim, 2012)
c. high appl → above vP (Pylkkänen, 2002, 2008)
d. single/middle appl → above VP (Anagnostopoulou, 2003, 2005; Georgala et al., 2008; Georgala, 2012; Tsai, 2009)
e. low appl → within VP (Pylkkänen 2002, 2008; Tsai, 2009)



Recipients of *send-type* verbs and addressees of speech verbs in MK are like applied arguments introduced by applicatives into an event. However, it is not easy to categorize them as a low applicative or high applicative construction in the sense of Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) because just like middle applicatives in Mandarin (Tsai, 2009) they display mixed properties of both constructions. I claim that their dual character indeed stems from the semantic nature of adposition *ji…ra* 'for/to' which

MK uses to introduce these arguments. Before presenting the analysis, I want to elaborate on the semantic function of this adposition arguing that it has a recipient-benefactive character.

6.3.4.2 The semantic function of *ji…ra* in MK

Several studies note that recipients and benefactives share common properties (Goldberg, 1995; Shibatani, 1996; Lehmann et al., 2000; Lichtenberk, 2002; among others). For instance, both benefit from the events they are part of and have a possessive control over an entity. Nevertheless, they are generally distinguishable from each other through verb semantics and morphological coding in a language. Investigating the different ways how languages encode these semantic roles from a cross-linguistic perspective, Kittilä (2005, 2006) proposes a three-way distinction for these roles; namely recipient, benefactive and recipient-benefactive. The first role is defined on the basis of events like 'give' as a result of which an entity enters the recipient's domain of possession. In contrast, benefactive is defined on the basis of benefaction notion which entails that another entity other than the agent itself benefits from the event. However, the third recipient-benefactive roles possess the properties of both (60):

(60) The features of recipient, benefactive and recipient-benefactive

	Reception	Benefaction
recipient,	+	-
benefactive	-	+
recipient-benefactive	+	+

(adopted from Kittilä, 2005, p. 274)

This semantic distinction is generally reflected in languages morphologically. Typologically there are four groups of languages; (i) tripartite languages which encode three semantic roles through distinct formatives (e.g. Icelandic), (ii) recipient-prominent languages in which benefactives receive distinct marking from recipients and recipient-benefactives (e.g. Finnish), (iii) benefactive-prominent languages that mark recipients differently from benefactives and recipient-benefactives (Iranian Azari) and (iv) neutral languages in which all three roles have identical morphology (e.g. Warlpiri). The existence of type (i) languages provides evidence that these three semantic roles are distinct (61):[17]

(61) Icelandic

a. Maðurinn gaf **konunni** bók. [recipient]
man.NOM gave woman.DAT book
'The man gave the woman a book.'

b. Hann bakaði köku **handa** mér. [rec-benefactive]
he.NOM bake.PST cake.ACC for me
'He baked me a cake.'

c. Hann lagði bílnum **fyrir** mig. [benefactive]
he.NOM park.PST car.ACC for me
'He parked the car for me.'

(adopted from Kittilä, 2005, p. 278)

I suggest that MK is similar to Icelandic in distinguishing these three semantic roles morphologically. A true recipient is marked with OBL case and appears in the postverbal position (e.g. recipient of *dan* 'give') while a true benefactive is expressed by adposition *ji bo* 'for'. A recipient-benefactive, on the other hand, is encoded by

[17] I put only Icelandic examples here as they are more relevant to the discussion in this sub-section. See Kittilä (2005) for sentences from each type of languages.

ji…ra ‘for/to’ in this dialect. When we get the close MK equivalents of sentences given in (62), which Kittilä presents as a kind of diagnostic for differentiating these semantic roles in languages, we can see that MK represents a tripartite system (63):

(62) a. The man gave the book/fish to the boy. [recipient]
b. The man baked bread for the boy. [recipient-benefactive]
c. The man went to the village for his family. [benefactive]

(Kittilä, 2005, p. 295)

(63) a. *Mêrik-î* *kitêb-ê* *da* ***kurik-î.***
man-OBL book-OBL give.PST.3S boy-OBL
‘The man gave the book to the boy.’

b. *Mêrik-î* ***ji*** ***kurik-î*** ***ra*** *kitêb-êk-ê* *kirî.*
man-OBL ADP boy-OBL ADP book-INDF-OBL buy.PST.3S
‘The man bought the book for the boy.’

c. *Mêrik* ***ji bo*** ***malbat-a*** ***xwe*** *çû* *gund.*
man.DIR ADP family-EZ.F self go.PST.3S village.OBL
‘The man went to the village for his family.’

The distinction is not straightforward, though. In certain cases, the benefactive adposition *ji bo* ‘for’ and the recipient-benefactive *ji…ra* ‘for/to’ can be used interchangeably. For instance, *ji bo* is also possible in (63b) but *ji…ra* ‘for/to’ would lead to ungrammaticality in (63c). Likewise, only *ji…ra* ‘for/to’ can introduce recipients of *send-type* verbs and addressees of speech verbs in this dialect. Hence, it seems that *ji bo* ‘for’ cannot replace *ji…ra* ‘for/to’ in cases where the recipient reading is more prominent, and similarly *ji…ra* ‘for/to’ cannot substitute for *ji bo* ‘for’ when the semantic role is a true benefactive. Lastly, the recipient of *give-type* verbs (e.g. *dan* ‘give’, *firotin* ‘sell’) and certain motion verbs like *avetin* ‘throw’ can

only be expressed by an OBL DP. This supports the conclusion that *ji…ra* 'for/to' has a recipient-benefactive function.[18]

Under the assumption that *ji…ra* 'for/to' is the realization of an applicative structure in MK and it has recipient-benefactive character, now it becomes easier to understand why it exhibits mixed properties of high and low applicatives. By its semantic nature, it entails both recipient and benefactive readings. Therefore, it denotes a possession relation between two individuals/entities just like low applicatives (64a) whereas it involves a relation between an individual and an event like high applicatives (64b). To illustrate, in (a) sentence, *ji…ra* 'for/to' encodes the individual who comes in possession of money in a transfer event while it expresses the individual who benefits from the result of the working event in (b) sentence.

(64) a. *Ez* *her meh* ***ji*** ***wî*** ***ra*** *pere* *di-şîn-im.*
1S.DIR every month ADP 3S.OBL ADP money PROG-send.PRS-1S
'I send him money every month.'

b. Ez sal donzdeh meh ***ji*** ***wî*** ***ra*** di-xebit-im.
1S.DIR year twelve month ADP 3S.OBL ADP PROG-work.PRS-1S
'I am working for him for a whole year.'

Moreover, recall that Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) proposes transitivity restrictions as a diagnostic for low applicatives. *ji…ra* 'for/to' again displays mixed properties in

[18] The Kurmanji dialects that do not have the adposition *ji…ra* 'for/to' (e.g. Hakkari Kurmanji) mark recipients with OBL case, and the only exception is the recipient of *send-type* verbs (e.g. *şandin* 'send' and *anîn* 'bring'). The recipients of such verbs are encoded by the benefactive adposition *bo/bû* 'for'. The fact that in all Kurmanji dialects only the recipients of *send-type* verbs are expressed by adpositions (either by *bo/bû* 'for' as in Hakkari dialect or by *ji…ra* 'for/to' as in MK dialect) implies that there is something that differentiates the recipients of these verbs from the recipients of other verbs such as *dan* 'give' and *firotin* 'sell'. I take it as its having recipient-benefactive character rather than its being a true recipient. In fact, from a semantic perspective, the recipient of verbs like *give* and *sell* is a little bit different from the recipient of *send,* because in the former one; for instance, a giving event is completed when the transferred entity is being received or possessed by the indirect object/applied argument. However, the semantics of verbs like *send* does not pose such an implication because a sending event is completed when the entity is being transferred no matter whether it enters into the domain of possession of the recipient or not.

terms of transitivity; it can combine with unergative verbs unlike low applicatives (see (64b) above), but unlike high applicatives it is not free to occur with any unergative verb (65):

(65) **Ez* ***ji*** ***heval-ê*** ***xwe*** ***ra*** *di-rev-im*.
1S.DIR ADP friend-EZ.M self ADP PROG-run.PRS-1S
'*I ran a friend.'

Also, like high applicatives *ji…ra* 'for/to' is compatible with the static verb 'hold', as shown in (66):[19]

(66) Min ***ji*** ***wî*** ***ra*** *ser-ê* *pirê-ê* *girt.*
1S.OBL ADP 3S.OBL ADP head-EZ.M fodder-OBL hold.PST.3S
'I held the fodder for him.'

Showing that *ji…ra* 'for/to' encodes recipient-benefactive arguments in MK hence is not compatible with either low applicative or high applicative constructions, I suggest that it corresponds to middle applicatives of Tsai (2009), which is located between vP and VP. By doing so, we can explain both the recipient-like and the benefactive-like behaviors of *ji…ra* 'for/to' in MK. An ApplP positioned just above VP (corresponding *v*BE in our case), on the one hand, can capture the transfer of possession entailment just as Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005), Georgala et al. (2008) and Georgala (2012) posit for the DOCs in Greek; on the other hand, it can account for benefactive-like reading as Tsai (2009) proposes for inner benefactives in Mandarin. Note that since *ji…ra* 'for/to' is not compatible with true benefactives in

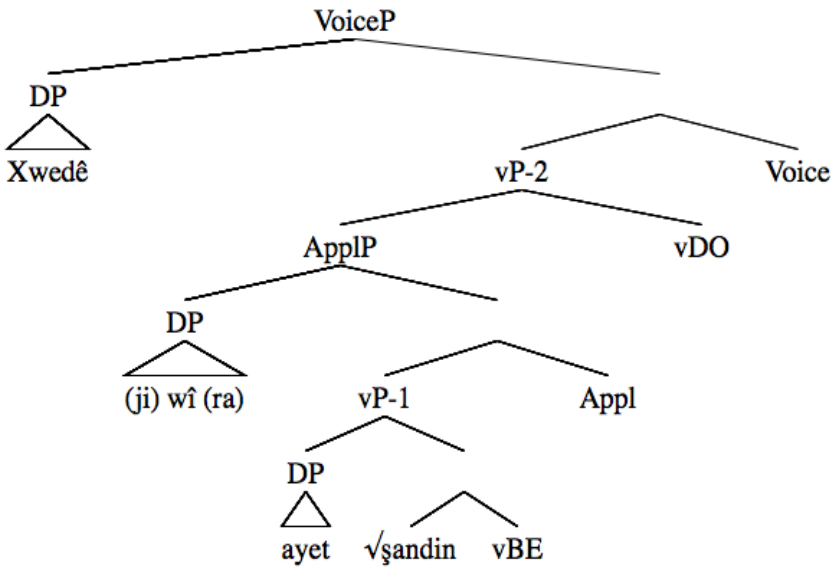
[19] Note that (66) is ambiguous between recipient and benefactive reading. It implies a transfer event like 'I held the fodder so that he could take/receive it' and it also refers to a benefactive reading where the individual (applied argument) benefited from the holding event instigated by the agent. This also provides evidence for the claim that *ji…ra* 'for/to' encodes recipient-benefactive semantic roles in MK.

