

ERGATIVE AS ACCUSATIVE CASE:
EVIDENCE FROM ADIYAMAN KURMANJI

ÜMİT ATLAMAZ

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2012

ERGATIVE AS ACCUSATIVE CASE:
EVIDENCE FROM ADIYAMAN KURMANJI

Thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Masters of Arts
in
Linguistics

by
Ümit Atlamaz

Boğaziçi University

2012

Thesis Abstract

Ümit Atlamaz, “Ergative as Accusative Case:

Evidence from Adıyaman Kurmanji”

This study aims to investigate the nature of ergativity in Adıyaman Kurmanji within the premises of the Minimalist Program. Adıyaman Kurmanji displays two alignment patterns depending on the tense. In non-past structures nominative alignment is observed whereas the past tense requires an ergative alignment. Based on these two types of alignments many linguists like Haig (2004), Thackston (2006), and Gündoğdu (2011) argue that Kurmanji is a split ergative language. Accordingly, the major aim of this study is to investigate the structure of the ergative pattern in Adıyaman Kurmanji.

In this study, the initial step was to compare the ergative and nominative subjects in terms of certain tests like binding, scope and EPP to determine the phrase structure and where the subjects reside on the structure. Additionally, voice properties of the language were inspected as a background to the major claim. Based on the results of the tests applied and the motivation obtained from the data, it was argued that what has been called ergative in Adıyaman Kurmanji is, indeed, a passive structure diachronically reanalyzed as the past tense. According to Trask’s (1979) typology of ergative languages, there are two types of ergative languages, which labels as *Type A* and *Type B*. Based on this typology, we argue that Adıyaman Kurmanji falls into *Type A* where ergativity is the result of passive structure becoming obligatory diachronically. In order to incorporate our analysis into the Minimalist Program we adopt Collins’ (2005) analysis of passives in English. Additionally, we argue that perfects in Adıyaman Kurmanji have a bi-clausal structure and display ergativity only because they accommodate a past tense CP.

In addition to ergativity in Adıyaman Kurmanji, we investigated unbalanced coordination, which occurs as a by-product of ergativity in this language. We argue that unbalanced coordination takes place as coordination of two VPs. Moreover, coordination has a hierarchical structure rather than a flat one.

Tez Özeti

Ümit Atlamaz, “Belirtme Durumu Olarak Öze Geçiş Durumu:

Adıyaman Kurmançisi’nden Kanıtlar”

Bu çalışmanın amacı Adıyaman Kurmançisi’ndeki öze geçişlilik (ergativity) yapısını Yetinmecî Çizgi’nin ana öncülleri çerçevesinde incelemektir. Adıyaman Kurmançisi’nde zaman özelliklerine bağlı olarak iki tür durum dizilimi gözlenmektedir. Geçmiş zamanda olmayan geçişli yapılarda belirtme durumu dizilimi ortaya çıkarken, geçmiş zaman geçişli yapılarda öze geçişli dizilimi ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu iki tür dizilişten dolayı Haig (2004), Thackston (2006), and Gündoğdu gibi dilbilimciler Kurmançî’nin bölünmüş-özegeçişli olduğunu öne sürmüşlerdir. Bu nedenle, bu çalışmanın esas amacı Adıyaman Kurmançisi’ndeki öze geçişli dizilim incelemektir.

Bu çalışmada, ilk olarak, Adıyaman Kurmançisi’nin öbek yapısını ve bu dilde öznelerin yapı üzerinde nerede bulunduklarını saptamak için öze geçişli ve yalın özneler, bağlam, etki alanı ve Yansıma İlkesi testleri çerçevesinde karşılaştırılmıştır. Ayrıca, dilin çatı özellikleri de incelenmiştir. Elde edilen test sonuçlarına bağlı olarak, Adıyaman Kurmançisi’nde öze geçişlilik olarak adlandırılan yapının aslında, zamanla geçmiş zaman olarak değişime uğrayan edilgen çatı olduğu öne sürülmüştür. Trask’ın (1979) öze geçişli diller tipolojisinde *Tip A* ve *Tip B* olmak üzere iki tip mevcuttur ve Adıyaman Kurmançisi *Tip A*’ya girmektedir. Edilgen çatı çözümlememizi Yetinmecî Çizgi’yle bağdaştırmak için Collins’in (2005) İngilizce’deki edilgen çatı çözümlemesi edinilmiştir. Ayrıca, Adıyaman Kurmançisi’ndeki bitmiş görünümlerin çift tümcecikli bir yapıya sahip oldukları ve yalnızca bir geçmiş zaman tümleyici öbeği içerdiklerinden dolayı öze geçişliliğe sahip oldukları öneri sürülmüştür.

Bu çalışmada, öze geçişliliğin yanı sıra, bunun bir yan ürünü olarak ortaya çıkan denksiz eşbağımlılık da incelenmiştir. Denksiz eşbağımlılığın iki Eylem Öbeği’nin bağlanmasıyla meydana geldiği iddia edilmiştir. Ayrıca, bağlanmanın düz değil sıradüzenli bir yapısının olduğu savunulmuştur.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Patience, courage, time, dedication and sleepless nights are just a few of all the things you need to write a thesis in linguistics; yet, above all, its your thesis advisor who helps you through the jungle of linguistics and without whom you would inevitably get lost. There is no way for me to express the extent of my gratitude to my advisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Balkız Öztürk. Hence, I will simply say ‘Thank you!’, being aware that the word ‘thank’ would never compensate for all her guidance, assistance, encouragement and most importantly belief in me. I feel myself one of the luckiest M.A. graduates in the universe.

I am obliged to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aslı Göksel in a number of ways. Her contribution to this study with extensive and detailed feedback and critical questions is just the tip of the iceberg. Her enthusiasm and strength have always inspired me during my pursuit to become a linguist and I strongly believe that she will always be a major source of inspiration for me.

I am also indebted to Dr. Ceyda Arslan Kechriotis for her invaluable comments on this study. Were it not for her, this study would not have taken off.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. A. Sumru Özsoy for her help and encouragement in shaping my thesis topic. Additionally, I need to thank Prof. Dr. Eser Erguvanlı Taylan for her immense role in my life in the field of linguistics. I am also grateful to the entire faculty in the linguistics program for establishing such a scholarly environment.

There is one person without whom this study would never be completed. My special thanks go to my mother who was the main informant of this study.

Last but not least, I wish to express my deepest thanks to my wife for her never-ending patience and support while I was working on this piece.

To peace...

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	v
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The Aim.....	1
1.2 Theoretical Background	2
<u>1.2.1 The Minimalist Program</u>	3
<u>1.2.2 Ergative</u>	6
1.3 General Properties of Adıyaman Kurmanji.....	21
<u>1.3.1 Basic Word Order</u>	21
<u>1.3.2 Head Directionality</u>	23
<u>1.3.3 Pro-Drop</u>	25
<u>1.3.4 Question Formation</u>	26
<u>1.3.5 Verbal Morphology</u>	28
<u>1.3.6 Nominal Morphology</u>	42
1.4. Summary	47
CHAPTER II: SUBJECTHOOD AND ERGATIVITY	48
2.1 Introduction	48
2.2 Subjecthood in AK	50
<u>2.2.1 Evidence from Binding</u>	50
<u>2.2.2 Evidence from Scope</u>	52
2.3 EPP	53
2.4 Ergativity and Voice.....	55
<u>2.4.1 Lexical Passive in AK</u>	59
<u>2.4.2 Lexical Causative in AK</u>	62
<u>2.4.3 Anticausative in AK</u>	63
<u>2.4.5 Interim Summary</u>	72
2.5 An Accusative Analysis of Ergative in AK.....	73
<u>2.5.1 Accounting for The Ergative in Perfects in AK</u>	81
2.6 Summary	89
CHAPTER III: UNBALANCED COORDINATION	90
3.1 Introduction	90
3.2 Coordination in the Literature	91
3.3 Unbalanced Coordination in AK.....	98
<u>3.3.1 Types of Coordination in AK</u>	101
3.4 Unaccusative – Transitive Coordination	117
3.5 Summary	130
CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION.....	131
REFERENCES	137

ABBREVIATIONS

ERG	Ergative
NOM	Nominative
ABS	Absolutive
ACC	Accusative
OBL	Oblique
VOC	Vocative
PRES	Present
PERF	Perfect
IMPF	Imperfect
PART	Participle
1SG	First person singular
2SG	Second person singular
3SG	Third person singular
PL	Plural
COP	Copula
HAB	Habitual
SUB	Subjunctive
PV	Preverbal marker
PASS	Passive

CHAPTER I: Introduction

1.1 The Aim

This study aims to analyze ergativity and ergativity related phenomena in Adıyaman Kurmanji (AK henceforth), a version of Kurmanji spoken in Adıyaman, Turkey. Kurmanji is one of the four main dialects of Kurdish, a Western Iranian language belonging to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. It is mostly spoken in Turkey along with some parts of Syria, Azerbaijan, and Armenia (Thackston, 2006). Although it is rather difficult to claim that Kurmanji has a standard dialect, some assume Botani spoken in Cizre as the standard dialect of Kurmanji. The variation observed among the dialects is not only restricted to lexical or phonological differences, but also due to various differences observed in syntax. Among the dialects of Kurmanji, Adıyaman Kurmanji (or Adıyamani) is one of the least studied ones. Speakers of Adıyaman Kurmanji experience great difficulties understanding speakers of other dialects due to variation.

Kurmanji is argued to be a split-ergative language, where ergative alignment appears in past/perfect (Haig, 2004; Thackston, 2006; Gündoğdu, 2011). This study, adopting basic premises of the Minimalist Program, aims to showcase that the structure assumed to be ergative in AK is illusive. In order to sketch the big picture, the study scrutinizes phrase structure, case, agreement, and voice in AK. In addition to ergativity, the study also analyzes clause level coordination and some unbalanced coordination occurring due to the so-called ergative alignment in past/perfect. Briefly, the questions investigated by this thesis are:

- (i) What is a subject in AK and where is it?
- (ii) What are the differences and similarities between nominative subject and the ergative subjects?
- (iii) How is voice denoted in AK?
- (iv) What is the nature of ergativity in AK? Is it really ergative?
- (v) How is clause level coordination established?
- (vi) What is the nature of unbalanced coordination occurring due to ergative alignment?

The organization of the thesis is as follows: Chapter 1 presents theoretical background on the major premises of the framework we work in and discusses relevant literature on ergativity. Additionally, it provides the general properties of AK. Chapter 2 focuses on the issue of ergativity. It starts by discussing the phrase structure of AK and examines the question of what a subject is. It continues with the discussion of various voice patterns in AK. Then it presents our analysis of ergativity in AK. Chapter 3 discusses types of clause level coordination and unbalanced coordination. Chapter 4 presents a summary of our findings and discusses implications for further research.

1.2 Theoretical Background

This thesis enjoys data within the limits of the Minimalist Program. Hence, the following section discusses principal premises of the Minimalist Program. The subsequent section presents literature on ergativity.

1.2.1 The Minimalist Program

As a gauger for the Government & Binding Theory of language, the Minimalist Program (MP) evolved as a journey to (a) simple, economic, elegant and natural model(s) of language especially after explanatory adequacy was attained to some extent (Hornstein et. al., 2005). Introduced by Chomsky (1993), the MP is a Principles & Parameters approach to language (Chomsky & Lasnik, 1993) and based on several assumptions. Chomsky (1995) argues that there are two components of the mind dealing with sound and meaning: the Conceptual-Intentional system (CI) and the Articulatory - Perceptual system (AP). Hence, conceptually there should be only two interfaces in the language faculty: LF (Logical Form) and PF (Phonetic Form) respectively, to interact with these systems.

Another assumption of the MP is that language faculty consists of a lexicon and a computational system (CS) (Hornstein et.al., 2005). Lexicon consists of items with idiosyncratic properties which are not predictable by the universal grammar. The CS gets lexical items from the lexicon and arranges them in a way that they yield Full Interpretation, which means the arrangement is legible both in PF and LF. Otherwise, the derivation *crashes*.

In order to attain its goal of arranging lexical items for Full Interpretation, CS has a number of tools/modules such as the Bare Phrase Structure (X' theory), Case theory, θ -theory, Movement theory, etc. At some point of the derivation called Spell-Out, derivation is split and sent to PF and LF for Full Interpretation.

One substantial aspect of the MP is that the CS is based on a process of *feature checking*. At the initial stages of its evolution, the MP was *lexicalist* (Hornstein et.al., 2005) and assumed that lexical items enter derivation with their features already

specified (e.g. a DP came into CS as [+accusative]). Lexical items have [-/+ interpretable] features and functional heads have [- interpretable] features. [+interpretable] features are legible at LF whereas [- interpretable] features are not legible and hence cause the derivation to crash at LF. In order for derivation not to crash, [- interpretable] features have to be checked and deleted before they are sent to LF for interpretation.

Before discussing how features are checked, introducing two crucial terms, *merge* and *move*, would be a better choice. As discussed above, the CS uses Bare Phrase Structure (X') to generate sentences. The derivation happens in a bottom-up fashion. There are two ways to introduce new lexical items to the X' structure. The CS either *merges* a new item to an X' node or moves an already merged item to another node to check the necessary features and create a Fully Interpretable derivation. The MP favors *merge* over *move* as it is more economical (Hornstein et.al., 2005).

Returning to how the features are checked in the MP, we see two versions. As mentioned before, at the initial stages of the MP a heavy lexicalist position was held. Lexical items entered derivation with their features specified and had to check their [-interpretable] features checked by a functional head with the same [- interpretable] feature. Hence, they had to *move* to the specifier position of the relevant functional head. For example, a WH element had to move to a position where it was able to check its [- interpretable] [+ Q] feature. Otherwise, the derivation would crash at LF. This hypothesis worked fine with languages like English but was at odds with some other languages like Turkish where the WH element is *in situ* in overt syntax. Chomsky (1995) claimed that movement targets formal [- interpretable] features and not lexical items. This introduced the notion of [-/+ strong] features (Hornstein et.al.,

2005). This suggests that if features are [+ strong] then, movement of features happen before Spell-Out and strong derivation requires pied-piping of lexical items which yields overt movement. Otherwise, covert movement happens and features move to check after Spell-Out and prevents a crash at LF. This claim, however, had certain problems with core arguments of the MP (Hornstein et.al., 2005). One problem is that Spell-Out is being given a level of representation badge. Another problem is about Uniformity Condition, which, being among the pillars of the MP, suggests all processes to be uniform from the very start of the derivation (called numeration) to LF.

As a solution to the problem of feature checking and movement, Chomsky (2000) introduced a new operation called *Agree*. This, according to Hornstein et.al. (2005), is a nonlexicalist approach. In this approach, lexical items enter derivation with their [+interpretable] features like φ features specified whereas their [-interpretable] features like case are underspecified. At the same time, functional heads have underspecified [-interpretable] features like φ features.

At this point, we need to introduce two new terms, *probe* and *goal*. A *probe* refers to a functional head that needs to check its [- interpretable] features whereas a *goal* is a lexical item with [-/+ interpretable] features to be checked. Once a probe is introduced into the derivation, it peruses its c-command domain for a goal to check its [- interpretable] features. In order for an item to be a goal for a probe, there must not be any intervening active goals and it has to be active, which means it needs to have unchecked [- interpretable] features. Once the probe cannot find a goal within its c-command domain, it extends its domain and establishes *long distance Agree*. This eliminates the threat against Uniformity Condition caused by movement of features to check their [- interpretable] features. The notion of [-/+ strong] features is

still relevant in this late model. [+ strong] is the only motivation of movement in this particular approach.

1.2.2 Ergative

Ergativity, as described by Dixon (1994), is the fact that, in certain languages, subjects of the intransitive verbs and objects of the transitive ones are treated equally by the checking of the same case called ‘Absolutive’ whereas the subjects of the transitive verbs are checked with another case called ‘Ergative’.

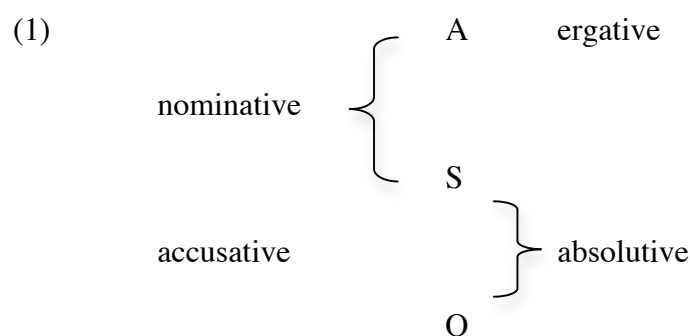
Dixon (1994) draws attention to three basic types of syntactic relations:

A – Subject of a transitive clause

S – Subject of an intransitive clause

O – Object of a transitive clause

These relations would be grouped into two basic subsets depending on the case system of languages as follows:



(Dixon, 1994)

Based on the figure (1) above, if a language treats A and S the same while O as different, it is called to be an accusative language whereas a language would be called ergative if it treats A different from S and O in terms of case marking.

Ergative has been a highly debatable issue in the literature as the ergativity varies from one language to another. Dixon (1994) argues that no ergative language is fully ergative in nature. Most of the languages labeled as ergative, at a certain point, group S and A together and O separately. Such languages are claimed to have *split ergativity*. Trask (1979) argues that not all the languages coined as ergative have the same ergative structure.

Discussion of ergative in the literature generally revolves around the discussion of ergative as a structural versus inherent case. Many linguists like Woolford (2006), Legate (2002; 2005), and Anand & Nevins (2007) argue that ergative case is inherent whereas others like Bobaljik (1993), Bobaljik & Branigan (2006), and Mahajan (1994) put forth that it is structural case. The following sections discuss different approaches to ergativity.

1.2.2.1 Ergative: Structural or Inherent?

Before presenting different approaches to the ergative, it would be better to state the difference between the structural and the inherent case. Chomsky (1984) draws the following distinction between the structural case and the inherent case. The structural case is the result of structural relations between case assigners and case assignees whereas the inherent case follows from the thematic relationship. Woolford (2006) goes further and makes a ternary distinction by claiming the existence of structural, and two non-structural cases. In this approach, structural case is related to structural relations. Non-structural cases consist of inherent and lexical cases. Inherent case is associated with theta positions whereas lexical case is the result of lexical selection.

The ergative is usually regarded as structural or inherent by many linguists. Therefore, the following discussion will focus on various inherent and structural approaches to ergativity.

1.2.2.2 Ergative as an Inherent Case

Woolford (1997) suggests a four-way case system where ergative is regarded as a lexical/inherent case. She refutes the ideas that there is a correlation between ERG-ABS and NOM-ACC alignments. Evidence comes from languages like Nez Perce where ERG is different from both NOM and ACC. Woolford (1997) claims that ergative case can be incorporated into Chomsky's (1981; 1992) Case Theory without any more complication. The distinction of structural case and inherent case in Case Theory is enough to capture ergative case. Woolford (1997) argues that ergative is similar to the dative case and is lexical. The dative case is a lexical case associated with goals/experiencers. The lexical accusative is associated with themes. The ergative is the inherent/lexical case associated with agents and it completes the paradigm of inherent/lexical case within the scope of Case Theory. Woolford (1997) argues that, even not perfect, there is a strong correlation between ergative case and agent theta role.

Woolford (1997) draws attention to similarities between dative and ergative case markings. Both ergative and dative are theta bound. Like ergative languages, dative languages divide into two types: Some languages allow dative subjects in intransitives whereas some allow dative subjects only in transitive clauses which is the same for ergative languages.

Woolford (1997) suggests the following to be part of the Case Theory. There are two basic types of case marking, namely structural and lexical/inherent.

Structural case assignment happens in two basic ways: Case assigned by Functional heads: Nominative (Subject) and Objective (Object); Case assigned by lexical heads like V or P. This indicates that there are two types of object case. If the object gets case from Agr-O, which is a functional head, it gets Objective case and can agree with the verb; on the other hand, if it gets case from a lexical head like V then it has Accusative case and cannot trigger agreement.

On the other hand, there are lexical/inherent cases motivated by theta roles.

These are:

- a. Ergative: associated with agents
- b. Dative: associated with goals/experiencers
- c. Accusative: Associated with themes

Based on this system, Woolford (1997) points out one more similarity between dative and ergative. She argues that universally, *dative-accusative (structural) is out and this is the same for ergative as *ergative-accusative alignment is out, too. On the other hand, both ergative and dative allow ergative/dative-objective alignment.

Based on the similarities between ergative and dative, she claims that ergative is an inherent case.

Woolford (2006), based on Chomsky's (1981, 1986) Case Theory, suggests one type of structural case and two types of non-structural cases. These are inherent case and lexical case. Woolford (2006) argues that V assigns/checks lexical case whereas v assigns/checks inherent case. Ergative is a theta bound case and it is assigned/checked inherently by v. The motivation for drawing such a distinction between inherent and lexical case comes from the idiosyncrasy of lexical case and

predictability of inherent case. Based on this distinction, she claims that themes/internal arguments excluding shifted DP goals get lexical case and external arguments as well as shifted DP goals get inherent case, if they are to be assigned/checked a non-structural case. Woolford (2006) puts forth that Icelandic and German agent subjects never get idiosyncratic case. The case these subjects get is consistent; therefore, it cannot be lexical case but must be inherent.

Woolford (2006) also suggests certain tests to differentiate structural case from inherent case. The first test she applies is case preservation under A-movement. If a case is inherent it should be preserved under A-movements such as passive and raising. Dative arguments in German preserve dative case in passives. Nevertheless, she does not provide any examples of ergative case in passives.

The second test she applies is raising. She argues that Tongan arguments with ergative case preserve ergative in raising constructions which are A-movements. She also points out to Otsuka (2000) who claims such raising constructions in Tongan are in fact A'-movements.

Another test suggested by Woolford (2000) is Case Preservation in the external argument position where normally the nominative is licensed. She argues that no structural case can take priority over nominative case. Evidence comes from unaccusative subjects taking nominative case. In Icelandic subject can have dative, genitive or accusative case and in Basque subject can have ergative case. As such, subjects get cases other than nominative, these cases must be non-structural.

One more test she argues is nominative objects. If ergative was a structural case licensed by little v, it would be assigned to the internal argument and internal arguments would not be able to get nominative case.

Another strong motivation and test for inherent case analysis of ergative by Woolford (2006) is theta relatedness. She argues that ergative is a theta bound inherent case. Instead of claiming that it is bound merely by agent, Woolford (2006) argues that ergative is related to any theta role introduced as external argument. Ergative is an inherent case assigned to an external argument irrelevant of its theta role.

