

Language policy in the Kurdistan Region and its impact on the status of the Kurdish language

Shalaw Saleh Hamagharib

This study attempts to clarify whether a government can reduce the status of the nation's mother tongue and pay attention to another language instead of the national language. It means; how can the government not have a comprehensive language policy and plan to preserve its language and not try to uphold its status? Or not try to use it in education and other aspects such as economics, philosophy, politics, life spheres, and progress, in exchanging for having a positive attitude towards another language and consider its position higher than his own.

The study hypothesizes that the language policy pursued in the Kurdistan Region has a negative impact on the Kurdish language, lowering its status and giving it a negative view by the speaker. Thus, the Kurdish language is regressing and moving towards extinction.

This study was carried out in accordance to the critical working language policy approach and consisted of two main axes; the first topic attempts to discuss language policy, language law and the status of language, And the second axle is devoted to the practical aspect of the research, to show the impact of the language policy followed in the Kurdistan Region on the position of the Kurdish language by using speakers statement, educational evidence, media headlines and writing on the tablets as study material, for this purpose the questionnaire form was given to (100) speakers of the language and their view on the Kurdish language which is derived from the different classes: teachers, students, students' families, intellectuals, writers, educational and political figures, businessmen and employers. Finally, the results are statistically determined as to show how the status

of the Kurdish language is protected within the framework of the language policy pursued by the Kurdistan Regional Government.

Keywords: Language policy, functional linguistics, language planning and language status.

English-Kurdish Conceptual Metaphor Translation; a corpus-based study

Daban Jaff

Metaphors fascinated scholars from Aristotle till today. Regardless of the theories about metaphor and rhetoric, creating metaphors is a process that is triggered from a non-familiar and abstract object to a more familiar and concrete object to illustrate the intended meaning. Additionally, after introducing the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) scholars (Zanettin, 2013; Hu, 2016) started to study if the equivalency of linguistic metaphor and conceptual metaphors in translation. On the other hand, corpora are providing important insight into the studies of translation. Despite introducing many corpora in Kurdish language, the available literature shows very few attempts at this approach; a corpus-based study into the translation of conceptual metaphors in Kurdish language (Rouhi, et al., 2018; Tawfiq, 2021; Omar, 2021). The study adopts a mixed method as it quantitatively examines the metaphor and compares the metaphors between English and Kurdish to see if the metaphors occurring in English matches the one in Kurdish. In addition, the study qualitatively describes the unmatched metaphor. The current study employs a corpus-based study to investigate conceptual and linguistic metaphor translation in Kurdish. Also, the study used Schäffner's procedure (2004) which divides metaphorical translation into five types. The corpus utilized in this study is Awta (Amini, et al, 2021) which contains 229,222 pairs of manually aligned translations. The study looked into the lexical item of "flood". The study found that there are 109 occurrences of "flood", 30 of which are used metaphorically in English. However, in Kurdish, 80 percent of the same occurrences are rendered typical metaphorical translation, including changing the conceptual domain, the rest, 20 percent are non-metaphorical, or the metaphor is replaced by a clarification of the meaning of the metaphor.

Sample of the data:

1.	Ln 101545+6+7 (3)	have you ever woken up blissfully and suddenly been flooded by the awful remembrance that someone had left you?	تا ئیستا به دلتیکی زۆر خوشهوه له خه وههستاویت و له ناكو بیرت بکهوتیهوه که کهسیک بهجی هیشتوویت تۆش به له مه کهت نقوم بیت ؟
2.	Ln 105130+1+2 (2)	the lies we tell ourselves are lakes, overflowing their banks, flooding our speech with waters, caustic and rank.	ئهو درۆیانهی که به خۆمانی دهئین دهریاچه ن ، ده رژینه رۆخی رووباره کانیا ن ، وته کانمان پر ده که ن له ئاو ، سوتینه ر و خرابی . تاکه پر د راستییه ، کاتیک ژووره سه ره کییه کان خۆر هه تاو ده بانگرێته وه .
3.	Ln 107490+1 (3)	fine during the day when the main rooms are flooded with sunlight.	.
4.	Ln 112412 (1)	it was not yet a flood of " # blessed " vanity license plates and t - shirts	هیشتا لافاوێکی # " پیروز " ی تابلوی ژماره له خۆبایی و کراسه کان