MK, its being positioned under vP shouldn't pose any problem for our analysis. In the following sub-sections, therefore, I will discuss that recipients of *send-type* verbs and addressees of speech verbs in MK, which I also call as preverbal goals, are introduced by a middle applicative construction in syntax. Since these goal constituents stand in a hierarchically higher position than the direct object as indicated by scope and binding tests in the previous chapter, their being positioned over *v*BE (where the direct object is merged) renders the correct hierarchical ordering between the preverbal goals and the direct object.

6.3.4.3 Recipients of *send-type* verbs

I have discussed that recipients of *send-type* verbs are only licensed by verb meaning thus they are constant participants in MK. I propose that they are projected in an applicative structure in syntax just like a non-core dative argument and this ApplP is positioned above vBE, which corresponds to lexical VP (67):

(67) *Xwed-ê* ***ji*** ***wî*** ***ra*** *ayet* *şand.*
god.OBL ADP 3S.OBL ADP verse send.PST.3S
'God sent him the verse of the Koran.'



Note that since the verb does not carry applicative morphology in MK, I assume that Appl head is empty and *ji DP ra* is the realization of the whole ApplP.

6.3.4.4 Addressee of speech verbs

Similarly, I have also considered addressees of speech verbs as constant participants. Their occurrence is not required by the event structure but they are licensed by the idiosyncratic meaning of the verb in MK. Under the assumption that addressee is also a type of recipient (Goldberg, 1995), its being encoded by recipient-benefactive adposition in this dialect is not surprising. In fact, in addition to expressing a recipient reading of a speech act (68a), *ji…ra* 'for/to' also codes a benefactive-like reading of speech verbs in MK (68b):

(68) a. *Ez* ***ji*** ***we*** ***ra*** *meselek-î* *bi-bêj-im.*
1S.DIR ADP 2PL.OBL ADP topic.INDF-OBL SBJV-say.PRS-1S
'I will tell you about a topic/matter.'

b. *Min* ***ji*** ***wan*** ***ra*** *stran-an* *got.*
1S.OBL ADP 3PL.OBL ADP song-PL.OBL say.PST.3S
'I sang songs for them.' (lit: 'I said songs to/for them.')

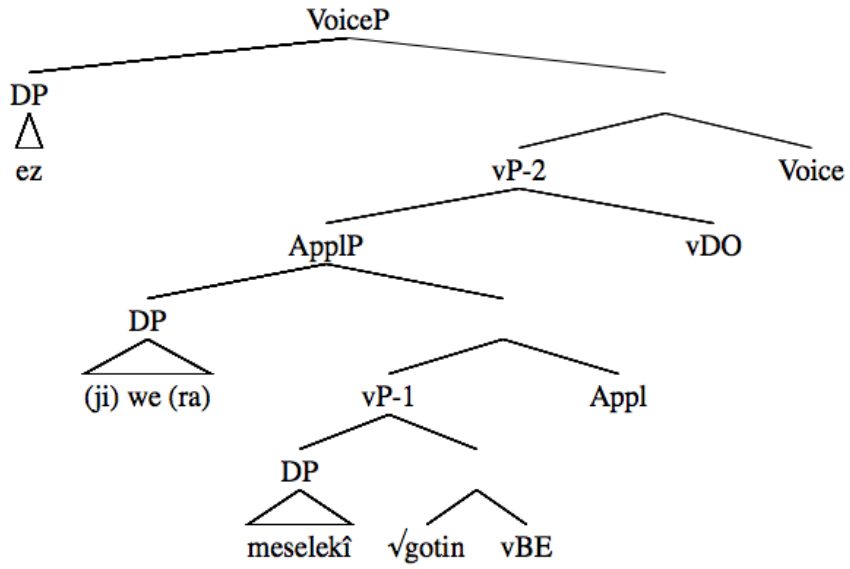
Note that the Kurmanji dialects that do not have adposition *ji…ra* 'for/to' reflect the distinction between (68a) and (68b) morphologically. They express the addressee with a recipient nature through OBL DP (69a), just like recipients of *dan* 'give', *firotin* 'sell' and *avetin* 'throw'; on the contrary, they introduce the addressee with a benefactive reading with adposition *ji bo* 'for' (69a): (Examples are from Hakkari Kurmanji.)

(69) a. *Te* *çi* *gut-e* ***min****?*
2S.OBL what say.PST-DIRC 1S.OBL
'What did you say to me?'

b. *Min* ***bû*** ***dayik-a*** ***xwe*** *stran* *got-in.*
1S.OBL ADP mother-EZ.F. self song-PL.DIR say.PST-PL
'I sang songs for my mother.' (lit: 'I said songs to/for my mother.')

Even though such Kurmanji dialects make a distinction between these types of addressees by coding them with different morphological tools (case vs. adposition), MK marks them with the same adposition, which, I believe, provides further support for the dual recipient-benefactive nature of *ji…ra* 'for/to' in this dialect. Therefore, I propose that all types of addressees of speech verbs are projected in a middle applicative structure in syntax just like a non-core dative argument (70):

(70)



To sum up, constant vs. structural participant distinction between goal constituents in MK is not only reflected morphologically (ADP vs. OBL) and linearly (preverbal vs. postverbal), but it is also represented syntactically (ApplP vs. complement of $\sqrt{root_{TO}}$). Constant participants of *send-type* verbs and of speech verbs, which I also

call as preverbal goals in MK, are non-core datives that are added to the argument structure of a verb through an applicative structure (i.e. *middle applicatives*), while the postverbal goals as structural participants are core datives which are required by the argument structure of the verb and they are projected in the complement position of a complex root.

6.4 Complex Predicates Revisited

In Chapter 3, I have investigated the argument structure of complex predicates (CPrs, henceforth) in MK arguing that various components of CPrs are combined in syntax and the meaning of the verb is derived from the resulting structure. I have also posited tentative syntactic configuration for each type of CPrs based on Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002)'s theory of argument structure. As a matter of fact, both Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002) and Cuervo (2003) follow the same reasoning to explain how verbs project their arguments in syntax holding the view that verb meaning is determined compositionally within the syntactic structure. The syntax of verbal argument structure posited in Cuervo (2003) adopts the main premises of Distributed Morphology model (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Marantz, 1997) hence it is only slightly more elaborated than the one presented in Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002). Since I am inspired by the syntactic structures provided in Cuervo (2003) while exploring a possible syntactic configuration of events and event participants in MK, I will revise the syntactic trees of CPrs in Chapter 3 according to the analysis developed in this chapter. Before turning to revised analysis of CPrs, I would like to summarize some basic properties of CPrs in MK.

CPrs in Kurmanji are composed of a non-verbal element and a light verb (LV). The LV in these predicates ranges over a number of typical simple verbs like *kirin*

'do', *dan* 'give', *girtin* 'hold', *bûn* 'become' and *ketin* 'fall', while the nonverbal element (NV) of CPrs contains a number of categories such as nouns, adjectives and PPs (71).

(71) a. Noun + V

bal dan	(attention give)	'to pay attention'
govend girtin	(halay hold)	'dance the halay'

b. Adjective + V

acis bûn	(bored become)	'to get bored'
nexweş ketin	(ill fall)	'to get sick'

c. Prepositional Phrase (PP) + V

bi rê ketin	(with road fall)	'to set off (on a journey)'
ji bîr kirin	(from mind do)	'to forget'

As shown by the contrasts in the following examples, I have argued that LV in CPrs determines the agentivity and transitivity (72) whereas NV determines the semantic content of the predicate in MK (73):

(72) a.

eşkere ***bûn***	(obvious become)	'to become obvious'
eşkere ***kirin***	(obvious do)	'to make obvious/clear'

b.

bi rê ***ketin***	(with road fall)	'to set off (on a journey)'
bi rê ***kirin***	(with road do)	'to see off'

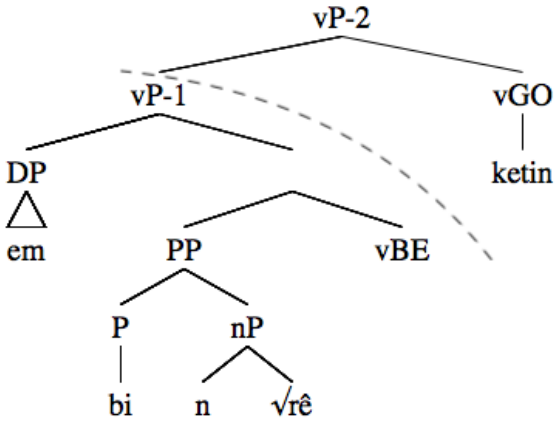
(73)

av *dan*	(water give)	'to irrigate'
bal *dan*	(attention give)	'to pay attention'
gire *dan*	(knot give)	'to tie'
xeber *dan*	(info give)	'to speak'

Considering the syntactic behaviors of CPrs in this dialect, I have classified them into three basic groups; namely transitive, unergative and unaccusative CPrs. I have argued that regardless of head directionality, CPrs seem to have an obvious one-to-

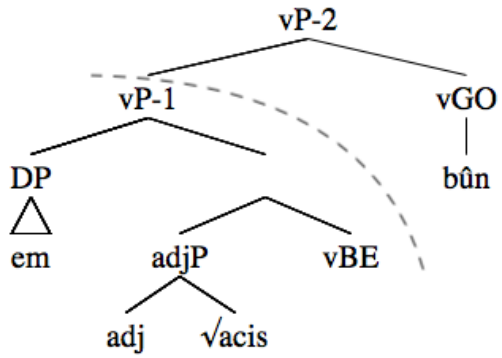
one mapping with the underlying argument structure of verb complexes proposed in Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002)'s model. Simply put, the underlying structure for verb complexes proposed in their studies have natural unincorporated equivalents in MK. To illustrate, almost all Kurmanji CPrs whose NV is an adjective or a PP have an intransitive (i.e. inchoative) and a transitive form (see (72) above), which supports the claim that adjectives and prepositions are predicative; hence they have dyadic structure (alternating type) and enter into intransitive-transitive alternation. These CPrs correspond to the inchoative and causative/transitive complex event structures of Cuervo (2003) in which a *v*BE event (indicated by dashes) is embedded either under a *v*GO (inchoative) or a *v*DO (causative/transitive) event. The syntax of inchoative CPrs will be as follows in the current model:[20] (CPrs in bold)

(74) *Em* *doh* ***bi rê*** ***ket-in***.
1PL.DIR yesterday P way.OBL fall.PST-PL
'We set off a journey yesterday.'



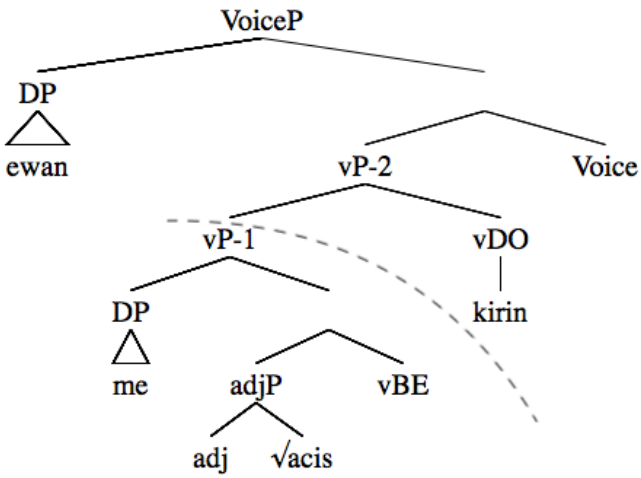
[20] Note that roots are category-free syntactic atoms in DM and it is the category assigning heads (i.e. n, adj, v) that determine the lexical category of a √root in syntax (Marantz, 2001; Embick & Noyer, 2007; Embick & Marantz, 2008; Acquaviva, 2008). Given that the NV of CPrs is not category-less in MK, they merge with a category assigning head (e.g. √root + adj or √root + n) before forming a complex predicate. Also, light verbs in this dialect are realized either under *v*DO or under *v*GO depending on their valency properties. Assuming that the projection(s) responsible for TAM and person-number agreement is/are above VoiceP and light verbs get their inflectional morphemes after the whole syntactic derivation is completed (at MS post-syntactically), I leave light verbs as uninflected under their verbal heads.

