



# Complex Predicates in Hawrami

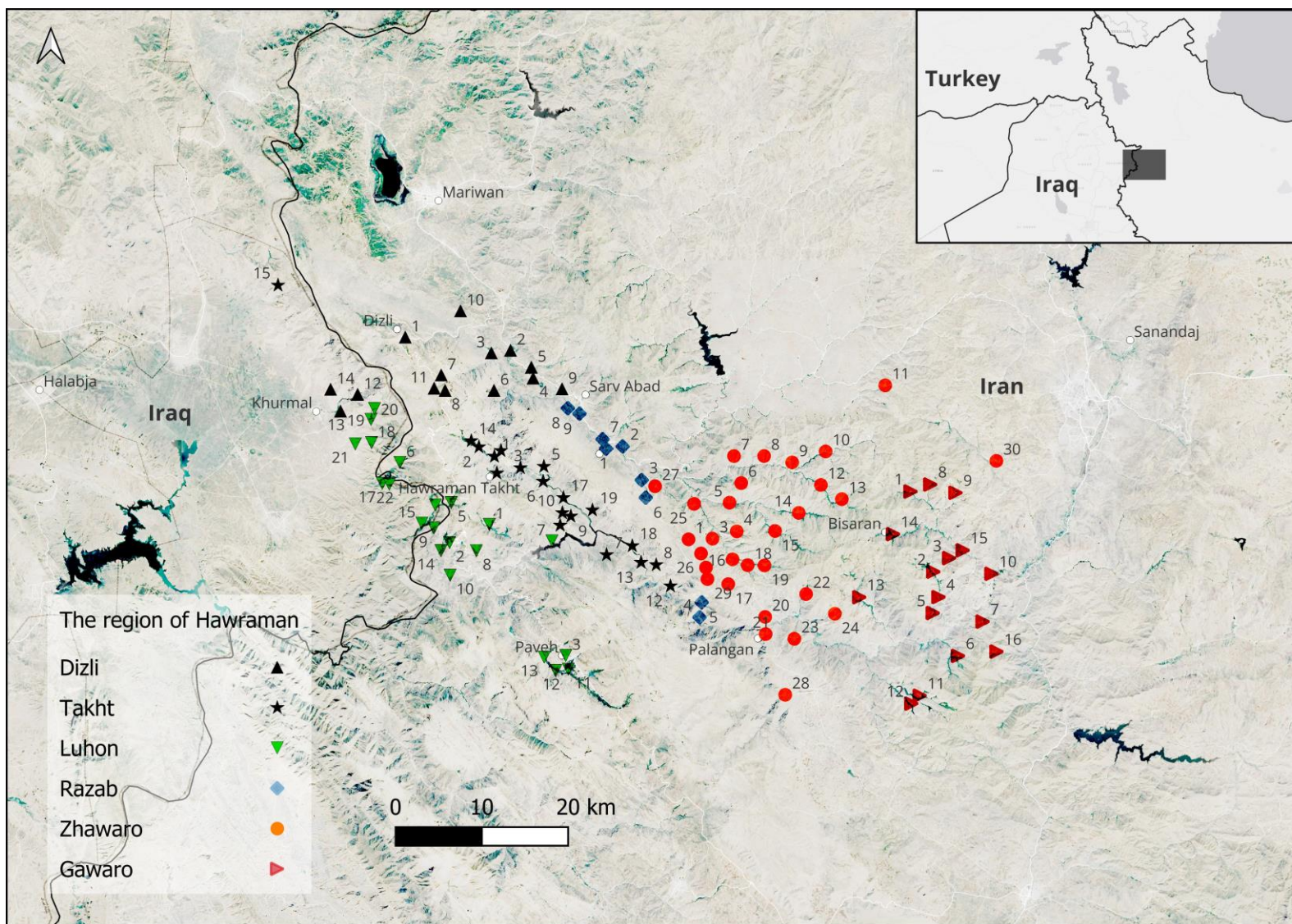
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# Outline of the talk

- Complex predicates in Hawrami
- Gender and number agreement in Hawrami
- Agreement in complex predicates
  - The nature of agreement
  - The syntactic category of the controllers
  - The category of agreement targets
- Analysis







# Data

A corpus of Hawrami Takht  
(around 11000 words, 15  
spoken narratives)

Mohammadirad, Masoud. *in  
prep.* A grammar of  
Hawrami Takht.



