**A Minimalist Analysis of the Subjunctive Mood in the Clausal Structure of Central Kurdish**

# Abstract

This paper aims to shed light on the morphosyntactic characteristics and distribution of the subjunctive mood in Central Kurdish (CK henceforth). To achieve this, the study utilizes Chomsky’s (1995) Minimalist Program. In addition to the data from previous studies, further data are provided as the authors are the native speakers of the language under study. The proposed hypotheses are that an inflectional projection namely Mood Phrase (henceforth MP) is the locus of mood markers (henceforth Mm) that is C-commanded by Negation Phrase (henceforth NegP) and in turn C-commands Tense Phrase (henceforth TP). Further, the portmanteau prefix *de-* simultaneously functions as the indicative Mm and durative (imperfective) aspect maker in both past and present. The data demonstrate that in CK the subjunctive is not in conformance with Stowell’s (1993) classification to subjunctives and that CK utilizes mood as means to express *Modality* rather than modal verbs thus being in line with Palmer’s (2003, p.3) argument: “languages have either mood or modality, but not both”.

Key words: Subjunctive Mood, Mood Phrase, Morphosyntax, Minimalist Program, Central Kurdish

# Introduction

Being an understudied language, CK has many several aspects to be explored and studied. One of these poorly studied areas is the grammatical category of mood. Whereas globally, the subjunctive is broadly studied with the aim of classifying its types and establishing its general traits, it is quite poorly investigated in CK. Therefore, the present paper is an attempt to classify the types of subjunctive mood and provide an insightful analysis to its clausal syntax in CK through analyzing its morphosyntactic characteristics and distribution. Since the domains of modality and mood, to some extent, are overlapped which has refrained a clear-cut distinction between the two categories, it is significant to first introduce a brief account of them below.

Cross-linguistically, languages grammatically manifest modality either through *modal verbs* or *moods.* Although, it is possible that a language, German for instance, uses both methods simultaneously. Primarily, one of these devices proves to be more crucial and salient due to the other receiving a peripheral attention or falling into disuse (Palmer, 2001, p. 4). Many scholars define *Modality* as the speakers’ attitude, including both *Epistemic* attitudes: truth, belief, probability, certainty, and evidence, and *Deontic* attitudes: desirability, preference, intent, ability, obligation, and manipulation, toward the proposition of sentences indicated by the predicate verbs (Givon, 1994, p. 266; Davtyan, 2007, p. 5; Bosque, 2012, p. 1; Depraetere & Reed, 2020, p. 269). Further, Bybee and Fleischman (1995, p. 2) claim that modality refers to the semantic domain related to the meaning which linguistic items express that covers “nuances—jussive, desiderative, intentive, hypothetical, potential, obligative, dubitative, hortatory, exclamative”.

Palmer (2001, p. 1) states that modality does not have any direct relations to the characteristics of the events, but primarily to the status of the proposition. Therefore, one approach to analyzing modality is a binary distinction between modals and non-modals. Mithun (1999, p. 173) proposes Realis/Irrealis distinction as typological categories. The Realis portrays situations as actualized, as having occurred or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. However, The Irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination.

In the literature, mood is defined as grammatical categories manifesting modality through inflections on verb predicates (Bosque, 2012, p. 1). In other words, Depraetere and Reed (2006, p. 270) define mood as “The grammatical coding of modal meaning in verb inflections” or as defined by Bybee & Fleischman (1995, p. 2) as functional categories of the verb with a modal function expressed in cross-linguistically various distinguished verbal paradigms such as indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative, conditional and among others. Further, for Fattah (1997) mood is a “marker” on the verb that sheds light on the manner in which the speaker anchors the proposition in the context (p. 146).

According to Huddleston & Pullum (2002, p. 172) mood and modality are interwoven and their distinction is similar to that of tense and time, and aspect and aspectuality since the former is a category of grammar that grammaticalizes the latter, which is a category of meaning, within the verbal system. A further reason for not having a clear cut distinction between mood and modality is due to some languages having a modality category with overall features of both mood and modal systems (Palmer, 2001, p. 7). In this concern, German is, as mentioned above, is a typical exemplar

In the cause of the analysis and further elaboration on the topic, the next sections are organized as the following: section 1.1 introduces the aim, scope, and the hypotheses of the paper. In section 2, a brief discussion on mood types generally is presented. Further, section 3 surveys the previous works carried out on the topic and presents the gap in the literature. In 4, types of the subjunctive in CK and in 4.1 uses and licensing are discussed. Also, the theoretical framework is put forward in section 5 and the model of analysis in 6. Then the application of the model of analysis is in section 7 followed by Stowell’s classification in 7.1. The last section presents the conclusions.

# The Aim, Scope, and Hypotheses

The aim of the present study is to classify the types of the subjunctive mood in CK along with describing its general traits. Additionally. It attempts to provide insight into its morphosyntactic characteristic and distribution in the clausal structure of the language.

The present study is limited to investigate the morphosyntactic characteristics of the subjunctive mood and classify its types in CK to the exclusion of other grammatical moods.

The study is aimed at providing answers to the hypotheses that in the clausal structure of CK *MP* is an intervening inflectional projection that is C-commanded by *NegP* and in turn C-commands *TP*. Further, the investigation explores the nature of the portmanteau morpheme *de-* whichfunctions as the indicative Mm and durative (imperfective) aspect marker.

# Mood Types

As a matter of fact, languages differ in terms of mood classification, some are bipartite or tripartite while others have further complex systems. The western classical traditions identify three moods: Indicative, Subjunctive, and Imperative which are also described as the fact-mood, the thought-mood, and the will-mood respectively. However, scholars recognize only two moods, Indicative and Subjunctive, in the European Classical Languages. Whereas, some languages of the Native American and Papua New Guinea recognize a pair of different moods, realis and irrealis (Allan, 2007, p. 3). Regarding having different labels for moods, Palmer (2001, p. 5) puts it that typically there is no difference between the indicative/subjunctive and realis/irrealis since they all pertain to the typological categories of Realis and Irrealis and express the distinction between the notional characteristics of the two categories.

The tripartite mood system of the indicative, subjunctive and the imperative is the most common among the Romance languages of Europe and English as well, which is also attested in CK. Hence, the following paragraphs provide a brief introduction and definition to these moods.

Noonan (2007, p. 109) defines the indicative as "the mood that most closely resembles that of declarative clauses". It is also described as the default verbal mood that does not require any grammatical nor lexical item to license it in either main or subordinate clauses (Bosque, 2012, p.2). Further, according to Davtyan (2007, p. 5), who classifies the grammatical category into direct and oblique moods, the indicative is a sub-class of the direct moods representing real actions or states which do not contradict reality and can be viewed from the past and present, as in:

(1)

1. He bought the dictionary yesterday.
2. She studies English at the University.

Depraetere & Reed (2020, p. 270) maintain that the imperative is the mood that signals the speaker’s desire or intention to bring about a state of affairs through directing the addressee. Its form varies cross-linguistically, in English for instance, it is formed with the base/plain form of the verb uninflected for tense in which the occurrence of the subject is not obligatory (Bergs & Heine, 2006, pp. 111-112), as in (2a) and (2b).

