

Contact reinforces comparative reconstruction: a case study in Kurdish and Gorani

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Introduction

- My proposed reconstruction of Kurdish present-tense verbal morphology.
 - Reconstruction
 - Sound changes and morphological analogy
- Reconstruction of Hewramî verbal morphology from Karim and Mohammadirad (forthcoming).
 - Reconstruction
 - Sound changes and morphological analogy
 - Preservation of stages in dialectal variation
- Discussion of Contact and Reinforcement

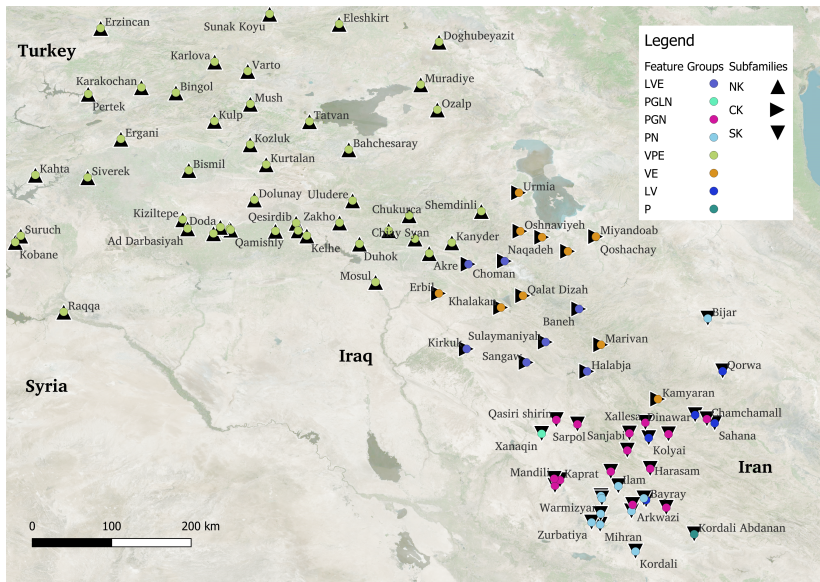
Acknowledgements



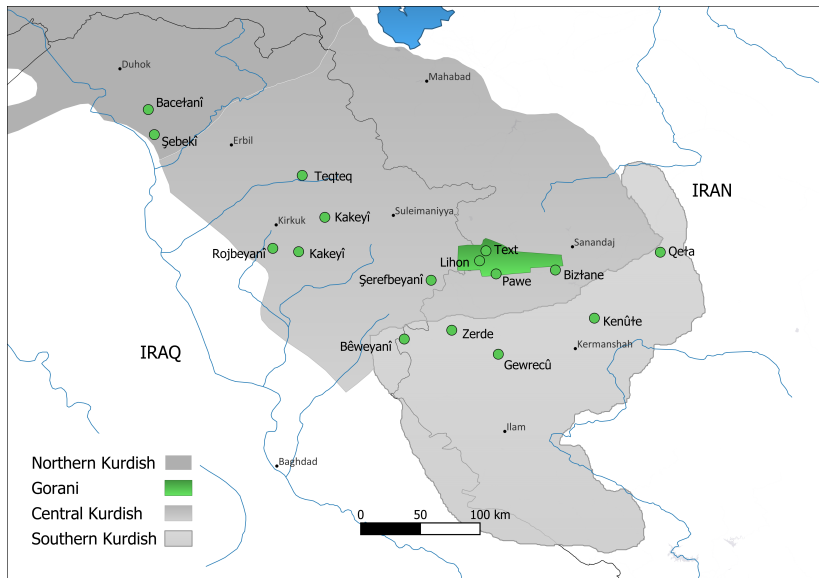
- This project represents a merger between my ongoing work on imperfective marking in Iranian languages and a collaboration between Masoud Mohammadirad and myself, combining linguistic and documentary work on Hewramî, Gorani, and Kurdish varieties.
- This work is supported by the European Research Council ALHOME project led by Geoffrey Khan



Kurdish map



Gorani (Mohammadirad and Karim, in review)



