

Na (Contrastive ‘not’) in Kurmanji Kurdish: A Large Conjunct Ellipsis Analysis

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Abstract: Investigating the contrastive *na* ‘not’ constructions in Kurmanji Kurdish, this study aims to discover the nature of *na* used in contrastive not constructions (henceforth, CNCs). After presenting the structural properties of CNCs in Kurmanji, we will propose that *na* ‘not’ is not constituent negation as opposed to what surface order suggests, but the structure of these constructions involves large conjunct ellipsis and PF-deletion applies to the coordinate structure.

Keywords: contrastive not, constituent negation, large-conjunct ellipsis, Kurmanji

1. Introduction

Na ‘no, not’ is the negative marker in Kurmanji. This element has four different functions;¹ it is used to express a negative answer to a yes/no question as in (1), as a part of *an na* ‘or not’ construction as a tag question as in (2), in contrastive *na* constructions for contrasting two items as in (3), and lastly it is employed in verbal negation as in (4).

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¹ Kurdish is a Northwestern Iranian language and Kurmanji is a dialect of it which is also known as Northern Kurdish. The examples of Kurmanji provided in this paper are taken from Kurmanji spoken in Muş (Muş Kurmanji).

- (1) A: Rezan do hat?
 Rezan yesterday come.PST.3SG
 'Did Rezan come yesterday?'
 B: Na.
 'No.'
- (2) Te Sîdar dît, an na?
 You.OBL Sîdar see.PST.3SG or not
 'Did you see Sîdar, or not?'
- (3) Rezan na Sîdar hat.
 Rezan not Sîdar come.PST.3SG
 'Not Rezan but Sîdar came.'
- (4) a. **na-ç-im**
 NEG-go.PRS-1SG
 'I don't go.' / 'I am not going.'
- b. **ne-çû-m**
 NEG-go.PRS-1SG
 'I didn't go.'
- c. **ni-kar-im**
 NEG-be able.PRS-1SG
 'I am not able...'

In the first three functions, *na* behaves like a free morpheme but in the fourth one it is a bound morpheme in the form of a prefix. Note that negation prefix *na-* has three different shapes: *n(a)-*, *n(e)-*, and *ni-*, partially depending on the tense; in the present/progressive tense it is realized as *n(a)-* while in all other tenses it is *n(e)-*, and *ni-* is only used with the auxiliary *karin* 'to be able to' in all tenses and with the verb *zanîn* 'to know' in the present tenses (Bedirxan and Lescot 1997; Thackston 2006; Gündoğdu 2015). In the scope of this study, we will particularly deal with the construction given in (3) wherein *na* behaves like a free morpheme expressing contrastive negation similar to English 'not... but' constructions, Turkish *değil* (Yakut 2015), and Hindi-Urdu *nahin*.² We aim to discover the nature of *na* used in contrastive not constructions in Kurmanji Kurdish and to investigate whether *na* 'not' is

² Rajesh Bhatt (pers. comm.).

constituent negation as the surface order suggests or the structure of these constructions involves large conjunct as opposed to what surface order implies.

Since Klima's (1964) seminal work, it has been proposed that there are two types of negation: constituent negation (Phrasal) and sentential negation (Sent-NEG) (Lasnik 1972; Horn 1989; McCawley 1991; Zanuttini 2001):

(A) Sentential-Negation

I don't speak Greek.

(B) Constituent-Negation

a. I saw [Peter] and/but not [Paul].

b. I saw [Peter]. Not [Paul].

c. I saw not [Paul] but [Peter].

Klima (1964) proposes a strictly structural (viz. syntactic) analysis to account for the semantic concept, negation. He puts forward "the unwarranted assumption that semantic categories are always matched by grammatical ones" (p. 247). Following this assumption, it is predicted that the semantic scope of negation always matches with the structural position of the relevant negative marker since they are not treated as separate phenomena. Given that the terms are coined as sentential negation (SN) and constituent negation (CN), one needs to present their differences in syntactic distribution and semantic interpretation (if there are). Starting from Klima (1964), there has been substantial research on the traditional distinction between SN and CN. This study is an attempt to analyze *na* 'not' in contrastive not constructions seeking answers to the following questions:

- i. Does *na* 'not' function as *constituent negation* (lower negation which attaches to a sub-clausal phrase such as DP) or as *sentential negation* (higher negation which attaches to a sentence and some part of the sentence gets elided) in Kurmanji?
- ii. What is the structure of the conjunct that contains *na* in CNCs? Does The Small Conjunct Hypothesis or The Large Conjunct Hypothesis provide an adequate explanation?
- iii. What is the category and the size of the conjuncts (e.g., vP, TP, or CP)?