(75) *Em* *gellek* ***acis*** ***bû-n***.
1PL.DIR much bored become.PST-PL
'We got bored very much.'



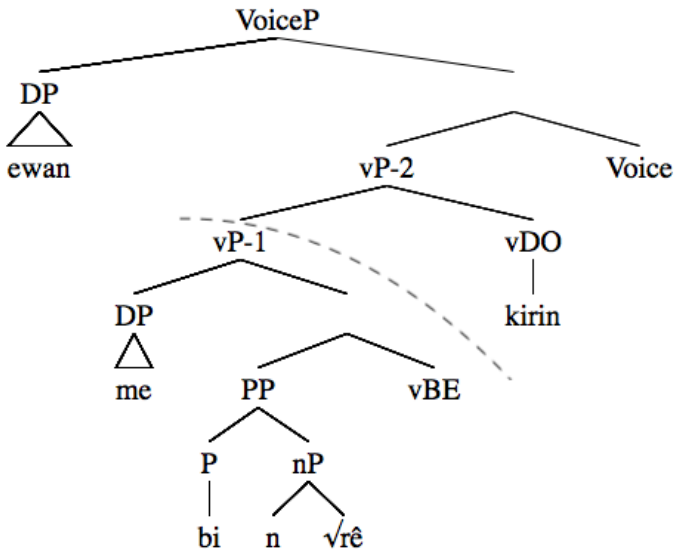
For causative/transitive CPrs whose NV is a PP or an adjective, Cuervo's causative complex structure will translate directly:[21]

(76) *Ewan* *me* *doh* ***bi rê*** ***kir***
3PL.OBL 1PL.OBL yesterday P way.OBL do.PST
'They saw us off a journey yesterday.'



[21] The intransitive and transitive pairs indicate that the internal arguments function as subjects when we have *v*GO type light verbs (74-75) but they function as direct objects when we have *v*DO type light verbs (76-77). It seems that *v*DO type light verbs are capable of assigning accusative case thus having an object while *v*GO type light verbs do not. Therefore, in line with Karimi-Doostan (2005), it is reasonable to assume that all complex predicates having *v*DO type light verbs have VoiceP projection in their syntactic configuration which will be active for structural object case checking while all complex predicates having *v*GO type light verbs lack this VoiceP in their syntactic event decomposition. This will enable us to have a better understanding of the structure of other transitive and unergative CPrs in this dialect.

(77) *Ewan* *me* *gellek* ***acis*** ***kir***
3PL.OBL 1PL.OBL much bored do.PST
'They bored us very much.'

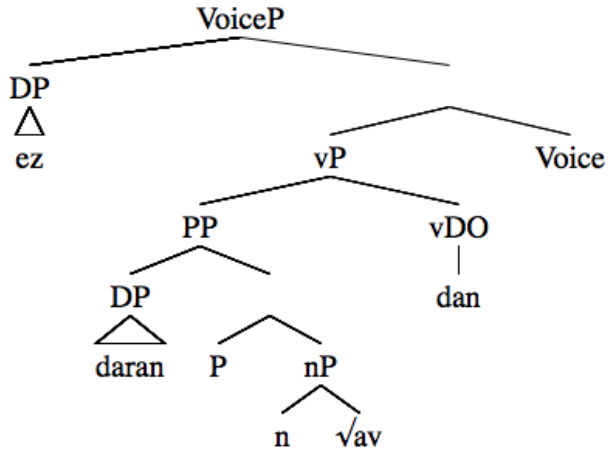


There are also transitive CPrs which do not have inchoative equivalents; such as *av dan* 'irrigate' (lit: 'water give') and *gire dan* 'tie' (lit: 'knot give').[22] I have argued that these CPrs are like *smear-type* agent manner (locatum/locational) verbs in English in that they do not project an internal specifier position (i.e. internal argument) but instead have underlyingly a PP structure, which implicates a relation between the specifier and the complement. The P head in this structure is morphologically empty therefore it conflates with its NP complement. For instance, the CPr *av dan* 'irrigate (lit: 'water give') in a sentence like (78) is underlyingly represented as 'trees with water give'. Given that these CPrs do not involve a change of state in an entity, they cannot project a causative complex event structure (*v*DO+

[22] There is also another transitive CPr *lêdan* 'hit' which is formed by an absolute preposition *lê* and the light verb *dan* 'give'. The absolute preposition *lê* is the contracted form of the preposition *li* 'at' plus third person singular pronoun in oblique case; *lê* =li + wî/wê. I assume that this CPr also has a similar simple activity event structure to *av dan* 'irrigate' in (78). The difference is that the P head of *lêdan* is not empty but occupied by the preposition *li* 'at' and the pronoun sits in its specifier position. The contracted form is derived through incorporation. However, in cases where there is a proper noun in its specifier (e.g. li *Rojînê* da), the P head does not incorporate.

*v*BE) like a core-transitive verb. These CPrs rather involve contact without entailing any change of state in that entity thus they are like simple activity events (*v*DO):[23]

(78) *Ez* *dar-an* ***av*** ***di-d-im***
1S.DIR tree-PL.OBL water PROG-give.PRS-1S
'I am watering the trees.'



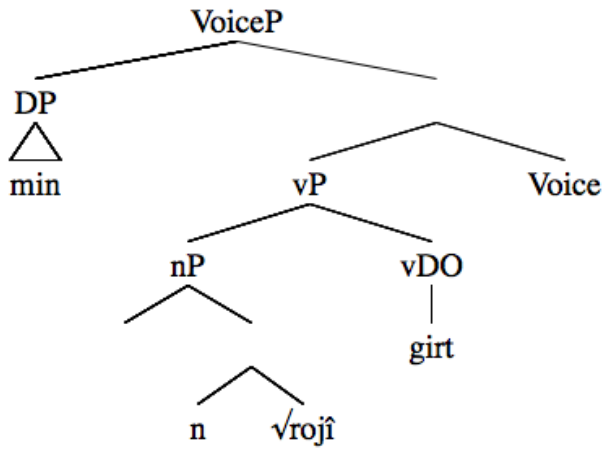
In addition to inchoative and transitive CPrs, there is a third group which I have named as unergative CPrs. They are formed by a noun plus light verb; e.g. *agir kirin* 'make a fire' (lit: 'fire do'), *rojî girtin* 'fast' (lit: day hold) and *pesn dan* 'praise' (lit: praise give). I have adopted Hale &Keyser's monadic structure that they propose for denominal verbs like *dance, speak,* wherein the nominal element does not select an internal specifier in the lexical. I have further discussed that these unergative CPrs are underlyingly transitive structures in which an agentive LV selects for its nominal object, thus they trigger ergative alignment in past tense transitive constructions as if

[23] I assume that the direct object *daran* 'trees' generated in the specifier of PP gets its case from Voice head through *in-situ Agree* (Chomsky, 2001) in this configuration. Recall that an external argument introducing Voice head comes with the structural object case into syntax, so it is active for case checking/assignment here (see Section 6.5 for case relations).

they were a true transitive verb.[24] Given that these CPrs are simple activity verbs, I propose that they project a simple activity event type (*v*DO) in syntax:[25]

(79) a. *Ez* ***rojî*** ***di-gir-im***.
1S.DIR day PROG-hold.PRS-1S
'I am fasting.' (lit: 'I am holding the day.')

b. *Min* ***rojî*** ***girt***.
1S.OBL day hold.PST
'I fasted.' (lit: 'I held the day.')



[24] The sentences in (79) clearly illustrate that the CPr behaves like a transitive verb in that it displays accusative alignment in the non-past tense (a) while it triggers ergative alignment in the past tense (b) even though the CPrs does not have a direct object. Therefore, I suggest that the nominal element of such unergative CPrs enters in a case relation with the functional head in the verbal domain hence syntax interprets the structure as transitive because the structural object case checker functional head satisfies its case-valuing feature. I further assume that all simplex unergative verbs such as *kenîn* 'laugh' and *xebitîn* 'work' also has a simple activity *v*DO event type in syntax as it is figured out in (79), but their roots are category-less (e.g. √kenîn or √xebitîn) and *v*DO is not realized as a light verb. Since there is not any nominal phrase that can satisfy the case checking property of the functional head in this domain, such verbs are always intransitive and do not trigger ergative alignment.

[25] Recall that a group of unergative CPrs, which I call as possessor complement CPrs based on Haig (2002), necessitates an additional argument in the form of a possessor linked to the noun element through ezafe marker; e.g. the verb *praise* is expressed through 'praise+possessor give' (lit. give one's praise) as illustrated below:

Gundî ***pesn-a*** *wî* *kur-ê* ***di-d-in***
villager.DIR praise-EZ.F DEM.M boy-OBL PROG-give.PRS-PL
'The villagers always praise that boy.' (lit. 'the villagers give praise of that boy.')

I propose that such CPrs have the same structure as (79), but they have their possessor DP in the specifier position of nP.

Before closing the discussion in this section, I would like touch upon a general observation about CPrs. Under the assumption that only complex roots with an abstract directional preposition $\sqrt{root}_{TO}$ license the occurrence of postverbal goals in their event structure and that CPrs do not contain such roots, we do not expect to find a CPr with a postverbal goal in MK. This prediction seems to be borne out because almost none of the CPrs require a postverbal goal in this dialect.[26]

6.5 A few remarks on case checking relations of arguments

Since the main focus of this chapter is on how verbs or events in MK project their event participants in syntax, I haven't discussed how event participants get their case assigned/checked within the syntactic structure proposed here. I would like to mention the case properties of event arguments in this dialect very briefly in this section.