(2)

1. Come here!
2. Have some more cake!
3. \*He said eat the food.
4. Don’t leave!

One of the characteristics of the imperative as put forward by Huddleston & Pullum (2002, p. 62) is that they are never found in subordinate clauses as shown ungrammatical in (2c). The ungrammaticality lies in fact that the clause must be a quoted speech instead. Further, scholars use the *prohibitive* to refer to a negated imperative as in (2d).

The subjunctive in turn as defined by Laskova (2017, p. 19) refers to verbal forms with a morphological twist different than the default mood, indicative, that is primarily used in complements of volitional predicates, wishes, counterfactual conditionals, etc. Further, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994, p. 213) maintain that subjunctive is “verbal forms or markers that obligatorily occur in certain types of subordinate clauses” that are semantic components licensed by certain syntactic elements or contexts occurring in mostly relative clauses modifying non-referring heads, irrealis conditional clauses, purpose adverbial clauses and completive clauses after desiderative, manipulative, non-factive perception, cognition, or utterance predicates. Spanish main verbs, for instance, *quere* ‘to want’, *mandar* 'to order', and sentir 'to regret' among others select a subjunctive predicate in their subordinate clauses provided that the subject of the subordinate is non-referring, that is to say different than that of the main clause, as in the example below from Sancio (2014, p. 10):

(3)

Quiero que vengas

Want.PRS.IND-1SG that come.PRS.SUB-2SG

‘I want you to come’

Noonan (2007, p. 109) argues that any ‘non-indicative’ mood that is characterized by being morphologically marked is labeled subjunctive. Moreover, Bosque (2012, p. 1) states that generally non-indicative moods alter with the indicative in meaning and display grammatical differences concerning speech acts for instance (4) is a wish while (5) is a statement.

(4)

¡Tenga un bueno día!

Have.PRS.SUB a good day

‘Have a nice day!’

(5)

Tiene un bueno dia

Have.PRS.PRG.IND-3SG a good day

‘She is having a nice day’

# Literature Review

In this section, we survey some previous studies and specifically focus on their account to moods in CK. Generally in the literature of CK, three moods, which are the indicative, subjunctive, and imperative that have morphological realization as prefixes in the verbal complex, are recognized by scholars who manifest differences in their approach to the matter. However, among the earliest studies in CK, Fossum’s (1919) grammar book states otherwise concerning the number of moods. He states that there are six moods in CK: the infinitive, indicative, subjunctive, conditional, optative, and imperative. In view of Fossum, the subjunctive is primarily utilized to communicate intention or doubt accompanied by a conjunction, as he names it, for emphasis such as *beşkm, deşkm, belkî* ‘perhaps/maybe’ as in *beşkim bêt* ‘I hope he comes’. Also, he states that the optative is employed by speakers to convey wishes or desires which is in turn emphasized by *briya* or *xozge* ‘would that’ as in *briya hatibêt* ‘I wish he would be there’.

Mackenzie (1957) in his dialectological study of Northern Kurdish (NK) and CK maintains that there are three modal affixes that have morphological realization marking mood in CK. The first one is *e*/*de-* that combines with a present stem to form the indicative as in *dexom* ‘I eat’ and with a past stem to form imperfective past as in *dem xward* ‘I was eating’. The second marker is *bi-,* as he describes, which forms a present subjunctive prefixed to a present stem like in *bixom* ‘I may eat’ and combined with the suffix *–aye* to form the past conditional such as *bit xwardaye* ‘had you eaten it’. The third marker comprises the imperative ­*bi­-* to form a command as in *bixo!* ‘eat!’.

McCarus (1958) similar to Mackenzie (1957) lists three mood markers in CK: *de-* and *bi-*. The former for the indicative and the latter for both subjunctive and imperative. He further adds that the indicative is negated with *na-*[[1]](#footnote-1)in the present as in *dexom/naxom* ‘I am eating/ I am not eating’ and in the past with ­*ne-* as in *hatim/ne hatim* ‘I came/ I did not come’. Also, he mentions that the subjunctive regardless of the tense is negated with *ne-* like in *bixom/nexom* ‘I may eat/I may not eat’. As for the imperative, McCarus shows that the prohibitive marker *me-* is used like in *bişo/meşo* ‘wash! /don’t wash!’.

Fattah (1997) provides a brief descriptive account to moods in CK and classifies the mood markers into two classes. The first class includes *bi-* which represents the speaker’s commitment to the truth of the assertion i.e. the subjunctive mood as in (6a) and also *bi-* and *-aye* markers which he attributes them to the conditional mood as in (6b). Further, the second class of his classification includes the imperative marker *bi-* which determines the type of speech act performed by the addressee. Both the subjunctive and imperative markers, as he states, are identical. However, the only distinctive factor as Fattah maintains lies in the fact that the imperative in CK is limited only to the second person, *-e* for singular often deleted in phonological processes if the stem ends with a vowel and *–n* for plural as illustrated in (6c) and (6d). It is worth mentioning that Fattah classifies *de-* as an aspect marker rather than the indicative mood marker.

(6)

1. Bi-xo-m

SUB-eat.PRS-1SG

‘I may eat’

1. Bi-t-xward-aye

COND-2SG-eat.PST-COND

‘Had you eaten it’

1. Bi-xo-Ø

IMP-eat.PRS-2SG

‘Eat!’

1. Bi-xo-n

IMP-eat.PRS-2PL

‘Eat!’

Mahmudweyssi and Haig (2009) investigate parametric variation in modality among some West Iranian languages including CK, NK, Hawrami, and Persian. They postulate a general structural pattern, presented in (7), for modality in which subjunctive mood in subordinate clauses is a result of being licensed by a finite verb as they describe it.

(7)

Subj Modal-word [Verb-subj-CL]

They present data from all the languages of their study and confirm that the subjunctive mood follows the same pattern in all of them, but the only inter-variety difference is found in the form of the modal word ranging from being a lexical item, inflected for subject clitic, or linked to a nominative or absolutive subject as shown in (8a) for Persian, (8b) for NK. (8c) for CK, and (8d) for Hawrami.

(8)

1. Men bayed be xane be-rav-am.

I must to house SUB-go.PRS-1SG

‘I must go home.’

1. Divê ez her-im mal-ê.

Be.necessary.3SG I go.SUB-1SG home-OBL

‘It is necessary I go home.’

1. (Min) de=m=ewê-t bi-rro-m bo derewe.

I IND=CL.1SG=want.PRS-3SG SUB-go-1SG to outside

‘I want to go out.’

1. Gerek-m-an bilú(na) pey yaney.

Want.PRS=1SG=be.3SG go.PRS.SUB.1SG to house

‘I want to go home.’

In a grammar book by Kim (2010), the subjunctive is classified into the present and past subjunctive. He maintains that the present subjunctive is formed with the present stem of the verb plus the modal marker *bi-* as in (9a) and (9b) that can appear as complement to *wîstin* ‘want’ *ḧezkrdin* ‘would like to’*, pêwîst bûn* ‘to need’*, debêt* ‘must’, and *twanîn* ‘can. Further, Kim states that the past subjunctive is created with the past stem of the verb plus the present irrealis of ‘be’ *bêt* as in (9c).

(9)

1. De=me=wê-t[[2]](#footnote-2) bi-ç-m-e jurewe.

IND=1SG=want.PRS-3SG SUB-go.PRS-1SG-to inside

‘I want to go inside.’

1. Ø-Pêwîst-e bi-ç-m-e jurewe.

IND-need-to SUB-go.PRS-1SG-to inside

‘I need to go inside/ it is necessary I go inside.’