The structure of the paper is as follows. The distribution and the formal properties of contrastive *na* constructions in Kurmanji are discussed in the Second Section. The third section presents a possible *small conjunct analysis* for CNCs in this language and argues the problems with such an analysis. After showing that *na* is not constituent negation, the fourth section posits a *large conjunct ellipsis analysis* for Kurmanji CNCs. Concluding remarks will be presented in the last section.

2. Contrastive *Na* 'Not' in Kurmanji Kurdish

The distribution of contrastive *na* in Kurmanji indicates that *na* is used to contrast a wide range of syntactic categories such as (proper) nouns as in (5a), pronouns as in (5b), numerals as in (5c), certain quantifiers as in (5d), adjectives as in (5e), and adverbs as in (5f).

(5) a. Hecî Pîran **na** Hecî Cemîl hatibû, Hecî Cemîl-ê
 H.P. not H.C. come.PST-become.PST.3SG H.C.-EZ.M
 kalik-ê Meheme(d)...
 grandfather.-EZ.M Mehme(d)
 'Not Hecî Pîran but Hecî Cemîl had come, Hecî Cemîl who is Mehmed's grandfather.'

b. Şakir her roj min **na** ewî didît, loma
 Ş. every day I.OBL not s/he.OBL PROG-see.PST.3SG thus
 gazî wî kirîye.
 call s/he.OBL do.PST.3SG.PERF
 'Şakir everyday saw not me but him, thus (she) called him.'

c. Min du na sê nan xwar, Xwedê zêde ke.
 I.OBL two not three bread eat.PST.3SG God increase do.PRS-3SG
 'I ate not two but three (loaves of) bread, may God increase it.'

d. Zef na hindik bixê, wellehî em terin
 much not less SBJ-put.PRS-2SG in truth we.DIR PROG-go.PRS-PL
 kî ew qas nan dixwe.
 who that much bread PROG-eat.PRS.3SG
 'Put not much but less; in truth, we are full, who will eat that much food?'

e. Rind bûn çî ye? Mirov gere li pey rind
 beautiful become what COP.3SG man if P behind beautiful
 bûne neçe, qîzên rind na ên bakil
 become NEG-go.PRS-3SG girl-EZ.PL beautiful not EZ.PL clever
 zanê ne.
 wisdom COP.PL
 'What is beauty? People shouldn't go for beauty. Not beautiful but clever girls have wisdom.'

f. Sibe **na** du sibe here, em henek
 tomorrow not two tomorrow SBJ.go.PRS.2SG we.DIR some,
 rûye te bibînin.
 face-EZ.M you.OBL SBJ-see.PRS-PL
 ‘Go not tomorrow but the day after tomorrow, so that we can see you more.’

The sentences in (5) provide important clues about the general structural properties of CNCs in this language. First, CNCs require (at least) two contrastive correlates. Since there is no such correlate for *herkes* ‘everybody’ in (6), the sentence is not grammatical.

(6) *Herkes /Ali **na** hat-Ø.
 Everybody/Ali not come.PST.3SG

Second, the correlates must be syntactically identical categories that establish the same relationship with the predicate of the sentence. For instance, a manner adverb like *zû* ‘fast’ cannot be contrasted with a time adverbial like *do* ‘yesterday’, as shown in (7).

(7) *Em zû **na** doh hatin
 we.DIR fast not yesterday come.PST.PL
 ‘*We came not fast but yesterday.’

Third, given that the correlates must be identical syntactic categories, their Case features have to match if they are subjects as in (8a) or objects as in (8b).

(8) a. [Hecî Pîran **na** Hecî Cemîl] hatibû.
 H.P.-DIR not H.C.-DIR come.PST-PERF.3SG
 ‘Not Hecî Pîran but Hecî Cemîl came.’

b. Ez [gartolê **na** bîberê] diqelînim,
 We.DIR potato.OBL not pepper.OBL PROG.fry.PRES
 (em edî ji gartolê perçifîne.)
 we.DIR any more P potato.OBL rise.PRS-PL-PERF
 ‘I fry the potato but not the pepper, (we don’t want to eat potatoes any more).’

It is crucial to note that one can contrast a wide range of material ranging from numerals to adjectives and adverbs. There are few cases, for instance, certain quantifiers such as *her* ‘every’, *kes/tu kes* ‘anybody’ and verbs, that cannot appear in CNCs. This is shown in (9)–(11), respectively.

(9) *Min her **na** yek kiteb-ekê xwand
 I.OBL every not one book-INDF.OBL read.PST.3SG
 [Intended] 'I read not every but one book.'

(10) *Tu kes/kes **na** du merik hat.
 any body.DIR not two man come.PST.3SG
 [Intended] '*Not anybody but two men came.'

