

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

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Introduction

Structure

- 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

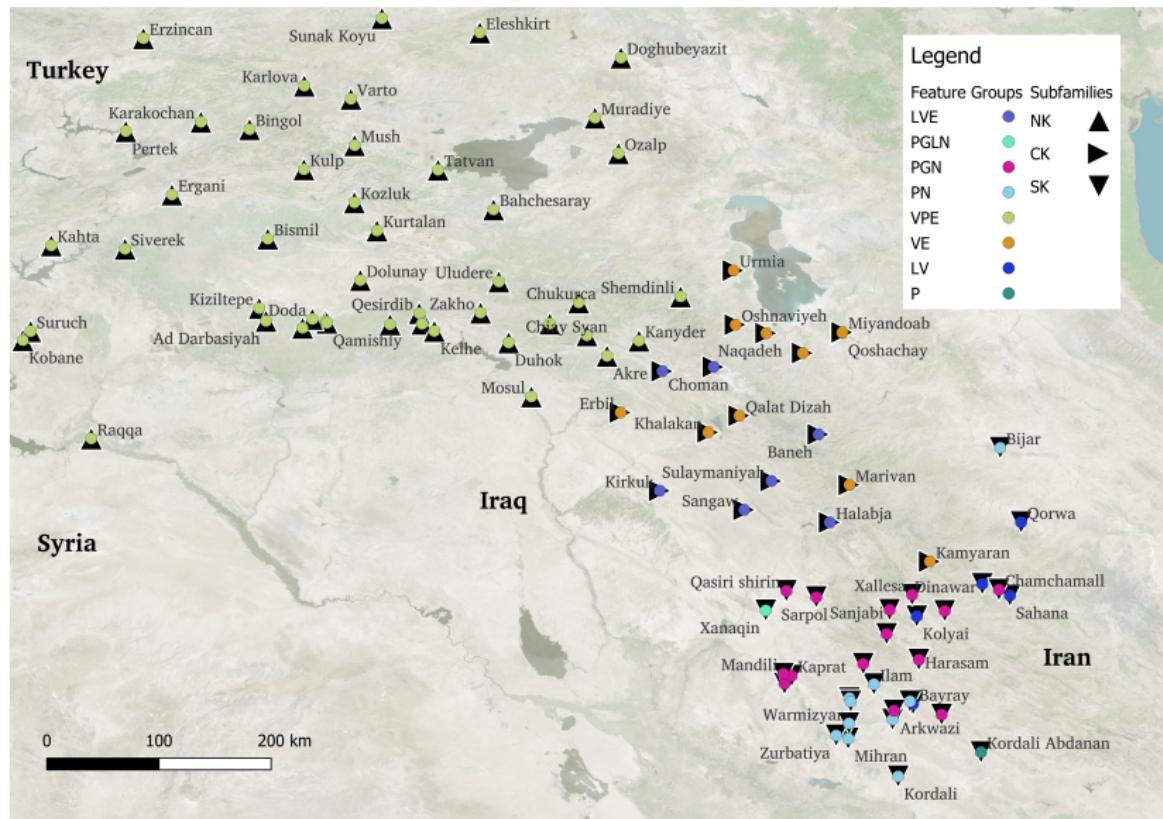
Acknowledgements



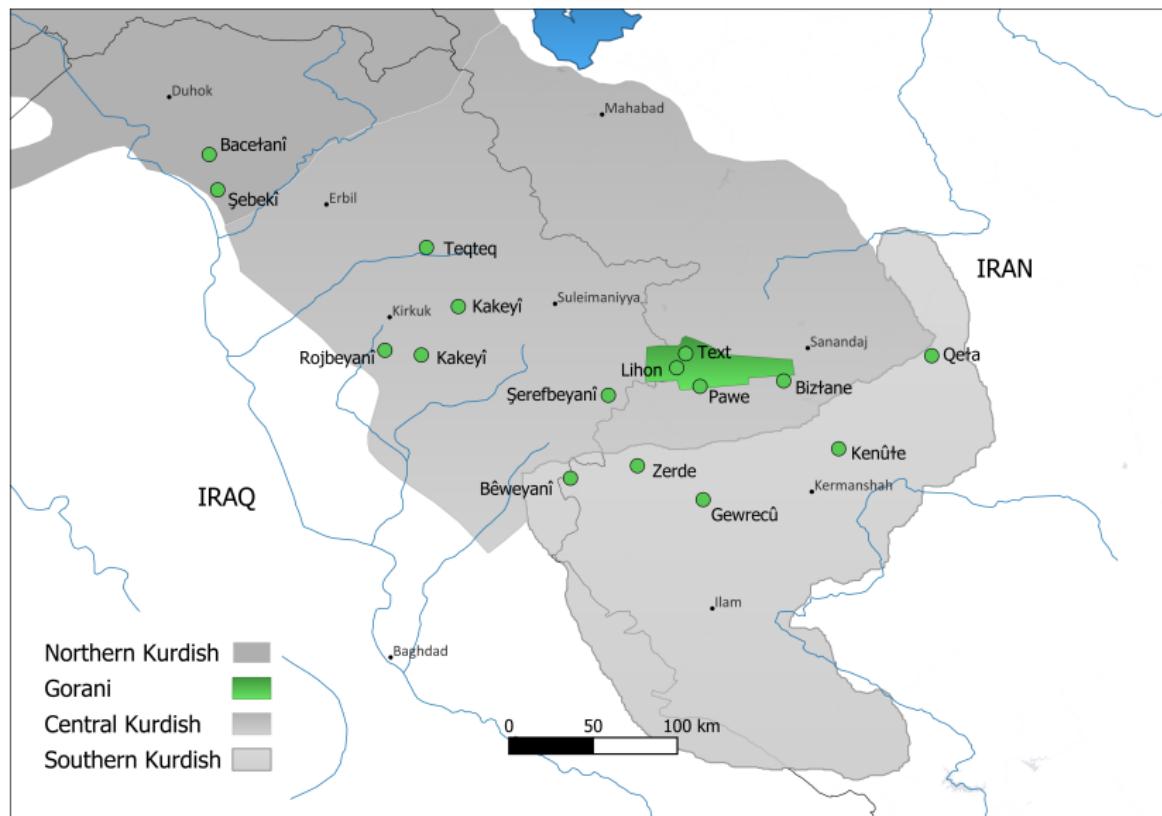
- This project represents a merger between my ongoing work on imperfective marking in Iranian languages and a collaboration between Masoud Mohammadirad and myself, combining linguistic and documentary work on Hewramî, Gorani, and Kurdish varieties.
- This work is supported by the European Research Council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



Kurdish map



Gorani (Mohammadirad and Karim, in review)



Reconstruction of Kurdish present-tense verbal morphology

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 *Ø-*.

