

## Second-position clitics in Sanandaji Kurdish

Mojgan Osmani – University of Toronto, Mississauga

Arsalan Kahnemuyipour – University of Toronto, Mississauga

This paper discusses the distribution of subject (and object) clitics in Sanandaji Kurdish (Northwestern Iranian) past transitive structures. Sanandaji Kurdish (SK) follows a split alignment pattern. In SK, past tense transitive subjects are tracked by clitics (1a), as opposed to intransitive subjects (1b) and present tense subjects (1c) that are tracked by verbal agreement suffixes.

- (1a) emæ Žila=man di. (1b) te-m. (1c) emæ Žila æ-win-in.  
1PL Žila=SCL.1PL see.PST.3SG come .PRES.1SG 1PL Žila PREF-see PRES.1SG  
'We saw Žila.' 'I come.' 'We see Žila.'

The distribution of the subject clitic is summarized as follows: it follows the direct object, if there is one; the indirect object, if there is no direct object; the nonverbal component of the complex predicate, if there is no indirect object; and the verb itself if none of these elements are present. This is shown schematically in (2).

- (2) S [O=SCL IO NVE LV]  
S [ IO=SCL NVE LV]  
S [ NVE=SCL LV]  
S [ V=SCL]

We posit that this distribution is best accounted for as second-position in the domain of the lower phase vP in Chomsky's (2000, 2001) sense. As shown in (2), the subject clitic appears on the left-most element within the verb phrase. However, the distribution of subject clitics in SK illustrates a more complex pattern when we consider their distribution in the verbal complex. Prefixes seem to be involved in determining what counts as a second position. In (3), the prefix, occupying the vP-initial position, is hosting the subject clitic. By contrast, suffixes do not seem to be transparent to this process, as in (4). In (4), the subject clitic apparently occupies the third position within the verb phrase, if suffixes, like prefixes, were to be counted separately in determining the second position status. Note that the subject clitic appears after the whole verbal complex, and not the verb stem.

- (3) æ=man-di (4) wît-u=yan  
IMPREF=SCL.1PL- see.PST.3SG see.PST.3SG-PREF=SCL.3PL  
'We were seeing (them).' 'They had said.'

We argue in this talk that the second position generalization for the distribution of the subject clitic in SK can be maintained in a system that derives prefixes and suffixes via different mechanisms. We posit that suffixes, on the one hand, are the result of head movement (Koopman 1984; Travis 1984) in Kurdish, with the subject clitic treating the complex head-adjunction structure as a unitary host. Prefixes, on the other hand, are attached to the spine as independent morphosyntactic elements and gain affixal status only post-syntactically. Therefore, at the point of spell-out, when the second position is established, prefixes are not distinguished from other elements attached to the spine.

In the talk, we also explore the distribution of object clitics in SK and provide an account for their relative order with respect to subject clitics. We argue that a phase-based second position account can best explain their distribution and that the relative order follows from the base syntactic position of subject and object clitics. Such an account has the advantage of supporting the emerging view that domains of cliticization are derived from cyclic spell-out domains.

The current study presents a new analysis of the distribution of subject and object clitics in SK, with insights into our understanding of second position clitics across languages.

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