(11) *Ez dixwazim biçim **na** werim.
 I.DIR PROG-want.PRS.1SG SBJ-go.PRS-1SG not SBJ.come.PRS-1SG
 [Intended] 'I want not to go but to come.'

Leaving aside (9) at this point, we claim that the reason why *na* is incompatible with (*tu*)*kes* in (10) and with verbs in (11) is due to semantic considerations and morphosyntactic constraints, respectively. The co-occurrence of *not* and the negative polarity item 'anybody' in a sentence like (10) is semantically inconsistent, because the sentence '*not anybody/nobody but two men came' implies that the set of people that came is empty thus it is by no means possible that two men out of the previously established set of individuals came. On the other hand, we think that the ungrammaticality of (11) stems from the fact that since verbal negation is in the form of prefix in this language and has a similar form with contrastive *na* (see example in (4)), Kurmanji does not allow inflected (main or embedded) verbs to be contrasted through *na*. They can be contrasted with verbal negation through *lê* 'but' in a disjunction structure, as shown in (12). However, we cannot provide a clear explanation for (9) at this point. It might be relevant to the nature of the universal quantifier *her* 'every', which we leave for further research.

(12) Ez naxwazim biçim **lê** ez
 I.DIR NEG-want.PRS-1SG SBJ-go.PRS-1SG but I.DIR
 dixwazim werim
 PROG-want.PRS-1SG SBJ-come.PRS-1SG
 [Intended] 'I do not want to go but I want to come.'

Furthermore, the contrastive correlates do not form a single constituent since the *na*-marked item (on the surface) can be separated by fronting or backgrounding as in (13).

(13) **FRONTED:**

(Her roj her evar em nikarin werin
 every day every evening we.DIR NEG.be.able.PL SBJ.come.PRS.PL
 ber derê we), **sibe na**, em dê
 in.front.of door.ez.m s/he.OBL tomorrow not we.DIR FUT
 sibe—na îro îşev ewê meselê mijûl bin
 tomorrow not today tonight DEM.F.OBL subject.OBL busy SBJ.be.PRS.PL
 û serber bikin.
 and handle SBJ.do.PRS.PL

(We couldn't come to your door every day and night) not tomorrow but today
 this night we will handle this issue.'

[Intended] 'It is not tomorrow but today this night that we will handle this issue.'

(14) **BACKGROUNDED:**

Ez bi wî ra çi xeber bidim? Min perê
 I.DIR P he.OBL P what word SBJ-give.PRS.1SG I.OBL money.OBL
 dabû te, ez ewê na te nas
 give.PST-COP.PST.3SG you.OBL we.DIR he.OBL not you.OBL know
 dikim, ewê **na...**
 PROG.do.PRS-1SG he.OBL not

'What will I talk to him? I had given the money to you, I know not him but you.'

[Intended] 'It is not him but you that I know...'

Lastly, the information structure of CNCs indicates that there is a set of contextual candidates one of which is negated by negation taking narrow scope over it while the relevant candidate is promoted via accentuation (i.e., Contrastive Focus).

(15) Sibe **na** DU SIBE here...
 tomorrow not two tomorrow SBJ-go.PRS-2SG
 'Go not tomorrow but THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW...'

We have presented the distribution and general structural properties of contrastive *na* constructions in Kurmanji in this section. It has been shown that contrastive *na* in this language is utilized for contrasting a wide range of categories. We also argued that CNCs need at least two syntactically identical correlates and the case features of the correlates must match. Presenting the cases where the use of contrastive *na* gives rise to ungrammaticality, we claimed that the incompatibility of contrastive *na* with *tukes* 'nobody/anybody' is semantically motivated while the impossibility of contrasting two

inflected verbs through *na* is due to the morphosyntactic constraints of Kurmanji. Moreover, we showed that the *na*-marked item (on the surface) can be separated by fronting or backgrounding which in turn implies that the contrastive correlates in fact do not form a single constituent. In the next section, we enjoy *small conjunct analysis* where *contrastive na* is taken to be as *constituent negation* and present the cases where this analysis encounter problems.

3. A Small Conjunct Analysis

In the literature, there are two basic analyses of coordinated structures, namely the Small Conjunct Analysis (henceforth, SCA) (Wilder 1994) and the Large Conjunct Analysis (henceforth, LCA) (Gleitman 1965; Wilder 1997; among others). The SCA states that coordinated structures such as "I like apples and bananas" are base-generated such that there is no deletion of the subject and the main verb involved in the derivation of the second conjunct. In other words, the surface string of the constituents of coordination reflects the deep structure of the conjuncts. On the contrary, the LCA states that any coordinate construction has an underlying sentential coordination excluding NP-conjunction.