Reconstruction of Kurdish present-tense verbal morphol- ogy

Kurdish Reconstruction I

Rep. variety	IPFV.PRS	NEG.IPFV.PRS
Hewlêr	<i>de-kém</i>	<i>ná-kem</i>
Kerkûk	<i>e-kém</i>	<i>ná-kem</i>
Bîcar	<i>di-kém</i>	<i>nî-kem</i>
Qorwe	<i>e-kém</i>	<i>ná-kem</i>
Malikşay	<i>di-kém</i>	<i>nyé-kem</i>
Kirmanşa	<i>kém</i>	<i>nyé-kem</i>

- The majority of varieties have a dental element *d*.
- *i* represents a reduced vowel etymologically from **e*: *ejdeha* ~ *ijdeha*, *emřo* ~ *imro*, etc.
- The majority of varieties have *na-*
- *nye-* corresponds to varieties with *di-* and those with \emptyset -.

Kurdish Reconstruction II

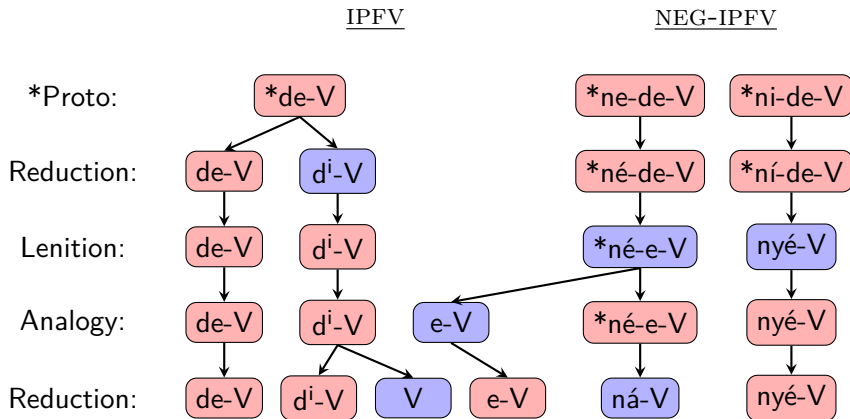
Rep. variety	IPFV.PRS	NEG.IPFV.PRS
Hewlêr	<i>dém</i>	<i>ná-êṁ</i>
Kerkûk	<i>dém</i>	<i>ná-êṁ</i>
Bîcar	<i>di-yám</i>	<i>ní-yam</i>
Qorwe	<i>(e-)tém</i>	<i>ná-êṁ</i>
Kirmanşa	<i>tyém</i>	<i>nyé-tyem</i>

- The dental element is preserved before *h*-initial roots, e.g., *hê* 'come.'
- *dh > *t* but *dVhV > *dV*

Kurdish Reconstruction III

- post-vocalic lenition of *d:
 - *nede > *na*
 - *nid > *nî*
 - *nide > *nye*
- We can reconstruct *de- [IPFV-] and either *ne-de or *ni-de [NEG-IPFV-]
- We see this same kind of “vowel harmonic” alternation in other Iranian languages, cf.
 - *SK: *nî-de-kem vs. *ne-kem*
 - Persian: *né-mî-konam* vs. *næ-konam*
 - Paweyane: *nî-me-kerû* vs. *né-kerû*
 NEG-IPFV-DO.1SG vs. NEG.SBJ-DO.1SG

Kurdish Developments



- Institutional memory: MacKenzie (1961) used the preservation of *d* in some varieties as “proof” of separate etyma of the various IPFV markers (when it is the opposite).
- He also “corrected” native speech in his transcription, obscuring the changes that led to these developments, e.g., <dan> for *yan* ‘give,’ etc. but not *yên* for **dên* < **dehên*
- Persian influence!!! (No record of sufficiently intense Persian contact with these varieties before 20 years ago). Windfuhr (2009) suggested **ham-ae-dā*
- Missing data from SK:
 - Correlation between pretonic reduction and d-t variation.
 - Circumfix **de-V.PST-da*, e.g., *diçya* ‘he was going’ = Mukrî: *de= NP =da* ‘in NP’