Legate (2005) studies the ergativity in Warlpiri and suggests an inherent case model for ergative case in that language. She basically focuses on the status of the absolutive. She discusses some previous analyses of absolutive as nominative. If absolutive is the same as nominative, this suggests an agreement relationship between T and the absolutive object. In such cases, the object might raise to Spec, TP to check absolutive case and also behave like the structural subject. In some other cases relationship with the T can be established via Agree operation and the object gets absolutive case as well as agreement with the T but it does not behave as the structural subject. Nevertheless, neither of these are the case in Warlpiri.

Legate (2005) suggests a split absolutive model for Warlpiri. Absolutive in this language is the default morphological case. It is visible on intransitive subjects and transitive objects. Absolutive on intransitive subjects is in fact nominative case whereas the absolutive case found on transitive objects is accusative case. Since the morphological shape is the same, only one case shows up. Evidence for such a claim comes from non-finite clauses. Intransitive subjects cannot get absolutive case in non-finite clauses whereas transitive objects get absolutive case in non-finite clauses. Transitive subjects, on the other hand, optionally get ergative case in non-finite clauses. Based on such a configuration, Legate (2005) argues that absolutive in Warlpiri is split and the ergative case is assigned by little v as an inherent case.

Having put forth such a claim, Legate (2005) comes up with the problem of T case. The model suggested crashes because T has nominative case to be checked. Legate makes a few possible suggestions to solve this problem. Nominative might be an optional feature on T or there might be two Ts in this language one with nominative feature and the other without it.

Legate (2008) extends the discussion about absolutive based on Legate (2005) and claims that absolutive is a wrong term. Absolutive is the default morphological case realization of ‘abstract case’. In cases when no realization of the specific case feature is available, morphological default surface and that is absolutive case. As in Legate (2005), Legate (2008) argues that Warlpiri absolutive is a default case representing nominative on intransitive subjects and accusative on transitive objects. She draws a similarity with English nouns where both nominative and accusative are null. She argues that not all ergative-absolutive languages behave the same way as Warlpiri. Therefore, for languages like Warlpiri, absolutive is the default morphological case and for some other languages absolutive is simply nominative.

One further suggestion of ergative as an inherent case comes from Anand & Nevins’ (2006) work on Hindi/Urdu. They start with the discussion of whether ergative case is a structural case just like nominative with the only difference being morphological. They apply several tests such as binding, control, and scope to compare ergative and nominative subjects. They assume that subjecthood is the result of a structural position. They argue that with respect to binding and control, ergative subjects and nominative subjects behave the same way; however, in terms of scope, ergative and nominative subjects display difference. They show that nominative subjects allow inverse scope where universally quantified object takes

wide scope over existentially quantified subject (2) whereas this is not possible with ergative subjects (3).

- (2) koi shaayer har ghazal likhtaa hai
 some poet-NOM every song-ACC write.m-IMPF be-PRES
 ‘Some poet writes every song.’ ($\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$)

- (3) kisii shaayer-ne har ghazal likhii
 some poet-ERG every song-NOM write.f-PERF
 ‘Some poet wrote every song.’ ($\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$)

(Anand & Nevins, 2006)

Based on the data in above they argue that this scopal ambiguity in (2) is thanks to reconstruction of subject and this reconstruction is only possible with DPs entering Agree relation with the heads they are reconstructing from. Anand & Nevins (2006) also argue that only nominative DPs can enter agree relation with T. Therefore, they refute the idea that ergative is nominative as it cannot enter Agree relation with T.

One important suggestion put forth by Anand & Nevins (2006) is regarding the absolutive case. They deny the existence of an absolutive case and assume that, in Hindi, what is called an absolutive is indeed nominative case. Therefore, perfective constructions in Hindi do not have ergative-absolutive alignment but ergative-nominative instead. They regard ergative as differential subject marking on agents.

The mechanism they suggest for the derivation of ergative structure is as follows:

Ergative is observed only in perfect constructions. Perfect participle is the same as passive participle where v is deficient. Therefore, the only possible structural case checker is T. As the external argument introduced into the structure, its case

feature is inherently assigned. When T is introduced into the structure, it probes down to value its φ features. The inherently case checked ergative subject is there and produces an intervention effect. Nevertheless, the external argument raises to Spec, TP to satisfy EPP and as a result the problem of intervention is resolved. Consequently, T checks case with the internal argument and agrees with it unless it has objective case.

Anand & Nevins (2006) also discuss the issue of ergative-objective alignment in Hindi. In such a case, nominative is not checked at all. They argue that this is the result of Obligatory Case Parameter suggested by Bobaljik (1993). That is:

Obligatory ν case Parameter: ν must assign a case (structural or inherent)

Obligatory T case Parameter: T must assign a case

(Anand & Nevins, 2006)

They put forth the idea that based on the ON/OFF status of these parameters, languages vary in terms of case patterns. They suggest four different possible combinations as follows:

Obligatory T case OFF, Obligatory ν case ON: unaccusatives marked with ACC (Basque); ERG-OBJCTV banned (Nez Perce).

Obligatory T case OFF, Obligatory ν case OFF: ERG-OBJCTV, ERG-ACC, NOM-ACC, NOM-OBJCTV all possible (Hindi).

Obligatory T case ON, Obligatory ν case OFF: unaccusatives marked with NOM (English, other well-behaved nominative-accusative languages).

Obligatory T case ON, Obligatory ν case ON: A language with only transitive verbs (unattested).

1.2.2.3 Ergative as a Structural Case

Bobaljik (1993) proposes a structural view of ergative case. He claims that the difference between ergative and nominative languages follows from the way these

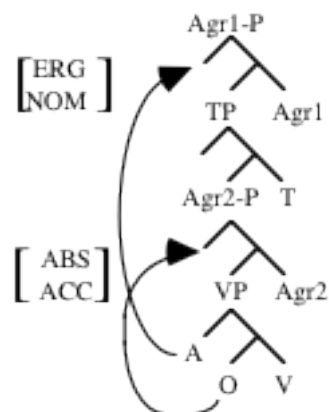
languages treat their intransitives. Transitive constructions in both ergative and nominative languages are the same. The mere difference occurs due to the fact that ergative languages align their intransitive subjects with transitive objects whereas nominative languages align them with transitive subjects. This, according to Bobaljik (1993), is the result of a parametric variation coined by him as the Obligatory Case Parameter.

In this approach, ergative is the equivalent of nominative and absolutive is the equivalent of nominative. Every language has a Case X that has to be checked. This case could be either T Case or v Case depending on the parameter set in a language. He argues that nominative languages have T Case parameter on whereas in ergative languages v Case parameter is on. In intransitive constructions, the obligatory Case X has to be checked. Thus, the mere argument of intransitives has to check case against v and align with transitive objects. On the other hand, in nominative languages, the sole argument of intransitives has to check case with T Case and align with transitive subject.

Derivation of transitive and intransitive structures in nominative and ergative languages suggested by Bobaljik (1993) would be as follows:

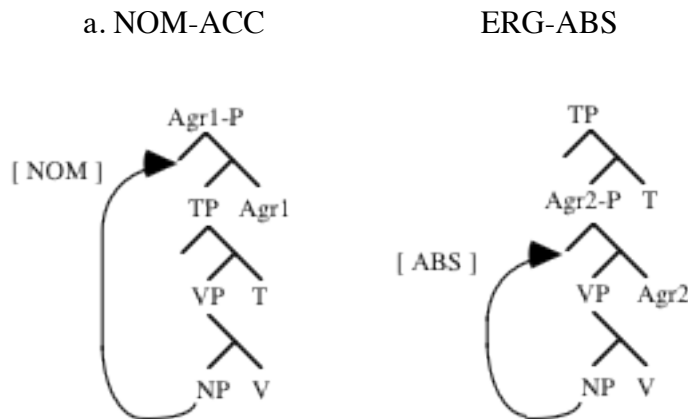
Both ergative and nominative languages have the same case mechanism in transitive clauses.

(4)



Ergative and nominative languages differ in intransitives due to Obligatory Case Parameter.

(5)



(Bobaljik, 1993)

In order to show the similarities of ergative and nominative cases, Bobaljik (1993) applies certain tests such as binding and weak crossover effects. He shows that both ergative and nominative subjects bind absolutive and accusative objects respectively which shows that they both hold structural positions above objects and asymmetrically c-command the objects. He also argues that many of the ergative languages do not have weak crossover effects (WCO) and in those which show WCO, there is no evidence that subject is subject to A'-movement. Thus, he concludes that ergative subjects are in similar positions to nominative subjects with respect to their objects. Based on such evidence he concludes that ergative is the counterpart of nominative whereas absolutive is the counterpart of accusative in their respective alignments.

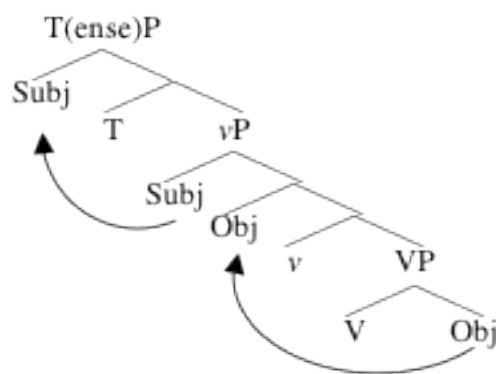
Bobaljik & Branigan (2006) sketch a structural approach to ergative case in Chukchi. They argue that ergative-absolutive languages are the same as nominative-accusative languages in terms of syntactic configurations of argument structure. In

both type of alignments internal argument/theme is introduced by v and T introduces external argument. Basic difference between two types of alignment is that v head cannot check/license object case in ergative alignment. Therefore, the internal argument has to find some other functional head to check case with.

The core of their argument is that a single head can check multiple cases. Thus, both the external argument and the internal argument have to raise to a position where they can be licensed/checked case by T head. This multiple case checking against one head yields ergative case.

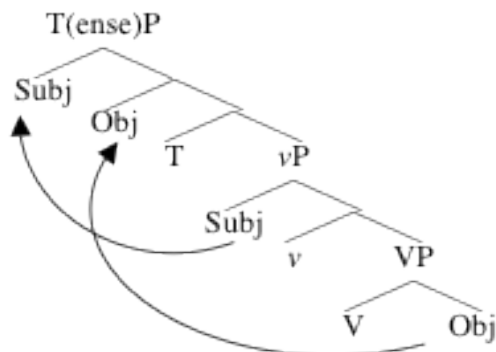
(6)

Nominative - Accusative Case Pattern



(7)

Ergative – Absolutive Case Pattern (in Chukchi)



(Bobaljik & Branigan, 2006)

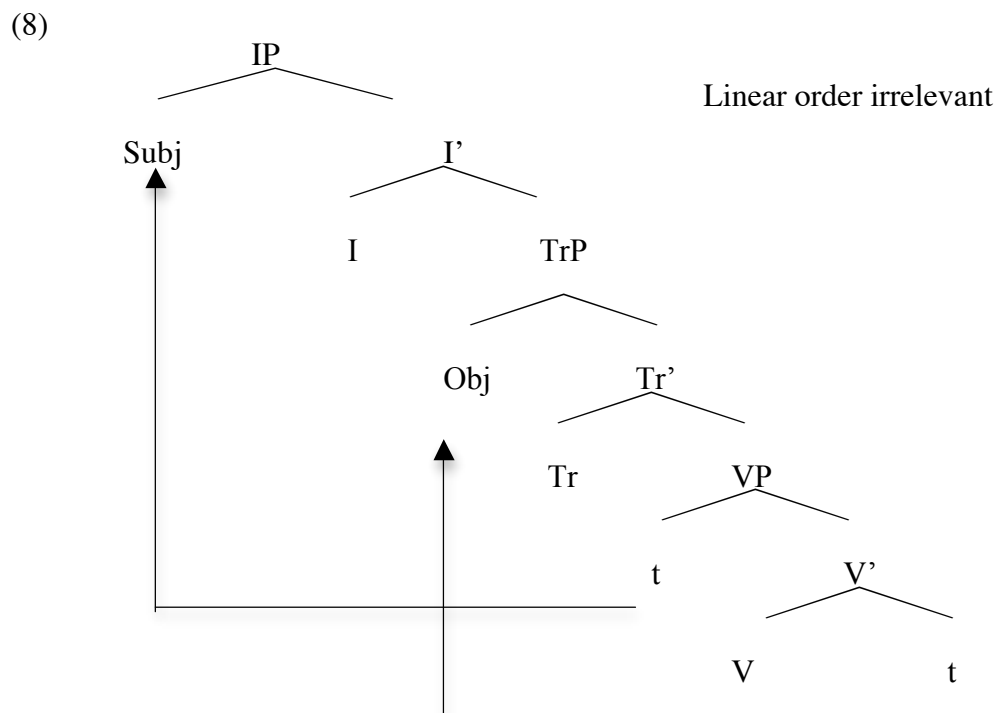
There are several problems with the tree (7). The first problem is that of a ‘tuck in’ phenomenon. According to their analysis, first external argument raises to Spec, TP to check case as it is the closest argument, then the internal argument raises to the second Spec, TP position to check case and tucks in between the external argument and the T head. They motivate this process by the claim that the hierarchical structure between the subject and the object has to be preserved. Subject needs to c-command the object.

Another problem they face is the ergative case itself. As T checks case two times, it licenses the case on two different DPs. These DPs checking against the same T are both expected to be nominative and the structure should yield a nominative – nominative alignment. They argue that one T head can check distinct cases for purposes of convergence and the highest argument gets the marked case which is ergative in this case.

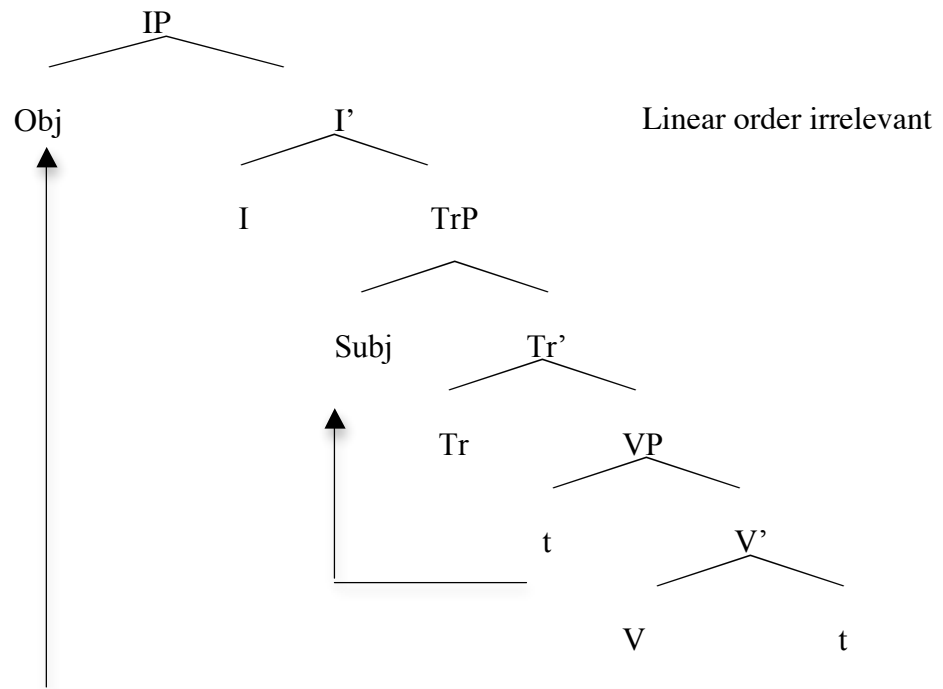
Davison (2004) is another linguist claiming that ergative is a structural case. She shows that ergative case in Hindi/Urdu is structural based on two criteria. The first criterion is theta relatedness. She argues that ergative case in Hindi/Urdu is not theta related. Both agents and non-agent arguments can take ergative case. The second motivation for claiming that ergative in Hindi/Urdu is structural is that ergative case is licensed by finite Tense and perfective Aspect. Ergative case is not licensed in counterfactuals or irrealis constructions where imperfective is in effect. This, according to Davison (2004) shows that ergative needs to be licensed by functional heads like tense or aspect.

Murasugi (1992) alleges that ergative case is structural. In the system she suggests two functional heads have vital roles. These are T, having tense feature, and Tr below it with transitivity feature. Tr in Murasugi’s (1992) system, according to

Ura (2000), is similar to Chomsky's (1992) Agr-O. In this system, case checking is via Spec-Head relationship. Agr-O has to check object's case and then the subject has to raise to Spec, TP to check nominative case. This is how a language with nominative-accusative alignment checks case. Murasugi (1992) argues that the obligatoriness of Tr's checking the object's case may be parametric. In languages like English this parameter is on and thus we get nominative – accusative alignment (8). In ergative languages, this parameter is off; therefore, there is no need for Tr to check object's case and it checks case with the closest argument, which is the subject, and the objects checks case with the only functional head remaining, that is T (9). This approach aligns nominative with absolutive and ergative with accusative.



(9)



Ura (2000) argues that ergative and nominative languages are the same with the exception of a parametric variation. This parameter is Theta-Position Case Checking [θ PC]. As opposed to Chomsky (1995), who claims that an element introduced by merge cannot undergo feature checking unless it moves somewhere other than its base generated (merged) position, Ura (2000) claims that elements can enter into a formal feature checking relation at their θ position in languages where θ PC is set as [$+\theta$ PC]. This means a language with [$-\theta$ PC] has nominative alignment whereas one with [$+\theta$ PC] has ergative alignment. When θ PC feature is set to OFF, the arguments have to move out of their merge positions to check case. The external argument has to raise to somewhere it can get the case from T and the internal argument needs to do the same to check case with v. In other languages where θ PC feature is set to ON, the external argument can check case in its merge position with v and the internal argument has to check case with the sole case checker remaining in the structure.

In intransitive structures, θ PC feature, be it OFF or ON, does not pose any threats because *v* has no case features. This analysis of ergative and nominative alignments groups nominative with absolutive and ergative with accusative.

1.3 General Properties of Adıyaman Kurmanji

1.3.1 Basic Word Order

Basic word order in AK can be described as S(O)V. Intransitive constructions like (10) have SV structure whereas transitive constructions have SOV alignment as in (11).

- (10) E dı-rvı-m.
 I (NOM) HAB-run-1SG
 I run.

- (11) E çay-e ve-dı-x-ım.
 I (NOM) tea-ACC PV-HAB-eat-1SG
 I drink tea.

Ditransitives do not perfectly fit the SOV alignment as the indirect object denoting goal might occupy two different positions. A verb like *bıdın* ‘to give’ requires a postverbal goal as in (12) whereas a verb like *gotın* ‘to say’ does not allow a postverbal indirect object. Instead, it introduces the goal with ‘ra’ particle in preverbal position.

- (12) Eşxon-e kitav do mı.
 Eşxon-ACC book(NOM) givePART I (ACC/OBL)
Eşxon gave me the book.

- (13) Ali mı-ra kılom-o dı-ve-ye.
 Ali (NOM) I (ACC) song-ACCPL HAB-say-COP
Ali is singing me a song.

Verbs of directed motion like *çün* ‘to go’, *bıdın* ‘to give’, *ketın* ‘to fall/to enter’ etc. allow postverbal arguments or adverbs denoting goal (14) whereas other verbs do not allow postverbal arguments or adverbs (15).

- (14) E dı-her-ım-e mal.
 I (NOM) HAB-go-1SG-COP home
I am going home.

- (15) *E dı-skın-ım-e ser text.
 I (NOM) HAB-stand-1SG-COP head wood
I am standing on the wood.

- (16) E lı ser text dı-skın-ım-e.
 I (NOM) at head wood (ACC) HAB-stand-1SG-COP
I am standing on the wood.

1.3.2 Head Directionality

Whether AK is a head-initial or a head-final language is not straightforward. VP has a head final structure whereas CP, TP, DP and some other PPs have a head initial structure. We argue that it is not safe to categorize NPs and ezafe constructions either as head-initial or head-final as it requires further research.

- (17) şiv dı-x-ım-e.
food HAB-eat-1SG-COP
I am eating food.

V head is to the right of its complement in (17) which suggests a head final structure.

- (18) [_{CP}kı [_{TP}Eşxon hot]]
That/when Eşxon (NOM) comePART
When Eşxon comes/came

In (18), C head *kı* ‘that/when’ precedes the TP and as a result has a head-initial structure. In (19) auxiliary verb *dıke* ‘will’, which we assume to be at T, is to the left of the main verb. Hence, we assume that TP in AK has a head initial structure.

- (19) E dıke her-ım.
I (NOM) will go-1SG
I will go.

- (20) Vo merik-o
 This man-ACC
 This man

(20) shows that the D head precedes NP and therefore has a head-initial structure. In addition to CP, TP and DPs, PPs are head initial, too (21). Prepositions precede NPs and DPs.

- (21) ser mase
 on table (ACC)
 on the table

Possessive Constructions and NPs modified by Adjectives seem to be head initial. Both of them use a construction called *ezafe*.

- (22) Bav-e Eşxon-e
 Father-*ezafe* Eşxon-ACC
 Ayşe's father
- (23) Kelem-e kesk
 Pen-*ezafe* green
 The green pen

(22) is a possessive construction whereas (23) features an NP modified by an adjective. The head of the possessive phrase seems to be the initial argument *bav* ‘father’ and therefore, one might argue that possessive constructions are head initial. Similarly, in (23), NP is to the left of the adjective and sketches a head-initial image.

Nevertheless, not much is known about the *ezafe* constructions and it would not be safe to claim that the head is the initial argument as *ezafe* itself might be the head of the phrase. This, however, is beyond the scope of this research. (24) summarizes the head directionality in AK.

(24)

Phrase	Head-Direction
CP	Head-Initial
TP	Head-Initial
DP	Head-Initial
PP	Head-Initial
VP	Head – Final
NP	?

1.3.3 Pro-Drop

AK is a pro-drop language where both the subject and the object can be dropped when the relevant information can be inferred from the context. Once the subject or the object has been introduced into the context, it can be dropped unless it is a case of comparison. (25) presents an example of subject drop whereas (26) displays an object drop.

- (25) a. Ahmet kiçağ te-ye?
 Ahmet (NOM) when come-COP
 When is Ahmet coming?
- b. Sive te-ye
 Tomorrow come-COP
 He is coming tomorrow.

- (26) a. Te Eşxon di?
 You (ACC) Eşxon (NOM) seePART

Did you see Eşxon.

- b. Erey, mı di.
 Yes, I (ACC) seePART

Yes, I saw (her).

Pro-drop is not possible when two arguments are contrasted (27).

- (27) a. Mehmed-e mırışk di?
 Mehmet-ACC chicken (NOM) seePART

Did Mehmet see the chicken.