The surface structure in contrastive *na* constructions suggests that *na* can combine with a vast variety of items, therefore a coordinate structure analysis can possibly be proposed. The question is the size of conjuncts. In this section we will consider a small conjunct analysis, in line with Toosarvandani (2013), with the assumption that whatever is embedded under the *na*-marked conjunct, exactly reflects its syntax transparently. Before entertaining this possibility, let us establish a number of facts about *na*.

3.1. *Na* Is Not a Coordinator

Kurmanji coordinators such as *û* 'and', *lê* 'but', *an* 'or' etc. seem to be right-branching, and they are pronounced as proclitic of second conjuncts as given in (16) while *na* in CNCs belongs to the first contrastive correlate, which is indicated in fronting and backgrounding cases in (13)–(14) above.

- (16) a. ewê dev kilî [û min jî penîr çekir]
 she.OBL ayran churn.PST-3SG and I.OBL too cheese make.PST-3SG
 ‘She churned ayran and I made cheese.’
- b. #[ewê dev kilî û] min jî penîr çekir.
 she.OBL ayran churn.PST-3SG and I.OBL too cheese make.PST-3SG

Na is not in complementary distribution with other coordinators. Denial-of-expectation ‘but’, namely *lê*, can follow *na* as in (17), which amounts to saying that *na* is not a coordinator.

- (17) Ez ji wî **na** **lê** ji birayê wî pir hez dikim.
 I.DIR P he.OBL not but P brother.EZ.M he.OBL very love do.PRS-1SG
 ‘I love not him but his brother.’

Even though *na* is not a coordinator, the contrastive *na* constructions can still be analyzed within the theoretical approaches proposed for adversative coordination assuming that there is a covert coordinator in the structure. We will discuss the similarity in the meaning between CNCs and *corrective but* construction in English in §3.2.

3.2. Corrective *But*

It has been widely accepted that in terms of semantic contrast there are two *but*’s in English: counterexpectational (contrastive) and corrective.³

- (18) a. John isn’t clever but lazy. — *correction*
 b. John isn’t clever but he is lazy. — *contrast*
 (Repp 2009:150)

It has been suggested that *corrective but* signals to the addressee that some material from a previous context (or an utterance) has been removed and must be replaced with some alternative by the speaker (Repp 2009:150). Thus corrections are denials, and it is often assumed that negation in denials is different from the ordinary negation by being outside of the proposition. Repp (2009) calls it illocutionary negation operating on the speech act level (Repp 2009:152).⁴ The same terminological distinction appears to be relevant for Kurmanji *lê* ‘but’ and *na* ‘not’. The former is generally adopted in *counterexpectational but* contexts while the latter is reserved for *corrective (contrastive, in our terms) but* cases.

³ ‘Corrective’ is a misnomer since this ‘but’ does not have to be used exclusively in metalinguistic contexts where speaker corrects a part or the whole of a previous utterance. McCawley (1991) suggests that metalinguistic negation is a pragmatic extension of contrastive ‘but’. Following McCawley (1991), we call *na*-marked constructions contrastive, but the readers might also consider them as corrective *na* if they will.

⁴ Note that negation of these non-propositional elements is called metalinguistic negation by Horn (1985), among others. It is important that denials are not just restricted to metalinguistic aspects of an utterance (McCawley 1991; Repp 2009).

(19) a. counterexpectational but

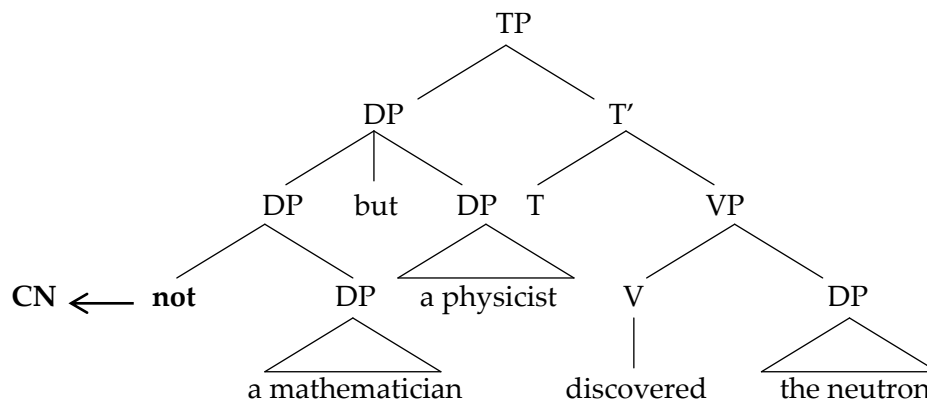
Mele Seid dewlemend e lê pir tima ye.
 Imam Seid rich COP.3SG but very stingy COP.3SG
 'Seid Imam is rich but stingy.'

b. corrective but

qîzên rind na ên bakil zanê ne.
 girl-EZ.PL beautiful not EZ clever wisdom COP.PL
 'Not beautiful but clever girls have wisdom.'

