

**Ergativity and Role-Marking in Hawrami\***

Anders Holmberg  
University of Newcastle & CASTL

David Odden  
Ohio State University

Previous work on Kurdish ergativity (not Hawrami): Bynon 1979, 1980; Friend 1985; Haig 1998; Matras 1992; Previous work on Hawrami: MacKenzie 1996.

Ergativity: "...grammatical pattern in which the subject of an intransitive clause [S] is treated in the same way as the object of a transitive clause [O], and differently from a transitive subject [A]" (Dixon 1994)

**1. Basic syntactic properties of the present ~ future**

*Subject agreement on verbs: present-future paradigms*

- (1) a. **Aħmaʃ ma-ram-o** "Ahmad runs"  
Ahmad INFL- run - 3s
- b. **âð ma-ram-o** "He runs"  
he INFL- run - 3s
- c. **ma -ram-o** id.  
INFL- run - 3s
- (2) (amin) ma-ram-u "I will run" (emæ) ma-ram-me "we will run"  
(to) ma-ram-i "you will run" (šmæ) ma-ram-de "you pl. will run"  
(âð) ma-ram-o "he will run" (âðe) ma-ram-â "they will run"  
(âðæ ma-ram-o) "she will run"

*The accusative case suffix on direct objects*

- (3) a. **pyâ - k-e æsp-ækæ-i mæ-win-â** "The people see the horse"  
people-the-pl horse - the - ACC INFL - see - 3p
- b. **Aħmaʃ æsp-ækæ-i mæ-win-o** "Ahmad sees the horse"  
Ahmad horse - the - ACC INFL - see - 3s

*Object clitics*

- (4) mæ-win-o=**m** "he sees me" =m 1s  
mæ-win-o=**t** "he sees you sg." =t ~ =t 2s  
mæ-win-o=**š** "he sees him/her" =š 3s  
mæ-win-o=**m-ân** "he sees us" =m-ân 1p  
mæ-win-o=**t-ân** "he sees you pl." =t-ân 2p  
mæ-win-o=**š-ân** "he sees them" =š-ân 3p

*Object clitics do not cooccur with overt objects*

- (5) a. **aħmað-i mæ-win-u** "I see Ahmad"  
ahmad-ACC INFL-see-1s
- b. **\*aħmað-i=š mæ-win-u,** **\*aħmað-i mæ-win-u=š**  
ahmad-ACC=3s INFL- see - 1s ahmad-ACC INFL- see - 1s=3s

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- (6) a. to-i mæ-win-o “he sees you sg.” mæ-win-o=†  
 2s-ACC INFL - see - 3s INFL - see - 3s = 2s
- b. \*to-(i) = † mæ-win-o \*to-i mæ-win-o=†  
 2s - (ACC)=2s INFL- see- 3s 2s-ACC INFL- see- 3s=2s

*These clitics — oblique clitics — are also used for possessive pronouns*

- (7) dīt=iim “my heart” dīt=m-ân “our heart”  
 dīt=iĭ “your heart” dīt=t-ân “your pl. heart”  
 dīt=iš “his heart” dīt=š-ân “their heart”  
 dīt=æš “her heart”
- The optional distinction between 3sf and 3sm can be realised because no vowel-final inflectional suffix precedes.

*Progressive aspect indicated by a case-marked cognate object — a nominalization of the verb stem*

- (8) a. keše -i mæ-keš-u “I’m pulling”  
 pull -ACC INFL-  
 past
- b. kušt -i ma-k<sup>w</sup>š-u “I’m killing”  
 kill -ACC INFL-kill-1s  
 past
- c. ward -i m-wer-u “I’m eating”  
 eat -ACC INFL - eat - 1s  
 past
- d. kæwt -i mæ-gn-u “I’m falling”  
 fall -ACC INFL - fall - 1s  
 past
- The cognate object is the past stem, which may be supplementively quite different from the present stem

*A direct object NP precludes the cognate object: the structure is aspectually ambiguous*