# Complex predicates in Hawrami

## The category of the non-verbal element

Non-verbal  
element  
Noun

### Complex predicate examples

*ʕefwe kerḏey* ‘to pardon’ (lit. ‘pardon to do’)  
*dāwā kerḏey* ‘to request’ (lit. ‘request to do’)  
*hījībī kerḏey* ‘to ask hands by intermediary’ (lit. ‘betrothal to do’)  
*wey kerḏey* ‘to raise’ (lit. ‘training to do’)  
*zīnī kerḏey* ‘to saddle’ (lit. ‘saddle to do’)

Adjective

*gum kerḏey* ‘to lose’ (lit. ‘lost to do’)  
*ādiz kerḏey* ‘to upset’ (lit. ‘upset to do’)  
*keč kerḏey* ‘to paralyze’ (lit. ‘crooked to do’)  
*dāgīr kerḏey* ‘to occupy’ (lit. ‘occupied to do’)  
*ṛās kerḏey* ‘to carry out’ (lit. ‘right to do’)  
*jīyā kerḏey* ‘to separate’ (lit. ‘separate to do’)  
*āškirā kerḏey* ‘to disclose’ (lit. ‘visible to do’)

Noun ~  
Adjective

*ṛed bīyey* ‘to cross’ (lit. ‘crossing to do’)  
*istāh kerḏey* ‘to amend’ (lit. ‘amendment to do’)  
*hālī bīyey* ‘to understand’ (lit. ‘understood to be’)  
*hālī kerḏey* ‘to make understand’ (lit. ‘understood to do’)  
*jemʕ kerḏey* ‘to gather’ (lit. ‘addition to do’)  
*swār kerḏey* ‘to mount’ (lit. ‘rider to do’)  
*bergozār kerḏey* ‘to hold’ (lit. ‘accomplished to do’)

Particle

*ber-āmāy* ‘to rise’ (lit. ‘out to come’)  
*ber-ārdey* ‘to take out’ (lit. ‘out to take’)  
*ber kerḏey* ‘to expell’ (lit. ‘out to do’)  
*wer dāy* ‘to release’ (lit. ‘out to give’)

# Complex predicates in Hawrami

## Common light verbs in complex predicates

Light verb  
kerḏey ‘to do’

Complex predicate examples

*weš kerḏey* ‘to make; to build; to cure’ (lit. ‘well to do’)

*gurj kerḏey* ‘to prepare’ (lit. ‘quick to do’)

*zāmdār kerḏey* ‘to make wounded’ (lit. ‘wounded to do’)

*fewt kerḏey* ‘to pass away’ (lit. ‘death to do’)

*wiš kerḏey* ‘to inform’ (lit. ‘intelligence to do’)

*řed bīyey* ‘to cross’ (lit. ‘crossing to do’)

bīyey ‘to be /become’

*peydā bīyey* ‘to appear, to be born’ (lit. ‘vsibile to be’)

*weš bīyey* ‘get healed’ (lit. ‘well to be’)

*suwār bīyey* ‘get on’ (lit. ‘rider to be’)

*nizīk bīyey* ‘to approach’ (lit. ‘close to be’)

*neweš kewtey* ‘to get ill’ (lit. ‘ill to fall’)

kewtey ‘to fall’

*hetim kewtey* ‘to be left an orphan’ (lit. ‘orphan to fall’)

*pek kewtey* ‘to be worried’ (lit. ‘strenght to fall’)

*řīk kewtey* ‘to arrange’ (lit. ‘arranged to fall’)

