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

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### 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 adopts Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Program. In addition to the data from previous studies, further data are provided as the authors are 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, positive polarity marker (PPM), and imperfective aspect maker (IAM) 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".

**Keywords:** Subjunctive Mood, Mood Phrase, Morphosyntax, Minimalist Program, Central Kurdish.

## 1. Introduction

Being an understudied language, CK has various aspects to be explored and studied. One of these poorly studied areas is the grammatical category of mood. Being cross-linguistically studied with the aim of classifying its types and establishing its general traits, the subjunctive is quite poorly investigated in CK in this regard. Therefore, the present paper is an attempt to classify the types of subjunctive mood and provide an insightful analysis to its clausal structure in CK through analyzing its morphosyntactic characteristics and distribution to the exclusion of other grammatical moods.

Within Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Program and following Pollock's (1989) Split IP Hypothesis, the current study attempts to provide answers to the hypotheses that in the clausal structure of positive sentences in CK *MP* is an intervening inflectional projection that is C-commanded by *NegP* and in turn C-commands *TP*. We assume that this inflectional projection is headed by Mood Markers (Mm), i.e. Mms, which are inflectional morphemes in CK, correspond to syntactic heads hence in accordance with Baker's (1985) *Mirror Principle*: "Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa)" (p.375). The importance of this inflectional projection lies in the fact that its specifier (Spec), in positive sentences, hosts the raising object in deriving the SOV word order in CK. Furthermore, Kayne's (1994) Anti Symmetry theory and the notion of asymmetry C-command among elements of the syntactic structure and its extension onto linear order of morphemes is well-respected in the current study within the framework of the non-lexicalist approach to the morphosyntactic interface.

Moreover, to settle the controversial debate regarding the status of *de-* which some scholars, e.g. Fattah (1997), refer to as a PPM while others, e.g. Kareem (2016), refer to it as the

indicative Mm, this investigation proposes a combined view of these previous works and following Karami (2017) argues for a portmanteau morpheme in favor of *de-*.

Deducing form Palmer's (2003, p.3) argument: "languages have either mood or modality, but not both", it should be the case that one of the two methods gains predominance over the other. In this regard, it appears that CK manifests Modality only through mood since it has morphological realizations for different moods on the verb and makes peripheral usage of modal verbs or adverbs. Also, this study provides evidence to attest the conformity of the subjunctive in CK to a widely adopted classification, proposed by Stowell (1993) to subjunctive mood, in other languages in which the subjunctive is realized as morphological inflection on the verb.

The domains of mood and modality, to some extent, are overlapped which has refrained a clear-cut distinction between the two categories, it is therefore significant first to introduce a brief account of them below in section 2 and mood systems in 2.1. The rest of the paper is organized in the following fashion: section 3 surveys the previous works carried out on the topic and presents the gap in the literature. In section 4, types of the subjunctive in CK and in 4.1 their 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 and the last section presents the conclusions.

## 2. Mood and Modality

Cross-linguistically, languages grammatically manifest Modality either through *modal verbs* or *moods*. 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 and 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, having occurred, or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. Contrastively, 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 (2020, p.270) define mood as "The grammatical coding of modal meaning in verb inflections" or defined by Bybee and 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, p.146) mood is a "marker" on the verb that sheds light on the manner in which the speaker anchors the proposition in the context.

According to Huddleston and 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 system with overall features of both mood and modal (verbs) systems (Palmer 2001, p.7). In this regard, German is, as mentioned above, a typical example.

### 2.1. Mood Systems

Languages differ in terms of the type of mood system they have, for instance some are bipartite or tripartite while others have further complex systems. Allan (2007, p.3) states that primarily languages identify three moods: Indicative, Subjunctive, and Imperative which are also described as the fact-mood, the thought-mood, and the will-mood respectively. Nonetheless, only two moods, Indicative and Subjunctive, are recognized in the European Classical Languages. Moreover, some languages of the Native American and Papua New Guinea recognize a pair of different moods, realis and irrealis. 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 distinction since they all pertain to the typological categories of Realis and Irrealis and express the distinction between the notional characteristics of the two categories. It is worth noting that 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 that 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)

a. He bought the dictionary yesterday.
b. She studies English at the University.

Depraetere and Reed (2020, p.270) maintain that the imperative, whose form varies cross-linguistically, is the mood that signals the speaker's desire or intention to bring about a state of affairs through directing the addressee. 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 and Heine 2006, pp.111-112), as in (2a) and (2b).

(2)

a. Come here!
b. Have some more cake!
c. *He said eat the food.
d. Don't leave!