- b. Mı di hemo vi ne-di.
 I (ACC) seePART but he (ACC) NEG-seePART

I saw it but he didn't see it.

1.3.4 Question Formation

1.3.4.1 Yes/No Question

Yes/No questions are based on sentential stress. In order to form a yes/no question, the verb is stressed.

- (28) Te şiv xor.
 You (ACC) food (NOM) eatPART

You ate (food).

(33) Te çır kır?
 You (ACC) what doPART
What did you do?

(34) Te kitav do ke?
 You (ACC) book (NOM) givePART who (ACC/OBL)
Whom did you give the book to?

1.3.5 Verbal Morphology

1.3.5.1 Agreement

1.3.5.1.1 Verbal Predicates

In AK, agreement is not restricted to subjects. While in non-past/non-perfect structures subject-verb agreement takes place (35), in past/perfect we get a bit more complicated of a situation. Intransitive subjects agree with the verb (36) whereas transitive subjects cannot. Instead, direct objects of transitive verbs agree with the verb (37).

(35) E te dı-vun-ım-e.
 I (NOM) you (ACC) HAB-see-1SG-COP
I see you.

(36) E çü-m.
 I (NOM) goPART-1SG
I went.

- (37) M_i t_i di-yi.
 I (ACC) you (NOM) seePART-2SG
 I saw you.

The main reason behind such an agreement pattern is case checking with T. Any argument checking case against T and hence bearing nominative case has the privilege to agree with the verb.

AK marks verbs for person and number. Person and number markers might be considered as syncretic forms. Or, it might be claimed that AK verbs have a templatic morphology and there is only one slot for agreement. Hence, either person or number agreement fills it. The following examples help clarify the point.

- (38) Ez hot-im.
 I (NOM) comePART-1SG
 I came.

- (39) T_i hot-i.
 You (NOM) comePART-2SG
 You came.

- (40) Hevo hot-Ø.
 He (NOM) comePART-3SG
 He came.

(38), (39) and (40) display 1SG, 2SG and 3SG verbal agreement markers respectively. There is only one plural marker and it fills the agreement slot regardless of person.

(41) Em hot-in.
We (NOM) comePART-PL
We came.

(42) Un hot-in.
YouPL (NOM) comePART-PL
You came.

(43) Hevno hot-in.
They (NOM) comePART-PL
They came.

As observed in (41), (42), and (43), plural marker has no person information at all. Therefore, instead of arguing for a syncretic form, we argue that person markers have nothing to do with number. The absence of a plural marker simply gives a singular meaning. When plural marker is present, it blocks person agreement markers. Even though the meanings are compatible, one marker blocks the other which indicates that AK verb might have a templatic morphology.

The following table provides agreement markers observed in verbal predicates.

(44)

Person / Number	Morpheme
1SG	-(i)m
2SG	-(y)i –(y)e
3SG	-(y)e / Ø
PL	-(i)n

1.3.5.1.2 Nominal Predicates

Agreement in nominal predicates is a syncretic form. Each agreement marker also has copular information.

(45) Ez nexoş-ım.

I (NOM) sick-1SGCOP

I am sick.

(46) Tı nexoş-i.

You (NOM) sick—2SGCOP

You are sick.

(47) Hevo nexoş-e.

He (NOM) sick-3SGCOP

He is sick.

(48) Em/Un/Hevno	nexoṣ-in.
We/You/They	sick-PLCOP
<i>We/You/They are sick.</i>	

(49) provides the full paradigm of agreement markers on nominal predicates.

Person / Number	Morpheme	
1SG	-im	-me
2SG	-i	-yi
3SG	-e	-ye
PL	-in	-ne

The difference between column 2 and 3 is phonological. When the word ends with a consonant column 2 is used; otherwise, column 3 is used.

Verbal morphology in AK is rather interesting and requires an in depth morphological analysis. The verb in AK can carry prefixes, suffixes and suppletion at the same time. Although it requires further research, we assume that AK has two tenses, namely past and non-past. The difference between past and non-past is established thanks to suppletion. There is not a clear-cut past tense marker but suppletion as can be seen in (50) and (51).

b. E çü-m.
 I (NOM) goPART-1SG
 I went.

(51) a. E wi dı-vı-m-e mal.
 I (NOM) him (ACC) HAB-take-1SG-COP home.
 I am taking him home.

b. Mı hev bır mal.
 I (ACC) he (NOM) takePART home
 I took him home.

The reason we mark the past form (53) as ‘PART’ is that it is the same stem form used in participles (54) and infinitive/gerund (55) forms of the verbs.¹ On the other hand, present forms are different (52).

(52) E te-m-e.
 I (NOM) come-1SG-COP
 I am coming.

(53) E hot-ım.
 I (NOM) comePART-1SG
 I came.

¹ I would like to express my thanks to Meltem Kelepir Wood for pointing out this to me.

- (54) Merik-e hot-i
 Man-ezafe comePART-participial marker
 The man who came.

- (55) Hotın (e) çetin-e.
 To come (is) difficult-COP
 To come is difficult.

In addition to tense marking, AK has other markers for aspect and modality. One of these markers is *dı-* denoting habituality.

- (56) E dı-her-ım.
 I (NOM) HAB-go-1SG
 I go.

- (57) E şiv-e be non dı-x-ım.
 I (NOM) food-ACC without bread (NOM) HAB-eat-1SG
 I eat food without bread.

The same marker is found in the past, too.

- (58) E dı-çü-m.
 I (NOM) HAB-goPART-1SG
 I used to go.

In the present tense, prefix *di-* ‘HAB’ and the copular suffix *-e*, together, denote present continuous information (59).

- (59) E *di-her-im-e*.
 I (NOM) HAB-go-1SG-COP
 I am going.

However, in the past tense, habitual past and past continuous are ambiguous, as we do not have the copula marker on the verb in the past tense. Therefore, sentence (58) is ambiguous and means ‘I used to go. / I was going.’.

Another prefix we observe on verbs in AK is *bi-* which is subjunctive/imperative marker. Unless the verb with a subjunctive marker bears copula, it denotes subjunctive mood which is used in a number of constructions in AK.

- (60) Ez e nen *bi-x-im*.
 I (NOM) am bread (ACC) SUB-eat-1SG
 I will eat bread. / I want to eat bread.

- (61) Ez *dike* nen *bi-x-im*.
 I (NOM) will bread (ACC) SUB-eat-1SG
 I will eat bread.

- (62) E *di-xoz-im-e* *k1* nen *bi-x-im*.
 I (NOM) HAB-want-1SG-COP that bread (ACC) SUB-eat-1SG
 Lit:I want that I eat.
 I want to eat.

In cases where both copula and subjunctive markers are present on the verbs, the verb denotes imperative (63).

- (63) B₁-x-e!
 SUB-eat-COP
Eat!

It should be noted that some verbs like *herin* ‘to go’ and *hotin* ‘to come’ do not take subjunctive marker even though they can denote subjunctive/imperative mood as in (64) and (65).

- (64) Ez e her-im.
 I (NOM) am go-1SG
I want to go. / I will go.

- (65) Her-e
 go-COP
Go!

Another combination of morphemes on verb yields perfect in AK. Copula + 3SG attached on a fully inflected past tense verb denotes perfect in AK.²

² A detailed analysis of perfects is given in Chapter 2.

(66) M₁ non xor.
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) eatPART
 I ate bread.

(67) M₁ non xor-i-ye.
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) eatPART-COP-3SG
 I have eaten bread.

A full paradigm for the morphemes we discussed so far would be as in (68).

(68)

Verb: <i>Xorin</i> 'to eat'	Present Habitual	Present Cont.	Past	Past Cont/ Past HAB	Present Perfect	Subjunctive	Imperative 2SG/PL
1SG E / M ₁	dıxım	dıxıme	xor	dıxor	xoriye	Bıxım	Bıxe/Bıxın

As of now, we can suggest the following template for AK verbs.

(69)

Prefix	Verb Stem	Suffix	Suffix	Suffix
Aspect / Mood 1. Habitual 2. Subjunctive	lexical verb	Agreement	Copula	Agreement

Nevertheless, this is not the whole picture. There are two other important morphemes we need to consider. These are negation and some other preverbal affixes (PV henceforth).

Negation in AK is denoted via the prefix *n(E)-* attaching to the verb.

- (70) M₁ non ne-xor.
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) NEG-eatPART
 I did not eat bread.

Negation marker in AK is quite interesting as it showcases a number of morphological and phonological processes and hence requires further research. One interesting phenomenon is that negation marker and habitual marker are in complementary distribution in the present tense despite semantic compatibility.

- (71) E nen d₁-x-1m.
 I (NOM) bread (ACC) HAB-eat-1SG
 I eat bread.

- (72) E nen no-x-1m.
 I (NOM) bread (ACC) NEG-eat-1SG
 I don't eat bread.

- (73) *E nen ne-d₁-x-1m.
 I (NOM) bread (ACC) NEG-HAB-eat-1SG
 I don't eat bread.

Negation and habitual markers are compatible as both can surface in the past tense.

- (74) M₁ non ne-d₁-xor.
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) NEG-HAB-eatPART
 I didn't use to eat. / I wasn't eating.

Another morpheme that cannot surface due to negation is subjunctive.

(75) b₁-x-1m

SUB-eat-1SG

(76) ne-x-1m

NEG-eat-1SG

(77) *ne-b₁-x-1m

NEG-SUB-eat-1SG

These phenomena caused by negation marker might show that AK has a verbal template where negation, subjunctive and habitual markers are all on the same slot and negation has the priority to surface.

There are two further issues to be mentioned regarding negation marker. Negation marker in imperatives is *me-* instead of *ne-*.

(78) b₁-x-e!

SUB-eat-COP

Eat!

(79) Me-x-e!

NEG-eat-COP

Don't eat.

Although being a prefix, negation marker causes stem final ‘n’ to be dropped.

(80) a. E kon-ım her-ım.

I (NOM) can-1SG go-1SG

I can go.

b. E nı-ko-m her-ım

I (NOM) NEG-can-1SG go-1SG

I cannot go.

(81) a. zan-ım.

know-1SG

I know.

b. nı-za-m.

NEG-know-1SG

I don't know.

Having discussed negation, one last thing we will briefly discuss is PVs. AK has a number of PVs which attach to the verb stem and produce new meanings. For example, *ve* ‘open/apart’ is one of these PVs. It attaches to many other verbs and creates new words. It should be noted that PVs are in complementary distribution with subjunctive marker.

(82) a. bı-k-e!

SUB-do-COP

Do!

b. ve-k-e!

PV-do-COP

Open!

(83) a. bİ-x-e!

SUB-eat-COP

Eat!

b. ve-x-e!

PV-eat-COP

Drink!

Some other PVs are *le-*, *pe-*, *te-*, etc. PVs attach to the verb stem at the outermost slot. Habitual or negation markers can intervene in PVs and the lexical stem.

(84) M_İ çay ve-xor.

I (ACC) tea (NOM) PV-eatPART

I drank tea.

(85) M_İ çay ve-ne-xor.

I (ACC) tea (NOM) PV-NEG-eatPART

I didn't drink tea.

(86) M_İ çay ve-dİ-xor.

I (ACC) tea (NOM) PV-HAB-eatPART

I used to drink tea. / I was drinking tea.

Having discussed negation and PVs in AK, we can now sketch a better template of verbal morphology in AK.

(87)

Prefix	Prefix	Verb Stem	Suffix	Suffix	Suffix
PV	Aspect / Mood 1. Negation 2. Habitual 3. Subjunctive	lexical verb	Agreement	Copula	Agreement

1.3.6 Nominal Morphology

AK nominals can bear a number of morphemes denoting gender, case, number and ezafe.

1.3.6.1 Gender

AK nouns have two genders, i.e. feminine and masculine. The only environment where gender shows up is vocative. On other cases, we do not see effects of gender. There are two ways to establish vocative in AK. One is to attach vocative case ‘-(y)o’ for masculine ‘-(y)e’ for feminine to a noun.

- (88) a. Eşxon-e!
Eşxon-VOC
Eşxon!
- b. Ali-yo
Ali-VOC
Ali!

The second way to observe gender is to look at vocative articles ‘le’ and ‘lo’ denoting feminine and masculine respectively.

(89) a. Le Eşxon!

VOC Eşxon

O Eşxon!

b. Lo Ali

VOC Ali

O Ali!

1.3.6.2 Case

In addition to vocative case we discussed above, AK has two other cases which we call nominative and accusative. Haig (2004), among others, argues that Kurmanji has an ergative alignment and hence has ergative case. Thackston (2006) asserts existence of four case markers, namely nominative, oblique, vocative and construct (ezafe). It is rather difficult to sketch a clear image of case in AK as the terms we coin might be disputable. We argue that what Thackston (2006) calls oblique case is accusative. Also, we cannot determine whether ezafe is a case or not as it requires further research. Hence we argue that AK has three cases, namely nominative, accusative and vocative. Comparing AK and English, we observe that nominative in both languages have the same functions and accusative in both languages are similar. In English, nominative is a case checked by T and accusative is a case checked by v or PP which is the same in AK. As chapter 2 focuses on case, we refer the reader to chapter 2 for details.

Nominative case marker in AK is Ø whereas accusative case marker is a bit more complicated. The safest way to distinguish nominative and accusative is pronouns. When it comes to nouns, there are two ways to mark a noun for accusative but there is not a clear-cut rule for accusative marking and it requires further research. One way is to attach ‘-(y)e’ suffix to a noun as in (90).

- (90) Eşxon-e, çay-e
 Eşxon-ACC tea-ACC

The second way to mark a noun for accusative is to change the vowel quality in the word as in (91).

(91)

Nominative	Accusative
<i>lavık</i> ‘child’	levık
Kamber	Kember
<i>nan</i> ‘bread’	Nen

1.3.6.3 Number

AK marks its nouns for singular and plural. Singular marker is Ø whereas plural marker is ‘-(ı)n’. Nevertheless, plural marker does not always show up. For example, both the singular and plural form of *kırık* ‘child’ can be the same as in (92).

- (92) a. kırık hot.
 child comePART
 The child came.

- b. kırık hot-in.
 child comePART-PL
 The children came.

In (92), *kırık* ‘children’ is plural but we do not see plural marker on the noun. Plural information is retrieved from agreement marker on the verb. However, in cases when a plural noun gets another suffix, plural marker surfaces as in (93).

- (93) Kırık-n-o!
 Child-PL-VOC
 Children!

1.3.6.4 ezafe

Although Thackston (2006) calls *ezafe* particle construct case, we doubt that it is a case as it requires accusative case on the noun it precedes just like a preposition. On the other hand, we are not sure whether it is a preposition or a determiner. *Ezafe* construction itself is quite an interesting phenomenon which requires further research and is beyond the scope of this work. Therefore, we will discuss what *ezafe* construction does in AK and leave its structure to other studies.

Ezafe construction is used to denote possession or modification. In noun-ezafe-noun combinations, ezafe marker ‘-(y)e’ denotes possession relationship between two nouns the first noun being possessee and the second being possessor. The second noun gets accusative case.

- (94) Dest-e Eşxon-e
 hand-*ezafe* Eşxon-ACC
 Ayşe's hand

In other cases where *ezafe* is used, it denotes modification of a head by an adjunct.

The head is on the left whereas the modifier is on the right.

- (95) Dest-e gemori
 Hand-*ezafe* dirty
 Dirty hand

- (96) Kelem-e k1 m1 do te
 Pen-*ezafe* that I (ACC) givePART you (DAT)
 The pen that I gave you

The first element in an *ezafe* construction always has to be a noun whereas this is not the case for the second element. In (94) where the second element is a noun, *ezafe* establishes possession relationship between two nouns. On the other hand, in (95) the second element is an adjective and modifies the first element. Similarly, in (96) the second element, which is a relative clause, modifies the first element thanks to *ezafe* construction.

1.4. Summary

This introductory chapter had two major concerns: to discuss the relevant literature on ergativity and to present a basic picture of AK discussing some general properties of the language. As the theoretical background information, we stated that we will be working within the framework of the MP. Also, we discussed relevant literature on ergativity and pointed out that the discussion about ergativity usually revolves around the question whether ergative is a structural case or an inherent one. The rest of the chapter aimed to briefly depict an image of AK to familiarize the reader with the language. The claims and explanations within the latter part of the chapter might not be sound enough as they are mostly about the features of an untouched forest awaiting further discovery.

CHAPTER II: Subjecthood and Ergativity

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to investigate the nature of split ergativity observed in past and perfect constructions in Adıyaman Kurmanji. Haig (2004) and Gündoğdu (2011), among others, argue that Kurmanji has a split ergative system. This system, alleged to be ergative, fits Dixon's (1994) definition of an ergative system. Therefore, we will assume that AK has a split ergative system and analyze the phenomenon using the generally accepted terms ergative alignment and ergative case bearing in mind that the labels might be illusive.

AK has two alignment patterns: NOM-ACC and ERG-NOM. The former pattern shows up in non-past/non-perfect constructions (97) and the latter surfaces only in past/perfect constructions (98). Note that as we will discuss in detail in the following, ergative pronouns and accusative pronouns are identical morphologically.

(97) a. E te dı-vun-ım-e.

I (NOM) you (ACC) HAB-see-1SG-COP.

I see you.

b. Tı mı dı-vun-Ø-e.

You (NOM) I (ACC) HAB-see-2SG-COP

You see me.

- (98) a. M₁ t₁ di-yi.
 I (ERG) you (NOM) seePART-2SG
 I saw you.
- b. Te ez di-m.
 You (ERG) I (NOM) seePART-1SG
 You saw me.

The discussion of ergativity usually revolves around the question whether ergative is a structural case or an inherent case, as discussed in the previous chapter. Woolford (1997; 2006), Legate (2005; 2008), and Anand & Nevins (2007) argue that ergative is an inherent case whereas Bobaljik (1993), Bobaljik & Branigan (2006), Davison (2004), Murasugi (1992) and Ura (2000) put forth that ergative is a structural case. We use another pair of spectacles to look into ergativity in AK and argue that ergative constructions are derived from syntactic passive constructions, where ergative case is actually the accusative case checked by the Voice head in parallel to Collins' (2005) account of passives in English. Thus, it will be argued that ergative, being identical to accusative, both in terms of its syntax and morphology, is a structural case in AK.

The organization of the chapter is as follows: Section 2 discusses the subject status of ergative and nominative marked DPs. Section 3 presents evidence for EPP in AK and identifies the positions of ergative and nominative subjects on the structure in AK. Section 4 discusses voice properties of AK as background information for the analysis to be presented in section 5. Section 5 discusses Collin's (2005) analysis of passives in English and presents our analysis of ergativity in AK.

It also extends the analysis onto the issue of ergativity in perfects. Finally, Section 6 presents a summary of chapter 2.

2.2 Subjecthood in AK

To be able to comment on the status of ergative subjects in AK, one needs to know if they are really subjects and if there is a difference between ergative and nominative subjects. In the following we will compare ergative and nominative subjects in terms of the subjecthood tests such as binding and scope as proposed by McCloskey (1997).

2.2.1 Evidence from Binding

According to McCloskey (1997) the most prominent argument in a sentence is the subject - a view we will challenge – therefore, it c-commands all the rest of the arguments. Due to this prominence, subjects can bind reflexives or reciprocals occupying other argument positions but they may not be bound by them.

“xo”, as suggested by Haig (2004) and Gündoğdu (2011), is a reflexive pronoun in Kurmanji bound by the subject.³ In terms of their binding properties, ergative and nominative subjects display no difference at all in AK.

- (99) Hevo_i kırık_j nenk-edo xo_{i/*j} dı-nmin-e.
 He (NOM) child (ACC) mirror-at self HAB-show-COP
 He is showing the child to himself in the mirror.

³ “xo” shows up as “xwe” in the dialects Haig (2004) and Gündoğdu (2011) study.

(100) Hevo_i xo_{i/*j} nenk-edo (bɪ) kɪrɪk_j dɪ-nmin-e.
 He (NOM) self mirror-at with child (ACC) HAB-show-COP
He is showing himself to the child in the mirror.

(101) Hevo_i nenk-edo kɪrɪk_j wi_{*i/j/k} dɪ-nmin-e.
 He (NOM) mirror-at child (ACC) him HAB-show-COP
He is showing the child to him in the mirror.

(102) Wi_i xo_{i/*j} nenk-edo (bɪ) kɪrɪk_j nɪmond.
 He (ERG) self mirror-at with child (ACC) showPART
He showed himself to the child in the mirror.

(103) Wi_i kɪrɪk_j nenk-edo xo_{i/*j} nɪmond.
 He (ERG) child (ACC) mirror-at self showPART
He showed the child to himself in the mirror.

Sentences (99) – (103) reveal no difference between an ergative and a nominative argument in terms of binding. Although binding might not show that ergative case marked arguments are subjects, it at least provides evidence for the fact that both ergative case marked arguments and nominative arguments can occupy the highest argument position where they can bind other arguments. We assume that this position is Spec, TP for both.

2.2.2 Evidence from Scope

The second diagnostic tool to compare ergative and nominative subjects is scope, as suggested by McCloskey (1997): A subject typically takes wider scope than any other argument in a sentence.⁴

- (104) Her-yek (l) yek-e hez dı-k-e.
 Every-one (NOM) (at) one-ACC love HAB-do-COP
Everyone loves someone. ($\forall > \exists$)

- (105) Her-yek-i (l) yek-e hez kır.
 Every-one (ERG) (at) one-ACC love doPART
Everyone loved someone. ($\forall > \exists$)

- (106) Her kırık dı kitov-o dı-xun-e.
 Every child (NOM) two book-ACC HAB-read-COP.
Every child is reading two books. ($\forall > \exists$)

⁴ Anand & Nevins (2007) show that ERG and NOM subjects behave differently in terms of scope in Hindi - a language typologically related to AK. In the following data, the sentence with a NOM subject allows for inverse scope and yields two readings while the one with an ERG subject does not.

- (i) a. koi shaayer har ghazal likhtaa hai
 some poet-NOM every song-ACC write.m-IMP be-PRES
Some poet writes every song. ($\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$)
 b. kisii shaayer-ne har ghazal likhii
 some poet-ERG every song-NOM write.f-PERF
Some poet wrote every song. ($\exists > \forall, *\forall > \exists$)

(Anand & Nevins, 2007: 5)

(107) Her kırık-i dı kitov xond-ın.
 Every child-ERG two book readPART-PL.
 Every child read two books. ($\forall > \exists$)

The unmarked readings of sentences (104) - (107) yield a wide scope of the subject over the object. In sentences (104) and (105) the universal quantifier “heryek” takes scope over the existential quantifier “yek” and renders the meaning: “Each person loves another person” in (104) and “Each person loved another person” in (105). Similarly in sentences (106) and (107) “her kırık” takes wide scope on “two books” rendering the meaning: “Each child is reading two different books and therefore there are more than two books” in (106) and “Each child read two different books and therefore there were more than two books” in (107). Based on scope test, we observe that ergative and nominative subjects are not different. This, again, is a good illustration for the similarity of ergative and nominative subjects in terms of their syntactic positions.