In syntactic theory, case is taken to be a morphosyntactic device determining the distribution of noun phrases (Bobaljik & Wurmbrand, 2008) and introducing the role that a noun phrase plays within a larger grammatical structure (Baker, 2015). In generative syntax, NPs must enter into case assignment/checking relations to be visible for theta-marking, which is a requirement posed by interface modules, namely PF and LF (Chomsky, 1986). Case licensing is done by functional and/or lexical heads in a local structural configuration in syntax. Syntactic case is divided into three based on their behavior and manner of licensing; (i) structural case, (ii)

[26] To my best knowledge, the only exceptions are CPrs formed with particle *der-* 'outwards', such as *derketin* 'go out', *derxistin* 'take out of', *derkirin* 'kick out'. There could be several potential explanations for this exception. It might be the case that these CPrs do not need to have a complex root structure with an abstract preposition because the particle *der-* 'outwards' already embodies a directional meaning which can potentially license an occurrence of a postverbal goal. Furthermore, maybe these CPrs are lexicalized and the syntax does not see them as complex verbs but treat them as simplex verbs.

inherent case (non-structural) and (iii) lexical case (non-structural) (Woolford, 2006). Structural case is licensed only in certain structural positions (e.g. Spec TP for subject case) and by certain functional heads such as T and Voice (little v of Chomsky). On the contrary, inherent case is associated with certain theta positions (e.g. little v heads) while lexical case is idiosyncratic assigned/checked by lexical heads (e.g. V or P). I will suggest that subjects and object DPs in MK get structural case from T and Voice heads, respectively, while postverbal goals get abstract case from the complex root licensed by *v*BE head.[27]

I propose that external arguments, which are introduced by Voice, raise to Spec TP position to check their structural case and EPP feature of T head.[28] Likewise, the internal argument of verbs of change (i.e. path verbs) raises to Spec TP for case and EPP reasons surfacing as the subject.[29] Given that verbs of change do not have Voice projection in their syntactic configuration, the internal argument cannot check its case within this domain thus it needs to enter in a case checking relationship with a higher functional head, which is T in MK case. Furthermore, I have discussed that Voice head is the locus of the structural object case and it is responsible for

[27] Based on Marantz (1991), syntactic (abstract) case and morphological case are dissociated from each other here. The abstract case is licensed in syntax in a certain structural configuration based on feature checking while the morphological case is assumed to be the realization of these features as individual cases in this dialect (e.g. Direct and Oblique cases) at MS *â la* Gündoğdu (2011). Marantz (1991) proposes four types of morphological cases which are realized based on the abstract case relations in syntax; (i) lexically governed case, e.g. quirky case, (ii) dependent case; e.g. accusative and ergative cases whose assignment depends on the presence of nominative and absolutive cases, respectively (which corresponds to the structural case of Woolford (2006)), (iii) unmarked case which is sensitive to the syntactic environment, e.g. nominative case inside IP/TP or genitive case inside NP or DP, and (iv) default case that appears by default 'when no other case realization principle is applicable' (p. 24).

[28] Based on scope and anaphor-binding data, in a previous study Gündoğdu (2011) showed that EPP is a strong feature in MK thus external arguments must raise to Spec TP position to check EPP feature. Also, it was discussed that T is the functional head responsible for checking the structural subject case. Note that EPP stands for Extended Projection Principle which dictates that every sentence must have a subject (Chomsky, 1986).

[29] This is in line with the Unaccusative Hypothesis of Perlmutter (1978) which assumes that the sole argument of unaccusatives is merged into the direct object position and acquires subject status through movement.

introducing external argument in MK. When Voice introduces an external argument, it is active for structural object case checking.[30] This implies that all event types with a Voice projection in MK are assumed to have the potential to check the object case of a noun phrase, if there is any, in this domain. In parallel with this assumption, I suggest that the internal argument projected in the inner subject position (Spec *v*BE) in a core transitive event type (*v*DO+*v*BE) checks its case at Voice head through in-situ Agree relation.[31] Similarly, the DP argument of transitive CPrs with a nominal root which merges in the specifier position of PP in a simple *v*DO activity event type (see example in (78)) also checks its case at Voice head. Since they have full DP status and checks their case at Voice head, they behave as a real direct object in this dialect. I further assume that the nominal phrase (nP) of unergative CPrs checks its case at Voice head so that it satisfies the case checking property of this functional head as well as acquiring visibility at interface levels; however, they do not behave like a real direct object as they don't have full DP status.[32]

However, the constant participants do not enter in a structural case checking relation with either T or Voice head as they are already adpositional. I suggest that the DPs introduced through these adpositions check their case feature at adpositional head and Appl head. The constant object of a non-core transitive verb such as *nêrîn* 'look' checks its case with the adposition head. Likewise, preverbal goals check their case at Appl head. On the other hand, since the occurrence of postverbal goals in this

[30] This is in line with Burzio's Generalization which states that "*All and only the verbs that can assign a θ-role to the subject can assign accusative Case to an object.*" (Burzio, 1986, p. 178).
[31] Chomksy defines *Agree* as a relation between α and β under which uninterpretable features (e.g. case) are deleted (Chomsky ,1998, 2001). Agree is a mechanism that also allows feature checking to take place in syntax without displacement.
[32] Here I assume that nP is a category-changing phrase that assigns roots a category rather than being a full DP (or NP) defined with phi- and structural case features. Although it is a part of the complex predicate as the non-verbal element, it enters into case checking relation with Voice head because Voice is active for case checking hence when it probes down the structure it sees this nP to value the case features. As a result, nP satisfies the case checking property of Voice head and becomes visible at interface levels (PF and LF).

dialect are restricted to a group of verbs, I propose that the complex root licensed by *v*BE head idiosyncratically has an abstract case and postverbal goals check this abstract case at *v*BE head.

From a morphological perspective, there are only two case forms in MK (throughout Kurmanji); namely Direct (null) and Oblique case. Most of the syntactic case relations are morphologically realized as Oblique case while the appearance of Direct case is generally restricted to subjects in this dialect. As discussed in Gündoğdu (2011) and Baker and Atlamaz (2013), I also think that the reason for why Oblique case marking dominates the morphological case pattern in Kurmanji is because it is mostly the default case in this language. Therefore, the Direct case marking is realized on the argument which lands in a certain structural position (i.e. Spec T) and it is sensitive to the nature of T head (i.e. non-past) as well as the agreement property of the same functional head (i.e. phi-features such as person-number), whereas all other NP/DPs get Oblique case marking either as a dependent case (e.g. object position) or as the default case in MK.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter have developed a potential event structure-argument structure mapping in MK based on (i) the distinction between different types of arguments within an event structure-based model of argument realization (Rappaport & Levin, 1998, 2008; Levin & Rappaport, 2007; Levin, 1999, 2011) and (ii) quantifier scope and binding facts attested in this dialect. I have argued that the existence of certain verbs classes in MK (e.g. activity verbs, motion verbs, path verbs, etc.) and their argument realization properties can be best captured in an even decompositional syntactic model. Therefore, adopting the main premises of the Distributional Morphology

model, in line with (Harley, 1995; Marantz, 1997; Hale & Keyser, 2002; Pylkkänen, 2002; Cuervo, 2003), I have discussed that the verb groups patterning alike in this dialect project similar event types (simple and complex), and the structural and constant participants of these event types are introduced either within the event domain (e.g. internal argument in the inner subject position) or through certain argument introducing projections such as VoiceP and ApplP. I have proposed that core transitive verbs have *v*DO+*v*BE complex event type and similarly path verbs have *v*GO+*v*BE complex event type, whereas non-core transitive verbs have simple *v*DO event type. The internal argument is merged within the event domain in the inner subject position while the external argument is introduced by Voice head, for the presence of which I have provided empirical evidence from MK. I have further suggested that the constant objects of non-core transitive verbs are licensed by root in its complement position. On the other hand, I have asserted that the preverbal goals are introduced by a middle Appl head in syntax whereas postverbal goal arguments are merged in the complement position of a complex root under *v*BE sub-event. Moreover, I have also revised the syntactic structure of CPrs that I provided in Chapter 3 according to the event decompositional syntactic model explored in this chapter. I have demonstrated that the argument structure properties of CPrs can be successfully reflected in this syntactic model. The light verbs have been assumed to be the morphological realization of *v*DO and *v*BE heads while the non-verbal element have been treated as the category specified roots. In order to have a bigger picture of the syntactic configuration posited here, this chapter has also presented certain tentative assumptions about the case checking relations of the structural and constant participants in this dialect; however, this issue needs further investigation.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This thesis investigated the status of the postverbal goals, preverbal goals, adpositional objects and nominal element of certain noun-verb complex predicates in the event structure and argument structure of a verb in MK by raising the following research questions:

(i) What is the status of the noun in complex predicates?

(ii) Why do the noun-verb complex predicates that do not govern a direct object trigger ergative alignment as if they were transitive predicates?

(iii) What is the status of postverbal goals and adpositional phrases in the event structure of a verb in MK?

(iv) What is the relation between the participants of an event and their morphological expression/form in this dialect? Why does MK mark certain constituents with case morphology while expresses others through adpositions?

(v) How does (morpho)syntax distinguish arguments from adjuncts in Kurmanji?

(vi) Which lexical information of a predicate is relevant to syntax?

(vii) What is the syntactic configuration (i.e. argument structure) of the constituents in question?

Before discussing these questions, I presented the basic morphosyntactic properties of Kurmanji Kurdish noting the aspects where MK displays variation in Chapter 2 to allow the data discussion and theoretical implications provided in the subsequent chapters run on a solid descriptive background. This chapter also provided a

preliminary understanding of the MK grammar which can be considered as a contribution to the description of Kurmanji Kurdish dialects. For instance, the discussion in this chapter revealed that MK displays different non-canonical, ergative-derived constructions (e.g. double oblique pattern) that deviate from the canonical ergative pattern observed in Kurmanji Kurdish. Likewise, it demonstrated that the feminine-masculine gender distinction in Kurmanji Kurdish is being lost in certain nominal (inflection) environment (e.g. pronouns and ezafe forms) in the MK grammar.

Chapter 3 investigated the status of the nominal element of Noun-Verb complex predicates in MK by focusing on their argument structure properties. I argued that the majority of the N-V complex predicates are like unergative verbs in the sense of Hale and Keyser (2002); they are underlyingly transitive structures in which an agentive (transitive) light verb selects for (or incorporates into) its nominal object, and the noun element of these complex predicates checks the case of transitive LV as if it were its object. However, although it seems to saturate the argument structure requirements of the complex verb, the nominal element of these CPrs does not carry the properties of a true direct object; for instance, it is not free to scramble in the immediate clause nor can it achieve subjecthood under passivization. Since the case on the transitive light verb is checked, the structure is interpreted as transitive thus ergative alignment is triggered in the past. This was taken as an indication of different objecthood status in this dialect; the noun of unergative CPrs is a part of the verbal domain whereas the real direct object is the internal argument of the thematic verb. Moreover, it was demonstrated that there are also transitive and intransitive (i.e. unaccusative) CPrs, most of which are formed by an adjective or a preposition/particle. Transitive CPrs behave like a typical transitive verb; they

govern a typical direct object and trigger ergative alignment in the past, while unaccusative CPrs are like typical unaccusative verbs whose grammatical subject is semantically similar to the direct object rather than a semantic agent.