One of the characteristics of the imperative put forward by Huddleston and 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, 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 and Pagliuca (1994, p.213) maintain that subjunctive mood 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'

## 3. Literature Review

In this section, we survey some previous studies and specifically focus on their account to moods in CK and some other varieties of the West Iranian languages. Generally in the literature of CK, three moods, which are the indicative, subjunctive, and imperative that have morphological realization as prefixes on the verb, 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 his view, the subjunctive is primarily utilized to communicate intention or doubt accompanied by a conjunction, as he names it, for emphasis such as *beşkm, deşkm,* and *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 have come'.

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) lists two Mms 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] 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

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[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-*.

the tense is negated with *ne-*. 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 Mms 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 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 lies in the fact that the imperative in CK is limited only to the second person realized as *-e* for singular, that is often deleted in phonological processes if the stem ends with a vowel, and as *–n* for plural, as illustrated in (6c) and (6d). It is worth mentioning that Fattah regarding the indicative does not classify a specific marker. Nevertheless, he mentions that *de-* , which is an IAM to him, combines with present stems to convey the indicative.

(6)

a. Bi-xo-m
   SUB-eat.PRS-1SG
   'I may eat'

b. Bi=t=xward-aye
   COND=2SG.CL=eat.PST-COND
   'Had you eaten it'

c. Bi-xo-Ø
   IMP-eat.PRS-2SG
   'Eat!'

d. Bi-xo-n
   IMP-eat.PRS-2PL
   'Eat!'

Mahmudweyssi and Haig (2009) investigate parametric variation in modality among some West Iranian varieties 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 clitics or linked to a nominative or absolutive subject as shown in the examples borrowed from their work; (8a) for Persian, (8b) for NK. (8c) for CK, and (8d) for Hawrami.

(8)

a. Men      bayed  be     xane   be-rav-am.
   I        must   to     house  SUB-go.PRS-1SG
   'I must go home.'

b. Div-ê                    ez    her-im           mall-ê.
   Be.necessary.PRS-3SG     I     go.SUB-1SG       home-OBL
   'It is necessary I go home.'

c. (Min)  de=me=wê[2]              bi-rro-m         bo    mallewe.
   I      IND=CL.1SG=want.PRS      SUB-go-1SG       to    home
   'I want to go home.'

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[2] In the glosses, morpheme boundary is represented by a hyphen (-) while clitic boundary is represented by an equal sign (=).

d. 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' *ħezkrdin* '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)

a. De=me=wê      bi-ç-m-e      jurewe.
   IND=1SG=want.PRS      SUB-go.PRS-1SG-to      inside
   'I want to go inside.'

b. Ø-Pêwîst-e      bi-ç-m-e      jurewe.
   IND-need-be.PRS.3SG      SUB-go.PRS-1SG-to      inside
   'I need to go inside/ it is necessary that I go inside.'

c. Çû-bêt-e      jurewe.
   Go.PST-be.PRS.IRR.SUB-to      inside
   'If he 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 Mm *de-* in contrary to its most adopted view in the literature as an IAM 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 Mm rather than an aspect marker in the 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)

a. Nan    de-xo-m.
   Food    IND-eat.PRS-1SG
   'I eat food/ I am eating food/ I will eat food.'

b. Nan=im      de-xward.
   Food=1SG.CL      ASP-eat.PST
   'I was eating food.'

Karami (2017) confirms that all the three moods in CK have Mms; *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 as a PPM, IAM, and indicative Mm 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)

a. De-nêr-im
   POS/PRG/IND-send.PRS-1SG
   'I send/I am sending'

b. 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 or grammar guides that do not follow a certain theoretical framework to analyze and provide insight into the structure of the subjunctive in 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 and 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 in particular 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.

## 4. Types of the Subjunctive in CK

This section puts forward the types, formation, usage, and licensing factors of the subjunctive 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 *nî -*, which respectively negate all present stems, all past stems and the subjunctive, the imperative, and the present tense of copula *be* when functioning as main verbs. It is worth noting that Nps and Mms are in complementary distribution. However, in imperfective past sentences, it seems that *ne-* and *de-* actually co-occur. Regarding Nps, we will no further approach the matter here despite of providing examples. (12 a-d) respectively shows the Nps in context and (12e) shows the discrepancy of the imperfective past.

