ASPECTS OF THE VERBAL CONSTRUCTION IN KURDISH

by

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to give a systematic description of some aspects of Kurdish verbal construction. It is also an attempt to define the nature of the different sets of personal suffixes, characterizing their functions according to their deep structures.

The introduction states the purpose for writing the thesis, and outlines some relevant principles of the theoretical framework used.

Chapter 1 describes the phonemic transcription used in this work.

Chapter 2 specifies some of the typological characteristics of Kurdish, and deals mainly with the order of the main elements of the sentence.

Chapter 3 outlines the system of the phrase structure rules by which simple Kurdish sentences are generated.

Chapter 4 describes the morphology of the Kurdish verb.

Chapter 5 deals with the concept of cliticization. It specifies the rules by which a non-subject element can be replaced by a personal suffix. Some problems concerning the syntactic functions of the personal suffixes are discussed. It concludes that the different sets of personal suffixes have the same syntactic and semantic functions, but that the function of each suffix in any particular sentence is governed by the tense of the verb and the structure of the sentence.

Chapter 6 deals with the copula. It discusses also some of the semantic areas that the copula covers in Kurdish. The main conclusion is that the copula in Kurdish has an overt form only in the 3rd person singular of the present tense and in the past tense.

Chapter 7 deals with the Modals.

Chapter 8 deals with the passive. It concludes that Kurdish has only a truncated (agentless) passive.

Chapter 9 deals with the two different types of causative construction, synthetic and analytic. It discusses the question whether these two types have different deep structures.

This thesis ends with a bibliography.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
Ag	Agreement marker
Asp	Aspect
Aux	Auxiliary
Caus	Causative
Comp	Complement
Comptv	Comparative
Conj	Conjunction
Cop	Copula
DA	Demonstrative Adjective[1]
Det	Determiner
DO	Direct Object
DPrf	Derivational Prefix
DSuf	Derivational Suffix
EM	Empty Morpheme
ES	Embedded Subject
ESAg	Embedded Subject Agreement marker
Imp	Imperative
Impf	Imperfective
ImpM	Imperative Marker
Ind	Indicative
InM	Infinitive Marker
Izf	Izafe Case
Loc	Locative
Mdf	Modifier
MS	Main subject
N	Noun
Neg	Negative
No	Number

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(1) The demonstrative adjectives ama 'this' and awa 'that' frame
    the noun they modify in the form am - N - a as in am kur̃ - a
    'this boy' and aw kur̃ - a 'that boy'. DA here refers to the
    second part of the demonstrative adjectives which is a.

NP	Noun Phrase
O	Object
Obl	Obligatory
Opt	Optional
Pass	Passive
Perf	Perfect
Pers	Person
Pers1	Personal Suffix from set No. 1
Pers2	Personal Suffix from set No. 2
Pers3	Personal Suffix from set No. 3
Pl	Plural
PM	Phrase Marker
PN	Possessive Noun
Poss	Possessive
PP	Prepositional Phrase
Pref	Prefix
Prep	Preposition
PreS	Presentencial
Pres	Present
Prev	Preverbal
Pron	Pronoun
PstP	Past Participle
S	Sentence
Sb	Subject
SC	Structural Change
SI	Structural Index
Sg	Singular
SNP	Subject Noun Phrase
Sub	Subjunctive
Suf	Suffix
Tns	Tense
Tr	Transitive
V	Verb
vi	Intransitive verb
VP	Verb Phrase
VS	Verb Stem
vt	Transitive verb
X	Marks sentence boundary
Y	Marks the boundary between two connected sentences

*   Asterisk - indicates a deviant sentence

( )   Parentheses - enclose optional element in a rule

——>   Arrow - is used to rewrite rule

==>   Double arrow is used in transformational rule

∅   Zero - indicates the absence of the element on the surface

-      Boundary between morphemes of the same word

//   Obliques - enclose phonological units

" "   Enclose quotation

[ ]   Enclose phonetic elements and syntactic features

INTRODUCTION

Kurdish is a northwestern Iranian language spoken by about 12,000,000 people in Kurdistan.[1] Kurdistan is situated in the heart of Asia Minor and occupies the greater part of the mountainous region extending between the Black Sea and the steppes of Mesopotamia on one side, and the Anti-Taurus range and the Iranian Plateau on the other. Today Kurdistan includes portions of Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria and the Soviet Union.

As regards the question of the origin of the Kurds, we are confronted with more than one theory. Some rely on linguistic evidence and consider them Indo-European in origin since their language is Iranian. Others relate them to other Asiatic groups like the Chaldeans and Georgians. Whatever the historical implications of Kurdish may be, and from whatever source it may have derived, is not our concern, since we are here dealing with it synchronically. However, its close relationship to Persian is obvious.[2]

Kurdish has been influenced by Arabic, as it has also been influenced by all the languages with which it has cultural and geographical contact, such as Turkish and Persian.

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(1) Inadequate census information prevents any clear understanding of the total number of Kurds. Confusion is total. The variations in population estimates are between 6,990,000 and 16,470,000. See Short, M. and McDermott, A. (1975).

(2) For different opinions about the origin of the Kurds and their language, see MacKenzie D.N. (1961a), Minorsky, V. (1940) and Wahbi, T. (1974).

Kurdish uses three different systems of writing. Each part
of Kurdistan uses the script used in the country to which it
belongs politically. In Iraq and Iran, Kurdish is written with a
modified Arabic script. In Turkey and Syria the Kurds use the
Roman alphabet and in the Soviet Union a modified Cyrillic alphabet.
In Iraqi Kurdistan several unsuccessful attempts have been made to
adopt the Roman alphabet since 1931.[3]

Two main dialects are recognized in Kurdish. They are called
Northern and Southern Kurmanji or Kurdish. "The dividing line runs
approximately from the southern shore of Lake Urmia to the nearest
point of the greater Zab and then down to the Tigris confluence."[4]
Each dialect embraces several subdialects which are mutually
intelligible, while the differences between the two main dialects
are greater and they are not fully mutually intelligible.[5]

In Southern Kurdistan for the past two centuries, the city of
Sulaimaniya has been a cultural centre. During this period it has
produced many poets and writers, and since the beginning of the
twentieth century many weekly and daily newspapers and journals
have been published. Studies in schools of other parts of Kurdistan
in Iraq have been in this adopted dialect. Poets and writers of
other regions started writing in it. Because of all these historical
reasons the Sulaimaniya dialect became the standard Kurdish of

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(3) See Edmonds, C.J. (1931 and 1933), and Wahbi. T. (1933).

(4) Encyclopaedia Britannica (1970), vol. 13, p. 514.

(5) For instance, Northern Kurdish is fully ergative in the past tense,
     while Southern Kurdish has lost this element and   is
     considered as an accusative language (see Bynon, T. (1979)).

Southern Kurdistan. At present, Kurdish departments in Baghdad
and Sulaimaniya Universities and the Kurdish Academy in Iraq
use this dialect. The influence of the other dialects on this
adopted one during the last few decades has been excessive. Many
words and expressions from other dialects were grafted on to it, and
for this reason it is no longer considered a regional dialect. This
is one of the ways of establishing a standard.

Since 1787, when the first Kurdish grammar was written,[6]
Kurdish has been the subject of many studies compiled both in
Kurdistan and elsewhere, written by native and foreign scholars.[7]
Most of them concern themselves only with morphological features
of the verb; syntactic and semantic problems are either totally
ignored or treated without reference to the larger units such as
the sentence. This study deals in purely synchronic terms with
the description and analysis of the verb phrase and the positions
and functions of the personal suffixes within the verb phrase.
Aspects of morphology will be discussed where necessary, but the
emphasis will be on the syntax of the verb. To the extent necessary
for our purpose the structure of the sentence and other syntactic
components in which the verb plays a fundamental role will also be
discussed.

As this is a synchronic study, no historical considerations will be
discussed. Many aspects, which have traditionally been accounted

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(6)   Maurizio Garzoni (1787), "Grammatica e Vocabolario della
      linga Kurda", Composti dal P. Roma MDCCLXXXVII.

(7)   For a review see MacKenzie (1961), p. xvii, and Marif, A.
      (1974).

for historically, will find formal justification in this work.

The construction of the verb phrase in Kurdish is different from that of familiar European languages. It constitutes such a complex structure that, if it is not unique to Kurdish, then it is possessed by only a very few other languages. As has been noticed,

> the most difficult part of any language
> is usually the part that deals with the
> verb. Learning a language is to a very
> large degree learning how to operate the
> verbal form of that language. (8)

Therefore, it should not be expected that a complete and precise delineation of the field can be provided.

Only simple sentences will be considered, and since certain apparently simple sentences have complex deep structures, I will examine the structure of complex sentences to the extent relevant to the present study.

The primary device in the generation of various verbal constructions is syntactic rules. Morphological features specify the syntactic relationships of the verb to the major constituents of a sentence. Basing the analysis of verbal construction solely on morphology is not adequate, as there are pairs of sentences in which the verbs are superficially similar but basically different. For example, the phonetic sequence amnāsīt could mean you know me or I used to know you. These two semantic interpretations can be explained in terms of syntax. For the essential differences between them is in the nature of the relationship between the different components of the verb and the other parts of the sentence.

This study is not corpus-based, but it is based on my own

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(8) Palmer, F.R. (1974), p. 1.

judgment of grammaticality. The illustrative examples were elicited directly from personal notes, and were corroborated by extensive checking with the reaction of other native speakers.

In my research I have relied mainly upon the work of Professor D.N. MacKenzie (1961) to describe and analyse many grammatical aspects, especially those which deal with morphology.

The theoretical framework used in this study differs from that of the more traditional descriptions. The approach used is more or less that of Transformational grammar as proposed by Chomsky in Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (1965), henceforth Aspects.

As this work is, to my knowledge, the first attempt to analyse Kurdish in terms of Transformational grammar (TG), it is necessary to give a brief outline of its implications.

Generative Transformational grammar is a linguistic theory based on the work of Chomsky. It seeks to relate sound and meaning in natural language. The core of the theory is the concept of sentence. It enables us to relate superficially distinct sentences and distinguish superficially identical sentences. According to Chomsky, the object of the linguistic analysis must be to discover what is universal and regular in man's innate ability to understand and produce sentences that he has never heard or produced before. In constructing a generative grammar of a language, the linguist is attempting to construct a model of the native speaker's linguistic competence, that is, of what he knows about his language.

John Lyons defines the value of the terms 'generative' and 'transformational' as follows.

> The term 'generative' is usually understood to
> combine two distinguishable senses: (i) 'projective'

(or 'predictive'); and (ii) 'explicit ('formal'
v. 'informal').... It was first introduced in
the sense of 'projective' (or 'predictive') to
refer to any set of grammatical rules which,
explicitly or implicitly, described a given
corpus of sentences by 'projecting' them upon,
or treating them as a 'sample' of, a larger set
of sentences. A grammar of this kind is
'predictive' in that it establishes as
grammatical, not only 'actual' sentences but
also 'potential' sentences.... Most of the
grammars that have ever been written throughout
the history of linguistics are generative in
the first sense of the term.... But the term
'generative' was subsequently used in this
section in a rather particular sense of
'explicit'.... This approximates to, and
indeed derives from, one of the senses in which
the term 'generative' is employed in mathematics
.... This second, more or less mathematical,
sense of the term 'generate' presupposes, for
its applicability to grammar, a rigorous and
precise specification of the nature of the
grammatical rules and their manner of operation:
it presupposes the formalization of grammatical
theory.... (9)

If we use the term transformational in a
general and rather informal sense, rather than
in the particular sense in which it is defined
in any one theory, we can say, quite reasonably,
that the 'deeper connexions' between sentences
which 'cut across the surface grammar' are
transformational relationships. (10)

The transformational theory has undergone significant modification
since 1957 when it was first proposed.(11) Different versions and
stages can be distinguished. In its first stage, the rules are derived
into three components: i) a set of phrase structure rules which
generate the underlying phrase marker; ii) the transformational rules
will produce the derived phrase marker which consists of a series of

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(9) Lyons, J. (1968), pp. 155-157

(10) Ibid., p. 248.

(11) When Chomsky published his Syntactic Structures in 1957,
     structural linguistics entered a new phase. Although it originated
     in America, the theory it presents incorporates the most important
     ideas of Saussure, Sapir, Trubetzkoy and Jakobson, combining them
     with recent insights in the fields of mathematical logic and
     psychology.

formatives, then iii) the morphophonemic rules will specify the
phonological realization of the sentence by converting the string
of formatives into a phonetic representation. By this stage, the
rules generate a highly restricted class of basic structures -
kernel sentences, as Chomsky calls them - and the more complex
structures - non kernels, such as passive, negative, question, etc.
sentences - were derived from the kernels by various transformations.
Thus the task of a generative grammar was to generate the well-
formed sentences of a language and to describe the syntactic and
phonological structure of each. Semantics was held to fall outside
the domain of transformational grammar, and was regarded as a matter
of a separate theory of language use.

In 1965 in Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, Chomsky presented
a more comprehensive theory which differed from his earlier theory
in a number of aspects. The scope of the theory was extended to
include semantics as well. In this stage the grammar of a language
consists of three sets of rules: syntactic, semantic and phonological.
The term 'standard theory' is used to refer to the theory of grammar
outlined in Chomsky's Aspects....

Research since 1965 has led progressively to a questioning of
standard theory. Various proposals as to how the Aspects theory
should be modified have now been put forward. Chomsky's own
modification (including some other scholars') of the 1965 version
of TG is referred to as the 'extended theory'. On the other hand
many different schools of linguistics have emerged recently presented
by their authors as replacing the standard theory. The most
influential of these theories are Fillmore's 'Case grammar', and
'Generative semantics', which was proposed by Lakoff, McCawly, Ross

etc. However, it is not my intention to engage in a lengthy

justification of TG. It has been done far more ably and fully

than is possible in a study such as this. The present study

deals with less problematic and controversial areas of simple

sentences. Therefore a grammatical model based on standard theory

is sufficient for this purpose.

The special properties of standard theory are summarized below.

> The syntactic component consits of a base that
> generates deep structures and a transformational
> part that maps them into surface structures. The
> deep structure of a sentence is submitted to the
> semantic component for semantic interpretation,
> and its surface structure enters the phonological
> component and undergoes phonetic interpretation.
> The final effect of a grammar, then, is to relate
> a semantic interpretation to a phonetic representation
> - that is, to state how a sentence is interpreted.
> This relation is mediated by the syntactic component
> of the grammar, which constitutes its sole 'creative'
> part. (12)

Thus, the syntactic component, which is finite, is regarded as central

in the sense that it is the generative part of the system, it specifies

an infinite number of structures which underly actual sentences. The

semantic and phonological components are interpretive, since they

operate on the output of the syntactic component. They provide each

structure generated by the syntactic component with a semantic

interpretation (for deep structure) and phonological representation

(for surface structure).

The base itself consists of two parts or subcomponents: the

branching rules or categorial subcomponent and the lexicon. The

categorial subcomponent consists of a set of rules similar to the

phrase structure rules of the earlier system. These rules define

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(12) Chomsky (1965), p. 135-136.

the grammatical functions and grammatical relations and determine

an abstract underlying order. The lexicon characterises the individual

properties of particular lexical items that are inserted in specified

positions in base phrase-markers. The lexicon lists all the

lexical items of the language and associates with each the syntactic,

semantic and phonological information required for the correct

operation of the rules. Thus the semantic interpretation of a

sentence depends on its lexical items and the grammatical functions

and relations represented in the underlying structures in which they

appear.

The distinction between grammatical and logical subjects and

objects is an elusive one and can lead to confusion, since the

criteria set up for a particular language cannot be applied to another.

In Aspects, functional notions like subject, object, etc. are

distinguished from categorial notions such as NP, VP, etc. The

grammatical functions are defined in terms of relations holding

between grammatical categories like NP, VP in a given phrase-marker.

> The notion 'subject' as distinct from the notion
> NP designates a grammatical function rather than
> a grammatical category, it is, in other words,
> an inherently relational notion. We say, in
> traditional terms that in 1 ["sincerity may
> frighten the boy"(13)], sincerity is an NP (not
> that it is the NP of the sentence), and that it
> is (functions as) the subject-of the sentence
> (not that it is a subject).... It is necessary
> only to make explicit the relational character
> of these notions by defining 'subject-of' for
> English, as the relation holding between the NP
> of a sentence of the form NP Aux VP and the
> whole sentence. 'Object-of' as the relation
> between the NP of a VP of the form V NP and the
> whole VP, etc. (14)

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(13) Chomsky (1965), p. 63.

(14) Ibid., pp. 68-69.

Thus the deep structure subject of any sentence generated by the grammar is defined in terms of ⎡NP, S⎤ (i.e. that NP which is directly dominated by S), and the deep-structure object in terms of ⎡NP, VP⎤ (that NP which is directly dominated by VP), etc.

For Kurdish, too, the subject of a sentence refers to the NP directly dominated by S in a given phrase marker, the object of a sentence to the NP directly dominated by VP and so on. Thus the term DO indicates the NP which precedes the verb within the verb phrase, and IO indicates the prepositional phrase which follows the DO.

```
        Sb   DO            IO        V
        min  nāma - ēk  bo  Azād  a - nēr - m.
        I    letter a   to  A.   Impf send  Ag
     ˏI will send a letter to Azad.
```

A generative grammar is characterized by its concern for formulating a relatively small number of rules which, nevertheless, account for the infinitely large number of new sentences possible within a given language. A transformation must be a productive process and there must be a regular predictable semantic and syntactic relationship between any two sentences derived from the same underlying structure.

So far some of the properties of TG have been given. Other properties will be discussed when relevant and necessary.

Following the Aspects model, the syntax contains two types of rules. i) The Phrase-structure rules, generating a hierarchy of syntactic categories and relations. The terminal positions will be filled by complex symbols consisting of morphemes plus their associated syntactic features. The phrase structure rules and lexical

transformations jointly constitute what is called the base

component of the grammar. Thus the lexicon is part of$\overset{\text{the}}{\curvearrowleft}$base rules.

ii) The transformational rules which operate on the string

produced by the base, mapping them into an acceptable surface

structure by means of deletion, insertion and permutation of

elements. iii) The phonological component of the grammar assigns

a phonetic interpretation to the syntactic description.

All transformations are either obligatory operations triggered

by the presence in the deep structure of a special element, or

optional operations. They are without semantic effect.

The term structural index SI is used to specify the structures

on which the transformation can be operated, and structural change

SC, which indicates the change affected by transformation.

The rules are not ordered cyclically. The numbers indicate

only the order in which they are discussed.

In this work the examples are followed by a word rank literal

translation in English. Structural markers which appear in English

and have no equivalent overt form in Kurdish will be put in

parentheses in the   English translation.

The work, as will be seen from its title, covers only some of

the aspects of the Kurdish verb phrase. My attempt towards an

explicit grammar of the Kurdish verb has barely scratched the surface

of a total grammatical study. Many aspects and problems remain

unsolved. There is, however, such a wealth of interesting linguistic

problems in the Kurdish language as to justify deeper studies of it

for many generations.

CHAPTER I

PHONCLCGY

Many grammatical aspects of Kurdish can be handled only with
reference to the phonological system of the language. To account
for them and in order to give the reader the general idea of the
phonological relevance of the orthographically specified material
given in this work, it is necessary to illustrate some aspects of
the Kurdish phonological organization. Cur treatment will be
restricted to an outline.

1.1 Consonants:

Following the customary methods,[1] by using minimal pairs of
words, which are different in respect to only one sound, as a clue
to discover the inventory of phonemes in Kurdish, twenty-nine distinctive
consonantal phonemes can be recognized. Following the International
Phonetic Association's (IPA) method of classification,[2] they can be
represented as follows:

(See next·page)

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(1) Robins, R.H. (1971), p. 121.

(2) International Phonetic Association (1974).

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngal	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d				k g	q		
Fricative		f v		s z	š ž		x ɣ	ḥ ʕ		h
Affricate					č j		..			
Nasal	m		n				ŋ			
Lateral				l ł						
Rolled				r r̄						
Semi-vowel	w					y				

The phonemic transcription used is basically that proposed by MacKenzie.[3]   It differs from the IPA symbols in the following respect.   Keywords and minimal pairs have been given in the table also.

Orthography	IPA symbols	Initial	Medial	Final	Meaning respectively
/p/	p	pīr	čapła	čāp	old, clap, print
/b/	b	bīr	rubār	(qasāb)	think, stream, butcher
/t/	t	task	astūr	lat	tight, thick, piece
/d/	d	dask	kādīn	wird	handle, trough, tiny
/k/	k	kar	čāka	pāk	donkey, goodness, clean
/g/	g	gar	lagan	r̄ag	if, vessel, root
/q/	q	qal	pāqła	r̄aq	crow, bean, stiff
/f/	f	fēł	bafir	kaf	trick, snow, foam

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(3) MacKenzie (1961), p. 1.