- (9) âð wræt-i ma-wreš-o “he’s selling” (unambiguous)  
 3s sell-ACC INFL - sell - 3s
- âð tfæng-ækæ-i ma-wreš-o “he’s selling the gun  
 3s gun - def - ACC INFL-sell - 3s  
 he sells the gun; he will sell the gun”

*An oblique clitic attaches to the cognate object*

- (10) wræt-i=š ma-wreš-u “I’m selling it”  
 sell-ACC=3s INFL-sell - 1s
- kušt-i=† ma-k<sup>w</sup>š-o “he’s killing you”  
 kill-ACC=2s INFL-kill- 3s
- cf. to-i ma-k<sup>w</sup>š-o “he’s killing you; he kills you; he will kill you”  
 2s-ACC INFL-kill - 3s

*Adjuncts do not block the progressive cognate object*

- (11) yân-ænæ ramæ-i ma-ram-u “I am running in the house”  
 house - in run - ACC INFL- run - 1s
- âð isæ ramæ-i ma-ram-o “he is running now”  
 3s now run - ACC INFL- run - 3s

*Light verbs: N+V idioms — the N must be preverbal, and it does not take case*

- (12) a. qašaw mæ-ðæ-u “I’m scratching”; “I will scratch”  
 scratch INFL - give -1s
- b. aħmað-i qašaw mæ-ðæ-u “I’m scratching Ahmad”  
 ahmad-ACC scratch INFL - give -1s

*The oblique clitic appears on the idiom object*

- (13) **tahsin=iš mæ-kær-u** “I will praise him”  
praise = 3m INFL- do - 1s
- tahsin=æš mæ-kær-u** “I will praise her”  
praise = 3f INFL- do - 1s
- tahsin=iŋ mæ-kær-u** “I will praise you”  
praise = 2s INFL- do - 1s
- (14) **\*tahsin mæ-kær-u=ŋ** (“I will praise you”)  
praise INFL- do - 1s=2s
- \*ahmað=iš tahsin mæ-kær-u** (“I will praise Ahmed”)  
Ahmed =3s praise INFL- do - 1s

	<b>Basic properties:</b>
Word Order is SOV	(Definite singular) Objects marked with accusative <i>-i</i>
Agreement with subject	Oblique clitics (replacing objects) on 1 <sup>st</sup> VP argument
Progressive marked via cognate object	Direct object precludes cognate object
Light verbs have object	Light object precludes cognate object

## 2. Past tense non-ergative

- (15)
- |                 |                | <i>past agreement</i> | <i>present agreement</i> |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| (amin) kæwt-âne | “I fell”       | -âne                  | -u                       |
| (to) kæwt-i     | “you fell”     | -i                    | -i                       |
| (að) kæwt       | “he fell”      | -∅                    | -o                       |
| (aðe) kæwt-æ    | “she fell”     | -æ                    |                          |
| (emæ) kæwt-e-me | “we fell”      | -e-me                 | -me                      |
| (šmæ) kæwt-e-de | “you pl. fell” | -e-de                 | -de                      |
| (aðe) kæwt-e    | “they fell”    | -e                    | -â                       |
- (16) **Ahmał kæwt-∅** “Ahmad (m) fell”  
A fell -3s
- |                            |                  |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| <b>žiwa kæwt-æ</b>         | “Zhiwa (f) fell” |
| <small>z fell -3sf</small> |                  |
| <b>žiwa kæwt-∅</b>         | “Zhiwa (f) fell” |
| <small>z fell -3s</small>  |                  |
- Past progressive transitive*
- (17)
- |                 |                    |                  |                     |
|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| ramæ-i ram-en-e | “I was running”    | ramæ-i ram-en-me | “we were running”   |
| ramæ-i ram-en-i | “you were running” | ramæ-i ram-en-de | “2p were running”   |
| ramæ-i ram-e    | “he were running”  | ramæ-i ram-en-e  | “they were running” |
- (18) **kušt-i k<sup>wš</sup>-en-e** “I was beating”  
beat-ACC beat-PROG-1s
- kušt-i k<sup>wš</sup>-en- i** “you were beating”  
beat-ACC beat-PROG-2s
- (19) **ahmað-i k<sup>wš</sup>-en -e** “I was beating Ahmad”  
Ahmad-ACCs beat-PROG-1s
- að-i k<sup>wš</sup>-en -e** “I was beating him”  
beat-ACC beat-PROG-1s
- kušt-i=š k<sup>wš</sup>-en -e** “I was beating him”  
beat-ACC=3s beat-PROG-1s

