

# The Synchrony and Diachrony of Applicative Morphology in Sorani Kurdish

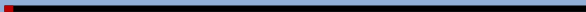
---

Shuan Osman Karim

karim.56@osu.edu

Ohio State University

# Roadmap



- **Adpositions**
  - Adpositional Phrases (canonical)
  - Adpositional Phrases (with enclitic complements)
  - Absolute Prepositions
- **Applicatives**
  - Definitions
  - Criteria
  - APs as applicatives
- **Diachrony**
  - The formatives
  - Integration into the verbal complex
  - Repeat (and what is left out)
- **Other (possible) applicatives in Iranian**

## **Adpositional Phrases (canonical)**

---

## PP: P NP(=P)

- An adpositional phrase (PP) consists of a preposition, a noun phrase, and an optional postposition.

- a.      **be** pyaw-eke  
         to man-DEF.SG
- b.      **le** pertûk-eke=**a**  
         on book-DEF.SG=on

- Some prepositions have a complex form consisting of a simple preposition and a nominal element.

- a.      **be\_\_des**      pyaw-eke  
         to (by hand) man-DEF.SG
- b.      **legeł** pyaw-eke=**a**  
         with man-DEF.SG=with

## Adjunct

(Mackenzie, 1961, 4.19)

- (1) a. [le \_\_paş muddet-êk-î zor] xwa  
[after time-INDF-EZ much] god  
ewla-yek-î <d>a-n-ê  
child-INDF=1SG.A give.PST-3PL.O=to-DAT.AP
- b. xwa [le paş muddetêkî zor] ewla-yek=î <d>a-n=ê
- c. xwa ewlayekî [le paş muddetêkî zor] <d>anê
- d. xwa ewlayekî <d>anê [le paş muddetêkî zor]  
'After much time, God gave them a child.'

## Argument

(Mackenzie, 1961, 16.22)

- (2) a. kuř gwê=î [le tepl-î beşaret]  
boy hear.PV=3SG:A from drum-EZ good.tidings  
bû  
hear.STEM.PST
- b. kuř [le teplî beşaret] gwêî bû
- c. kuř gwêî bû [le teplî beşaret]  
'(the) boy heard the drum of good tidings.'

## **Adpositional Phrases (with enclitic complements)**

---



## PP: P( )N=PM(=P)

- Additionally, prepositional phrases can consist of a complex adposition (P\_N) and an enclitic pronoun, with an optional postpositon.
  - a.      **be\_dest=î**  
         to (by hand)=3SG
  - b.      **legeḷ=man=a**  
         with1PL=with
- However, simple adpositions may not take enclitic pronominal complements.
  - a.      **\*be=î**  
         to=3SG
  - b.      **\*le=man=a**  
         on=1PL=on

# Enclitic pronouns that attach to nominals

1SG: =(i)m

2SG: =(i)t

3SG: =î

1PL: =man

2PL: =tan

3PL: =yan

a. kuř-eke=m  
boy-DEF=1SG

b. pare=t  
money=2SG

c. pênuș-êk=î  
pen-INDF=3SG

d. legeț=tan=a  
with-2PL=with

e. le\_des=yan=ewe  
from-3PL=from

## Argument

(Mackenzie, 1961, 12.15)

- (3) a. [le mał-ewe]<sub>1</sub> ne-hat-in [legeł-î]<sub>2</sub>  
from house-from NEG-come.PST-3PL.S with-3SG  
b. [legeł-î]<sub>2</sub> [le mał-ewe]<sub>1</sub> nehatin  
c. [le mał-ewe]<sub>1</sub> [legeł-î]<sub>2</sub> nehatin  
d. [legeł-î]<sub>2</sub> nehatin [le mał-ewe]<sub>1</sub>  
'They(PL) didn't come from home with him/her'

# Absolute Prepositions

---

# Detour: Alignment in Central Kurdish I

- To understand absolute prepositions, one must argument indexing in Kurdish.
- Argument indexing is split-ergative (remnant-split-ergative)

APM <sub>1</sub>			CPM		APM <sub>2</sub>	
PRS: S/A			PRS: P/O <sub>APPL.INTR</sub> /O <sub>APPL.TR</sub>		PRS: —	
PST: —			PST: A/O <sub>APPL.INTR</sub>		APM <sub>2</sub> : S/P/O <sub>APPL.TR</sub>	
SG	PL		SG	PL	SG	PL
1	-im	-în	=(i)m	=man	-im	-în
2	-î(t)	-(i)n	=(i)t	=tan	-î(t)	-(i)n
3	-ê(t)/a(t) <sup>1</sup>	-(i)n	=î	=yan	-Ø	-(i)n

- In the present tense, both S and A are indexed using a set of verbal affixes (APM<sub>1</sub>).