Orthography	IPA symbols	Initial	Medial	Final	Meaning respectively
/v/	v	vyān	govār	mirov	name, journal, human
/s/	s	sāwā	birsī	kas	little, hungry, person
/z/	z	zāwā	bizin	barz	bridegroom, goat, high
/š/	ʃ	šěr	pišŭ	āš̆	lion, rest, mill
/ž/	ʒ	žěr	hažǎr	nwěž̆	beneath, poor, prayer
/x/	χ	xwā	taxta	nāx	God, wood, depth
/ɤ/	ʁ	ɤār	āʔā	wiɫāʔ	run, lord, cattle
/ḥ/	ħ	ḥawt	(laḥim)	(řoḥ)	seven, solder, soul
/ʕ/	ʕ	(ʕīsā)	(laʕnat)	(naʕnāʕ)	Jesus, damned, mints
/h/	h	hawr	bahār	----	cloud, spring
/č/	tʃ	čawr	pārča	māč̆	fat, piece, kiss
/j/	dʒ	jawr	kunjī	ganj	oppression, sesame, young
/m/	m	mīwān	kamar	kam	guest, waist, little
/n/	n	nīwān	xunča	bān	between, blossom, floor
/ŋ/	ŋ	-----	-----	bāŋ ----	---- call
/l/	l	lēw	kilīl	čil	lip, key, forty
/ɫ/	ɫ	-----	pɫing	čiɫ	---, tiger, branch
/ř/	r	řāw	birīn-	kař	hunt, cut, deaf
/r/	ɾ	-----	birīn	kar	----, wound, donkey
/w/	w	wak	hāwīn	kaw	like, summer, partridge
/y/	j	yak	bayān	kay	one, dawn, when

Notes

a) - All these sounds are produced with an egressive pulmonic air-stream
   mechanism.

b) - Words in brackets indicate that they are loans. No word of Kurdish
   origin can be found having those phonemes in the positions indicated.

c) - No minimal pairs can be found between /x/:/ɤ/, /f/:/v/, and /ḥ/:/ʕ/.
   /x/ and /ɤ/ are neutralized in some words:

   /xam/   or /ɤam/   sorrow
   /bāx/   or /bāɤ/   garden

d) - /b/ finally, /ḥ/ medially and finally, and /ʕ/ in all positions
   occur only with loans.

e) - /h/ does not occur finally.

f) - /ŋ/ occurs only finally.

g) - /ɫ/ and /r/ do not occur initially.

1.2 Vowels

There are eight vowels in Kurdish.[4] They are /ī i ē a ū u o ā/.
Following Daniel Jones' system of classification the diagram following
shows the phonetic values of these phonemes:
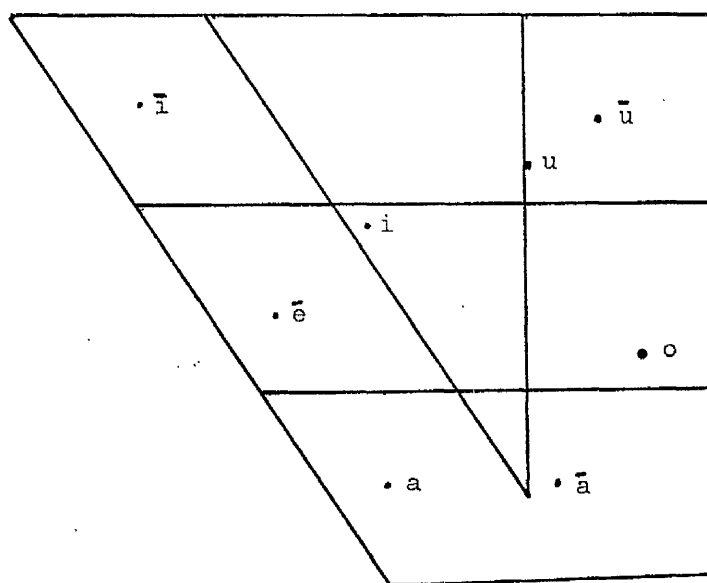
Orthography	IPA symbols	Initial	Medial	Final	Meaning respectively
/ī/	i:	īš	žĭn	māsī	work, life, fish
/i/	ɪ	----	žĭn	----	---- woman ----
/ē/	ɛ	ēma	žĕr	zē	we, beneath, river
/ū/	u:	----	žŭr	dū	--- room, two
/u/	ɷ	umēd	kun	----	hope, hole, ----
/o/	ɔ	oqra	kon	bo	calm, old, why
/ā/	ɑ	āw	kār	bā	water, work, wind
/a/	a	ark	kar	xunča	duty, donkey, blossom

(4) Aziz, O.H. (1976), p. 24.

Notes

a) - Length is not distinctive either in consonants or in vowels.

b) - /i / occurs only medially.

c) - /ū/ does not occur initially.

d) - /u/ does not occur finally.

e) - /i, a, u/ have relatively shorter inherent duration than /ī,ē,ā,o,ū/.

1.3 Syllabic structure

The possible syllabic structure for words in Kurdish may be summarized
by the formula:

$$(C)\ (C)\ \left[\ V\ \right]\ (C)\ (C)$$
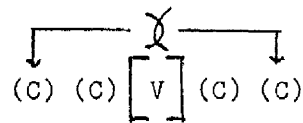
where the round brackets indicate that the enclosed item may be optionally
chosen, the item between brackets is to be chosen, and χ indicates that
the two consonants denoted are mutually exclusive. This implies that
i) every syllable must have a vowel, and ii) clusters (5) of two
consonants may occur either initially or finally. Examples of all
possibilities are as follows:

CCVC	pyāw	man
CVCC	dast	hand
CVC	min	I
VCC	ark	duty
CCV	xwā	God
CV	gā	cow
VC	aš	mill
V	a (of Impf) as in a - xo - m	I eat
	Impf eat I	

_____

(5) A cluster, is a sequence of two or more consonants within the
    structure of one single syllable.

1.4 Juncture features

Two successive vowels do not occur in Kurdish. Either a semi-vowel comes between as in

$$/\bar{a}z\bar{a} - a/ \longrightarrow \left[aza(y)a\right]$$
brave is

$$/n\bar{u} - \bar{a}n/ \longrightarrow \left[n\bar{u}(w)\bar{a}n\right]$$
sleep Past Caus

or they will be reduced to one by the process of the elision.

Elision is the reduction of two adjacent vowels to one, as in the suffixation of the first person plural personal suffix morpheme /īn/ to a word like birsī 'hungry'. The two (ī)s will be reduced to one.

$$/birs\bar{i} - \bar{i}n/ \longrightarrow \left[birs\bar{i}n\right] \quad \underline{we(are) \, hungry}$$

It is possible for two successive vowels to occur initially. In this case they will be separated by a glottal stop, as in

$$/a - \bar{a}\l\bar{e}n - m/ \longrightarrow \left[a\?\bar{a}\l\bar{e}nim\right] \quad \underline{I \, embroil}$$
Impf embroil I

When two consonants come together by the process of suffixation, the neutral vowel (i) will occur between them if the suffix added does not form a new syllable

$$/xw\bar{a}rd - n/ \longrightarrow \left[xw\bar{a}rdin\right] \quad \underline{to \, eat}$$
eat Past InM

$$/xw\bar{a}rd - m\bar{a}n/ \longrightarrow \left[xw\bar{a}rdm\bar{a}n\right] \quad \underline{we \, ate}$$
eat Past we

However, the transcription used in this work is systematic phonemic. The same morpheme always shows the same form in different phonetic environment. Therefore, the appearance and disappearance of any vowel or semi-vowel due to their phonetic environment will be ignored, unless

necessary. The morphemes of the same word will be separated by dashes.

$$\boxed{\text{Kuřakān}} \longrightarrow \text{/kuř - aka - ān/} \qquad \underline{\text{the boys}}$$
$$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{boy} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{Pl}$$

1.5 Stress

A word in Kurdish consists of one to **six** syllables
. When it is pronounced
in isolation, one of the syllables will receive heavier stress than
the others. This syllable is said to have inherent or potential
stress. The position of the stress in Kurdish words of more than
one syllable is predominantly on the final syllable, with few
exceptions:

āsó	horizon
bayāní	tomorrow

Examples for exceptions:

čúnka	because
bóya	thus
báłām	but

In long words more than one syllable may be stressed, and if
so, one of them receives more stress than the others. This kind of
word is said to have secondary stress besides its primary stress.

qutābxāná	school
galāwež	Canopus

(the symbol / is used here to indicate the inherent or primary stress
and \ to indicate the secondary stress.)

Stress and affixation

The addition of affixes to words may or may not alter the
position of the stress. In general it depends on the type of the
affix, that is whether it is derivational or inflectional. Affixes
may have the form of prefixes or suffixes.

A derivational suffix is one which, if added to a word, forms
a new word with a new meaning. On its addition to any word, the original
stressed syllable will lose its identity and the stress moves over to
the new final syllable. It is a general rule in Kurdish that the stress
is on the final syllable.

gúł	flower	guł – dán	vase
bá𝑟	garden	bá𝑟awán	gardener

Derivational prefixes have no effect on stress. If added to any
word, the stress remains on the original final syllable.

girtín	to hold	hał-girtín	to carry

An inflectional affix is added to a word to change its form to
express its relationship to the other words of the sentence or phrase.
If the morpheme added is a suffix, the stress remains where it was:

(ēma) hát – īn   we came
    come Past Ag

utumbíl – ī   Āzād   Azad's car
car   Izf   A.

The plural morpheme /ān/ is an exception. It behaves like a derivational
suffix.

Certain inflectional prefixes are always stressed. They are the
negative, imperative and subjunctive particles.

má - xo   do not eat
Neg eat

bí - xo   eat
Imp eat

bí - xo - m   I may eat
Sub eat I

In the case of compound verbs where the imperative particle is not needed, the stress will be on the first element of the compound.

dā̀ - nī́š - a   sit down
DPrf sit ImpM

Other suffixes

Some suffixes cannot be classified within either of the groups mentioned above. They are of two types: those which behave like derivational suffixes, i.e. where the stress moves to the final syllable if added. These are the definite particle -aka 'the' and the comparative and superlative morphemes -tir and -tirīn.

kū́r boy   kūr-aká   the boy
āsán easy   āsān-tír   easier
               āsān-tirín easiest

and those which behave like inflectional suffixes, i.e. they have no effect on the stress when added. These are the conjunction particles -īš, u 'also, and', and the indefinite particle -ēk 'a'.

Rizgár-īš hāt.   Rizgar came also
R.   also come Past

Āháng u Āwāz   Ahang and Awaz
brādár-ēk   a friend

Stress as a contrastive element

If two phonologically identical but grammatically different suffixes are added to the same word, the stress will move to the final syllable with the derivational suffix and remain in its old position with the inflectional suffix. For example, /n/ is the surface component of the derivational suffix which forms verbal nouns from the past tense stem of the verbs. It is also the surface component of the 3rd person plural suffix. If it added to the past tense stem of a verb, for example nūst- 'sleep Past', the meaning will be 'to sleep' if the stress is moved to the final position and 'they slept' if the stress remains in the old position.

$$\text{nūst} - \text{ín} \qquad \underline{\text{to sleep}}$$
$$\text{nū́st} - \text{in} \qquad \underline{\text{they slept}}$$

Thus stress is contrastive in Kurdish.

CHAPTER 2

WORD ORDER

In his paper on language universals, Greenberg[1] classifies

the languages of the world into three major types. He suggests

that an order typology could be based on the relative order of its

meaningful elements; i.e. every language shows particular order of

its basic elements, subject, object and verb. This order depends

on the nature of the relationships that hold between the units which

hierarchically form its immediate constituents. The three types are:

Type I: contains verb-initial languages VSO such as

Berber, Nandi, Arabic, etc.

Type II: contains verb-medial languages SVO such as

English, Albanian, Modern Greek, etc.

Type III: contains verb-final languages SOV such as

Persian, Amharic, Hindi, etc.[2]

Although the dominant surface order in Kurdish is clearly SOV,

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(1) Greenberg, J. (1963).

(2) According to Greenberg, when the verb is final, the only
possible order will be SOV, since the dominant order is almost
always one in which the subject precedes the object. The other
two possibilities will take the orders VSO and SVO (universal I).
However, the orders VCS, OVS and OSV are found, e.g. Malagasy,
Hixkaryana and Apurina respectively.

it seems that it does not always match the basic principles
observed by Greenberg for SOV languages.

Kurdish is a prepositional language.[3] This aspect can
be illustrated by the following examples.

bo Azâd.   for Azad
for A.

tā   bayānī   till tomorrow
till tomorrow

This is against the tendency reported by Greenberg that "with
overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal
SOV order are postpositional." (Universal 4).

However, patterns consistent with Greenberg's observation may
be found in Kurdish. For instance, his universal 2 reads, " in
languages with prepositions, the genitive almost always follows the
governing noun." Kurdish, as it has been discussed above, is a
prepositional language, its genitive always follows the noun, as in

kur - ī to   your son
·son   Izf you

And in his universal 5 he points out that, "if a language has

---

(3) Some prepositions have verbal postpositional alternatives.
     These can occur only with certain verbs. For instance, the
     preposition ba 'to' has the verbal postposition a as an
     alternative.

min ba to ˙ a - da - m.   min adam - a to·
I   to you Impf give Ag   to you

With this verb if the NP of the IO is expressed in a personal
suffix the postposition will take the form ē.

min   a - t - da - m - ē.
I   Impf you give Ag   to

I give (it) to you.

dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then
the adjective likewise follows the noun." Kurdish, which shows an
SOV order on surface, its adjective like its genitive follows the noun.

kič - ī   jwān   beautiful girl
girl Izf beautiful

Universal 22 reads, "in comparisons of superiority, ... with
overwhelmingly more than chance frequency, if the only order is
adjective - marker - standard, the language is prepositional."
The following examples illustrate what is meant by these elements.
However, Kurdish allows two different orders of such elements.

a)   gawra - tir   la   to   bigger than you
        big Comptv than you

        Adj - Marker - Standard

b)   . la   to gawra - tir   (4)
        than you big   Comptv

        Standard - Adj - Marker

For Greenberg type (a) is typical of prepositional languages.
This is consistent with Kurdish being a prepositional language.

The fact that the genitive and adjective follow the head in a
prepositional language, and that the comparison has the order Adj -
marker - standard, may be the characteristics of SOV languages.
Analysis shows that all these are consistent with Kurdish being an
SOV language. What is not consistent with Greenberg's proposal is
Kurdish being a prepositional and SOV language. However, Greenberg
is aware of such exceptions apparent in Kurdish as being an SOV and
prepositional language. He gives Persian as an example. Historically,

_____

(4) The data presented by Greenberg does not contain such an order
     of comparison elements.

Persian is one of the languages closest to Kurdish. They show

a great similarity. Both are prepositional, their adjective

and genitive follow the noun they qualify, and both seem to be

of SOV type on surface. Thus Kurdish could be added to the list

of the exceptions to the principles suggested by Greenberg.

Lehmann[5] distinguishes two types of languages: those in

which the verb precedes the object (VO) and those in which the

verb follows the object (OV). For him consistent OV languages

are agglutinative, and consistent VO languages tend to be

inflectional.

Kurdish can be considered as a mainly agglutinative language

in which "individual grammatical categories may be fairly easily

assigned to morphemes strung together in the structure of the word."[6]

For instance:

a - yān - bīn - īn   we see them
Impf   they   see   we

kur̄ - ēk - tān   one of your sons
son   a   your

Kurdish is mainly agglutinative as this type of word structure

predominates. Other types can also be recognized. The past tense

stem is not predictable from the present, and vice versa, i.e. the

past tense morpheme is merged closely with the present stem, as in:

hēšɫ ⟶ hēɫ Past   allow

xwārd ⟶ xo Past   eat

This provides instances of inflectional characteristics.

---

(5) Lehmann, W.P. (1973).

(6) Robins, R.H. (1971), p. 343.

Many syntactic relationships in Kurdish are not marked by
suffixes. They are achieved by the use of a class of monomorphemic
particles   exhibiting no formal paradigms.

Examples of these isolating types are:

tā   till

ka   when, who, that

la   in, at

The analysis presented above is somehow consistent with Kurdish
being an OV language. Further examinations of Kurdish as an OV
language in the light of Lehmann's proposal reveal exceptions.

Lehmann proposes a fundamental principle of placement of
categorial entities which represent modifiers. By this principle,
modifiers are placed on the opposite side of a basic syntactic element
from its primary concomitant. The object is the primary concomitant
of the verb. Therefore modifiers that modify the head object such
as adjective and genitive should occupy the position opposite to the
verb. And the entities which represent verbal modifiers such as
negation and causative should occupy a position opposite to the object.
According to this principle, in an OV language, the nominal modifiers
must precede the noun and the verbal modifiers must follow the verb.
The order can be illustrated in the following:

Nominal modifier - O - V - Verbal modifiers.

Kurdish seems to be an exception with respect to the generalization
given by Lehmann. Although on the surface Kurdish shows the order OV,
its nominal modifiers almost always follow the head noun. This aspect
of Kurdish has already been pointed out earlier in this chapter.

Concerning verbal modifiers such as the negation particle
and causative element, some, such as the negative element, precede
the verb, while others such as the causative modifier follow the
verb.

```
        Mdf        V    Mdf
        nā  - ī - sūt - ēn - m.
        Neg   it  burn Caus  I
        I will not cause it burning.
```

Thus through the analysis given above, it can be seen that,
although Kurdish seems to be an OV type language on the surface,
it is not always consistent with what was proposed by Lehmann.
However, he makes a distinction between languages which are
consistent and those which are inconsistent in their syntactic
patterns, a consistent language being the type which shows no
exceptions to the patterns shown above, and an inconsistent language
being one which shows exceptions. Furthermore, he assumes that
inconsistent types are undergoing change. If this observation is
correct, the simultaneous existence of patterns of both types in
Kurdish is probably because Kurdish is undergoing change. But from
which type to which? This needs historical consideration.

Orders other than SOV can occur in Kurdish to mark stylistic
variants or topicalization.

```
              O        Sb      V
        am   gul - a  Āzād  kirī  -  ī.
        This flower DA A.    buy Past Ag
        This flower, Azad bought (it).
```

```
         O            V      Sb
   am   gul - a - ī  kiřī  Āzād.
   this flower DA Ag  buy Past  A.
   This flower bought (it) Azad.
```

In verb phrases where the subject and object are represented
by personal suffixes the orders VSO, SVO, and OVS are found.

```
     V        Sb     O
   bīnī  -  mân -  īt.
   see Past   we     you
   We saw you (Sg ).
```

```
        Sb      V      O
   a -  tân  -  nârd  -  n.
   Impf you    send Past  they
   You (Pl ) used to send them.
```

```
        O      V    Sb
   a -  yân - nēr - m.
   Impf  they  send  I
   I send them.
```

In short, the orders SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and SVO can all occur
in the surface in Kurdish, and one should be chosen as the order
in underlying structure. However, in this work Kurdish will be
                  language
considered as an SOV. In deep structure the subject and object of
the sentence are represented as autonomous words. It will be
considered that all these different orders can be derived from the
same deep structure. They are derived by the application of different
transformational rules. The object of this work is to show that these
variations can be derived by a precisely defined and justifiable set
of rules from the same deep structure.

CHAPTER 3

KURDISH PHRASE STRUCTURE RULES

Since this thesis is primarily concerned with verbs and verbal
construction in Kurdish, it is not proposed to offer a detailed and
·systematic description of its whole grammatical structure.

The study of verbs and verbal constructions in Kurdish presents
a number of problems including those involving their relationship
with the other major constituents of the sentence. For this reason
it is necessary to give first a brief sketch of Kurdish syntax.

Simple sentences in Kurdish can be generated by the following
system of phrase structure (PS) rules. This is a condensed statement;
it can be developed and expanded as necessary in the following chapters.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
1 - & S & \longrightarrow (\text{PreS}) \ \text{NP} + \text{VP} \\
2 - & \text{VP} & \longrightarrow \text{Aux} \begin{bmatrix} (\text{NP})(\text{PP})\text{V} \\ \text{Comp Cop} \end{bmatrix} (\text{Adv}) \\
3 - & \text{NP} & \longrightarrow \text{N} + \text{Det} + \text{No} \\
4 - & \text{PP} & \longrightarrow \text{Prep} + \text{NP} \\
5 - & \text{V} & \longrightarrow \text{VS} \\
6 - & \text{Aux} & \longrightarrow \text{Tense Aspect (Modal)} \\
7 - & \text{Comp} & \longrightarrow \text{NP, PP, Adj, Adv} \\
8 - & \text{Adv} & \longrightarrow \text{Loc, time, reason ... etc.}
\end{array}
$$

PS rule 1 develops sentence (S) into a noun phrase (NP) and a
verb phrase (VP), preceded by an optional presentential (PreS) element.

This rule accounts for the fact that every sentence in Kurdish must consist of a NP as a grammatical subject and a verb phrase as a predicate.

PreS

Question (Q), negation (Neg), Imperative (Imp) ... are handled by introducing the Presentential element into PS rules. If any or more of these are chosen, obligatory transformations will generate the correct sentence.

PS rule 2 defines the VP as consisting of an obligatory constituent of verb (V) preceded by optional constituents of NP and Prepositional phrase (PP), or a copula (Cop) with its complement (Comp). Either of these sequences are preceded by the Auxiliary (Aux). Round brackets indicate that the enclosed item may be optionally chosen, and the items without brackets are to be chosen. The rule separates the copula from the verb proper since the two categories differ from each other in many respects as we shall see in the following chapters. PS rule 2 accounts for the fact that the object precedes the verb.

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Sb} & \text{O} & \text{V}
\end{array}
$$

Āhang panīr afřoš – ēt.

A.   cheese   sell   Ag

Ahang sells cheese.

PS rule 3 defines the NP as a constituent consisting of a noun (N), determiner (Det) and number (No).

The structure of a NP may be very complex. Its discussion is beyond the scope of this work. There is, however, one aspect of the NP which is relevant to the present work which should be discussed,

and that is the inherent syntactic features of lexical items. These
play a role in selectional restrictions and non-lexical transformations
to determine the choice of the relevant pronoun or personal suffix to
express the subject and non-subject constituents.