5.	Ln 123638 (3)	however, with chronic stress our bodies become flooded with these chemicals	هه‌رچه‌نده ، جه‌سته‌مان ده‌که‌وئته به‌ر کاره‌گه‌ری ئه‌و کیمیا‌پانه
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The Aesthetics and Dynamics of Kurdish Feminist Songs
Amir Sharifi

A feminist uprising has shaken the foundation of the Islamic Republic of Iran ever since the brutal killing of Jina/Mahsa Amini, a young Kurdish woman on September 16, 2022, in Tehran. The messages of the uprising are evident in multiple aesthetic effects in paintings, drawings, placards, murals, sculptures, images, and videos both in style and techniques as solidarity acts produced and circulated in and through social media. This paper explores such aesthetic outcomes and outcries against the oppressive patriarchy in feminist songs created during this revolutionary period as reflected in now transnationally recognized in the Kurdish slogan “Jin, Jian, Azadi” “Woman, Life, Freedom “. Based on Bakhtin’s *intertextuality* (1981) and Voloshinov’s *multiaccentuality* (1986), it would be argued that the selected feminist songs translated and transcribed in English are sites of multivocal and multilingual social action in their musical polyphonic structures while their metaphors ironicize *Jina/ Mahsa Amini* and the ensuing feminist defiance against repressive theocratic state and its impositions of *Hejab*. Speech acts (Searle, 1969) used in the performative language of songs will also be analysed as counter-hegemonic discourse (Gramsci, 1985) to uproot the dominant ideology of theocracy through creating a dynamic linkage between the aesthetics of oppositional politics and its dialectical relation to modes of civic resistance in social media and thereby offering the possibility for change in forming a pluralistic democracy in Iran.

Ezafe in complex predicates in Ardalani Kurdish
Saman Meihami

1. Introduction. Ardalani is a variety of Sorani Kurdish that shows verbal predication in both simplex and complex forms. In this variety, the preverbal phrase can contain Ezafe in two ways:

- 1) Ezafe occurs between the preverbal noun and an adjective that modifies the whole event (1a).
- 2) between the preverbal noun and the direct object (1b).

(1)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. $\text{ʃkis-}\emptyset$ $\text{x}\text{.}\text{ɪ}\text{aw-ek=i}$ $\text{xwa}\text{.}\text{ɪd}$
 defeat-Ez bad-indef=3sg hit.pst
 ‘S/he was defeated badly.’</p> | <p>b. Mardin $\text{d}\text{æ}\text{ŋ-}\emptyset$ Sara $\text{ʔ}\text{æ-k-a(t)}$
 M. invite.EZ S. IND-do-3SG
 ‘Mardin invites Sara.’</p> |
|--|--|

I call the construction in (1a) modification Ezafe and the one in (1b) nominal Ezafe. The distinction that I make is because the modification Ezafe is observed inside preverbal phrases in other languages with complex predicates too, namely Persian while the nominal Ezafe is not a very well-known phenomenon among complex predicate languages. The focus of this paper is on the nominal Ezafe.

In Ardalani, the nominal Ezafe is not observed in all nominal preverbal phrases (2).

(2)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. Sara $\text{mat}\text{ʃ-}\emptyset$ Mardin $\text{ʔ}\text{æ-k-a(t)}$
 Sara kiss-Ez Mardin IND-do-3SG
 ‘Sara kisses Mardin.’</p> | <p>b. * Sara $\text{r}\text{æ}\text{ŋ-}\emptyset$ $\text{di}\text{wa}\text{.}\text{ɪ-}\text{æ}\text{k}\text{æ}$ $\text{ʔ}\text{æ-k-a(t)}$
 Sara color-Ez wall-def ind-do-3sg
 Int. ‘Sara paints the wall.’</p> |
|---|--|

The data in (2) shows that Ezafe occurs between the preverbal element and the direct object (2a) but the ungrammaticality of (2b) shows that it is not always the case. I argue that there are two types of preverbal nouns in complex predicates: 1) predicative nouns that have argument structure i.e., it is possible for the preverbal noun to assign a theta role to the internal argument independently from the light verb. 2) non-predicative preverbal nouns. The first group allows nominal Ezafe but the second group doesn’t. In this paper, I am going to provide an analysis of nominal Ezafe in complex predicates in Ardalani and answer the question of why Ezafe occurs there.