Chapter 4 focused on the status of postverbal goals and certain adpositional phrases in MK in order to understand why certain phrases appear in the immediate postverbal position and why certain object-like constituents are adpositional unlike direct objects in this dialect. The discussion in this chapter revealed that there are certain verb classes in MK (e.g., activity verbs, motion verbs, etc.) which pattern alike with respect to argument realization properties, pointing to the existence of certain event types. The properties of these verb classes were accounted for through an *Event Structure Approach* which analyzes verb meaning and argument representations through event structure templates (specifically Rappaport and Levin, 1998, 2008; Levin and Rappaport, 2007; Levin 1999, 2011). The data demonstrated that there is a relation between the morphological form of the constituents and their status as encoded in the verb's meaning in MK; that is, structural participants are realized with case morphology while constant participants are introduced with adpositions. Therefore, it was proposed that the objects of core transitive verbs (e.g. *kuştin* 'kill') are structural participants and thus are marked with OBL case. In contrast, the objects of non-core transitive verbs or single activity verbs (e.g. *nêrîn* 'look') are constant participants and thus are expressed through adpositions. Similarly, although both *send-type verbs* and *give-type verbs* license recipients as their event participants, the status of the recipient is different in the event structures of these verb groups. Recipients of *send-type verbs* (caused-motion verbs) are not inherently lexicalized but are only licensed by the verb meaning, hence it is a constant participant. The recipients of *give-type verbs* (caused-possession verbs) are

inherently lexicalized thus are the structural participants of the verbs. This distinction is also morphologically reflected in MK; the recipient of *send* is adpositional while the recipient of *give* is case-marked. Further evidence for the distinction between structural and constant participants comes from other participant roles (i.e., goal constituents); that is, the spatial goals of motion verbs and path verbs are structural participants and they are case marked whereas the addressees of speech verbs are expressed with adpositions, since they are constant participants. Furthermore, it was suggested that the reason why MK makes a distinction in the linear ordering of structural participants is indeed a word-order property (VG) retained from proto-Kurdish and further constrained by the morphological properties of Kurmanji. The data from other dialects as well as the findings in the literature demonstrated that postverbal goals are preserved in the southernmost dialects (e.g. Hakkari Kurmanji) while certain goal constituents have been shifted to the preverbal position in certain dialects under the influence of contact with OV languages. It was argued that MK is one of these dialects and that it adapts its synchronic grammar in such a way that it ends up with a distinction between structural and constant participants – a distinction that is reflected morphologically and linearly.

All these observations pointed to the fact that MK makes a three-way distinction while distinguishing argument constituents from the adjunct ones; structural participants, constant participants and extra/additive participants. Structural participants and constant participants have argumenthood status as they are required and licensed either by the event structure template or by the verb meaning or by both. In contrast, extra/additive participants do have adjunct status because, as their name also implies, they are extra participants added to the event rather than being encoded in the event structure template or verb meaning. This

indeed suggests that what we name as argument in the syntactic theory is not a homogeneous class; it includes different kinds of arguments such as structural and constant participants, which are or may be morphosyntactically different despite the fact that they are obligatory.

Chapter 5 explored a possible phrase structure of MK. Given that quantifier (QP) scope and binding reflect the constituent structure relations hierarchically based on c-command relation, I benefited from QP scope relations and binding properties of anaphors and pronouns to be able to find out the syntactic position of the structural and constant participants in this dialect. I discussed the QP scope properties of the structural and constant participants in this dialect by conducting an experimental study with nineteen native speakers. The experimental study, which is provided in Appendix-A and Appendix-B, basically tested the interaction of linear order with scope to find out whether MK has direct scope (i.e. scopal relations of two quantifiers reflect their surface order) or inverse scope (i.e. scopal relations of two quantifiers reflect the reverse of the surface order). The results of the experimental study revealed that MK has only direct scope; it is a scope-rigid language in which the surface position of QPs reflects their scopal interactions in syntax. Moreover, the QP scope data also demonstrated that distributivity and specificity are two significant features that regulates the distribution of QPs in this dialect; strong distributive QPs move to the left of the QPs for wide scope construal. Likewise, specific indefinite QPs might move to a higher position for wide scope purposes. It was illustrated that context plays a crucial role in such cases; if the given context triggers a non-distributive reading then the indefinite QP has specific interpretation. However, there are cases where even the given context cannot trigger the movement of a QP to another position to take wide scope; e.g. an indefinite QP-direct object cannot move

to a higher position than a QP-subject. In order to account the QP scope properties of constituents in this dialect, I adopted Beghelli and Stowell (1997) Checking theory of scope assignment which successfully integrates factors like nature of QPs (e.g. distributivity) and the influence of a given context in a hierarchical syntactic configuration. I proposed that the surface order of QPs in this dialect reflects their hierarchical organization in syntax, and the properties of QP scope are determined by feature checking mechanism depending on their hierarchical relation (i.e. c-command).

The binding properties of anaphors and pronouns in MK also suggested that the surface order of referential expressions mostly reflects their syntactic hierarchy, which supported the observation that the linear precedence in the sequence of constituents maps onto structural height in this dialect. The binding data demonstrated that anaphors and pronouns are in complementary distribution in this dialect. Anaphors are subject-oriented thus they can only be bound by /have coreference with the subject of the sentence, and they lack of any phi-features. In contrast, pronouns are anti-subject oriented and they have phi-features hence they can be bound by / have coreference with any c-commanding/preceding NP if their phi-features match. Therefore, I suggested that the distinct binding properties of anaphors and pronouns can be accounted for by c-command relation within a syntactic configuration that directly reflects the surface order of the constituents (i.e. $S>G_1>O>G_2$). In line with recent minimalist considerations, I proposed that anaphor and pronoun binding take place in narrow syntax based on feature checking mechanism and c-command relation. The anaphors are subject-oriented because they enter into an agree relation only with T head, which hosts the subject in its specifier position, for valuing their features. On the contrary, pronouns in this dialect enter

into derivation with their features fully specified thus they are only bound by an NP if only if their features match and it c-commands the pronoun.

Chapter 6 developed a potential event structure-argument structure mapping in MK based on the distinction between different types of arguments (i.e. structural vs. constant participants) within an event structure-based model of argument realization proposed in Chapter 4 and the scopal relations of quantifiers and binding properties of anaphors and pronouns attested in Chapter 5. I argued that an event decompositional syntactic model can successfully capture the existence of certain verb classes in MK (e.g. activity verbs, motion verbs, path verbs, etc.) and their argument realization properties. Adopting the main premises of the Distributional Morphology model, in line with Harley (1995), Marantz (1997), Hale and Keyser (2002), Pylkkänen (2002) and Cuervo (2003), I discussed that the verb groups patterning alike in this dialect project similar simplex or complex event types. The event types are distinguished from one another through the presence of distinct event introducing little *v*s (e.g. *v*GO, *v*BE, *v*DO) or their combinations (e.g. *v*DO+ *v*BE), and the event participants (i.e. structural and constant participants) are introduced either within the event domain (e.g. inner subject position and complement position of Root) and/or through event introducing projections such as VoiceP (Kratzer, 1996) and ApplP (Pylkkänen, 2002; Tsai, 2009). I proposed that core transitive verbs have *v*DO+*v*BE complex event type and similarly path verbs have *v*GO+*v*BE complex event type, whereas non-core transitive verbs have simple *v*DO event type.

The chapter further problematized the status of VoiceP in this dialect. Incorporating the discussion from previous analyses on (non)Iranian languages (e.g. Hiaki and Persian) and the empirical evidence from MK, I discussed that VoiceP and vP are split in this dialect in which the external argument introducing projection

VoiceP is distinct from the verbalizing projection vP. The MK data provided empirical evidence for the presence of a separate Voice projection in syntax as discussed by Kratzer (1996). I, therefore, proposed that Voice is responsible for introducing external argument and structural object case while v head functions as verbalizer in this dialect. The internal argument, on the other hand, is merged within the event domain in the inner subject position. Moreover, I further suggested that the constant objects of non-core transitive verbs are licensed by root in its complement position. The event-decompositional investigation of goal constituents in this chapter also yielded a number of conclusions for the syntactic configuration of this dialect. I asserted that the circumposition *ji…ra* 'for/to' that introduces the preverbal goals (i.e. addressees and recipients of *send-type* verbs) has a recipient-benefactive function, thus they are not compatible with either low applicative or high applicative constructions. These preverbal goals are rather introduced by a middle Appl head (*â la* Tsai, 2009) in syntax, which is compatible with both recipient and benefactive behaviors of such constituents. Postverbal goal arguments, in contrast, are projected within the event domain; they are merged in the complement position of a complex root under *v*BE sub-event. The discussion in this chapter showed that both structural facet and idiosyncratic meaning of a predicate must be relevant to syntax because both structural and constant participants are expressed in syntax.

Moreover, I also revised the syntactic structure of CPrs provided in Chapter 3 according to the event decompositional syntactic model explored in this chapter. I demonstrated that the argument structure properties of CPrs can be successfully reflected in this syntactic model. The light verbs are assumed to be the morphological realization of *v*DO and *v*GO heads while the non-verbal element is treated as the category specified roots. Considering the syntactic behaviors of CPrs in

this dialect, I had classified them into three basic groups in Chapter 3; namely transitive, unergative and unaccusative CPrs. I demonstrated that regardless of head directionality, CPrs seem to have an obvious one-to-one mapping with the underlying argument structure of verb complexes proposed in Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002)'s model. Simply put, the underlying structure for verb complexes proposed in their studies have natural unincorporated equivalents in MK. For instance, almost all Kurmanji CPrs whose NV is an adjective or a PP have an intransitive (i.e. inchoative) and a transitive form, which supports the claim that adjectives and prepositions are predicative; hence they have dyadic structure (alternating type) and enter into intransitive-transitive alternation. These CPrs correspond to the inchoative and causative/transitive complex event structures of Cuervo (2003) in which a *v*BE event is embedded either under a *v*GO (inchoative) or a *v*DO (causative/transitive) event. Furthermore, I argued that unergative CPrs are very like simple activity verbs thus they project a simple activity event type (*v*DO) in syntax.

The analysis provided in this chapter has further implications for MK syntax. Given that a simple activity event type has VoiceP in its event decomposition and that all simple activity verbs, regardless of being simplex or complex verbs, embody this event type in their syntax, they have the necessary potential to be transitivized or to behave like a transitive verb. Since VoiceP not only introduces the external argument but it is also responsible for checking the structural object case in MK syntax, the Voice head is always active for case checking. Therefore, when there is a potential nominal phrase that can value the case features of this functional head, the structure is interpreted as transitive. This indeed provides an explanation for why most of the simplex activity verbs (e.g. unergative CPrs) behave like a transitive verb with respect to ergative alignment in this dialect. To be able to have a bigger picture

of the syntactic configuration posited in this chapter, I also presented certain tentative assumptions about the case checking relations of the structural and constant participants in this dialect; however, this issue certainly needs further straightforward investigation.

This thesis is one of the most detailed and comprehensive theoretical linguistic studies that have been done on the event structure and argument structure of verbs in Kurmanji Kurdish so far. Although the data and discussion presented in the current thesis centered upon a specific dialect (i.e. Muş Kurmanji (MK)) of Kurmanji Kurdish, the findings and assumptions provided here can be extended to other dialects of this language that display similar properties to MK. To name only one, *postverbal goals* and *adpositional objects* are present in all Kurmanji dialects despite some dialect-specific variation. The principal objective of this study has been to provide explanations to the morphological and syntactic behavior of certain constituents in MK, and it has important contributions. To mention only a few, it classified the verbs according to their event types (i.e. simplex and complex events) and syntactic behaviors (e.g. transitive vs. intransitive) and then exploited a possible syntax for these verb classes. Moreover, it developed a syntactic analysis for several types of constituents in MK that regularly appear in the postverbal position, i.e. *postverbal goals*, whose occurrence is typologically unusual with an OV language like Kurmanji. Also, to my best knowledge, this study took the first step to investigate the quantifier scope and binding properties of anaphors and pronouns in this language.