### 3. Ergative syntax in the past

*Transitive past inflection*

(20)	kušt= <b>im</b>	“I killed”	kušt= <b>m-an</b>	“we killed”
	kušt= <b>it</b>	“you killed”	kušt= <b>t-an</b>	“you pl. killed”
	kušt= <b>is</b>	“he killed”	kušt= <b>s-an</b>	“they killed”
	kušt= <b>æš</b>	“she killed”		

(21)	<u>past intr. subject:</u>	<u>past tr. non-</u>	<u>oblique clitic</u>	
	<u>past progressive tr &amp; intr.</u>	<u>progressive</u>	(objects, possessives)	
	-âne	=m	=m	1s
	-i	=t	=t	2s
	∅	=š	=š	3s
	∅	=æš	=æš	3f
	-e-me	=m-ân	=m-ân	1p
	-e-de	=t-ân	=t-ân	2p
	-e	=š-ân	=š-ân	3p

*Feminine object marked — using feminine subject suffix: otherwise feminine objects are never marked distinctly on the verb*

(22)	kušt= <b>im</b>	“I killed him”	kušt-æ= <b>m</b>	“I killed her”
	kušt= <b>it</b>	“you killed him”	kušt-a= <b>t</b>	“you killed her”
	kušt= <b>is</b>	“he killed him”	kušt-æ= <b>s</b>	“he killed her”

*The form of a pronoun object is also surprising:*

(23)	<u>object</u> (transitive)		<u>past subject</u>	<u>object</u> (otherwise: “he sees X”)	
	1s	kušt- <b>ane</b> =š	“he killed me”	-âne	mæwin-o= <b>m</b>
	2s	kušt- <b>i</b> =š	“he killed you”	-i	mæwin-o= <b>t</b>
	1p	kušt- <b>e-me</b> =š	“he killed us”	-e-me	mæwin-o= <b>m-ân</b>
	2p	kušt- <b>e-de</b> =š	“he killed you pl.”	-e-de	mæwin-o= <b>t-ân</b>
	3p	kušt- <b>e</b> =š	“he killed them”	-e	mæwin-o= <b>s-ân</b>

*An overt object takes the clitic referring to the subject; the verb form is invariant.*

(24)	æsp= <b>im</b> di	“I saw a horse”	æsp= <b>imân</b> di	“we saw a horse”
	horse = 1s	saw	horse = 1p	saw
	æsp= <b>it</b> di	“you sg. saw a horse”	æsp= <b>itân</b> di	“you pl. saw a horse”
	horse = 2s	saw	horse = 2p	saw
	æsp= <b>is</b> di	“he saw a horse”	æsp= <b>isân</b> di	“they saw a horse”
	horse = 3s	saw	horse = 3p	saw

*The object cannot take accusative*

(25)	*æsp- <b>i</b> =m di	(“I saw a horse”)
	horse-ACC=1s saw	
	*æsp-ækæ- <b>i</b> =m di	(“I saw the horse”)
	horse-DEF-ACC=1s saw	
	*kuriš- <b>i</b> =m di	(“I saw Koresh”)
	Koresh-ACC=1s saw	

*The verb form changes to indicate plurality of the object (using the subject suffix)*