2. Nominal Ezafe. Ezafe construction inside preverbal noun phrases (between the non-verbal element (NVE) and the direct object) is optional. The other option is to have the direct object preceding the NVE (3).

(3)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. Sara $\text{d}\text{æ}\text{ŋ-}\emptyset$ $\text{ʔem}\text{æ}$ $\text{ʔ}\text{æ-k-a(t)}$
 Sara voice-Ez 1pl IND-do-3SG
 ‘Sara invites us.’</p> | <p>b. Sara $\text{ʔem}\text{æ}$ $\text{d}\text{æ}\text{ŋ}$ $\text{ʔ}\text{æ-k-a(t)}$
 Sara 1pl voice IND-do-3SG
 ‘Sara invites us.’</p> |
|---|---|

The data in (3) show two options in the complex predicate *dæŋ ki.ɪdin*, ‘to invite’, lit. ‘invite doing’. (3a) includes Ezafe construction while in (3b) the direct object precedes the NVE and there is no Ezafe. Predicative nouns like *dæŋ*, ‘voice’ (it has the meaning of invitation in isolation too) allow Ezafe while non-predicative nouns as NVEs don’t. Passive voice provides more evidence for this distinction.

3. Passive in complex predicates. Passive in Ardalani is morphological. The morpheme *-ja* is suffixed to the verbal root in the passive voice. In complex predicates, the passive morpheme, *-ja* appears on the light verb (4).

(4)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. $\text{d}\text{æ}\text{ŋ-}\emptyset$ $\text{ʔem}\text{æ}$ $\text{ki}\text{.}\text{ɪ-}\text{ja}$
 invite-Ez 1pl do-pass.pst.3SG
 ‘We were invited.’</p> | <p>b. $\text{ʔem}\text{æ}$ $\text{d}\text{æ}\text{ŋ}$ $\text{ki}\text{.}\text{ɪ-}\text{ja-}\text{jn}$
 1pl invite do-pass.pst.1pl
 ‘We were invited.’</p> |
|---|---|

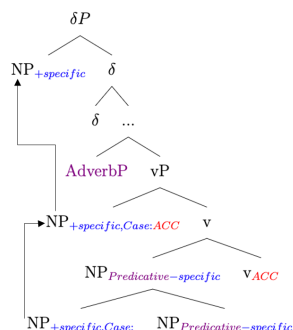
(4a) shows the passive voice of (3a) and (4b) shows the one of (3b). Passive of complex predicates with non-predicative preverbal nouns only occur in a form without Ezafe (5).

(5)

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| a. Sara diwar-ækæ=j ræŋ kiɪd
Sara wall-def=3sg color do.pst
'Sara painted the wall.' | b. diwar-ækæ ræŋ kiɪ-ja
wall-def color do-
pass.pst.3sg
'The wall was painted.' | c. *ræŋ-Ø diwar-ækæ kiɪ-ja
color-Ez wall-def do-
pass.pst.3sg
Int.'The wall was painted.' |
|--|--|--|

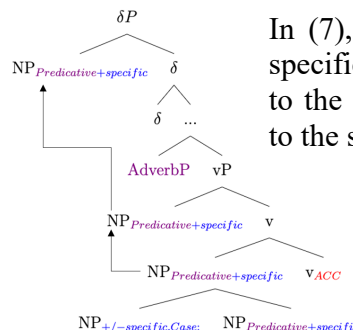
4. Analysis. Following Karimi.S (2005), I consider *vP* to be the domain of unspecificity. I consider the direct object (DO) to merge with the preverbal NP first. Then if the DO is specific it moves to the spec of a functional head (delta) out of *vP* (6). This happens only when the preverbal phrase itself doesn't have a specific feature in which case based on locality constraint it is the preverbal phrase containing the DO that moves to the spec delta (7).