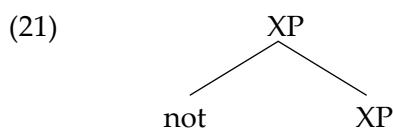
Toosarvandani (2013) discusses the structure of corrective 'but' constructions in English, and posits a cross-categorical syntax within a small coordination analysis. There are two forms of *corrective but*, namely the basic form and the anchored form (McCawley 1991). Toosarvandani (2013) presents a sub-clausal (i.e., cross-categorical) syntax for the basic form 'not... but' constructions as given in (20).

(20) Not a mathematician but a physicist discovered the neutron.

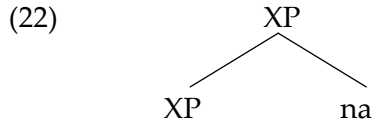


3.3. Is NA in Kurmanji Kurdish Constituent Negation?

As is obvious above, since *na* cannot be a coordinator, we need a covert coordinator in the structure and *na* can only replace the CN 'not' when we adapt Toosarvandani's (2013) subclausal account. The structure of the constituent negation 'not' is assumed to be adjunction to a maximal projection (Quhalla 1991; Zanuttini 2001; Toosarvandani 2010, 2013; among others), illustrated in (21).

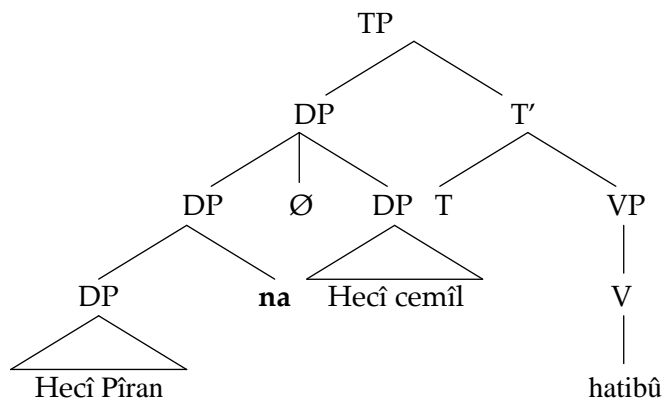


Assuming that the representation in (21) is on the right track, one might posit the following right-adjunction structure for the constituent negation *na* in Kurmanji given in (22).



The following structure will be proposed for a small-conjunct analysis of CNCs in Kurmanji:

- (23) Hecî Pîran **na** Hecî Cemîl hatibû.
 H.P. not H.C. come.PST-COP.PST.3SG
 ‘Not Hecî Pîran but Hecî Cemîl had come.’



However, there are certain problems both with respect to arguing that *na* is constituent negation and with respect to the structure given in (23). This structure accounts for the surface cross-categorical behavior of *na* since *X* in *XP* can be replaced with any syntactic category. However, it does not explain the very basic properties of the CNCs. For instance, the structure in (22) wrongly predicts that *na* can attach to any maximal projection without a contrastive correlate, but that is not the case as shown in (6). Furthermore, although the structure in (21) predicts that *na* can attach to any constituent, that is not the case as illustrated in the examples (9), (10) and (11). Most importantly, the argument structure and Case checking problems emerge if one adopts *small conjunct analysis* for contrastive *na* in Kurmanji. As seen in (24) where *na* conjuncts two subjects in (a) and two objects in (b) sentences, the same functional head must check the Case of two NPs with the same grammatical function, but this is not syntactically possible.

(24) a. One T checks the Case of two subjects? (assuming T checks the subject Case)

[Hecî Pîran **na** Hecî Cemîl] hatibû
 H.P. not H.C. come.PST-COP.PST.3SG
 'Not Hecî Pîran but Hecî Cemîl had come.'

b. One little v checks the Case of two objects? (assuming v checks the object Case)

Ez [gartolê **na** bîberê] diqelînim
 I.DIR potato.OBL not pepper.OBL PROG-fry.PRS-1SG
 'I fry the potato but not the pepper.'

However, the structure in (22) disobeys the linear adjacency constraint, namely *Coordinate Structure Constraint* (Ross 1967) by allowing extraction; for instance, the movement of the *na*-marked item in the fronted and backgrounded cases is possible as given in (13)–(14). Therefore, positing the *small conjunct analysis* for CNCs in Kurmanji is problematic because it fails to account for very basic structural properties of contrastive *na* in this language. In the next section, we propose that the *large conjunct analysis* is more explanatory for Kurmanji facts as it can also overcome the problems arising from the *small conjunct analysis*.

