Two DP Layers within the Central Kurdish Noun Phrase

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This study proposes that the Central Kurdish noun phrase contains two DP layers projecting above NP. I show that two markers of definiteness are morphologically realized within the noun phrase, *-eke* and *–e*. Based on the distribution of these definite markers and the feature(s) they spell out, I argue that two structurally distinct functional D categories are realized in the noun phrase, with one containing - and the other being contained by - the projection of Number (NumP).

I argue that the enclitic *–e* co-occurring with demonstratives is the syntactic realization of definiteness (1a), serving a similar function to the primary definite marker *–eke* (1b).

(1) a. em   esp-**e**   b. esp-**eke**
      this   horse-DEF   horse-DEF
      'this   horse'   'the horse'

There is lots of evidence supporting the assumption that the morpheme *–e* in (1a) is the only element marking definiteness in the noun phrase, hence the demonstrative article *em* 'this' plays no role in this regard. A compelling piece of evidence is that *-e* is realized only when a definiteness reading is intended. In (2), for instance, *–e* does not occur on either instances of the noun *maɫ* 'house' despite the presence of the demonstrative articles in front of them. In this sentence, no definite or specific house is intended; the speaker does not refer to any specific house while a non-specific deictic reading is still maintained, suggesting that the demonstrative elements only encode the deictic feature.

(2) swalker-eke   deger-êt   le   em   maɫ(*-e)   bo   ew   maɫ(*-e).
     beggar-DEF   roam-PRS.3SG from this house   to   that   house
     'The beggar goes from one house to another.'

Thus, I propose that the two definite markers *–eke* and *-e* (1a, b) realize distinct D categories such that the former realizes a different D, lower than the D spelled out by the latter.

Syntactic as well as semantic evidence substantiates the two-DP-layer analysis. The clearest syntactic evidence is that the two Ds occur on different sides of Number. As shown below, the plural number marker *–an* directly attaches to the noun *esp* 'horse' and precedes *–e* (3a), whereas this enclitic follows *–eke* which, in turn, attaches to the noun (3b).

(3) a. ew   esp-**an-e**   b. esp-**ek-an**
     that   horse-PL-DEF   horse-DEF-PL
     'those horses'   'the horses'

In terms of the sematic evidence, I claim that the feature make-up of the two D categories is different in that one D position is the locus of some feature not shared by the other. Note that here, definiteness is defined as the grammaticalization of specificity and uniqueness (Enç 1991; Lyons 1999). While *–e* is arguably the spell-out of a category D that merely bears specificity, *–eke* realizes a D head that carries definiteness proper, comprising both specificity and uniqueness. Consider the examples below.
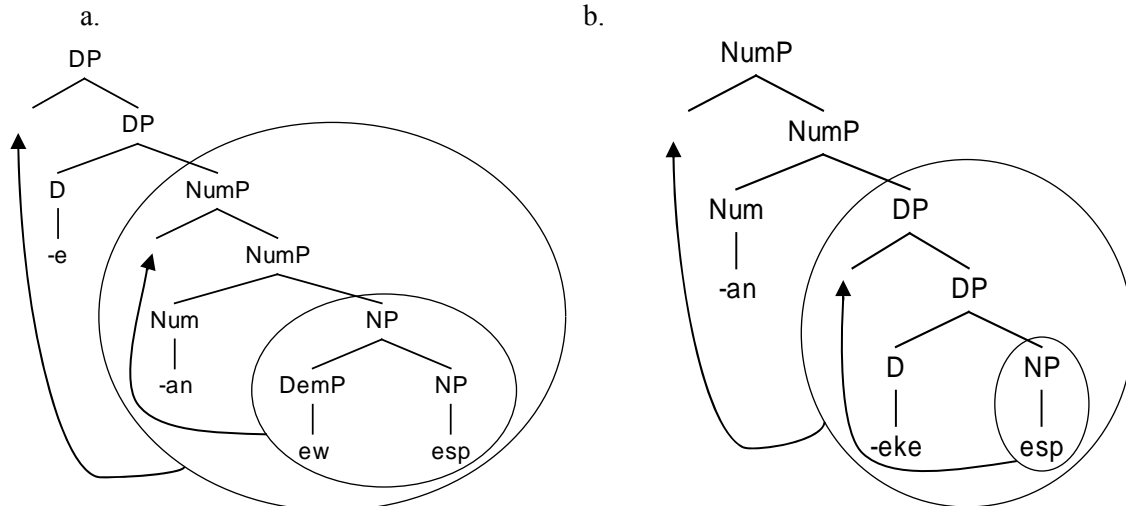
(4) a. brader-**eke**-m   naw-i   saman-e
      friend-DEF-1SG   name-3SG   saman-AUX.PRS
      'My friend's name is Saman.'

     b. ew   brader-**e**-m   naw-i   saman-e
       that   friend-DEF-1SG   name-3SG   saman-AUX.PRS
       'That friend of mine's name is Saman.'

In (4a) the possessive construction *brader-eke-m* 'my friend' entails that the speaker has only one friend, who is Saman. So, the DP is interpreted as both unique and specific. However, *ew brader-e-m* 'that friend of mine' in (4b) encodes the reading that the speaker has other friend(s) than Saman,

where the definite marker –*e* renders the DP specific but not unique (see Anderson's (2007) definition of uniqueness).

The current study adopts the non-lexicalist approach to morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993; Marantz 2001) and Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist bottom-up derivational theory. In light of these approaches, the nominal projection (NP) in (3) is assumed to move in a roll-up fashion, picking up both markers of definiteness and number. Below (5a, b) shows the derivation of (3a) and (3b), respectively.

(5)

a.

```
        DP
       /  \
      /    DP
     |    /  \
     |   D    NumP
     |   |   /   \
     |  -e  /    NumP
     |      |   /    \
     |     Num        NP
     |      |       /    \
     |     -an    DemP    NP
     |            |       |
     |            ew      esp
```

b.

```
        NumP
       /   \
      /    NumP
     |    /    \
     |  Num     DP
     |   |     /  \
     |  -an   /    DP
     |        |   /  \
     |        D      NP
     |        |      |
     |       -eke    esp
```

Given these representations, while the noun phrase in (3a) projects a DP containing NumP (5a), that in (3b) projects a DP which is contained by the projection of Number (5b).

Further, the demonstrative article is assumed to merge in the specifier of NP low in the structure (5a). This accords with Guardiano (2010) and Roberts (2011), among others, that in languages with discontinuous demonstratives, such as Hungarian and Welsh, the proximity-marking part of the demonstrative merges somewhere lower than the co-occurring definite marker.

Concluding, the study claims that not only does Central Kurdish exhibit two markers of definiteness in its noun phrase (*-eke, -e*), but also has two structurally different categorial D positions hosting the two definite markers. On the one hand, the functional category of Number intermediate between the two Ds is used as empirical evidence for the structural difference between the two categories in the hierarchy (5a, b). On the other hand, the reading rendered by the two D categories based on the feature(s) they encode offers additional evidence in setting the two Ds and the two definite markers apart. In other words, the structural difference between the two D categories reflects a difference in their feature make-up, hence a difference in their semantics.

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