Kurdish Reconstruction II

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

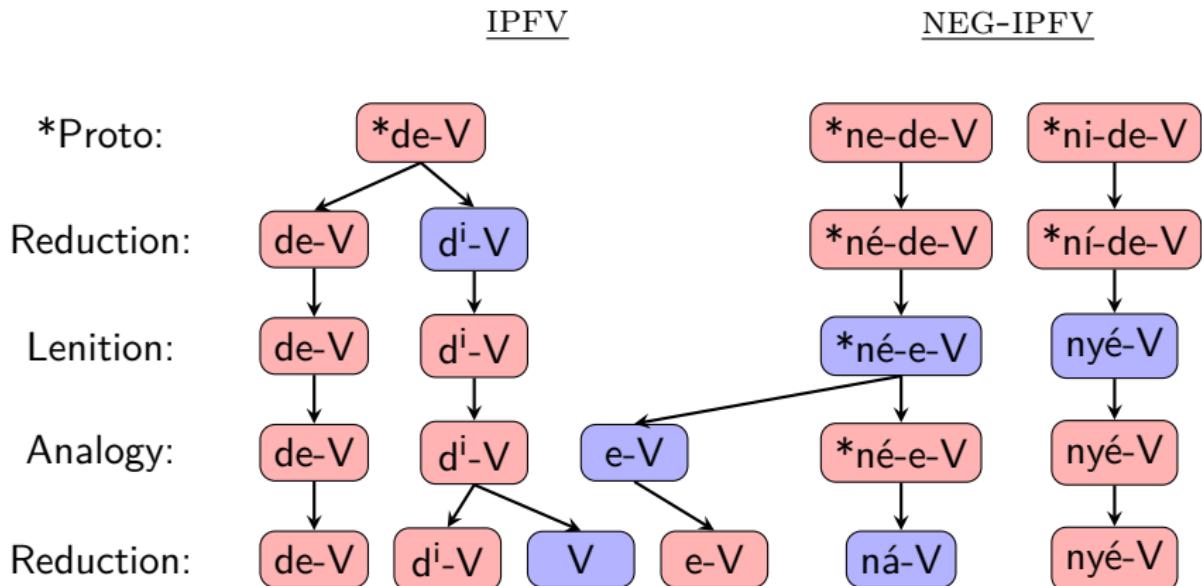
- The dental element is preserved before *h*-initial roots, e.g., *hê* 'come.'
- $*dh > t$ but $*dVhV > dV$

Kurdish Reconstruction III

- post-vocalic lenition of *d:
 - *nedē > *na*
 - *nid > *n̪*
 - *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: *ní-de-kem vs. *ne-kem*
 - Persian: *né-mī-konam* vs. *næ-konam*
 - Paweyane: *ní-me-kerū* vs. *né-kerû*

NEG-IPFV-DO.1SG vs. NEG.SBJ-DO.1SG

Kurdish Developments



Pushback

- 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 *yēn* for *dēn < *dehēn
- 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 morphology

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-ðé-y</i>	<i>bi-ðé-y</i>	<i>bi-ð-é</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-ðe-y</i>	<i>né-ðe-y</i>	<i>mé-ð-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>
Bzlane	<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

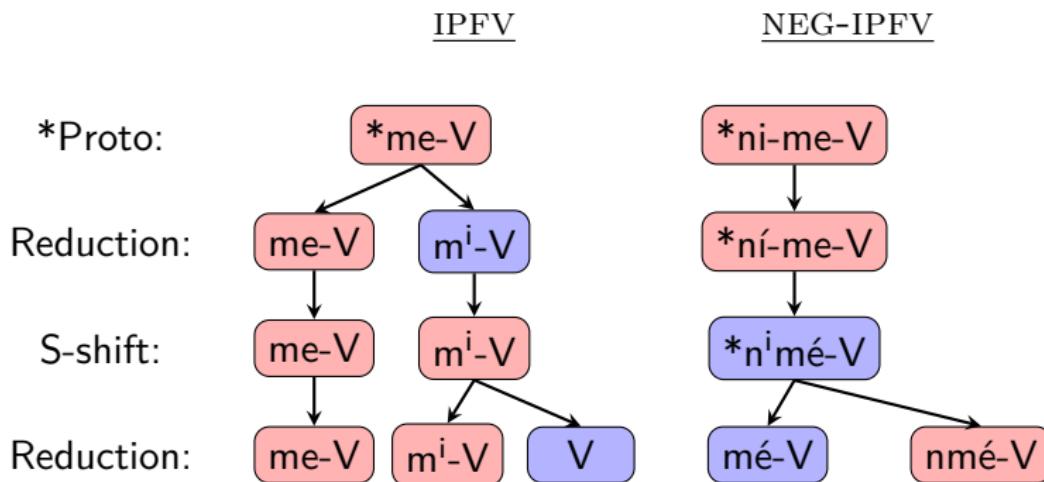
- Like SK, *i* < *e: Pawe: *ejdehá* 'demon,' Text: *ijdehá* 'idem;' Central Kurdish: *ferman* 'command,' Persian: *farmanbardār* 'obedient,' Text: *firmànbirðár* 'idem;' southern Central Kurdish: *gezer* 'carrot,' Text: 'gizérî;' Arabic: *hakāyat* (*hekayet* in our orthography) 'story,' Text: *hikayét* 'idem;' Central Kurdish: *hełûçe* 'cracked wheat,' *hiłóše* '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 Ø-.