- (26) **æsp-e=m di-e** “I saw horses”      **æsp-e=mân di-e** “we saw horses”  
horse-pl=1s saw-3p      horse-pl=1p saw-3p
- æsp-e=† di-e** “you s. saw horses”      **æsp-e=tân di-e** “you p. saw horses”  
horse-pl=2s saw-3p      horse-pl=2p saw-3p
- æsp-e=š di-e** “he saw horses”      **æsp-e=šân di-e** “they saw horses”  
horse-pl=3s saw-3p      horse-pl=3p saw-3p

*If the object is 3f, the verb may include the 3f subject suffix*

- (27) **di-a=†** “you saw her”      **aða=† di-æ** id.  
saw-3f=2s      3f=2s saw-3f

*Marking of the object on the verb via subject affixation is optional (unlike subject agreement in non-ergative structures, which is obligatory)*

- (28) **to=m di** ~ **to=m di-e** “I saw you”  
you=1s saw      you=1s saw-2s
- amn=i† di** ~ **amn=i† di-ane** “you saw me”  
me = 2s saw      me = 2s saw-1s
- æsp-e=m di** ~ **æsp-e=m di-e** “I saw horses”  
horse-PL=1s saw      horse-PL=1s saw-3p
- ema=† di** ~ **ema=† di-eme** “you saw us”      **\*ema=† di-e**  
us = 2s saw      us = 2s saw-1p      us = 2s saw -3p

*The subject-encoding clitic appears on the direct object if there is one, otherwise on the idiom object in light verb constructions.*

- (29) a. **að qaŕy-ækæ=š lul kærð** “he rolled the carpet up”  
3s carpet-def =3s pipe do
- b. **að lul=iš kærð** “he rolled up”  
3s pipe =3s do
- (30) **kærg-ækæ bâl=iš girt-o** “the chicken flew”  
chicken-DEF wing=3s take-3s

*The clitic (which encodes the subject) does not go on adjuncts; it does go on direct objects*

- (31) **hizi di=m** “I saw him yesterday”      **\*hizi=m di**  
yesterday saw=1s      yesterday=1s saw
- hizi æsp-ewæ=m æsæ**      **\*hizi=m æsp-ewæ æsæ** “I bought a horse yesterday”  
yesterday horse-indef=1s bought

- (32) a. **karð-ewæ=m bazâr-ænæ æsæ** “I bought a knife in the market”  
knife - indef=1s market-in bought
- b. **bazâr-ænæ karð-ewæ=m æsæ** id.  
market-in knife - indef=1s bought
- c. **bazâr-ænæ æsæ =m** “I bought it in the market”  
market - in bought =1s
- d. **\*bazâr-ænæ=m æsæ**  
market - in =1s bought

The subject NP of past transitives is in canonical subject position (initial); the subject has canonical (non)-marking of case

- (33) a. **ahmaʃ æsp-ækæ=š wræt** “Ahmad sold the horse”  
 ahmad horse-DEF = 3s sold-3s
- b. \***æsp-ækæ ahmaʃ=iš wræt**, \***æsp-ækæ=š ahmaʃ wræt**  
 horse-DEF ahmad = 3s sold-3s horse-DEF =3s ahmad sold-3s

Extraposition of relative clauses also follows the nominative-accusative pattern

Extraposition from subject position is disallowed

- (34) [pyâ-kæ kæ gji kawo=š wærænæ be] amn=iš di-ane “the man who wore a blue coat saw me”  
 man-DEF REL coat blue = 3s wear was-3s me = 3s saw-1s

X

\*[pyâ-kæ] amn=iš di-ane [kæ gji kawo=š wærænæ be]  
 man-DEF me = 3s saw-1s REL coat blue = 3s wear was-3s

\*[pyâ-kæ] di-ane=š [kæ gji kawo=š wærænæ be]  
 man-DEF saw-1s = 3s REL coat blue = 3s wear was-3s

Extraposition from object position is allowed

- (35) [pyâ-kæ=m] di [kæ gji kawo=š wærænæ be ] “I saw the man who wore a blue coat”  
 man-DEF=1s saw-3s REL coat blue = 3s wear was-3s