4. A Large Conjunct + PF-Deletion Analysis

Large Conjunct Hypothesis states that phrasal coordination is derived by deletion from bigger conjuncts. The idea is that any coordination is derived from an underlying sentential coordination plus subsequent deletion. Wilder (1997) argues that conjuncts (even in head-coordination) are always CPs and deletion from CP-conjuncts happens at PF. This account is conceptually more palatable than accounts assuming the Small Conjunct Hypothesis because the latter necessitates construction-specific rules such as ATB, a rule solely associated with coordination. Thus, assuming that all conjuncts are CPs, there is no need for 'forked' chain creating ATB movement (Hartmann 2000:39).

In this section, we will present the following syntactic arguments suggesting a large conjunct analysis for contrastive *na* constructions in Kurmanji Kurdish and thereby refuting the Small Conjunct Analysis: (i) CNCs allow discontinuous paired contrast, and (ii) CNCs lack strict identity readings. Further support for this analysis comes from a semantic argument such that negation as a semantic operator requires a proposition to be attached to, and 'proposition' is assumed to correspond to TP or CP in syntax.

4.1. Syntactic Arguments for a Large Conjunct Analysis

We will show that CNCs exhibit the Case-matching and binding connectivity effects just as discussed in Merchant (2004) with respect to fragment answers. Merchant (2004) claims fragment answers are clausal structures later subject to PF-deletion and he uses connectivity effects as a piece of evidence to support this claim. In a similar vein, we will show that the LCH provides a more straightforward explanation for these effects in CNCs when compared to the SCH.

4.1.1. Discontinuous Paired Contrast

There are crucial syntactic cases providing support for large conjunct analysis of contrastive *na* constructions in Kurmanji. For instance, similar to gapping constructions, CNCs can involve discontinuous paired contrast (e.g., subject-object, adverb-object, etc.) as in (25).⁵

- (25) Jinikê merikî **na** merikî jinikê kuştîye.
 woman.OBL man.OBL not man.OBL woman.OBL kill.PST.3SG.PERF
 ‘The woman didn’t kill the man, but the man the woman.’

Moreover, in line with *Case checking connectivity effects* (Merchant 2004), the morphological Case form of a DP must match with the Case of its contrastive correlate in such constructions:

⁵ Note that LF-Copying Analysis (Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey 1995), which assumes that the antecedent item (e.g., verb) in the first conjunct is copied into the position of the missing item in the second conjunct, is another theory put forward to explain ellipsis constructions. However, the presence of the examples in (25) and some others in this article (e.g., (24)) argue against LF-Copying Analysis because the remnant in the first conjunct cannot be licensed as the clause is incomplete (the remnant item is always in the first conjunct in Kurdish). More specifically, assuming that all NPs have their morphological features such as Case and Φ features and they check these features with appropriate functional heads, the subject of the elided site *Jinikê* should check such features with T head. However, since the T head has already checked the relevant features of the subject *Merikî* in the second conjunct, it will be unable to check *Jinikê*'s features in the first conjunct. Hence this NP will be labeled as an illegitimate object resulting in an incomplete clause. On the other hand, PF-Deletion Analysis does not face such problems since both the first and the second conjunct have a full clausal structure in syntax. Furthermore, in a similar vein, Abe (1996) argues that LF-Copying Analysis in general is a good device for VP deletion/ellipsis constructions but it is not explanatory for gapping constructions for similar reasons (see Abe (1996) for a detailed discussion).

- (26) (Perê min hindik bû, ji bo wî) min
 money-EZ I.OBL less be.PST.3SG P DEM.M.OBL (=thus) I.OBL
 fistanê **na** etekê kirî
 dress.OBL not skirt.OBL buy.PST-3SG
 (I didn't have enough money, so) I bought not the skirt but the dress.

Given that every Case has to have a corresponding Case checker in syntax, and given that *na* is not a coordinator, we propose that there must be a full-fledged syntactic structure for the first conjuncts which *na* is attached to as provided in the examples (25) and (26). At this point deletion would explain why the Case-checker is invisible on the surface.

4.1.2. Binding Effects

Ellipsis site contains the syntactic structure responsible for the binding theory effects observed (Winkler 2005), given the proposal that the syntactic identity condition must hold between the ellipsis site and its antecedent. The interpretation of remnants in VP-ellipsis cases shows that one cannot obtain two different readings (i.e., sloppy identity versus strict identity reading) for the reflexive or the reciprocal. In sloppy identity reading, the identity of the pronoun in an elided VP is not identical to the antecedent in the overt conjunct but refers to a different entity while in strict identity reading, the pronoun refers to the same antecedent both in the first and in the second conjuncts. Example (27) shows that the strict reading is difficult to obtain in VP-ellipsis in English. The VP in the second conjunct is elided, and the reflexive in the elided VP is interpreted as referring to Bill and not John.