(12)

a. Na-ke-m.
NEG-do.PRS-1SG
'I will not do it.'

b. Ne=m          bird-Ø.
NEG=1SG.CL     take.PST-3SG
'I did not take it.'

c. Me-rro-Ø.
NEG-go.PRS-2SG
'Don't leave!'

d. Ew      xwêndkar     nî-e.
He       student        NEG-be.PRS.3SG
'He is not a student

e. 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[3]. Kareem (2016, p.36) states that the transitivity of the stem does not affect the choice of the agreement marker, 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' |

(Kareem 2016, p.36)

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 form is determined by the transitivity of the stem. With transitive stems, it maintains the present irrealis form *bêt* as in (14) and 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 except for the case of imperfective actions and that the subjunctive marker is morphologically manifested in the imperfective past subjunctives thus the position for the morpheme is available. This in turn supports our primary hypothesis as we will see in the next sections. 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).' |

(Kareem 2016, p.44)

(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.' |

(Kareem 2016, p.43)

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[3] According to Kareem (2016) there are two types of agreement markers in CK: verbal agreement markers and 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.

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), and Öpengin (2013) who claim that *–aye* is a suffix, we adopt Kareem's (2016, p.44) argument 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.' |
| | | (Kareem 2016, p.44) |

(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) |

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.' |
| | | (Kareem 2016, p.45) |

(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).' |
| | | (Kareem 2016, p.46) |

### 4.1. Uses and licensing

In terms of licensing, subjunctive mood in CK can occur independently, 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 complements or in greetings, as in (20a) and (20b). It can also be used with questions following *aya* and in cohortative sentences (Thackston 2006, p.32), as in (20c) and (20d).

(20)

a. Bi-j-ît!
   SUB-live.PRS-2SG
   'May you live'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Kareem 2016, p.36)

b. Be　　xêr　　bi-ê-n.
   With　good　SUB-come.PRS-2PL
   'Lit. May you bring goodness' 'welcome!'　　　　　　　(Kareem 2016, p.36)

c. Aya　　ne/bi-rro-m?
   Q　　　NEG/SUB-go.PRS-1SG
   'Shall I go/not go?'

d. Ba　　bi-rro-în.
   Let　　SUB-go.PRS-1PL
   'Let's go.'

Also 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)

a. Pêwîst-e　　　　　　　　　　bi-xwên-im.
   Necessary-be.PRS.3SG　　　　SUB-study.PRS-1SG
   'It is necessary that I study.'　　　　　　　　　　(Kareem 2016, p.37)

b. Lewane-(y)e　　　　　　　　bi-xwên-im.
   Perhaps-be.PRS.3SG　　　　SUB-study.PRS-1SG
   'It is possible that I may study.'　　　　　　　　(Kareem 2016, p.37)

c. Eger　　bi-xew-in
   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=yan,　　　　　　　　　　bo=t　　　　　de-hên-im.
If　　　do.PST-be.PRS.IRR=3Pl.CL　　　　to=2SG.CL　　IND-bring.PRS-1SG
'If they completed/made it, I would 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 (Kareem 2016, p.46), 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 are 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', and *rrenge* 'maybe/perhaps' as in the below examples.

(25)

a.  Xozge         bi-rroşit-m-aye.
    Only if       SUB-go.PST-1SG-be.PST.IRR
    'I wish I had gone.'
b.  Rrenge        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 (Sancio 2014, pp.10-13), as in (26).

(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.'

## 5. Theoretical Framework
Chomsky (1995) introduces the Minimalist Program not as a theory, for being still under development as he states, but as resumption to 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, pp.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 a 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 elements, such as tense, complementizers and among others, that bear 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, 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]. In this regard, inflectional morphemes correspond to Baker's (1985) *Mirror Principle*: "Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa)" (p.375).

Since the present study investigates the morphosyntactic characteristics of the subjunctive mood, it is important to show what kind of approach is adopted here since there are different viewpoints into the relation between morphology and syntax. Within the lexicalist theory, it is assumed that morphology is absolutely independent of syntax and is governed by specific morphological principles. However, several other theories within the scope of Distributive Morphology hold 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 study, involves 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 with Chomsky's (1995) *Operation Merge* being responsible to create the internal and external structure of words. As a result, a correspondence between morphemes rather than phonological words is formed with syntactic terminal nodes that respects Kayne's (1994) Anti Symmetry and the notion of asymmetry C-command among elements of the syntactic structure and its extension onto the linear order of morphemes.

## 6. Model of Analysis

With respect to the theoretical framework introduced in the previous section and following Schütze (2004), we argue that in the clausal structure of positive sentences in CK, *MP* is an intervening inflectional projection that is C-commanded by *NegP*, which according to Kareem (2016) maintains the highest position within the Infl(ection) domain in CK, and in turn C-commands *TP*. We assume that this inflectional projection is headed by Mms and its Spec hosts the raising object in positive sentences.