Indirect objects can take the marker, if they are leftmost of the non-adjuncts

- (36) a. **bizæ-kæ=m jæ ahmað-i girt** “I took the goat from Ahmad”  
 goat -DEF = 1s from Ahmad-IZ took-3s

- b. **bizæ-k -e=m jæ ahmað-i girt-e** “I took the goats from Ahmad”  
 goat -DEF -pl= 1s from Ahmad - IZ took-3p

- c. **jæ ahmað-i=m girt** “I took it from Ahmad”  
 from ahmad - IZ = 1s took-3s

- d. **jæ ahmað-i=m girt-e** “I took them from Ahmad”  
 from ahmad - IZ = 1s took-3p

- (37) a. **čaqo-ewæ=m bæ ahmað-i da** “I gave a knife to Ahmed”  
 knife - INDEF = 1s to Ahmad-IZ gave-3s

- b. \***čaqoewæ bæ ahmaði=m da**

- (38) a. **da = m bæ ahmað-i** “I gave it to Ahmed”  
 gave-3s=1s to ahmad-IZ

- b. **bæ ahmað-i=m da** =  
 to ahmad - IZ = 1s gave-3s

- c. \***da bæ ahmaði=m**

*Dative movement for pronouns*

- (39) a. puł=im da pænæ=ł  
money=1s gave-3s to =2s “I gave you money”
- b. puł=im pænæ da - i  
money=1s to gave-2s =

*The possessor of a possessed NP may also trigger subject agreement*

- (40) a. ađa=m=ıš di  
mother=1s=3s saw “he saw my mother”
- b. særæ=t=im di  
head =2s=1s saw “I saw your head”
- c. kærg-ækæ=m=ił di  
chicken-DEF =1s=2s saw “you saw my chicken”
- (41) a. ađa=Ø=š di-âne  
mother =\_ =3s saw-1s “he saw my mother”
- b. særæ=Ø=m di-e  
head =\_ =1s saw=2s “I saw your head”
- c. kærg-ækæ=Ø=ł di-âne  
chicken-DEF =\_ =2s saw-1s “you saw my chicken”

*Marking the possessor on the verb is not possible in the non-past*

- (42) gæw-ækæ=ł mæ-sân-u  
cow - DEF =2s INFL-buy -1s “I will buy your cow”
- \*gæw-ækæ mæ-sân-u=ł  
cow - DEF INFL-buy -1s = 2s

Verbs agree with objects (optionally — else no agreement at all)  
 Objects do not have accusative  
 Oblique clitics are assigned in the VP agreeing with the subject  
 Pronouns can get “liberated” in ergative structures and exhibit the object-like property of verb agreement  
 Word order patterns do *not* indicate a subject/object role reversal

**4. Ergativity elsewhere in Hawrami**

*“Have” in the present works like a past transitive verb*

- |      |                      |                       |         |
|------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| (43) | “Subj. has the book” | “Subj. has the books” | subject |
|      | ktew-ækæ=m hæn       | ktew-æke=m hæn-e      | 1s      |
|      | ktew-æka=ł hæn       | ktew-æka=ł hæn-e      | 2s      |
|      | ktew-ækæ=š hæn       | ktew-æke=š hæn-e      | 3s      |
|      | ktew-ækæ=mân hæn     | ktew-æke=mân hæn-e    | 1p      |
|      | ktew-ækæ=tân hæn     | ktew-æke=tân hæn-e    | 2p      |
|      | ktew-ækæ=šân hæn     | ktew-æke=šân hæn-e    | 3p      |

Ahmał ktew-ækæ=š hæn “Ahmad has a book”

*The verb can mark a feminine object*

- (44)  $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\text{žiwâ}=\text{m hæn-æ}}$  “I have Zhiwa (f)”  
 zhiwa= 1s have- 3f