1. Çû-bêt-e jurewe.

Go.PST-be.PRS.IRR.SUB-be.PRS inside

‘If he has went in’

Kareem (2016) in his investigation of the verbal inflection in CK in addition to the subjunctive and imperative marker ­*bi-* argues for the indicative mood marker *de-* in contrary to its most adopted view in the literature as the imperfective aspect marker in both past and present. Despite its compatibility to give an imperfective meaning, Kareem argues that it is problematic to consider this morpheme as a pure aspect morpheme since there is no other morpheme in CK to point imperfectiveness and that it is always found with verbs in the present tense to indicate the indicative mood or future reference. Therefore, he accounts for the grammaticalization possibility of this morpheme and adopts the view that *de-* is an indicative mood marker rather than an aspect marker in the X present as shown in (10a). However, he maintains that probably due to the defective nature of the past stems in CK, *de-* cannot occur with past stems to indicate a past indicative meaning, but rather points to a past progressive meaning as shown in (10b).

(10)

1. Nan de-xo-m.

Food IND-eat.PRS-1SG

‘I eat food/ I am eating food/ I will eat food.’

1. Nan=im de-xward.

Food=1SG.CL ASP-eat.PST

‘I was eating food.’

Karami (2017) confirms that the three moods in CK all have mood markers; *de-* designating the indicative, *bi-/bi-aye* for the subjunctive and counterfactual conditionals, and *bi­-* for the imperative. However, his study proposes two new arguments compared to the previous studies. He argues that *de-* is a portmanteau morpheme functioning simultaneously in the present as a positive polarity item, imperfective aspect marker, and indicative mood marker as in (11a). Moreover, he proposes the *stem+bêt* ‘present irrealis of be’ structure in the past to express uncertainty as a subcategory of the subjunctive mood as in (11b) in which the speaker has doubts about the proposition and is unaware of the outcomes.

(11)

1. De-nêr-m

POS/PRG/IND-send.PRS-1SG

‘I send/I am sending’

1. Beşke ne-mird-bêt-Ø

Wish NEG-die.PST-be.PRS.IRR-3SG

‘I hope he is still alive.’

As provided above, many of the previous studies are only descriptive grammar guides that do not follow a certain theoretical framework to analyze and provide insight into the structure of CK. Many of those are not quite precise and accurate for being written by foreign scholars. Although, several works within the Generative paradigm (e.g. Kareem, 2016) provide an efficient account of the verbal inflection in CK tackling issues such as suffixal morphology, agreement and the syntactic structure, further investigations and amendments are required in terms of producing a unified and precise syntactic analysis. Within the Generative paradigm following Chomsky’s (1995) Minimalist Program, the present study is aimed at contributing an up-to-date analysis to the morphosyntactic characteristics of the subjunctive mood especially and the grammatical category of mood in general. However, it is significant first to introduce the types, functions and licensing of subjunctive in CK in the next section.

# Types of the Subjunctive in CK

This section puts forward the types, structure, usage, and licensing factors of subjunctives in CK. In the literature, the labels in which reference is made to the types of the subjunctive is controversial, Karami (2017), for instance, similar to Thackston (2006) lists present subjunctive and past subjunctive. However in this paper, we adopt Kareem’s (2016) terminology as he lists four types of the subjunctive which are the present subjunctive, simple past subjunctive, imperfective past subjunctive, and past perfect subjunctive.

Prior to introducing the types, it is crucial to introduce the negation particles (Np) compatible with the subjunctive and other moods in CK. Kareem (2016, p. 41) mentions that there are four Nps in CK: *na-, ne-, me-,* and *ni-*. Respectively, they negate all present stems; the indicative hence, all past stems and the subjunctive, the imperative, and the present tense of copula verbs when functioning as main verbs. It is worth noting that Nps and Mms are in complementary distribution. However, it appears to be the case that with the past imperfective this complementary relation somehow vanishes as we will see in the next sections. Regarding Nps, we will not further go into detail here, but only provide examples. (12 a-d) respectively shows the Nps in context and (12e) shows the discrepancy of the past imperfective.

(12)

1. Na-ke-m.

NEG-do.PRS-1SG

‘I will not do it.’

1. Ne=m=bird-Ø.

NEG=1SG.CL=take.PST-3SG

‘I did not take it.’

1. Me-rro-Ø.

NEG-leave.PRS-2SG

‘Don’t leave!’

1. ew xwêndkar nî-e-Ø.

He student NEG-be.PRS-3SG

‘He is not a student

1. ne=m de-xward-Ø.

NEG=1SG.CL IND-eat.PST-3SG

‘I was not eating it.’

To begin with, the present subjunctive, which is negated by *ne-*, is formed with the subjunctive marker *bi-* prefixed to a present stem followed by agreement markers. Kareem (2016, p. 36) states that the transitivity of the stem does not affect the choice of the agreement marker[[3]](#footnote-3) i.e. it always occurs suffixed to the end of the stem as in the paradigm of *rroîştin* ‘to go’ below.

(13)

Bi-rro-m (SUB-go.PRS-1SG) ‘I may go’

Bi-rro-ît (SUB-go.PRS-2SG) ‘You may go’

Bi-rrw-at (SUB-go.PRS-3SG) ‘S/he may go’

Bi-rro-în (SUB-go.PRS-1PL) ‘We may go’

Bi-rro-n (SUB-go.PRS-2PL) ‘You may go’

Bi-rro-n (SUB-go.PRS-3PL) ‘They may go’

A look at the structure of the simple past subjunctive yields that it is formed with the past stem of the verb followed by auxiliary ‘be’ whose forms is determined by the transitivity of the stem. With transitive stems, it maintains the present irrealis form *bêt* as in (14) and in the present stem form *b* with intransitives as in (15). Unlike the present subjunctive, the transitivity of the stem affects the choice of the agreement marker in the fashion that verbal agreement markers are selected with intransitive stems and pronominal clitics with transitives. Further, it seems that the subjunctive marker *bi-*is dropped (Kareem, 2016, p. 44). It possibly has a null spell-out instead of not being there at all. This possibility is quite strong since the indicative marker *de-* has also a null spell-out by default in the past but only in the case of an imperfective action and that the subjunctive marker is morphologically manifested in the past imperfect subjunctives thus the position for the morpheme is available. This in turn supports our primary hypothesis as we will in the next section. It is worth noting that (14) and (15) despite having a past stem, the time of the sentence is present due to the presence of the auxiliary ‘be’ in the present irrealis form (ibid, 2016).

(14)

Xward-bêt=im (eat.PST-be.PRS.IRR=1SG.CL) ‘(if) I have eaten (it).’

Xward-bêt=it (eat.PST-be.PRS.IRR=2SG.CL) ‘(if) you have eaten (it).’

Xward-bêt=î (eat.PST-be.PRS.IRR=3SG.CL) ‘(if) s/he has eaten (it).’

Xward-bêt=man (eat.PST-be.PRS.IRR=1PL.CL) ‘(if) we have eaten (it).’

Xward-bêt=tan (eat.PST-be.PRS.IRR=2PL.CL) ‘(if) you have eaten (it).’

Xward-bêt=yan (eat.PST-be.PRS.IRR=3PL.CL) ‘(if) they have eaten (it).’

(15)

Kewt-b-im (fall.PST-be.PRS-1SG) ‘(if) I have fallen.’