### 6.1. MP

Contra Zanuttini (1991) who postulates that English subjunctive clauses contain no element in T, head of TP, 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 this view, he provides that *should* licenses a nominative case to its subject and so does ~~should~~.

---

[4] For a detailed account of the verbal inflection in CK, see Kareem (2016).

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). Additionally, further supporting evidence could be provided with Have-cliticising: it is prerequisite to have-cliticising that no element intervenes between *have* and the subject. In this regard, (28e) is ungrammatical due to the presence of ~~should~~.

(28)

a. He should leave.
b. The officer insisted he should stay in the car.
c. He should (*do) not leave.
d. The officer insisted he should (*do) not stay in the car.
e. *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 Ø$_{SUB}$ [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. Also, he postulates that NegP is the highest inflectional projection, whose Spec functions as the landing site for the raising object 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 do not agree that Mms be placed in T as argued for below.

(30)
[CP [C [NegP [Spec Obj] [Neg] [TP [T Mm…]]]]

CK is a language with SOV order whose verbal structure, which is a complex of morphemes of both prefixes and affixes, is derived by several different syntactic operations. Kareem (2016, p.86) argues that the verb by head-movement through moving to Spec XP picks up the suffixes and later remnant phrasal movement of VP, which targets the Spec of the highest Inflectional projection and in this case NegP, 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 whose Spec hosts the raising Subject in line with Kayne's (1994) *LCA*: all head movements are leftward, as in (30). Kareem (2016, p.87) states that in case of positive sentences Head NegP receives a null spell-out which means that the presence of NegP is optional in the structure. Consequently, the raising object has to land in Spec TP as it targets the highest projection in the Infl domain. However, one main concern about this argument is that Spec TP is already occupied by the trace of the raising subject which means that Spec TP is unavailable to host the object. In order to prevent the derivation from crashing, we assume that the raising object should land in Spec XP which is another inflectional projection just above TP as shown in (31).

(31)
[CP [C [SubjP [Subj] [XP [Spec Obj] [X] [TP [T Mm …]]]]]

Following Schütze (2004), who argues for an inflectional projection between NegP and TP, namely *MP,* in English finite clauses, we posit that in CK also *MP* is the XP to whose Spec the object raises. Furthermore, he argues that the head of this projection *M* is the locus of modals and Mms and further specifies that it contains either a modal auxiliary such as *will/can/must* or a mood morpheme $\emptyset_{IND}$ or $\emptyset_{SUB}$. In line with this argument and contra Kareem (2016) who places Mms in T, we postulate that Mms in CK maintain the head of a specific and separate projection and in this sense *MP*. Though, Schütze's analysis has received criticism and many, Radford (2009) for instance, do not deem it accurate for English sentences, it appears just to fit he structurer of CK. 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, (32b) is the refined version of (31) and the primary proposal of the paper.

(32)

a. Negative sentences: Kareem (2016)
   [CP [C [SubjP [NegP [Spec Obj] [Neg] [TP [T Ø…]]]]]
b. Positive sentences
   [CP [C [SubjP [MP [Spec Obj] [M] [TP [T Ø…]]]]]

### 6.2. The status of *De-*

In the previous sections, we presented that in the literature of CK there is a controversy regarding *de-*. Contra Fattah (1997) who submits that *de-* is an aspect marker, Kareem (2016, p.74) considers *de-* as an Mm primarily and places Mms in Head TP. He provides that this marker is mainly attributed to the present tense since it is absent in the past except in the case of imperfective past sentences and that some speakers of the language differentiate between the past and present tense via this morpheme. Additionally, Kareem argues that considering this morpheme as an aspect marker poses problems to the derivation of the verbal complex due to the fact that aspect markers are suffixes rather than affixes. Furthermore, He maintains that though *de-* is able to convey an imperfective meaning possibly due to having grammaticalized, it is "always prefixed to verbs in the present tense to convey indicative (realis modality) or future time reference" (ibid 2016, p.24).

With the aim of postulating an argument that brings about a unified analysis to the status of *de-*, building up on work by Karami (2017), we assume that *de-* is a portmanteau morpheme that simultaneously functions to convey realis modality (indicative mood), positive polarity, and imperfective aspect. Justifications for the first two functions of this morpheme could be provided due to the fact that this morpheme is in complementary distribution with other Mms and Nps. Also, being used as the sole morpheme to convey imperfective meaning by the speakers of CK in both past and present supports the third function of this morpheme. In fact, having a null spell-out by default in the past except being realized in the case of imperfective past further affirms that *de-* indeed functions as an IAM.