*Pronoun objects can trigger subject-suffix on verb*

- (45)  $\text{to}=\text{m hæn}$                        $\text{to}=\text{m hæn-i}$                        $\text{hæn-i}=\text{m}$                       “I have you”  
 you=1s have                      you=1s have -2s                      have - 2s=1s
- $\text{æmn}=\text{ɨ hæn}$                        $\text{æmn}=\text{ɨ hæn-âne}$                        $\text{hæn-âne}=\text{ɨ}$                       “you have me”  
 me = 2s have                      me = 2s have -2s                      have - 1s = 2s

*Possessive pronoun inside object can be realised as subject suffix on verb*

- (46)  $\text{ktew-ækæ}=\text{t}=\text{im hæn}$                        $\text{ktew-ækæ}=\text{Ø}=\text{m hæn-i}$                       “I have your book”  
 book - DEF =2s=1s have-3s                      book - DEF = \_ =1s have -2s
- $\text{ktew-ækæ}=\text{m}=\text{il hæn}$                        $\text{ktew-ækæ}=\text{Ø}=\text{ɨ hæn-âne}$                       “you have my book”  
 book - DEF =1s=2s have-3s                      book - DEF = \_ =2s have -1s

*“Want” acts ergatively too*

- (47) a.  $\text{æsp-ækæ}=\text{m gæræk}=\text{æn}$                       “I want the horse”  
 horse - DEF = 1s desire =COP-3s
- b.  $\text{æsp-ækæ}=\text{ɨ gæræk}=\text{æn}$                       “you want the horse”  
 horse - DEF = 2s desire =COP-3s
- c.  $\text{æsp-ækæ}=\text{š gæræk}=\text{æn}$                       “he wants the horse”  
 horse - DEF = 3s desire =COP-3s
- d.  $\text{æsp-e}=\text{š gæræk}=\text{enc}$                       “he wants horses”  
 horse-PL=3s desire =COP-3p
- e.  $\text{Ahmaɬ æsp-ækæ}=\text{š gæræk}=\text{æn}$                       “Ahmad wants the horse”  
 Ahmad horse - DEF = 3s desire =COP-3s

- (48)  $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\text{to}=\text{š gæræk}=\text{æn-i}}$                       “he wants you”  
 you=3s desire =COP-2s
- $\text{to}=\text{m gæræk}=\text{æn-i}$                       “I want you”  
 you=1s desire =COP-2s
- $\text{emæ}=\text{ɨ gæræk}=\text{æn}$                       “you want us”  
 us =2s desire =COP-3s
- $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\text{emæ}=\text{ɨ gæræk}=\text{en-me}}$                       =  
 us =2s desire =COP-1p

- (49)  $\text{gæræk}=\text{m}=\text{æn-i}$                       “I want you”  
 desire =1s =COP-2s



- Passive future paradigm: suffix -yæ-*
- (50) mæðir-yæ-u “1s will be given” mæðir-y-eme “1p will be given”  
 mæðir-yæ-i “2s will be given” mæðir-y-edē “2p will be given”  
 mæðir-y-o “it will be given” mæðir-y-â(ne) “they will be given”

*Passive of ditransitive: passivizing the direct object (no ergativity)*

- (51) a. (ađ) zar -akæ-i mæ-ð -o ba žiway “he will give the present to Zhiwa”  
3s present-DEF-ACC INFL-give-3s to Z
- b. zar-akæ mæ-ðir-y -o ba žiway “the present will be given to Zhiwa”  
present-DEF INFL-give-PASS-3s to Z
- c. zar-ak-ân mæ-ðir-y -â ba žiway “the presents will be given to Zhiwa”  
present-DEF-PL INFL-give-PASS-3p to Z

*Passivizing the indirect object: ergativity, because there remains a non-accusative object*