Kewt-b-ît (fall.PST-be.PRS-2SG) ‘(if) you have fallen.’

Kewt-b-ê(t) (fall.PST-be.PRS-3SG) ‘(if) s/he has fallen.’

Kewt-b-în (fall.PST-be.PRS-1PL) ‘(if) we have fallen.’

Kewt-b-in (fall.PST-be.PRS-2PL) ‘(if) you have fallen.’

Kewt-b-in (fall.PST-be.PRS-3PL) ‘(if) they have fallen.’

Regarding imperfective past subjunctive, it is formed with the subjunctive marker *bi­-* prefixed to the past stem of the verb in addition to the past irrealis form of ‘be’ *–aye.* Contra (Fattah, 1997; McCarus, 2009; Öpengin, 2013) who claim that *–aye* is a suffix, Kareem (2016, p. 44) argues that *–aye* is the past irrealis form of *bûn* ‘to be’ since it would pose problems to the derivation of the verbal complex and TP structure otherwise. (16) and (17) are the paradigms of *kewtin* ‘to fall’ and *xwardin* ‘to eat. The former being intransitive and the latter transitive show that the transitivity of the stem affects the type of the agreement marker.

(16)

Bi-kewt-im-aye (SUB-fall.PST-1SG-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) I had fallen.’

Bi-kewt-ît-aye (SUB-fall.PST-2SG-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) you had fallen.’

Bi-kewt-Ø-aye (SUB-fall.PST-3SG-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) s/he had fallen.’

Bi-kewt-în-aye (SUB-fall.PST-1PL-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) we had fallen.’

Bi-kewt-in-aye (SUB-fall.PST-2PL-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) you had fallen.’

Bi-kewt-in-aye (SUB-fall.PST-3PL-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) they had fallen.’

(17)

Bi=m xward-aye (SUB=1SG.CL eat.PST-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) I had eaten (it).’

Bi=t xward-aye (SUB=2SG.CL eat.PST-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) you had eaten (it).’

Bi=î xward-aye (SUB=3SG.CL eat.PST-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) s/he had eaten (it).’

Bi=man xward-aye (SUB=1PL.CL eat.PST-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) we had eaten (it).’

Bi=tan xward-aye (SUB=2PL.CL eat.PST-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) you had eaten (it).’

Bi=yan xward-aye (SUB=3PL.CL eat.PST-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) they had eaten (it).’

Kareem (2016, p. 45) maintains that the last type of the subjunctive, past perfect subjunctive, is formed with the past stem of the verb followed by the past form of auxiliary ‘be’ *bû* and the past irrealis form of *bûn* ‘to be’ *–aye.* Further as demonstrated in (18) and (19), the transitivity of the stem also affects the choice of the agreement marker.

(18)

Kewt-bû-m-aye (fall.PST-be.PST-1SG-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) I had fallen.’

Kewt-bû-ît-aye (fall.PST-be.PST-2SG-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) you had fallen.’

Kewt-bû-Ø-aye (fall.PST-be.PST-3SG-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) s/he had fallen.’

Kewt-bû-în-aye (fall.PST-be.PST-1PL-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) we had fallen.’

Kewt-bû-n-aye (fall.PST-be.PST-2PL-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) you had fallen.’

Kawt-bû-n-aye (fall.PST-be.PST-3PL-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) they had fallen.’

(19)

Xward-bû=m-aye (eat.PST-be.PST=1SG.CL-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) I had eaten (it).’

Xward-bû=ît-aye (eat.PST-be.PST=2SG.CL-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) you had eaten (it).’

Xward-bû=î-aye (eat.PST-be.PST=3SG.CL-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) s/he had eaten (it).’

Xward-bû=man-aye (eat.PST-be.PST=1PL.CL-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) we had eaten (it).’

Xward-bû=tan-aye (eat.PST-be.PST=2PL.CL-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) you had eaten (it).’

Xward-bû=yan-aye (eat.PST-be.PST=3PL.CL-be.PST.IRR) ‘(if) they had eaten (it).’

# Uses and licensing

In terms of licensing, Subjunctive mood in CK can stand alone, i.e. it does not require a specific element to license it. However, in certain situations the subjunctive is licensed by a specific expression or element as further elaborated below. Fattah (1997, p. 158) provides that the present subjunctive can occur in independent clauses to express a wish, hope, or desire of the speaker and in compliments or in greetings (20a) and (20b). It can also be used in cohortative sentences and questions following *aya* (Thackston, 2006, p. 32) as in (20c) and (20d).

(20)

1. Bi-j-ît!

SUB-live.PRS-2SG

‘May you live’

1. Be xêr bi-ê-n.

With good SUB-come.PRS-2PL

‘Lit. May you bring goodness’ ‘welcome!’

1. Aya ne/bi-rro-m?

Q NEG/SUB-go.PRS-1SG

‘May I go/not go?’

1. Ba bi-rro-în.

Let SUB-go.PRS-1PL

‘Let’s go.’

Further as illustrated in (21), it also occurs dependently respectively in subordinate clauses as complements to modal verbs, following certain conjunctions, and in the protasis of if-clauses (Kim, 2009, p. 78; Kareem, 2016, p. 36).

(21)

1. Pêwîst-e bi-xwên-im.

Necessary-be.PRS.3SG SUB-study.PRS-1SG

‘It is necessary that I study.’

1. Lewane-(y)e bi-xwên-im.

Perhaps-be.PRS.3SG SUB-study.PRS-1SG

‘It is possible that I may study.’

1. Eger bi-xew-n

If SUB-sleep.PRS-3PL

‘If they sleep…’

According to Fattah (1997) the simple past subjunctive is primarily used to express hypothetical or improbable situations in the past that still continue to have an effect in the present as in (22) below.

(22)

Eger kird-bêt=im, bo=t de-hên-im.

If do.PST-be.PRS.IRR=1SG.CL to=2SG.CL IND-bring.PRS-1SG

‘If I have completed/made it, I will bring it you.’

The imperfective past subjunctive is used to convey a hypothetical or unreal action more specifically a hypothetical situation or a wish in the past as in (23).

(23)

Birya ne-hat-im-aye.

If only NEG-come.PST-1SG-be.PST.IRR

‘I wish I hadn’t come.’

Similar to the other two types of the past subjunctive, the past perfect subjunctive is also used to express unreal or hypothetical situations/actions which is further in the past than that of the imperfective past subjunctive (Kareem, 2016, p. 46), as in the example below. It also seems that similar to simple past subjunctive the subjunctive marker *bi­-* is dropped i.e. it has a null spell-out.

(24)

Eger dwênê nan=im Ø-xward-bû-aye…

If yesterday bread=1SG.CL SUB-eat.PST-be.PST-be.PST.IRR

‘If I had eaten yesterday…’

As a general rule, the subjunctive regardless of its types can occur following several modal adverbials such as *birya, beşku* ,*xozge,* and *kaşkî* ‘only if’*, lewaneye* and *renge* ‘maybe/perhaps’ as in the below examples.

(25)

1. Xozge bi-rroşit-m-aye.

Only if SUB-go.PST-1SG-be.PST.IRR

‘I wish I had gone.’

1. Lewaneye bi-mir-êt.

Perhaps SUB-die.PRS-3SG

‘He may die.’

Similar evidence is available in Spanish in which certain adverbs, *Posiblemente* for instance, license the subjunctive in the main clause as in (26) (Sancio, 2014, pp. 10-13).