2.3 EPP

The binding and scope facts discussed above further imply that both ergative and nominative subjects occupy a position in the structure where they can asymmetrically c-command the object. We argue that this position is Spec, TP and this follows from the fact that AK exhibits EPP effects.

The most powerful evidence for EPP comes from the distribution of floating quantifiers with respect to the auxiliaries, which are not present in all dialects of Kurmanji, but are available in this specific dialect. When the positions of the floating

quantifier ‘gi’ (all) with respect to the auxiliaries in (108) – (111) are considered, we see that the subject has been raised from its original merge position to Spec, TP to satisfy the EPP.

(108) Em gi dıke he-ni.
 We (NOM) all will go-PL
 We all will go.

(109) Em dıke gi he-ni.
 We (NOM) will all go-PL
 We will all go.

(110) Me kır gi he-ni
 I (ACC) doPART all go-PL
 We would all go.

(111) Me gi kır he-ni
 I (ACC) all doPART go-PL
 We all would go.

We assume that both in non-past and past/perfect constructions, nominative and ergative subjects all move to Spec, TP due to EPP as they are the highest arguments in the structure. That is why sentences (112) and (113) are two way ambiguous similar to what we observe in languages like English, which also exhibits EPP effects. There are two readings of the sentences, namely ‘all > not’ and ‘not > all’.

The unmarked reading is in fact ‘all > not’ where subject has scope over negation and yields a meaning of ‘nobody came’. This is an indication of the raising of the highest argument to Spec, TP to satisfy the EPP.

- (112) Herkes ne-ye.
 Everybody (NOM) NEG-come-3SG
Everybody is not coming. (Nobody is coming.)

- (113) Herkes n-ot.
 Everybody (NOM) NEG-comePART
Everybody didn’t come. (Nobody came.)

Tests we applied above showed no syntactic difference between nominative and ergative subjects. Hence we assume that they occupy the same position which we postulate to be Spec, TP based on tests like auxiliaries, floating quantifiers and scope.

Based on the evidence discussed above, we argue that both ergative and nominative subjects raise to Spec, TP to satisfy EPP in AK.

2.4 Ergativity and Voice

Having established that ergative subjects are not any different than nominative subjects in terms of their syntactic positions in AK, let us focus on what the source of ergativity can be in Kurmanji.

Trask (1979) argues that despite the similarities observed to a certain extent, the source of ergativity is not the same in all languages and should be defined over the typological properties of the languages. According to Trask (1979), there are two types of ergative languages: Ergativity in *Type A* languages is based on passive constructions diachronically, while the one in *Type B* languages is due to the peripheral introduction of a subject to a deverbalized stative.

According to Trask (1979) Indo-Iranian languages, to which AK also belongs, are listed under *Type B*. In such languages, the main cause of ergativity is the *perfect* aspect which requires a stative. Perfect is the result of a construction where the subject is connected to the stative secondarily with a verb denoting possession. In languages like English, possession is expressed with the verb ‘*have*’ therefore the development of perfect in English is from ‘*I have a window broken*’ to ‘*I have broken a window*’. Indo-Iranian languages, nevertheless, lack a verb like ‘*have*’; therefore they apply tools other than ‘*have*’ to express the possession relationship between the subject and the stative. According to Trask (1979), in such languages, instead of the verb ‘*have*’, possessive predications are usually made by putting the possessor into an oblique case, such as genitive or locative. Reinterpretation of the oblique marked possessor as the subject, then, yields the ergative case.

When we apply Trask’s (1979) approach to ergative in AK – an Indo-Iranian language, we face certain problems. The first problem comes from the possessive analysis. It is true that ergative case has the same morphological shape with the case found in possessive constructions in AK.

(114) M₁ [v_P non xor].
 I (ERG) bread eatPART
 I ate (bread).

(115) Pi-ye m₁
 arm-*ezafe* my
 My arm.

The problem here is that in an ergative construction, VP is on the right of the subject NP (114), whereas the order is reversed in a possessive construction (115). What is more, we observe *ezafe* marker in possessives which is never observed in an ergative construction. One may argue that the structure in (115) is just a nominal structure denoting possession and a sentence like ‘I have an arm’ might give us an idea about whether ergative case is the same case used in structures denoting possession. However, as seen in (116), such structures are constructed with the verb ‘hevun’ (to exist) and use the same possessive structure given in (115). Therefore, it is not possible to claim a possession relationship between the ergative subject and the vP in a sentence like (114).

(116) Pi-ye m₁ he-ye.
 arm-*ezafe* my exist-3SG
 Lit:My arm exists.
 I have an arm.

The second problem with Trask's (1979) analysis is that it cannot account for the ergativity in the past tense, even though it can explain the ergative in perfect constructions. Gündoğdu (2011) claims that ergativity in Kurmanji, unlike typologically related languages like Hindi, is dependent on tense, rather than aspect. As seen in example (117), it is not the perfect aspect responsible for the ergative, but, indeed, the past tense. This is due to the fact that we can observe ergativity in the past tense, as well as in past progressive, where there is no perfective aspect present.

- (117) M₁ dh₁ va çağ-no kitav d₁-xond.
 I (ERG) yesterday this time-PL book HAB-readPART
 I was reading a book this time yesterday.

Based on these observations, we argue that Kurmanji – though an Indo-Iranian language- cannot belong to *Type B* languages discussed by Trask (1979).

Now let us consider whether ergativity in AK belongs to *Type A* languages where it is based on a passive construction diachronically.⁵ In order to argue that ergativity in AK is actually a passive made compulsory diachronically we need to consider what type of voice phenomenon is available in AK. In the following, we present the voice properties of AK and show that AK has lexical passive, lexical causative and anticausatives, but it does not possess a syntactic passive, which will form the basis of our main proposal that ergativity in AK is dependent on a syntactic passive construction.

⁵ Trask (1979) agrees that the structure in Indo-Iranian languages is, in fact, that of the passive type, but he rejects the idea that the function was the same as the one found in a passive construction.

2.4.1 Lexical Passive in AK

Laka (1993) and Levin & Masam (1986) argue that ergative case marking and passive are incompatible. Therefore, they are in complementary distribution cross-linguistically. Otsuka (2000) claims that many ergative languages do not have passive constructions. According to Otsuka (2000), these claims are based on the standard definition of passive.

Passive in Government & Binding (Languages with ACC alignment) has the following properties:

- a) The verb has a certain passive morphology
- b) The internal argument appears in the subject position, bearing NOM
- c) ACC case is absorbed
- d) The external argument may appear as an oblique argument, usually as a complement of a preposition

According to Otsuka (2000), this is the definition of the structural passive that is not present in ergative languages like Tongan. According to Otsuka (2000), the passive in Tongan is a lexical passive and has the following properties:

- a) affixation of a passive morpheme in the lexicon;
- b) the derived verb is intransitive;
- c) the overt argument checks its case feature in the active Agr.

Given the definitions above, the passive in AK displays properties of a lexical passive rather than those of a syntactic passive. Sentence (119) is the passive counterpart of the active sentence in (118).

(118) Ali Ahmet kuşt.
 Ali (ACC) Ahmet (NOM) killPART
 Ali killed Ahmet.

(119) Ahmet (*b₁ Ali) hot kuşt-ın-e.
 Ahmet (NOM) (with Ali) comePART killPART-GERUND-OBL
 Lit: Ahmet came to the state of killing (by Ali).
 Ahmet was killed (by Ali).

When the construction in (119) is considered, we observe the following properties:

- a) The verb is in the PART form and the gerund suffix ‘-ın’ is attached. The verb behaves as if it is a noun and loses its verbal properties. Just like a regular noun, it takes the OBLIQUE case.
- b) Given the nominal nature of the lexical verb, the auxiliary-like verb ‘hotın’ (to come) is used. It is treated as the main verb and thus bears tense, aspect and agreement markings.
- c) The internal argument, that is the object in the active sentence, is in the subject position and gets NOM case.
- d) External arguments cannot be introduced via by-phrases.

The structure is just like any intransitive sentence constructed with the verb ‘hotın’ to come. Compare sentence (120), which is passive, with the one in (121), which takes a nominal adverbial.

(120) Ez hot-ım kuşt-ın-e.
 I (NOM) comePART-1SG killPART-GERUND-OBL

Lit: I came to killing.

I was killed.

(121) Ez hot-ım mal.
 I (NOM) comePART-1SG home (OBL)

I came home.

In parallel to sentence (121), where the verb ‘hotın’ is used as a regular unaccusative verb, sentence (120) literally means ‘I came to a state of killing’. The verb ‘hotın’ (to come) functions like a become operator. In this type of a construction, the event of killing is introduced as a state and the internal argument reaches that state, which then yields the lexical passive. Considering sentence (120), we observe no difference between the structure of a sentence with an unaccusative verb and the passive. The PART + GERUND combination ‘kuştın’ (to kill) behaves the same way as a noun like ‘mal’ (home). Based on these, we argue that AK has a lexical passive, rather than a syntactic passive.

What we call lexical passive above is akin to ‘get’ passives in English. We call the structure above lexical passive as it fits Otsuka’s (2000) definition of lexical passives. It can be argued that the structure above might or might not be lexical

passive depending on the theoretical model one adopts. The main goal in this section is to reveal that the structure above is not the counterpart of the structural passive found in languages like English. Whatever the structure in (120) might be called, it cannot be regarded as the syntactic passive observed in English. The same applies to lexical causative discussed below.

2.4.2 Lexical Causative in AK

One construction akin to the lexical passive in AK is lexical causative. The structure is rather similar to the lexical passive in the sense that the main verb is again in the form of a GERUND. The functional auxiliary here is the verb ‘bıdın’ (to give). The following sentences illustrate the structure.

- (122) Mı piskilet çekır.
 I (ACC) bicycle (NOM) repairPART.
 I repaired the bicycle.

- (123) Mı piskilet do çekır-ın-e
 I (ACC) bicycle(NOM) givePART repairPART-GERUND-OBL
 Lit: I gave the bicycle to repairing.
 I had the bicycle repaired.

(124) M₁ piskilet b₁ Ali çekir-in
 I (ACC) bicycle (NOM) with Ali repairPART-GERUND
 do
 givePART
 I had the bicycle repaired by Ali.

2.4.3 Anticausative in AK

Anticausative, defined by Alexiadou (2006) as ‘a change of state without an external argument’, is another form observed in AK. Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2006) apply certain tests on anticausatives in English, German and Greek to suggest a unified picture of anticausatives cross-linguistically. In this section, we will first apply these tests on AK to ensure that it has anticausative structures. Then, we will concentrate on the structure of anticausatives in AK to reveal the class of languages it falls into in terms of anticausative constructions. We will focus on whether the anticausative in AK is similar to English and German, or Greek, based on the proposal by Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2006).

The first step of the tests is to start with the differences between passives and anticausatives cross-linguistically. Passives can be modified by by-phrases, agent oriented adverbs and allow control into purpose clauses, while none of these are possible in anticausatives. The following examples from Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2006) illustrate the point.

- (125) a. The boat was sunk by Bill.
 b. * The boat sunk by Bill.

(126) a. The boat was sunk on purpose.

b. * The boat sunk on purpose.

(127) a. The boat was sunk to collect the insurance.

b. * The boat sunk to collect the insurance.

Although AK does not seem to have a structural passive construction⁶, it has an anticausative construction abiding by the rules stated above. AK anticausatives do not allow by-phrases, agent oriented adverbs or control into purpose clauses.

(128) Cam şıkeşt.

Glass (NOM) breakPART

The glass broke.

(129) * Cam b1 Ali şıkeşt.

Glass (NOM) with Ali breakPART

* *The glass broke by Ali.*

(130) * Cam mexsus şıkeşt.

Glass (NOM) on purpose breakPART

The glass broke on purpose.

⁶ This is the general assumption which will be refuted in upcoming sections.

- (131) * Cam şikeşt seyi ki Ali b1-tırsin-e.
 Glass (NOM) breakPART so that Ali OPT-frighten-OPT
 * *The glass broke o frighten Ali.*

The second test to apply is ‘*by itself*’. Anticausatives crosslinguistically (at least in English, German and Greek) allow ‘*by itself*’ phrase. AK does the same in (135).

- (132) The glass broke by itself.

- (133) Der glass zerbrach von selbst.
 The glass broke by itself

- (134) I porta anikse apo moni tis.
 The door opened-Act by alone-sg its
 The door opened by itself.

(Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer, 2006)

- (135) Cam b1 xo şikeşt.
 Glass with self breakPART
 The glass broke itself.

One important point brought up by Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2006) is the PP modification in passives and anticausatives crosslinguistically. Although ‘*by-phrases*’ are not possible in anticausatives crosslinguistically, there are some types of arguments that can be introduced by PPs in anticausatives.

English passives allow *agents, instruments, causers* and *causing events* with ‘*by phrase*’. English anticausatives disallow arguments introduced by ‘*by phrases*’ but they allow *causers* and *causing events* with ‘*from*’.

(136) The window broke from the pressure / from the explosion.

(137)* The door opened from Mary / from the key.

German passives and anticausatives display similar properties with their English counterparts in the sense that the former group allows all types of arguments with ‘*by phrases*’ whereas the latter group allows *causers* and *causing events* only.

(138) Die Vase wurde von Peter/ durch den Erdstoß / mit dem Hammer.⁷

the vase was by Peter / through-the earth tremor / with the hammer
zerbrochen.

broken

The vase was broken by Peter/ by the earth tremor/ with the hammer.

(139) Die Vase zerbrach *vonPeter / *mit dem Hammer.

*The vase broke *by Peter / *with the hammer.*

(140) Die Vase zerbrach durch ein Erdbeben.

The vase broke through an earthquake.

⁷ Sentences (136)-(145) are adopted from Alexiadou, Anagnostapoulou & Schäfer (2006).

Greek displays certain differences compared to English and German. Greek passives license agents and instruments with ‘by phrases’ but they disallow causers and causing events. The second difference shows up in anticausatives where Greek anticausatives allow causers, causing events and instruments as well. Agents are not acceptable in Greek anticausatives.

(141) Ta mallia mu stegnothikan apo tin komotria / me to pistolaki.

The hair my dried-Nact by the hairdresser / with the hair-dryer

My hair was dried by the hairdresser / with the hair dryer.

(142) ?*Ta ruxa stegnothikan apo ton ilio / me ton ilio.

The clothes dried-Nact by the sun / with the sun

**The clothes were dried by the sun.*

(143) *Ta mallia mu stegnosan apo tin komotria.

The hair my dried-Act by the hairdresser

**My hair dried by the hairdresser.*

(144) Ta mallia mu stegnosan me to pistolaki.

The hair my dried-Act with the hair-dryer

**My hair dried with the hair dryer.*

(145) Ta ruxa stegnosan apo / me ton ilio.

The clothes dried-Act by / with the sun

**The clothes dried by the sun.*

To summarize the arguments that can be introduced with the help of PPs in passives and anticausatives in English, German and Greek,

- English and German passives license all types of arguments (*agents*, *instruments*, *causers* and *causing events*)
- English and German anticausatives license *causers* and *causing events*.
- Greek passives license *agents* and *instruments* only.
- Greek anticausatives license *causers*, *causing events* and *instruments* but not *agents*.

(Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer, 2006)

AK anticausatives align with Greek anticausatives based on the generalizations sketched above. They license *instruments* and *causers* and disallow *agents*. Two prepositions are available for introducing arguments in anticausatives. The first one is ‘*bi*’ (*with*) which can be used with *instruments* and *causers*, and the second one is ‘*li*’ (*at/with*) which is possible only with *causers*.

(146) Cam lı/bı bhe şıkeşt.
 Glass at/with wind breakPART
 The glass broke from the wind.

(147) Cam bı/*lı kevir şıkeşt.
 Glass with stone breakPART
 **The glass broke from the stone.*

(148) *Cam b1 Ali şikeşt.

Glass with Ali breakPART

**The glass broke from Ali.*

(149) Poç l1/b1 bhe keti-yo.

Cloth at/with wind tearPART-PERF

The cloth tore from the wind.

(150) Kapı b1 kilit-e wevu.

Door with key-OBL openPART

**The door opened with the key.*

As it is not possible to form structures like ‘*Ali’s arrival*’ or rising of the humidity in AK, we cannot provide examples for causing events unless words like ‘*earthquake*’ are regarded as causing events rather than causers. If earthquake can be regarded as a causing event then the following would illustrate the possibility of causing events with anticausatives.

(151) Kapı b1 deprem-e wevu.

Door with earthquake-OBL openPART

The door opened from the earthquake.

Although a sentence like (152) is not possible in AK, (153) might be considered as an example of causing event.

(152) The window shattered from John's banging.

(153) Ali *lex*1st. Cam *şıkeş*t.

Ali hit. Glass breakPART

Ali hit and glass broke.

Sentences (146) - (149) have illustrated that AK anticausatives are similar to Greek anticausatives rather than their English and German counterparts. Therefore, we assume the structure of AK and Greek anticausatives to be the same.

At this point, it would be appropriate to focus on the proposal suggested by Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2006) about the structures of anticausatives.

They discuss that previous work on anticausatives and passives claimed that the difference between the two structures was caused by the presence of an implicit external argument in passives but no such implicit arguments are available in anticausatives. They, then, move on to show that English, Greek and German anticausatives, in fact, license implicit *causers*, *causing events* and *instruments* (Greek only). The only argument that is not possible in anticausatives crosslinguistically is *agent*. *Agents* are licensed exclusively in passives. Therefore, the difference between passive and anticausative is not due to existence vs. non-existence of implicit arguments but, rather, due to the nature of this implicit argument. As a result, Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2006) claim that agentivity and causation should be syntactically represented as two distinct functional heads, that is, as Voice and CAUS, respectively as in (154).

(154) [Voice [CAUS [Root]]]

The importance of certain Greek verbs such as *katastrefo* ‘destroy’ and *skizo* ‘tear’ in shaping the analysis above should not be dismissed. Non-active constructions with such verbs cause ambiguity between passive and anticausative. Introduction of an agent with *apo* ‘by’ removes the ambiguity and removes the anticausative interpretation.

Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2006) distinguish between Voice and CAUS as follows: Voice is responsible for introducing external argument and manner. Agentivity is a feature on Voice which licenses agent and causer depending on its +/- value. Voice [+AG] licenses agents as well as instrumental PPs whereas Voice [-AG] licenses causers. Furthermore, Voice determines whether the structure is active or passive. When it is active, relevant thematic role appears in its specifier, whereas in passive the relevant thematic role stays implicit.

According to Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2006) CAUS introduces a causal relation between a causing event (the implicit argument of CAUS) and the resultant state expressed by verbal root and theme.

Their discussion continues suggesting two possible options on anticausatives. Anticausatives can either have a Voice [-AG] or no Voice at all. In languages that can have Voice [-AG] in passive, anticausatives cannot have a Voice head. This means English and German anticausatives do not have Voice head at all. On the other hand, in a language where passive is necessarily agentive, Voice [-AG] can be used in anticausatives, as is the case in Greek. Based on this assumption we can argue that AK has a Voice [-AG] head and a CAUS head at the same time in anticausatives. What is more, if there is a passive construction in AK, it should allow agents only (and instrumental PPs).

Grounded on the discussion above, we can claim the following for AK. AK anticausatives license instruments, causers and causing events but not agents. Voice [+AG] in passive licenses agents and true instruments which is unattested (as long as we assume AK does not have passive). Voice [-AG] is not possible in AK passives (if any). Causers are introduced by Voice [-AG] and causing events are licensed by CAUS. Instruments licensed in anticausatives are not true *pure instruments* but *instrument causers*, a distinction put forth by Kamp and Rossdeutscher (1994).

2.4.5 Interim Summary

Sections above showed that AK has lexical passive, lexical causative and antipassive but no structural passive.⁸ Lexical passive in AK fits Otsuka's (2000) definition of lexical passive. Anticausatives in AK seem to align with Greek anticausatives as opposed to English and German anticausatives. Syntactic passive is not observed at all. The reason for this mutual exclusivity of passive and ergative in AK might be that they are the same phenomena in this language. As Trask (1979) argues, some languages develop ergative structure as a result of a passive structure becoming obligatory and losing its original function.

⁸ It should be noted that impersonal passives are not attested in AK, which uses a structure similar to German '*Man kann*' or English '*one can*' structures as in (i). Therefore, structures like Turkish impersonal passives given in (ii) are not possible.

(i) Meri kon-e lı vır bışığıle.
 Man can-3SG at here workIMPERATIVE
 One can work here.

(ii) Burada çalış-ıl-ır.
 Here work-PASS-Aorist
 Here it is worked. (One can work here.)

2.5 An Accusative Analysis of Ergative in AK

The previous section has established that there are no syntactic passive constructions in AK. As it is the case in many other ergative systems cross-linguistically, passive and ergative are in complementary distribution in AK, too. We argue that this complementary distribution is due to the fact that passive and ergative constructions are the same phenomenon in AK. Thus, ergative constructions have emerged due to the reanalysis of a passive structure as past. It should be noted that both structures need a transitive or ditransitive verb. We never observe passive or ergative in intransitive structures.

When we take a close look at the morphology of ergative case in AK, we observe that it is identical to the accusative case found in the NOM-ACC alignment, and is clearly different from the nominative morphologically:

(155)

Person	Nominative	Accusative	Ergative
1SG	E(z)	Mi(n)	Mi(n)
2SG	Ti	Te	Te
3SG	Hevo	Wi	Wi
1PL	Em	Me	Me
2PL	Un	We	We
3PL	Hevno	Wono	Wono

In a non-past/non-perfect structure, we observe that the subject is in nominative and the object is in accusative.

(156) E te di-vun-im-e.

I (NOM) you (ACC) HAB-see-1SG-COP

I see you.

This is just like the structure in an active English sentence. When the structure is past/perfect the semantic subject is in the accusative (ergative) form and the object (which is the structural subject as it agrees with the verb) is in the nominative case.

(157) M_i t_i di-yi.
 I (ACC) you (NOM) seePART-2SG
 I saw you.