*pāt kewtey* ‘to lean, to lie down’ (lit. ‘side to fall’)

*nizīk kewtey* ‘to get close to’ (lit. ‘close to fall’)

*qesem wārḏey* ‘to swear an oath’ (lit. ‘otath to eat’)

wārḏay ‘to eat’

*gīr wārḏey* ‘to get stuck’ (lit. ‘obstacle to eat’)

*derḏ wārḏey* ‘to be of use’ (lit. ‘pain to eat’)

*tefre dāy* ‘to avoid’ (lit. ‘avoidance to give’)

*biř dāy* ‘to cover a distance’ (lit. ‘piece to give’)

*īnjām dāy* ‘to make’ (lit. ‘accomplishment to give’)

*ber-āmāy* ‘to rise’ (lit. ‘out to come’)

āmāy ‘to come’

*tūš āmāy* ‘to run into, to get into trouble’ (lit. ‘accident to come’)

biřyey ‘to cut’

*māre biřyey* ‘to marry’ (lit. ‘marriage portion to cut’)

*sere biřyey* ‘to behead’ (lit. ‘head to cut’)

*desū dīm gērtēy* ‘to perform a Muslim pray ritual’ (lit. ‘hand and side to take’)

gērtēy ‘to grab’

*nāmē nīyāy* ‘to name’ (lit. ‘name to put’)

nīyāy ‘to put’

# Complex predicates in Hawrami

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## Transitivity

<i>fewt kerḏey</i>	‘to pass away’	(intr.)
<i>zīyā kerḏey</i>	‘to increase’	(tr., intr.)
<i>kem kerḏey</i>	‘to decrease’	(tr., intr.)
<i>derḏ wārḏey</i>	‘to be of use’	(intr.)
<i>gīr wārḏey</i>	‘to get stuck’	(intr., tr.)
<i>tefre dāy</i>	‘to avoid’	(intr.)

# Hawrami Gender and Number systems



# Hawrami gender system

## Nominal gender:

	masculine	feminine
nouns whose citation form ends in:	consonant -ē -ī -o -ā -ū	-e -ī -ē -ā

## Examples:

Masculine: hāmin ‘summer’; yāné ‘house’; mizgī ‘mosque’; heṭú ‘eagle’; ko ‘mountain’; geṭā ‘leaf’

Feminine: yāgē ‘place’; čāwre ‘tent’; hēzmī ‘wood’; seringā ‘pillow’

# Gender and number agreement in Hawrami

## Targets: Attributive Adjectives

- (1)     *kuř-ē*             *juwānxāš*             (KŠ.68)  
         boy.M-INDF     good\_looking.M  
         ‘a good-looking boy’
- (2)     *žen-ē*             *xās-e*                     (ŽH.64)  
         wife.F-INDF     nice-F  
         ‘a nice wife’
- (3)     *kār-ē*             *xerāb-ē*  
         thing-PL        bad-PL  
         ‘bad things’ (Khan and Mohammadirad, *forthcoming*)

# Gender and number agreement in Hawrami

## Targets: Predicative Adjectives

- (4) *kināčekē felej-e b-o'* [ŽP.149]  
girl.DEF.F paralysed-F be.PRS-3SG  
'The girl was disabled.'
- (5) *mičklè=n' kè̃m=ā'* [BŠ.136]  
young.M=COP.3SG.M small.M=COP.3SG.M  
'He (Hama Wirdikla) was young, he was small.'
- (6) *ēme firē b-ēn-mē* [BŠ.110]  
1PL many.PL be.PRS-PSTC-1PL  
'We were many [people].'

# Gender and number agreement in Hawrami

## Targets: Past tense verbs

- (7) *kināčē wit-e*  
girl.F sleep.PST-**3SG.F**  
'The girl slept.'
- (8) *kuř wit-∅*  
boy.M sleep.PST-**3SG.M**  
'The boy slept.'
- (9) *hēleřuenī=šā kerd-e*  
friedd.egg.F=3PL do.PST-**3SG.F**  
'They cooked fried eggs.'