- (4) baɫdar-eke e-řř-ê  
bird-DEF IPFV-fly.PRS-3SG.**S**  
'The bird flies'

- (5) ew pyaw=e nan-eke e-xw-**a**  
DEM.DIST man=DEM bread-DEF.SG IPFV-eat.PRS-3SG.**A**

'That man is eating the bread.'

- The split alignment pattern of Soranî is shown in the past tense where S is indexed by verbal affixes (APM<sub>2</sub>), and A is indexed by markers that are affixed to the first verbal argument or morpheme (CPM).

- (6)     baɫdar-ek-an   fɾî-n  
bird-DEF-PL   fly.PST-3PL.S  
'The birds flew.'

- (7)     ew             pyaw=e     nan-eke             =î             xward  
DEM.DIST   man=DEM   bread-DEF.SG   =1SG.A   eat.PST  
'That man ate the bread.'

- The split alignment pattern of Soranî is also shown by the way that P is indexed. Note that in the previous transitive example (7), there is an overt patient *naneke* 'the bread,' which is not indexed in the verbal morphology. In the absence of an overt noun phrase patient, P must be indexed in the verbal morphology, which is tense-sensitive.

(8) e- =yan xw-a  
IPFV- =3PL.O<sub>P</sub> eat.PRS-3SG.A  
'S/he is eating them.'

(9) xward-in =î  
eat.PRS-3PL.O<sub>P</sub> =3SG.A  
'S/he ate them.'

- Another feature of Soranî grammar that affects the alignment pattern is that there are a wide range of complex predicates including light-verb constructions and verbs with preverbs. In Soranî light-verb constructions, it is the light verb stem that determines the formatives that index S, A, P, and O<sub>APPL</sub>.



## Detour: Alignment in Central Kurdish V

(10) pyase =**m** e-kird  
walk =1SG.**S** IPFV-LV.PST  
'I was walking.'

(11) pyase e-ke-**m**  
walk IPFV-LV.PRS-1SG.**S**  
'I am walking.'

- The preverb-verb constructions behave similarly. A verb stem is accompanied by a relational element inducing a semantic derivation. The argument indexing strategy is dictated by the verb stem. For instance:

<i>girtin</i> 'to hold'	VP: NP V		<i>wergirtin</i> 'to take'	VP: NP PP V
<i>kewtin</i> 'to fall'	VP: V		<i>serkewtin</i> 'to climb'	VP: PP V

# Absolute Prepositions I

- “Absolute prepositions” fall into two categories based on their formation.
  - Some differ from their simplex prepositional counterparts systematically. If the preposition begins with a voiced stop, it is devoiced, and the vowel /e/ is replaced by /ê/.

APs *lê*, *tê*, and *pê* correspond to Ps *le*, *\*de*, and *be*.

These forms can be understood diachronically as a contraction between simple prepositions *le*, *\*de*, and *be* and the third-person singular (feminine) oblique pronoun (*e*)*wê* now defunct in Central Kurdish.

- Others are identical to the corresponding complex adpositions (P\_N);

## Absolute Prepositions II

e.g. as a preposition *legeł em dêwe* 'with this demon' and *legełî* 'with him'

or as an AP:

- (12)    hewt   řoj   zoran   =it       legeł-  
         seven day wrestle =2SG:A COM.APPL-  
         girt-im  
         LV.PST-1SG.O<sub>APPL</sub>  
         'You wrestled with me for seven days.' (Mackenzie, 1961,  
         24.3)

- The pronominal complements of absolute prepositions are indexed the same way as patients.
  - Transitive:

- (13) su'al =yan lê-  
ask.LV =3PL.O<sub>APPL</sub> ABL.APPL-  
e-k-a  
IPFV-ask.LV.PRS-3SG.A  
'he asks them (lit. he does a question from them)'  
(Mackenzie, 1961, 8.1)
- (14) e- =yan k-a  
IPFV- =3PL.O<sub>P</sub> make.PRS-3SG.A  
'he makes them'

- (15) su'al =î lê-  
ask.LV =3SG.A ABL.APPL-  
e-kird-**in**  
IPFV-ask.LV.PST-3PL.**O<sub>APPL</sub>**  
'he was asking them'
- (16) e- =î kird-**in**  
IPFV- =3SG.A make.PRS-3PL.**O<sub>P</sub>**  
'he was making them'

– Intransitive:

- (17) jin-êk            =î            lê-  
woman-IND =3SG.**O**<sub>APPL</sub> ABL.APPL-  
e-hat-Ø                            -e der  
IPFV-come.PST-3SG.**S** -outward  
'A woman was coming out from it.' (Edmonds, 1955, 498)
- (18) jin-êk            =î            lê-  
woman-IND =3SG.**O**<sub>APPL</sub> ABL.APPL-  
**yêt**                                    -e der  
IPFV.come.PRS.3SG.**S** -outward  
'A woman is coming out from it.' (adapted from ex.(17))

# Absolute Prepositions VI

- Absolute prepositions do not take overt nominal (NP) complements.
  - le maɫ 'from house'
  - \* lê maɫ '(from house)'
  - be çawkûç 'with hammer'
  - \* pê çawkûç '(with hammer)'
  - le (cf. Mukrî: de) şax 'on mountain'
  - \* tê şax '(on mountain)'

- Absolute prepositions occur in a fixed position within the verbal hierarchy.

- (19) a.   film-êk       =im       temaşa legeŭ-  
          movie-INDF =1SG.A watch   COM.APPL-  
          kird-î  
          LV.PST-2SG.O<sub>APPL</sub>
- b.   \*film-êk       =im       temaşa kird-î  
          movie-INDF =1SG.A watch   LV.PST-2SG.?  
          legeŭ  
          COM.APPL



## Absolute Prepositions VIII

- c. \*legeþ      fîlm-êk      =im      temaşa  
COM.APPL movie-INDF =1SG.A watch  
kird-î  
LV.PST-2SG.?  
'I watched a movie with you.'

- (20) a. fîlm-êk      =it      temaşa legeþ-  
movie-INDF =2SG.O<sub>APPL</sub> watch COM.APPL-  
e-ke-m  
LV.PRS-1SG.A
- b. \*fîlm-êk      =it      temaşa e-ke-m  
movie-INDF =2SG.? watch LV.PRS-1SG.A  
legeþ  
COM.APPL

- c. \*legeþ      fîlm-êk      =it      temaşa  
COM.APPL movie-INDF =2SG.? watch  
e-ke-m  
LV.PRS-1SG.A  
'I will watch a movie with you.'

# Absolute Prepositions X

- Absolute prepositions compete for realization with other verbal morphemes.

(21)    baxşîş-êk-î            zor=î  
         present-INDF-EZ very=3SG.A  
         da-n=ê  
         give.PST-3PL.R=DAT.APPL  
         '(he) gave them a big present' (Mackenzie, 1961, 26.25)

(22)    baxşîş-êk-î            zor=î  
         present-INDF-EZ very=3SG.A  
         da-n=ewe  
         give.PST-3PL.R=ITR(.DAT.APPL)  
         '(he) gave them back a big present' (adapted from (21))

# Absolute Prepositions XI

- Absolute prepositions can act as preverbs.