The structure in (157) is quite similar to the passive in English with some difference. In an English passive sentence, the object gets the nominative case which is the same here. Also, the object is the structural subject and agrees with the auxiliary verb, which is also the same in AK. The only difference observable is about the semantic subject. In English, we find the semantic subject not in the canonical subject position, but within a PP, as it is introduced with the preposition ‘by’. Nevertheless, in AK the subject is in the canonical subject position.

Another important difference between English passives and AK passives is about information structure. One very vital function of English passives is to highlight the internal argument by moving it into topic position and thus to change the information structure. Nonetheless, such an information structure related change is not observed in AK. Hence, it might be argued that the structure in question is not passive. However, it should be noted that the change in the information structure is a by-product of passive and occurs as a result of the change in the order of the arguments. Since such a change is not possible in AK passives, no change is observed in information structure.

One further point is the fact that past forms of the verb roots are the same as those in lexical passives (158) and adjectival passives (159).

- (158) Ez hot-ım kuş-ın-e.
 I (NOM) comePART-1SG killPART-GERUND-OBL
 Lit: I came to killing.
 I was killed.

- (159) Merik-e kuş-i
 Man-*ezafe* killPART-become
 The who was man killed

Based on the reasons discussed above, we claim that ergative in AK is in fact the result of the reanalysis of a syntactic passive structure and the so-called ergative case is in fact the accusative case.

However, such an account is highly problematic when standard analyses of passive are taken into consideration. As discussed above, standardly, it is assumed that passive morphology absorbs the ACC case and, as a result, verbs with two arguments surface with one in passives (Chomsky, 1984; Jaeggli, 1986, Baker Johnson and Roberts 1989). Nevertheless, we do not observe such a process in AK. The external argument is there both in NOM-ACC alignment and in the so-called ERG alignment.

- (160) John killed Mary. *Active*

(161) Mary was killed. *Passive*

(162) E te dı-kuj-ım-e. *Active (non-past)*

I (NOM) you (ACC) HAB-kill-1SG-COP

I am killing you.

(163) Mı tı kuşt-i. *Passive (past)*

I (ACC) you (NOM) killPART-2SG

I killed you.

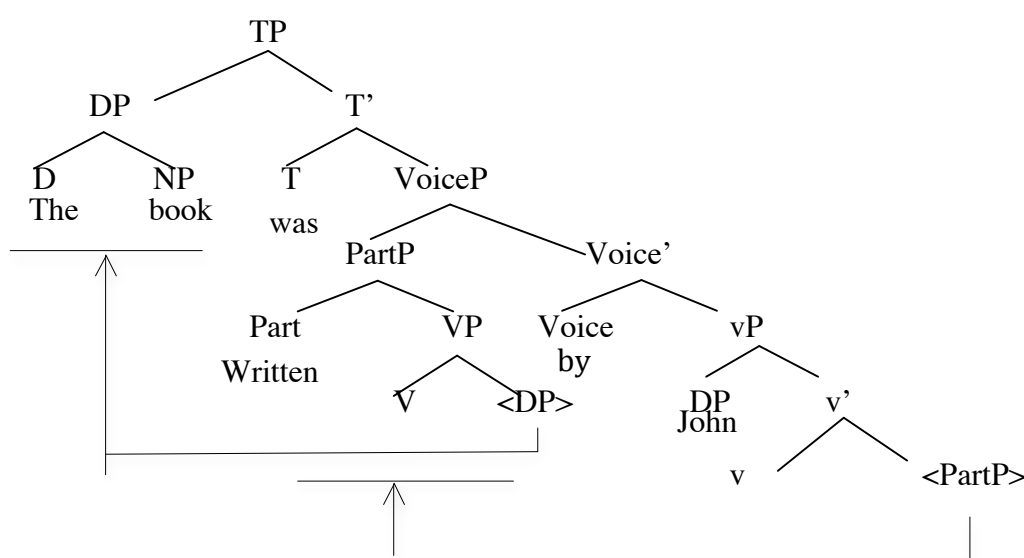
Comparing sentences (161) and (163) we do not see external argument in English in its canonical position but in AK the external argument can be seen in its canonical position. Therefore, within the standard theory perspective, it is not possible to claim that AK ERG is in fact similar to passive construction in English.

At this point we deviate from the standard theory and adopt Collins' (2005) approach to the passive in English. Collins (2005) criticizes the standard theory of passives and raises the following question: "Why is it the case that theta assignment is different in the passive than in the active?" In other words, why is the external argument generated in Spec, vP/IP (depending on analysis) in active but as a complement of *by phrase* in passive. This violates the UTAH in GB and configurationality of all theta assignment in MP. In terms of a minimalist point of view, theta role assignment should be the same both in the active and the passive.

Giving up the standard analysis of passive, Collins (2005) proposes the following architecture for the passive in English (164). The past participle suffix and the passive participle suffix in English are the same. Participle *-en* heads PartP,

which is above the VP and V raises to Part head in order to form the participle. Part takes a VP complement, which is the complement of v. The external argument is merged to Spec, vP as is the case in the active. The preposition ‘by’ does not form a PP with the external argument, rather it heads the VoiceP, which takes a vP as its complement. It does not assign a theta role, but simply acts as a dummy preposition. The external argument is merged to Spec, vP. PartP smuggles⁹ the internal argument to Spec, VoiceP, where it raises to Spec, IP.¹⁰

(164) The book was written by John.



⁹ “Smuggling is defined as follows: Suppose a constituent YP contains XP. Furthermore, suppose that XP is inaccessible to Z because of the presence of W (a barrier, phase boundary, or an intervener for the Minimal Link Condition and/or Relativized Minimality), which blocks a syntactic relation between Z and XP (e.g., movement, Case checking, agreement, binding). If YP moves to a position c-commanding W, we say that YP smuggles XP past W.”

(Collins, 2005)

¹⁰ Legate (2010) claims that Collins’ (2005) smuggling analysis works well on languages like English where passive voice is present, but it faces problems with languages with object voice. Instead of smuggling, Legate (2010) proposes that the agents in passives are morphosyntactically present as a bundle of ϕ -features on Voice, independent of the presence/absence of the by-DP. The agent is implicit in any case, but the overt pronunciation of the agent is possible with adjunction of the by-phrase. (See Legate (2010) for details.) It should be noted that the analysis we develop here does not include smuggling but adopts the existence of a VoiceP. Therefore, problems regarding smuggling are not directly relevant to our analysis.

The existence of such a VoiceP is supported by the evidence discussed in Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2006). In Greek, certain verbs like *katastrefo* ‘destroy’ and *skizo* ‘tear’ yield ambiguous sentences. The ambiguity is between passive and anticausative. When *apo* ‘by’ is introduced into the structure, the ambiguity is removed and the sentence is passive. This indicates that *apo* in Greek and *by phrase* in English are not mere prepositions, but are closely correlated with various voice phenomena.

One problem Collins (2005) points out is case checking of the arguments. Normally, *v* assigns theta role to the external argument and checks ACC case of the internal argument therefore, we expect ACC case on the internal argument. He solves this problem with the following claim: In passive constructions in English, case checking and theta role assignment are dissociated. *v* assigns a theta role whereas Voice checks the ACC case. As a result of this assumption, the external argument gets ACC case from Voice (by) and the internal argument gets the only available case, which is NOM.

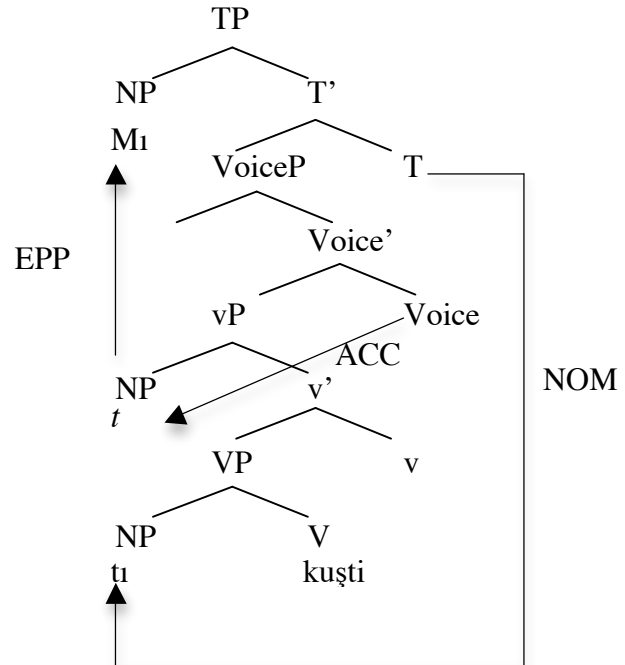
Based on the analysis put forth by Collins (2005), we propose the following architecture for the ergative in AK. In non-past/perfect structures, which we regard as active, *vP* is responsible for introducing the external argument and checking ACC case. On the other hand, in past/perfect structures, namely in syntactic passives, case checking and external argument introduction are dissociated. *vP* introduces the external argument whereas VoiceP checks the accusative case.¹¹ The derivation of sentence (165) would be, then, as follows:

¹¹ English makes use of ‘by’ to introduce the external argument which is regarded as the head of VoiceP by Collins (2005). Nevertheless, no such preposition is used to introduce the external argument in the past tense, which we take to be a syntactic passive construction in AK. It should be noted that the case on external arguments, which we take to be accusative rather than ergative is the same as the case found on the complement of PPs in AK, as shown in (i) below. Therefore, it might be the case that, historically, there was a preposition introducing the external argument in AK, which

(165) M₁ t₁ kuşt-i *Passive (past)*

I (ACC) you (NOM) killed-2SG

I killed you.



On the tree above, the external argument is introduced in the same position as the one in an active sentence. VoiceP, which turns the structure into passive, checks ACC case with the closest argument on the tree, namely, the external argument. The internal argument checks case with the sole case checker left, which is T. Finally the highest argument, i.e. the accusative external argument, raises to Spec, TP to satisfy EPP. This shows that the so-called ergative case in AK is in fact ACC case and the

then got deleted. Note that some prepositions can be dropped leaving behind their complements with free variation in AK, as illustrated in (ii). This might then support the idea that the external argument in the past is also introduced by a 'by' like preposition in AK, which then got deleted historically.

(i) b₁ m₁
 with I (ACC)
 with me

(ii) Kilit i (l₁) m₁ ra-ye
 key be at I(ACC) ra-3SG
 The key is with me.

ergative structure is in fact in the form of passive. This passive structure has been reanalyzed as the past tense diachronically. This reanalysis, according to Trask (1979), is possible for many languages such as Indo-Aryan, Australian and Polynesian. He says, while ergative languages are not synchronically passive, they are historically accusative languages where a passive construction becomes obligatory and the corresponding transitive active construction is lost. This definition perfectly suits AK.

There are several implications of such a structure. First, T is always responsible for NOM case checking in AK and any argument checking case with T morphologically appears as NOM. In ergative constructions, which are passive in form, syntactic subject is the theme object, which agrees with the verb. This suggests that subjecthood in AK is determined by NOM case-checking with T and by agreement, but not via position, i.e. being in Spec, TP. Furthermore, this also implies that reflexive ‘*xo*’ in AK is not subject dependent but position dependent. That is, it is dependent on the argument, which occupies Spec, TP. Also the external argument, checking ACC case, raises to Spec, TP to satisfy the EPP, as it is the closest argument. The motivation for the claim that external argument raises to Spec, TP follows from the fact that an ERG subject can take scope over other arguments in the structure, bind an anaphora and take scope over negation just like the NOM subject discussed in Section 2 above. Finally, this analysis implies that ergative in AK is a structural case rather than an inherent case, unlike what is argued by Woolford (2006) and Anand & Nevins (2007).

Now that we put forth the idea that ergativity in the past tense in AK is in fact passive reanalyzed as the past tense, we turn to the ergativity observed in perfect constructions in the following section.

2.5.1 Accounting for The Ergative in Perfects in AK

McFadden & Alexiadou (2010) argue that what has been called perfect is not a homogenous category. It is, in fact, a roof under which various structures are involved. Although sentences (166) & (167) are both labeled perfect, they do not share the same structure.

(166) I have been sick since January.

(167) I have been sick twice since January.

Examples from: McFadden & Alexiadou (2010)

McFadden & Alexiadou (2010) suggest four main types of perfect for English. These are *universal*, *experiential*, *perfect of result*, and *recent past*. We base our discussion of perfect in AK on this typology and investigate the types existing in this language.

According to McFadden & Alexiadou (2010) *universal perfect* describes an eventuality that holds over an interval starting some time in the past and continuing up to and including reference time. Sentence (166) exemplifies *universal perfect*. The speaker has been sick for entire time from January up to when she utters the sentence. This structure is not possible in AK. The same meaning is conveyed by means of the present tense rather than perfect structure as in (168).

(168) Ocağ-e vırdo ez-e nexoş-ım.

January-ACC this way I (NOM)-be ill-1SG

Lit: I am sick since January.

I have been sick since January.

The second type of perfect McFadden & Alexiadou (2010) draw attention to is *experiential perfect* which describes an eventuality that occurred before the reference time and has no implication that it continues. Sentence (167) is an example of *experiential perfect*. This is another structure which is not existent in AK. The language uses two other structures to convey the same meaning. These structures are either past or present progressive.¹²

¹² Although we argue for the absence of *experiential perfect* in AK, we observe a structure quite similar to English *experiential perfect* in (i).

- i. Ocağ-e vırdo dı qoto mı qırız kır-iye
 January-ACC this way two times I (ERG) crisis doPART-PERF
 I have had a fit of hysterics twice since January.

The meaning conveyed by the perfective marker in (i) is not *experiential perfect*, though. In fact, it denotes a similar meaning with the Turkish evidential marker ‘-mİş’. The context where (i) can be used is a situation when the subject is not aware of the event at the time of happening. The subject understands the situation by either evidence or hearsay just like the meaning conveyed by evidential marker in Turkish as in (ii).

- ii. Bugün iki kere bayıl-mış-ım
 Today two times faint-evidential past-1SG
 I fainted twice today.

Sentence (ii) means that the subject was not aware of the fact that s/he fainted but was informed or got aware of the situation afterwards based on evidence.

The aforementioned structure is rather context dependent. Sentence (i) is acceptable whereas sentence (iii) is not acceptable unless in relevant context.

- iii. *Ocağ-e vırdo dı qoto nexoş bu-m-e
 January-ACC this way two times sick bePART-1SG-PERF
 I have been sick twice since January.

The verb ‘qırız kırın’ (to have a fit) in (i) implies the unawareness of the speaker and is therefore compatible with perfective marker which denotes evidentiality/hearsay in this case. Nevertheless, the verb (or predicate) ‘nexoş bun’ (being sick/ill) does not necessarily denote unawareness of the speaker and therefore the structure is illicit in out of the blue reading. It can only be acceptable when the speaker was not aware that s/he was ill/sick and realized the situation later either based on evidence or hearsay. This shows that perfect structure has also started to code modality, as well. The reason for such a meaning might be the result of interaction with Turkish as my informant constantly translated perfect sentences into Turkish using ‘mİş’.

(169) Ocağ-e vırdo dı qoto nexoş dı-vu-m-e.

January-ACC this way two times sick HAB-be-1SG-PROG

Lit: I am being sick twice since January.

I have been sick twice since January.

(170) Ocağ-e vırdo dı qoto nexoş bu-m.

January-ACC this way two times sick bePART-1SG

Lit: I was sick twice since January.

I have been sick twice since January.

Another type of perfect discussed by McFadden & Alexiadou (2010) is perfect of result which describes a state holding at the reference time that is the result of eventuality depicted by the verb phrase. Their example is sentence (171).

(171) I have lost my cellphone. Could you help me find it?

AK displays examples of *perfect of result* sentences as in (172) and (173).

(172) Mı telefun-e xo vendo kır-ıye.

I (ERG) phone-*ezafe* self lost doPART-PERF

I have lost my phone.

(173) Pi-ye mı şikeşt-ıye

Arm-*ezafe* I (ACC) breakPART-PERF

My arm has broken.

The final type of perfect mentioned by McFadden & Alexiadou (2010) is *recent past* describing events that have just happened.

(174) Galatasaray has just won the cup.

AK has a similar structure where recent past information can be denoted by perfect.

(175) E hin nho hot-im-e.
 I (NOM) still new comePART-1SG-PERF
 I have just arrived.

Summarizing the discussion above, we observe that AK has two types of perfect, which are perfect of result and recent past, and it does not have two other structures observed in English, namely *universal perfect* and *experiential perfect*.

In order to develop an account of ergative in perfect sentences, it would be appropriate to look into the structure of the perfect in AK.

Thackston (2006) states that the perfect in AK is constructed with the past stem of a verb and person markers denoting perfect as well. When the following person markers are attached to a past verb stem, the output is perfect.

(176)

Person	Stems ending in consonants		Stems ending in vowels	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	-ime	-ine	-me	-ne
2	-iye	-ine	-ye	-ne
3	-iye	-ine	-ye	-ne

(Thackston, 2006)

The problem with this analysis, though, is that it does not present the whole story about the perfects in AK. In order to better capture the phenomenon, one needs to include structures with the past tense in the picture.

When we take a close look at the verbal complex in the perfect, we see that it is based on the past tense. Compare the past and perfect sentence pairs given in (177) - (178).

- | | | | |
|----------|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| (177) a. | E | çü-m. | Past intransitive |
| | I (NOM) | goPART-1SG | |
| | <i>I went.</i> | | |
| b. | E | çü-m-e. | Perfect intransitive |
| | I (NOM) | goPART-1SG-3SG | |
| | <i>I have gone.</i> | | |
-
- | | | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|---------|------------------|--------------------|
| (178) a. | Te | ez | kuşt-ım. | Past Transitive |
| | You (ERG) | I (NOM) | killPART-1SG | |
| | <i>You killed me.</i> | | | |
| b. | Te | ez | kuşt-ım-e. | Perfect Transitive |
| | You (ERG) | I (NOM) | killPART-1SG-3SG | |
| | <i>You have killed me.</i> | | | |

The only visible difference between the past sentences and the perfect ones given above is the presence of 3SG nominal agreement marker ‘-(y)e’, which is also found in sentences with nominal predicates as in (179). Note that as the past tense requires ergative alignment, the agreement marker which appears before the 3SG nominal agreement marker represents the features of the nominative object.

(179) Hevo öğretmen-e.
 He (NOM) teacher-3SG
 He is (a) teacher.

The following table provides the full paradigm of the verb ‘kuştın’ (to kill) in both the past tense and perfect form. As can be observed in the table below, case properties of the subjects and objects in both past and perfect forms are the same. The only difference shows up on the verb. What distinguishes perfect from the past is the presence of the nominal agreement marker ‘-(y)e’.

	Subject & Object		a) Past	b) Perfect
(180)	M ₁ I (ERG)	t ₁ you (NOM)	kuşt-i killPART-2SG <i>I killed you</i>	kuşt-i-ye killPART-2SG-3SG <i>I have killed you</i>
(181)	Te You (ERG)	ez I (NOM)	kuşt-ım killPART-1SG <i>You killed me.</i>	kuşt-ım-e killPART-1SG-3SG <i>You have killed me.</i>
(182)	M ₁ I (ERG)	un youPL (NOM)	kuşt-ın killPART-PL <i>I killed you(PL).</i>	kuşt-ın-e killPART-PL-3SG <i>I have killed you(PL).</i>
(183)	M ₁ I (ERG)	hevo s/he (NOM)	kuşt killPART <i>I killed him/her.</i>	kuşt-i-ye killPART-?-3SG <i>I have killed him/her.</i>

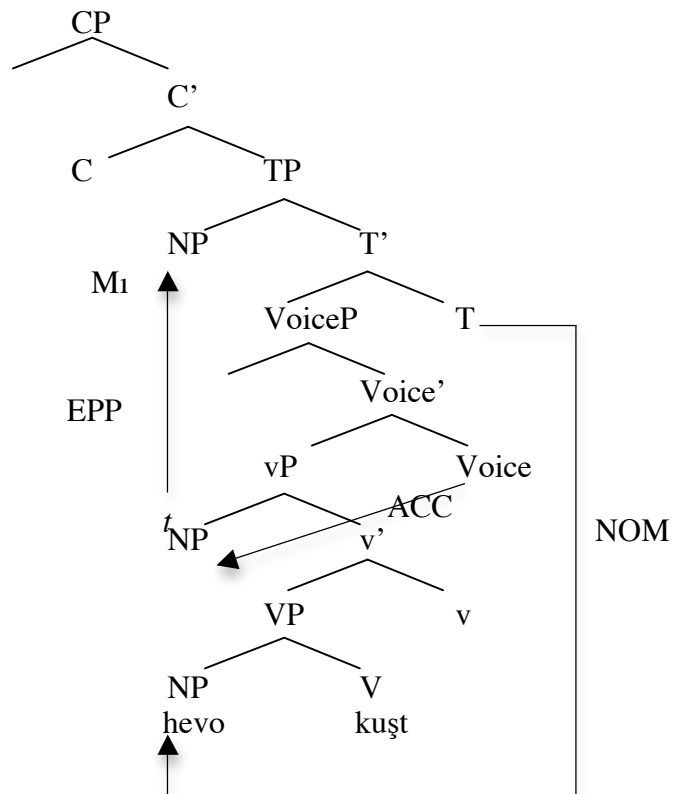
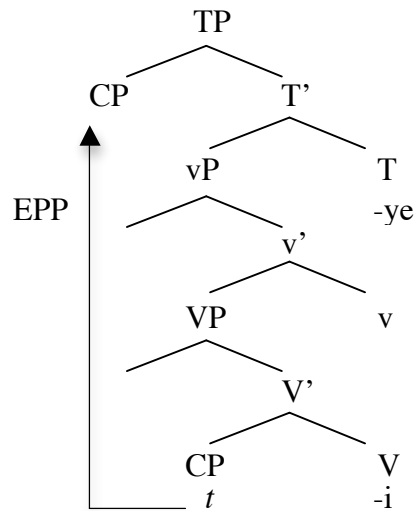
Once we take a look at the examples with third person objects in the perfect (183), we see a difference in the pattern. We observe the stem ‘-i’ showing up in between the past tense inflection and the 3SG nominal agreement marker. This stem is, in fact, a verb meaning be/become in AK as illustrated in (184).

(184) Kapı-ye k₁ ve poşıyero i gırtı şikeşt.
 Door-*ezafe* that this recent be closed breakPART
 Lit: The door this recent be closed broke.
 The door which was closed recently broke.