(6)



In (6), the specific direct object after merging with the NVE is assigned its theta role and moves to spec v to be assigned case, then moves to spec delta for specificity reasons.

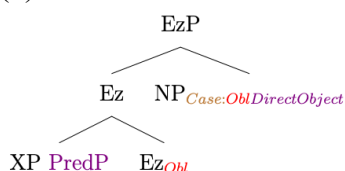
(7)



In (7), as the NVE is specific itself, moves to the spec v and then to the spec delta.

In (7), the direct object remains case-less (the predicative NP is licensed the accusative case). Ezafe construction functions like *of-insertion* mechanism, so Ezafe is there to assign an oblique case to the direct object. This is in line with Larson & Samiian (2020), Samiian (1983, 1984) who consider Ezafe a case assigner. So, the internal structure of the predicative NP would be (8).

(8)



A specific preverbal element implies that the construction is not a light verb construction anymore. The light verb functions as its heavy verb counterpart and the predicative noun phrase with the internal structure in (8) would be its direct object. The data in (9) supports this idea.

(9)

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. Sirwan=im naw nusi bo mædɪæsæ
Sirwan=1sg name write.pst for school
'I registered Sirwan for school.' | b. naw-Ø Sirwan=im nusi bo mædɪæsæ
name-Ez Sirwan=1sg write.pst for school
'I registered Sirwan for school.' |
|---|--|

(9a) has a more complex predicate sense where there is no Ezafe construction while (9b) is closer to the literal meaning of writing Sirwan's name.

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Evaluations of Kurdish regional dialects: A quantitative study on the perceptual dialectology of Kurdish in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

Mustafa Yousif Othman

This thesis aims to provide an assessment to people's perceptions of their regional dialects. The perceptions and the assessment, however, are not based simply on the dialects that are heard but could entail a different explanation and speculation on their presupposed perceptions. The inspiration for conducting such a study came from Demirci and Kleiner's (1999), Eppler and Benedikt's (2017) studies which captivated how lay people's perception is not strictly based on the dialects.

The field of perceptual dialectology tries to document the lay people's beliefs and perceptions about the speech forms in a given geographical area, adding thus to a purely linguistic classification of dialects. The heavily diverse dialect/variety composition of Kurdish makes it particularly appropriate for such a perceptual dialectology study but no such studies have been conducted on Kurdish yet. This study aims at providing a first assessment on the perception of Kurdish dialects by Kurdish speakers. The study relied on quantitative data obtained through a questionnaire-based survey. The survey consisted of five main tasks of evaluation such as Correctness, Pleasantness, Education, Friendliness, and Difference. These tasks have all originated from the author of the first research paper on Perceptual Dialectology, Dennis R. Preston (1986 & 1989). The sample of the study consisted of 120 participants equally representing the four official provinces of Kurdistan Region of Iraq. The sample was controlled according to the provenance which were Erbil, Suleymaniyah, Duhok, and Halabja. Gender which were Male and Female and age variables consisting of three age groups that captured young, middle age, and older people. The participants of the study evaluated 17 dialect locations across Kurdistan Region of Iraq for mentioned dialect perception tasks. The study revealed several important patterns with regard to the ways in which the Kurdish dialects are perceived and evaluated by Kurdish speakers. First, Suleymaniyah dialect is perceived the most correct, pleasant, and educated speech form. Secondly, while larger provincial centres and larger cities were more positively evaluated most of the smaller and distant locations were evaluated poorly. Thirdly, all Kurmanji-speaking locations of Duhok province and Hawrami speaking location generally received relatively poor evaluations, confirming the role of the major variety divisions within Kurdish. These outcomes confirm that proximity and familiarity are crucial factors in the formation of dialect perceptions among speakers.

