

Raising in Kazakh: Case, Agreement, and the EPP
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Kazakh (Turkic) exhibits two raising constructions (1), which differ in their case and agreement properties. I demonstrate that these differences follow directly from structural differences in the embedded clause. In one case (1b/3b), the raising predicate selects for a more functional structure (a DP layer), yielding case and agreement possibilities in the embedded clause; in the other case (1a/3a), no such structure is available, limiting subject case possibilities and triggering agreement with the matrix, rather than the embedded, predicate. I further demonstrate that subject case and subject-verb agreement in nominalized clauses may be dissociated, contradicting prominent theories of case and agreement in which both are valued by AGREE with the same structural head (Chomsky 2001, i.a.). I claim that Kazakh raising does not target nominal phrases with unvalued case features and is therefore not subject to the A(ctivity) C(ondition), supporting Asarina’s (2011) claims for Uyghur (Turkic). Evidence for this claim comes from two observations: case-marked (genitive) subjects from the lower clause may raise, and other arguments may raise if they have undergone short scrambling to the left periphery of the embedded clause. To account for Kazakh raising, I propose a locality-based raising mechanism driven purely by the EPP feature, independent of any AGREE operation.

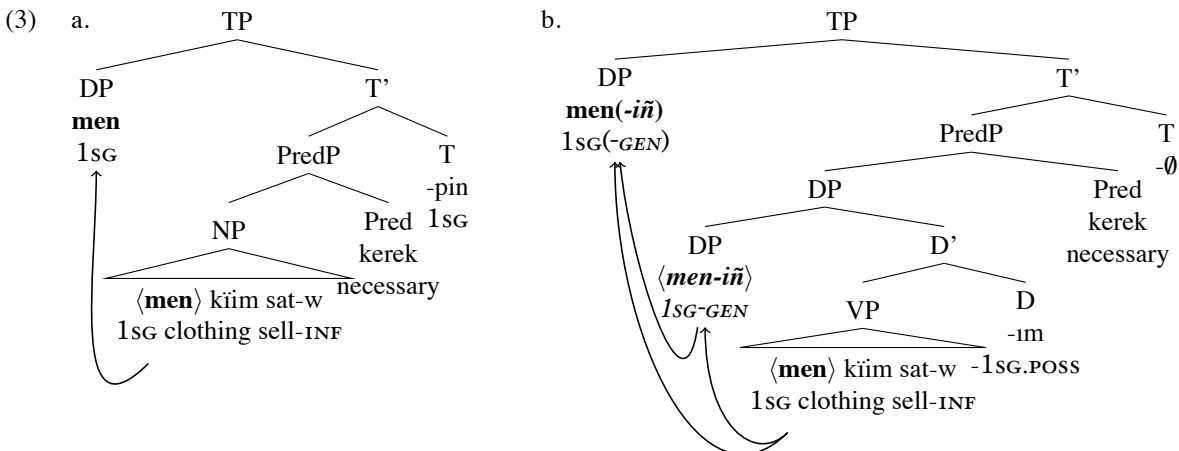
Two semantically equivalent expressions (1) have visible differences in case and agreement (in bold):

- (1) a. **men**(*-iñ) (şınımen) kïim sat-w **kerek-pin**
 1SG(*-GEN) (very much) clothing sell-INF necessary-1SG
 ‘I (very much) need to sell clothing.’
- b. **men**(-iñ) (şınımen) kïim sat-w-**im** kerek
 1SG(-GEN) (very much) clothing sell-INF-1SG.POSS necessary
 ‘I (very much) need to sell clothing.’

(1a) appears similar to English raising: the subject *men* has unmarked (nominative) case and agrees with the matrix predicate *kerek* ‘necessary’. (1b) however exhibits possessor agreement with the optionally genitive subject *men*(-iñ). Both examples exhibit raising of the subject *men* from the embedded clause to the specifier of matrix TP. Crucially, the modifier *şınımen* ‘very much’ must be interpreted as modifying the matrix predicate *kerek*; it cannot be interpreted as modifying *sat-* ‘sell’ (#*şınımen sat-*). If subject raising had not occurred in (1), *şınımen* would have been generated within the embedded clause, where matrix interpretation (as modifying *kerek*) is not possible. As expected, non-raising predicates (such as *qajet* ‘required’) do not allow matrix interpretation of *şınımen* when it is generated inside the embedded clause:

- (2) *men*-iñ (#**şınımen**) kïim sat-w-*im* *qajet*
 me-GEN (#very much) clothing buy-INF-POSS.1SG required
 ‘I am required to (#very much) sell clothing.’