As mentioned in 6.1, verbs in CK are simultaneously preceded by prefixes and followed by suffixes. Kareem (2016, p.69) submits that suffixes are attached to the verb by head movement while prefixes, following Julien (2002) as he submits, are generated in the structure higher than TP and are attached to the verb by phonological processes and do not display any kind of movement. Hence, we can conclude that our proposal regarding Mms as to be placed in Head MP holds and can be further justified by the fact it does not pose problems to the derivation of the verbal complex.

### 6.3. Stowell (1993)

A widely adopted approach to the classification of the subjunctive by languages in which the subjunctive is realized as morphological inflection on the verb is Stowell (1993). According

to this approach, the subjunctive is classified into 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. In this study, we adopt this approach to attest the degree to which the subjunctive in CK is in conformance with the characteristics of both IS and PS. In the following paragraphs, the major characteristics that draw the distinctive line between the IS and PS are presented. However, it is crucial to the analysis first to discuss the concept of tense restriction.

Stowell (1993, 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 in the sense that any deviation renders ungrammaticality 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)

a. Vull                              que  acabi                              la tesi.
   Want.PRS.IND.1SG      that  finish-PRS.SUB.3SG                the dissertation
   'I want her/him to finish the dissertation.'
b. Volia                             que    acabés                          la tesi.
   Want-PST.IND.3SG          that    finish-PST.SUB.1SG          the dissertation
   'S/he wanted me to finish the dissertation.'
c. *Vull                            que  acabés                          la tesi.
   Want-PRS.IND.1SG      that  finish-PST.SUB.3SG          the dissertation
d. *Volia                           que    acabi                            la tesi.
   Want-PST.IND.3SG   that    finish-PRS.SUB.1SG          the dissertation

Contrary to Stowll (1993) who submits that 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) argues that this view does not seem to hold to all subjunctive complements 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 the concept of tense 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 both tense restrictions.

(34)

a. 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.'
b. *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 sentential operator such as negation or a question. 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). 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 immediate complement clause, as in (35c) and (35d). However, 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)

a. *Vull                que  acaba/va acabar/acabava/acabarà        la tesi
   Want-PRS.1SG          that  finish-IND.PRS/PST/PROG/FUT.3SG    the dissertation

b. No recorda                   que    en Miquel treballa/va
   treballar/treballava/treballarà
   not remember-3SG.PRS         that    the Miquel work-
   IND.PRS/PST/PROG/FUT.3SG de nit
   of  night
   S/he does not remember that Miquel works/worked/will work at night.'

c. 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.'

d. *Vull              [que creguin          [que ens agradi/agradés/hagi agradat]]
   Want-PRS.1SG      that think-SUB.3SG    that us please-SUB-PRS/PST/PFT.3SG

e. 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.'

f. 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.'

g. *Vull proi              [que la convidi proi]
   Want-PRS.1SG           that her invite-PRS.SUB.1SG

h. 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 our model, we, in the light of the provided evidence, 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 view that *de-* is a portmanteau morpheme that functions as the indicative Mm, PPM, and IAM in both past and present. However, *de-* by default morphologically is not realized in the past tense except when functioning as IAM. Finally, we adopt Stowell's (1993) classification to attest the conformance of the subjunctive in CK to the characteristics of IS and PS.

## 7. The Analysis of Subjunctive in CK

Within the theoretical framework presented in the previous section, we now turn to analyze the subjunctive mood in CK and attest the validity and accuracy of our proposal. Then 7.1 is dedicated to the application of Stowell's (1993) classification the types of the subjunctive in CK.

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

(36)

a. Negative sentences:
   [CP [C [SubjP [NegP [Spec Obj] [Neg] [TP [T Ø…]]]]]

b. Positive sentences
   [CP [C [SubjP [MP [Spec Obj] [M] [TP [T Ø…]]]]]

(37)

a. Min    nan    na/de-xo-m
   I    food    NEG/IND-eat.PRS-1SG
   'I am not eating/food.'

b. Min    nan    Ne/bi-xo-m.
   I    Food    NEG/SUB-eat.PRS-1SG
   'I may not/ may eat food.'

c. Bi/ne=m              xward-aye
   SUBJ/NEG=1.SG.CL      eat.PST-be.PST.IRR
   'Had he eaten/not eaten it'

d. Nan    me/bi-ço-Ø.
   Food    NEG/IMP-go.PRS-2SG
   'Don't eat/eat food.'