Bringing all the bits together, we argue that a perfective sentence in AK is established by attaching the verb *be/become* and 3SG nominal agreement marker to a verb fully inflected with the past tense and agreement. Thus, the semantic output of such a structure would be: ‘It is the case that something happened.’ For example, sentence (183b) means: ‘It is the case that I killed him.’ The intransitive verb ‘-i’ (*be/become*) takes the whole CP (with past inflection) as a complement where the CP is always regarded as 3SG, which is why all the perfective sentences end with the 3SG nominal agreement ‘-(y)e’.¹³ This proposal is also compatible with the meaning of AK perfects which are basically *perfects of result*. ‘It is the case that...’ denotes a state. Similarly, perfects of results denote a state resulting from a prior event. Based on this analysis, the derivation of sentence (183b) would be as follows:

¹³ One could ask about the distribution of the suffix ‘-i’. Why is it that it is not observable in 1st and 2nd persons (180b-182b), but in 3rd person only (183b). We only have a tentative answer at this stage. We assume that AK verbal complex has a templatic morphology. Inkelas (1993) states that some languages use a templatic morphology where certain morphemes are in complementary distribution despite their semantic compatibility. There is also evidence that AK has a templatic morphology. When we consider the data above we observe that person agreement markers do not surface once the arguments are plural. Although 1st person is compatible with plural, we never observe a 1st person plural marker, but just 1SG or plural. This is the same for 2nd person, as well. This implies that AK verbal complex also has a templatic nature.

Returning back to the distribution of ‘-i’, we put forth the following claim. On the verbal complex, there is only one slot reserved for the following morphemes: 1) Person 2) Number and 3) ‘-i’. Once that slot is filled with any of these morphemes, the others cannot surface. Thus, in sentences (180b) and (182b) the relevant slots are filled with person agreement marker and cannot be filled with any other morpheme. In sentence (183b), the slot is not filled by a person agreement marker because verbal 3SG is \emptyset . Atlamaz (in press), argues that a slot on a template remains empty until it is filled by a morpheme. In cases of agreement marking, when the relevant argument is deficient in terms of agreement, that slot remains empty and cannot be filled with a dummy placeholder just to satisfy the template. Thus, ‘-i’ can fill the relevant slot as it is not filled by any other morpheme.



Going back to the issue of ergativity, the analysis above implies that the ergative pattern that is observed in the perfect in AK actually has nothing to do with the perfect construction, but it is simply due to the ergative pattern, which is found in the CP complement inflected for the past tense. Thus the ergative here is also the

accusative found on the external argument in the passive construction, which got reanalyzed as the past tense.

2.6 Summary

This chapter analyzed the subjecthood of ergative and nominative arguments, voice in AK, and ergativity. We found out that both ergative and nominative subjects occupy the same syntactic position which is Spec, TP. We put forth that AK had lexical passive, lexical causative and anticausative. The major claim of the chapter was that the so-called ergative structure in AK is in fact passive and the ergative case is the accusative case. We analyzed perfects and argued that they have a bi-clausal structure in AK. Ergativity is not related to perfect but the past tense in AK.

CHAPTER III: Unbalanced Coordination

3.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the nature of *unbalanced coordination* (185) in AK observed as a result of coordinating an unaccusative verb and a transitive verb in past/perfect.

(185) Mı	çü	non	kırri.
I (ACC)	goPART	bread (NOM)	buyPART
<i>I went and bought bread.</i>			

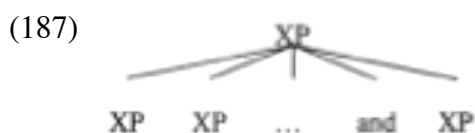
In past / perfect, normally, the subject of an unaccusative verb has nominative case whereas the subject of a transitive verb has accusative case. When they are coordinated as in (185) the shared subject of the two clauses can only be in accusative whereas nominative subject is not possible.

The organization of the chapter is as follows: Section 2 discusses the relevant theoretical background regarding coordination. Section 3 briefly introduces the unbalanced coordination in AK and presents every possible combination with different verb types. Section 4 presents coordination of unaccusative and transitive verbs yielding *unbalanced coordination* and tries to provide an analysis of the phenomenon. Section 5 summarizes the discussion.

3.2 Coordination in the Literature

Coordination has been one of the intriguing issues in Principles and Parameters theory. Early analyses of coordination argued that coordination has a flat structure (Ross, 1967; Jackendoff, 1977). These analyses suggested the representation in (187) as the structure of coordination like (186).

(186) Jack, Mary and Peter



Later analyses like Munn (1993), Kayne (1994), and Johannessen (1998) argue against a flat structure and claim that coordination has the same X-bar structure as in other phrases.

Munn (1993) opposes the flat structure representation in coordination suggesting several conceptual problems. He argues that a structure like in (187) is either multi-headed or non-headed, which violates the endocentricity of phrase structures in two ways. One problem is that most versions of X-bar theory base on the idea that there is a unique head *X* for a maximal projection *XP*. Nevertheless, the maximal projection *XP* in (187) has many heads. The second problem is about the assumption that all lexical items project phrases, but '*and*' in (187) does not project a phrase even though it is a head. Munn (1993) claims that these two problems violate the basic assumptions in X-bar theory and pose a threat to binary branching.

Munn (1993) shows certain asymmetries in coordination and suggests an analysis of coordination compatible with X-bar theory. This analysis is based on evidence provided by binding, across the board movement (ATB), and unlike category coordination.

Munn (1993) shows that binding relationships found in some coordinated elements indicate an asymmetry and imply the presence of a hierarchy rather than a flat structure.

(188) Every man_i and his_i dog went to mow a meadow.

(189) *His_i dog and every man_i went to mow a meadow.

(190) John_i's dog and he_i/him_i went for a walk.

(191) *He_i and John_i's dog went for a walk.

(Munn, 1993)

According to Munn (1993), based on the standard definition of c-command as in Reinhart (1976), the grammaticality of (188) and (190) vs. the ungrammaticality of (189) and (191) is an indication of asymmetry between the conjuncts. This indicates that coordination cannot be a flat structure. (190) shows that an R-expression can be coreferential with a pronoun, whereas (191) is not possible as R-expressions must be free. This means R-expressions cannot be c-commanded by the pronoun as in (191). If the structure were flat, both R-expression and the pronoun would be able to c-command each other, yielding a structure where (191) would be grammatical. However, an asymmetric structure can account for the difference between (190) and (191).

Munn (1993) argues that coordination of unlike categories serves as evidence for the hierarchical structure of coordination. Examples come from English verb

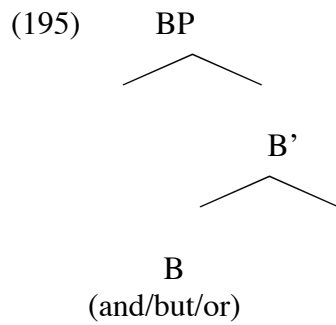
expect, which can subcategorize for a CP, IP (infinitive) or ECM. These can be coordinated with certain restrictions. IP & CP (193) and ECM & CP (194) orders are possible examples of coordination whereas CP & IP or CP & ECM (192) are ungrammatical, which shows an asymmetry in coordination. A flat structure cannot account for such data.

- (192) a. John expects that Perot will run and that he'll win.
b. *John expects that Perot will run and to vote for him.
c. *John expects that Perot will run and Bill to vote for him.

- (193) a. Perot expects to run and that he'll win.
b. Perot expects to run and to win easily.
c. *Perot expects to run and his wife to vote for him.

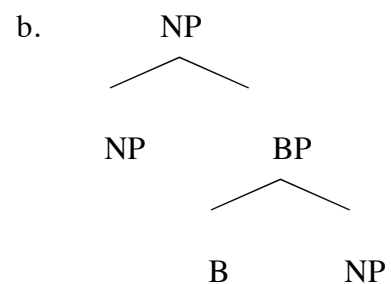
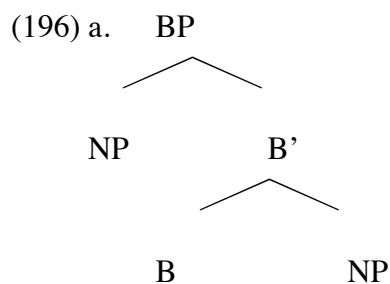
- (194) a. John expects Perot to run and that he'll vote for him.
b. *John expects Perot to run and to vote for him.
c. John expects Perot to run and his wife to vote for him.

Munn (1987) suggests the structure in (195) as coordination phrase. The core of the argument is that two conjuncts are coordinated via coordination phrase which he calls Boolean Projection (BP) whose head can be *and*, *but*, and *or*.



In (195) coordinator is the head of the phrase, which solves the conceptual problems like endocentricity discussed by Munn (1993).

Munn (1993) argues that the asymmetries in (192), (193) and (194) can be accounted for by assuming a hierarchical structure as in (195). He further suggests two different hierarchical structures for coordination (196 a) and (196 b) and favors (196 b) due to Binding, ATB and unlike category coordination reasons. (196 a) suggests that B is the head of coordination and conjuncts are in specifier and complement positions, whereas (196 b) indicates that one of the conjuncts (NP in this case) is the head of the coordination and the other conjunct is attached to the first one by adjunction.



One crucial point Munn (1993) draws attention to, reporting from Ross (1967), is that the second conjunct is the complement of the conjunction and forms a phrase with it, which enables coordination of two unlike conjuncts since the phrase created by the second conjunct and the conjunction attaches to the first conjunct. Evidence

for the closer relationship between the conjunction head and the second conjunct comes from sentences in (197).

- (197) a. John left, and he didn't even say good-bye.
b. John left. And he didn't even say good-bye.
c. *John left and. He didn't even say good-bye.

Munn (1993) also argues that the first conjunct is visible for syntactic processes like case and agreement whereas the second conjunct is not unless it is identical to the first conjunct.

Another opposition to flat analyses of coordination comes from Johannessen (1998), who looks into more than a dozen languages and presents evidence against flat coordination. The main claim in Johannessen (1998) is based on what she calls '*unbalanced coordination*'. The term *unbalanced* expresses a number of phenomena. One phenomenon is that the coordination of conjuncts is fine in a particular order but not when their order is reversed as shown in (198).

- (198) a. [X & Y]
b. *[Y & X]

The asymmetry in (198 a) and (196 b), according to Johannessen (1998), is an indication of a hierarchical coordination instead of a flat coordination.

Other phenomena to be listed under *unbalanced coordination* involve case marking and agreement. Johannessen (1998) presents examples from various languages where two arguments are coordinated but only one of them gets case or

agrees with the verb. This, she argues, is an indication of a hierarchy in coordination rather than a flat coordination. One example is from Bergen Norwegian as in (199).

(199) Der sku' bare mangle at [eg og deg] ikkje sku'

it should only lack that I.NOM and you.ACC not should

gjere det

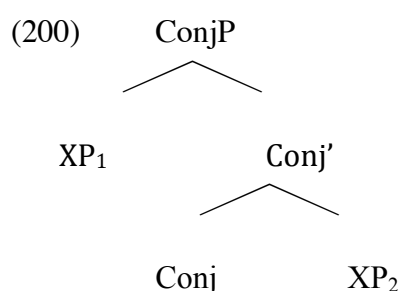
do it

'Of course I and you would do it.'

(Johannessen, 1998)

In (199), only one of the coordinated arguments *eg* 'I' gets nominative case even though the whole CoP is the subject and both of the arguments are expected to get nominative case.

Based on the evidence discussed above Johannessen (1998) proposes a ConjP analysis for coordination. ConjP is a phrase headed by Conj whose specifier and complement positions are filled by individual conjuncts.



According to Johannessen (1998) only a structure like in (200) can explain the asymmetry in (198). She also argues that the fact that, in certain structures, only one of the arguments gets case or agrees with the verb can be accounted for by the structure in (200). She proposes that conjuncts occupying the complement of a ConjP do not project their properties to ConjP whereas those occupying the specifier of a

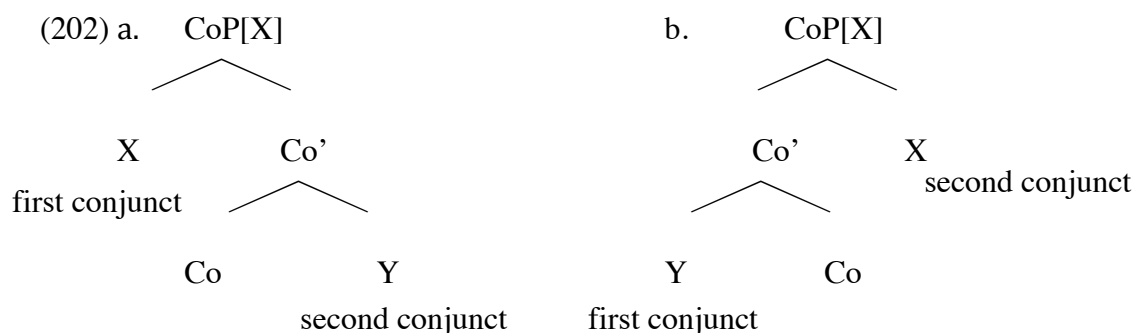
ConjP do. Evidence comes from languages like Czech where in partial agreement cases in coordination, the first conjunct which is in Spec, ConjP agrees with the verb whereas the second conjunct cannot as in (201).

(201) Pujdu tam ja a ty
 will-go.1SG there I.NOM.1SG and you.NOM.2SG
 You and I will go there.

(Johannessen, 1996)

Johannessen (1998) shows that in more than 20 languages phenomena like partial agreement in coordination is closely related to the head parameter. For example, in Arabic, a head initial-language, such an agreement occurs with the first conjunct, whereas the second conjunct agrees with the verb in Latin which is a head-final language.

Based on a similar claim, Johannessen (1996) suggests two types of ConjP trees in relation to the head parameter. Head-initial languages use (202) whereas head-final languages use (202).



The claim that only the conjunct in the specifier position can agree or get case in *unbalanced coordination* structures is similar to Munn's (1993) suggestion that only the first conjunct is visible to the syntactic processes like case, agreement and so on. Given this background on coordination, the rest of the chapter presents data of *balanced* and *unbalanced* coordination from AK and discusses the levels at which these coordinations happen. After presenting and discussing a variety of coordination types, it focuses on the *unbalanced* coordination observed in coordination of unaccusative and transitive clauses in past/perfect constructions.

Before presenting the data and discussion, we clarify the terminology to be used in the following sections of the chapter. Following Johannessen (1998), we define *unbalanced* coordination as the cases where only one ordering of conjuncts is possible but not vice versa. Furthermore, we also assume the cases where only one of the conjuncts gets involved in case or agreement relationships as *unbalanced* coordination. Another term we want to clarify is *unlike category coordination*. Following Munn (1993), we assume that coordination of unlike categories (e.g. VP & vP) might be possible. Terms like *first conjunct* and *second conjunct*, etc. refer to linear order of the conjuncts rather than the hierarchical order.

3.3 Unbalanced Coordination in AK

AK shows an interesting phenomenon when a transitive clause is coordinated with an unaccusative clause in past/perfect. Normally, the subject of a transitive clause gets ACC case in past/perfect as in (204), whereas the subject of an unaccusative clause gets NOM case as in (203), which was discussed in detail under the passive analysis of the past/perfect constructions in Chapter 2. In case of coordination of the two, we

get an ACC case marked subject as the shared argument of the two conjuncts, which is required by transitive constructions but not by unaccusatives.

- (203) E çü-m.
 I (NOM) goPAST-1SG.
 I went.

- (204) Mı non kırri-Ø.
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) buyPART-3SG
 I bought some bread.

- (205) Mı çü (u) non kırri-Ø.¹⁴
 I (ACC) goPART (and) bread (NOM) buyPART-3SG
 I went and bought some bread.

The coordination of an unaccusative and a transitive in past/perfect is only possible when the first conjunct is unaccusative and the second conjunct is transitive. (206) shows that only an accusative case marked subject is possible as the shared argument of the two conjuncts, whereas a nominative subject is not possible.

- (206) *E çü-m non kırri-m
 I (NOM) goPART-1SG bread (NOM) buyPART-1SG
 I went and bought bread.

¹⁴ It should be noted that the coordinator *u* ‘and’ is optional as indicated by the parentheses.

(207) indicates that the first conjunct can only be an unaccusative, but not a transitive.

(207) *M ₁	non	kırri	çü.
I (ACC)	bread (NOM)	buyPART	goPART
<i>I bought bread and went.</i>			

Considering these facts, we assume that the unaccusative-transitive coordination in AK is an example of *unbalanced coordination*.

It should be reminded that what we call ACC case in past/perfect structures in Kurmanji has been analyzed as the ergative case by Haig (2004) and Gündoğdu (2011) among others. We suggested, in chapter 2, that the so-called ergative case is in fact ACC case as the supposedly ergative alignment in AK is a passive structure. We use our passive analysis of past/perfect in AK to account for the phenomenon observed in unaccusative-transitive coordination in past/perfect.

Before, elaborating on such an *unbalanced coordination*, we go through all the possible combinations of coordination with transitive, unergative and unaccusative verbs to check if there is a difference in the ways they are coordinated and determine the syntactic level at which these coordination types occur. We, then, move onto the interesting phenomenon of coordinating two clauses, one with an unaccusative verb and the other with a transitive.

3.3.1 Types of Coordination in AK

3.3.1.1 Transitive – Transitive Coordination

Two transitive clauses can be conjoined without any ordering restriction in AK both in past and non-past tenses.

(208) M₁ non kırı.
I (ACC) bread(NOM) buyPART
I bought bread.

(209) M₁ şiw xor.
I (ACC) food (NOM) eatPART
I ate food.

(208) and (209) are two transitive sentences in the past tense and can be coordinated without any ordering restriction as can be observed in (210) and (211).

(210) M₁ şiw xor non kırı.
I (ACC) food(NOM) eatPART bread (NOM) buyPART
I ate food and bought bread.

(211) M₁ non kırı şiw xor.
I (ACC) bread (NOM) buyPART food (NOM) eatPART
I bought bread and ate food.

(212) and (213) show that this coordination is not restricted to the past tense but is possible in other cases where the shared subject is in nominative instead of accusative.

(212) E nen dı-kırr-ım (e) şiw-e
 I (NOM) bread (ACC) HAB-buy-1SG (I, NOM) food-ACC
 dı-x-ım
 HAB-eat-1SG
 I buy bread and eat food.

(213) E şiw-e dı-x-ım (e) nen
 I (NOM) food-ACC HAB-eat-1SG (I, NOM) bread (ACC)
 dı-kırr-ım
 HAB-buy-1SG
 I eat food and buy bread.

The subjects in (212) and (213) are in nominative case as the tense is non-past the subjects in the second clauses of (212) and (213) are optional.

We apply some tests below to determine the level at which coordination takes place.

The first test we apply is TP level adverbs as in (214).

(214) Mı dıı non kırrı hıro
 I (ACC) yesterday bread (NOM) buyPART today
 şiw xor.
 food (NOM) eatPART
 I bought bread yesterday and ate food today.

Adverbs like *dhu* ‘yesterday’ and *huro* ‘today’ are TP level adverbs and show that coordination in transitive clauses happens at TP level as (214) allows two different TP level adverbs.

Negation test also shows that coordination of transitive clauses is at TP level. That negation does not take scope over both conjuncts at the same time shows that the coordination in (215) and (216) is a TP level coordination.

(215) M₁ non ne-kırri şiw xor.
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) NEG-buyPART food (NOM) eatPART
 I didn’t buy bread but I ate (food).

(216) M₁ non kırri şiw ne-xor.
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) buyPART food (NOM) NEG-eatPART
 I bought bread but did not eat (food).

As displayed by the adverbial and negation tests, coordination of two transitive clauses take place at TP level.

3.3.1.2 Unergative - Unergative Coordination

Coordination of two unergative verbs is similar to the coordination of two transitive verbs. They behave the same way as transitive clauses do, when the tests above are applied.

(217) E dɪ-rwɪ-m-e ro-dɪ-medi-m-e.
 I (NOM) HAB-run-1SG-COP PV-HAB-lie-1SG-COP
 I am running and lying.

(218) E rɪwiyo-m ro-mediyo-m
 I (NOM) runPART-1SG PV-liePART-1SG
 I ran and lay down.

(219) E ro-mediyo-m rɪwiyo-m
 I (NOM) PV-liePART-1SG runPART-1SG
 I lied down and ran.

Coordination of two unergative clauses is possible regardless of tense/aspect as displayed in (217) and (218). Furthermore, order of the two conjuncts is not important as in (219).

(220) E dhɪ rɪwiyo-m hɪro ro-mediyo-m
 I (NOM) yesterday runPART-1SG today PV-liePART-
 1SG
 I ran yesterday and lied down today.

(220) shows that coordination of two unergative clauses happen at the TP level. Two TP level adverbs are possible.

(221) E	ne-rıwiyo-m	ro-mediyo-m
I (NOM)	NEG-runPART-1SG	PV-liePART-1SG

I did not run but lied down.

(222) E	rıwiyo-m	ro-ne-mediyo-m
I (NOM)	runPART-1SG	PV-NEG-liePART-1SG

I ran but did not lie down.

Another evidence comes from the negation test. That either of the conjuncts can be negated independent of the other shows that the structure is a TP level coordination. (221) and (222) show that negation does not take scope over both conjuncts. Therefore, the coordination of two unergatives behaves like TP level coordination.

3.3.1.3 Unaccusative – Unaccusative Coordination

AK allows for coordination of two clauses with unaccusative verbs just like unergative-unergative coordination. The two tests we applied above work here, too.

(223) Mehmet	ket.
Mehmet (NOM)	fallPART

Mehmet fell.

(224) Mehmet	mir.
Mehmet (NOM)	diePART

Mehmet died.

(225) Mehmet ket mır.
Mehmet (NOM) fallPART diePART
Mehmet fell and died.

(225) shows that coordination of two unaccusatives is possible and (226) shows that it is TP level coordination as it allows for two different adverbs targeting different TPs.

(226) Mehmet dhı ket hıro mır.
Mehmet (NOM) yesterday fallPART today diePART
Mehmet fell yesterday and died today.

(227) and (228) display that negation does not take scope over both conjuncts, which again means conjuncts are coordinated at TP level.

(227) Mehmet ne-ket hemo mır.
Mehmet (NOM) NEG-fallPART but diePART
Mehmet did not fall but died.

(228) Mehmet ket hemo ne-mır.
Mehmet (NOM) fallPART but NEG-diePART
Mehmet fell but did not die.

3.3.1.4 Unergative – Unaccusative Coordination

So far, we focused on the coordination of same predicate types such as transitive – transitive, unergative – unergative, and unaccusative – unaccusative. Now we turn to coordination of unlike predicate types.

Unergative – unaccusative coordination is akin to the combinations above. They behave as TP level coordination. They take different TP level adverbs (229).