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Assessing Linguistic Diversity in Hawrami: A Study of Lexical Variation and Historical Phonology

By Saloumeh Gholami

Keywords: Hawrami dialects, lexical variation, historical phonology, Levenshtein Distance method, geographical variation

The study of Hawrami suffers from serious limitations. A systematic description of Hawrami and a comparative study of the dialects are missing until today. Although it is often considered a conservative variant of Gorani, a detailed justification for it is still missing. The classification of the dialects is based on the geographical distribution of the dialects and not on linguistic features. The statements about more conservative or more innovative variations are unilateral, selective and often oversimplified.

By drawing language data from fieldwork in 40 villages and cities in Hawraman area, the present article aims to contribute to the knowledge of Hawrami historical phonology and lexicography as well as dialectology. The research methods for this study combines approaches from comparative linguistics and statistics. This research uses a list including lexical information for 122 concepts developed by the author for the study of the relationship and splitting behavior of Northwestern Iranian languages and adjust it for the study of the dialectology of Hawrami. In order to measure dialect similarity in Hawrami, the Levenshtein Distance method has been used. Finally, we will be able to offer pairs or clusters of dialects, which are linguistically and not necessarily geographically closely related varieties.

Focusing on historical phonology and lexicography, this paper answers the following research questions: (1) How consistent are Hawrami dialects from synchronic and diachronic approaches (2) How reliable is the classification of Taxt-Lohun- Žāwarū? (3) Which variety is more conservative than other varieties?

Selected Bibliography:

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Analysis of Phonology and Morphology in the Kobani Dialect

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This submission is a computer-aided analysis of the Kurdish dialect Kobani, based on speech data collected from dozens of native speakers from various villages of that region.

Kobani is a Kurdish dialect spoken in and around Kobanê (or Ain al-Arab), which is the capital city of the district Ain al-Arab in the gouvernement Aleppo in Syria. The Kobani dialect can be considered to be part of the Southern Kurmanji dialect-group according to (Öpengin & Haig, 2014).

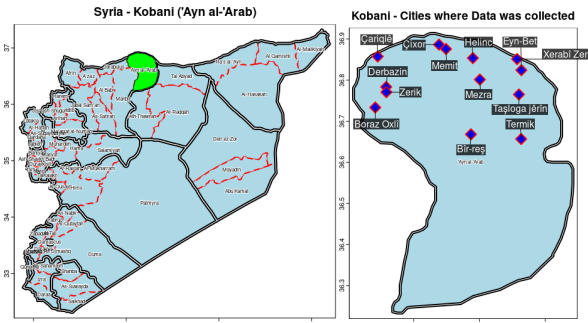


Figure 1: Study locations.

The only other work on the Kobani variety of Kurmanji that the authors could find is (Najem-Aldin, 2021), which is of a smaller scope and mainly reports about the Izafe phenomenon and reported three observations:

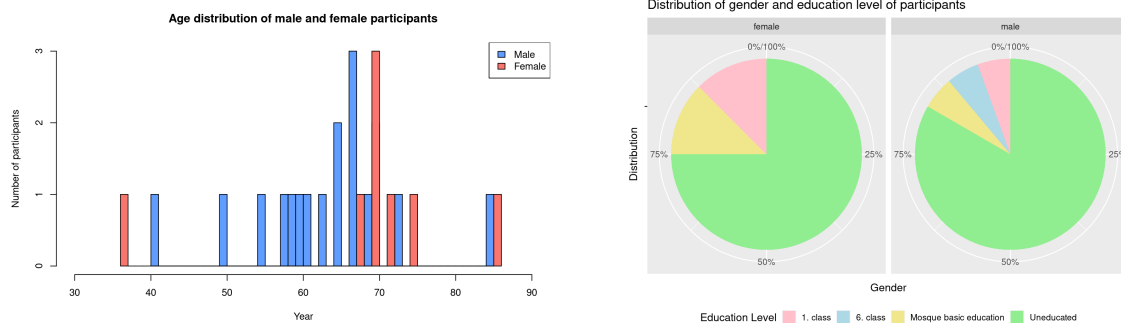


Figure 2: Demographics of study participants, aimed at less-educated elderly native speaker of Kobani.