(26)

Posiblemente se trate de dos fotografías

Possibly REFL deal.PRS.SUB .3SG of two photographs.

‘It possibly deals with two photographs.’

Nevertheless, there is some sense of duality in these adverbs since they license an indicative as well as shown in (27).

(27)

Xozge de=t=xward-Ø

Only if IND=2SG.CL=eat.PST-3SG

‘I wish you had eaten it.’

# Theoretical Framework

Chomsky (1995) introduces the Minimalist Program, not a theory for being still under development as he states, as a resumption of the primary objective of the Generative Grammar. The program is outlined in a manner to supply to the quest of clarifying what is the “simplest grammar” and also establishing the manner in which the simplest grammar is selected for any language (p. VII). Under the assumption that Faculty of Language (FL) is perfect, Minimalist Program postulates that Universal Grammar (UG) should reduce to the “simplest computational operation” provided that in doing so no violations occur to the external conditions and principles of Minimal Computation (MC) as one of the applications of MC is reducing computation and articulation to the minimum in manifestation (Chomsky, 2015, p. IX-X)

With these principles at hand, Chomsky (2015, p. 5) assumes that the cognitive system of each language is formed of a Computational System (CS) and a lexicon. The manner in which these two components function is sequential i.e. the latter determines the elements that the former selects and incorporates to form linguistic expressions. It is prerequisite that the lexicon provides CS with sufficient and efficient information without any redundancy. More to this, Chomsky posits a crucial distinction between two classes: the substantives and functionals. The former includes all the lexical items available in the lexicon such as verbs, nouns, and adjectives while the latter refers to those elements, such as tense, complementizers and among others, that bare grammatical functions and only appear in sentences. Functional categories, including inflectional morphemes, similar to lexical categories can be syntactic heads of functional projections and be in a head complement relation with another phrasal category hence they obey syntactic principles and constraints (Baker, 1988; Pollock, 1989; Chomsky 1995, as cited in Kareem, 2016, p. 1)

Concerning the verbal complex in CK, verb stems are always inflected for tense as they appear in the form of past or present stems. Moreover, a number of inflectional morphemes such as negation, agreement, mood, aspect, and passive markers, which correspond to functional categories and head functional projections, in the form of affixes are attached to the stem to form the verbal complex[[4]](#footnote-4).

Since the present study investigates the morphosyntactic characteristics of the subjunctive mood, it is important to show what kind of approach is adopted here. There are different viewpoints into the relation between morphology and syntax. Several scholars hold the idea that morphology is absolutely independent of syntax and is governed by specific morphological principles, theories pertaining to this view are known as lexicalist theories. While several others support the idea that despite syntactic operations being responsible for deriving morphological constructs, it is morphological principles that filter these constructs for further proceedings. The third view, adopted in this paper, includes the non-lexicalist theories in which “morphological operations take place in syntax and are governed by syntactic principles” (Harley, 2010, p. 1). In this approach, the syntactic component is responsible to identically and equally produce words and phrases i.e. the word-formation module in the language component is invariant. Further, the internal and external structure of words are derived by the same syntactic operation and semantic interpretation. As a result, a correspondence between morphemes rather than phonological words is formed with syntactic terminal nodes.

In the next section within the provided theoretical framework, we present our module of analysis that builds up on work of other scholars who have contributed to the subject at hand.

# Module of Analysis

This section presents the module of analysis which is an eclictic one. In our opinion for being skeptical, the call for an eclictic model is necessary since the previous investigations have partially covered the subject or have faced minute critique. Below, an analysis of the previous modules are presented along with reasons for their adoption or refuting.

Contra Zanuttini (1991) who postulates that English subjunctive clauses contain no element in the head of TP (T), Radford (2009, p. 108) argues that T in subjunctive clauses contains ~~should~~*,* the null spell-out of should, rather than being completely empty. In supporting his view, he provides that *should* licenses a nominative case to its subject and so does ~~should~~. Additionally, ~~should~~ takes a verb complement in the infinitive form similar to should**.** The absence of DO-support in negation is another evidence for postulating ~~should~~ as shown in (28 a-d). Have-cliticising is another supporting factor to his view, (28e) is ungrammatical since it is prerequisite to have-cliticising that no element intervenes between *have* and the subject.

(28)

1. He shouldleave.
2. The officer insisted he ~~should~~ stay in the car.
3. He should(\*do**)** not leave.
4. The officer insisted he ~~should~~(\*do)not stay in the car.
5. \*The student requested that he’ve a second trail.

However, Radford (2009, p. 109) states that this analysis is problematic since speakers of American English do not accept the use of *should* in subjunctive clauses. Therefore, he concludes that in subjunctive clauses T contains an “inherently null subjunctive modal” instead of ~~should~~ as shown in (29). Nevertheless, this account is not compatible with CK since mood markers have morphological spell out and occupy positions higher than TP as will be manifested in the next paragraphs.

(29)

The officer insisted [CP[C that [TP [he] [T ØSUB [VP [V have [a second chance]]]

Kareem (2016) submits that there is no tense morpheme in CK or in other words tense has no morphological manifestation. However, in his view, T is not necessarily empty, but contains Mms. Further, he considers *de-* as an Mm primarily instead of an imperfective aspect marker. However, the only situation in which *de-* appears with past tense is to convey an imperfective meaning. Reasons for attributing Mms with T, as he provides, is that the indicative Mm *de-* is primarily associated with the present tense and is only used in the past to indicate a progressive action. Also, he postulates that NegP is the highest inflectional projection, whose specifier (Spec) functions as a landing site for the raising object (Obj) in the clausal structure of CK as shown in (30). Although we partially agree with Kareem (2016) in the sense that there is no morphological realization to tense in CK and that NegP is the highest inflectional projection, we refute that Mms be placed in T.

(30)

[CP [C [SubjP [NegP [Spec Obj] [Neg [TP [T Mm…]]]]

CK is a language with SOV order whose verbal complement is a complex of morphemes that is derived by several different syntactic operations. Kareem (2016, p. 86) argues that the verb by head-movement through moving to Spec X picks up the suffixes and later remnant phrasal movement of VP creates the OV order. He further argues that the subject needs to occupy a higher projection to form the SOV order. Therefore, following Cardinaletti (2004) he proposes SubjP as in (30). One main concern about (30) is that the derivation crashes in case of positive sentences since the Obj in that case would have no Spec to raise to. Being mandatory for the Obj to raise to the Spec of the highest inflectional projection in this case NegP and to prevent the derivation from crashing we assume that Neg is a null spell-out head in case of positive sentences. Hence, (30) is re-designed as in (31).

(31)

[CP [C [SubjP [NegP [Spec Obj] [Neg Ø[TP [T Mm …]]]]

Although (31) seems quite satisfactory, further amendments are required. Schütze (2004) argues for an inflectional projection between CP and TP namely MP in English finite clauses. He argues that the head of this projection M is the locus of modals and Mm and further specifies that it contains either a modal auxiliary such as *will/can/must* or a mood morpheme *ØIND or ØSUB*. Though, Schütze’s analysis has received criticism and many do not deem it accurate for English sentences, it appears just to fit he structurer of CK. Contra Kareem (2016) who places Mms in T, we postulate that since mood is a different grammatical category than tense, Mms maintain a specific and separate projection. Hence, in line with Schütze (2004) we assume that sentences in CK contain an MP that is the locus of Mms. We also adopt his view on that T is only the locus of tense affixes as Schütze states “The only elements generated under T are tense affixes” (p. 507). Following amendments, (32) is the refined version of (31) and the primary proposal of the paper.