Chomsky[1] proposed that each lexicon in a language must contain
certain subcategorial features. These features specify its semantic,
syntactic and phonological properties. The noun in English, for
instance, must be classified into human and non-human in order to
account for the selection of <u>who</u> or <u>which</u> as the relative pronoun.
It must also be classified into proper or common to account for the
distribution of the determiner ... and so on. Each of these features
specifies a value along a particular dimension of classification.
These features will be shown in square brackets with a + or - sign
to indicate their presence or absence. Thus, for example, the word
kič 'girl' in Kurdish is represented in the lexicon as $[+ \text{noun}]$,
$[+ \text{human}]$, $[+ \text{female}]$, $[- \text{married}]$. It is relevant to our discussion
to list the personal pronouns of Kurdish with their features.

min	$[+ \text{1st}]$	$[+ \text{Sg}]$	<u>I</u>
to	$[+ \text{2nd}]$	$[+ \text{Sg}]$	<u>you (sg)</u>
aw	$[+ \text{3rd}]$	$[+ \text{Sg}]$	<u>he, she, it</u>
ēma	$[+ \text{1st}]$	$[+ \text{Pl}]$	<u>we</u>
ēwa	$[+ \text{2nd}]$	$[+ \text{Pl}]$	<u>you (Pl)</u>
awān	$[+ \text{3rd}]$	$[+ \text{Pl}]$	<u>they</u>

The problem we face here is how to determine the person of those
lexical items which are not pronouns. However, it has been suggested
that every noun in the lexicon of a language is marked with the feature

_____

(1) Chomsky (1965) p. 75.

$\left[+3\text{rd}\right]$. The evidence for this proposal is that the noun in both subject and object positions can be replaced with a 3rd person pronoun as in

Āzād minā̱l - aka - ān   a - šo - āt.

A.   child   the   Pl   Impf   wash   Ag

Azad washes the children

aw   awān   a - šo - āt.

he   they

He washes them.

PS rule 4 defines the PP as consisting of a NP preceded by a preposition.

PS rule 5 re-writes the verb as a constituent consisting of the stem. The verb stem consists of a series of syntactic features which indicate that each verb enters into several overlapping types of classification including transitive vs intransitive ... and the like.

PS rule 6 defines the Aux as a component consisting of Tense, Aspect and Modal. Of these the tense and aspect are obligatory and the modal is optional. Each of these will be discussed elsewhere.

Adverb

The adverb is characteristically the modifier of a verb. As it has been defined in   PS rule 8, locative, time, reason, etc. are adverbial categories realized in the surface as single nominals: bayānī 'tomorrow', prepositional phrase labar to 'because of you' etc. and their expansions.

More than one type and more than one from each may appear in a sentence. They present a number of problems. Firstly, their

positions in relation to the other constituents of the sentence
are flexible. Secondly, their order depends more on the stylistic
factor of length than on the underlying categories involved.
Because of that these adverbials cannot be treated as recursive
categories forming a hierarchic structure. For instance,

min dwēnē   la Hawlēr ēwāra   nān - m   xwārd.
I   yesterday in Hawler evening food Ag eat Past

la Hawlēr dwēnē   min   ēwāra   nān - m   xwārd.
In Hawlēr yesterday I   evening food Ag eat Past

ēwāra   la Hawlēr min nān - m   xwārd   dwēnē.
evening in Hawler I   food Ag   eat Past yesterday

la Hawlēr ēwara   min nān - m   xwārd   dwēnē.
In Hawler evening I   food Ag   eat Past yesterday

                                        .... etc.

Yesterday evening I ate in Hawler.

All are synonymous. The position and the orders of the adverbs differ
in each sentence.

CHAPTER 4

THE VERB

This chapter is an attempt to outline the characteristics
of the Kurdish verb by specifying its paradigmatic and morphological
properties. The outline given here is not intended to be exhaustive.
It provides background information only for those aspects of the
verb which will be discussed in detail in other chapters. Those
details which are not relevant to the scope of the present study
will be ignored. The definition of the Kurdish verb will be in
terms of generative theory. The verb in Kurdish may consist of:

4.1 The stem.

Kurdish verbs are inflected only for a two-way tense contrast,
present and past. This is reflected in each verb by having two
stems known as past stem and present stem. All forms are based on
one or the other of these, e.g.

Past stem	Present stem	
xwārd -	xo -	eat
mird -	mir -	die
hešt -	hel -	allow
wit -	lē -	say
nārd -	nēr -	send

Through these examples it can be noticed that the past and present

stems are not mutually predictable. In this work the present stem

will be considered as the base. The phonological rules will specify

the phonological realization of the morphemes. Thus the sequence

XO Past together is realized as xwārd, HĒL Past as hešt, HĒL Present

as hēɫ etc.

Any attempt to discover a set of systematic rules to derive the

present stem from the past or infinitive or vice versa would be

futile. However, for pedagogical purposes one can list the past

stems and derive the present stems from them. For this, different

rules must be stated with many exceptions and irregularities.[1] The

infinitive is obtained by simply adding the suffix /-n/ to the past

tense stem of the verb. The infinitive has all the characteristics

of a nominal form. Thus the infinitives of the verbs given above

will be xwārd-n, mird-n, hešt-n, wit-n and nārd-n. I suggest that in

the deep structure of a sentence the verb occurs in the stem form.

4.2 Tense

Tense is an area in which the relation between syntax and

semantics is highly complex. Its primary function is to relate the

time of the event referred to in the sentence to the time of the

utterance.

Schools of grammar differ in their opinion with regard to the

tense and the relation of the tense to temporal time.

Traditionalists represent one extreme by identifying tense with

temporal time, defining it as the primary grammatical expression of

distinctions of time. They recognize three tenses: past, present

and future. And it has often been supposed that this three-way

---

(1) See MacKenzie (1961) p. 85 for the rules.

opposition of tense is a universal feature of language. [2]

The transformationalists deny the existence of a direct correspondence between tense and physical time . They consider time as

> a universal concept with three divisions,
> past time, present time and future time.
> The concept is universal in that the units
> of time are extra-linguistic. They exist
> independently of the grammar of any particular
> language. In our use, however, we make
> linguistic reference to these extra- linguistic
> realities by means of the language specific
> category of tense. [3]

Following the traditional conception, most Kurdish grammars identify tense and time. They divide it into past, present and future. However, in Kurdish the distinction between tense and time is obvious. There is no one-to-one correspondence between them. The dichotomy of temporal past and present is not reflected in the tense. This is apparent in passive and synthetic causative constructions. The past tense forms of passive and causative are formed by the addition of passive and causative morphemes to what is called the present stem of the verb, as in,

kuž :   is the present stem of the verb kuštin 'kill'.

kuž - r - ā   kužrā   be kill Past
kill Pass Past

nū : is the present stem of the verb nustin 'sleep'.

nū - ā - n   nū(w)ān   cause to sleep Past
sleep Past Caus

---

(2)   Palmer, F. (1971) p. 83.

(3)   Quirk, R. (1972) p. 84.

And the present tense stems of some passive verbs are derived
from the past tense stem of the verb, as in wit- and wīst- which
are the past tense stems of the verbs witin 'say' and wīstin 'demand'
respectively.   Their passive present tense stem will be:

      wit - r - ē   be say Pres.

      say   Pass   Pres

      wīst - r - ē   be demand Pres.

      demand Pass   Pres

Moreover, a non-past time may be expressed by a form known as past.

      bayānī   ka   hāt - m   pē - m   biłē.

      tomorrow when come Ag   to   me tell
                        Past

      Tell me tomorrow, when I come.

The expression bayānī 'tomorrow' indicates future time while the
event of coming is expressed in the past tense.   These examples
illustrate very clearly that the opposition of the past and present
tense in Kurdish is not a matter of time.   Tense is realized as a
syntactic and time as a semantic concept.

    Morphologically, no specific form can be assigned to tense.
The tense morpheme is merged with the stem.

4.3 Aspect

    Kurdish grammars used the term tense in a very broad sense,
so that each of the different forms nūstim 'I slept' anūstim 'I was
sleeping' nūstibūm 'I had slept' binū 'sleep' (Imp) anūm 'I am sleeping'
.... etc. counts as a distinct tense.

    It is now more usual to restrict tense to syntactic contrasts

in the verb whose basic semantic function is to indicate the
location in time of the event expressed in the sentence, and to
use the term Aspect to cover oppositions based upon the notion of
duration, frequency, completion, incompletion, ... etc.[4]

"As the general definition of aspect, we may take the formulation
that Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal
constituency of a situation."[5] An example is best to illustrate
this point.

In Kurdish, the contrast between <u>xwārdim</u> 'I ate' and <u>axom</u> 'I
am eating, I will eat' is clearly of tense, past vs present, while
that between <u>xwārdim</u> 'I ate' and <u>amxwārd</u> 'I was eating, I used to
eat', both in the past, does not involve tense. They are different
in aspect.

As far as aspect is concerned, three types can be recognized
in Kurdish: perfective, imperfective and perfect.

Perfectivity is not expressed by an overt grammatical element
on the surface. The verb will be in perfective aspect when it is in
the past and unmarked for imperfective and perfect aspects, as in:

        xwārd -   m   <u>I ate</u>
        eat Past   I

The form with the prefix /a-/ is marked for the imperfective.
Kurdish can express imperfective both with the past and present,
as in

        a - xo - īn   <u>we eat</u>
        Impf eat   we

---

(4) Robins, R.H. (1971) p. 267.

(5) Comrie, B. (1976) p. 3.

```
a  -  nūst  -      īn              we were sleeping
Impf  sleep  Past   we
```

Kurdish can express perfect both with past and present tenses.
The past perfect element is phonologically realized as /bū/ on the
surface, and the present perfect as /ūa/, which basically consists
of the morpheme /ū/ of the past participle and the copula /a/.
Both the present and past perfect use the past tense stem. A set
of rules will move the tense and aspect elements to their proper
position: I will call them permutation rules. Then another set of
rules will specify their phonological realization - phonological
rules. For instance in the sentence

```
ēwa nūst    -  bū  - n.
you sleep Past Perf  Ag

You (pl ) had slept.
```

The verb is in what is referred to in Kurdish grammars as pluperfect;
its deep structure is represented in the following diagram.
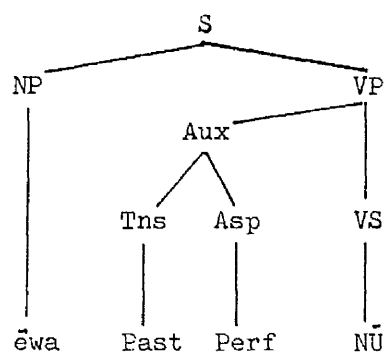
```
                        S
        NP                      VP
        |            Aux
        |          /    \        |
        |        Tns    Asp     VS
        |         |      |       |
       ēwa       Past   Perf     NŪ

       ēwa       NU Past Perf    By permutation rules

                  nūst - bū     By phonological rules
```

Then the agreement rules will introduce an appropriate personal
suffix. In this sentence the personal suffix will be /n/. This
will be discussed below.

Similarly in the sentence

to   a - r̆oyiš̆t - ĭt.
you Impf go Past Ag

You were going.

the verb is in the past imperfective. It will have the deep structure

```
                          S
        NP ────────────────────────── VP
        │              Aux ──────────────┐
        │            ╱       ╲            │
        │        Tns.        Asp         VS
        │          │          │           │
        to       Past        Impf        R̄O
```
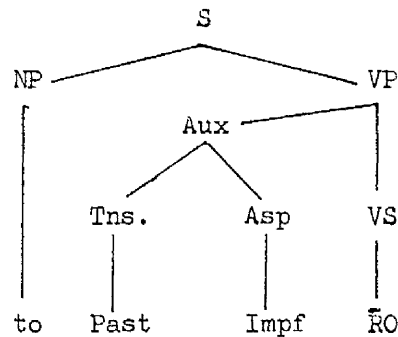
to   Impf R̄O Past   By permutation rules

     a - r̆oyiš̆t -   By phonological rules

Then the agreement marker /ĭt/ will be introduced giving the above
surface.

The imperfective marker /a-/ occurs obligatorily with the present
tense stem, while its occurrence with the past tense stem is optional.
When the modal occurs it will receive the tense and aspect elements.
In this case the main verb will be marked for the present subjunctive
(semantically tenseless), as in:

aw a -   ĭ - twān̄ĭ   bi - r̆o - āt.
he Impf Ag   can Past Sub go   Ag

He could go.

4.4 Mood

a) – Subjunctive: The present subjunctive is formed by the addition of the prefix bi to the present stem of the verb.

| Present stem | xo | eat |
| Present Sub | bi – xo | may eat |

The perfect subjunctive is formed from the past stem of the verb with the present subjunctive of the auxiliary verb bûn. A stressed (i) is added to a stem ending in a consonant before the auxiliary.

| Past stem | xwārd | eat Past |
| Perfect Sub | xwārd – i – bi | may Past eat |

The subjunctive has many uses in Kurdish, including what might be expressed in some languages as optative, desiderative, conditional etc. It is also used in certain structures where the infinitive is used in English, as in:

min a –   m – awēt bi – r̄o – m.

I   Impf   Ag   want   sub   go   Ag

I want to go.

Syntactically the occurrence of bi is accounted for by the introduction of certain transformations such as Imperative, conditional causative etc. as we shall see in the following chapters.

b) Imperative: All Kurdish grammars confine the imperative to the 2nd person singular and plural. Morphologically, the imperative is formed from the present stem of the verb plus the prefix bi. With the singular, if the stem ends in a consonant the suffix /-a/ occurs

following the stem of the verb. With the plural the suffix /n/

of the 2nd person plural occurs.

Infinitive	xwārdin	eat
Present stem	xo -	
Imperative	bi - xo	You (sg) eat
	bi - xo - n	You (pl) eat
Infinitive	r̄wānīn	look
Present stem	r̄wān -	
Imperative	bi - r̄wān - a	You (sg) look
	bi - r̄wān - n	You (pl) look

Wara 'come', bič̌o 'go', bē 'come', are exceptions to the

generalization given above.

The prefix bi of the imperative is mutually exclusive with the

negative particle. It is also omitted if the verb has any derivational

prefix.

bi - xo	eat	
ma - xo	do not eat	
r̄ā - ka DPrf do	run	
hał - gira DPrf take	carry	

We notice through the above brief outline of the morphological

form of the imperative that the singular is not followed by a personal

suffix.

   - every singular imperative ends in a vowel. The

plural imperative ends in the suffix /n/ of the 2nd Plural, and its

structure is identical with that of the 2nd Pl subjunctive. It

has been noticed that "in very many languages which inflect the verb for person, number, tense, etc. the form of the verb which occurs in 2nd personal singular imperative sentence is uninflected for these categories".[6] Kurdish imperative seems to be one of the languages that fall within this type.

. Generative theory assumes that the underlying structure of the imperative sentence Go home in English is the sentence You will go home. The presence of You is attested by the reflexive transformation.

     shave yourself

    *shave myself

and the presence of will is further attested by Tag-question formation:

    Go home, will you?

Katz and Postal (1964) advance the thesis that the transformations which map the deep structures into surface structures are meaning-preserving. They noticed that generative grammar (then) was inadequate (for English), because there was a semantic problem in claiming that Go home, You go home and You will go home are all derived from the same deep structure. To overcome this they introduced the abstract morpheme Imp into the deep structure of the imperative which they abbreviated to RIM with a dictionary sense "I request that".[7] This morpheme will trigger certain transformations which can give Go home and its absence in the deep structure will retain the declarative sense of the sentence. However, the ambiguity in the English type You will go home between declarative and imperative does not exist

---

(6) Lyons, J. (1968) p. 307.

(7) Katz and Postal (1964) p. 76.

for Kurdish with the singular because in declarative sentences such
as I request that you go, You will go, You should go, etc. the verb
is always expressed in the subjunctive.

a - biřo   go

   ħazakam biřo - īt   I request (that you) go

   abē biřo - īt   You must/may go

   amawē biřo - īt   I want you to go

b - *biřo - īt   In the sense go

   *ħazakam biřo

   *abē biřo

   *amawē biřo

In all the sentences in (a) and (b), biřo is imperative and biřo-īt
is the subjunctive form of the 2nd Sg.

However, ambiguity does exist with the plural as the structure
of subjunctive and imperative are identical in the plural.

To generate an imperative sentence in Kurdish the abstract
morpheme Imp will be introduced into the deep structure of the
sentence. This will serve as a trigger for a series of transformations
of which the last will be subject-deletion rule. The rule is formalized
as follows:

SI: X -- Imp - NP - VS - X

   1   2   3   4   5

$$\Longrightarrow \text{Obl}$$

SC: 1 $\emptyset$ $\emptyset$ $\begin{bmatrix} 2 \\ bi \end{bmatrix}$ +4   5

SUB-DEL is optional as the subject can in fact occur as a surface
of an imperative.

biřo   you (Sg) go

to biřo   -   -   -

biřo - n   you (Pl) go

ēwa biřo - n   -   -   -

4.5 Negation

    In general three categories of negation are recognizable in

Kurdish according to form and function.   ·

    1) - Pre-verbal negation like na, ma, etc. which precede the

stem of the verb, as in:

        min nā - xo - m

        I   Neg   eat   Ag

        I do not eat.

    2) - Affixial negation equivalent to un-, in-, -less in English,

such as nā, bē, etc.

        nā - pyāw   coward

        Neg   man

        bē - mēšk   stupid

      -less   brain

    3) - Forms marked $\left[+\text{Neg} \right]$ such as hīč 'never, nothing', hīčkas

'nobody' etc.

    Discussion in this section will centre on negation of the first

type only.

    To analyse and describe the preverbal negation in Kurdish, it is

necessary to start with some illustrative examples.

	A	B

              A   B

1) - ēma a - nū - īn.   ēma nā - nū - īn.

     we Impf sleep Ag   Neg

     We sleep.   We do not sleep.

2) - to r̄oyišt - īt   to na - r̄oyišt - īt.

     You go Past Ag   Neg

     You went   You did not go.

3) - awān a - r̄oyišt - n.   awān na - a - r̄oyišt - n.

     they Impf go Past Ag   Neg Impf

     They were going.   They were not going.

4) - agar awān nŭst - bi - n   agar awān na - nŭst - bi - n.

     if they sleep Past Sub Ag   Neg

     If they have slept.   If they have not slept.

5) - agar to ' bi - nū - īt.   agar to na - nū - īt.

     if you sub sleep Ag   Neg

     If you sleep.   If you do not sleep.

6) - aw zor āzā -(y) a.   aw zor āzā nī - (y) a.

     he very brave is   Neg

     He is very brave.   He is not very brave.

7) - (to) bi - nū.   (to) ma - nū.

     you Imp sleep   Neg

     (You) sleep.   (You) do not sleep.

8)a- R̄izḡar čolaka - aka - ī bar - dā.

     R.   sparrow the Ag DPrf give Past

     R̄izgar released the sparrow.

8)b - R̄izgār čolaka - aka - ī bar - na - dā.

                                  Neg

Rizgar did not release the sparrow.

9)a - R̄izgār řā - a - ka - āt.

    R.   DPrf   Impf   do   Ag

Rizgar is running.

9)b - Rizgār řā - nā - ka - āt.

                Neg

Rizgar is not running.

In these examples B sentences are negativized As.

The verb in 1 is in the present indicative. The negative particle has the form nā.

In 2, 3 and 4 the verbs are in the past, past imperfective and past subjunctive respectively. In all the negative particle Has the form na.

In 5 the verb is in the present subjunctive. The negative particle has the form na.

In 6 the verb is the copula, and the negative particle has taken the form nī.

In 7 the verb is imperative, the negative particle has the form ma.

In 8 and 9 the verbs are compound, consisting of a derivational prefix and the stem of the verb. The negative particles occur preceding the stem of the verbs.

From the preceding it can be noticed that the negative particle has four different forms on the surface, nā, na, nī and ma. When the verb is in the past tense the form is always na, while with the present tense the form of the negative particle depends on the mood, aspect and type of the verb (copulative vs. non-copulative).

We can also conclude that the negative particle always occurs immediately preceding the stem of the verb, and   is mutually exclusive with the imperative and subjunctive element bi when it occurs as a prefix. The negative particle is also mutually exclusive with the imperfective marker a with the present tense.

The occurrence of the negative particle in Kurdish can be illustrated by the following table.

	Present	Past
Ind.	nā	
Sub.	na	na
Cop.	nī	
Imp.	ma	/////

Nā which occurs only with the present indicative cannot be considered as consisting of na + a because there is a similar situation where two (a)s occur sequentially without being fused, e.g. sentence 3.

In Chomsky (1957) negation was treated as an optional transformation operating on the underlying structure of the corresponding affirmative sentence. In this conception, transformation changes the meaning. But this conception of grammatical transformation was changed when Katz and Postal (1964) argued that all transformations are meaning-preserving. Klima (1964) independently postulated a negative morpheme NEG in the deep structure of all negative sentences. He generates sentence negation in the base component of the grammar as an optional constituent NEG attached to the main S as a daughter node. He then has a sequence of transformations which accounts for the occurrence of Neg in a wide variety of surface structure configurations. The negative transformation is

no longer optional.

One of the fundamental conclusions in Klima (1964) is that all negative sentences should be accounted for by a single deep structure constituent NEG, i.e. only one NEG is allowed per sentence. However, in Kurdish, in sentences with modals, two NEGs can occur, as in:

10) - min nā - twān - m   na - r̄o - m.

     I   Neg can   Ag Neg go   Ag

     I must go.   (Lit. I cannot not go.)

This sentence does not mean,

11) - min a - twān - m bi - r̄o - m.

     I   Impf can Ag sub go   Ag

     I can go.

Sentence 10 implies obligation, while 11 is volitional and means "I can go but I am not obliged." This can be noticed through the following examples:

12) - *min nā - twān - m   na - r̄o - m , bal̄ām nā - r̄o - m.