1. The presence of an additional form for the Izafe with the definite feminine and masculine singular used in alternation with the standard ones. **2.** The additional form of Izafe for the definite singular feminine sounds to have unique vowel qualities that are not existent in other varieties of Kurmanji and consequently different from the previously supposed-to-be masculine marker -ê by (Ali 2018) and it can probably be the same as the presumed loss of gender phenomenon by (Dorleijn, 1996) in the Diyarbakir varieties. **3.** The presence of Izafe markers on the subject of copular sentences.

The data elicitation consisted of recording stories told by people from several selected villages (see Figure 1) while ensuring the story teller (study participant) to be of a certain age (see Figure 2), including both genders (8 female, 18 male) and of a limited formal education. This approach helps mitigate the influence of other languages, such as Arabic, as individuals who attend school or pursue higher education often incorporate foreign words into their language usage. The data has been collected from February to July of 2021 and consists of 320 minutes of speech recorded by native speakers of the Kobani dialect. The instructed interviewers always made an effort to pretend not to record audio in order to prevent the interviewees from speaking in Standard Kurdish. However, after every interview, the participants were informed that the recording had been captured and asked for permission to use it for analysis.

Our initial analysis approach, drawing inspiration from (Geyik, 2022; Jafarzadeh, 2017), agrees with the findings reported by (Najem-Aldin, 2021). After conducting our analysis, we have discovered several intriguing differences between standard Kurdish and the Kobani dialect. During our analysis, we

observed a distinct group (clan) that exhibits a unique pronunciation. This group is situated in the villages of Zerik, Lihên, Taşlûg, and Reqas. There are several disparities between the pronunciation of this group and the standard pronunciation. For instance, our analysis revealed that in Shexi-pronunciation, all nouns ending in “î” are pronounced as “I” (see Table 5). The following is a selection of the findings that have emerged from our analysis:

	Ending	Standard Kurdish	Kobani Dialect
masculine singular	î	Alan rind e	Alan-î rind e
feminine singular	e	Nalîn xweşik e	Nalîn-e xweşik e
plural masculine/feminine	e	Dîwar bilind in	Dîwar-e bilind in

Table 1: Nouns always get an ending in copular sentences.

vowel, semi-vowel, vowel	Fusion sound	Standard Kurdish	Kobani Dialect
(î)/iyê	ê	Ew ji Kobaniyê ye	Ew-î ji Kobanê ye
êyê	ê	Di Rêyê re çû	Di rê ra çû
eyê	ê	Em paleyê dikin	Em palê dikine

Table 2: Fusion of (vowel, semi-vowel, vowel) into one sound.

Standard Kurdish	Shexi-pronunciation	Most used pronunciation
Derî	Qapî	Qapî
Kevçî	Kevçî	Kevçî
Xanî	Xanî	Xanî

Table 5: Examples of Shexi-pronunciations encountered in the study data.

Standard Kurdish	Kobani Dialect
Mêvan	Mîvan
Nêçîrvan	Nîçîrvan
Bêrvîvan	Bîrvîvan

Table 6: Transformation of “ê” to “î”.

Standard Kurdish	Kobani Dialect
Bi hev re	Bi hev ra
Di vir de	Di vir da
Ji mêj ve	Ji mêj va

Table 3: Second part of compound prepositions ends in “a”.

Standard Kurdish	Kobani Dialect
Jinik avê radike	Jinik avê radikê
Mîr zêr dikire	Mîr zêr dikirê

Table 4: Verbs receive the ending ê when conjugated with the third person singular.

Standard Kurdish	Kobani Dialect
Tûj	Toj
Gûz	Goz
Bilûr	Bilor

Table 7: Transformation of “û” to “o”.

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Towards a Complete Mapping of Kurdish Dialectology

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The Kurdish language and its many variations have been actively researched [1] with little consensus about their classifications, not in the least due to geographical, cultural, religious and political circumstances. One of many examples are Gorani and Zazaki, which can be considered to be standalone languages [2, 3], or part of Kurdish [4, 5], which might be one dialect [6, 4], or separate dialects [7, 8]. This work aims to shed light on Kurdish dialectology via creating an interactive map (see Figure 1).