# Gender and number agreement in Hawrami

- (10)    *ī*                    *degā*                    *to=š*                    *vīnī*  
         DEM.PROX       **village.F**               2SG=3SG               see.PRS-2SG
- čot-e*               *bīyē=ne*                                       (ŽE.04)  
         vacant-F       **be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F**
- ‘This village which you see, was deserted.’

# Agreement in Complex predicates

# Agreement in Complex predicates

*neweš kewtey* ‘to get sick’ (lit. ‘ill to fall’)

(11) *āḏ*            *neweš-∅*    *gin-o*  
3SG.DIR.M    sick-M    fall.PRS-3SG  
‘He gets sick.’

(12) *āḏe*            *neweš-e*    *gin-o*  
3SG.DIR.F    ill-F    fall.PRS-3SG  
‘She gets sick.’

(13) *ēme*            *neweš-ē*    *gin-mē*  
1PL    ill-PL    fall.PRS-1PL  
‘We get sick.’

# Agreement in Complex predicates

## *Examples from the text corpus*

*neweš kewtey* ‘to get sick’ (lit. ‘ill to fall’)

- (14) *kināčē=w*      *pādšā=y*   *misr-ī*      *neweš-è*   *gin-o*      [ZP.25]  
daughter.F=EZ   king=EZ   Egypt-OBL.M   ill-F   fall.PRS-3SG  
‘The king of Egypt’s daughter fell sick.’

*kem kerđey* ‘to decrease’ (lit. ‘little to do’)

- (15) *ī*      *merāsēm=e*      *kem*   *me-ker-o*      [ZP.130]  
this   ceremony.M=DEM   little.M   NEG-do.PRS-3SG  
‘This ceremony will keep on being held (it does not decrease).’

*weš kerđey* ‘to make’ (lit. ‘well to do’)

- (16) *kulī-ē*      *weš-ē*      *ker-o*  
thread\_ball.DIR.PL   good-PL   do.PRS-3SG  
‘She made thread balls.’



# The syntactic category of the controllers

# Agreement in Complex predicates: The syntactic category of the controllers

## Intransitive subjects

Present tense:

*neweš kewtey* ‘to get sick’

- (17) [[kināčē=w    pādšā=y    misr-ī    **neweš-è**    gin-o]<sup>l</sup>    [ZP.25]  
daughter.F=EZ    king=EZ    Egypt-OBL.M    ill-F    fall.PRS-3SG  
‘The king of Egypt’s daughter fell sick.’

Past tense:

*nārehet bīyey* ‘to get upset’

- (18) *min    čī    nārehet bī-ā?*<sup>l</sup>  
1SG    why    upset    be.PST-1SG  
‘Why did I (m.) get upset?’

# Agreement in Complex predicates: The syntactic category of the controllers

## Direct objects

Past tense

*jemʃ kerḏey* (lit. 'addition to do')

- (19) *sultān selīm-ī jemʃ-ē kerd-ē*  
sultan PN-OBL.M addition-PL do.PST-3PL  
'Sultan Salim gathered them.'

*weš kerḏey* 'to cure' (lit. 'well to do')

- (20) *ī duktir=e ī kināčē=š=e weš-e kerd-e* [ŽP.164]  
this physician=DEM this girl.F=3SG=DEM well-F do.PST-F.3SG  
'(If) the doctor could cure the girl.'

# Agreement in Complex predicates: The syntactic category of the controllers

## Direct objects

present tense

*zāmdār kerđey* ‘to make wounded’ (lit. ‘wounded to make’)

- (21) *ēme zāmdār-ē nē-ker-o* [DG.64]  
1PL wounded-PL NEG.SBJV-do.PRS-3SG  
‘He shall not make us wounded.’