     I   Neg can   Ag Neg go Ag but Neg go   Ag

In the sense,

     I cannot not go but I will not.

13) - min a - twān - m   bi - r̄o - m, bal̄ām nā - r̄o - m.

     I   Impf can Ag sub go   Ag   but Neg   go   Ag

     I can go but I will not.

    When only the modal is negativized,

14) - min nā-twān- m   bir̄o - m.

     I   Neg can Ag   go   Ag

     I cannot go.

and when only the main verb is negativized,

15) - min a - twān - m   na - r̄o - m.

     I Impf can   Ag Neg go   Ag

     I can stay.

With respect to Klima's proposal , the simultaneous occurrence
of two NEGs within the same simplex sentence can be accounted for
only by considering the modal(Aux) as a higher verb, postulating the
following deep structure to 10.
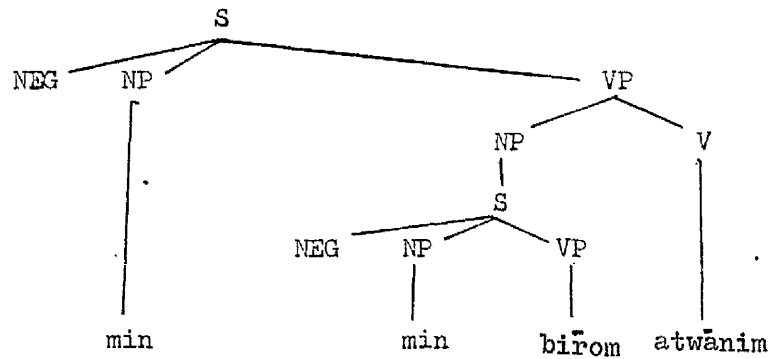
By an EQUI - SUB deletion rule the embedded subject NP will be deleted.
A series of other transformational rules will give the surface as in 10.

    Following Klima, to generate a negative sentence, the negative
morpheme will be introduced in the base. The NEG - replacement
transformation moves Neg to the position preceding the stem of the verb.
The rule can be formalized as follows:

SI: X - NEG - VS - X

         1   2   3   4 $\Longrightarrow$ Obl

SC: 1 $\emptyset$ 2+3 4

Then a set of phonological rules such as follows will specify its

phonological component.

$$\text{NEG - Sub - NU - Pres} \longrightarrow \text{/ na - bi - n\bar{u} /} \longrightarrow \text{/ na - \emptyset - n\bar{u} /}$$

$$\text{NEG - Impf - NU - Pres} \longrightarrow \text{/ n\bar{a} - a - n\bar{u} /} \longrightarrow \text{/ n\bar{a} - \emptyset - n\bar{u} /}$$

$$\text{NEG - Impf - NU - Past} \longrightarrow \text{/ na - a - n\bar{u}st /} \longrightarrow \text{/ na - a - n\bar{u}st /}$$

... etc.

4.6 Compound Verbs

Compound verbs are very common and productive in Kurdish. They are formed by a prefix, suffix, nominal or prepositional phrase followed by a verb.

| rā - girt - n | stop (vt) |
| Pref take Past InM | |

| xwārd - n - awa | drink |
| eat Past InM Suf | |

| šet bū - n | go mad |
| mad become Past InM | |

| ba kār hēnā - n | use |
| to work bring Past InM | |

The compound verbs have a complex structure in the lexicon. They are verbal idioms which enter into the structure of the sentence in the same manner as simple verbs. The verb receives all the inflectional affixes, and the preverbals which precede the stem of the verb behave like a prefix already discussed. Thus with the past transitive the personal suffix attaches to the first constituent.

min r̄ā - m   girt.

I Pref   Ag take Past

I stopped (it).

to ĭš - t   kird.

you work Ag   do   Past

You worked.

ēma ba k̄ār - m̂an hēnā.

we to work Ag bring Past

We used (it).

Semantically, a compound verb acts as a single verbal unit. The
meanings of some compound verbs are equal to the sum of the meaning of
the individual units; as in

ĭš kird - n   work

work do Past InM

ba k̄ār hēnā -   n   use

to work bring Past InM

Others cannot be translated literally into other languages without
the special meaning being lost, as in

la bar kird - n   memorize

in ? do Past InM

bar dā   -   n   release

 ? give Past InM

And some can be metaphorically explained, as in

> dar čū   - n   <u>pass</u> (exams)
>
> out go Past InM

The rules for deriving compound verbs play a significant role in the nativization of many foreign words: <u>talafon kirdin</u> 'Phone', <u>majbūr būn</u> 'oblige', <u>haj kirdin</u> 'pilgrimage', etc.

4.7 <u>Concord</u>

For historical reasons, Kurdish grammars distinguish between what are traditionally called personal pronoun suffixes and personal endings or verbal suffixes. However, as will be shown in this work, there are no formal or semantic criteria for distinguishing between these two types of personal suffixes in modern Kurdish, as both can occur with the same parts of speech and show the same functions. Their occurrences and functions are relative to the structure of the verbal construction and the tense of the verb. The differences are solely a matter of surface structure.

To discuss this point, analysis requires the classification of the verbs into transitive and intransitive.

The transitive verb is one which takes an object NP and can be passivized, as in:

> Sb   O   V
>
> ēma māst a - fřoš - īn.
>
> we yogurt Impf sell   Ag
>
> We sell yogurt.

māst - aka froš - rā .

yogurt   the sell Pass Past

The yogurt was sold.

And the intransitive verb is one which does not take an object NP
and cannot be passivized, as in:

Sb   V

mināl - aka - ān   nūst - n.

child   the   Pl sleepPast Ag

The children slept.

In Kurdish a formal distinction between transitive and intransitive
verbs is made in the past tense, in which tense their conjugation is
not the same. Each group requires a·different set of personal suffixes
to express the agreement of the verbs in number and person with the
subject noun phrase of the sentence. These two sets
are traditionally called pronoun suffixes and verbal suffixes.

'Pronoun suffixes' indicates the set of personal suffixes which occur
with the stem of transitive verbs in the past tense. They are:

	Sg	Pl
1st	- m	- mān
2nd	- t	- tān
3rd	- ī	- yān

'Verbal suffixes' indicates the set of personal suffixes which occur
with the stem of the intransitive verbs in the past tense. They are:

	Sg	Pl
1st	– m	– īn
2nd	– ī(t)	– n
3rd	– ∅	– n

Transitive and intransitive verbs have the same conjugation with the present tense stem. Both take a set of verbal suffixes identical to the above set except in the 3rd Sg, in which āt or ēt occur [8], while with the past tense stem the 3rd Sg shows no overt form. Thus we can distinguish three different sets:

Set No. 1	Set No. 2	Set No. 3
– m	– m	– m
– t	– ī(t)	– ī(t)
– ī	– ∅	– ā(t), ē(t)
– mān	– īn	– īn
– tān	– n	– n
– yān	– n	– n

Although sets No 2 and 3 differ only in 3rd Sg., for the sake of analysis these will be considered as two different sets.

In this and the following chapters, I will attempt to define the nature of these clitics in a precise manner and to characterize their

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(8) This variation is due to the phonological environment. If the present stem ends in /o/ or /a/, the personal suffix will take the form /ā(t)/ as in xo 'eat' axo –āt → axwāt 'he eats', ka 'do, make' aka – āt → akāt 'he makes'. And if the present stem ends in any other vowel or consonant, the personal suffix will take the form /ē(t)/, as in nū 'sleep' anū – ēt → anwēt 'he sleeps', č 'go' ač – ēt → ačēt 'he goes'. /t/ is optional, it can be deleted.

functions according to their deep structures. I also discuss the nature of the rules which generate the sentences in which these suffixes occur.

From the above, it is noticed that   concord represents a particular problem in Kurdish, for more than one set of inflectional suffixes can be recognized of which the occurrence depends not only on the syntactic features of the subject NP, but on the tense (past and present) and the type (transitive and intransitive) of the verb as well. Thus in addition to the syntactic features of the subject NP, a set of complex symbols in terms of tense and transitivity of the verb must be proposed. The functions of the three sets as agreement markers can be illustrated in the following diagram:

	Transitive	Intransitive
Past	1	2
Present	3	3

The verb agrees with its subject NP in number (singular and plural) and person (1st, 2nd and 3rd). The agreement is marked in all the forms. The subjects which agree with their verbs are not the deep structure subjects. This is apparent from the following passive example, in which the verb agrees with the NP that became subject by passivization.

awān kuẑrā -   n.

they kill PassPast Ag $\begin{bmatrix} +3rd \\ + Pl \end{bmatrix}$

They were killed.

The latter point indicates that the rules of agreement belong
to the transformational component and not to the base.

The exponents of set No 1 can be appropriately identified as
separate morphemes, as the morphemes for the person and number can
be identified formally.

> xwārd - m - ān.
>
> eat   I   Pl
> Past
>
> we ate.

It is not possible to assign any order to exponents representing
personal suffixes in the other sets. Assigning any order would be
speculative. Moreover, 2nd and 3rd Pl each consists of one phoneme
of which their segmentation to a series of morphemes would be
impossible. Such problems could be avoided by making use of syntactic
features representing inflectional suffixes at the level of surface
structure in the form of complex symbols. The agreement rules assign
to the verb all the feature specifications for the number and person
of the subject NP, then the type and the tense of the verb will assign
all other features discussed above. These symbols would be converted
to an appropriate personal suffix by rules of phonology. Thus the
feature combination:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{1st Person} \\ \text{Plural} \\ \text{Transitive} \\ \text{Past} \end{bmatrix}$$

will be converted to mān, and

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{2nd Person} \\ \text{Plural} \\ \text{Intransitive} \\ \text{Present} \end{bmatrix}$$

will be converted to $\bar{\text{i}}\text{t}$, and so on.

The process through which the agreement operates is seen in the following rule:

$$V \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ VS} \\ \text{A Person} \\ \text{B Number} \\ \text{C Tense} \\ \text{D Tr} \end{bmatrix} / \quad \begin{array}{l} + \text{ SNP} \\ \text{A Person} \\ \text{B Number} \end{array} \quad \ldots \ldots \underline{\qquad}$$

where A can be 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, B can be singular or plural, C can be past or present and D can be transitive or intransitive.

The rules for deriving the agreement markers are obligatory.
After the person ending is obligatorily derived from the features of
subject NP we can delete the subject NP by an optional transformational
rule, as in:

min xwārd - m. $\Longrightarrow$ xwārd - m

I   eat Past Ag

min xwārd-m and xwārd-m have the same meaning 'I ate'.

4.8 Positional rules:

In this section the rules that determine the positions of the
personal suffixes will be discussed.

One of the main peculiarities of the personal suffixes of set
No 1 is that they have no fixed position. This depends on the

structure of the verb phrase.

Examining all the possible structures of the verb phrase occurring, it will be noticed that the suffixes of set No 1 can occur with the following constituents:

DO - Prep - IO - Verb

When all the constituents mentioned above occur simultaneously, the suffix will follow the DO.

Sb	DO		Prep IO	V

awān nāma - ēk - yān bo Āzād nārd.
they letter a Ag to A. send Past

They sent a letter to Azad.

If either the DO or IO occurs by itself, then the pronoun suffix immediately follows it. Thus when the DO occurs by itself:

Sb	DO		V

awān nāma - ēk - yān nārd.
they letter a Ag send Past

They sent a letter.

When the IO occurs but not the DO

Sb	IO		V

awān bo Āzād - yān nārd.
they for A. Ag send Past

They sent (it) for Azad.

When the preposition occurs but not the DO and IO NPs, the suffix
will follow it:

```
Sb   Prep      V
awān bo - yān nārd.
they for  Ag  send Past
```

They sent (it) for (him).

When only the verb occurs by itself, the suffix occurs within its
structure. With a structurally compound verb, which contains one
or more inflectional or derivational prefixes, the personal suffix
occurs following the first prefix.

```
Sb   Pref       VS                    .
awān a -  yān - nārd.
They Impf Ag     send Past
```

They used to send (it).

The personal suffix will follow the stem of the verb where there is
no prefix.

```
Sb    VS
awān nārd - yān.
They send  Ag
     Past
```

They sent (it).

From the above discussion it can be concluded that the suffixes
of set No 1 will be suffixed to the first constituent in the hierarchy:

```
DO - IO - Prep - Pref - VS   ..... Rule No  1
```

The DO and IO here are full-form constituents, i.e. nominal or pronominal.
Sets No 2 and 3 have fixed position within the structure of the verb
phrase. They always follow the stem of the verb. .... Rule No 2

ēma nūst - īn.

we sleep   Ag
    Past

We slept

āw -   aka a - kuł - ēt.

water the Impf boil Ag

The water is boiling.

The above examples suggest that the introduction and movement of the

agreement marker are transformational phenomena.

CHAPTER 5

CLITICIZATION

5.1 <u>Pronominalization</u>: The problem of whether the anaphoric

structure is generated directly by the base rules or is transformationally

derived is an elusive one and will not be discussed here. In

'Aspects' anaphora is handled by transformations causing substitution

or deletion.[1] The process or result of using a pronoun instead of

a NP is called pronominalization.

Two types of pronominalization are recognized in Kurdish. These

are dependent upon whether the anaphora is represented in a pronoun or

a personal suffix. As far as the former type is concerned, the conditions

imposed on the simple pronominalization transformation in Kurdish

appear to be identical to those required in English and proposed by

Lees and Klima.[2] According to their proposal, the second NP will be

replaced by a pronoun when two referentially identical NPs occur in

connected discourse. If the second occurrence is part of the same

simplex sentence, the pronominal replacement is always reflexive. In

surface structure terms, reflexivisation consists of replacing the

second NP by the abstract noun <u>xo</u> 'self' followed by an appropriate

possessive pronoun. The rule will introduce <u>xo</u> to the base; this

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(1) Chomsky (1965), p. 145.

(2) Lees and Klima (1963).

will serve as a trigger to convert the second NP into an appropriate
possessive suffix by copying the same syntactic features concerning
the number and person. The transformational rule can be expressed
as follows:

$$\text{SI:}\quad X \;-\; NP_1 \;-\; NP_2 \;-\; X$$

$$\qquad\quad 1 \quad 2 \quad\; 3 \qquad 4 \qquad\qquad \Longrightarrow \quad \text{Obl}$$

$$\text{SC:}\quad 1 \qquad 2 \quad xo + \begin{bmatrix} \text{Poss} \\ + \text{No} \\ + \text{Pers} \end{bmatrix} 4$$

$$\text{Condition } NP_1 = NP_2$$

... Rule No 1

This can be illustrated by the following example. The sentence:

*min min a - šo - m.

   I   I   Impf wash Ag

will be realized on surface

min xo - m   ašom.

     self my

I wash myself.

On the other hand, if the two occurrences are from different
component sources, the subordinate one is replaced by a simple pronoun,
as in:

Āzād bayānī yēt, aw pē - m alēt.

A. tomorrow come he to I say

Azad is coming tomorrow, he will tell me.

Azād and aw 'he' are referentially identical. The structure
that underlies this sentence is:

Azād bayānī yēt, Azād pēm alēt.

The second NP is replaced on the surface by a free-form pronoun of
the appropriate number and person, as it is in the same environment
as the first NP. A rule such as follows can be formed to derive
such sentences.

$$SI: \quad X \quad - \quad NP_1 \quad - \quad (Y) \quad - \quad NP_2 \quad - \quad X$$
$$\qquad 1 \qquad\quad 2 \qquad\quad 3 \qquad\quad 4 \qquad\quad 5$$

$$SC: \quad 1 \qquad\quad 2 \qquad\quad 3 \qquad \begin{bmatrix} Pron \\ + No \\ + Pers \end{bmatrix} \qquad 5 \qquad \Longrightarrow \quad Obl$$

Condition $NP_1 = NP_2$

... Rule No 2

The term cliticization will be used to indicate the process of
pronominalization where the substituted element is a personal suffix.

The sentence in which a non-subject element is expressed in a
personal suffix represents the type of anaphora where the anaphoric
relation crosses the sentence boundary. In such constructions, two
or more personal suffixes occur - one to express the subject NP
(agreement marker) and the others to express the non-subject constituents
of the sentence, DO, IO and Possessive noun. This type of construction
is very common in spoken Kurdish. This chapter is an attempt to define
this type of pronominalization, finding out the rules that generate it.

Two different types of cliticization can be recognized in Kurdish. I will propose the terms simple and complex cliticization to distinguish between them. Simple cliticization refers to the process whereby a NP is cliticized, the choice of the personal suffix not being dependent on the tense of the verb. Complex cliticization, on the other hand, refers to the process whereby a NP is cliticized, the choice of the suffix varying according to the tense of the verb.

5.2 Simple cliticization:

The NP of a prepositional phrase, and the NP which is attached to another head NP by means of the Izafe case, can be replaced by a personal suffix from set No. 1 by copying the syntactic features of the NP irrespective of the type and the tense of the verb, as in:

1. a –   min bo $\overset{\text{IO}}{\text{ewa}}\begin{bmatrix}\text{+2nd}\\\text{+Pl}\end{bmatrix}$ a – nūs – m.

            I to you   Impf write Ag

    b –   min bo – tān $\begin{bmatrix}\text{+2nd}\\\text{+Pl}\end{bmatrix}$ a – nūs – m.

                   you

I write to you.

2. a –   to bo $\overset{\text{IO}}{\text{ema}}\begin{bmatrix}\text{+1st}\\\text{+Pl}\end{bmatrix}$ – t nūsī.

            you to we   Ag write Past

    b –   to bo – mān $\begin{bmatrix}\text{+1st}\\\text{+Pl}\end{bmatrix}$ – t nūsī.

                 we

You wrote to us.

3. a - min bo to   a - girye - m.

   I for you $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ + \ Sg \end{bmatrix}$ Impf cry   Ag

   b - min bo - t   agiryēm.
           $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ +Sg \end{bmatrix}$

   I cry for you.

4. a - min bo - t giryā - m.

                cry Past Ag

   I cried for you.

I propose that the syntactic features of number and person are
derived from the features of the NP in the underlying structure.
Technically, the process of replacing a NP by a suffix is a
transformational operation. The substitution operation will be carried
out by a rule such as,

$$
\begin{array}{cccccc}
 & & & \text{NP} & & \\
\text{SI:} & X & - \quad \text{Prep} & - \begin{bmatrix} +\text{No} \\ +\text{Pers} \end{bmatrix} & - & X \\
 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & \\
\text{SC:} & 1 & 2 & \begin{bmatrix} \text{Pers1} \\ +\ \text{No} \\ +\ \text{Pers} \end{bmatrix} & 4 & \Longrightarrow \quad \text{Opt}
\end{array}
$$

.... Rule No 3

5.3 Complex cliticization:

With this type, the NPs of the DO, IO or possessive noun (marked
by means of the Izafe case) of the sentence can be cliticized but the
choice of the suffix will be relative to the tense of the verb. To
illustrate the point examples are required.

5. a - min to   -   m   nãrd.

   I   you $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ + Sg \end{bmatrix}$ Ag   send Past

   b - min nãrd - m   -   ĩt.

             Ag $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ + Sg \end{bmatrix}$

   I sent you.

6. a - min to   -   m   a - nãrd.

   I   you $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ + Sg \end{bmatrix}$ Ag   Impf   send Past

   b - min a - m - nãrd   -   ĩt.

   I   Impf   Ag   send Past $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ + Sg \end{bmatrix}$

   I used to send you.

7. a -   DO   IO   V

       Xwã to   -   ĩ   bo   min   nãrd.

   God you $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ + Sg \end{bmatrix}$ Ag   for   I $\begin{bmatrix} +1st \\ + Sg \end{bmatrix}$ send Past

   b -   IO   DO

       Xwã bo min - ĩ nãrd - ĩt.

              Ag $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ + Sg \end{bmatrix}$

   c -   DO   IO

       Xwã to - ĩ   bo nãrd - m.

              Ag $\begin{bmatrix} +1st \\ + Sg \end{bmatrix}$

   d -   IO   DO

       Xwã bo - ĩ   nãrd - m - ĩt.

              Ag $\begin{bmatrix} +1st \\ +Sg \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ +Sg \end{bmatrix}$

   God sent you for me.

8. a -   DO   Poss

       aw utumbĩl - aka - ĩ   ẽwa   - ĩ   frõst.

       he car   the   Izf   you $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ +Pl \end{bmatrix}$ Ag   sell Past

   b -   DO   Poss

       aw utumbĩlaka - ĩ   frõst - n.

              Ag $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ +Pl \end{bmatrix}$

   He sold   your (Pl) car.

In the sentences given above, 5a and 5b are synonymous. The DO in 5a is expressed by a pronoun, while in 5b it is expressed by the personal suffix īt which is from set No. 2. The personal suffix has the same syntactic features of the pronoun concerning person and number.

6a and b, 7 a, b, c and d, and 8 a and b are all respectively synonymous in the same way. In 7a the DO and the IO are expressed by pronouns. In 7b the DO is expressed by the personal suffix īt which has the same syntactic features as the pronoun it replaces. In 7c the IO is expressed by the suffix m having the same syntactic features as the pronoun it replaces. In 7d both the DO and IO are expressed by suffixes.

In 8a the possessive construction is expressed by a NP attached to the head by means of the Izafe case. In 8b the same semantic element is·expressed by a suffix from set No 2 with the same syntactic features.

Notice that the suffixes in all cases follow the stem of the verb, and the verbs are all in the past. To conclude, an informal description of this type of Kurdish sentences might contain the following statement:

With a transitive verb, the NPs of the DO, IO or possessive noun of a sentence, can be expressed by a personal suffix from set No 2, with the past tense stem. The personal suffix substituted for a NP will have the same syntactic features concerning the person and the number. The suffixes occupy the position following the stem of the verb.