(32)

[CP [C [SubjP [NegP [Spec Obj] [Neg] [MP [M] [TP [T Ø…]]]]

In the light of the complementary relation that holds between Nps and Mms, in a structure as such the above Neg is a null-spell out head in positive sentences while M is a null spell-out head in negative questions. However, the only case in which this law is defied and both Nps and Mms co-occur as spell-out heads is in imperfective past sentences.

Moreover, following Karami (2017), we assume that *de-* is neither an imperfective aspectual marker alone as argued for by Fattah (1997) nor an indicative marker only as Kareem (2016) maintains, but is a portmanteau morpheme that has grammaticalized as a mood and imperfective marker simultaneously that by default does not have morphological manifestation in the past but only when used to convey an imperfective meaning. This assumption posits a unified analysis to the status of *de-* in CK.

Lastly, we adopt Stowell’s (1993) approach to classifying the types of the subjunctive to arrive at the conclusion that subjunctives in CK are in conformance or not with Stowell’s which are Intensional Subjunctive (IS) and Polarity Subjunctive (PS). Stowell maintains that the former type refers to subjunctives licensed by a lexical predicator in the main clause while the latter refers to those licensed by a sentential operator such as negation or question in contexts whose verb predicates would otherwise select an indicative complement. Below, their major characteristics that draw the distinctive line between the two types are presented. However, it is crucial to the analysis to first discuss the concept of tense restriction.

Stowell (as cited in Quer 1997, pp. 171-175) maintains that subjunctive complement clauses in Romance languages exhibit tense restriction, that is to say the tense of the subjunctive must be the same with that of the licensing predicate in the main clause as illustrated below in table (1).

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Main clause** | **Complement clasue** | **Result** |
| Present | Present | *Grammatical* |
| Past | Past | *Grammatical* |
| Present | Past | *Ungrammatical* |
| Past | Present | *Ungrammatical* |

**Table 1**

**Tense Restriction and Grammaticality**

This can be further illustrated in the examples below from Catalan, spoken in the Catalonia region of Spain:

(33)

1. Vull que acabi la tesi.

Want.PRS.IND.1SG that finish-PRS.SUB.3SG the dissertation

'I want her/him to finish the dissertation.'

1. Volia que acabés la tesi.

Want-PST.IND.3SG that finish-PST.SUB.1SG the dissertation

'S/he wanted me to finish the dissertation.'

1. \*Vull que acabés la tesi.

Want-PRS.IND.1SG that finish-PST.SUB.3SG the dissertation

1. \*Volia que acabi la tesi.

Want-PST.IND.3SG that finish-PRS.SUB.1SG the dissertation

As a result, tense imposition by licensing predicates is a clear indication to the fact that subjunctive clauses are tenseless and therefore are “anaphoric” to an indicative referential tense (Quer, 1997, p. 172). However, this view does not seem to hold to all subjunctive complements, as Quer argues, especially those licensed by a negation operator whose predicate in the main clause would select an indicative otherwise as in (34b). Below, (34a) shows that subjunctive complements licensed by a negation operator alter this restriction since a PAST subjunctive occurs under a PRESENT matrix predicate which provides that the only tense restriction PS displays is PRESENT under a PAST. However, IS displays as complement clauses both tense restrictions.

(34)

1. No recorda que en Miquel treballés de nit

Not remember-PRS.IND.3SG that the Miquel work-PST.SUB-3SG of night

'S/he doesn't remember that Miquel worked at night.'

1. \*Recordo que en Miquel treballi de nit.

Remember-PRS.IND.lSG that the Miquel work- PRS.SUB.3SG of night

'I remember that Miquel works at night.'

Introduced above, the two types of subjunctive presented by Stowell (1993) are IS, licensed by an intensional verb predicate such as *want*, and PS, licensed by a matrix negation or a question operator. According to Quer (1997, p. 173) there are four properties that distinguish between the two: firstly, the former displays the PRESNT [PAST] tense restriction while the latter does not as illustrated in examples (33 a-d) and (34a and 34b). Secondly, the former does not alternate with the indicative as in (35a cf. 33a) while the latter does as in (35b cf. 34a and 34b). Thirdly, the former is only licensed in the immediate complement clause as in (35c) and (35d) while the latter can be licensed in consecutive complement clauses as in (35e) and (35f). Lastly, the former

allows for the obviation effect, disjoint reference effect between the subject of the complement clause and the matrix as in (35g), whereas this phenomenon is rarely witnessed with the latter as in (35h).

(35)

1. \*Vull que acaba/va acabar/acabava/acabarà la tesi

Want-PRS.1SG that finish-IND.PRS/PST/PROG/FUT.3SG the dissertation

1. No recorda que en Miquel

not remember-3SG.PRS that the Miquel

treballa/va treballar/treballava/treballarà de nit

work-IND.PRS/PST/PROG/ FUT.3SG of night

S/he does not remember that Miquel works/worked/will work at night.'

1. Vull [ que creguin [ que ens agrada ]]

Want-1SG that think-SUB.3SG that us please-IND.3SG

'I want them to think we like it.'

1. \*Vull [que creguin [que ens agradi/agradés/hagi agradat]]

Want-PRS.1SG that think-SUB.3SG that us please-SUB-PRS/PST/PFT.3SG

1. No creo [ que pensi [ que li convé ]]

Not believe-PRS.1SG that think-PRS.SUB.3SG that him be convenient-PRS.IND.3SG

'I don't believe s/he thinks it's convenient for him/her.'

1. No creo [ que pensi [ que li convingui ]]

Not believe-PRS.1SG that think-SUB.3SG that him be convenient-PRS.SUB-3SG

'I don't believe s/he thinks it's convenient for him/her.'

1. \*Vull proi [que la convidi proi]

Want-PRS.1SG that her invite-PRS.SUB.1SG

1. No creo proi [que la convidi proi]

Not think.PRS.1SG that her invite.PRS.SUB.1SG

'I don't think I will invite her.’

To sum up, we assume that in CK an intervening projection between NegP, the highest inflectional projection, and TP namely MP is the locus of Mms. Also, T is only the locus of tense affixes that have no morphological manifestation. Further, we adopt the idea that *de-* is a portmanteau morpheme that functions as the indicative Mm in both past and present and imperfective aspect marker. However, *de-* is by default morphologically not realized in the past tense except when functioning as imperfective aspect marker in the past and in present generally. Finally, we adopt Stowell’s (1993) classification to classify the types of the subjunctive in CK.

# The Analysis of Subjunctive in CK

In the previous section, we presented the module which is adopted here to analyze the subjunctive mood in CK. It is now significant to apply the module to attest its validity and accuracy. Then 7.1 is dedicated to the classification of the types of the subjunctive.

Put forward in the previous section, (32) is the proposed syntactic structure of CK here as (36). Further, (37) provides examples of the three moods that certify the validity and the compatibility of the assumption.

(36)

[CP [C [SubjP [NegP [Spec Obj] [Neg] [MP [Spec Obj] [M] [TP [T Ø…]]]]

(37)

1. Min na/de-ç-im bo bazarr*.*

I NEG/IND-go.PRS-1SG to market

‘I am not going/going to the market.’