- (229) E dh₁ r₁w-im h₁ro nexoş bu-m.
I (NOM) yesterday runPART-1SG today ill becomePART-1SG
I ran yesterday and became ill today.

Also, the negation does not take scope over the two conjuncts at the same time (230) and (231).

- (230) E ne-r₁w-im hemo nexoş bu-m.
I (NOM) NEG-runPART-1SG but ill becomePART-1SG
I did not run but became ill.

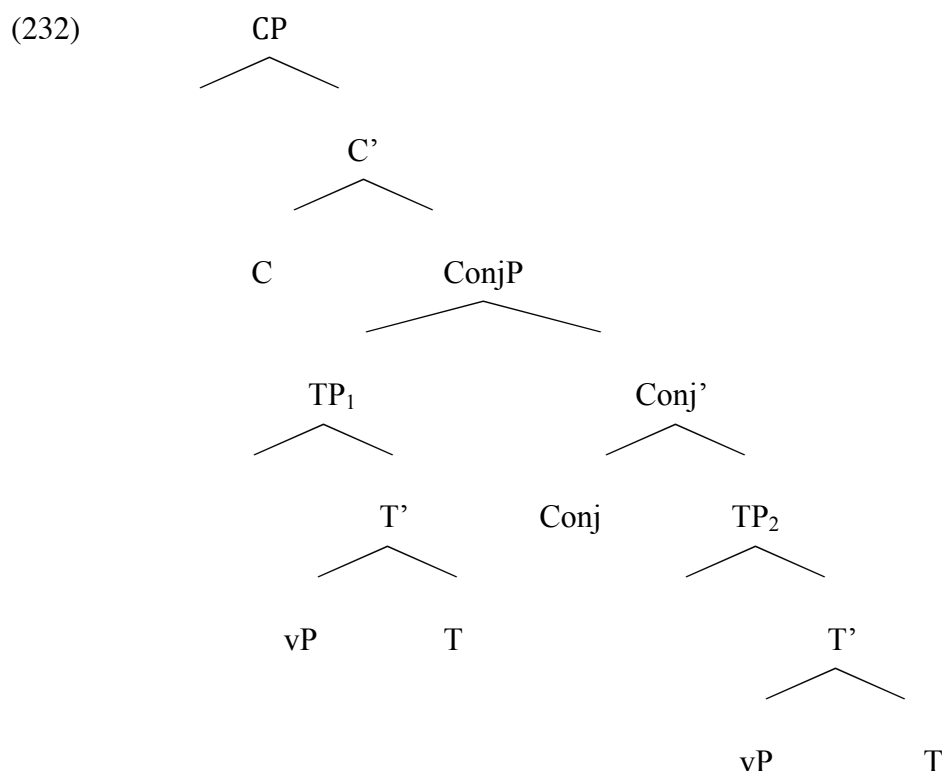
- (231) E r₁w-im hemo nexoş ne-vu-m.
I (NOM) runPART-1SG but ill NEG-becomePART-1SG
I ran but did not become ill.

Even though coordination of an unergative and an unaccusative is coordination of unlike predicate types, the tests we apply above show that structurally it is in fact

coordination of two TPs. Therefore, even though we have different predicate types, through TP level coordination we have coordination of same categories but we do not observe unlike category coordination.

3.3.1.5 Interim summary & TP Coordination Analysis

The types of coordination we discussed so far included coordination of two different TPs with same subjects. In such cases, only the subject of the first clause is overt whereas the subject of the second clause is not pronounced. Based on Johannessen (1998) and the data we provided above, we suggest the following structure for TP coordination in AK.



We argue that (232) represents the TP coordination in AK. In cases when the subjects of the two TPs are the same, i.e. they have phonologically identical material,

the lower item can not be pronounced. The second subject is pro-dropped.

Otherwise, both items are pronounced as in (233). The reason why we choose a hierarchical representation is that unbalanced coordination in AK (to be discussed below) suggests a hierarchical structure and we assume that the same coordination pattern would apply throughout the derivation. Otherwise, we do not have evidence for a hierarchical TP coordination. Nevertheless, we choose the minimalist option and claim that one is better than two.

- (233) Ahmet hot *(Ali) çü
 Ahmet (NOM) comePART Ali (NOM) goPART.
 Ahmet came and Ali went.

3.3.1.6 Transitive – Unergative Coordination

Coordination of an unergative and a transitive clause is possible at the TP level. In coordination of non-past/non-perfect clauses, we get the same TP level coordination as we do in transitive-transitive or unergative-unaccusative coordination. As the subjects of both unergative clauses and transitive clauses get nominative case in non-past/non-perfect cases, we have only one overt subject in (234).

- (234) E dı-rıw-ım-e nen dı-kırır-ım-e.
 I (NOM) HAB-run-1SG-COP bread (ACC) HAB-buy-1SG-COP
 I am running and buying bread.

(235) and (236) indicate that coordination happens at TP level as different clauses allow for distinct TP level adverbs.

(235) E dike hīro bī-rīw-im sive nen
 I (NOM) will today SUB-run-1SG tomorrow bread(ACC)
 bī-kīrr-im.
 SUB-buy-1SG
 I will run today and buy bread tomorrow.

(236) E dike hīro nen bī-kīrr-im sive
 I (NOM) will today bread(ACC) SUB-buy-1SG tomorrow
 bī-rīw-im.
 SUB-run-1SG
 I will buy bread today and run tomorrow.

(237) also supports the idea that this is a TP coordination as negation does not take scope over the two conjuncts at the same time.

(237) E dike nen ne-kīrr-im dike bī-rīw-im.
 I (NOM) will bread (ACC) NEG-buy-1SG will SUB-run-1SG
 I won't buy bread but I will run.

When coordinating an unergative and a transitive clause in past/perfect we get a slightly different picture. The subject of an unergative bears nominative case (238) whereas the subject of a transitive bears accusative case (239) in past/perfect. Furthermore, subjects agree with the verbs in unergatives but this is not possible for

transitive subjects. Hence, we do not get coordination where an overt subject can be shared by two clauses. In other words, the second subject has to be pronounced.

(238) E rɪwi-m.
 I (NOM) runPART-1SG
 I ran.

(239) Mɪ non kɪrri.
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) buyPART.
 I bought some bread.

Possible coordination combinations are as in (240) and (241)

(240) Mɪ non kɪrri e rɪwi-m
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) buyPART I (NOM) runPART-1SG
 I bought some bread and ran.

(241) E rɪwi-m mɪ non kɪrri.
 I (NOM) runPART-1SG I (ACC) bread (NOM) buyPART
 I ran and bought bread.

Adverb and negation tests show that these combinations are examples of TP coordination.

(242) M₁ dh₁ non k₁rri e
 I (ACC) yesterday bread (NOM) buyPART I (NOM)
 h₁ro r₁wi-m
 today runPART-1SG
 I bought some bread yesterday and ran today.

Different TP adverbs in (242) indicate that it is a TP level coordination.

(243) M₁ non ne-k₁rri e r₁wi-m
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) NEG- buyPART I (NOM) runPART-
 1SG
 I didn't buy bread but ran.

(244) M₁ non k₁rri e ne-r₁wi-m
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) buyPART I (NOM) NEG- runPART-1SG
 I bought bread but did not run.

(243) and (244) show that negation cannot take scope over the two conjuncts at the same time, which indicates that the structure is a TP coordination.

AK is a pro-drop language. However, in the coordination of a transitive and an unergative in the past, we observe pro-drop only in limited cases. One such example is (245).

(245) M₁ non k₁rri-Ø r₁wi-m
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) buyPART-3SG runPART-1SG
 I bought bread and ran.

(246) M₁ dh₁ non kirri-Ø hiro r₁wi-m

I (ACC) yesterday bread (NOM) buyPART-3SG today runPART-1SG

I bought bread yesterday and ran today.

(246) shows that (245) is still TP level coordination, but not the coordination at a lower level, as it allows for two different TP adverbs. This is TP level coordination with pro-drop. Even though the forms of the subject pronouns of the transitive and unergative conjuncts are different, their referents are the same so the second subject, namely the nominative subject of the unergative can be pro-dropped. Note that it is recoverable via the 1SG agreement on the unergative verb. (247) shows that the subject position of the second TP is filled and can be pronounced overtly.

(247) M₁ dh₁ non kirri e hiro

I (ACC) yesterday bread (NOM) buyPART I (NOM) today

r₁wi-m

runPART-1SG

I bought bread yesterday and ran today.

The following combinations where only one subject is pronounced, however, are illicit.

(248) *M₁ r₁wi non kirri

I (ACC) runPART bread (NOM) buyPART

I ran and bought bread.

(249) *M _I	rɪwi-m	non	kɪrri
I (ACC)	runPART-1SG	bread (NOM)	buyPART

I ran and bought bread.

(250) *E	rɪwi	non	kɪrri
I (NOM)	runPART	bread (NOM)	buyPART

I ran and bought bread.

(251) *E	rɪwi-m	non	kɪrri-m
I (NOM)	runPART-1SG	bread (NOM)	buyPART-1SG

I ran and bought bread.

(248) is ungrammatical because even though the accusative subject is compatible with the second conjunct, which has a transitive verb, in the first conjunct we have an unergative verb which requires a nominative subject agreeing with the verb in the past, but here the unergative verb is uninflected for agreement and it is matched with an accusative subject. Providing verbal agreement to the first conjunct does not solve the problem as seen in (249) because of the mismatch between an accusative subject and the unergative verb inflected for agreement. We cannot drop the nominative subject of the unergative verb, which is the second conjunct in the absence of verbal agreement. (250) is again illicit due to the lack of verbal agreement for the nominative subject. Finally, (251) is out this time because of the presence of verbal agreement with an accusative subject in the second conjunct. One further ungrammatical pattern is (252).

(252) *E	riwi-m	non	kirri
I (NOM)	runPART-1SG	bread (NOM)	buyPART

I ran and bought bread.

(253) E	riwi-m	mi	non	kirri
I (NOM)	runPART-1SG	I (ACC)	bread(NOM)	buyPART

I ran and bought bread.

Comparing (252) to (245), one would expect (252) to be grammatical. (245) is a TP coordination where the subject of the second conjunct can be dropped thanks to pro-drop feature. Nevertheless, (252), where the subject of the second conjunct is dropped is not grammatical. Note that (253) is grammatical. The main reason behind the phenomenon surfaces as agreement. Agreeing subjects, like nominative, can be pro-dropped whereas non-agreeing subjects, like accusative, cannot be dropped. This is in line with Huang's (1984) analysis of Pashto pro-drop. In Pashto, in the present tense the subject agrees with transitive and intransitive verbs and hence can be dropped (254). On the other hand, in the past tense, where ergative alignment is observed, the verb agrees with the intransitive subject and transitive object. As a result, intransitive subjects and transitive objects in the past tense can be pro-dropped whereas transitive subjects in the past tense cannot be dropped as they do not agree with the verb (255).

(254) a. (Ja-n) ra-z-i.

John dir-come-3msg

John comes.

b. (z") *(mana) xwr-"m.

I apple eat-1msg

I eat the apple.

(255) a. (Ja⁻n) ra-g[~]-ay.

John asp-come-3msg

John came.

b. *(ma) (mana) w"-xwr-a.

I apple prf-eat-3fsg

I ate the apple.

(Huang, 1984; c.f. Öztürk, 2004)

We would like to draw attention to the illicit combination of unergative – transitive coordination given in (248), where neither of the verbs in both conjuncts bear agreement in the presence of an accusative subject. We have discussed why this construction is ungrammatical above. Although such a combination is not possible in an unergative – transitive couple, this is possible in unaccusative – transitive coordination. This is what we will focus on in the following section. We will show that this is not coordination at the TP level but a different type of coordination, namely a VP level coordination.

So far, we discussed a variety of coordination instances in AK and we argued that they are examples of TP coordination. In cases when the shared arguments are phonologically the same, they are unpronounced; otherwise, they have to be pronounced unless another feature like pro-drop is in effect.

3.4 Unaccusative – Transitive Coordination

Coordination of a clause with an unaccusative verb and a transitive verb is possible in two ways in AK. One possibility is TP coordination. One possible type of unaccusative – transitive coordination is like the TP coordination of unergative-transitive clauses. In non-past/non-perfect structures, two TPs are coordinated and as the subjects are the same, the second subject is not pronounced as in (256) and (257).

(256) E dı-her-ım nen dı-kırr-ım.
I (NOM) HAB-go-1SG bread (ACC) HAB-buy-1SG
I go and buy bread.

(257) E nen dı-kırr-ım dı-her-ım.
I (NOM) bread (ACC) HAB-buy-1SG HAB-go-1SG
I buy bread and go.

(258) indicates that this is TP coordination as two different TP level adverbs are possible.

(258) E hıro nen dı-kırr-ım sıve dı-her-ım.
I (NOM) today bread (ACC) HAB-buy-1SG tomorrow HAB-go-1SG
I buy bread today and go tomorrow.

In past/perfect we observe two possible types of coordination. One is akin to unergative – transitive coordination and the other is a bit different from what we

have been discussing so far. We first provide the TP coordination and then continue with the more problematic type.

(259) E dhı çü-m mı/*(mı) hıro
 I (NOM) yesterday goPART-1SG I (ACC) today
 non kırri.
 bread(NOM) buyPART
 I went yesterday and bought bread today.

(260) Mı non kırri (e) çü-m.
 I(ACC) bread(NOM) buyPART I(NOM) goPART-1SG
 I bought bread and went (somewhere).

(259) and (260) are examples of TP coordination. The second subject in (260) can be dropped whereas the second subject in (259) cannot. This presents evidence that they are instances of TP coordination.

The second type of coordination is the one we observe in (261). It is coordination of an unaccusative clause with a nominative subject and a transitive clause with an accusative subject.

(261) Mı çü non kırri-Ø.
 I (ACC) goPART bread (NOM) buyPART-3SG
 I went and bought some bread.

(261) features coordination where, unlike the types of coordination we discussed above, only one shared subject surfaces. This type of coordination has some restrictions. The shared subject can only bear accusative. Combinations with a nominative subject are ungrammatical as in (262) and (263).

(262) *E çü non kırri-Ø.
 I (NOM) goPART bread (NOM) buyPART-3SG
 I went and bought some bread.

(263) *E çü-m nen kırri-m.
 I (NOM) goPART-1SG bread (ACC) buyPART-1SG
 I went and bought some bread.

The reason for the ungrammaticality of (262) and (263) is not merely due to nominative subject. In (262), the subject bears nominative case but we do not observe an agreement between the verb and the subject. As nominative subject always agrees with the verb (262) is ungrammatical. On the other hand, (263) is problematic since both of the verbs agree with the verb. Transitive verbs cannot agree with subjects but they agree with the nominative object. Thus, the problem in (262) and (263) might be more related to agreement than case.

Another restriction is that only unaccusative – transitive order is possible (261) whereas transitive – unaccusative alignment yields ungrammaticality (264).

(264) *M_i non kırri-Ø çü.
 I (ACC) bread (NOM) buyPART-3SG goPART
 I bought some bread and went.

In (261) the shared subject bears accusative case and the intransitive verb shows no agreement, whereas the transitive verb agrees with the internal argument. (265) better illustrates agreement of verb and the internal argument.

(265) M ₁	çü	un	di-n.
I (ERG)	goPART	youPL (NOM)	seePART-PL
<i>I went and saw you.</i>			

The structure in (261) suits the definition of unbalanced coordination as put forth by Johannessen (1998), as there is an asymmetry in terms of verbal agreement patterns of the two conjuncts.

It should be noted that, normally, unaccusative verbs agree with the verb but in this case it is not possible as the shared subject is accusative.

(266) *M ₁	çü-m	un	di-n.
I (ERG)	goPART-1SG	youPL (NOM)	seePART-PL
<i>I went and saw you.</i>			

(266) shows that the subject of the unaccusative verb is not visible to the syntactic processes like case or agreement, which is in line with Munn (1993).

In the following, we discuss whether the structure in (261) is a case of coordination.

If so, at which level are the conjuncts coordinated?

In order to test whether the structure in (261) is coordination or not we compare it to ‘-ing’ participles in English¹⁵ and ‘(y)Ip’ converbials in Turkish. English has structures like in (267).

(267) Going to the market, I bought some bread.

A similar construction is Turkish –‘(y)Ip’ which is labeled as converbial marker with conjunctive function by Göksel & Kerslake (2005).

(268) Ben market-e gid-ip ekmek al-dı-m.
 I (NOM) market-DAT go-converb bread (ACC) buy-PAST-1SG
 Going to the market, I bought some bread.

These structures in English (267) and Turkish (268) are not examples of coordination. Their functions are more of an adverbial. This becomes clearer with the sentences (269) and (270).

(269) Going to the market, I will buy some bread.

(270) Ben market-e gid-ip ekmek al-acağ-ım.
 I (NOM) market-DAT go-converb bread (ACC) buy-FUT-1SG
 Going to the market I will buy some bread.

¹⁵ I would like to express my thanks to Mark Baker for pointing out this test to me.

That ‘-ing’ participle adverb in English and ‘-(y)Ip’ converbials in Turkish stay the same regardless of the tense information in the main clause indicates that these structures are not examples of coordination but they have more of an adverbial function.

Applying the same test to the structure in AK we observe that it does not behave like English and Turkish examples in (267)- (270).

- (271) Mı çü non kırri.
 I (ERG) goPART bread (NOM) buyPART-Ø
 I went and bought some bread.

- (272) E dıke her-ım nen bıkır-ım
 I (NOM) will go-1SG bread (ACC) buy-1SG
 I will go and buy some bread.

Comparing sentences (271) and (272), we observe that both verbs in both sentences are fully inflected with tense. The verb of the first conjunct *çü* ‘went’ in (271) changes when the tense changes unlike English participles and Turkish converbials. This shows that the structure in AK is an example of coordination rather than an adverbial construction. The ungrammaticality of (273) and (274) also show that *çü* ‘went’ does not function as an adverb or a converb.

- (273) *E dıke çü nen bıkır-ım
 I (NOM) will goPART bread (ACC) buy-1SG
 Going (somewhere), I will buy some bread.

(274) *M₁ dıke çü nen bıkır-ım
 I (ERG) will goPART bread (ACC) buy-1SG
 Going (somewhere), I will buy some bread.

Assuming that the structure is an example of coordination, we apply two other tests to determine the level of coordination. First, we use TP level adverbs to see whether the coordination is above or below the TP.

(275) M₁ çü Eşxon di.
 I (ACC) goPART Eşxon (NOM) seePART
 I went and saw Eşxon.

(276) M₁ dhı çü Eşxon di.
 I (ACC) yesterday goPART Eşxon (NOM) seePART
 I went yesterday and saw Eşxon today.

The TP level adverb *dhı* ‘yesterday’ in (276) takes scope over both of the conjuncts. This shows that both of the conjuncts are below the same TP.

(277) *M₁ dhı çü hıro Eşxon di.
 I (ACC) yesterday goPART today Eşxon (NOM) seePART
 I went yesterday and saw Eşxon today.

(277) shows that two TP level adverbials targeting different TPs yield ungrammaticality as there is only one TP and the coordination happens somewhere

below TP. This structure is only compatible with a single TP level adverbial as in (276).

Another peculiarity of this type of coordination is about negation. Either both of the conjuncts has to be negated or none. It is not possible to negate only one of the clauses.

(278) M ₁	ne-çü	non	ne-kırri.
I (ACC)	NEG-goPART	bread (NOM)	NEG-buyPART
I didn't go and buy bread.			

(279) *M ₁	ne-çü	non	kırri.
I (ACC)	NEG-goPART	bread (NOM)	buyPART
I didn't go and buy bread.			

(280) *M ₁	çü	non	ne-kırri.
I (ACC)	goPART	bread (NOM)	NEG-buyPART
I didn't go and buy bread.			

Grammaticality of (278) versus ungrammaticality of (279) and (280) indicates that both of the conjuncts are located below the same NegP which we assume to be below TP.¹⁶

¹⁶ There is one more test to determine where coordination like (261) happens, which stems from the variable behavior that pronouns in languages like English can exhibit in certain constructions.. I thank Mark Baker for pointing out this test to me. The following sentences help us determine the level of coordination in English, which we later compare to AK.

- (i) John went to the store and he bought some bread.
- (ii) John went to the store and bought some bread.

Before presenting an analysis of the coordination in (261) it would be better to summarize the coordination-related facts we observe in AK. Coordination of two clauses in AK mostly occurs at the TP level. Transitive – transitive, unergative – unergative, unaccusative – unaccusative, unergative – unaccusative, unergative – transitive and finally unaccusative – transitive coordinations happen at TP level. In cases when the TPs have the same material the one in the second conjunct is not pronounced.

(281)

Combination of Conjuncts (order irrelevant)	Type of Coordination	Pro-Drop
Transitive - Transitive	TP	Yes
Unergative - Unergative	TP	Yes
Unaccusative - Unaccusative	TP	Yes
Unergative - Unaccusative	TP	Yes
Unergative - Transitive (Present/Past)	TP	Yes
Unaccusative - Transitive (Present/Past)	TP	Yes

Sentences (i) and (ii) are examples of two different types of coordination the former being a TP level coordination whereas the latter being more of a VP/vP coordination. One could argue that the second conjunct in (ii) has a PRO and therefore it is a TP level coordination; nevertheless, sentences (iii) and (iv) show that this is not possible.¹⁶

(iii) Nobody went to the store and bought bread.

(iv) *Nobody went to the store and he bought bread.

Sentence (iv) shows that PRO is not available in (iii), and therefore it is a case of coordination below the TP level.

AK displays a similar phenomenon in sentences (v) and (vi).

(v) Kes-i ne-çü non ne-kırri
 Nobody-ACC NEG-goPART bread (NOM) NEG-buyPART
 Nobody went and bought bread.

(vi) *Kes-i ne-çü vi non ne-kırri
 Nobody-ACC NEG-goPART he (ERG) bread (NOM) NEG-buyPART
 Nobody went and bought bread.

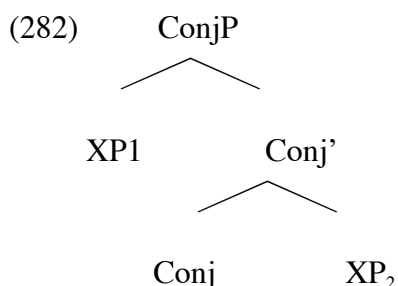
Sentence (vi) indicates that (v) does not have a PRO, and thus the coordination involved is somewhere below TP. However, it is not clear whether such pronouns are variables or not in AK, which is a pro-drop language. Therefore, whether this is a reliable test for AK or not requires further research on the pronominal system of AK, which we leave to a future study.