Now consider the following examples, sentences in which the verbs are in the present tense.

　　　　　　　　　　DO
9. a - min to　　　　　　a - nēr - m.
　　　I　you ⌈+2nd⌉ Impf send　Ag
　　　　　　　⌊+Sg ⌋

　　　　　　　　　　　DO
　 b - min a - t - nēr - m.
　　　　　　 ⌈+2nd⌉
　　　　　　 ⌊+Sg ⌋

　　　I send you.

　　　　　　　　 DO　　　　　　　 IO
10. a - Xwā aw　　　 bo ēma　　　 a - nēr -ēt.
　　　God he ⌈+3rd⌉ for we ⌈+1st⌉ Impf send　Ag
　　　　　　 ⌊+Sg ⌋　　　⌊+Pl ⌋

　　　　　　　　　　 IO DO
　 b - Xwā bo ēma - ī　　　anērēt.
　　　　　　　　　　 ⌈+3rd⌉
　　　　　　　　　　 ⌊+Sg ⌋

　　　　　　　　 DO　IO
　 c - Xwā aw - mān　　 bo anērēt.
　　　　　　　 ⌈+1st⌉
　　　　　　　 ⌊+Pl ⌋

　 d - Xwā bo - mān - ī　　anērēt.
　　　　　　 ⌈+1st⌉⌈+3rd⌉
　　　　　　 ⌊+Pl ⌋⌊+Sg ⌋

　　　God sends him for us.

　　　　　　　　　　 DO　　　　　 Poss
11. a - aw utumbīl - aka - ī　　ēwa　　　 a - fřoš - ēt.
　　　he car　　　 the　Izf　you ⌈+2nd⌉ Impf　sell　Ag
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 ⌊+Pl ⌋

　　　　　　　　　　　　 Poss
　 b - aw utumbīlaka - tān　afřošēt.
　　　　　　　　　　 ⌈+2nd⌉
　　　　　　　　　　 ⌊+Pl ⌋

　　　He sells your (Pl) car.

9 a and b, 10 a, b, c and d, and 11 a and b are all respectively

synonymous. In 9a the DO is expressed by a pronoun, while in 9b it

is expressed by a personal suffix from set No 1. The suffix follows

the prefix a, which precedes the stem of the verb. The substituted

personal suffix has the same syntactic features as the pronoun to 'you'.

In 10a the DO and IO, are both expressed by the pronouns aw 'he' and ēma 'we'. In 10b the DO is expressed by the suffix ī, which is from set No 1 having the same syntactic features as the pronoun aw. The suffix follows the IO.

In 10c the IO is expressed by a suffix in the same way. It follows the DO.

In 10d both the DO and IO are expressed by suffixes, and both sequentially follow the preposition bo 'for'.

In 11a the possessive is expressed by the pronoun ēwa 'you (Pl)', which is attached to the head by means of the Izafe case. In 11b the same semantic element is expressed by a personal suffix from set No 1, following the DO.

From the preceding we can conclude that, with a transitive verb, the NPs of the DO, IO and possessive construction of a sentence can be replaced by a personal suffix from set No 1 with the present tense. The personal suffix substituted for a NP will have the same syntactic features concerning the person and number. The position of the suffix is determined by the structure of the sentence. It is similar to that discussed in the positional rules in the previous chapter.

The functions of the personal suffixes as non-subject elements can be illustrated in the following table.

Tense	Present		Past	
Pers \ No	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1st	m	mān	m	īn
2nd	t	tān	īt	n
3rd	ī	yān	∅	n

For pedagogical purposes, using this table, any NP can be
replaced by a personal suffix on surface. For instance, in the
sentence,

<pre>
   Sb   DO   IO   V
  Āzād kiteb - aka - ān - ī   bo ēma nārd.
  A.   book   the   Pl   Ag   for we send Past
  Azad sent the book/for us.
</pre>

The DO kitēbakān 'the books' has the features $\begin{bmatrix}+3rd\end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix}+Pl\end{bmatrix}$ and
the verb nārd 'sent' has the feature $\begin{bmatrix}+Past\end{bmatrix}$. According to the
table, the syntactic features,

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ Past} \\ +3\text{rd} \\ +\text{ Pl} \end{bmatrix}$$

will be converted to /n/, which is a personal suffix from set No 2.
This will replace the DO.

<pre>
            DO
 *Āzād   n - ī   bo ēma nārd.
               Ag
</pre>

Then the suffixes will move to the appropriate positions according
to the positional rules. ī which expresses the SNP of the sentence
belongs to set No 1 will move to follow the first constituent of the
hierarchy. The first constituent of the hierarchy here will be,
after removing the DO, the IO ēma 'we'. And n which belongs to set
No. 2 will move to follow the stem of the verb. The sentence
eventually will have the surface:

<pre>
   Sb   IO   DO
  Āzād bo ēma - ī   nārd - n.
  A.   for we   Ag   send   they
                        Past
  Azad sent them for us.
</pre>

Similarly, in the sentence,

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
& \text{DO} & & \text{IO} \\
\text{Āzād kitēb - aka - ān bo} & \text{ēma a - nēr - ēt.}
\end{array}
$$

```
                DO                IO
Āzād kitēb - aka - ān bo  ēma a - nēr - ēt.
A.    book      the  Pl for we  Impf send  Ag
```

Azad sends the books for us.

The NP of the IO ēma 'we', can be replaced by a personal suffix by the same procedure. ēma has the syntactic features $\begin{bmatrix} +1st \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +Pl \end{bmatrix}$, and the verb has the feature $\begin{bmatrix} +Present \end{bmatrix}$. According to the table the syntactic features:

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
+Pres \\
+Pl \\
+1st
\end{bmatrix}
$$

will be converted to mān which is from set No 1. This will replace the IO. Its position will be determined by the positional rule and will in this sentence be following the DO kitēbakān 'the books'. The derived sentence will have the surface:

```
                DO        IO
Āzād kitēbakān - mān bo anērēt.
```

Azad sends the books for us.

And so on.

The examples presented and discussed so far suggest strongly that the introduction and the movement of the personal suffixes are transformational phenomena.

For the sake of analysis, at this point two different rules will be stated, one for each tense.

The substitution operation will be carried out by transformational rules such as:
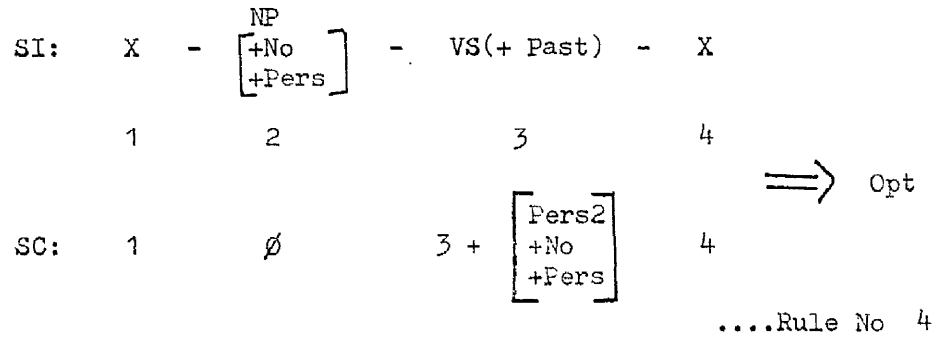
$$SI: \quad X \quad - \quad \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ +No \\ +Pers \end{bmatrix} \quad - \quad VS(+ Past) \quad - \quad X$$

$$\qquad\qquad 1 \qquad\quad 2 \qquad\qquad\quad 3 \qquad\qquad 4$$

$$\Longrightarrow \text{ Opt}$$

$$SC: \quad 1 \qquad \emptyset \qquad\quad 3 + \begin{bmatrix} Pers2 \\ +No \\ +Pers \end{bmatrix} \quad 4$$

....Rule No 4

Where NP can be the DO, IO or possessive noun of the sentence.

$$SI: \quad X \quad - \quad \begin{bmatrix} NP \\ +No \\ +Pers \end{bmatrix} \quad - \quad Prev \quad - \quad VS(- Past) \quad - \quad X$$

$$\qquad\qquad 1 \qquad\quad 2 \qquad\qquad 3 \qquad\qquad 4 \qquad\qquad 5$$

$$\Longrightarrow \text{ Opt}$$

$$SC: \quad 1 \qquad \emptyset \qquad\quad 3 + \begin{bmatrix} Pers1 \\ +No \\ +Pers \end{bmatrix} \quad 4 \qquad\qquad 5$$

....Rule No 5
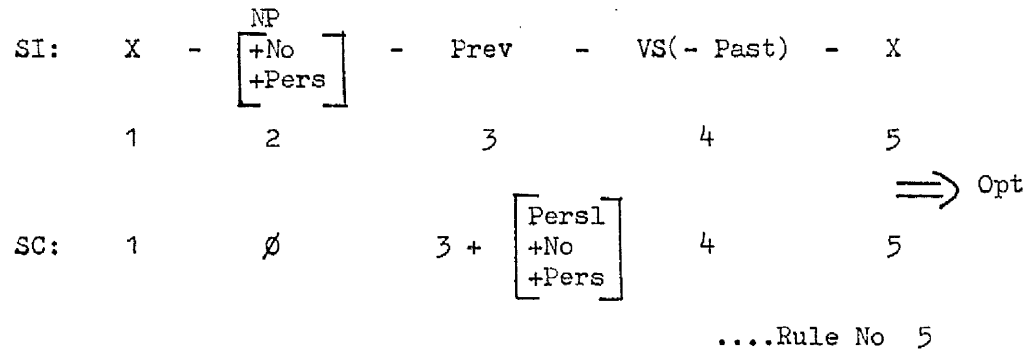
Where NP can be the DO, IO or possessive noun of the sentence and
Prev represents the first constituent of the hierarchy.

It has been pointed out earlier that the rules for deriving
the subject agreement marker are obligatory, and the rules for
deleting the SNP after deriving the agreement marker are optional.
However, the rules for deriving the non-subject suffix are optional,
and the rules for deleting the full-form non-subject constituent
are obligatory after a personal suffix has been produced. Thus,

> min to anḗr - m.
> I   you send   Ag

becomes

> min a - t - nḗr - m.
> I Impf you send Ag
>
> I send you.

but not,

```
              DO    DO
     *min  to  a - t - nēr - m,
      I    you Impfyou send  Ag
```

Comparing the rules of deriving non-subject suffixes complexly
with the agreement rules, it will be noticed that they are identical
with respect to the opposite tense. This implies that in any verbal
construction, if a non-subject constituent is expressed by a personal
suffix, the two personal suffixes (the other being the agreement
                                              the
marker) will exchange their functions on ᵛsurface by changing only
the tense of the verb, while all the elements remain in their places,
as in:

```
                    Sb          DO
1)    (aw) bo ēma - ī   nārd  -  n.
           for we   Ag  send past they
```

He sent them for us.

```
                      DO          Sb
      (awān) bo  ēma - ī  a -  nēr - n.
             for     he Impf send   Ag
```

They will send it for us.

```
                   Sb            IO
2)    (aw) kitēbaka - ī   bo nārd  -  īn.
           book the  Ag   for send past we
```

He sent us the book.

```
                   IO           Sb
      (ēma) kitēbaka - ī bo a -  nēr - īn.
                     he for Impf send  Ag
```

We shall send him the book.

```
                   Sb         Poss
3)    (min) utumbīlaka - m   kirī - īt.
            car    the   Ag buy past you
```

I bought your car.

```
                         Poss         Sb
(to) utumbīlaka - m a -    kiř -  īt.
you  car      the   I Impf  buy    Ag
```

You will buy my car.

The only exception to the rules discussed is the verb wīstin 'want' and its compounds. With this verb, the personal suffixes of the different sets always have the same functions.

```
      Sb              O
a - mān - wīst   -  īt.
Impf we    want past you
```

We wanted you.

```
      Sb          O
a - mān - awē - īt.
            want
```

We want you.

Through the discussion given above, it will be noticed that, when two personal suffixes occur within the same structure of a verbal construction, one from set No 1 and the other from one of the other sets, the suffix from set No 1 always precedes the other. Thus when the stem of the verb is the only constituent of the hierarchy, i.e. when the verb, structurally, is simple and aspectually not marked for imperfective, the two suffixes occur sequentially following the stem of the verb. The order they take is as follows:

```
              Sb        DO
VS  -  Pers1 -  Pers2           .... Rule No  6
```

```
         VS      Sb   DO
ēma  nārd -   mān - īt.
we   send past  Ag   you
```

Except when the subject is in 3rd Sg , in which case the order will be:

$$\begin{matrix} & & \text{DO} & & \text{Sb} \\ \text{VS} & - & \text{Pers2} & - & \text{Pers1} \end{matrix} \qquad \text{Condition:SNP is in 3rd Sg}$$

.... Rule No 7

$$\begin{matrix} & \text{VS} & & \text{DO} & \text{Sb} \\ \text{aw} & \text{n\={a}rd} - & & \text{m\={a}n} - & \bar{\text{i}} \\ \text{he} & \text{send past} & & \text{we} & \text{Ag} \end{matrix}$$

He sent us.

5.4 Cliticizing of the DO and IO simultaneously

a) With the past tense:

When the DO and IO are both cliticized, in the case of the past tense, the two suffixes from set No.2 occur sequentially following the stem of the verb, showing the order:

$$\text{VS} \quad - \quad \text{IO} \quad - \quad \text{DO} \qquad \text{.... Rule No } 8$$

as in:

$$\begin{matrix} & & & & & & \text{IO} & & \text{DO} \\ \text{xw\={a}} & \text{l\={e}} - & \bar{\text{i}} & \text{sand} & - & & \text{m} & - & \text{n} . \\ \text{God} & \text{from} & \text{Ag} & \text{take past} & & & \text{I} & & \text{they} \end{matrix}$$

God took them from me.

which is derived from the deep structure:

$$\text{Xw\={a}} \quad \underset{\text{they}\begin{bmatrix}+3rd\\+Pl\end{bmatrix}}{\text{aw\={a}n}} \quad - \quad \bar{\text{i}} \ \underset{\text{I}\begin{bmatrix}+1st\\+ \ Sg\end{bmatrix}}{\text{la min}} \quad \text{sand} .$$

According to rule No. 4 the syntactic features will be moved to the position following the stem of the verb, and according to rule No 8 they will take the order IO - DO, following the stem of the verb.

$$\text{Xw\={a}} \ \text{la} \quad \text{sand} - \begin{bmatrix}+1st\\+Sg\end{bmatrix} \quad - \begin{bmatrix}+3rd\\+Pl\end{bmatrix}$$

These will be converted to appropriate suffixes by phonological rules. The output (after the application of the agreement rule) will be,

$$\text{Xwā lē - ī sand - m - n.}$$

When the DO or IO, or both, are in the 3rd Sg , obviously they will be represented by the zero morpheme. This explains how the DO or IO are understood as 3rd Sg when no overt forms represent them on the surface. It implies also that the occurrence of the DO with the transitive verb is obligatory in the past. Thus a sentence such as:

min bīnī - m.
I   see Past Ag

I saw (it).

is derived from the deep structure,

$$\text{min aw} \quad - \quad \text{m} \quad \text{bīnī.}$$
$$\text{I} \quad \text{he} \begin{bmatrix} +3\text{rd} \\ +\text{Sg} \end{bmatrix} \text{Ag} \quad \text{see past}$$

in the following way.

As the tense of the verb is in the past, rule No 4 should be applied. The syntactic features will be moved to the position following the stem of the verb.

$$\text{min} \quad \text{bīnī} \quad - \begin{bmatrix} +3\text{rd} \\ +\text{Sg} \end{bmatrix}.$$

Then the features will be converted to an appropriate suffix, which , according to the table given on page 78 , will be $\emptyset$, giving the surface,

min bīnī – m – ∅.

I   see Past Ag   him

I saw him.

If the DO is in any other person rather than 3rd Sg , it will be expressed in an overt form, when it is cliticized.

min to   –   m   bīnī.

I   you $\begin{bmatrix}+2nd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix}$ Ag   see past

I saw you.

min bīnī – $\begin{bmatrix}+2nd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix}$.

The phonological rules will convert $\begin{bmatrix}+2nd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix}$ to īt and, after the Agreement rule is applied, the output will be:

min bīnī – m – īt.

I   saw Past Ag   _you

I saw you.

To cliticize only the IO of the sentence:

       DO   IO

xwā kuraka – ī   la   Mīrzā   sand.

God son $\begin{bmatrix}+3rd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix}$ Ag   from M. $\begin{bmatrix}+3rd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix}$ take past

God took the son from Mirza.

Xwā kuraka – ī la   sand – $\begin{bmatrix}+3rd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix}$.

Xwā kuraka – ī lē sand – $\underset{IO}{∅}$ by phonological rules.

God took the son from him.

To cliticize only the DO of the same sentence:

xwā   la Mīrzā sand – $\begin{bmatrix}+3rd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix}$.

           IO

Xwā la Mīrzā – ī sand – ∅ .

               he

God took (him)   from Mirza.

To cliticize both the DO and IO:

$$\text{Xwā la sand} - \begin{bmatrix} +3\text{rd} \\ +\text{Sg} \end{bmatrix} - \begin{bmatrix} +3\text{rd} \\ +\text{Sg} \end{bmatrix}.$$

$$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{IO}\quad\text{DO}$$
$$\text{Xwā lě} - \text{ī sand} - \emptyset - \emptyset.$$
$$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{he}\quad\text{he}$$

God took (him) from (him).

Rules Nos 4 and 8 can be combined into a single rule, as follows:

SI: X - NP$_1$ - NP$_2$ -   VS(+ Past)   X

$\qquad$ 1 $\qquad$ 2 $\qquad\quad$ 3 $\qquad\qquad\qquad$ 4 $\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ 5

$$\text{SC:}\quad 1 \qquad \emptyset \qquad \emptyset \qquad 4 + \begin{bmatrix} 3 \\ \text{Pers2} \\ +\text{No} \\ +\text{Pers} \end{bmatrix} - \begin{bmatrix} 2 \\ \text{Pers2} \\ +\text{No} \\ +\text{Pers} \end{bmatrix} \quad 5 \qquad \Longrightarrow \quad \text{Opt}$$

$$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \dots\text{ Rule No 9}$$

where NP$_1$ is the DO, and NP$_2$ the IO.

When both the DO and IO are cliticized simultaneously, the derived structure will be unacceptable if the personal suffix which represents the IO begins with an (ī) vowel.

$$^{*}\text{xwā bo} - \text{ī nārd} - \quad \text{īt} - \text{n.}$$
$$\text{God to Ag send Past you they}$$

which is derived from:

$$\text{xwā awān} - \text{ī bo to nārd.}$$
$$\text{God they   Ag to you send Past}$$

God sent them to you.

This could be because such an order of grammatical elements fails to conform to permitted phonological patterns of the language. In this case the (ī) vowel will be reduced to (i), but this often creates ambiguity.

If the IO is in 3rd Sg only the DO will be cliticized, as the
resulting structure coincides with that of other giving a different
meaning. Thus the surface:

xwā bo - ī nārd - īt.

could apparently be derived from the deep structures (a) and (b) as
follows.

$$
\text{a -} \quad
\begin{array}{ccccc}
& \text{DO} & & \text{IO} & \\
\text{xwā} & \text{aw} & \text{ī} & \text{bo to} & \text{nārd.} \\
\text{God} & \text{he} \begin{bmatrix}+3rd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix} & \text{Ag} & \text{to you} \begin{bmatrix}+2nd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix} & \text{send Past}
\end{array}
$$

God sent him for you.

$$
\begin{array}{ccccc}
& & & \text{IO} & \text{DO} \\
\text{xwā} & \text{bo - ī} & \text{nārd - īt} & \begin{bmatrix}+2nd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix} & \emptyset. \begin{bmatrix}+3rd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix} \\
& \text{Ag} & & \text{you} & \text{he}
\end{array}
$$

$$
\text{b -} \quad
\begin{array}{ccccc}
& \text{DO} & & \text{IO} & \\
\text{xwā} & \text{to} & \text{ī} & \text{bo aw} & \text{nārd.} \\
\text{God} & \text{you} \begin{bmatrix}+2nd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix} & \text{Ag} & \text{to he} \begin{bmatrix}+3rd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix} & \text{send Past}
\end{array}
$$

God sent you for him.

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
& & \text{IO} & \text{DO} \\
\text{xwā} & \text{bo - ī} & \text{nārd - }\emptyset \begin{bmatrix}+3rd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix} & \text{īt.} \begin{bmatrix}+2nd\\+Sg\end{bmatrix} \\
& & \text{he} & \text{you}
\end{array}
$$

The surface given above is used only in the sense (a).

The structures where both DO and IO have the form - n (2nd and
3rd Pl) are ambiguous, as in,

xwā bo - ī nārd - n - n.

which could mean

      a – God sent them to them.

      b – God sent them to you (Pl).

      c – God sent you (Pl) to them.

At the end of this thesis, tables for all possible structures, where the DO and IO are cliticized with the past tense, are given.

b) <u>With the present tense:</u>

With the present tense stem, the cliticized DO and IO with suffixes, both from set No. 1, may occur sequentially following the preverbal, which will be the preposition in this case, showing the order:

      Prep – IO – DO   .... Rule No 10.

as in,

```
                IO    DO
    ēma bo - tān - ī   a -   hēn . - īn.
    we  for  you  it Pref   bring   Ag
```

We bring it for you (Pl).