*gum kerđey* ‘to lose’ (lit. ‘lost to do’)

- (22) *řā gūm-e ker-ā* [ŠJ.41]  
road.F lost-F do.PRS-3PL  
‘They lost their way.’



Lexical class of agreement targets

# Agreement in Complex predicates: The category of agreement targets

## Adjectives

*zāmdār kerđey* ‘to make wounded’ (lit. ‘wounded to make’)

- (23) *ēme zāmdār-ē nè-ker-o* [DG.64]  
(23) *ēme zāmdār-ē nè-ker-o* [DG.64]  
1PL wounded-PL NEG.SBJV-do.PRS-3SG  
1PL wounded-PL NEG.SBJV-do.PRS-3SG  
‘He shall not make us wounded.’  
‘He shall not make us wounded.’

*weš kerđey* ‘to cure’ (lit. ‘well to do’)

- (24) *ī duktir=e ī kināčē=š=e weš-e kerd-e* [ŽP.164]  
this physician=DEM this girl.F=3SG=DEM well-F do.PST-F.3SG  
‘(If) the doctor could cure the girl.’

# Agreement in Complex predicates: The category of agreement targets

## Parts of speech floating between nouns and adjectives

*deʕfe kerdey* ‘to remove’ (lit. ‘exclusion to do’)

- (25) *xwā        derde=š        deff-e        kero* [DG.28]  
God        illness.F=3SG        exclusion-F        do.PRS-3SG  
‘May God cure (lit. remove) his illness.’

*jemʕ kerdey* (lit. ‘addition to do’)

- (26) *sultān    selīm-ī        jemʕ-ē        kerd-ē*  
sultan    PN-OBL.M        addition-PL        do.PST-3PL  
‘Sultan Salim gathered them.’

*řeđ bīyey* ‘to pass, to cross’ (lit. ‘crossing to do’)

- (27) *řeđ-ē        b-ā* [ZB.43]  
crossing-PL        be.PRS-3PL  
‘They crossed.’

# Agreement in Complex predicates: The category of agreement targets

## Noun-Light Verb

No agreement

*wiš kerḏey* ‘to inform’ (lit. ‘memory to do’)

- (28) *qewm-ekā=mā*      *wiš*      *ker-mē*  
relative-DEF.OBL.PL=1PL   memory.M   do.PRS-1PL  
‘We will inform our relatives.’

*terbīyet kerḏey* ‘to raise’ (lit. ‘raising to do’)

- (29) *zāroḷe-(e)kā=tā*      *terbīyet*      *ker-dē*  
child-DEF.OBL.PL=2PL   training.M   do.PRS-2PL  
‘You train your children.’

*nikāh kerḏey* ‘to marry’ (lit. ‘marriage to do’)

- (30) *ī*    *kināčē=šā*    *pey*    *nīkāh*    *ker-e*<sup>l</sup>      [ŽP.165]  
this   girl.F=3PL   for   marriage.M   do.PRS-IMP,2SG  
‘Marry the girl to them.’

# Agreement in Complex predicates: The category of agreement targets

## Noun-Light Verb

### Agreement

*nigebānī kerḏey* ‘to take care of’ (lit. ‘guarding to do’)

- (31) *mè-tāw-ū*            *īnē*            *nigebānī-e*    *ker-ū*            [ZP.103]  
NEG-can.PRS-1SG      DEM.3SG.F    guarding-F      do.PRS-1SG  
‘I (m.) cannot take care of her.’