e. *Na-de-xo-im .
   NEG-IND-eat.PRS-1SG

f. De-na-ç-im            bo    bazarr.
   IND-NEG-go.PRS-1SG    to    market
   'I am NOT going to the market.'

g. 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 Nps and Mms 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 the 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, whose English translation shows stress with capital characters *NOT,* 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 (37b) in both negative and positive cases.
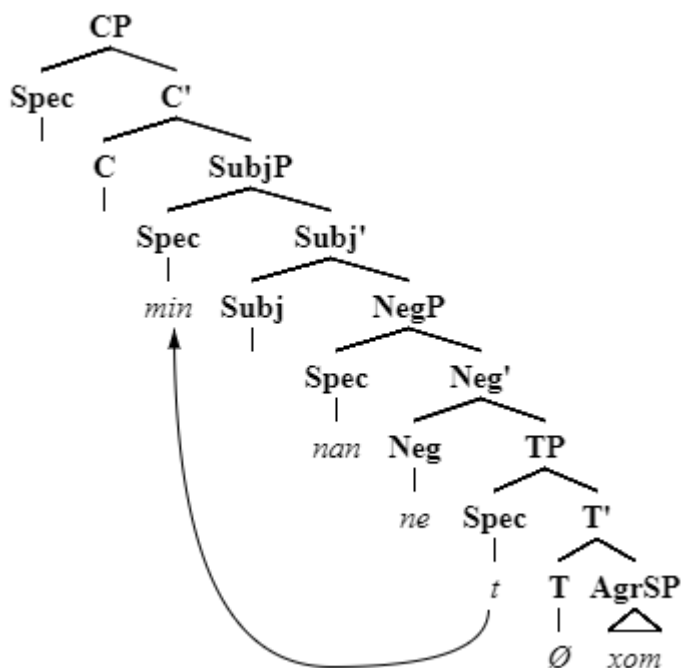
(38)

Min nan ne-xo-m.

**Figure 1:** Syntactic representation of negative sentences
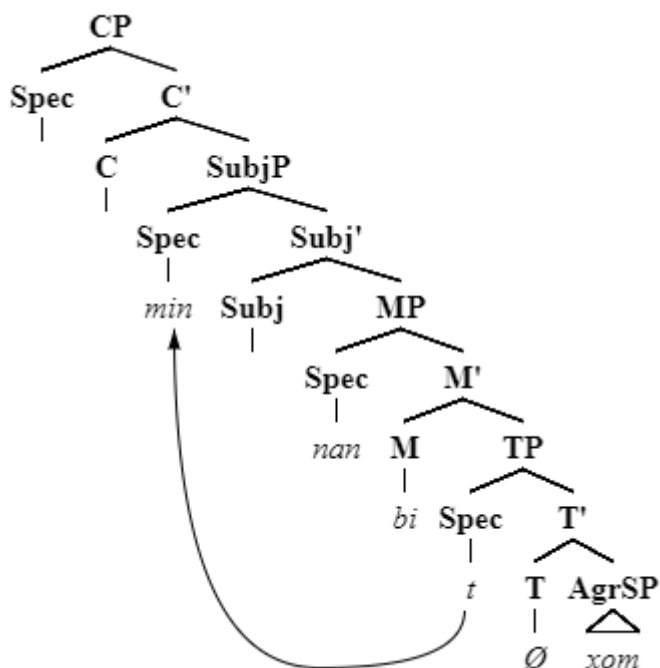    (39)
Min nan bi-xo-m.



**Figure 2:** Syntactic representation of positive sentences

Conceivable form the tree diagrams, Spec NegP is a suitable landing site for the raising object in case of negative sentences and for being in complementary distribution with *M, M* receives a null spell-out in (38) and therefore it is absent in the structure. However, *M* in (39) is a spelled-out head and Spec MP functions as the landing site for the raising object since NegP is optional in the struqcture. Although, we mentioned that Mms and Nps are in complementary relation in section 4, it seems that (40) prima facie poses a problem to this argument.

(40)

| Min | nan=im | ne-de-xward. |
|-----|--------|--------------|
| I | food=1SG.CL | NEG-IND-go.PST |

'I was not eating the food'.