- (52) a. žiwa zar =iš pænæ mæ-ðir-y -o “Zhiwa will be given a present”  
Z present=3s to INFL give-PASS-3s
- b. \*žiwa zar pænæ mæðiryo
- c. žiwa gul -e =š pænæ mæ-ðir-y - â “Zhiwa will be given flowers”  
Z flower-PL=3s to INFL give-PASS-3p
- d. zawro-k-ân zar=šân pænæ mæ-ðir-y -o “the children will be given a present”  
children-DEF=PL present=3p to INFL-give-PASS-3s

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Appendix 1: accusative only realised on definite singular NP's

- a. kuriš-i mæ-win-o “he sees Koresh” \*kuriš mæwino  
Koresh-ACC INFL - see - 3s
- b. tfæng-ækæ-i mæ-win-o “he sees the gun”  
that gun-ACC-def INFL -see -3s
- c. â tfæng-i-æ mæ-win-o “he sees that gun”  
that gun-ACC-def INFL-see-3s
- d. kæm tfæng-i mæ-win-o “which gun does he see?”  
which gun - ACC INFL-see-he

*Definite mass nouns also receive case*

gošt-ækæ-i mæ-win-o “he sees the meat”  
meat - the -ACC INFL - see - 3s

kam gošt-i mæ-win-o “which meat does he see?”  
which meat - ACC INFL-see-he

*Bare mass nouns do not take case*

gošt mæ-win-o “he sees meat” \*gošt-i mæwino  
meat INFL - see - 3s

*Neither do indefinite-marked count nouns*

tfæng-ewæ mæ-win-o “he sees a gun” \*tfæng-ew-i mæwino  
gun - INDEF INFL - see - 3s

*NP's with indefinitizing modifiers don't take case*

ħayč gaw ni-mæ-win-o “he doesn't see any cow” \*ħayč gawi nimæwino  
any cow neg- INFL- see - 3s

qatre dræxt mæ-win-o “he sees some trees” \*qatre dræxti mæwino  
some tree INFL - see - 3s

*Plural object nouns are not case-marked*

a. tfæng-æk-ân-(\*i) mæ-win-o “he sees the guns”  
gun - def - pl - (ACC) INFL - see - 3s

b. tfæng-æk-e-(\*i) mæ-win-o =  
gun - def - pl - (ACC) INFL - see - 3s

## Appendix 2: Relative clause extraposition

*Relative clauses must be at the end of the NP when in subject position: non-past*

[pyâ-kæ kæ ma-ram-o] bizæ-k-ân mæ-sân-o “the man who runs will buy the goats”  
man- DEF REL INFL-run- 3s goat- DEF -pl INFL- buy -3s

\*[pyâ-kæ] bizæ-k-ân mæ-sân-o [kæ ma-ram-o]  
man- DEF goat- DEF -pl INFL- buy -3s REL INFL-run- 3s

[bizæ-kæ kæ Aħmał mæ-sân-o=š] na-weš=an “the goat that A will buy is sick”  
goat DEF REL Ahmad INFL- buy - 3s=3s NEG-good=3s copula

\*[bizæ-kæ] na-weš=an [kæ Aħmał mæ-sân-o=š]  
goat DEF NEG-good=3s copula REL Ahmad INFL- buy -3s=3s

[æsp-æk-ân kæ ađ mæ-win-o=šân] syâw=ene “The horses that he sees are black”  
horse - DEF- PL REL he INFL- see - 3s = 3p black =3p copula

*Relative clause in matrix object usually comes after the verb*

[zawro-kæ-i ] mæ-win-u [kæ pul-ækæ=š dizi] “I see the child who stole the money”  
chld - DEF -ACC INFL - see - 1s REL money-DEF =3s stole-3s

[mar-ækæ-i] mæ-win-u [kæ tutæ-kæ=š kušt] “I see the snake that killed the dog”  
snake-DEF-ACC INFL - see - 1s REL dog - DEF = 3s killed-3s

[mar-ækæ-i] mæ-win-u [kæ tutæ-kæ kušt=iš] “I see the snake that the dog killed”  
snake-DEF-ACC INFL - see - 1s REL dog - DEF killed+3s=3s