Hewramî Reconstruction III

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

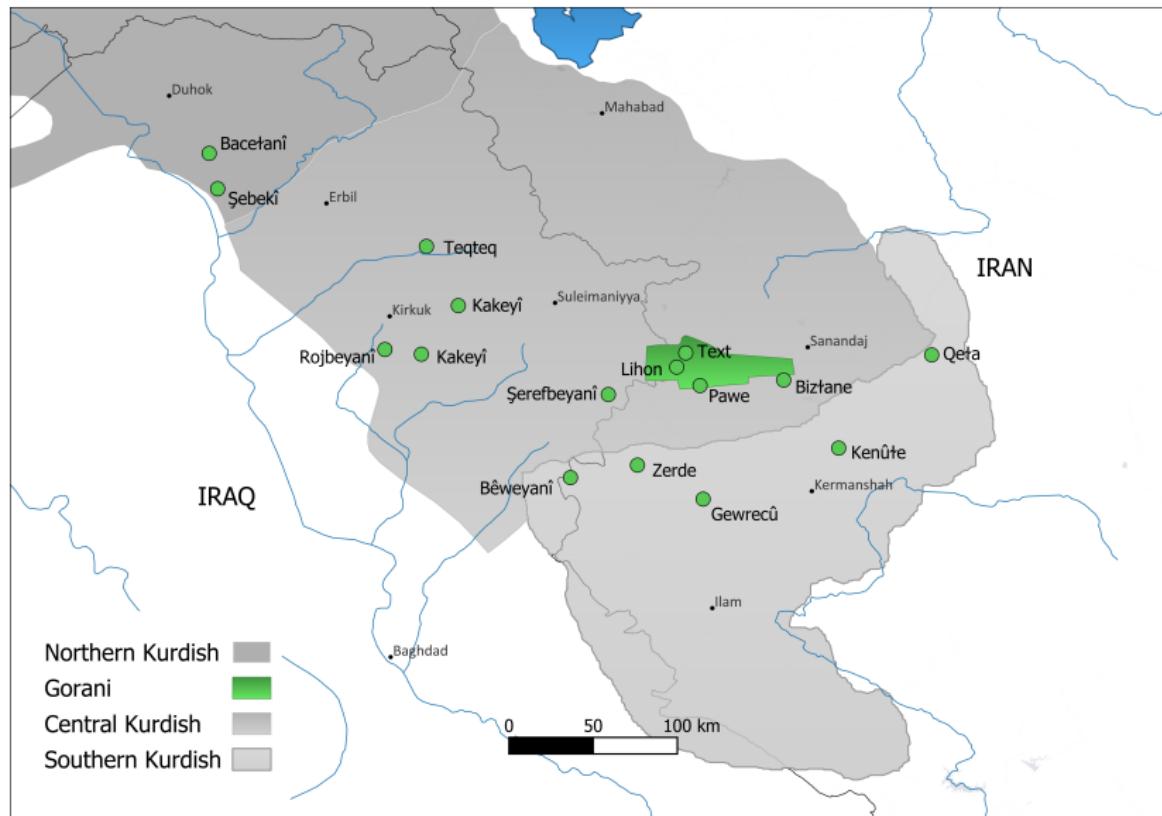
Rep. variety	IPFV.PRS	NEG-IPFV.PRS
*Gorani	*me-V	*ni-me-V
*Laki	*=e.me-V	*ni-me-V
*Kurdish	*de-V	*ne-de-V
*New Persian	*mī-V	*ne-mī-V