In this case, *de-* as a portmanteau morpheme, is IAM oriented rather than being an Mm. Nonetheless in this case, both *Neg* and *M* are spelled-out heads and Spec NegP is responsible to host the raising object for being the highest inflectional projection, as represented (41).
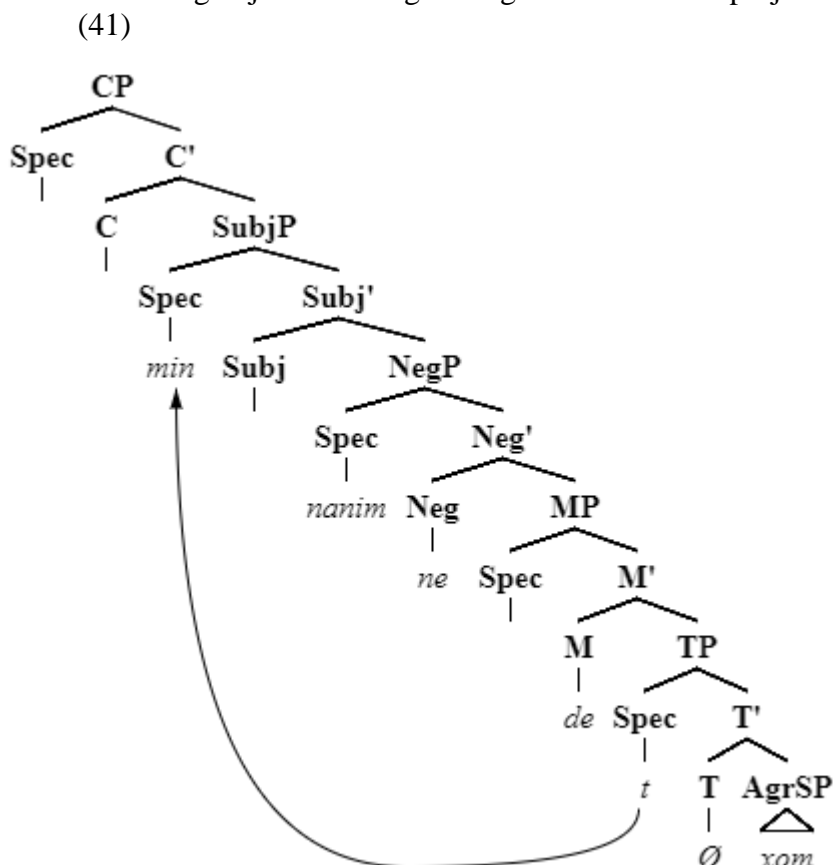
(41)



**Figure 3:** Syntactic representation of imperfective past sentences

### 7.1. 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 (42).

(42)

a. De=me=wê           *de/bi-rro-m.
   IND=1SG.CL=want.PRS   *IND/ SUB-go.PRS-1SG

'I want to go.'

b. 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.'

c. 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...'

d. De=m=ewê                    Ø-rroîşt-bêt-Ø…/ *Ø-rroîşt-î
IND=1SG.CL=want.PRS      SUB-go.PST-be.PRS.IRR-3SG/ *IND-go.PST-3SG
'I want him to be gone.'

e. [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: shall I eat it?'

f. ?Pêşnîar     de-ke-m              Ø-rroîşt-b-î….
Suggestion     IND-do.PRS-1SG     SUB-go.PST-be.PRS-2SG
'I suggest that you you…'

In (42), 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, as in (43 a-d, cf. 30). Additionally, it can be licensed in consecutive embedded clauses contrary to Stowell's IS as in (42e). Nonetheless, it seems that generalizations need to be avoided since (42f) 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. 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 (43) for the features of PS.

(43)

a. 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.'

b. 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.'

c. 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.'

d. *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.'

e. [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?'

f. De-zan-im                     de-rro-ît.
IND-know.PRS-1SG        IND-go.PRS-2SG
'I know that you will leave.'

g. 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 hatinewe* 'to remember' in *le bîrmdêt* 'I remember' selects an indicative complement clause as in (43a). However, due to the effect of the negation operator, in this case the Np *na-*, it selects a subjunctive complement clause as in (43b). Hence, PS in CK is in compliance with Stowell's (1993) definition to PS, whose verb would select an indicative complement if it was not for the sentential operator. Further evidence is obtained from (43c) as it does not display the PRESENT [PAST] tense restriction. However, PS in CK is not completely in line with the features that distinguishe Stowell's PS in the following points. It is evident in (43d) that the subordinate clause cannot alternate with the indicative (cf. 43b). Also, as manifested in (43e), 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 (43f) *dezanim* 'I know' formed from *zanîn* 'to know' selects an indicative by default, it does not necessarily select a subjunctive when negated as in (43g). Thus, it can be concluded that Stowell's classification cannot be cross-linguistically attested.