I claim that the structural differences between (1a) and (1b) lie in the complement of *kerek*:



In (1a/3a), possessor agreement with the subject is forbidden on the clausal complement to *kerek*, whereas in (1b/3b) it is required. Following from Kornfilt’s (2008) analysis in which possessor agreement is hosted on the D head in some Turkic languages (including Kazakh), I take the complement to *kerek* in (1b/3b) to be a DP, whereas in (1a/3a) the complement is missing a DP layer, and therefore lacks possessor agreement. I take this complement to be an NP, since it can be assigned case by other raising predicates, such as by *mindetti* ‘obligatory’:

- (4) biz mektep-ke bar-w-**ǵa** mindetti-miz
 1PL school-DAT go-INF-DAT obligatory-1PL
 ‘We are obliged to go to school.’

In both constructions in (1/3), *men* moves to [spec, TP]. In (1a/3a), there is no D head targeting the subject’s ϕ -features, which remain unvalued until agreement with the matrix T head. In (1b/3b) however, *men*’s ϕ -features are inactive after agreement with D, rendering it inactive as a goal for T.

Following Gribanova (2013) for Uzbek, I assume [spec, DP] in Kazakh is the structural position for genitive case assignment. Since *men* can optionally receive genitive case in (1b/3b), it may either move through [spec, DP] where it gains genitive case before raising to [spec, TP], or it may raise directly from within the VP. In both cases, agreement on D targets 1SG, showing that the agreement and case-assigning operations are separable; nominal agreement may target either an unmarked subject inside the embedded VP or a genitive subject after movement to [spec, DP]. I take this to be evidence that agreement and case-assignment are separate operations.

The raising construction does not exclusively target embedded subjects. If an object is first scrambled to a high position inside the embedded clause, it can also be raised:

- (5) a. **küim-di** (şınımen) men(*-iñ) sat-w kerek-pin
 clothing-ACC (very much) 1SG(*-GEN) sell-INF necessary-1SG
 ‘I (very much) need to buy clothing.’
 b. **küim-di** (şınımen) men(*-iñ) sat-w-ım kerek
 clothing-ACC (very much) 1SG(*-GEN) sell-INF-1SG.POSS necessary
 ‘I (very much) need to buy clothing.’

Just as in (1), the fact that *şınımen* is interpreted as modifying the matrix predicate *kerek* can only follow if the preceding phrase raises to [spec, TP]. In (5), the goal *men* stays low within the embedded clause, yet remains a goal for both matrix agreement (5a) and nominal agreement (5b). Thus, neither agreement operation is tied to case-assignment, let alone to a single structural position.

Finally, (5) is evidence against the AC. *küim-di* bear morphological (accusative) case and therefore has no unvalued case features, yet it still raises. As with the subject raising in (1), the interpretation of *şınımen* as modifying matrix *kerek* follows only if *küim-di* raises; otherwise *şınımen* would be generated within the embedded clause and interpreted only as modifying the embedded verb. Thus, contrary to the AC, movement to [spec, TP] is not driven by unvalued features on the DP targeted for movement. Instead, raising is blind to features of the moved DP and will attract a phrase purely based on locality, whether the closest phrase in the embedded clause is a subject or a non-subject argument resulting from scrambling.

References

Asarina, Alya. 2011. Case in Uyghur and Beyond. PhD thesis, MIT. Chomsky, Noam. 2001. *Derivation by phase*. MITWPL. Gribanova, Vera. 2013. Case and agreement in Uzbek nominalized clauses. University of Chicago Linguistics Department colloquium. Kornfilt, Jaklin. 2008. Subject case and Agr in two types of Turkic RCs. In *Proceedings of Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics (WAFL4)*, MITWPL 56:145–168.