- (27) a. John blamed himself, and Bill did too.
 b. John_i blamed himself_i, and Bill_j [_{VP} blamed himself_{j/i}] too.

Consider the Kurmanji sentence in (28). Based on the *large conjunct analysis*, the Deep Structure representation would be as given in (28b) where each subject binds distinct reflexives, one of which is overt. Compared to a *small conjunct analysis* explanation, which must adhere to more complex operations (e.g., vehicle change (Fiengo and May 1994), complex DP structure, etc.), the *large conjunct analysis* offers a simpler answer to the question of why we do not get a strict identity reading.

- (28) a. Rojbîn **na** Zînê ji xwe ra hers bûye.
 R. not Z. P self P angry COP.PST.3SG.PERF
 'Not Rojbin but Zînê was angry at herself.'

b. Rojbîn_i ji xwe_i ra hêrs ne-bû-ye Zinê_j
 R. P self P angry NEG-COP.PST-3SG Z.
 [vp ji xwe_j ra hêrs bû-ye]
 P self P angry COP.PST-3SG.PERF

c. Strict identity reading is not available:

*Rojbîn ji Zinê ra hêrs nebûye.
 R. P Z.OBL P angry NEG-COP.PST.3SG.PERF
 Rojbîn ji xwe ra hêrs bûye.
 R. P self P angry COP.PST.3SG.PERF
 [Intended] ‘Rojbîn is not angry at Zinê. Zinê is angry at herself.’

d. Sloppy identity reading is available:

Rojbîn ji xwe ra hers nebûye.
 R. P self P angry NEG-COP.PST.3SG.PERF
 Zinê ji xwe ra hêrs bûye.
 Z. P self P angry COP.PST.3SG.PERF
 [Intended] ‘Rojbîn is not angry at herself. Zinê is angry at herself.’

In an analysis assuming the small conjunct would only coordinate two subjects *Rojbîn* and *Zinê*, and the reflexive *xwe* ‘self’ has the optionality to choose between one of them, but it will not block the reading that *Rojbîn cannot be angry at Zinê*.

(29) [Rojbîn_i **na** Zinê_j] ji xwe_{i/j} ra hers bûye.
 R. not Z. P self P angry COP.PST.3SG.PERF
 ‘Not Rojbin but Zinê was angry at herself.’

When the antecedent is a universal quantifier like *herkes* ‘everybody’, again only the sloppy identity reading is available.

(30) a. herkes **na** Zinê xwe dîn kirî-ye.
 everybody not Z. self mad do.PST-3SG
 ‘Everybody does not make himself crazy. Zinê makes herself crazy.’

b. Strict identity reading not available:

*herkes Zinê dîn nekirîye.
 everybody Z. mad NEG-do.PST.3SG.PERF
 Zinê xwe dîn kirîye.
 Z. self mad do.PST.3SG.PERF
 ‘Everybody does not make Zinê crazy. Zinê makes herself crazy.’

c. Sloppy identity reading is available:

herkes	xwe	dîn	nekirîye.
everybody	self	mad	NEG-do.PST.3SG.PERF
Zinê	xwe	dîn	kirîye.
Z.	self	mad	do.PST.3SG.PERF

[Intended] 'Everybody does not make himself crazy. Zinê makes herself crazy.'

It is observed that both in (28) and (30), strict identity reading is not attested since Principle A of the binding theory is not satisfied when the reflexive *kendi* 'self' in the second conjunct is co-referential with the antecedent in the first conjunct (cf. Fiengo and May's (1994) vehicle change). In a small conjunct analysis there would not be any sentential boundary in between, therefore strict readings would be predicted since the locality condition for the reflexive is satisfied. However, it is clearly not the case. Even the mere existence of the sloppy identity readings in both examples suggest that *contrastive na constructions* require (at least) two sentence coordinates, and when the subject antecedents are contrasted under *na*, each one binds its own variable though one is not visible on the surface structure.

4.2. A Semantic Argument for a Clausal Analysis

Negation is a propositional logical operator (Dahl 1993; Penka 2011), therefore, it is counter-intuitive to assume that negation operator can negate, for instance, an argument DP like 'Harry' in a sentence like 'Not Harry but Mary came'. Toosarvandani (2013) admits that *constituent negation* has the same truth conditions as *sentential negation*; however, he argues that the same truth conditions can be obtained by pursuing the subclausal analysis in which constituent negation 'not' structurally attaches to the DP 'Harry'. We prefer a more transparent syntax-semantics for negation, thus we assert that *na* attaches to a position over the TP layer in Kurmanji, and since sentential objects like TP semantically give rise to propositional types (Merchant 2004) there is no syntax-semantics mismatch. Moreover, as we have shown above, there are empirical pieces of evidence to suggest such a transparent syntax for *na* in Kurmanji.