# Summary

Agreement in complex predicates is featured by:

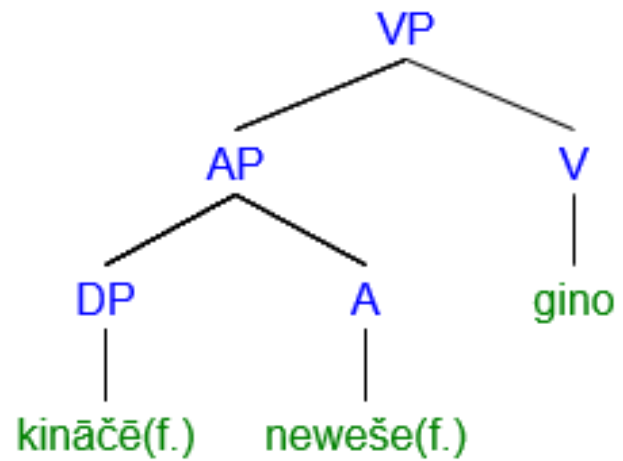
- the syntactic category of controllers includes intransitive subjects and direct objects (reminiscent of ergativity! But unlike the latter, cross-cuts tense)
- The lexical category of agreeing elements in complex predicates includes, by default, adjectives and some parts of speech floating between adjectives and nouns
- In N-LV complex predicates, nouns generally do not show agreement with any clausal argument (they have not lost their syntactic status either; they trigger agreement on the light verb)



# Analysis

*neweš kewtey* 'to get ill'

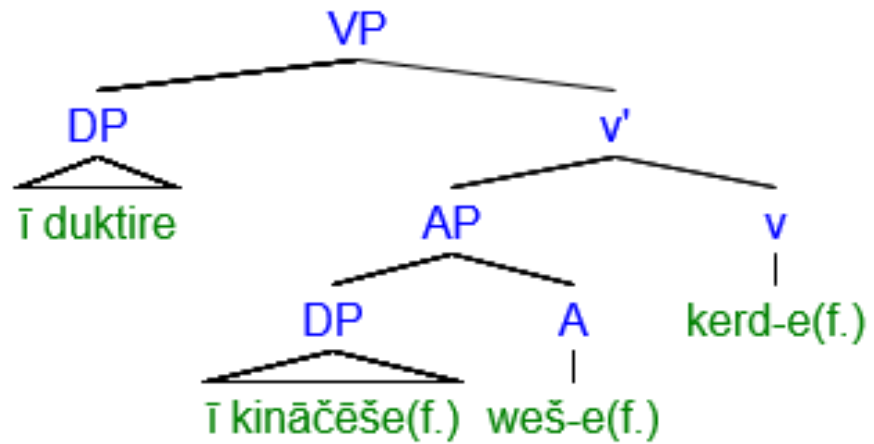
- (32)    *kināčē*        *neweš-e*        *gin-o*  
         girl.DIR.F        ill-F            fall.PRS-3SG  
         'The girl gets sick.'



# Analysis

*weš kerđey* 'to cure' (lit. 'well to do')

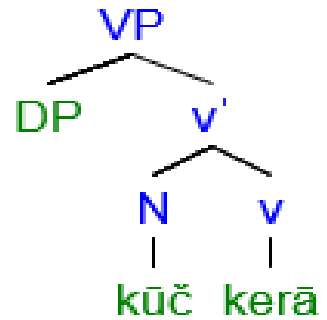
- (33) *ī duktir=e ī kināčē=š=e weš-e kerd-e'* [ŽP.164]  
this physician=DEM this girl.F=3SG=DEM well-F do.PST-F.3SG  
'(If) the doctor could cure the girl.'



# Analysis

*Kūč kerđey* 'to migrate' (lit. 'migration to do')

(34) *kūč*            *ker-ā*            [ZB.39]  
migration        do.PRS-3PL  
'They migrated.'



(35) *koč=šā*      *kerd-e=n*      [ŽE.09]  
 migration.M=3PL do.PST-PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M  
 ‘They migrated.’

(36) *šemre=ū*      *xwā-y=š*      *kerd-e*      [ZQ.31]  
 command.F=EZ god-OBL.M=3SG do.PST-F  
 ‘He passed away.’

## Conclusion

Hawrami Complex predicates offer new insights into the development of CPs in Iranian languages.

Hawrami CPs represent a more incipient stage of CP formation, reflected by the lack of full syntactic incorporation of the non-verbal element.

## Bibliography

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