## 8. 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, whose Spec functions as the landing site for the raising object in positive sentences, is in complementary distribution with Neg. 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 to convey realis modality, positive polarity, and imperfective meaning that by default is not morphologically realized in the past, but only with the imperfective past sentences.

The data demonstrate that subjunctive mood in CK is not in conformance with Stowell's (1993) IS and PS classification since it manifests quite distinctive features. IS in CK violates the PRESENT [PAST] tense restriction and can be licensed in consecutive subordinate clauses. However, PS in CK is only in line with Stowell's PS for not displaying the PRESENT [PAST] tense restriction, but it violates alternation with the indicative, consecutive licensing, and the obviation effect. Lastly, the results, as a general portrait, show that CK utilizes mood rather than modal systems (verbs) to express Modality.

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## شیکارییه‌کی مینیمالیستی بۆ  پێکهاته‌ی ڕێژه‌ی ده‌ربڕین له کوردیی ناوه‌ڕاستدا

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**پوخته**

ئامانج له‌م تـوێژینه‌وه‌یه ئه‌وه‌یه که ڕۆشـنایی بخـاته سـه‌ر تایبه‌تمه‌نـدییه مۆرفۆسـینتاکتیکییه‌کانی ڕێـژه‌ی ده‌ربـڕین له زمـانی کـوردی ناوه‌ڕاسـتدا. بـۆ ئه‌م مه‌به‌سته‌ش، توێژینه‌وه‌که پرۆگرامی مینیمالیستی چۆمسکی (١٩٩٥) به‌کارده‌هێنێت. جگه له داتاکانی توێژینه‌وه‌کانی پێشوو‌تر، داتای زیاتریش پێشکه‌ش ده‌کرێت به‌و پێیه‌ی نووسه‌ران قسه‌که‌ری زگماکی ئه‌و زمانه‌ن که له ژێر لێکۆڵینه‌وه‌دایه. گریمانه پێشنیار کراوه‌کان بریتین له‌وه‌ی که پرۆجێکشـنێک ناوه‌بنـدی پرۆجێکشنی ڕێژه شوێنی نیشانده‌ری مۆرفیمی ڕێژه‌ی ده‌ربڕینه  که ج-جۆمماند ده‌کرێت له‌لایه‌ن پرۆجێکشـنی نه‌رێنیه‌وه و ج-جۆمماند ی پرۆجێکشـنی ده‌می کار ده‌کات. هه‌روه‌ها، پێشگری (ده-) که پۆرتمانتۆ مۆرفیمه له یه‌ک کاتدا وه‌ک مۆرفیمی ڕێژه‌ی ده‌ربڕین و نموودی ناته‌واو ده‌رده‌که‌وێت. داتاکان ئه‌وه نیشان ده‌ده‌ن که له کوردی ناوه‌ڕاستدا ڕێژه‌ی ده‌ربڕین هاوته‌ریب نیه له‌گه‌ڵ پۆلێنکردنه‌که‌ی (١٩٩٣) ستۆوه‌ڵ، به‌ڵام هاوته‌ریبه له‌گه‌ڵ ئارگیومێنته‌که‌ی پالمه‌ر (٢٠٠٣) که ده‌ڵێت: " زمانه‌کان یان ڕێژه‌ی ده‌ربڕینیان هه‌یه یان مۆداڵێتی، به‌ڵام هه‌ردووکیان نییه. "

**کلیله وشه**: ڕێژه‌ی ده‌ربڕین، پرۆجێکشنی ڕێژه، مۆرفۆسینتاکس، پرۆگرامی مینیماڵست، کوردی ناوه‌ڕاست

## تحليل مبسط لمزاج الشرط في البنية الكردية الوسطى

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**ملخص**

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 موضع المزاج هو موضع علامات الحالات المزاجية التي تتم السيطرة عليها من قبل الإسقاط التصاعدي النفي و تسيطرعلى الإسقاط التصاعدي  الزمن الفعل. ايضا, مورفيم, (دة-) يعمل في نفس الوقت في كل من الماضي والحاضر كالدليل المزاج الشرطي و فعل ناقص. المزاج الشرطي  في الكوردي الوسطى لا يتطابق ولا يتوافق مع تصنيف (1993) Stowell 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".

**الكلمات الدالة:** صيغة الشرط ، العبارة المزاجية ، Morphosyntax ، برنامج الحد الأدنى ، اللغة الكردية الوسطى