Stem	Gloss	Preverb	Verb	Gloss
<i>girtin</i>	'to hold'	<i>wer</i>	<i>wergirtin</i>	'to take'
<i>girtin</i>	'to hold'	<i>heł</i>	<i>hełgirtin</i>	'to lift'
<i>hatin</i>	'to come'	<i>da</i>	<i>dahatin</i>	'to be combed'
<i>sor-kirdin</i>	'to redden (TR)'	<i>=ewe</i>	<i>sor-kirdnewe</i>	'to fry'
<i>geyştin</i>	'to arrive'	<i>tê</i>	<i>têgeyştin</i>	'to understand'
<i>*kenîn</i>	'(to laugh)'	<i>pê</i>	<i>pêkenîn</i>	'to laugh'
<i>dan</i>	'to give'	<i>lê</i>	<i>lêdan</i>	'to hit'

- Adpositions
  - Adpositional Phrases (canonical)
  - Adpositional Phrases (with enclitic complements)
  - Absolute Prepositions
- **Applicatives**
  - Definitions
  - Criteria
  - APs as applicatives
- Diachrony
  - The formatives
  - Integration into the verbal complex
  - Repeat (and what is left out)
- Other (possible) applicatives in Iranian

## Definitions of applicatives

---

# Definitions of applicatives I

- Intuiting a definition from examples

Bukusu (Peterson, 2007, 7-8)

- (23)    wanjala a-a-kul-a                      sii-tabu  
          Wanjala C3:S-PST-buy-IND CL7-book  
          'Wanjala bought the book.'
- (24)    wanjala a-a-kul-il-a                      omu-xasi    sii-tabu  
          Wanjala C3:S-PST-buy-APPL-IND CL1-woman CL7-book  
          'Wanjala bought the book for the woman.'
- (25)    wanjala a-mu-kul-il-a                      sii-tabu  
          Wanjala 3s:S-CL1-buy-APPL-FV CL7-book  
          'Wanjala bought her the book.'

# Definitions of applicatives II

- Definition 1

“Applicative constructions are a means some languages have for structuring clauses which allow the coding of a thematically peripheral argument or adjunct as a core-object argument. Such constructions are signaled by overt verbal morphology.” (Peterson, 2007, 1)

Nadëb (Weir, 1987)

- (26)    bxaah kalapée ya-sooh  
         tree    child    SUPE-be.sitting  
         ‘The child is sitting on the tree.’ (Lit., ‘The child is on-sitting  
         the tree’.)



### Rama (Craig & Hale, 1988)

Nainguku kiskis nsu-kuaakar-i,

so tongs 1PL-have-ASP

Rama: 'That's why we have the tongs,

(27) sulikaas ( ) **yu**-nsu-auk-kama.

animal-meat ( ) **APPL**-with-1PL-roast-SBJV

Rama: 'for us to roast meat with (it). (Craig & Hale, 1988)

## Bukusu (Peterson, 2007)

- (28) a-xu-n-der-a=xo  
3SG:S-2SG:O-1SG:R-bring-IND=APP  
'He brought you to me.'
- (29) \*a-xu-der-a=xo njye  
3SG:S-2SG:O-bring-IND=APP 1SG  
'He brought you to me.'

- Applicative allomorphy

Hakha Lai (Peterson, 2007, 17)

allomorph	thematic role
-piak	benefactive/malefactive
-tseʔm	additional benefactive
-pii	comitative
-hnoʔ	malefactive
-kaʔn	prioritive
-taak	relinquitive
-naak	instrumental

# Definitions of applicatives VI

- Definition 2

“constructions with additional indirect objects” (Pylkkänen, 2008, 11)

– Expanding the definition to include:

## English

(30)     $aj=!$              $b\bar{e}k$      $\emptyset$              $k\bar{e}k$   
          1.SG=FUT bake INDF cake  
          ‘I’ll bake a cake’

(31)     $aj=!$              $b\bar{e}k-\emptyset$              $j\bar{u}$      $\emptyset$              $k\bar{e}k$   
          1SG=FUT bake-APPL 2SG INDF cake  
          ‘I’ll bake you a cake’

- Definition 3

“any derivational morphology occurring on a verb root/stem that has amongst its functions the introduction of a non-Actor semantic argument into a main clause. This non-Actor is usually mapped onto an applied phrase. The latter term, coined by Denis Creissels, refers to any morphosyntactic entity introduced and/or semantically/pragmatically manipulated by the applicative without any specifications about its syntactic category, argument status, and/or semantic role” (Pacchiarotti & Zúñiga forthcoming)

- Expanding the applicative domain

## Acazulco Otomí (Hernández-Green, 2016)

- (32) dí=k'úhki=ga [ko yám ts'ĩ]<sub>INS-PP</sub>  
1COMPL=tear=1 with DET.PL.1POSS tooth  
'I tore it with my teeth.'
- (33) dá=k'úhki=ga [ko yám  
1.COMPL(GENR)(APPL)=tear=1 with DET.PL.1POSS  
ts'ĩ]<sub>INS-PP</sub>  
tooth  
'I tore it WITH MY TEETH.'