Furthermore, the discussion in this thesis has suggested that argument is not a uniform and homogeneous category. There might be different argument types (e.g. structural vs. constant participants, or core vs. non-core arguments, etc.) and their

morphosyntactic expression may change from one language to another. Since languages employ various morphosyntactic tools for encoding and licensing arguments, they determine different criteria when making a distinction between/among argument types as well as in their expression. Nevertheless, the common property shared by all argument types is that they are obligatory unlike adjuncts.

However, there are further issues that haven't been dealt with in this study but left for future research. Recall that unlike MK (and most Kurmanji dialects) which expresses *addressee of speech verbs* in the preverbal position through adpositions (1), in the southeastern section of Kurmanji (in and around Duhok and Hakkari provinces), addressees of *gotin* 'say/tell' are case marked and postverbal (2):

(1) *Ez* ***ji*** ***we*** ***ra*** *meselek-î* *bi-bêj-im.*
1S.DIR ADP 2PL.OBL ADP topic.INDF-OBL SBJV-say.PRS-1S
'I will tell you about a topic.'

(2) *Henê* *meselek* *gût-e* ***min***.
Henê.DIR topic.INDF.DIR say.PST.3S-DIRC 1S.OBL
'Henê told me about a topic.'

Although some assumptions were made about the potential reasons for the dialectal variation observed in Kurmanji Kurdish regarding the morphological form and the linear positioning of goal constituents, a syntactic explanation for case-marked addressees in the postverbal position in the southeastern Kurmanji dialects is still needed. The discussion and analysis proposed in Chapter 6 might yield some implications for the syntax of these dialects; for instance, *gotin* 'say/tell' might be a complex root [$\sqrt{root_{TO}}$] in these dialects. Given that this verb also carries directional suffix (e.g. *gût-**e***), which can be considered as the morphological realization of the abstract preposition TO, this is a possible explanation. Moreover, considering that the

southeastern dialects do not develop an adposition like (*ji*)*...ra* 'to/for' which encodes the constant participants with recipient-benefactive function in the preverbal position in MK and in other similar Kurmanji dialects, the addressee which is taken as the recipient of information is treated in the same way as the recipients of give-type verbs in these southeastern dialects. Thus, they are encoded in the postverbal position. Nevertheless, without investigating the event structure and the argument structure of verbs in the southeastern Kurmanji dialects as a system in their own right, it is hard to propose explanations for this phenomenon or to extend the analysis proposed in this study to capture the nature of the postverbal goals in these dialects. Therefore, this is left for future research.

Similarly, the phenomenon of postverbal goals is not peculiar to Kurmanji Kurdish but it is also a characteristic of another West Iranian language, Zazaki. Zazaki also encodes the recipient of *give* (3) and spatial goals of path verbs (4) in the immediate postverbal position, and they are marked with OBL case:[1]

(3) *Min* *perî* *day* ***Serpîl-ê.***
1S.OBL money.OBL give.PST.3S Serpil-OBL
'I gave Serpil Money.'

(4) a. *Top* *gina* ***herd.***
ball.DIR fall.PST.3S ground
'The ball fell on the ground.'

b. *Ti* *şî-y* ***kê.***
2S.DIR go.PST-2S home
'You went home.'

It seems that the West Iranian languages with strong propensity for postverbal goals (e.g. Kurdish and Zazaki) display similar properties with respect to the semantic type

[1] The data were taken from a native speaker of Zazaki living in Tunceli (Dersim).

of the constituents (e.g. recipient, spatial goal etc.) that regularly occur in this position and the verb type that requires these constituents in this very same position. Nonetheless, further research is needed to understand the syntax of postverbal goals and the argument structure of verbs that license their occurrence in such Iranian languages. Moreover, the occurrence of postverbal goals in an OV language like Kurdish and Zazaki yields OVG order, which is typologically unusual. This property of Kurdish (all varieties and dialects including MK) and Zazaki might have some implications for *the Final-Over-Final Constraint* (*FOFC*) (Holmberg 2000, Sheenan 2013, Biberauer et al. 2014), which needs further investigation.

Another important issue that requires future research is the internal structure of nominalizations in MK (throughout Kurmanji). In this study, it was argued that the infinitive form has the same morphological form as the nominalized verb; –(i)n suffix in infinitive forms (e.g. *şand-in* 'to send', *xiravkir-in* 'to demolish', *çû-n* 'to go' etc.) can be considered as nominalization formative as it carries some major properties of nominals; e.g. they can be heads in NP, they can have nominal inflections such as ezafe and indefinite marking. From a DM perspective, if –(i)n is nominalization suffix then it is the category-changing morpheme (i.e. the realization of n head). Also, these infinitive or nominalized forms are used in analytic passive and peripheral causative constructions following the passive and causative auxiliary in this language. There might be a separate infinitive layer on top of vP beneath the Voice head hosting the auxiliary. Even though the syntactic configuration posited in this study had some tacit assumptions, the syntax of nominalization as well as the infinitive forms needs future study.

Furthermore, the relation between case and adpositions in Kurmanji Kurdish is waiting to be explored as a new research topic. Caha (2009) proposes that case and

functional prepositions are not different phenomenon because functional prepositions in one language spell out the same features as case suffixes in other languages. As discussed in Chapter 4, certain arguments are introduced by case markers (i.e. DIR or OBL case) whereas some of them are introduced through certain adpositions, and the complement noun phrase of an adposition is also case-marked. We need further study to understand if case markers and functional prepositions/adpositions in this language are the same phenomenon as claimed by Caha (2009). Besides, recall that Kurmanji has a few adpositions which are in the form of circumpositions (e.g. the adposition *ji…ra*'to/for' that expresses the recipient-benefactive argument), and whether these adpositions are decomposable or not also needs future research.

Although this dissertation has made tentative assumptions about the case checking relations of the event participants in syntax, it has not elaborated on what types of syntactic cases (i.e. structural case, inherent case, lexical case, etc.) there are in this dialect. Given that the OBL case marks various event participants as well as the nominal complements of adpositional phrases, it seems to show syncretism across different types of syntactic cases. Therefore, which syntactic cases are morphologically realized as OBL case in this language needs further straightforward investigation. Besides, from a DM perspective, categorizers such as unaccusative little *v* as well as transitive little *v* can function as phases in languages (Marantz 2001, 2006). If so, it is an interesting issue to investigate which verbal categorizers function as phases in Kurmanji Kurdish and how case-checking takes place within these domains which I leave for further research.

Lastly, the current dissertation has made a distinction between structural and constant participants in MK based on their status encoded in the event structure of the verbs as well as their morphosyntactic representation and position with respect to

the verb; however, it hasn't dealt with another property of these event participants which is *deletability*. Rappaport and Levin (1998: 113) propose the following principle to regulate event structure–syntax mapping:

(5) THE STRUCTURE PARTICIPANT CONDITION: There must be an argument XP in the syntax for each structure participant in the event structure.

It briefly says that the structural vs. constant participant distinction must be preserved within the syntactic configuration thus each structural participant must be expressed in syntax, whereas constant participants may but needn't be expressed in the syntactic structure without violating this principle. Constant participants may have their syntactic expression through language-specific rules (oblique-argument linking rule). This implies that the structural vs. constant participant distinction is not only preserved in the event structure template but also maintained in the syntactic configuration. Nevertheless, we still do not know if this distinction influences their deletability; i.e. are they expected to pattern alike or display differences in terms of deletability? There might be a relation between the obligatoriness of an event participant and its deletability such that structural participants cannot be deleted while the constant ones can. In contrast, there might not be such a relation at all. Moreover, what kind of factors and the conditions do/can favour or ban their deletability (if they can be deleted) and what this in turn implies for structure preservation as well as the status of these participants are the issues that need to be investigated in future studies.

APPENDIX A

QP SCOPE EXPERIMENT - ITEMS

(1)

Ferzo ewilî li gund disekînî lê gava ku diçe şehrê mezin ew waryata xwe hemû difiroşe. Pezên xwe, malên xwe û sê zevîyên xwe tev ji dest derdixe. Heywanên xwe û malên xwe difiroşe cînarên xwe. Zevîyên xwe jî ji bo pismamên xwe dihêle.

Ferzo is living in the village once upon a time, but when he moves to the big city he sells all his wealth. He sells out his sheep, houses and three fields. He sells his animals and houses to his neighbors.

Target sentence: Ferzo zevîyekî difroşe her pismamekî xwe.
'Ferzo sells a field to each of his relatives.'

Pictures:
a)



b)



(2)

Ferzo ewilî li gund disekînî lê gava ku diçe şehrê mezin ew waryata xwe hemê difiroşe. Ew merivekî pir sextekar e, miletan tev dixapîne û tonek perên wan hildide diçe. Dibêjin zevîyekî Ferzo heye û ew jî radibe vî zevîyê difroşe sê pismaman xwe û ji hemûyan pere distîne. Ji herê wan ra dibeje serê sibê were ber zevîyê ku ez tapûyê bidim te û tu jî li zevîyê binihêre. Gawa ku dibe şeveq, her pismam radibe diçe ber zevîyê lê Ferzo nehatîye. Paşê ew pismamên hanê bi hevdu ra mijûl dibin, fehm dikin ku Ferzo wan dixapîne.

Ferzo is living in the village before, but when he moves to the big city he sells all his wealth. He is a swindler; he tricks the people and takes their money. They say, Ferzo has a field and sells a field to his three relatives and takes their money. He tells each of them to come to the field next morning so that he will show the field to him and give him the land title. In the morning when each relative comes to the field they see that Ferzo isn't there. Then when they (these relatives) talk to each other, they understand that Ferzo tricks them.

Target sentence: Ferzo zevîyekî difroşe her pismamekî xwe.
'Ferzo sells a field to each of his relatives.'

Pictures:
a)



b)



(3)

Vê evarê, mixtar di mala xwe da ji bo mezinên gund şîvê dide. Ew ê gazî sê malan bike. Mixtar (ji) her kurekî xwe ra vezîfekî da; yekî şand pey mêvanan ku biçe malên wan û gazî wan bike, yê dinê gava ku mêvan hatin gere pelavên wan bîne hundir, yekî din jî evarê ber destê mêvanan here were.

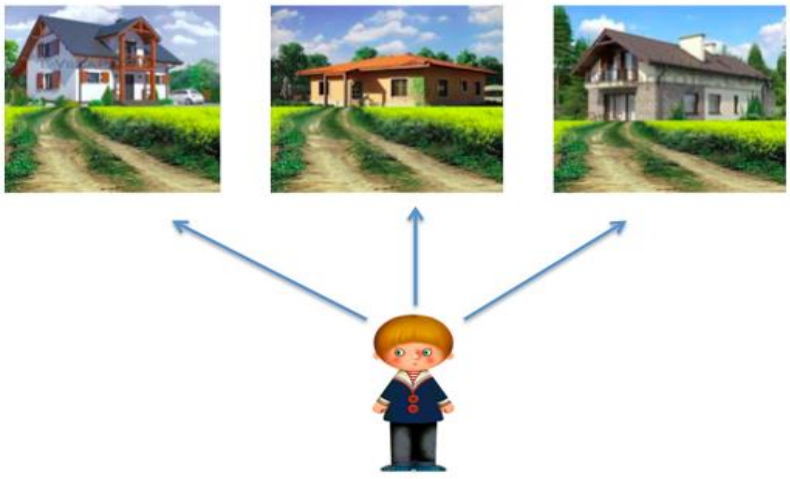
This evening, the village headman will throw a banquet for the notables of the village. He will invite three notables. He assigned a task to each of his sons; one of them will go to the notables' houses to invite them, the other one will take their shoes inside when the guests arrive one and the other son will serve them during the meal.