Reconstruction of Hewramî present-tense verbal morphol- ogy

Verb Classes (present formation) Questions

			IND	SBJ	IMP/PRH
1	<i>kerdey</i> 'do'	AFF	<i>ker-î</i>	<i>kér-î</i>	<i>kér-e</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-ker-î</i>	<i>né-ker-î</i>	<i>mé-ker-e</i>
2	<i>day</i> 'give'	AFF	<i>mi-ďé-y</i>	<i>bi-ďé-y</i>	<i>bi-ď-é</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-ďe-y</i>	<i>né-ďe-y</i>	<i>mé-ď-e</i>
3	<i>awirdey</i> 'bring'	AFF	<i>m-ar-î</i>	<i>b-ár-î</i>	<i>b-ár-e</i>
		NEG	<i>ni-m-ár-î</i>	<i>n-ár-î</i>	<i>ni-m-ár-e</i>
4	<i>witey</i> 'sleep'	AFF	<i>m-us-î</i>	<i>b-ús-î</i>	<i>b-ús-e</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-ws-î</i>	<i>né-ws-î</i>	<i>mé-ws-e</i>

- Archaism or Innovation?
- [IPFV-NEG] = [PROH]
- *ni-* only with 5 verbs.

Hewramî Reconstruction I

Rep. variety	IPFV.PRS	NEG.IPFV.PRS
Text	<i>zanû</i>	<i>mé-zanû</i>
Luhon	<i>mi-zanû</i>	<i>mé-zanû</i>
Bzłane	<i>mi-zanó</i>	<i>nmé-zano</i>
Pawe	<i>me-zanû</i>	<i>níme-zanû</i>
Zerde	<i>me-zanû</i>	<i>níme-zanû</i>
Şebekî	<i>me-zanû</i>	<i>níme-zanû</i>

- All Goranî varieties have an *m*.

Hewramî Reconstruction II

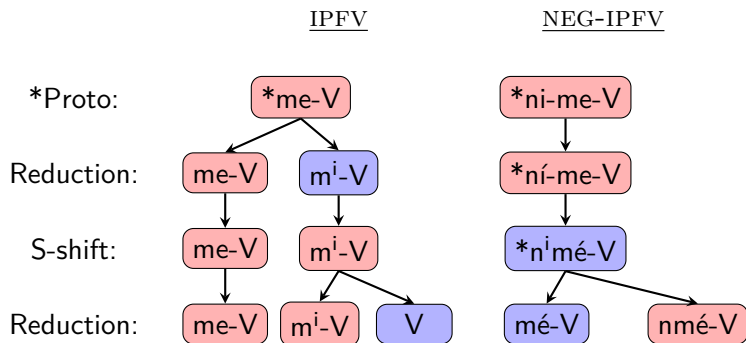
- Like SK, $i < *e$: Pawe: *ejdehá* 'demon,' Text: *ijdehá* 'idem;'
Central Kurdish: *ferman* 'command,' Persian: *farmanbardār*
'obedient,' Text: *firmànbirđár* 'idem;'
southern Central Kurdish: *gezer* 'carrot,' Text: 'gizérî;'
Arabic: *hakāyat* (*hekayet* in our orthography) 'story,' Text: *hikayét* 'idem;'
Central Kurdish: *hefûçe* 'cracked wheat,' *hiťóşe* 'idem;'
Central Kurdish: *merû-le* 'ant,' *miro-çé* 'idem;'
Persian: *namāz* 'prayer,' Central Kurdish: *newêj* 'idem,' Text: *nimá* 'idem.'
- Varieties with the *mi-* variant all have this sound change; none of the varieties with *me-* do.
- The majority of varieties have *níme*
- *(n)mé-* corresponds to varieties with *mi-* and those with \emptyset -.

Hewramî Reconstruction III

- Phonological motivation means sound change is responsible. Root structure and Consonant quality dictate verb class membership.