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
		NEG	*ní-me-ker-î	*né-ker-î
2	*day 'give'	AFF	*me-dé-y	*bí-de-y
		NEG	*ní-me-de-y	*né-de-y
3	*awirdey 'bring'	AFF	*m-ar-î	*b-ár-î
		NEG	*ní-m-ar-î	*n-ár-î
4	*(e)staney 'take'	AFF	*me-stan-î	*bí-stan-î
		NEG	*ní-me-stan-î	*né-stan-î
				*mé-stan-e

The initial subjunctive stress shift

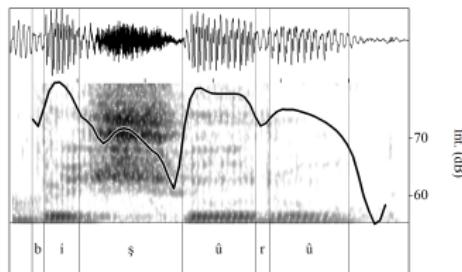


Figure: Zerde: SBJ '(that) s/he wash'

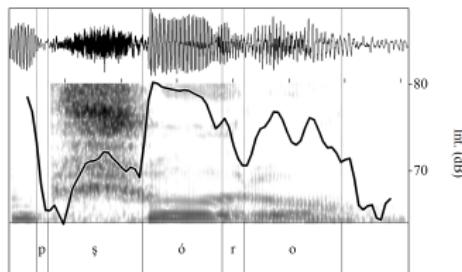


Figure: Pawe: SBJ '(that) s/he wash'

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



***pşoro**

The second subjunctive stress shift

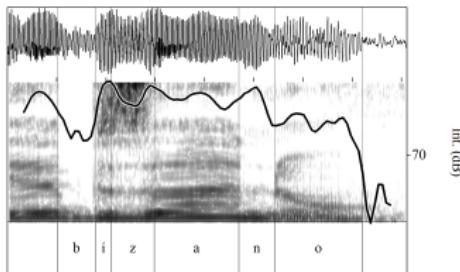


Figure: Pawe: SBJ '(that) s/he know'

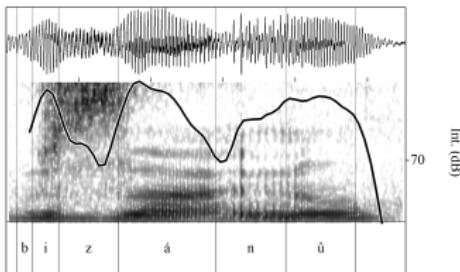


Figure: Lihon: SBJ '(that) s/he know'

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

↓
***bⁱzáno**

Pretonic reduction

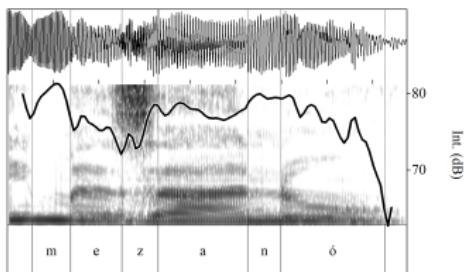


Figure: Pawe: IPFV 's/he knows'

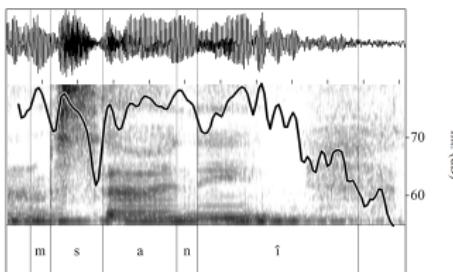


Figure: Text: IPFV 'you buy'

*mešoró *psóró *nímešoro *mezanó *bzáno *nímezano *mes(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano
↓
***m̥íšoró**

↓
***mizanó**

↓
***mis(t)anó**

Pretonic reduction blocked

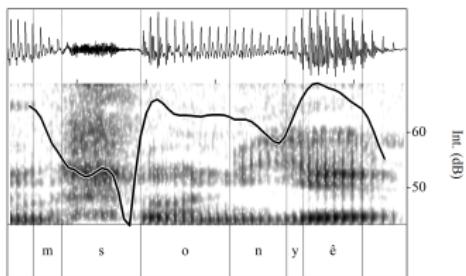


Figure: Bizłana: IPFV 'you don't buy'