Which is derived from the deep structure:

```
    ēma  aw  ┌+3rd┐  bo  ēwa  ┌+2nd┐  a -  hēn  -  īn.
    we   he  └+Sg ┘  for you  └+Pl ┘  Pref bring    Ag
```

As the tense of the verb is in the present, rules No. 5 and 10 are applied. According to these rules the syntactic features will move to follow the Prev which is the preposition <u>bo</u> 'for' here. Then these features will be converted to the appropriate suffixes:

ema bo - $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ +Pl \end{bmatrix}$ - $\begin{bmatrix} +3rd \\ +Sg \end{bmatrix}$ ahēnīn.

ema bo - tān - ī   ahēnīn

            you   it

We bring it for you (Pl).

Alternatively the suffix which represents the DO may be received by the first prefix[3] which precedes the stem of the verb. Therefore, with the present tense two different rules for cliticizing are required. The second rule is defined as follows:

SI: X - $\begin{bmatrix} NP1 \\ +No \\ +Pers \end{bmatrix}$ - Prep - NP2 - Pref - VS (-Past) - X

         1   2   3   4   5   6   7

$$\Longrightarrow \text{Opt}$$

SC: 1 $\emptyset$ 3   4   5 + $\begin{bmatrix} +Pers \\ +No \\ +Pers \end{bmatrix}$ 6   7

.... Rule No 11

Where the NP$_1$ is the DO, NP2 the IO and Pref represents the first prefix which precedes the verb stem, derivational or inflectional. The occurrence of the IO NP is obligatory with this rule.

To cliticize the DO of the above sentence using rule No 11 the syntactic features of the DO will be moved to the position following the first prefix:

    ēma bo ēwa a - $\begin{bmatrix} +3rd \\ +Sg \end{bmatrix}$ - hēn - īn.

Then these features will be converted to the appropriate suffix by phonological rules. The ultimate output will give the surface,

    ēma bo ēwa   a - ī - hēn - īn.
    we for you(Pl) Impf it bring Ag

We bring it for you (Pl).

---

(3) At least one prefix obligatorily occurs with the present stem.

Using the different types of cliticization discussed above is a
free variation phenomenon and all the types are equally common in
spoken language.

Rules 5,10 and 11 can be collapsed into a single rule as follows:

$$X - NP_1 - NP_2 - Prev - Pref - VS (- Past) - X$$

$$
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
1 & \emptyset & \emptyset & 4 + \begin{bmatrix} Pers1 \\ +No \\ +Pers. \end{bmatrix}^3 & (5) - \begin{bmatrix} Pers1 \\ +No \\ +Pers. \end{bmatrix}^2 & 6 & 7
\end{array}
\Longrightarrow Opt
$$

.... Rule No 12.

Where NP_1 is the DO, NP_2 the IO, Prev represents the first element of
the hierarchy and Pref. represents the first prefix which precedes the
stem of the verb. 5 is put in parentheses to indicate that it can
occur in this position.

It is not possible to cliticize a NP which is qualified by
a possessive noun. Thus in the sentence:

aw kitēb - aka - ī to - ī bo ēma hēnā.
he book   the   Izf you Ag to we   bring Past

He brought your book to us.

the DO <u>kitēbaka</u> 'the book' cannot be cliticized as it is qualified
by a possessive noun.

It is not possible to cliticize, in complex manner, the
possessive noun in the presence of the IO. Thus the following
version of the sentence given above is not acceptable.

```
        DO              IO        Poss
*aw kitēb - aka - ī  bo ēma hēnā - īt.
              Ag
```

```
       DO              PN              IO
aw kitēb - aka - ī   to   ─    ī  bo ēma hēnā.
```
he book   the Izf you $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ +Sg \end{bmatrix}$ Ag to we bring Past

```
        DO              IO          Poss
* aw kitēb - aka - ī bo ēma hēnā - īt.
```
you $\begin{bmatrix} +2nd \\ +Sg \end{bmatrix}$

By the application of the rule No 4.

A single rule for cliticization in Kurdish can be formed by collapsing all the rules discussed above into one, as shown on the next page.

5.5 Cliticization and the prepositions.

The preposition always governs the NP which follows it, if the latter is expressed in a full-form constituent.

```
min hangwīn - m  bo  ēwa hēnā.
I   hony       Ag for you bring Past
```

I brought hony for you (Pl).

```
guɫdān - aka lasar mēz - aka - dā - (y)a.
vase      the on   table the  Loc    is
```

The vase is on the table.

If the NP which is governed by the preposition is expressed by an

SI:	X	-	NP1	-	NP2	-	Prev	-	Pref	-	VS$^{+}_{-}$Past	-	X
	1		2		3		4		5		6		7

$$\Longrightarrow \text{Opt}$$

$$
\text{SC:} \quad 1 \quad \varnothing \quad \varnothing \quad
\begin{bmatrix} -\text{Past} \\ 4 + \begin{bmatrix} 3 \\ \text{Pers1} \\ +\text{No} \\ +\text{Pers} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
(5) + \begin{bmatrix} 2 \\ \text{Pers1} \\ +\text{No} \\ +\text{Pers} \end{bmatrix}
\qquad
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Past} \\ 6 + \begin{bmatrix} 3 \\ \text{Pers2} \\ +\text{No} \\ +\text{Pers} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} 2 \\ \text{Pers2} \\ +\text{No} \\ +\text{Pers} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
7
$$

Where NP1 is the DO, NP2 the IO or possessive noun, Prev represents the first element in the hierarchy, Pref represents the first prefix which might precede the stem of the verb. 5 is put in parentheses to indicate that 2 can occur following 5 also.

enclitic pronoun, the governed constituent may directly follow the preposition:

Āzād bo - tān a - hēn - ēt.
Azad for you Impf bring Ag

Azad brings (it) for you.

The governed enclitic may be attached to a constituent preceding the preposition. Thus, when the DO occurs in the above sentence:

ēma hangwīn - tān bo a - hēn - īn.
we honey   you for Impf.bring Ag

we will bring honey for you (Pl).

When changing the tense of the verb in this sentence, while all the constituents of the verbal construction remain in their place, the functions of the personal suffixes will be exchanged. In this case, the preposition governs the personal suffix which follows the stem of the verb.

(ēwa) hangwīn - tān bo hēnā - īn.
you honey   Ag for bring we
                          Past

You (Pl) brought honey for us.

A group of discontiguous units may thus form one constituent in terms of IC analysis.[4] The above examples illustrate that Kurdish verbal constructions show this pattern. The surface syntactic relations between the components of a verbal construction depend on the structure of the verbal construction and the tense of the verb.

_____

(4) Robins, R.H. (1971), p. 222.

The form taken by a preposition ending in _a_ , depends on the
type of NP governed by it. If the NP it governs is expressed in
a full-form constituent, _a_ will remain as it is:

       min la to a -   tirs -   m.
       I   of you Impf frighten Ag

       I am frightened of you.

If the NP governed by the preposition is expressed by an enclitic
pronoun, the _a_ of the preposition will take the form _ē_ :

       min lē - t   atirs - m.
         of   you

Notice that changing the tense of this sentence does not affect the
functions of the personal suffixes. This is because the verb is
intransitive.

       min lē - t   tirsā -   m.
       I   of you frighten Ag
                  Past
       You scared me.

In the case of the preposition _ba_ 'to, by', _b_ will additionally be
devoiced and become _p_.

       Āzād ba to a -   łē - ēt
       A.   to you Impf tell Ag

       Azad will tell you.

       Āzād pē - t   ałēt.
          to   you

The reason behind this variation in form appears to be purely phonological.
_ba_ and _la_ cannot bear stress; the stress occurs on the full-form
constituent the preposition governs. When the full-form is replaced

by an enclitic pronoun, a will become ē enabling the preposition

to receive the stress.   lē and pē are allomorphs of la and ba

respectively.

CHAPTER 6

THE COPULA

The verb bũn is a multivalent item; it occurs in different
syntactic positions showing different functions, the various
functions and meanings being indicated by the different selection
restrictions the verb bũn enters into. In this chapter the verb
bũn will be discussed as it occurs in its copulative function.
Other functions of bũn will be discussed elsewhere.

6.1 Form

Most Kurdish grammarians consider that the ending personal
suffixes perform a copula function beside the other function already
discussed. There are at least two reasons for this situation. The
first is historical.[1] The second includes conclusions drawn as
the result of a process of morphological identification being applied
to Kurdish sentences. In Kurdish sentences which are the translation-
equivalent of English sentences containing the verb to be in its
copulative use, the unit which is structurally a counterpart of the
English verb to be is a personal suffix following the noun or the
adjective predicate in the present tense.

---

(1) MacKenzie, D.N. Personal communication.

min qutâbī - m.

I   student (am)

I am a student.

to   jwān -   īt.

you beautiful (are)

You are beautiful.

The copula construction in general is the case of much linguistic

speculation. In Kurdish questions about copula construction may be

raised, as for example, the problem of whether or not there are verbless

sentences in Kurdish in which the predicate consists of a noun-personal

suffix or adjective-personal suffix.

In Kurdish the personal suffixes as they occur with a noun or

adjective can be looked at in three different ways.

1) They perform copula function only.

2) They express the agreement of subject NP with the predicate

    only. That is to say, the predicative noun or adjective

    would be combined directly with the subject NP without

    copula.

3) They function in both of the above ways simultaneously as

    a copula and an agreement marker.

As we realize from our discussion of   Kurdish syntax structure,

the subject NP and the predicate agree in number and person and the

rules for deriving agreement markers are obligatory. The element

that performs this task is a personal suffix. This is a general

phenomenon in Kurdish. Thus the personal suffixes which occur with

the noun or adjective predicate cannot be copulas only, since there

must be an agreement marker there.

To discuss whether these suffixes perform both functions

simultaneously, it is necessary to discuss various possible ways
in which the copulative sentence behave in Kurdish. Now consider
the following sentences:

```
min āzā - m.
to āzā - īt.
aw āzā - (y) a.        I am, you are ... brave.
ēma āzā - īn.
ēwa āzā - n.
awān āzā - n.
```

The predicate in these sentences consists of an adjective followed
by a personal suffix. The only difference between these personal
suffixes and those which occur with the stem of the verbs is in
3rd Sg. In the copulative sentence for 3rd Sg the suffix /- a/
occurs. If we put all these sentences in the past tense, the past
tense stem of the verb būn, which can be correctly translated as
'to be', occurs preceding the personal suffixes. In the 3rd Sg it
will replace the suffix /- a/.

```
min āzā bū - m.
to āzā bū - īt.
aw āzā bū.             I was, you were ... brave.
ema āzā bū - īn.
ewa āzā bū - n.
awan āzā bū - n
```

The personal suffixes remained as they were in the present tense to
perform their main function which is the expression of agreement.
By this we can conclude that the suffix /- a/ which occurs only with
the 3rd Sg in the present tense performs the present tense function
of the verb būn in its copulative function. In all other forms the
equational sentence contains no overt verbal element in the present tense.

─────────────

The distribution and occurrence of the Kurdish copula can be
illustrated by the following diagram:

```
                                +Cop
                              .
                        -Past         +Past
                       /
              1st ——— +Pl
                             \
    2nd ——————————— +Pl ———> ∅
       /
   3rd ◄——————————— +Pl              |
             \                        |
              -Pl ——— a              bū
```
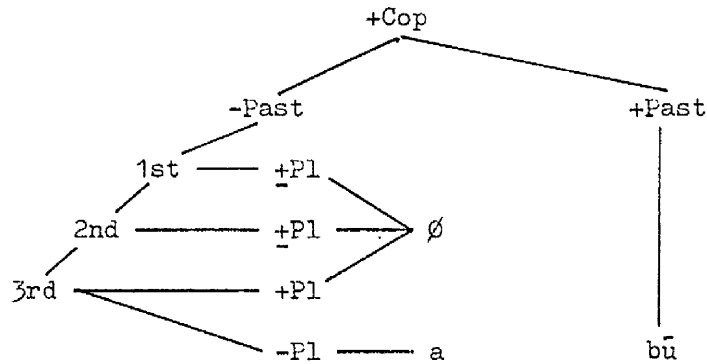
Since the copula disappears in certain constructions, it will
be assumed that these sentences will be derived by deletion of the copula.
These facts can be accommodated in additional conditions on the
structural change, for instance the deletion of the copula in the
present where the subject of the sentence is not in 3rd sg.

A set of phonological rules such as given below will specify the
phonological realization of copula on surface.

$$/ \text{ Pres } - \text{ Cop } / \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ a} \\ - \emptyset \end{bmatrix} \begin{array}{l} \text{Condition: SNP is in 3rd Sg} \\ \text{Condition: SNP is not in 3rd Sg} \end{array}$$

$$/ \text{ Past } - \text{ Cop } / \longrightarrow \text{ bū}$$

For the reasons discussed above, the copula is separated from
the verb proper in the phrase structure rules.

The present tense stem of the verb būn, bi, if used in an equational
sentence, will function as an auxiliary giving the semantic function
of futurity.

```
min āzā    a -   bi - m.
I    brave Impf  be   Ag
I will be brave.
```

6.2 <u>Meaning</u>.

In this section some semantic areas covered by the predicates that occur with the copula will be discussed briefly under the following headings:

1) - Identity: By this is meant the identification of one entity with another:

>   Hawlēr Arbĩl - a
>   H.   A.   Cop
>   Hawler is Arbil. (Names for the same city.)

Identity also involves comparison. In this case the sentence is marked intonationally:

>   Āzād pyāw - a.
>   A.   man   Cop
>   Azàd is (like) a man.

The hearer in this case will understand that Azad is a child but he behaves like a grown up person.

In establishing an identity there is no constraint that the second NP should be an animate if the first is an animate.

>   xošawĩst - m   guł - a.
>   beloved   my   flower Cop
>   My beloved is a flower.

2) Role: By this is meant a context which attributes a particular function to the subject.

>   Āzād āsingir - a.
>   A.   blacksmith Cop
>   Azad is a blacksmith.

3) - Class membership: By class membership is meant the relation of belonging between an individual, expressed by the subject NP, and a class, which will be expressed by the complement.

> Jwamēr Kurd - a.
> J.   Kurd   Cop
>
> Jwamer is a Kurd.

Jwamer is a member of a class of persons characterized as Kurds.

4) - Class inclusion: By class inclusion is meant the relation of belonging between all members of a class and a further class.

> faylī - aka - ān Kurd - ∅ - n.
> F.   the Pl K.   Cop Ag
>
> The Faylis are Kurds.

or

> Faylī Kurd - n.

5) - Location: The locative may complement the copula. In the predicate a place is expressed in which something represented by the subject NP exists.

> Āzād la Hawlēr - a.
> A.   in H.   Cop
>
> Azad is in Hawler.

6) - Directional: The entity expressed in the subject NP is directed towards or from the thing or person expressed in the complement.

```
am    dyārī - a     bo to  - (y) a.
this  present  DA  far you        Cop
```

This present is for you.

```
nāma - aka la    Āzād - awa - (y) a.
letter the from  A.              Cop
```

This letter is from Azad.

7) - Universal truth: The predicate may be an expression of a universal phenomenon that expresses an unavoidable fact of life, such as something must happen or exist as a concept.

```
dwāyī hamū - mān mird  - n - a.
end   all     our death InM  Cop
```

The end of all of us is death.

8) - Description: The complement that occurs with the copula may be, an adjective that qualifies or describes the entity expressed by the subject NP.

```
čyā    - ī    safīn barz - a.
mountain Izf  S.    high   Cop
```

The mountain Safin is high.

9) - Possessive: In a possessive construction expressed in a copulative sentence, the entity expressed in the subject NP (owned) belongs to the person or thing (owner) expressed in a NP immediately attached to the copula. The relationship between the owner and the owned may be expressed by a NP in the Izafe case preceding the NP that expresses the owner, as in,

```
Āzād birā - ī   min - a.
A.   Brother Izf I    Cop
```

Azad is my brother.

If the entity expressed in the subject NP belongs as a whole to the owner, the NP which expresses the owner will be preceded by the word h$\bar{\text{i}}$ which means 'of'.

    utumb$\bar{\text{i}}$l - aka h$\bar{\text{i}}$ $\bar{\text{A}}$z$\bar{\text{a}}$d - a.
    car   the of A.   Cop

    The car is Azad's.

A NP inflected for possession may occur as a complement of ᵧthe copula. The predicate elements will take the order

    NP - Poss Cop

as in

    $\bar{\text{A}}$z$\bar{\text{a}}$d bir$\bar{\text{a}}$ - m - a.
    A.   brother my Cop

    Azad is my brother.

but when the NP is inflected for 3rd Sg possession, the possessive pronoun will follow the copula and the empty morpheme /t/ will occur between them. The order of the elementᵧs will be:

    NP - Cop - t - Poss

Thus the sequence

    $\bar{\text{A}}$z$\bar{\text{a}}$d bir$\bar{\text{a}}$ - $\bar{\text{i}}$ - a.
    A.   brother his Cop

will be realized on the surface as:

    $\bar{\text{A}}$z$\bar{\text{a}}$d bir$\bar{\text{a}}$ - (y) a - t - $\bar{\text{i}}$.
    A.   brother   Cop EM his

    Azad is his brother.[2]

----

(2) This is the case whenever the copula /a/ and the 3rd Sg. personal suffix /$\bar{\text{i}}$/ of set No 1 occur together, for instance with the verb when marked forᵗʰᵉ present perfect by /$\bar{\text{u}}$a/, which basically consists of the past participle morpheme /$\bar{\text{u}}$/ plus the copula /a/. When the subject is in 3rd Sg. the agreement market will be /$\bar{\text{i}}$/.

    min xw$\bar{\text{a}}$rd - $\bar{\text{u}}$ - m - a.   aw xw$\bar{\text{a}}$rd - $\bar{\text{u}}$ -(y)a - t - $\bar{\text{i}}$.
    I   eat Past PstP Ag Cop   he eat Past PstP   Cop EM Ag
                         Perf   Perf
    I have eaten.   He has eaten.

In Kurdish the concept of existence and the idea of possession
are conveyed by the verb habūn which is derived from the verb būn,
in its copulative function, by the addition of the morpheme /ha/.
The type of the personal suffix which occurs with the verb habūn
determines whether the verb is conveying an existential concept or
a possession idea.

The verb habūn conveys the concept of existence if it occurs
with a personal suffix from set No 2 or 3.

> ēma awsā ha - bū - īn.
> we then exist Ag
>
> We then existed.

The verb habūn conveys the idea of possession if it occurs
with a personal suffix from set No 1. The morpheme /ha/ in this
case will behave as a prefix, i.e. the personal suffix will follow
it.

> ema awsā ha - mān - bū.
> we then Ag
>
> We then had (it).

The personal suffix will follow the complement if it occurs:

> ēma xānū - ēk - mān ha - (y) a.
> we house a Ag have
>
> We have a house.

In an existential sentence, the subject NP denotes an absolutely
existing abstract entity like God, truth, law, etc. Habūn
in its existential function does not take a complement. The following
sentence serves as an example:

Xwā ha - (y) a.

God exist

God exists.

The definite particle <u>aka</u> 'the' does not occur with the subject NP
in an existential sentence:

*Xwā - aka ha - (y) a.

God   the exist

is ungrammatical in the sense 'The God exists'.

By the addition of an adverbial phrase (of place) to an existential
sentence, the sentence will have a locative meaning. (The term
locative includes both temporal and spatial references).

(īstā) kitēb - ēk (lanāw jāntā - m - ā) ha - (y) a.

now   book   a in   case   my. loc exist

There is a book in my case now.

In fact the existential sentence does not occur without a
locative. In other words the existential sentence is implicitly
locative, as whatever is, is somewhere and in a particular time.

The concept of existence denotes only the existence of the
entity expressed in the subject NP, while the copula implies the
existence of the entity expressed in the subject NP and gives it
one of the semantic interpretations discussed above.

A type of possessive construction can be formed in copulative
sentences with a semantic interpretation different from those
discussed already. The morpheme /pē/ is added preceding the copula
in such a construction.

min p̄ara - m pē - (y) a.

I money Ag have

This sentence is different from,

min p̄ara - m   ha - (y) a.

I money Ag have

in that the former means 'I have money with me now which may not
necessarily belong to me' whereas the latter means 'I have money
which belongs to me but not necessarily with me'.

The subject NP with this type of possessive construction must
have the feature [+ human] . Thus the sentence,

*asp - aka zīn - ī   pē - (y) a.
horse the saddle Ag   have

is unacceptable in the sense 'The horse has a reín'.

In such construction the complement NP (owned) must have the
feature [+Portable] or [+Transportable] . Thus among the following
sentences:

1 - *min xānū - ēk - m pē - (y) a
I   house   a   Ag have

in the sense

I have a house.

2 -   Jwāmēr tfang - ēk - ī   pē - (y) a.
J.   gun   a   Ag have

Jwāmēr has a gun.

3 - min utumbīl - m   pē - (y) a.
I   car   Ag have

I have a car,

sentence 1 is unacceptable.

Through the above discussion a close similarity and relationship can be noticed between the copula, having and existence, semantically and on the surface. This close relationship has been found in many other languages. [3]

---

(3) See Lyons, J. (1967).

CHAPTER 7

THE MODAL

"The class of modal elements is defined semantically as elements that mark one or more of the following notions: possibility or the related notion of permission, probability or the related notion of obligation, certainty or the related notion of requirement."[1] In Kurdish they belong to a class of lexical verbs which fulfil the following criteria at the level of syntax.

1 - The modal cannot occur by itself without a main verb in a free context. Thus the sequence:

<div align="center">

min abēt ....
I   must

</div>

cannot be considered as a meaningful statement when it occurs by itself.