Target sentence: Mixtar her malekî ra zarekî dişîne.
'The village headman sends a child to every house.'

Pictures:
a)



b)



(4)

Vê evarê, mixtar di mala xwe da ji bo mezinen gund şîvê dide. Ew ê gazî sê malan bike, lê malên wan ji hev dûr in. Ewî got ku eynî zarok here gazî her malê bike, dereng dibe. Ji ber wê ew wezîfe dide her sê zarên xwe û her yekî dişîne pey mêvanekî.

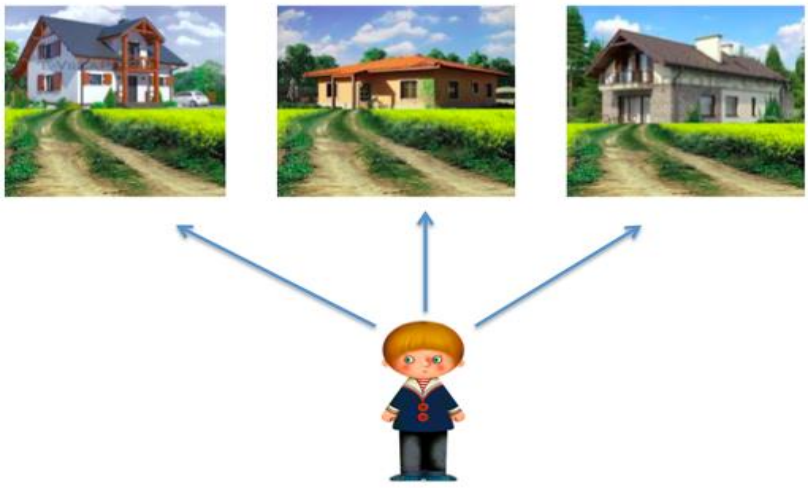
This evening, the village headman will throw a banquet for the notables of the village. He will invite three notables, but their houses are far away from one another. He thought that if the same child went to each house to invite them, it would be late. Thus he assigns a task to each of his three children, and sends each of them to a notable's house.

Target sentence: Mixtar her malekî ra zarekî dişîne.
'The village headman sends a child to every house.'

Pictures:
a)



b)



(5)

A: Rojekî, misabiqa xwendina kitêbên Ehmedê Xanî heye û çend heb kom beşdarê misabiqê dibin. Di her komê da sê zarok hene û gere ew kitêba Nûbihara Biçûkan xilas bikin. Tu dizanî ku kîjan kom di misabiqê da serfiraz dibe?

One day, there is Ehmedê Xanî's books reading competition and a few groups join it. There are three children in every group and they each have to read the book Nûbihara Biçûkan. Do you know which group wins the competition?

B: Erê, dibejin ew misabiqekî pir xweş e. Koma duyemîn di misabiqê da serfiraz dibe. Di nav saetekî da, her zarok kitêba xwe dixwîne.

Yes, they say it is a very good competition. The second group wins the competition.
In one hour, every child reads her/his own book.

Target sentence: Her zarek kitêbekî dixwîne.
'Every child reads a book.'

Pictures:
a)



b)



(6)

A: Rojekî, misabiqa xwendina kitêban heye û çend heb kom beşdarê misabiqê dibin. Di her komê da sê zarok hene û gere her yekî kitêbekî xilas bike. Min seh kir ku zarokên di koma duyemîn da kitêbên xwe dixwînin û di misabiqê da serfiraz dibin.

One day there is a book reading competition and a few groups join it. There are three children in every group and they each have to read one book. I heard that the children in the second group read their book and win the competition.

B: Erê welle, ew misabiqekî pir xweş bû, ez jî li wê derê bûm. Koma duyemîn pir jîrek bû. Di nav saetekî da herkes kitêbekî xilas kir.

Yes, it was a very good competition, I was also there. The second group was really hardworking. I one hour, everybody finished a book.

Target sentence: Her zarek kitêbekî dixwîne.
'Every child reads a book.'

Pictures:
a)



b)



(7)

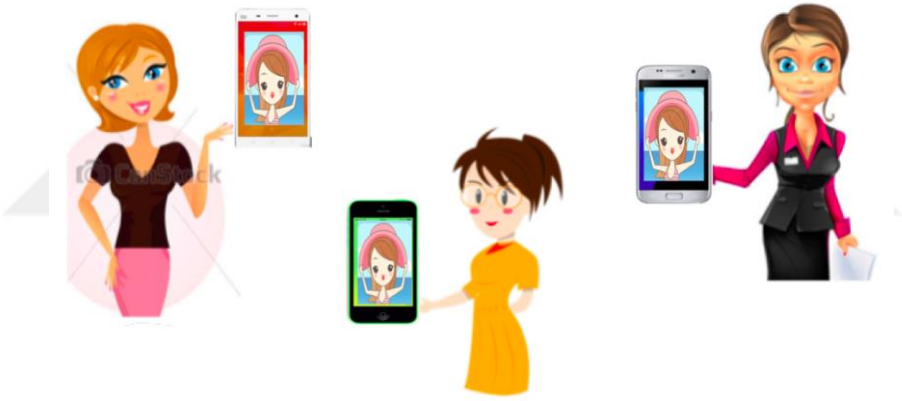
Rojda ji welatê xwe dûr e, li Swedê dijî. Sê xwişkên wê hene, ew tev li Stenbolê ne. Rojda çend rojan carekî bi xwişkên xwe ra di telefonê da xeber dide. Gava ku xwişkên wê bêrîya wê dikin, Rojda fotrafên xwe dikişîne û ji wan ra dişîne. Rojda îro jî çend fotrafên xwe dikşîne û ji her yekî ra bi mesajê hebekî dişîne.

Rojda is far away from her home country; she lives in Sweden. She has three sisters and they all live in Istanbul. Rojda talks to them on the phone once in a few days. When her sisters miss her, Rojda takes photos of herself and send them to her sisters. Today she also takes several photos of herself and sends one photo to each of her sisters via message.

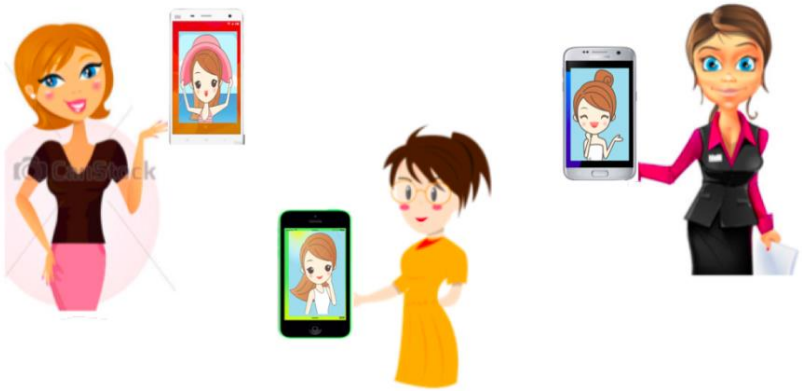
Target sentence: Rojda fotrafekî ji her xwişkekî xwe ra dişîne.
'Rojda sends a photo to each of her sister.'

Pictures:

a)



b)



(8)

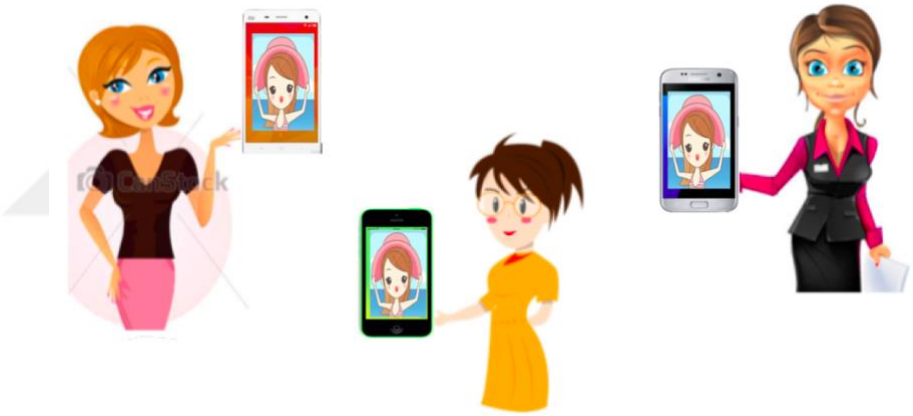
Rojda ji welatê xwe dûr e, li Swedê dijî. Sê xwişkên wê hene, ew tev li Stenbolê ne. Rojda her roj bi xwişkên xwe ra di telefonê da xeber dide. Xwişkên wê pir bêrîya wî dikin, ji bo wî îro jê fotraf dixwazin. Rojda jî fotrafekî xwe dikşîne û ji xwişkên xwe ra bi mesajê dişîne.

Rojda is far away from her home country; she lives in Sweden. She has three sisters and they all live in Istanbul. Rojda talks to them on the phone everyday. Her sisters misses her a lot thus they want her to send them her photographs today. Rojda takes a photo of herself and sends it to them via message.

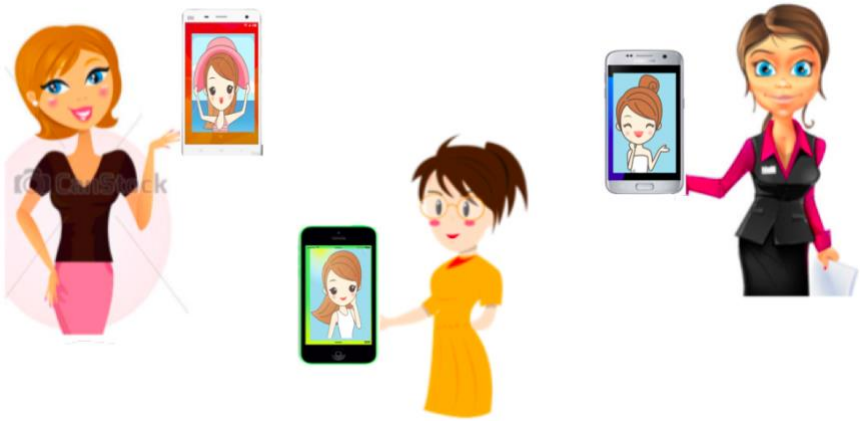
Target sentence: Rojda fotrafekî ji her xwişkekî xwe ra dişîne.
'Rojda sends a photo to each of her sister.'

Pictures:

a)



b)



APPENDIX B

QP SCOPE EXPERIMENT - FILLERS

(1)

Xalê min her sal zevîyekî zebeş datîne. Bavê min jî ji zebeşan pir hez dike û kengê here gundê xalê min, deh panzdeh zebeş tîne malê. Cara hane jî çend zebeşan anî lê hindekê wan kal bûn. Me yên kal da çêlekan, yên din jî xwar.

My uncle plants a field of watermelon every year. My dad likes watermelons too much and whenever he goes to my uncle's village, he brings ten or fifteen watermelons. This time he brought some watermelons but unfortunately some of them were unripe thus we gave the unripe ones to the cattle and ate the ripe ones.