## **Criteria for applicatives**

---

- Based on Pacchiarotti and Zúñiga's (forthcoming) definition,
  - Applicatives are morphemes.
  - They introduce a non-Actor semantic argument.
  - There are no specifications about its syntactic category, argument status, and/or semantic role.
  - Applicatives may have additional grammaticalized functions.



## **APs as applicatives**

---

- APs are morphemes.
  - Despite their similarity to adpositions (especially with enclitic complements), APs only introduce an applied object when attached to the verb. This is similar to nouns like *ser*, which corresponds to three lexemes:
    - a noun 'head,'
    - a (derivational) preverb *ser-*, e.g., *serkewtin* 'to climb,'
    - part of a complex adposition =*e\_ser* 'on to,' and
    - part of a complex applicative =*e\_ser* '[SUPE.APPL].'
- They introduce a non-Actor semantic argument.

# APs as applicatives II

Simplex adpositions	Gloss	Applicative	Gloss
be ...	'to'	-ê	-DAT.APPL
be ...	'by (experiencer)'	pê-	EXP.APPL-
be ...=a	'out of'	pya-	ELA.APPL-
be ...=ewe	'by (instrument)'	pêwe-	INS.APPL-
le ...	'from'	lê-	ABL.APPL-
—	—	lê-	MAL.APPL-
le ...	'on'	tê-	LOC.APPL-
le ...=a	'on'	tya-	LOC.APPL-
le ...=ewe	'from'	lêwe-	ABL.APPL-
-e ...	'to'	-ê	ALL.APPL-
ta ...	'until'	—	—
bê ...	'without'	—	—
wekû ...	'like'	—	—

# APs as applicatives III

Complex adpositions	Gloss	Applicative	Gloss
be_des ...	'to (by hand)	be_des-	DAT.APPL-
bo <sup>2</sup> ...	'for'	bo-	BEN.APPL-
le_des ...	'from (by hand)'	le_des-	ABL.APPL-
lege† ...=a	'with'	lege†-	COM.APPL-
-e_ser ...	'on to'	-e_ser	-SUPE.APPL

- There are no specifications about its syntactic category, argument status, and/or semantic role.
  - APs are employed to introduce a non-Actor semantic argument only when pronominal (i.e. like Bukusu =xo).
  - The applied object is introduced by the AP and assigned a semantic role.

- Applicatives may have additional grammaticalized functions. The malefactive construction can only be expressed by an applicative.

- a. pişîle-ke=yan    lê-            kuşt-im  
cat-DEF=3PL.A MAL.APPL- kill.PST-1SG.O

Mukrî: 'They killed my cat, and I perceived this as indirectly affecting me in a negative manner.'

- b. \*pişîle-ke=yan    [le    min] kuşt  
cat-DEF=3PL.A from 1SG kill.PST
- c. \*pişîle-ke=yan    [lê=m]      kuşt  
cat-DEF=3PL:A from=1SG kill.PST

Mukrî: 'They killed my cat on me.' (Öpengin, 2013, 191-2)

- Adpositions
  - Adpositional Phrases (canonical)
  - Adpositional Phrases (with enclitic complements)
  - Absolute Prepositions
- Applicatives
  - Definitions
  - Criteria
  - APs as applicatives
- **Diachrony**
  - The formatives
  - Integration into the verbal complex
  - Repeat (and what is left out)
- Other (possible) applicatives in Iranian

# The formatives

---



# The formatives I

- Kurmancî (Northern Kurdish) preserves nominal case

(34)    te            li        Şîrîn-ê            ve-gerand  
         2SG.OBL from Shirin.F.OBL PV-reply.PST.3SG  
Kurmancî: 'You replied to Shirin.' (adapted from ?)

- When a simplex preposition combines with a third-person singular oblique pronoun, the result is a contracted form.