2 - The modal always occurs to the left of the main verb, usually in the beginning of the VP.

<div align="center">

to   a - twān - īt   r̄a - ka - īt.
you Impf can   Ag   DPrf   do   Ag
You can run.

</div>

---

(1) Steel, S. (1975).

```
To  abēt  am   kiteb - a  bi -  kir -  ît.
You must  this book   DA  sub   buy   Ag
```

You must buy this book.

3 - The conjunctive particle /u/ 'and' cannot occur between the main verb and the modal. Thus the sequence:

```
*min  abēt  u   birom .
I    can   and  go
```

is ungrammatical.

4 - The main verb with the modal is always marked for present subjunctive. The modal carries all tense and aspect elements.

According to these syntactic criteria the verbs bün, twānîn and wērān which mean 'must' or 'may', 'can' or 'may' and 'dare' respectively, can be considered as modals in Kurdish.   Thus verbs such as witin 'say' etc. cannot - as has been previously proposed by some Kurdish grammarians[2] - be considered as modals.

1 - bün. It occurs always in 3rd sg in its modal function. Formally it behaves as an intransitive verb. It takes ēt of 3rd sg with the present tense and Ø with the past. There is a tendency not to pronounce the /t/ of the 3rd sg agreement marker /ēt/. Its chief

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(2) Kurdish Academy (1977), p. 152.

meanings are:

i) Obligation or compulsion imposed by the speaker.

> to abēt am kitēb - a bikir̄ - īt.
> you must this book DA buy Ag
>
> You must buy this book.

ii) Permission given by the speaker.

> qaynākāt   to abēt bimīnē - īt.
> It does not matter you may stay Ag
>
> It does not matter, you may stay.

Whether it conveys the idea of obligation or permission depends on the position of the inherent or potential stress. If the stress is received by the main verb, the modal abēt will convey the semantic function of obligation.

> min abēt bir̄om.
> I must go

If the stress is received by the modal abēt, it will convey the semantic function of permission.

> min abēt bir̄om.
> I may go
>
> I may go.

This case is very clear with the interrogative.

> min abēt bir̄om ?
> I may do
>
> May I go?

For certainty and emphasis, the word har is added preceding the modal abēt. In this case har receives a strong stress.

> min   har   abēt birom.
> I   certainly must go
>
> **Must** I certainly go?

Har can modify any NP or verb conveying the semantic function of only.

> to har biro.
> You only go
>
> You only go. Or You insist on going.

> har Āzād ačēt.
> only A.   go   .
>
> Only Azad goes.

Twānīn 'can, may': This modal agrees with the subject noun phrase (and the main verb) in number and person in all forms. Formally, it behaves as a transitive verb, as it takes ᵃ personal suffix ᶠʳᵒᵐ set No 1 to express its agreement with the subject NP in the past.

> ēma twānī - mān biro - īn.
> we   can Past Ag   go   Ag
>
> We could go.

The chief meanings of the modal twānīn are:

i) Ability, as in

> min atwān - m aw darka - m.
> I Impf can Ag he dismiss Ag
>
> I can dismiss him.

ii) Permission given by the speaker.

ēwa   hamūtān   abēt   biřon, tanhā   Āzād   atwān – ēt bimīn – ēt.
You   all   must   go   only   A.   can   Ag stay   Ag

You all must go except Azad can stay.

The occurrence of the verb <u>būn</u> restricted to the 3rd sg in its
modal function can be accounted for by considering the modal as a
higher verb, postulating a deep structure such as follows, to the
sentence

min   abēt   biřom.
I   must   go

I must go.
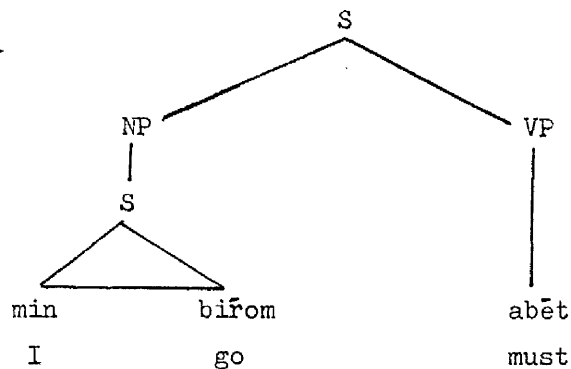
in which the tenseless sentence <u>min biřom</u> 'I (to) go', is embedded
under a higher predicate <u>abēt</u> 'must'. The 3rd sg agreement marker
of <u>abēt</u> is immediately explained by this analysis. The verb <u>abēt</u> is
the main verb in the deep structure and it agrees with its subject
which is a sentence <u>min biřom</u> 'I (to) go'. A raising rule is needed
to merge the two clauses into a single clause in surface structure.
This rule is called predicate raising.

Unlike <u>būn</u>, <u>twānīn</u> agrees with the subject NP in all forms.

This is explained by the fact that both actions expressed by the
modal and the main verb are performed by the same subject NP. The
sentence

> ēma a - twān - īn   biřo - īn.
> we Impf   can   Ag   go   Ag
>
> We can go.

will have the deep structure
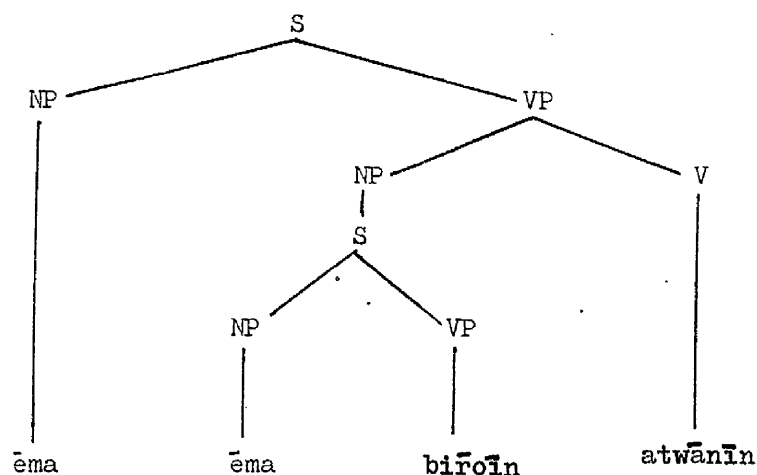
By an Equi-Subject deletion rule the subject NP of the embedded
sentence will be deleted giving the surface above.[3]

Syntactically, the verb wērān 'dare' behaves exactly like twānīn.

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(3) For Auxiliary as a main verb see Ross, J.R. (1969) and
     Pullum, G. & Wilson, D. (1977).

CHAPTER 8

THE PASSIVE

The
ƴpassive in Kurdish grammar has been described in exclusively

morphological terms. Syntactic and semantic problems of the passive

have been either totally ignored or misinterpreted in terms of

non-indigenous rules imposed on Kurdish. This chapter deals with

the description of the morphological and syntactic natures of the

Kurdish passive construction, exploring some of its syntactic

and semantic properties.

In Kurdish only transitive verbs have passive forms.

Morphologically, in traditional terms, an active transitive verb

can be made passive by the addition of the morphemes /rā/ and /rē/

to its present tense stem, except for a few exceptions, the passives

of which are formed from the past tense stem of the verb. They are:

Infinitive	Present stem	Past stem	Passives	
witin	ƚē	wit -	wit-rā/rē	say
wīstin	wē	wīst -	wīst-rā/rē	demand
gāin	gē	gā(y)	gāy-rā/rē	copulate

Due to the Kurdish phonological rules,

i) if /a/ or /ē/ are the last elements of the present stem, they

will be changed to /i/ by the addition of the passive morphemes.

Thus /ka/ which is the present stem of the verb kirdin 'do' becomes

/ki/ and /nē/ the present tense stem of the verb nān 'put' becomes

/ni/, when /rā/ or /rē/ are added to them.

/ka - rā/ ⟶ [kirā] was done

/ka - rē/ ⟶ [kirē] will be done

/nē - rā/ ⟶ [nirā] was put

/nē - rē/ ⟶ [nirē] will be put

ii) /o/ will be changed to /u/ as in xo the stem of the verb xwārdin

'to eat'.

/xo - rā/ ⟶ [xurā] was eaten

/xo - rē/ ⟶ [xurē] will be eaten

iii) /i/ of /gir/ the present stem of girtin 'to take' becomes /ī/

/gir - rā/ ⟶ [gīrā]

iv) If the stem ends in /r̂/, the /r/ of passive is assimilated to

it by a process of elision. This creates ambiguity with some verbs,

as in:

/gor̂ - rā/ ⟶ [gor̂ā] has been changed/changed

/dir̂ - rā/ ⟶ [dir̂ā] has been torn/tore

The passive stem undergoes regular conjugation as an intransitive

verb. The dichotomy of past and present tense of the passive is not reflected

in the verb stem, as both past and present stems of the passive are formed

from what is called traditionally the present stem of the verb. The few

exceptions listed above, the passives of which are formed from the past

stem of the verb represent the opposite side. What distinguishes the

past tense from the present in passive is the last element of what
is called the passive morpheme. Thus the addition of the morpheme /rā/

to the present stem of the transitive verb yields the past stem of

the passive.

Infinitive	kuštin	to kill
Present stem	kuž	
Passive Past stem	kuž-rā	

And the addition of /rē/ to the present stem of the verb yields

the present stem of its passive. The passive present stem of the verb

kuštin given above will be kuž-rē.

Through these examples, it can be seen that the element which

expresses the tense in passive is the last element of what is called the

passive morpheme. Logically, each passive morpheme should be considered

as two elements rather than one. These are the passive element /r/ and

the element which expresses the tense, /ā/ for the past, and /ē/ for

the present tense.

kuž - r - ā
kill Pass. Past

kuž - r - ē
kill Pass. Pres.

Thus the passive morphemes which used to be considered by Kurdish

grammarians each as one unit will be considered in this work as

consisting of two morphemes. The same phenomenon can be noticed in

forming the synthetic causative in Kurdish, as we shall see.

After this brief description of the morphological construction of

the passive verb in Kurdish, syntactic problems will be discussed.

The process of passivization in Kurdish involves the deletion

of the subject of the verb in an active sentence and concomitantly

the verb takes the passive form (as described above), and what

used to be the object becomes the subject in the passive sentence.

```
              Sb        O              V
1) -     Azad  utumbīl - aka - ī    frošt.
         A.    car         the Ag   sell past

         Azad sold the car.

              Sb
2) -     utumbīl - aka    froš - r - ā - ∅
         car         the  sell Pass Past Ag

         The car was sold.
```

Syntactically, the passive construction of Kurdish is agentless.

If the agent is expressed in the sentence, the sentence is normally in

the active. The passive is solely used for some special contexts or

if the subject is not known. Thus the opposition which exists between

the passive and the active in English does not exist in Kurdish. English

has what is called full passive in which the agent can occur. Kurdish

has a truncated passive in which the agent is not expressed. There are,

however, some instances in Kurdish in which the agent is expressed on

the surface level and in the passive. These can be found only in

newspapers and translations from European languages. For instance

```
3) -  Witār - ēk - la lāyan sarokawa  pēškaš  ki - r - ā.
      speech   a   on side  president  present do Pass Past

      A speech was given by the president.
```

Kurdish native intuition rejects this sentence and considers it

as an awkward non-indigenous construction imposed on Kurdish.

Some other constructions which are preceded by constituents such

as ba 'by', ba dastī 'at the hand of', ba hoy 'by means of', and

can occur with passive constructions have been considered by Kurdish

grammarians as agents and ᵗʰᵉconstituent ba as ᵃⁿagentive particle

equivalent to the English agentive particle by. Thus, in the

sentences

4) -   Mīrzā   ba   xanjar   kuž - r - ā.
            M.   with dagger kill Pass   Past

            Mirza was killed with a dagger.

5) -   Mīrzā ba dast - ī Jwāmēr   kuž - r - ā.
            M.   by hand Izf J.   kill Pass   Past

            Mirza was killed at the hand of Jwamer.

the phrases xanjar 'dagger' and dastī Jwāmēr 'hand of Jwamer' in 4 and

5 respectively have been considered as agents and ba 'by' which precedes

them as an agentive particle equivalent to the English 'by'.

   Syntactically the phrase ba xanjar is an instrumental. It can

also occur with the active form of the sentence, having the same

syntactic function.

6) -   Jwāmēr   Mīrzā - ī   ba   xanjar   kušt.
            J.   M.   Ag with dagger kill past

            Jwamer killed Mirza with a dagger.

Forming the active of the sentence 4 in which xanjar functions as a

subject, it will be noticed that the active sentence is not synonymous

with passive. Thus   the sentence:

7) -   xanjar   Mīrzā - ī   kušt.
            dagger   M.   kill past

            The dagger killed Mirza.

does not necessarily mean that Mirza died as a result of stabbing. Similarly the sentence:

8) -   Mīrzā   ba   utumbîl   kuẑrā.
            M.   by   car   kill Pass Past

            Mirza was killed by a car.

means that Mirza was killed by a car accident and he is dead. But in its active form in which utumbîl 'car' functions as a subject:

9) -   utumbîl   Mīrzā - î   kuẑt
            car   M.   Ag   kill Past

it does not necessarily mean that Mirza had a car accident or that he is dead. Probably he was too preoccupied with the thought of having a car   and he died because he could not get it. Alternatively he lost all his time thinking about having a car or driving his car which caused his failure, i.e. 'kill' here is used metaphorically.

In sentence 5, Jwamer is a cause in killing Mirza. It does not necessarily mean that he personally performed the killing. Its active form in which dastî Jwāmēr 'hands of Jwamer' functions as a subject is not acceptable.

10) -   *dast - î   Jwāmēr   Mīrzā - î   kuẑt.
            hands Izf J.   M.   Ag   kill Past

            hands of Jwamer killed Mirza.

Now compare the following two sentences:

11) -   îẑ - aka   ba   Āzād   kirā·
            work the   by   A.   do Pass Past

            The work was done by Azad.

12) -   Āzād ĭš - aka - ī   kird.

A.   work   the   Ag   do Past

Azad did the work.

Sentence 11 means that the work was done by Azad and implies also

that he was able to do it, i.e. semantically the phrase ba Āzād

in this position contains potentiality, while sentence 12 does not

imply this semantic element.

Through these examples, we can conclude that the constituents

that are preceded by ba and can occur with the passive sentences do

not specify the agent of the action. They are instrumental constructions

which can also occur with the active forms of the sentences showing

the same syntactic and semantic functions.

Although the Kurdish passive construction is agentless in

surface, it indicates implicit or understood agency, i.e. the agent

is interpreted by the semantic component as an indefinite agent but

it does not appear in the surface structure. This point can be

illustrated by comparing the following two sentences:

13) -   Jām - aka šik - ēn - r - ā.
           glass the break Caus Pass Past
           The glass was broken (by someone).

14) -   Jām - aka šikā - ∅.
           glass the break Past Ag
           The glass broke (by itself).

Sentence 13 has a verb with passive form. It is agentless on

the surface. It is obvious that semantically it implies external

agency. While sentence 14 does not imply any external agency. This

indicates that Kurdish passive construction is not agentless in the

deep structure.

In early transformational theory,[1] active and passive were thought to have the same semantic reading. A common underlying structure could be mapped onto two distinct surface structures. The difference in surface was due to the application of an optional passive transformation. However, further investigations revealed that there is no   syntactic or semantic rule which can explicitly account for the relationship between active and passive sentences.[2] This led to the situation to be changed in Aspects,[3] in which ∨ Chomsky argues that passive and active sentences must be derived from different underlying structures, and that passive must be an obligatory rule. This is supported by a more recent proposal for the transformation of passive analysis.[4]

The analysis given above shows that Kurdish represents another case where passive and active cannot be related transformationally by having a common deep structure. It will be assumed that they are derived from different underlying structures.

According to the observations presented in this discussion, the facts of surface structure in passive are as follows:

a) - The agent of passive is always unexpressed, i.e. Kurdish has only a truncated passive.

b) - The object of the active sentence must be identified with the subject of the passive.

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(1) Chomsky (1957), for instance.

(2) Katz and Postal (1964).

(3) Chomsky (1965), p. 132.

(4) See Huddleston (1976) and Freidin, R. (1974).

c) - The passive form of the verbs contains ᵃ passive element.

d) - The object which becomes the subject of the passive
sentence will agree with the verb in number and person.

e) - The passive in Kurdish indicates an implicit or
understood external agent.

Thus the deep and surface structures of passive in Kurdish can be
represented as follows.

The inclusion of the passive element in the base accounts for
the semantic and syntactic differences between passive and active
sentences. The passive element, when present in the deep structure,
will trigger the passive transformation by which the underlying subject
will be obligatorily deleted (by an ellipsis rule). The underlying
object will be identified as a surface subject and the verb will receive
the passive element.

The rule for deriving the passive in Kurdish can be formulated as
follows:

SI: X - Pass - NP_1 - NP_2 - VS - X

1   2   3   4   5   6

$\Longrightarrow$ Obl

1      $\emptyset$ 4 $\emptyset$ 5 + 2   6

CHAPTER 9

THE CAUSATIVE

The syntactic structures that convey causative meaning vary
from one language to another. In some languages more than one
class of causative construction can be recognized. In Kurdish
one can distinguish several types of causative construction on
syntactic and semantic grounds.

There are basically three types of causative construction
in Kurdish, differing from each other at least in their surface
manifestation. The first type is an implicit construction involving
verbs only semantically analysable as causative but not exhibiting
any regular formal relationship to non-causative, i.e. the meaning
cause is implicitly contained. This type is referred to as a
lexical causative.[1] The second type is an explicit causative
construction derived from the non-causative by means of suffixation.
This type is referred to as a morphological or synthetic causative
construction. The third type is also explicit, formed by means of
a higher verb expressed in the phrase wā kirdin 'cause' (lit.
such to make). This type is referred to as a phrasal or analytic
causative construction.

_____

(1) Lyons, J. (1968), p. 352.

Kurdish grammars do not refer to analytic causative construction at all. The synthetic construction has been described in purely morphological terms. Syntactic and semantic properties have been totally ignored. This chapter is an attempt to describe the Kurdish causative construction; some of the syntactic and semantic properties will be explored.

One of the main characteristics of Kurdish causative construction is that   intransitive verbs can be causativized synthetically and analytically, whereas transitive verbs can be causativized only analytically. Thus there are two ways to express 'cause to sleep' as in 1 and 2 below, while there is only one way to express 'cause to buy' as in 3.

1 -   aw minaɫ - aka - ī nû - ān.
       he child   the Ag sleep Past Caus

2 -   aw wā - ī kird   minā̃ɫ - aka   bi - nū - ét.
       he such Ag do Past child   the Sub sleep ESAg

       .he caused the child to sleep

3 -   to wā - t   kird   min kitéb - aka   bi - kir̄ - m
       you such Ag do Past I   book   the   Sub buy ESAg

       You caused me to buy the book.

Semantically, 1 and 2 seem to be very close. Both appear to be cognitively synonymous. However, further analysis will reveal that there are subtle but clear differences between them. These two different types of causative construction will be discussed shortly.

1 - Synthetic causative:

In the synthetic causative, the element indicating causation is fused with the verb to form a new single derived verb.   According to

Comrie,[2] the underlying structure of a synthetic causative

construction contains a matrix sentence and an embedded sentence.

The former expresses the causing action. The latter has a SNP

which expresses the person or thing who/which carries out the action.

Thus according to this proposal the underlying structure of a synthetic

causative construction such as:

4 -   Āzād mināł - aka - ī nū - ān.
        A.   child   the Ag sleep Past Caus

        Azad caused the child to sleep.

contains the two sentences:

        a - Azad caused   matrix sentence

        b - The child slept   embedded sentence

                      the
and it will have ⱯV deep structure represented in the following diagram.

```
                            S
                         /     \
                      NP        VP
                      |       /    \
                      |      NP      V
                      |      |       |
                      |      S       |
                      |    /   \     |
                      |   NP    VP   |
                      |   |     |    |
                     Āzād mināłaka nūst   Caus
```
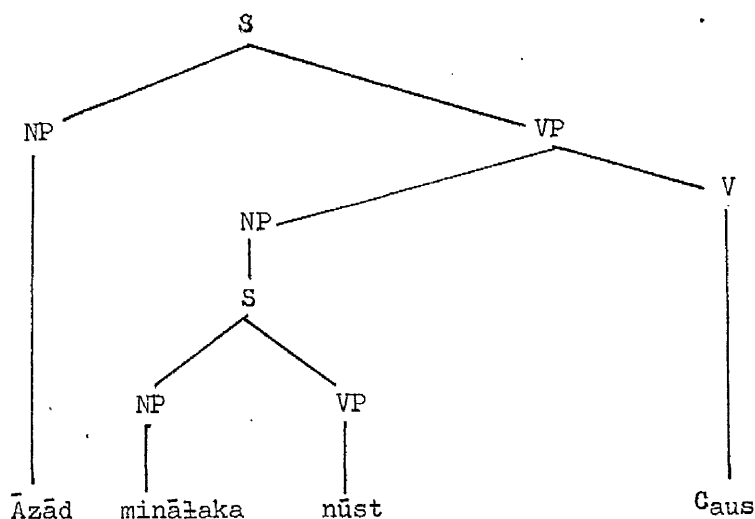
                                          the
          However, it will be shown in this chapter that⟋Kurdish synthetic

causative does not have a complex underlying structure.

_____

(2) Comrie, B. (1974)

In Kurdish, only intransitive verbs can be causativized synthetically.[3]   This can be achieved by a productive rule which involves the addition of the morphemes /ān/ and /ēn/ to the stem of the verb.