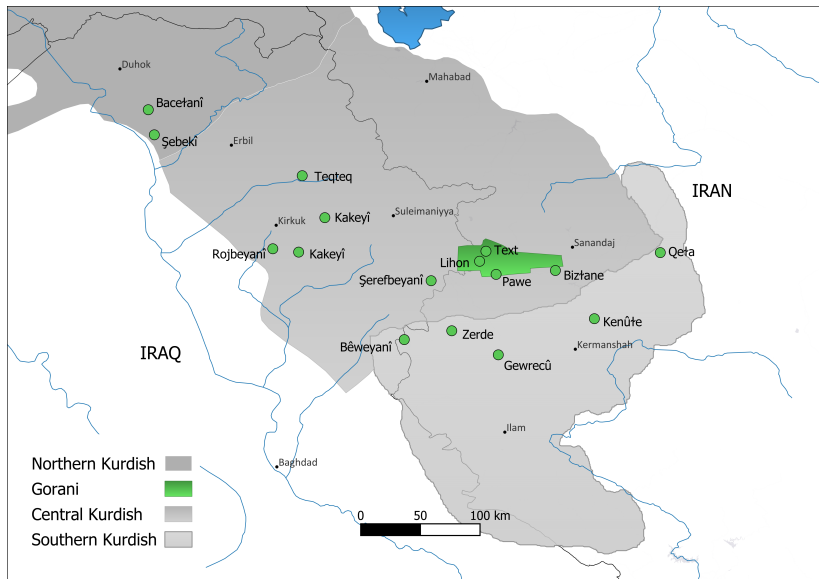
Rep. variety	IPFV.PRS	NEG-IPFV.PRS
*Gorani	*me-V	*ni-me-V
*Laki	*=e.me-V	*ni-me-V
*Kurdish	*de-V	*ne-de-V
*New Persian	*mī-V	*ne-mī-V

Hewramî Developments



Compelling Evidence: Sound Changes

Gorani (Mohammadirad and Karim, in review)



Verb Classes *Gorani

			IND	SBJ	IMP/PRH
1	*kerdey 'do'	AFF	*me-ker-î	*bí-ker-î	*bí-ker-e
		NEG	*ní-me-ker-î	*né-ker-î	*mé-ker-e
2	*day 'give'	AFF	*me-dé-y	*bí-de-y	*bí-d-e
		NEG	*ní-me-de-y	*né-de-y	*mé-d-e
3	*awirdey 'bring'	AFF	*m-ar-î	*b-ár-î	*b-ár-e
		NEG	*ní-m-ar-î	*n-ár-î	*m-ár-e
4	*(e)staney 'take'	AFF	*me-stan-î	*bí-stan-î	*bí-stan-e
		NEG	*ní-me-stan-î	*né-stan-î	*mé-stan-e

The initial subjunctive stress shift

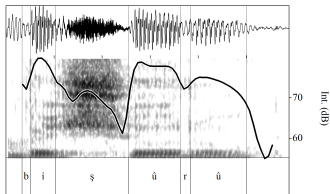


Figure: Zerde: SBJ '(that) s/he wash'

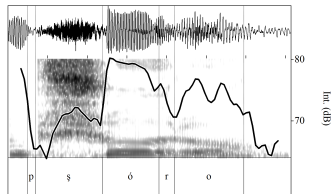


Figure: Pawe: SBJ '(that) s/he wash'

*meşoró *bíşoro *nímeşoro *mezanó *bízano *nímezano *mestanó *bístano *nímestano

↓
***pşóro**

The second subjunctive stress shift

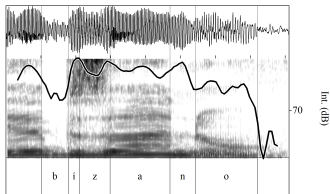


Figure: Pawe: SBJ '(that) s/he know'

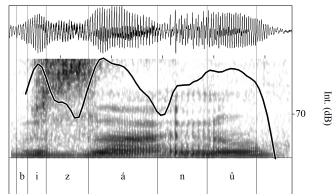


Figure: Lihon: SBJ '(that) s/he know'

*meşoró *pşóro *nímeşoro *mezanó *bízano *nímezano *mestanó *bístano *nímestano

↓
*b'ízano

Pretonic reduction

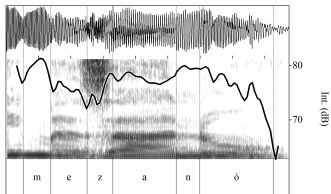


Figure: Pawe: IPFV 's/he knows'

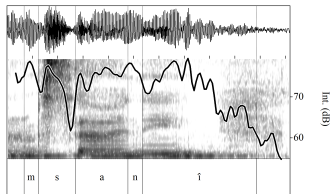


Figure: Text: IPFV 'you buy'