(35)    te            lê                            ve-gerand  
         2SG.OBL from-3SG.OBL PV-reply.PST.3SG  
Kurmancî: 'You replied to him/her.' (adapted from ?)

# The formatives II

- These formatives no longer encode gender, and they are identical to Soranî applicatives.

Preposition		Pronoun		Realization
li		wî [3.SG.M.OBL]		lê
ji	+	or	=	jê
bi		wê [3.SG.F.OBL]		pê
di				tê

- Review of argument indexing in Soranî

APM <sub>1</sub>			CPM		APM <sub>2</sub>	
PRS: S/A			PRS: P/O <sub>APPL.INTR</sub> /O <sub>APPL.TR</sub>		PRS: —	
PST: —			PST: A/O <sub>APPL.INTR</sub>		APM <sub>2</sub> : S/P/O <sub>APPL.TR</sub>	
SG	PL		SG	PL	SG	PL
1 -im	-în		=(i)m	=man	-im	-în
2 -î(t)	-(i)n		=(i)t	=tan	-î(t)	-(i)n
3 -ê(t)/a(t) <sup>3</sup>	-(i)n		=î	=yan	-Ø	-(i)n

## Integration into the verbal complex



# Integration into the verbal complex I

- There is a missing step between third-person singular pronouns contracted with prepositions and applicatives.
- The use of APMs to encode oblique objects and the presence of too many arguments need explanation.

(36) \*ewe<sup>2</sup> =m<sup>1</sup> l-ê<sup>4</sup> wer- girt-î(t)<sup>3</sup>  
that =1SG:A from-3SG.OBL PV- hold.PST-2SG:O  
'I<sup>1</sup> took that<sup>2</sup> you<sup>3</sup> from it<sup>4</sup>.'

(37) ewe =m lê- wer- girt-î(t)  
that =1SG:A ABL:APPL- PV- hold.PST-2SG:O  
'I took that from you.'

- There is syncretism between:

– VP: NP V.PST:

(38) **ewan** =m      girt  
those =1SG:A hold.PST  
'I held those.'

– VP: V.PST.3SG.O:

(39) girt          =im -Ø  
hold.PST =1SG -3SG  
'I held it.'

## Integration into the verbal complex III

- This syncretism provides the ambiguous context for such a reanalysis.

(40)   ewe =m       l-ê           wer- girt  
         that =1SG:A from-3SG PV- hold.PST  
         'I took that from him.'

(41)   ewe =m       lê-           wer- girt-Ø  
         that =1SG:A ABL:APPL- PV- hold.PST-3SG:O  
         'I took that from him.'

- Note that other than as part of the applicative morphemes, oblique pronouns have dropped out of the language.

**Repeat (and what is left out)**

---

# The Cycle repeats I

- Complex applicatives are identical to their prepositional counterparts.

- (42) a.    ħewt řoj zoran    =it        legeł-  
         seven day wrestle =2SG:A COM.APPL-  
         girt-im  
         LV.PST-1SG.O<sub>APPL</sub>
- b.    ħewt řoj zoran    =it        girt-im legeł to  
         seven day wrestle =2SG:A LV.PST with you(SG)
- c.    ħewt řoj zoran    =it        girt-im legeł=it  
         seven day wrestle =2SG:A LV.PST with=2SG  
         ‘You wrestled with me for seven days.’ (Mackenzie,  
         1961, 2: 24)



# The Cycle repeats II

- These forms were integrated into the applicative system, but crucially the simplex prepositions, *ta* 'until,' *wekû* 'like,' and *bê* 'without,' were not.
- For this reason, analogy alone is not enough to explain these formatives joining the applicative system.
- Here the possessive forms are the likely bridging context.
  - *Leget(=a)* 'with' consists of two parts, the simplex adposition *le* NP=*a* 'in NP' and the noun *get* 'group/flock.'
  - The nominal in this construction could always take a genitival complement, e.g. *leget=man(=a)* 'in our group.'

- Additionally, a past tense transitive verb may encode the possessor of a noun:

(43)    ktêw =î            krî-m  
          book =3SG:A buy.PST-1SG.GEN  
          Soranî: 'S/he bought my book.'