Stem	nū -	sleep
causative	nū - ān	Past cause sleep
	nū - ēn	Pres cause sleep

It can be noticed through the example given above that the tense, as in the passive, is expressed by /ā/ for the past and /ē/ for the present. The second element will be considered as the causative element. Thus the causative verb firān/firēn will be analysed as follows:

```
fir  -  ā  -  n
fly   Past  Caus

fir  -  ē  -  n
fly   Pres  Caus
```

If the stem of the verb ends in /ē/, this will be elided when the verb is causativized, as in:

Stem	sūtē	burn
causative	sūtē-ān ⟶	sūtān
	sūtē-ēn ⟶	sūtēn

A few intransitive verbs cannot be causativized. These include

---

(3) Except the verb nāsīn 'to know someone' which is a transitive verb and can be causativized synthetically. Its stem is nās-:

    nās - ān   Past Cause know
    nās - ēn   Pres. Cause know

both verbs that have lexicalised transitive counterparts such as

<u>kawtin</u> - <u>xistin</u> 'fall, fell', and verbs that do not have transitive

counterparts such as <u>ganin</u> 'rot' and <u>zān</u> 'give birth'.

There are a few verbs which can be causativized and have also

lexical transitive counterparts such as <u>mirdin</u>, <u>mirānin</u>, <u>kuštin</u> 'die,

cause to die, kill'. Semantically, the derived causative verbs of

this class are not equivalent to their transitive counterparts. This

can be noticed through the following examples.

5 -   Jwāmēr xo - ī kušt.

    J.   self his kill Past

    Jwamer killed himself.

6 -   Jwāmēr xo - ī mir - ān.

    J.   self his die   Past Caus

    Jwamer caused himself to die.

Sentence 5 means that Jwamer is dead, while sentence 6 means that

Jwamer pretended he is dead, and he is not actually dead.[4]

---

(4) McCawly (1968) proposed that the lexical and periphrastic
    causative sentences are semantically identical, and should
    be derived from the same underlying structure. For him a
    causative verb such as <u>kill</u> is derived from a complex
    semantic structure which contains an abstract verb Cause ,
    and can be resolved into components such as <u>cause to die</u>.
    Thus the following sentences are considered as semantically
    identical.

        a - John caused Fred to die.
        b - John killed Fred.

    However, the analysis given above illustrates straightforwardly
    the failure of McCawly's proposed analysis of lexical item and
    the hypothesis of lexical decomposition. The verb <u>čūn</u> 'go' is
    another example.

        c - aw   sik - ī   čū.
           he stomach his go Past.

        He had diarrhoea (lit. his stomach went).

        d - aw   sik - ī   čū - ān.
           he stomach his go Past Caus

        She had an abortion. (Lit. She caused her stomach to go).

The morphologically non-productive forms such as kuštin
'kill', xistin 'fell, are referred to as lexical causatives,[5]
and the regular forms such as mirānin 'cause to die', sūtānin
'cause to burn' are referred to as productive forms. The former
must be listed in the lexicon, while the latter need not be. They
must be derived via grammatical processes.[6]
    The
γ synthetic causative construction in Kurdish is not iterative.
                                        a
The causative element appears only once, i.e./causative of more
than one degree cannot be derived morphologically.

2 - Analytic causative construction.

    This is a very productive construction in that wā ka can be
used with any sentence to form a causative construction. In an
analytic causative constructions two sentences are combined, a
matrix sentence and an embedded sentence. The matrix sentence
contains a SNP corresponding to the causer and a higher verb which
is expressed in the phrase wā ka 'cause' (lit. such to make), which
may be entered into the lexicon with the inherent feature [+ Cause] .
The embedded sentence consists of the SNP of the embedded sentence
corresponding to the person or thing who/which carries out the action,
and its verb. For instance the following sentence

(5) Lyons, J. (1968), p. 352.

(6) The causative morpheme with its associated tense morphemes,
     also functions as a class-changing derivational suffix by which
     verbs can be derived from onomatopoeic nouns, e.g. qižān/qižēn
     'scream', pirxān/pirxēn 'snore', are derived from qiža 'scream'
     and pirxa 'snore' which are onomatopoeic. The derived verb behaves
     morphologically as a transitive verb, i.e. with the past tense it
     takes personal suffixes set No 1 to express its agreement with
     the subject NF, and syntactically the derived verb behaves as an
     intransitive verb, i.e. it does not take an object, as in:

                   awān pirxān-yān
                   they snore Ag.

                   They snored.

7 - Āzād wā - ī kird   min kiteb - ek bi - kir - m.
    A. such Ag make Past I   book   a Sub buy ESAg

    Azad caused me to buy a book.

consists of the matrix sentence:

    Āzād wā - ī kird.
    A. such Ag make Past

    Azad caused.

and the embedded sentence:

    min kiteb - ek bi - kir - m.
    I   book   a Sub buy Ag

    I (to) buy a book.

The verb of the embedded sentence in an analytic causative
construction is always marked for the present subjunctive (semantically
tenseless). The embedded verb agrees with the embedded subject in
number and person. ESAg is used to indicate embedded subject agreement
marker.

Sentence 7 has the following alternatives:

8 - Āzād wā - ī la min kird   kiteb - ek bi - kir - m.
    A. such Ag to I   make Past book   a Sub buy ESAg
9 - Āzād min - ī wā lē kird   kiteb - ek - bi - kir - m.
    A. I   Ag such to make Past book   a Sub buy ESAg

Notice that when the embedded subject occurs within the matrix
sentence, the preposition la occurs governing it. The embedded subject
may occur preceding wā. In this case the preposition will take the
form lē.

Assuming that 7 is more basic, 8 and 9 are derived transformationally
by rules such as follow:

```
                      Caus.VI
                      ───────
          X  -  NP₁  -  wā - ka  -  NP₂  -NF₃  - V2  - X
   SI:    1     2      3    4       5     6     7     8
                                                        ══⟩ Opt
   SC:    1     2      3  1a + 5   4 ∅    6     7     8
or
   SC:    1     2      5  3 lē     4 ∅    6     7     8
```

Where NP_1 is the subject of the matrix sentence, NP_2 the
subject of the embedded sentence and NP_3 the DO of the embedded sentence.

Unlike the synthetic causative, which is not recursive in Kurdish,
analytic causation is an infinitely recursive process in which the
embedded sentence contains a verb with an inherent feature $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ Cause} \end{bmatrix}$
plus S, and so on. So that in the sentence:

10 - Āzād wā - ī la Āwāz kird   wā   la Āhang bi - ka - āt ....
     A. such Ag to A. make Past such to A.   Sub made ESAg

                          .... Rizgār binū - ēn - ēt
                               R. Sub sleep Caus ESAg

     Azad caused Awaz to cause Ahang to cause Rizgar to sleep.

we find two occurrences of the analytic type followed by a synthetic
causative. Its underlying structure contains the following sentence:

     a - Azad caused Awaz
     b - Awaz caused Ahang
     c - Ahang caused Rizgar to sleep.

A difference in semantic interpretation between synthetic and
analytic causatives can be noticed. The analytic causative often
involves action on the part of the causee, while this is not generally
the case with the morphologically derived causatives. Thus the

synthetic causative construction

11) - min mināł - aka - m r̄o - ān.
      I   child the Ag walk Past Caus

      I caused the child to walk.

means that the child could not or did not want to walk, and so I

held him up to help him or force him to walk. Its analytic

counterpart does not contain such semantic implication.

12) - min wā - m kird   mināłaka bi - ro - āt.
      I   such Ag make Past child the Sub walk ESAg

      I caused the child to walk.

probably by ordering him to walk. The causee in the former does

not take the role of an agent, as the volition on his part is not

implied. The causer is involved directly in carrying out the action,

while in the latter the causee functions as an agent capable of

performing the action. In other words, in the synthetic causative only

one volitional agent is involved, while in the analytic there are two.

The phenomenon of adverbial modification provides strong evidence

for proving this point. Adverbs with the synthetic causative always modify

the causing action. No Kurdish synthetic construction can be found

in which adverbs can modify the causee action, or can create ambiguity

by modifying both actions simultaneously: i.e. in synthetic causation

the causee is not carrying out any action to be modified. Thus in

the sentence:

13) - Āzād mināł - aka - ī ba dū dast r̄o - ān.
      A.   child   the Ag by two hand walk Past Caus

      Azad with two hands caused the child to walk.

14) - Āhang Šerko - ī ba zaḥmat nū - ān.
    A.   Sh.   Ag with difficult sleep Past Caus

    Ahang with difficulty caused Sherko to sleep.

The adverbs ba dū dast 'with two hands' and ba zaḥmat 'with difficulty'

modify the actions performed by the causers Azad and Ahang respectively.

In an alternative analytic construction the adverb may occur modifying

the causing action. In this case it will be synonymous with the

synthetic counterpart. Thus the sentences:

15) - Āzād ba dū dast wā - ī kird   minā̇l-aka bi - ro - āt
    A.   with two hands such Ag.make Past child the Sub walk ESAg

16) - Āhang ba zaḥmat   wā - ī kird   serko bi - nū - ēt
    A.   with difficult such Ag make Past Sh. Sub sleep ESAg

are semantically identical with sentences 13 and 14 respectively.

    An adverb may however occur to modify the action carried out by

the causee, as in:

17) - Āzād wā - ī kird   minā̇l - aka ba dū dast bi - ro - āt.
    A. such Ag make Past child   the with two hand Sub. walk ESAg

    Azad caused the child to walk on his hands.

18) - Āhang wā - ī kird   Šerko ba zaḥmat   bi - nū - ēt
    A. such Ag make Past Sh. with difficult Sub sleep ESAg

    Ahang caused Sherko to sleep with difficulty.

In 15 it was Azad who used both hands, in 17 it was the child who used

his two hands to walk. In 16 it was the causer Ahang who found difficulty

in causing Sherko to sleep, while in 18 it was Sherko who found difficulty

in sleeping; the causer here deters the causee. The adverb qualifies

the action performed by the causee.

    In an analytic causative construction both actions may be qualified

by adverbs simultaneously as in:

19) - Āzād ba zaḥmat   wa - ī   kird   mināł - aka ba dū ...
     A. with difficult such Ag make Past child the with two

                         ... dast bi - r̄o - āt.
                         hand Sub walk ESAg

These syntactic and semantic differences between synthetic and
analytic causative construction are sufficient to consider them having
different underlying structures. The difference is in that synthetic
causative verb behaves as a single transitive verb, like any
lexicalized causative, i.e. it does not come from a complex underlying
structure, while in an analytic construction the causative does come
from a complex underlying structure. Thus the underlying structure
proposed by Comrie for causative construction^s does not apply to^the Kurdish
synthetic construction. It applies only to the analytic causative
construction.

_____

The following are tables for all possible structures where both
the DO and IO are cliticized with the past tense in complex manner.

In sentences entitled 'A' are sentences where both the DO and
IO are represented by pronouns. In 'B' both the DO and IO are
cliticized, in 'C' only the DO is cliticized and in 'D' only the IO
is cliticized.

(i) - DO min 'I'

　　IO to 'you', aw 'he', ēwa 'you (Pl)' and awān 'they'.

(A)	(B)
DO　　　　IO xwā min - ī bo to nārd. God I　　Ag for you send Past God sent me for you (Pl).	IO DO *xwā bo - ī nārd - īt - m. 　　　Ag　　　you I
DO　　　　IO xwā min - ī bo aw nārd. 　I　　Ag　he God sent me for him.	IO DO *xwā bo - ī nārd - ∅ - m. 　　　Ag God sent him for me. (1)
DO　　　　IO xwā min - ī bo ēwa nārd. 　I　　Ag　you(Pl) God sent me for you (Pl).	IO DO xwā bo - ī nārd - n - m. 　　　Ag　　　you I
DO　　　　IO xwā min - ī bo awān nārd. 　I　　Ag　they God sent me for them.	IO DO xwā bo - ī nārd - n - m. 　　　Ag　　　they I

(C)

(D)

IO   DO
xwā bo to – ī nārd – m.
      you Ag   ·I
	DO IO
	xwā min – ī bo nārd – īt.
	   I Ag you

IO   DO
xwā bo aw – ī nārd – m.
     he   Ag   I
	DO IO
	xwā min – ī bo nārd – ∅.
	   I Ag he

IO   DO
xwā bo ēwā – ī nārd – m.
    you   Ag   I
	DO IO
	xwā min – ī bo nārd – n.
	   I Ag you

IO   DO
xwā bo awān – ī nārd – m.
    they Ag   I
	DO IO
	xwā min – ī bo nārd – n.
	   I Ag they

(ii) — DO to 'you'.

IO min 'I', aw 'he', ēma 'we' and awān 'they'.

(A)	(B)
DO IO xwā to - ī bo min nārd. God you Ag for I send Past God sent you for me.	IO DO xwā bo - ī nārd - m - īt. Ag I you
DO IO xwā to - ī bo aw nārd. you Ag he God sent you for him.	*xwā bo - ī nārd - ∅ - m. IO DO Ag he I God sent him for you. (1)
DO IO xwā to - ī bo ēma nārd. you Ag we God sent you for us.	IO DO *xwā bo - ī nārd - īn - īt. Ag we you
DO IO xwā to - ī bo awān nārd. you Ag they God sent them for you.	IO DO xwā bo - ī nārd - n - īt. Ag they you

(C)	(D)
IO DO xwā bo min – ī nārd – īt. I Ag you	DO IO xwā to – ī bo nārd – m. you Ag I
IO DO xwā bo aw – ī nārd – īt. he Ag you	DO IO xwā to – ī bo nārd – ∅. you Ag he
IO DO xwā bo ēmâ – ī nārd – īt. we Ag you	DO IO xwā to – ī bo nārd – īn. you Ag we
IO DO xwā bo awān – ī nārd – īt. they Ag you	DO IO xwā to – ī bo nārd – n. you Ag they

(iii) — DO <u>aw</u> 'he'.

      IO <u>min</u> 'I', <u>to</u> 'you', <u>aw</u> 'he', <u>ema</u> 'we', <u>ewa</u> 'you(Pl)'
and <u>awān</u> 'they'.

(A)   (B)

(A)	(B)
DO IO xwā aw – ī bo min nārd. God he Ag for I send Past God sent him for me.	IO DO xwā bo – ī nārd – m – ∅. Ag I he

DO   IO
xwā aw – ī bo to nārd.
  he Ag you
God sent him for you.
	IO DO
	xwā bo – ī nārd – īt – ∅.
	        Ag you he

DO   IO
xwā aw – ī bo aw nārd.
  he Ag he
God sent him for him.
	IO DO
	xwā bo – ī nārd – ∅ – ∅.
	        Ag he he

DO   IO
xwā aw – ī bo ēma nārd.
  he Ag   we
God sent him for us.
	IO DO
	xwā bo – ī nārd – īn – ∅.
	        Ag we he

DO   IO
xwā aw – ī bo ēwa nārd.
  he Ag   you(Pl)
God sent him for you(Pl).
	IO DO
	xwā bo – ī nārd – n – ∅.
	        Ag you he

DO   IO
xwā aw – ī bo awān nārd.
  he Ag   they
God sent him for them.
	IO DO
	xwā bo – ī nārd – n – ∅.
	        Ag they he

(C) | (D)

(C)	(D)
IO ⸻ DO xwā bo min - ī nārd - ∅. I Ag he	DO ⸻ IO xwā aw - ī bo nārd - m. he Ag I
IO ⸻ DO xwā bo to - ī nārd - ∅. you Ag he	DO ⸻ IO xwā aw - ī bo nārd - īt. he Ag you
IO ⸻ DO x̣wā bo aw - ī nārd - ∅. he Ag he	DO ⸻ IO xwā aw - ī bo nārd - ∅. he he
IO ⸻ DO xwā bo ēma - ī nārd - ∅. we Ag he	DO ⸻ IO xwā aw - ī bo nārd - īn. he Ag we
IO ⸻ DO xwā bo ēwa - ī nārd - ∅. you Ag he	DO ⸻ IO xwā aw - ī bo nārd - n. he Ag you
IO ⸻ DO xwā bo awān - ī nārd - ∅. they Ag he	DO ⸻ IO xwā aw - ī bo nārd - n. he Ag they

(iv) — DO ēma 'we'

IO to 'you', aw 'he', ēwa 'you(Pl)' awān 'they'.

(A)	(B)
DO IO xwā ēma — ī bo to nārd. God we Ag for you send Past God sent us for you.	IO DO *xwā bo — ī nārd — īt — īn. Ag you we

DO   IO
xwā ēma — ī bo aw nārd.
   we   Ag   he
 	
God sent us for him.
	IO DO
	*xwā bo — ī nārd — ∅ — īn.
	       Ag he we
	God sent him for us. (1)

DO   IO
xwā ēma — ī bo ēwa nārd.
  we Ag   you(Pl)
 	
God sent us for you(Pl).
	IO DO
	xwā bo — ī nārd — n — īn.
	       Ag you we

DO   IO
xwā ēma — ī bo awān nārd.
  we   Ag   they
 	
God sent us for them.
	IO DO
	xwā bo — ī nārd — n — īn.
	       Ag they we

(c)   (D)

IO   DO
xwā bo to – ī nārd – īn.
    you Ag   we
	DO IO
	xwā ēma – ī bo nārd – īt.
	    we Ag you

IO   DO
xwā bo aw – ī nārd – īn.
    he Ag   we
	DO IO
	xwa ēma – ī bo nārd – ∅.
	    we Ag he

IO   DO
xwā bo ēwa – ī nārd – īn.
    you Ag   we
	DO IO
	xwā ēma – ī bo nārd – n.
	    we Ag you

IO   DO
xwā bo awēn – ī nārd – īn.
    they Ag   we
	DO IO
	xwā ēma – ī bo nārd – n.
	    we Ag they

(v) - DO ēwa 'you(Pl)'

     IO min 'I', aw 'he', ēma 'we' and awān 'they'.

(A)	(B)
DO IO xwā ēwa - ī bo min nārd. God you(Pl) Ag for I send Past God sent you(Pl) for me.	IO DO xwā bo - ī nārd - m - n. Ag I you

DO   IO
 xwā ēwa - ī bo aw nārd.
   you(Pl) Ag   he
 	
 God sent you(Pl) for him.
	IO DO
	 *xwā bo - ī nārd - ∅ - n.
	      Ag he you
	
	 God sent him to you(Pl). (1)

DO   IO
 xwā ēwa - ī bo ēma nārd.
   you   Ag   we
 	
 God sent you(Pl) for us.
	IO DO
	 *xwā bo - ī nārd - īn - n.
	      Ag .we you

DO   IO
 xwā ēwa - ī bo awān nārd.
   you   Ag   they
 	
 God sent you(Pl) for them.
	IO DO
	 xwā bo - ī nārd - n - n.
	      Ag they you

(C)   (D)

IO   DO
xwā bo min – ī nārd – n.
     I   Ag   you
	DO IO
	xwā ēwa – ī bo nārd – m.
	    you Ag I

IO   DO
xwā bo aw – ī nārd – n.
    he   Ag   you
	DO IO
	xwā ēwa – ī bo nārd – ∅.
	    you Ag he

IO   DO
xwā bo ēma – ī nārd – n.
    we   Ag   you
	DO IO
	xwā ēwa – ī bo nārd – īn.
	    you Ag we

IO   DO
xwā bo awān – ī nārd – n.
    they   Ag   you
	DO IO
	xwā ēwa – ī bo nārd – n.
	    you Ag they

(vi) – DO awān 'they'.

IO min 'I', to 'you', aw 'he', ēma 'we', ēwa 'you(Pl)'
and awān 'they'.

(A)	(B)
DO IO xwā awān – ī bo min nārd. God they Ag for I send Past God sent them for me.	IO DO xwā bo – ī nārd – m – n. Ag I they

DO   IO
xwā awān – ī bo to   nārd.
   they Ag you(Pl)
 	
God sent them for you(Pl).
	*xwā bo – ī nārd – īt – n.
	     Ag you they

DO   IO
xwā awān – ī bo aw nārd.
   they Ag   he
 	
God sent them for him.
	IO DO
	*xwā bo – ī nārd – ∅ – n.
	     Ag he they
	
	God sent him for them.[1]

DO   IO
xwā awān – ī bo ēma nārd.
   they Ag   we
 	
God sent them for us.
	IO DO
	*xwā bo – ī nārd – īn – n.
	     Ag we they

DO   IO
xwā awān – ī bo ēwa nārd.
   they Ag   you(Pl)
 	
God sent them for you(Pl).
	IO DO
	xwā bo – ī nārd – n – n.
	     Ag you they

DO   IO
xwā awān – ī bo awān nārd.
   they Ag   they
 	
God sent them for them.
	IO DO
	xwā bo – ī nārd – n – n.
	     Ag they they

(1) – See P. 88.

(C)	(D)

IO DO
xwā bo min - ī nārd - n.
     I   Ag   they
	DO IO
	xwā awān - ī bo nārd - m.
	     they Ag I

IO DO
xwā bo to - ī nārd - n.
    you Ag   they
	DO IO
	xwā awān - ī bo nārd - īt.
	    they Ag you

IO DO
xwā bo aw - ī nārd - n.
    he   they
	DO IO
	xwā awān - ī bo nārd - ∅.
	    they Ag he

IO DO
xwā bo ēma - ī nārd - n.
    we   Ag   they
	DO IO
	xwā awān - ī bo nārd - īn.
	    they Ag we

IO DO
xwā bo ēwa - ī nārd - n.
    you   Ag   they
	DO IO
	xwā awān - ī bo nārd - n.
	    they Ag you

xwā bo awān - ī nārd - n.
    they   Ag   they
	DO IO
	xwā awān - ī bo nārd - n.
	    they Ag they

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