1. Ne/bi-ç-im

NEG/SUB-go.PRS-1SG

‘I may go.’

1. Bi/ne-rroîşt-Ø-aye

SUBJ/NEG-go.PAST-3SG-be.IRR

‘Had he gone/not gone’

1. Me/bi - ço-Ø bo bazarr.

NEG/IMP-go.PRS-2SG to market

‘Don’t go/go to the market

1. \*Min na-de-ç-im bo bazarr*.*

I NEG-IND-go.PRS.1SG to market

1. De-na-ç-im bo bazarr*.*

IND-NEG-go.PRS.1SG to market

‘I am NOT going to the market.’

1. De Min na-ç-im bo bazarr.

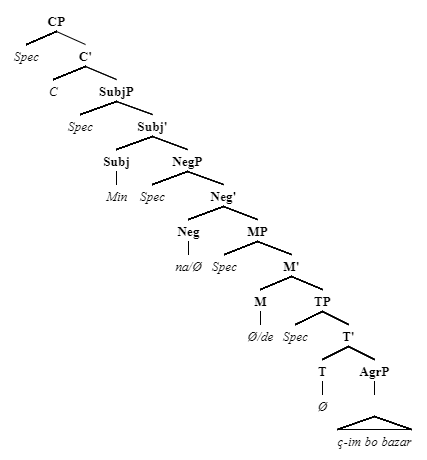
EMP I NEG-go.PRS.1SG to market

‘I am NOT going to the market.’

Respectively, (37 a-c) affirm that Np and Mm are in complementary distribution and (37d) shows that their co-occurrence is impossible and renders ungrammaticality as that pattern is not to be found anywhere in language. However, (37e) prima facie seems to pose a problem for our analysis since both Np and Mm occur together albeit in a reversed order i.e. Mm followed by Np. We argue that in (37e) *de-* is not the portmanteau morpheme which we are familiar with in this paper, but it is rather an emphatic device that can be separated from the verb and stand alone as shown in (37d). Hence, it is a lexical word not an inflectional morpheme. Below, (38) and (39) are respectively the syntactic representation of (37a) and (37b).

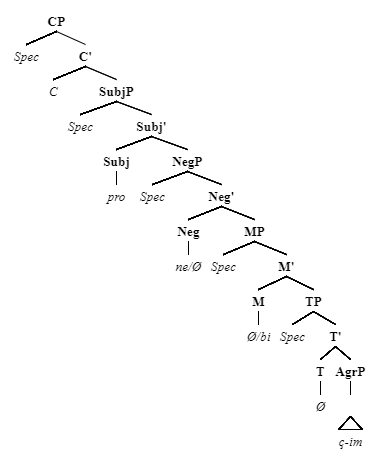
(38)

Min na/de-ç-im bo bazarr.



(39)

Ne/bi-ç-im.

**

Conceivable form the tree diagrams, Spec NegP is a suitable landing site for the raising Obj. Further as discussed previously and demonstrated in the trees, Nps and Mms are in complementary distribution i.e. if Neg is a spelled-out head M is null head and vice versa. The results are grammatical in the sense that there is no violation to the SOV word order of CK nor to the morpheme order which is as the following.

(39)

Negation particles + Mood markers + verb stem + agreement markers + …

Nevertheless, sentences such as (40) display that Np and Mm can actually co-occur in the context of an imperfective past i.e. Np and Mm are no further in complementary distribution. Prima facie, it appears that it poses a problem to our assumption. Nonetheless in this case, both Neg and M are spelled-out heads that maintain their position. Hence, it can be concluded that Nps and Mms are not completely in complementary distribution.

(40)

Ne-de-rroîşt-în.

NEG-IND-go.PST-1PL

‘We were not going’.

# Classification: Stowell (1993)

In this section we adopt Stowell’s (1993) classification to subjunctive mood which was discussed in detail in section 6. The two types of subjunctive according to Stowell are IS and PS and their distinctive features are:

1. Tense restriction: IS displays the PRESENT [PAST] restriction while PS does not.
2. Alternation: IS does not alternate with the indicative. However, PS does.
3. Consecutive licensing: IS can only be licensed in immediate subordinate clause whereas PS can be licensed in consecutive embedded clauses.
4. Obviation effect: IS allows the disjoint reference effect. However, PS rarely allows this.

In 4.1, we discussed how the subjunctive is licensed in CK, it can appear independently and also dependently. According to the nature of the subjunctive in CK, in this section we apply these features to the subjunctive to observe their conformity. Considering tense restriction first, see (41).

(41)

1. De=me=wê \*de/bi-rro-m.

IND=1SG.CL=want.PRS \*IND/ SUB-go.PRS-1SG

‘I want to go.’

1. Ø-wîst-im bi-rro-ît/ \*de-rro-ît

IND-want.PST-1SG SUB-go.PRS-2SG/ \*IND-go.PRS.2SG

‘I wanted you to go.’

1. Ø-Wîst-im bi-rroîşt-Ø-aye/ \*Ø-rroîşt-î

IND-want.PST-1SG SUB-go.PST-3SG-be.PST.IRR/ \*IND-go.PST-3SG

‘I wanted him to be gone to...’

1. De=m=e-wê Ø-rroîşt-bêt-Ø/ \*Ø-rroîşt-î

IND=1SG.CL=EPN-want.PRS SUB-go.PST-be.PRS.IRR-3SG/ \*IND-go.PST-3SG

‘I want him to be gone.’

1. [Ø-Wîst-î [bi-llê-t [b=î=xo-m?]]]

IND-want.PST-3SG SUB-say.PRS-3SG SUB=3SG.CL=eat.PRS-1SG

‘He wanted to say if he can eat it?’

1. ?Pêşnîar de-ke-m bi-rroîşt-Ø-aye/ Ø-rroîşt-b-ît.

Suggestion IND-do.PRS-1SG SUB-go.PRS-3PL-be.PST.IRR/SUB-go.PST-be.PRS-2SG

‘I suggest that you had gone…’

In (41), it is demonstrated that in CK subjunctive licensed by a lexical predicator, in this case ‘want’, violates Stowell’s (1993) IS in the sense that it displays different characteristics. Not only that IS here does not display the PRESENT [PAST] restriction, it also does not display PAST [PRESENT] restriction (cf. 30). Nonetheless, it seems that generalization needs to be avoided since (41f) is not quite grammatical due to displaying PRESENT [PAST] restriction. Hence, there is a sense of duality and divergence among verb predicates in CK since some of them display such tense restriction and many others do not. In (41f), the verb predicate is a light verb construction that has a different syntactic distribution which we will not further discuss here, for a thorough analysis of verbal predicates in CK see (Kareem 2016). Additionally, it can be licensed in consecutive embedded clauses contrary to Stowell’s IS as in (41e). However, it is in conformance with Stowell’s description to IS in the sense that the obviation effect takes place and it does not alternate with the indicative, see (33, 34, and 35). Let’s now consider (42) for the features of PS.

(42)

1. Le bîr=m=d-ê-t Ø-hat-Ø.

In mind=1SG.CL=IND-come.PRS-3SG IND-come.PST-3SG

‘I remember s/he came.’

1. Le bîr=m=na-ye-t Ø-hat-bêt-Ø.

In mind=1SG.CL=NEG-come.PRS-3SG SUB-come.PST-be.PST.IRR-3SG

‘I don’t remember his coming.’