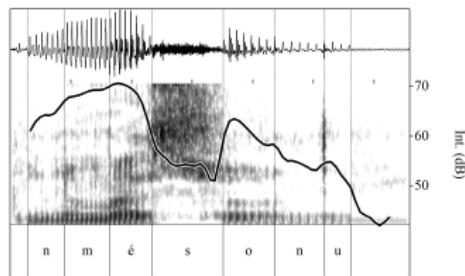


Figure: Bizłana: NEG.IPFV 's/he doesn't buy'

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

Loss of SBJV p- in clusters

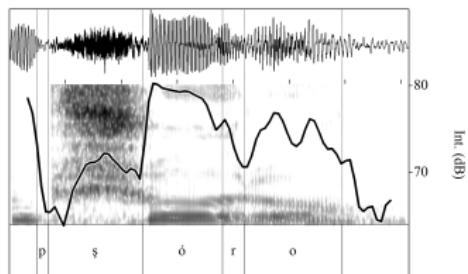


Figure: Pawe: SBJV '(that) s/he washes'

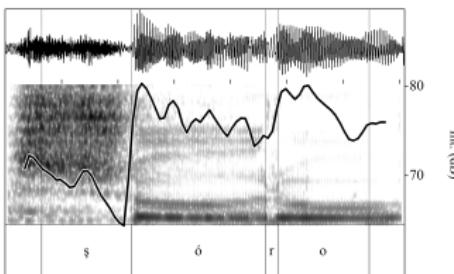


Figure: Text: SBJV '(that) s/he washes'

*mʂoró *pʂoró *nímeʂoro *mizanó *bzáno *nímezano *mis(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano
↓
sóro

Loss of SBJV b- in clusters

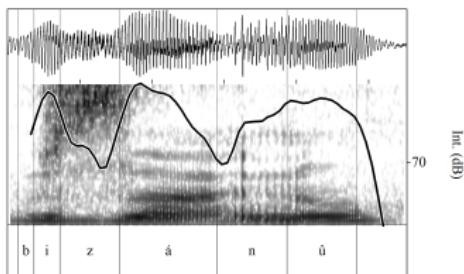


Figure: Lihon: SBJV '(that) s/he knows'

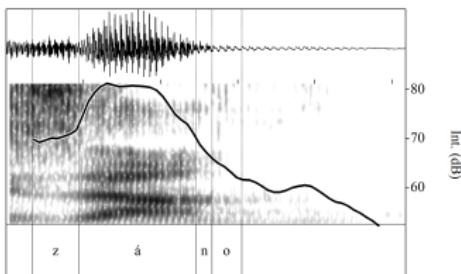


Figure: Text: SBJV '(that) s/he knows'

*m̥šoró šóro *nímešoro *mízanó *bzánó *nímezano *mis(t)anó *bís(t)ano *nímes(t)ano



záno

The third subjunctive stress shift

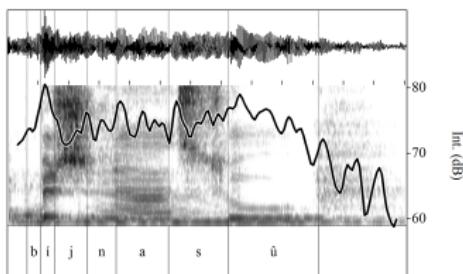


Figure: Text: SBJ '(that) s/he
know'

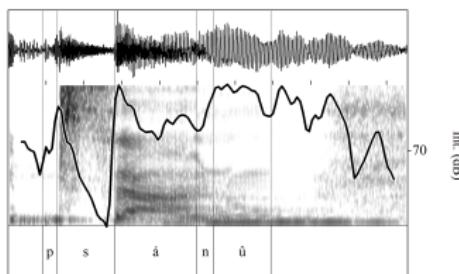


Figure: Text: SBJ '(that) s/he
buy'