*meʃoró *pʃoró *nímeʃoro *mezanó *bzáno *nímezano *mes(t)ano *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano
↓ ↓ ↓
***mʲsoró** ***mizanó** ***mis(t)ano**

Pretonic reduction blocked

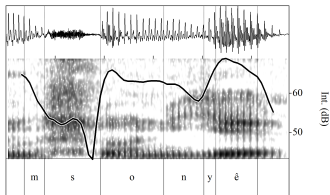


Figure: Bizłana: IPFV 'you don't buy'

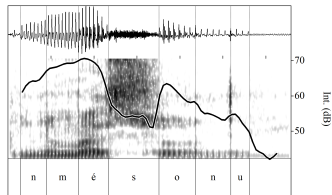


Figure: Bizłana: NEG.IPFV 's/he doesn't buy'

*mşoró *pşóro *nímeşoro *mizanó *bzáno *nímezano *mis(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano

Loss of SBJV p- in clusters

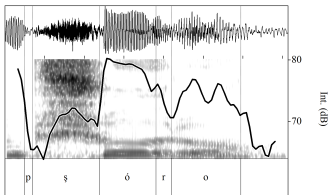


Figure: Pawe: SBJV '(that) s/he washes'

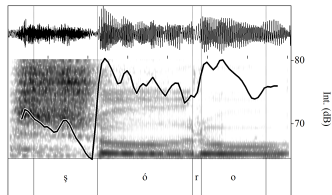


Figure: Text: SBJV '(that) s/he washes'

*mʂoró *pʂóro *nímeʂoro *mizanó *bzáno *nímezano *mis(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano

↓
ʂóro

Loss of SBJV b- in clusters

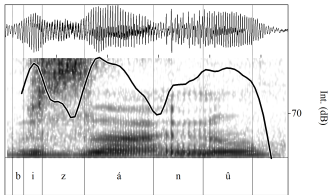


Figure: Lihon: SBJV '(that) s/he knows'

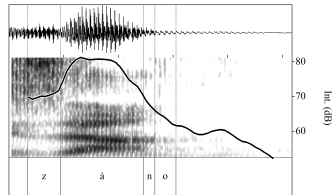


Figure: Text: SBJV '(that) s/he knows'

*mşoró şóro *nímeşoro *mizanó *bzáno *nímezano *mis(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano



záno

The third subjunctive stress shift

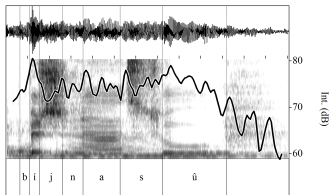


Figure: Text: SBJ '(that) s/he know'

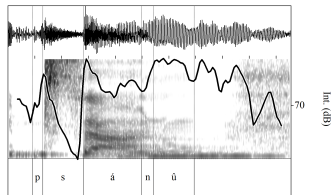


Figure: Text: SBJ '(that) s/he buy'

*mşoró şoro *nímesoro *mizanó *bzáno *nímezano *misanó* *psáno *nímesano

↓
psáno

Loss of m(i)-

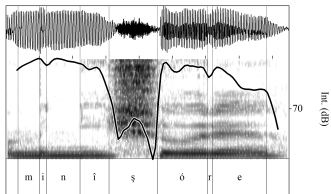


Figure: Lihon: IPFV 's/he sits'

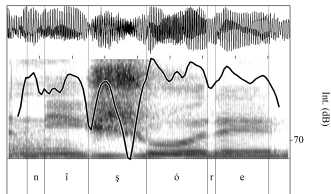


Figure: Text: IPFV 's/he sits'

*mşoró şóro *nímeşoro *mizanó záno *nímezano *misanó psáno* *nímesano



şoró



zanó

Loss of ni- in nime-

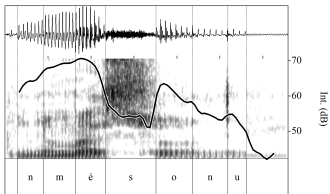


Figure: Bizłane: NEG.IPFV 'I don't buy'