Target sentence: Hemû zebeş kal nebûn.
'*All watermelons are not unripe.*'

Pictures:

a)



b)



(2)

Mamoste Ehmed sê xwandekarên xwe dibe gerê çîyayê, lê di peşîya çunê da ji wan ra dibêje “dibe ku serma be hûn cilên tenik li xwe nekin û qocikên xwe bi xwe ra bînin.” Bi îxtimalekî mezin zarok wî ikazê davêjin pişt guhen xwe çimkî qocikên xwe naynin.

The teacher, Ehmed (Ahmet), goes to hiking with three of his students, but before going he warns them: “most probably it will be cold thus don’t wear tiny clothes and bring your coats with you.” It seems that the students dont’t take heed of this warning because they do not bring their coats.

Target sentence: *Tukes qocikê xwe tîne.
(Intended: *No one brings their coat.*’)

Pictures:

a)



b)



(3)

Sitî cînarê me ye, ew ji çîçekan pir hez dike û di mala xwe da zef çîçek xweyî dike. Ew her meh carekî diçe ba qîza xwe yê Bilîsê, li wê derê çend roj dimîne. Gava ku diçe Bilîsê, nifta mala xwe dide me ku em li çîçekên wê binherin û wan av bidin. Lê vê carê, ew ji bîr dike ku niftê bide me. Sitî bist rojan li Bilîsê dimîne û wextê ku difetile malê dinhere ku çîçekên wê tev rizîne.

Sitî is our neighbor, she likes flowers very much and she looks after many flowers at home. She visits her daughter in Bitlis once every month and stays there for some days. When she goes to Bitlis, she gives us her keys so that we look after her flowers and water them. However, this time she forgot to give us the keys thus we didn't water the flowers. She stayed at Bitlis for twenty days and when she returned, she sees that all her flowers wilted.

Target sentence: Hemû çîçek ji bê avîyê hişk bibûn.
'*All flowers wilted due to lack of water.*'

Pictures:

a)



b)



(4)

Rojbîn di dibistana taxê da mamoste ye û ew dersa sinifa seyêmîn dide. Piştê her ezmûnê, ew ji bo hemû xwandekarên ku ezmunê da serketine xelatan dikire. Heta niha ewê qelem, defter û kiteban daye wan. Di wê ezmûnê da jî mamoste ji wan ra firfirokan kirî.

Rojbîn is a teacher at the neighborhood primary school and she teaches third graders. After every exam, she buys presents for the students who become successful in the exam. Until now, she gave them pencils, notebooks and books. In this exam, she bought kites for them.

Target Sentence: Mamoste ji kesî ra tiştekî nakire.
'The teacher does not buy anything for anybody.'

Pictures:

a)



b)



(5)

Havînê gundên me pir germ dibe, mirov ji german nikare di mal da bisekine. Zarên taxên jî her dem diçin goletê û xwe li avê didin, sobanî dikin. Mezin jî diçin di bin sîya darên goletê rudinin çay dixwin, bêhna xwe didin. Lê iro milet nehatîne goletê, tenê sê zarok hatîne sobanî dikin.

In summer our village is so hot that no one can stay at home due to hot weather. The children in the village always go to the small lake and swim there, while the elder people prefer sitting under the shade of the trees around the small lake for having a rest and drinking tea. However, today people didn't come to the small lake; only three children came for swimming.

Target sentence: Sê zarok di goletê da sobanî dikin.
'*Three children are swimming in the small lake.*'

Pictures:

a)



b)



(6)

Doh bişev gava ku milet razandî bûne, diz ketîye malê çend gundîyan û perê wan zêrê wan hema çi ketîye destê wî tev hildaye çûye. Gundî jî çûne emnîyetê gilî kirine. Paşê, ji bo tehqîqata vê meselê hekmatê jî çend polîs şandîye malê gundîyan.

Yesterday night when people slept, a burglar broke into some houses in the village and took their money, gold, whatever he found. Upon this event, the villagers went to the police office and made a complaint. Then, the government sent a few policemen to the houses of these villagers to investigate the case.

Target sentence: *Çend polîs gundekî çûne.
(Intended: 'A few policemen went to a village.')

Pictures:

a)



b)



(7)

Çar xwarzîyên Helîn hene; du kur û du qîz in. Ew ji wan pir hez dike lê ji wan dûr e. Ji ber vê ew ancax di salê da carek dikare wan bibîne. Di her ‘eyda Remezanê da Helîn diçe dîtina wan û ji bo wan xeletan dikire. Ew ê di vê ‘eydê da ji xwarzîyên xwe ra pêlavan bikire.

Helin has two nephews and two nieces. She likes them very much but she is far from them thus she can see them only once in a year. In every Ramadan Feast, she visits them and buys presents for them. She is going to buy shoes for them in this feast.

Target sentence: Helîn ji hemû xwarzîyên xwe ra pêlavan dikire.
‘*Helin is buying shoes for all of her nephews and nieces.*’wi

Pictures:

a)



b)



(8)

Meral du meh ewil ji xwe ra malekî dikire, lê hevalên wê hej neçûne dîtina mala wê. Ew bi hev ra xeber didin û parên xwe berhev dikin û qirar didin ku ji wê ra xalîçekê bikirin. Gava ku li xalîçeyan dinherin, ew xwişka Meral dibînin. Xwişka Meral ji wan ra dibêje xalîçeyên Meral têra wê hene, lê mala wê da mase tuneye. Hevalên Meral jî qirarê xwe diguherînin û ji wê ra masekî mezin dkirin.

Meral buys an apartment two months ago but her friends haven't seen her house yet. They talk to each other, collect money among themselves and decide to buy a carpet for her. While shopping, they meet Meral's sister. Her sister told them that Meral has got enough carpets but she does not have a table in her house. Then Meral's friends change their mind and buy a big table for her.

Target sentence: Hevalên Meral ji wî ra xalîçekî dikirin.
'Meral's friends are buying a carpet for her.'

Pictures:

a)



b)



(9)

Em her bihar bi cînarên xwe ra li derdorên malên xwe da dar datînin. Li gundê me havîn pir germ e, wisa germ e (ku) mirov dihele. Piştê çend salê ku ew dar gihiştin, me havînan rehet kir serê me tenha bû. Em serê sibe heta evarê binê daran rûdinin, sîya wan bûye cineta me. Ji ber ku sipîndar û bî zu digehin, em her sal sipîndar û bîh datînin.

We plant trees around our houses with our neighbors every spring. Our village is very hot; it is so hot that we get exhausted from heat. It has ben a few years since the trees grow and we feel comfortable in the summer. We sit under the trees from morning till night; the shades of the trees become our heaven. Since poplar and willow trees grow up fast, we plant poplar and willow trees every year.

Target sentence: Hemû cînarên me her sal sipîndar û bîh datînin.
'All our neighbors plant poplar and willow trees every year.'

Pictures:

a)



b)



(10)

A: Hecî Pîran pir nexweş e, dibêjin rojên wî hindik mane.
Heci Pîran is really sick and they say he is about to die.

B: Ew merfekî pir dewlemend e, malên wî ‘erdên wî zehf in. Ewê varyata xwe çi bike?
He is a very rich man; he has many houses and lands. What will he do his wealth?

A: Heşt zarên wî hene û dibêjin ew varyata xwe tev ji wan ra dihêle.
He has six children and he has left all his wealth to his children.

B: Çar hespê wî yê gellek rehwan hebû, ewan jî dide zarên xwe?
He has four blood horses, has he given them also to his children?

A: Na, dibêjin ewan dide du merfên xwe.
No, they say (he) has given those four horses to two of his relatives.

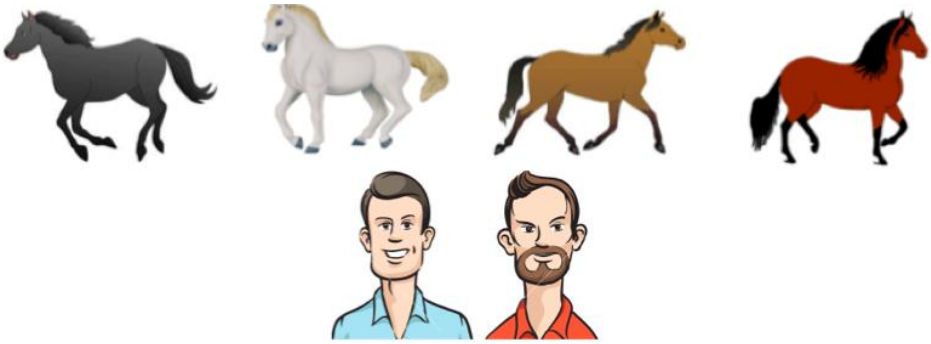
Target sentence: ***Hecî Pîran hemû hespên xwe du merfên xwe dide.
(Intended: *‘Heci Piran gives all of his horses to two of his relatives.’*)

Pictures:

a)



b)



(11)

A: Çar zarokên taxê ji Sîdar çend balonan xwestine, ew jî îro çûye ji wan ra balon kirîye. Xwezî te bidîta ku Sîdar çi çar balonên rengbireng anîbû. Ji her zarokê ra balonekî kirîbû, te balonan di destên wan da dît an na?

Four children of the neighborhood asked Sidar for some balloons. Sidar went to the bazaar and bought balloon for them. I wish you would see how colorful four balloons Sidar brought for them. He bought a balloon for each child; did you see the balloons in their hands?

B: Rast e, min dît ewî çar balon anîbû lê heta ew hate taxê sê zarok çûbûn deştê. Ji bo wê yekê, ewan balonên xwe nestandin. Balon tev ji zarekî ra ma, ewî jî wan firand.

Yes, you are right I saw he brought four balloons, but three children went to the field until he returned back to the neighborhood. Thus, they didn't get their balloons, and a child owned all the balloons and s/he flew them.

Target sentence: Zarekî hemû balonan firand.
'A child flew all balloons.'

Pictures:

a)



b)



(12)

Mihemed pir di dengasîyê da ye û divê ew di nav deh rojan da deynê xwe tev razîne. Ew diçe ji hevalan pere bi deyn dixwaze lê tukes nikare pere bide wî. Paşê diçe panqê, bi wan ra mijûl dibe û hindek pere ji panqê dikêşe. Lê mixabin, ew pere têra deynê wî nake. Malek û erebekî wî heye. Ji bo ku pere tev berhev bike, gere ji wan yekî bifiroşe. Bi rastî ew naxwaze ku mala xwe bifiroşe çimkî mal kirîn tiştekî dijwar e. Gava ku ew jî diçe ereba xwe bifroşe, dibîne ku perê erebê hindik derdikeve. Ji ber wê yekê, Mihemed ereba xwe na mala xwe difroşe.

Mehmet is getting pushed for money and he needs to pay his debt in ten days. He asks his friends to borrow some money but nobody could lend him some. Then he goes to the bank, talks to bank officers and takes out a loan. But unfortunately, this money is not enough to pay off. He has got a house and a car, and he needs to sell one of those to pay all his debt. In fact he does not want to sell his house because it is generally difficult to own a house. When he tries to sell his car, he understands that the car does not make enough money to pay his debt. Therefore, Mehmet sells his house.

Target sentence: Mihemed her tiştê xwe difroşe.
'Mehmet sells everything.'

Pictures:

a)





b)





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