In addition to possible combinations of TP coordination, as discussed above, AK has another type of coordination (unaccusative - transitive) happening below TP in the past/perfect. In the following we sketch an analysis of the unbalanced coordination in (261) and try to explain why such coordination is not possible in unergative – transitive coordination.

Having established that the coordination in (261) happens somewhere below TP, we argue that the only option is a VP coordination assuming that the sole arguments of unaccusatives are introduced in VP (Embick, 2004).

The unbalanced nature of coordination in (261) indicates that coordination has a hierarchical structure as claimed by Johannessen (1998) and Munn (1993).

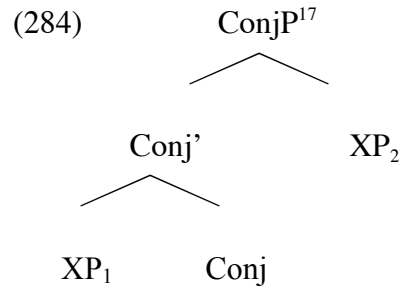
Therefore, we assume the ConjP analysis proposed by Johannessen (1998).



However, the tree structure in (282) is proposed based on a head initial language. Even though it is not clear, whether AK is a head initial or head final language we assume that VP in AK is head final, leaving the discussion for further research. The evidence for such an assumption is quite straightforward as the verb is to the right of its complement as in (283).

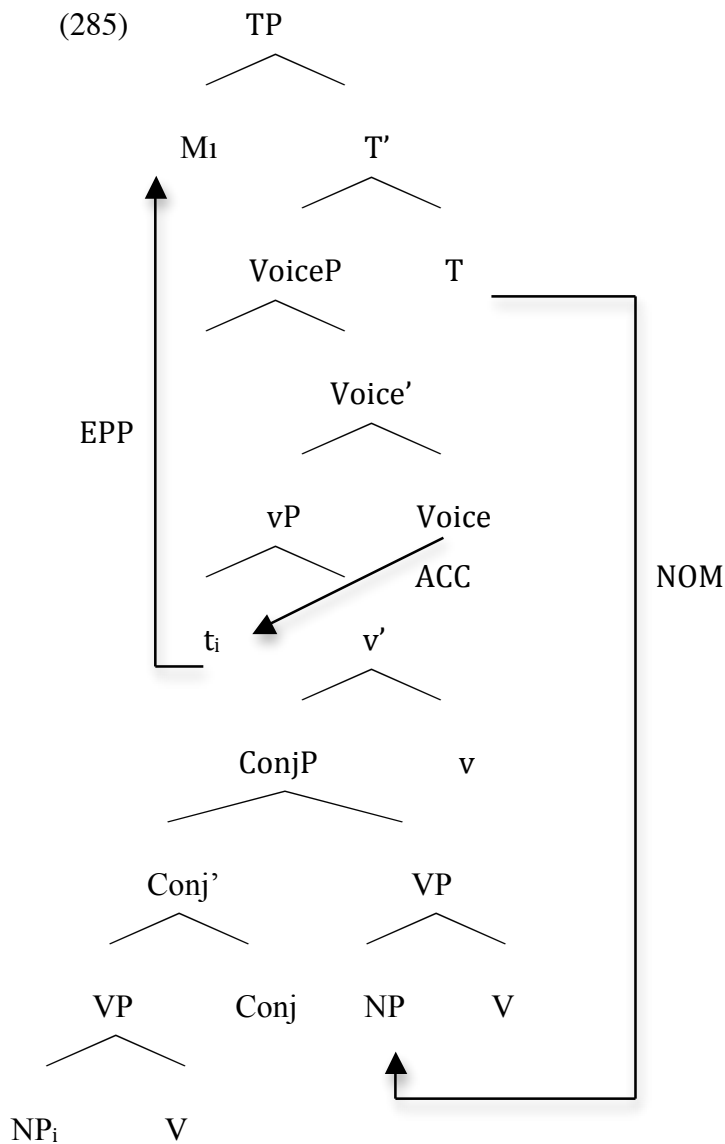
(283) M ₁	non	kirri-Ø
I (ACC)	bread (NOM)	buyPART-3SG
I bought some bread.		

We revise the tree in (282) for a head final structure based on the analysis by Johannessen (1996) and assume the tree in (284) for our discussion.



¹⁷ It should be noted that coordination in (232) has a head-initial structure whereas (284) introduces coordination for a head-final structure. This follows from the fact that head parameter is not quite clear in AK. While VP has a head-final structure, TP has a head-initial structure. Head parameter in AK requires further research which is beyond the scope of current paper.

Thus, the structure of (261) would be as in (285).



As discussed in chapter 2, the structure in past/perfect is a passive construction where the Voice head above vP checks the accusative case of the external argument. In this structure, two subject candidates are possible. These are the NP in Spec, vP and the NP in the lower VP (unaccusative verb). As the higher argument (NP in Spec, vP) is closer to the case checking head it gets ACC case.

The second conjunct VP is higher than the first conjunct which enables its NP (complement of the transitive verb) to get NOM case and agree with the verb. Similar to Munn's (1993) claim, we argue that the higher conjunct is visible to the syntactic processes like case and agreement. As the coordination of two conjuncts happens at a level below TP, the problem of two subjects with different case markers is resolved. Coordination happens before case is checked and hence only one case appears on the subject as in (285) where the subject is the NP in Spec, TP which raises from Spec, vP.

At this point, one problem related to the lower NP (the sole argument of the unaccusative verb) shows up. It needs to have its case feature checked. We argue that it checks case via coindexing with the higher subject. Whatever case the higher copy has, the lower copy has the same.

The structure we propose in (285) explains why (262) and (263) are ungrammatical as the subject gets ACC case from Voice head and raises to Spec, TP to satisfy EPP. Even if we assume that the lower subject NP somehow gets NOM case, it cannot raise to Spec, TP as it violates relativized minimality.

The final question we try to answer is the ungrammaticality of (248), which is an example of coordination of unergative-transitive combination. The structure is quite similar to unaccusative – transitive coordination as in (261). Why is it that such a coordination is possible with an unaccusative verb but not with an unergative verb?

Unlike Munn (1993), we argue that coordination of unlike categories is not possible in AK. Based on our analysis of past/perfect structures in AK the structure in (261) is passive. Passives are regarded as unaccusative constructions in the literature, despite certain differences between passives and unaccusatives (Embick, 2004). Hence we argue that the coordination of an unergative and

unaccusative/passive is possible at TP level but not below TP as they are unlike categories. This means, two TPs can be coordinated as whereas a TP and a vP cannot be coordinated. This is why we get only TP coordination in cases where an unergative and an unaccusative (229) or an unergative and a transitive (242) are coordinated.

3.5 Summary

This chapter analyzed the coordination of two clauses in AK focusing on unbalanced coordination occurring in coordination of unaccusative – transitive clauses. We propose that coordination of two clauses mainly occur at TP level in AK. In addition to TP coordination, AK also features VP coordination with unaccusative – transitive combination in past/perfect. Unlike categories cannot be coordinated. Our analysis supports the idea that coordination has a hierarchical structure rather than a flat one.

CHAPTER IV: Conclusion

This thesis had two major goals: 1. to shed light into the issue of ergativity in AK and investigate its nature, 2. to analyze the unbalanced coordination occurring as a result of ergativity. Briefly introducing some background information about ergativity and general properties of AK in chapter 1, the thesis continued with ergativity related issues in chapter 2 and unbalanced coordination in chapter 3.

Chapter 2 concentrated on the issue of ergativity in AK. Kurmanji, in general, is assumed to be a split ergative language by a number of linguists like Haig (2004; 1998), Trask (1979) and Gündoğdu (2011), etc. This assumption is also in line with Dixon's (1994) definition of ergativity. According to Dixon (1994), if a language treats its intransitive subjects and transitive objects the same as opposed to transitive subjects, then it is ergative.

The discussion of ergativity has usually been treated as a matter of case assignment in the literature. Most frequently, ergative is claimed to be either a structural case or an inherent case by many linguists. Woolford (1997; 2006), Legate (2005; 2008), and Anand & Nevins (2007) argue that ergative is an inherent case whereas Bobaljik (1993), Bobaljik & Branigan (2006), Davison (2004), Murasugi (1992) and Ura (2000) put forth that ergative is a structural case. Hence, one way to investigate the nature of ergativity in AK was to apply tests to join the discussion of whether ergative is a structural or an inherent case. Nevertheless, we decided that not to do that, as it required us to assume, without any question, that the structure in AK was ergative. Instead, we decided to question whether the structure under discussion was ergative or not. Hence, we referred to Trask (1979), who argues that ergative is

not unified phenomenon. The underlying structures of two ergative constructions from two distinct languages might be quite different.

Trask (1979) puts forth at least two types of ergativity: One type of ergativity stems from building perfects from statives. In languages like English, which possess the verb 'have', construction of perfect is established as in (286). Historically, English perfects evolved from (286) to (286). This means, the relationship between the subject and the stative participle is a possession relationship.

- (286) a. I have [a window broken].
b. I have broken a window.

On the other hand, there are some languages which have statives but do not possess the verb 'have'. According to Trask (1979), these languages establish the same perfect by means of genitive case marker on the subject. Genitive case marked subject possesses the stative participle which denotes perfect. As a result, the subject is in non-canonical case which is regarded as ergative.

Trask (1979) argues that Kurmanji applies the same strategy to create perfects and as a result ergativity occurs. Nevertheless, there are two major problems with such a claim. One problem is the difference between head directionalities of possessive constructions and ergative structures. In possessive constructions in AK, the possessor is to the right of the possessee whereas ergative subject is to the left of stative. Another major problem is that Trask's (1979) analysis is based on perfects. Ergativity is a by-product of the perfect construction process. Nonetheless, ergativity in AK is not based on perfect aspect but on the past tense. We can observe ergative

subjects in past progressive constructions. Thus we refute the idea that ergativity in AK is a by-product of perfect construction.

Another type of ergativity put forth by Trask (1979) is based on a diachronic change of passives. In some languages, passive structure somehow became compulsory and lost its function and was reanalyzed with another function which yielded ergative. Akin to Trask (1979), we argue that what is assumed to be ergative in AK is in fact a passive structure reanalyzed as the past tense diachronically. Hence, what is called ergative is passive and what is called to be ergative case is in fact accusative. The motivation for such a claim comes from several items. First, what is called ergative case has the same morphological shape with accusative case. Second, ergative and passive are mutually exclusive, which might mean that they refer to the same phenomenon in AK. AK has lexical passive, lexical causative, anticausative but no syntactic passive. Third, both ergative and passive require transitive verbs. Fourth, lexical passives and adjectival passives use the same PART form of the verb used in the past tense. Fifth, some linguists like Collins (2005) and Anand & Nevins (2007) argue that past participle and passive participle might be the same, which we think holds for AK, too.

Based on the evidence discussed above, we claim that the term ergative is illusive and does not reflect the truth about the structure in AK. What is regarded as ergative structure is a passive structure reanalyzed as the past tense and ergative case is nothing other than accusative case.

Our claim of ergative as passive faces some problems assuming the standard analyses of passive within GB framework, hence we digress from the standard GB approach to passives and base our analysis on Collins's (2005) of passives. Collins criticizes the standard analysis because in standard analysis it is assumed that

external argument is introduced as a complement of *by* phrase. Collins (2005) argues that *by* phrase cannot assign a θ -role to the subject. This is a violation of UTAH (Universality of Theta Assignment Hypothesis) in GB and configurationality of all theta assignment in the MP. Hence, he argues that external argument is introduced in its canonical position in passives. He also argues that *v* head and Voice can be dissociated in passives where ‘*by*’ functions as the head of VoiceP. Similarly, we argue that *v*P and VoiceP are dissociated in the past tense (which has a passive structure). The external argument is introduced in Spec, *v*P and checks case with the closest case checker which is Voice head, checking accusative case. Internal argument, which needs case, checks case with the only case checking head remaining, namely T. This is also supported by the fact that the verb in AK agrees with nominative arguments. This indicates whatever checks case against T enters agreement with the verb.

Having proposed the analysis above for past structure in AK, chapter 2 continues to account for the ergativity in perfects. We argue that perfect in AK is based on the past tense. Perfect in AK has a bi-clausal structure where a the past tense inflected CP functions as a complement for the verb *-i* ‘be/become’ and creates perfect. The semantic information denoted by the structure is like ‘it is the case that something happened’.

Chapter 3 focused on coordination of clauses with different verb types. The main goal of chapter 3 is to reveal the structure of unbalanced coordination observed in the past tense. In the past tense, coordination of an unaccusative verb and a transitive verb yields a structure where the shared subject has accusative case but cannot get nominative case. In order to reveal the structure of such coordination, we analyzed every possible combination of verb types in different tenses. The tests we

applied revealed that coordination of two clauses basically happen at TP. That all the combinations, except the unbalanced coordination obtained in unaccusative-transitive coordination in the past tense, allowed two TP adverbs showed that coordination was at TP. Furthermore, negation tests revealed that negation in one clause does not take scope over the other clause serves evidence for a TP coordination.

In addition to TP coordination, AK has unbalanced coordination in unaccusative-transitive coordination. The reason why we call it unbalanced coordination is that it fits Johannessen's (1998) definition of unbalanced coordination. One reason is that, in AK unbalanced coordination, only unaccusative-transitive order is possible whereas transitive – unaccusative order is not. Furthermore, the shared subject can only be accusative but not nominative despite the fact that an unaccusative verb requires a nominative subject. Based on Johannessen (1998; 1996), we argued that coordination has a hierarchical structure. Otherwise, we would not expect the asymmetries like we discussed above. As an analysis of the unbalanced coordination in AK, we suggested a VP coordination where the unaccusative verb remains at the bottom of the derivation. As the tense is past, the transitive clause has to be passive in structure (according to our analysis of the past tense in chapter 2). Therefore, the closest argument to the VoiceP, which is the external argument of the transitive clause, gets ACC case from the Voice head and raises to Spec, TP to satisfy EPP. The other case checker in the structure, which is T, probes for an argument and finds the internal argument of the transitive clause as it is closer than the sole argument of the unaccusative clause. The sole argument of the unaccusative clause is either invisible for the processes like case and

agreement, which is in line with Munn (1993) or it gets its case from the external argument of the transitive clause as it is coindexed with it.

This thesis investigated the nature of ergativity and unbalanced coordination in AK. We proposed that the term ergative is illusive and what has been regarded as ergative is passive reanalyzed as the past tense. We also argued that coordination has a hierarchical structure based on the unbalanced coordination observed in AK. The thesis has attained its goals but has left many questions open to debate for further research. In the following, we discuss several points for further research.

One important step taken by this thesis was to reveal the phrase structure of AK. In order to determine the differences and similarities between accusative and nominative subjects we applied several tests and argued that AK subjects raise to Spec, TP due to EPP. We think that we succeeded in determining the possible positions subjects can hold in AK but we were not able to discuss the positions of objects. Where objects reside is still a mystery. This mystery makes it rather difficult to state whether AK is an SVO or an SOV language. Dative objects and some adverbs showing up post-verbally in verbs of directed motion blurs the image. Hence, it is necessary to investigate the possible positions of objects and the structure of verbs of directed motion.

Another interesting point for further research would be *ezafe* constructions. Thackston (2006) calls it the construct case but we doubt that *ezafe* marker –e is a case as it requires accusative case on the possessor noun. Interestingly it has two functions and can form structures with a variety of phrase types. It either denotes possession relationship if it connects two nouns. Otherwise, it creates modification relationship between a noun and an adjective or a CP. It is quite an interesting topic and needs further research.

REFERENCES

- Alexiadou, A. (2006). On (anti-)causative alternations: The role of voice morphology. <http://ealing.cognition.ens.fr/ealing2006/handouts/alexiadou1.pdf> . EALING.
- Alexiadou, A., Anagnostopoulou, E., & Schäfer, F. (2006). The Properties of Anticausatives Crosslinguistically. In M. Frascarelli, *Phases of Interpretation* (pp. 187–212). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Anand, P., & Nevins, A. (2006). The Locus of Ergative Case Assignment: Evidence from Scope. In A. Johns, D. Masam, & J. Ndayiragije, *Ergativity: Emerging Issues* (pp. 3–27). Berlin: Springer-Verlag.
- Atlamaz, Ü. (in Press). Cyclic Agreement and Empty Slots in Pazar Laz. *Languages of the Caucasus*. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Baker, M. C., Johnson, K., & Roberts, I. (1989). Passive arguments raised . *Linguistic Inquiry* , 219–251.
- Bobaljik, J. D. (1993). Ergativity and Ergative Unergatives. In C. Phillips, *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics vol. 19: Papers on Case and Agreement II* (pp. 45–88).
- Bobaljik, J., & Branigan, P. (2006). Eccentric agreement and multiple case checking. In A. Johns, D. Masam, & J. Ndayiragije, *Ergativity: Emerging Issues* (pp. 47–77).
- Chomsky, N. (1992). A minimalist program for linguistic theory. *MIT Occasional papers in Linguistics 1, MITWPL* .
- Chomsky, N. (1993). A minimalist program for linguistic theory. In K. Hale, & S. J. Keyser, *The View from building 20 : essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger* (pp. 1–52). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin, and Use*. New York: Praeger.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on government and binding : the Pisa lectures*. Dordrecht, Holland: Foris Publications.
- Chomsky, N. (1984). *Lectures on Government and Binding: The Pisa Lectures*. Dordrecht, Holland: Foris Publications.
- Chomsky, N. (2000). Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In R. Martin, D. Michaels, & J. Uriagereka, *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik* (pp. 89–155). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N., & Lasnik, H. The theory of principles and parameters. In J. Jacobs, A. von Stechow, W. Sternefeld, & T. Vennemann, *Syntax: An International Handbook of Contemporary Research* (pp. 506–569). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

- Collins, C. (2005). A Smuggling Approach to the Passive in English. *Syntax* , 8 (2), 81-120.
- Davison, A. (2004). Structural Case, Lexical Case and The Verbal Projection. In V. Dayal, & A. Mahajan, *Clause Structure in South Asian Languages* (pp. 199-225). Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Dixon, R. M. (1994). *Ergativity*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Embick, D. (2004). Unaccusative Syntax and Verbal Alternations. In A. Alexiadou, E. Anagnostopoulou, & M. Everaert, *The Unaccusativity Puzzle* (pp. 137-158). Oxford University Press.
- Göksel, A., & Kerslake, C. (2005). *Turkish, A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Gündoğdu, S. (2011). *The Phrase Structure of Two Dialects of Kurmanji Kurdish: Standard Dialect and Mus, Dialect (Master's thesis)*. Istanbul, Turkey: Bog̃aziçi University.
- Haig, G. (2004). *Alignment in Kurdish: A Diachronic Perspective*. Unpublished Habilitationsschrift. Universität zu Kiel.
- Haig, G. (1998). On the interaction of morphological and syntactic ergativity : Lessons from Kurdish. *Lingua* , 149-173.
- Hornstein, N., Nunes, J., & Grohmann, K. K. (2005). *Understanding Minimalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Huang, J. C.-T. (1984). On the Distribution and Reference of Empty Pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* , 531-574.
- Inkelas, S. (1993). Nimboran Position Class Morphology. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* , 559-634.
- Jackendoff, R. (1977). *X-Bar Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Jaeggli, O. A. (1986). Passive. *Linguistic Inquiry* , 17 (4), 587-622.
- Johannessen, J. B. (1998). *Coordination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Johannessen, J. B. (1996). Partial Agreement and Coordination. *Linguistic Inquiry* , 27 (4), 661-676.
- Kamp, H., & Rossdeutscher, A. (1994). Remarks on lexical structure and DRS construction. *Theoretical Linguistics* , 20 (1), 97-164.
- Kayne, R. (1994). *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press.
- Laka, I. (1993). Unergatives that assigns ergative, unaccusatives that assign accusative. *Papers on Case and Agreement I: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 18* , 149-172.

- Legate, J. A. (2008). Morphological and Abstract Case. *Linguistic Inquiry* , 39 (1), 55-101.
- Legate, J. A. (2005). Split Absolutive. In A. Johns, D. Massam, & J. Ndayiragije, *Ergativity: Emerging Issues*. Kluwer.
- Legate, J. A. (2005). Split Absolutive. In A. Johns, D. Massam, & J. Ndayiragije, *Ergativity: Emerging Issues*. Kluwer.
- Legate, J. A. (2010). The Structure of Implicit Agents in Passives. *NELS 41*. University of Pennsylvania.
- Legate, J. A. (2002). *Warlpiri: Theoretical Implications*. PhD Dissertation. MIT.
- Levin, J., & Masam, D. (1986). Classification of Niuean verbs: notes on case. *Pacific Linguistics C-93* , 231-244.
- Mahajan, A. (1994). The ergativity parameter: have-be alternation, word order and split ergativity. *Proceedings of NELS 24*, (pp. 317-331).
- McCloskey, J. (1997). Subjecthood and Subject Positions. In L. Haegeman, *Elements of Grammar* (pp. 197–235). Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- McFadden, T., & Alexiadou, A. (2010). Perfects, Resultatives, and Auxiliaries in Earlier English. *Linguistic Inquiry* , 41 (3), 389-425.
- Munn, A. B. (1987). Coordinate structure and X-bar theory. *McGill Working Papers in Linguistics* , 121-140.
- Munn, A. B. (1993). *Topics in the Syntax and Semantics of Coordinate Structures* . PhD dissertation, University of Maryland.
- Murasugi, K. (1992). *Crossing and Nested Paths: NP Movement in Accusative and Ergative Languages*. PhD Dissertation. MIT.
- Otsuka, Y. (2000). *Ergativity in Tongan*. Phd Thesis. Linacre College, University of Oxford.
- Öztürk, B. (2004). *Case, Referentiality and Phrase Structure*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: PhD thesis, Harvard University .
- Reinhart, T. (1976). *The Syntactic Domain of Anaphora*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Ross, J. R. (1967). *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press.
- Thackston, W. (2006). *Kurmanji Kurdish: A Reference Grammar with Selected Readings*.
- Trask, R. L. (1979). On the Origins of Ergativity. In F. Plank, *In Ergativity: Towards a theory of grammatical relations* (pp. 385-404). London: Academic Press.
- Ura, H. (2000). *Checking Theory and Grammatical Functions in Universal Grammar*. OUP.

- Woolford, E. (2000). Ergative Agreement Systems. *University of Maryland Working Papers in Linguistics 10* , 157-191.
- Woolford, E. (1997). Four Way Case Systems: Ergative, Nominative, Objective and Accusative. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 181-227.
- Woolford, E. (2006). Lexical case, inherent Case, and argument structure. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 111-130.