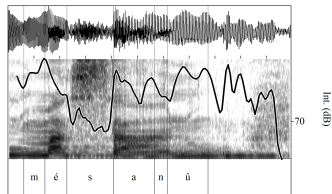
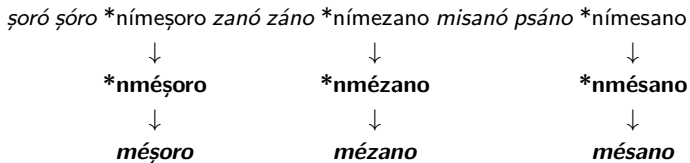


Figure: Text: NEG.IPFV 'I don't buy'



Broader points



Demorphologization and Remorphologization

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 - If the prefixes are stress-bearing, their stress shifts to the right: **bímiro* > *míro*, **nímemi-ro* > *mémiro*
- Demorphologization:
 - The prefix **me-* only survives as a placeholder for stress, the last remnant of a former negative marker.

Systemic effects

IPFV.PRS.3SG

*me-STEM-ó



STEM-ó

mir-ó

die.PRS.IPFV-3SG

SBJ.PRS.3SG

*bí-STEM-o



STÉM-o

mír-o

die.PRS.SBJ-3SG

NEG.IPFV = PROH

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG	PROH.PRS.2SG
*níme-STEM-î	*mé-STEM-e
↓	↓
*mé-STEM-î	*mé-STEM-e
<i>mé-mir-î</i>	<i>mé-mir-e</i>
NEG-die.PRS-2SG	PROH-die.PRS-2SG

Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-î

:

mé-mir-e

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

PROH-die.PRS-2SG

as

ní-m-ar-î

:

X

NEG-IPFV-bring.PRS-2SG

PROH-bring.PRS-2SG

Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-î

:

mé-mir-e

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

PROH-die.PRS-2SG

as

ní-m-ar-î

:

X

NEG-IPFV-bring.PRS-2SG

PROH-bring.PRS-2SG

* máre

Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-î

:

mé-mir-e

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

PROH-die.PRS-2SG

as

ní-m-ar-î

:

X

NEG-IPFV-bring.PRS-2SG

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* máre

- According to Christensen & Benedictsen (1921), *máre*.

Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-î

:

mé-mir-e

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

PROH-die.PRS-2SG

as

ní-m-ar-î

:

X

NEG-IPFV-bring.PRS-2SG

PROH-bring.PRS-2SG

* máre

- According to Christensen & Benedictsen (1921), *máre*.
- *nímare*

Important Points

- The original progressive aspect marker *me-* is now a marker *mé-* only because it is a placeholder for stress, the only remnant of the negation marker.

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Important Points

- The original progressive aspect marker *me-* is now a marker *mé-* only because it is a placeholder for stress, the only remnant of the negation marker.
- The prohibitive was borrowed from the negative imperfective, **the opposite of MacKenzie (1966)'s claim**
- Everything proposed here is attested synchronically in related varieties

Summary

Summary of Parallel developments

	Hewramî		Southern Kurdish	
	AFF	NEG	AFF	NEG
Etyma	*mekeró	*nímekero	*dekerê	*nídekerê
Pretonic shortening	*m ⁱ keró	*nímekero	*d ⁱ kerê	*nídekerê
Stress shift (Zagros <i>d</i>)	*m ⁱ keró	*n ⁱ mékero	dⁱkerê	nyékerê
Cluster Deletion	<i>keró</i>	<i>mékero</i>	<i>kerê</i>	<i>nyékerê</i>

- The convergence of varieties with overlapping geographic distributions reinforces the plausibility this reconstruction.
- Microvariation further supports this assertion:
 - Bîcar: *di-V* :: *nî-V* < **ni-di-V*
 - Qela: *mi-V* :: *nim-V* < **ni-mi-V*
- The contact phenomenon is not pattern borrowing but shared phonological innovation (Sprachbund)

Zor supastan ekem!

- Christensen, Arthur & Åge Meyer Benedictsen. 1921. *Les dialectes d'Awroman et de Pawa*. Kobenhavn: B. Lunos.
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- Windfuhr, Gernot. 2009. Dialectology and Topics. In Gernot Windfuhr (ed.), *The Iranian Languages*, 5–42. London; New York: Routledge.