## The Cycle repeats IV

- There are therefore two possibilities:

(1) 3SG.TR.PST bridging context:

- (44) \*ktêw =î        le geɫ    krî-Ø  
book =3SG:A in group buy.PST-3SG.GEN  
Soranî: 'S/he bought a book in his/her group.'

- (45) ktêw =î        legeɫ-        krî-Ø  
book =3SG:A COM:APPL- buy.PST-3SG:O  
Soranî: 'S/he bought a book with him/her.'

– (2) PRS bridging context:

- (46) ktêw legeł=î e-kř-ê  
book with=3SG IPFV-buy.PRS-3SG.A  
Soranî: 'S/he bought a book with him/her.'
- (47) ktêw legeł- =î e-kř-ê  
book COM:APPL- =3SG.O IPFV-buy.PRS-3SG.A  
Soranî: 'S/he bought a book with him/her.'

- Adpositions
  - Adpositional Phrases (canonical)
  - Adpositional Phrases (with enclitic complements)
  - Absolute Prepositions
- Applicatives
  - Definitions
  - Criteria
  - APs as applicatives
- Diachrony
  - The formatives
  - Integration into the verbal complex
  - Repeat (and what is left out)
- **Other (possible) applicatives in Iranian**

## Middle Persian

(WAM 22 apud Jügel, 2016, 6)

- (48) ka      =tān      nēkīh      awiš  
when =2SG.OBL something.good DAT (lit. to 3SG)  
rasēd  
come.PRS.SBJ.3SG  
MP: 'When something good came to you(PL)'

Şirvan Tat (Suleymanov, 2020, 295, glosses altered)

- (49)    bǎ    čäki=ti                    bi-rä            üdömin-ho=ra    vö  
         LOC weight=POSS:2 be-PTCP person-PL=OBL [COM]  
         bi-niš            vaxs-i!  
         MOD-sit:2 MOD\_get.up-2  
         'Associate [lit. sit and get up] with people of your own level  
         [lit. weight]!'

Hewramî

(MacKenzie, 1956, 66)

- (50) mumkin =ā                      hîç      =iş  
possible =COP.3SG.M none =3SG.O  
næ-b-o                              -çænæ  
NEG-be.PRS.SBJ-3SG.S -LOC.APPL  
'Maybe, there is nothing in it,'
- (51) wæ mumkin=îç      =ā                      çêw-î                      xas  
and possible=ALSO =COP.3SG.M something-EZ good  
=iş              çænæ-              b-o  
=3SG.O LOC.APPL- be.PRS.SBJ-3SG.S  
'and maybe, there is something good in it.'



Hewramî

(MacKenzie, 1956, 76)

- (52)    hækayætæ-w    kilkæwanæ-î =s            pæy-  
         story-EZ./GEN ring-OBL            =3SG.A BEN.APPL-  
         kærð-æ  
         do.PST-3SG.F  
         'he told her the story of the ring.'

- Craig, Colette & Ken Hale. 1988. Relational Preverbs in Some Languages of the Americas: Typological and Historical Perspectives. *Language* 64(2). 312–344.
- Edmonds, C. J. 1955. Prepositions and Personal Affixes in Southern Kurdish. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17(3). 490–502.
- Hernández-Green, Néstor. 2016. Registration versus Applicative Constructions in Acazulco Otomi. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 82(3). 355–385.
- Jügel, Thomas. 2016. Enclitic Pronouns in Middle Persian and the Placeholder Construction. In Mahmoud Jaafari Dehaghi (ed.), *Quarterly journal of language and inscription* 1/1 [1396 h.š.], dedicated to professor mansour shaki, 41–63. Tehran.

- MacKenzie, David N. 1956. Bajalani. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 18(3). 418–435.
- Mackenzie, David N. 1961. *Kurdish dialect, studies 1-2. studies 1-2*. London; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Öpengin, Ergin. 2013. Adpositions and Argument Indexing in the Mukri Variety of Central Kurdish : Focus on Ditransitive Constructions. *Orientalia Suecana* 61. 187–198.
- Peterson, David A. 2007. *Applicative constructions*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. *Introducing arguments*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Suleymanov, Murad. 2020. Oblique marking and adpositional constructions in Tat: A mosaic of dialectal convergence and divergence. In Richard K. Larson, Sedigheh Moradi & Vida Samiiian (eds.), *Advances in iranian linguistics*, chap. 13, 275–300. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Thackston, Wheeler M. 2006. *Sorani Kurdish: A Reference Grammar with Selected Readings*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.  
<https://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~Iranian/Sorani>.
- Weir, E. M. H. 1987. Footprints of Yesterday's Syntax: Diachronic Development of Certain Verb Prefixes in an OSV Language (Nadëb). *Lingua* 68. 291–316.