1. Le bîr=m=d-ê-t bi-hat-Ø-aye.

In mind=1SG.CL=IND-come.PRS-3SG SUB-come.PST-3SG-be.PST.IRR

‘I would remember if s/he had come.’

1. \*Le bîr=m=na-ye-t Ø-hat-Ø.

In mind=1SG.CL=NEG-come.PRS-3SG IND-come.PST-3SG

‘I don’t remember his coming.’

1. [Ne=î=wîst-Ø [bi-llê-t [de-rrwa-t?]]]

NEG=3SG.CL=want.PST-3SG SUB-say.PRS-3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG

‘Didn’t he want to say he will leave?’

1. De-zan-im de-rro-ît.

IND-know.PRS-1SG IND-go.PRS-2SG

‘I know that you will leave.’

1. Na-zan-im \*bi/de-rro-ît yan na.

NEG-know.PRS-1SG IND-go.PRS-2SG or no

‘I don’t know you will leave or not.’

The verb predicate *bîr hainewe* ‘tp remember’ in *le bîrmdêt* ‘I remember’ selects an indicative complement clause as in (42a). However, due to the effect of the negation operator, in this case the Np *na-*, it selects a subjunctive complement clause as in (42b). Hence, PS in CK is in compliance with Stowell’s (1993) definition to PS. Further evidence is obtained from (42c) as it does not display the PRESENT [PAST] tense restriction. However, PS in CK is not completely in line with the features that distinguishes Stowell’s PS in the following points. It is evident in (42d) that the subordinate clause cannot alternate with the indicative (cf. 42b). Also, as manifested in (42e) that PS cannot be licensed in consecutive complement clauses. Lastly, the disjoint reference effect is quite apparent unlike Stowell’s PS. Despite these discrepancies, it seems that the presence of the sentential operator that renders Stowell’s PS is not always effective. Although (46f) *dezanim* ‘I know’ formed from *zanîn* ‘to know’ selects an indicative by default, it does not necessarily select a subjunctive when negated as in (46g). Thus it can be concluded that Stowell’s classification cannot be cross-linguistically attested as argued for above.

# Conclusion

The concluding remarks are that Mms in CK maintain an independent inflectional projection namely MP that C-commands TP, whose head T is always a null spell-out head. M as the head of this projection is in complementary distribution with Neg, the head of NegP whose Spec functions as a landing site for the raising Obj. M is a spell-out head when Neg is a null head and vice versa. However, the only case in which both are spelled-out heads is in imperfective past sentences. Also, ­introducing *de-* as a portmanteau morpheme posits a unified analysis to the status of this morpheme in CK as it functions as an Mm and imperfective aspect marker that by default is not morphologically realized in the past, but only in the imperfective past sentences.

The data demonstrate that subjunctives in CK are not in conformance with Stowell’s (1993) IS and PS classification as they manifest quite distinctive features. IS in CK violates the PRESENT [PAST] tense restriction and can be licensed in consecutive subordinate clauses. PS in CK is only in line with Stowell’s for not displaying the PRESENT [PAST] tense restriction while violates it in terms of alternation with the indicative, consecutive licensing, and the obviation effect. Further, the results show that CK utilizes moods and some modal adverbs rather than modal verbs to express Modality.

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**شیکارییەکی مینیمالیستی بۆ پێکهاتەی ڕێژەی دەربڕین لە کوردیی ناوەڕاستدا**

ئامانج لەم توێژینەوەیە ئەوەیە کە ڕۆشنایی بخاتە سەر تایبەتمەندییە مۆرفۆسینتاکتیکییەکانی ڕێژەی دەربڕین لە زمانی کوردی ناوەڕاستدا. بۆ ئەم مەبەستەش، توێژینەوەکە پڕۆگرامی مینیمالیستی چۆمسکی (١٩٩٥) بەکاردەهێنێت. جگە لە داتاکانی توێژینەوەکانی پێشووتر، داتای زیاتریش پێشکەش دەکرێت بەو پێیەی نووسەران قسەکەری زگماکی ئەو زمانەن کە لە ژێر لێکۆڵینەوەدایە. گریمانە پێشنیار کراوەکان بریتین لەوەی کە پڕۆجێکشنێکی ناوبەندی بەناوی پڕۆجێکشنی ڕێژە شوێنی نیشاندەری مۆرفیمی ڕێژەی دەربڕینە کە ج-جۆمماند دەکرێت لەلایەن پڕۆجێکشنی نەرێنیەوە و ج-جۆمماند ی پڕۆجێکشنی دەمی کار دەکات. هەروەها، پێشگری (دە-) کە پۆرتمانتۆ مۆرفیمە لە یەک کاتدا وەک مۆرفیمی ڕێژەی دەربڕین و نموودی ناتەواو دەردەکەوێت. داتاکان ئەوە نیشان دەدەن کە لە کوردی ناوەڕاستدا ڕێژەی دەربڕین هاوتەریب نیە لەگەڵ پۆلێنکردنەکەی (١٩٩٣) ستۆوەڵ، بەڵام هاوتەریبە لەگەڵ ئارگیومێنەتەکەی پالمەر (٢٠٠٣) کە دەڵێت: “ زمانەکان یان ڕێژەی دەربڕینیان هەیە یان مۆداڵیتی، بەڵام هەردووکیان نییە”.

**کلیلە وشە**: ڕێژەی دەربڕین، پڕۆجێکشنی ڕێژە، مۆرفۆسینتاکس، پڕۆگرامی مینیماڵست، کوردی ناوەڕاست

الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو إلقاء الضوء على الخصائص الشكلية وتوزيع المزاج الشرطي في اللغة الكردية الوسطى. للانجاز ذلك ، تستخدم الدراسة برنامج Chomsky's Minimalist (1995). بالإضافة إلى البيانات من الدراسات السابقة ، يتم توفير مزيد من البيانات لأن المؤلفين هم المتحدثون الأصليون للغة قيد الدراسة. الفرضيات المقترحة هي أن الإسقاط التصاعدي وهو عبارة المزاج هو موضع علامات الحالات المزاجية التي تتم السيطرة عليها من قبل الإسقاط التصاعدي النفي و تسیطرعلی الإسقاط التصاعدي الزمن الفعل. ايضا, مورفيم (دة-) يعمل في نفس الوقت في كل من الماضي والحاضر کالدلیل المزاج الشرطي و فعل ناقص. المزاج الشرطي في الكوردي الوسطى لا يتطابق ولا يتوافق مع تصنيف Stowell (1993) للمزاج الشرطي وأن الكوردي الوسطى تستخدم الحالة المزاجية كوسيلة للتعبير عن الشرطية بدلاً من الأفعال النمطية وبالتالي تتماشى و تتناغم مع حجة(2003 ، ص 3) Palmer's " اللغات لها مزاج أو الشرطية ، ولكن ليس كلاهما معا".

1. Kareem (2016) submits that there is the possibility that the negative marker *ne-* and the indicative marker *de-* has combined via a phonological merger to form *na*-. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. In the glosses, morpheme boundary is represented by a hyphen (-) while clitic boundary is represented by an equal sign (=). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. According to Kareem (2016) there are two types of agreement markers in CK. One is verbal agreement markers and the other pronominal clitics. The former are used to show subject and object agreement and the latter are used to double the subject in the past, maintain object marking when the object is dropped only, and show possession in nominal structures. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. For a detailed account of the verbal inflection in CK, see Kareem (2016). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)