4.3. A PF-Deletion Analysis

Given that we have argued for a Large Conjunct Analysis for CNCs in Kurmanji, the question is how to derive the surface order in this construction. We argue that a PF-deletion analysis is superior to a movement and deletion analysis since there are no island effects in CNCs in Kurmanji. If the contrasted item were subject to movement and the remnant material to deletion, we would predict to observe certain island constraints (Ross 1967) in CNCs following the fact that movement is disallowed from a

syntactic island. To have a clearer picture, consider the sentences in (31) where *na* coordinates two items within a syntactic island; (31a) contains a subject island and (31b) contains an adjunct island. If we argued for a movement analysis, then we would fail to explain the examples in (31) since movement across a syntactic island leads to ungrammaticality.

- (31) a. [Cîrokên ku li ser mîran **na** li ser qaleşan
 story-EZ.PL COMP P emir-OBL.PL not P judas-OBL.PL
 hatîye gotin] merivan hêrs dike.
 come.PST-3SG say.PST-PL human.OBL.PL angry PROG-do.PRS.3SG
 [Literal] ‘The stories told not about the Emirs but about the traitors make
 people angry.’

‘Not the stories about the Emirs but the stories about the traitors make us angry.’

- b. [Gava ku Sîdar **na** Lezgîn hat] emê
 when COMP S. not L. come.PST.3SG we.DIR-FUT
 stranên xwe bibejin.
 song-EZ.PL self SBJ-say.PRS-PL

‘When not Sidar but Lezgin came, we will sing our songs.’

We argue that Kurmanji CNCs are subject to deletion at PF. The given material in the left conjunct is PF-deleted under *identity* for the following reasons: first, CNCs do not always respect constituency hence the target of deletion can be more than one syntactic constituent. Second, in Kurmanji CNCs, the verb has to be gapped because the material following the verb (e.g., post-verbal goals) can be pronounced. (The verb has to be the rightmost material in the first conjunct.)

- (32) *Ez diçim malê **na** zevîyê
 I.DIR PROG.go.PRS-1SG house.OBL not field.OBL
 [Intended] ‘I’m going not to the house but the field.’

Third, identity for PF-deletion that we focus on can be defined as morphosyntactic since subjects that mark different persons and require different agreement affixes cannot be contrasted as given in (33).

- (33) a. *Ez **na** tu perê dişînî
 I.DIR not you.DIR money.OBL PROG.send.PRS-2SG
 ‘Not I but you send money.’

a'. Ehmed	na	Meheme(d)	perê	dişîne
E.-DIR	not	M.-DIR	money.OBL	PROG.send.PRS-3SG
'Not Ehmed but Mehmed sends money.'				
b. Min	na	te	perê	şand
I.OBL	not	you.OBL	money.OBL	send.PST.3SG
'Not I but you sent money.'				
b'. Ehmed	na	Meheme(d)	perê	şand
E.-OBL	not	M.-OBL	money.OBL	send.PST.3SG
'Not Ehmed but Mehmed sent money.'				

Finally, consider the examples in (34) and (35) that illustrate how to derive the surface order from a clausal analysis plus PF deletion:

(34) Subjects contrasted:

[[Hecî Pîran	hatibû]	na	[Hecî Cemîl	hatibû]
H.P.-DIR	come.PST-PERF-3SG	not	H.C.-DIR	come.PST-PERF-3SG
'Not Hecî Pîran but Hecî Cemîl had come.'				

(35) Objects contrasted:

[[min	fistanê	kirî]	na	[etekê	kirî]
I.OBL	dress.OBL	buy.PST-3SG	not	skirt.OBL	buy.PST-3SG
'I didn't have enough money, so I bought not the skirt but the dress.'					

5. Conclusion

This study was an attempt to investigate the *contrastive na 'not' constructions* in Kurmanji and provide an analysis for their structure. We discussed that CNCs in Kurmanji cannot be analyzed in a small-conjunct analysis as Toosarvandani (2013) has proposed for corrective 'but' constructions in English, which assumes a cross-categorical syntax for *na* (*na* as constituent negation). We showed that such an analysis does not work because (i) CNCs allow extraction out of the coordinate structure, (ii) non-constituent pairs can be contrasted, and (iii) there are Case-connectivity effects observed between the contrasted items. We posited the large conjunct analysis plus PF-deletion for Kurmanji CNCs and showed that this analysis accounts for all the cases that pose problems for the small conjunct analysis. Furthermore, our account can explain certain restrictions observed in Kurmanji such as the impossibility of contrasting two verbs or postverbal goals through *na*.

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