**Zor spas! Fræ mæmnûn! Mærsi!**  
**Thank you much!**

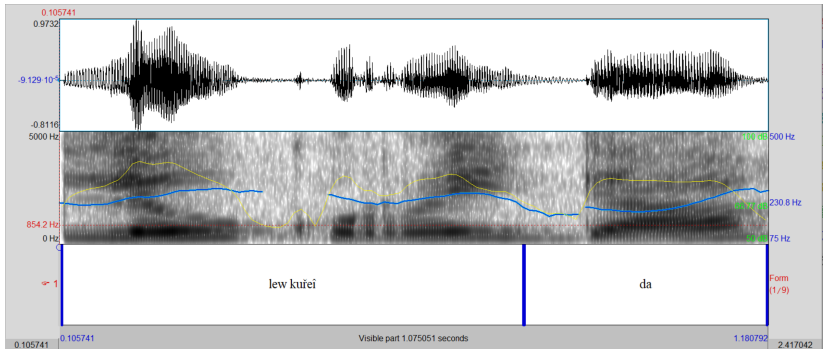
---

# Appendix



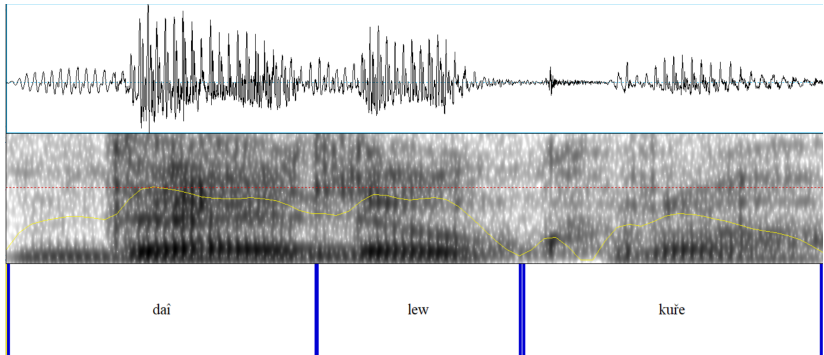
- (53) Kiç eme=î        **zor** pê- xoş        bû,  
girl this=3SG:E very AP- please.LV LV.STEM.PST  
'This pleased the girl greatly.' (Mackenzie, 1961, 20.12)
- (54) Debê xêwet-êk=im        **le**        **derewe-î** **şar** bo-  
must tent-INDF=1SG:R from outside-EZ city AP-  
heł        bi-de-n  
pitch.PV SBJ-pitch.STEM.PRS-3PL:A  
'they will have to pitch a tent for me outside the city'  
(Thackston, 2006, 24)

# Spectra I

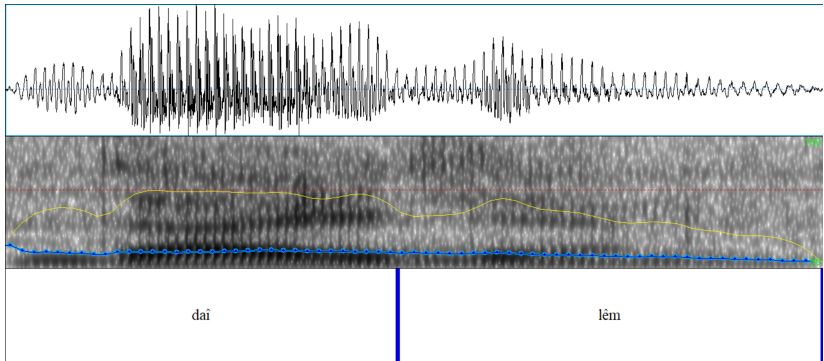




# Spectra II



# Spectra III



# Spectra IV