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



psáno

Loss of m(i)-

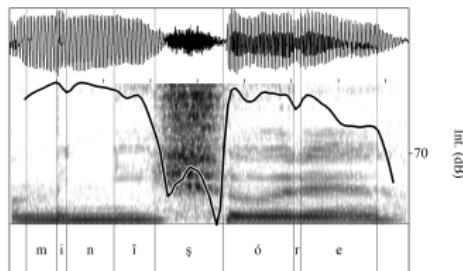


Figure: Lihon: IPFV 's/he sits'

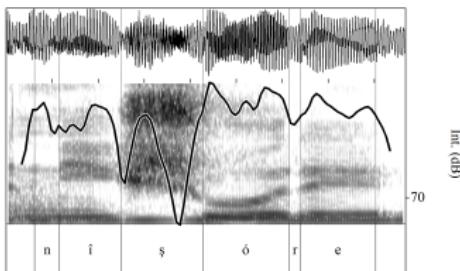


Figure: Text: IPFV 's/he sits'

*mšoró šoro *nímesoro *mizanó záno *nímezano *misanó psáno* *nímesano



šoró



zanó

Loss of ni- in nime-

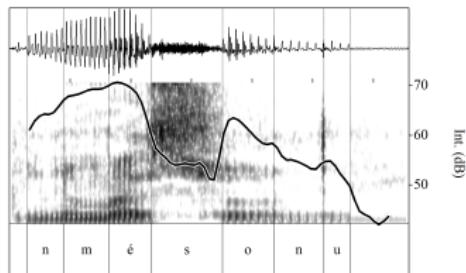


Figure: Bizłane: NEG.IPFV 'I don't buy'

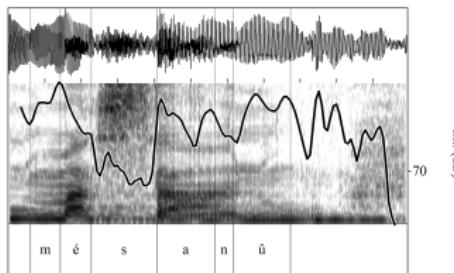


Figure: Text: NEG.IPFV 'I don't buy'

şoró şoro *nímeşoro zanó záno *nímezano misanó psáno *nímesano

↓
*nímeşoro
↓
mésoro

↓
*nímezano
↓
mézano

↓
*nímesano
↓
mésano

Broader points

Demorphologization and Remorphologization

- Morphologization:

Demorphologization and Remorphologization

- Morphologization:
 - Pretonic e shortens to $\overset{i}{\text{e}}$: $*\text{me-} > m(i)-$

Demorphologization and Remorphologization

- Morphologization:
 - Pretonic e shortens to i : *me- > $m(i)$ -
 - prefixes with the weak vowel i are lost: *m(i)-, *b(i)-, *n(i)-

Demorphologization and Remorphologization

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 - Pretonic e shortens to *i*: *me- > *m(i)-*
 - prefixes with the weak vowel *i* are lost: *m(i)-, *b(i)-, *n(i)-
 - If the prefixes are stress-bearing, their stress shifts to the right: *bímiro > *míro*, *nímemiro > *mémiro*

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

Systemic effects

Phonemic Stress

IPFV.PRS.3SG	SBJ.PRS.3SG
*me-STEM-ó	*bí-STEM-o
↓	↓
STEM-ó	STÉM-o
<i>mir-ó</i>	<i>mír-o</i>
die.PRS.IPFV-3SG	die.PRS.SBJ-3SG

NEG.IPFV = PROH

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

Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-î

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-e

PROH-die.PRS-2SG

as

ní-m-ar-î

NEG-IPFV-bring.PRS-2SG

X

PROH-bring.PRS-2SG

Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-î

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-e

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

mé-mir-î

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-e

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*.

Four-part Analogy

NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-î

NEG-die.PRS-2SG

PROH.PRS.2SG

mé-mir-e

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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- The prohibitive was borrowed from the negative imperfective, **the opposite of MacKenzie (1966)'s claim**

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	keró	mékero	kerê	nyékerê

- 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!

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