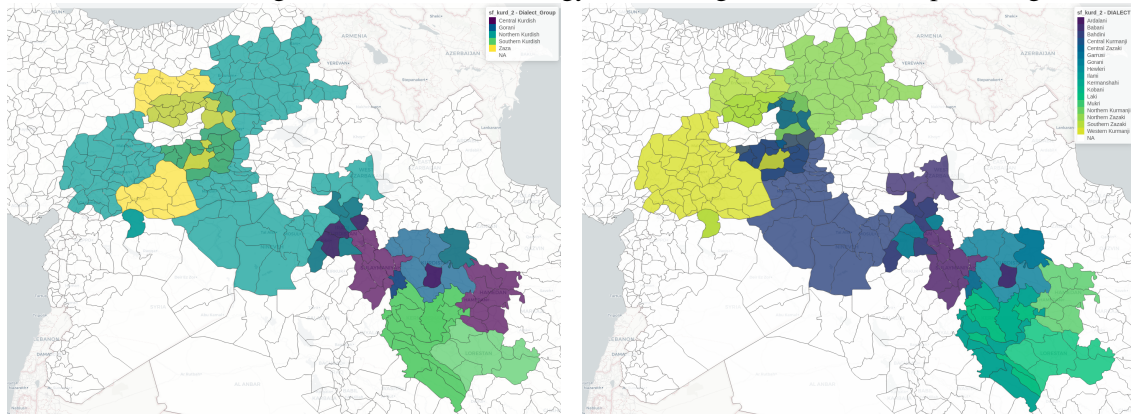


Figure 1: Examples from the current prototype. Left: Dialect groups layer. Right: Dialects layer.

Early work on Kurdish dialect geography [3], proposed a division of the Kurdish language into the three dialect groups Northern, Central and Southern Kurdish, which have been the basis for much of the linguistic work for Kurdish. Later sub-classifications took place Northern Kurdish (Kurmanji) first into five [9], later adjusted into three [10] distinct dialect groups. New understanding grows upon and rectifies prior work as can be seen by [11] writing about the often referenced work of [12]: “*it seems obvious that the seven subgroups identified by (Fattah, 2000) cannot be treated as clear-cut, sharply-defined bundles of dialects. They show considerable internal variation and in some cases seem to include dialects manifesting highly diverging features. Some varieties cannot be easily ascribed to any specific subgroup, but are transitional between subgroups.*” The here allured concept of dialect continuum is crucial for understanding or properly displaying the Kurdish language on a map. Work on Kurdish language, regardless of producing a map or not, tends to focus on just a few dialects or one of the major dialect groups: Northern Kurdish [9], Central Kurdish [13], Southern Kurdish [11] and other dialects [14]. Be it personal interest, or borders between countries- for some reason most works fail to deliver more than a very rough outline of the Kurdish language landscape to interested readers.

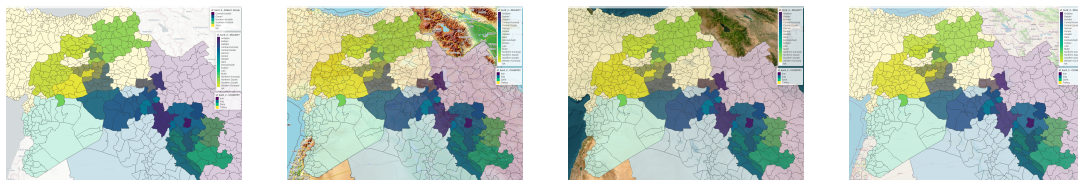


Figure 2: Examples from the current prototype, displaying different settings of the map.

At the time of writing, we have collected geographical information for 3551 distinct locations, considering the second layer of administrative boundaries of the countries Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. Reviewing numerous related scientific publications rewarded us with a list of over 100 dialect names of varying granularity and specificity in regard of their definition, geographic position and linguistic classification.

1. Technical setup	Digital aspects Accessibility	4. The data	Data sources Data selection
2. Context and theme	Social context Map language(s)	5. Visualisations & representational strategies	Canvas Visualisation of key data Overlap of points/polygons
3. Type of language map	Language varieties treated Diachronic aspects	6. Critique	Possible motivation and bias Limitations

Table 1: Currently considered key aspects of the Evaluative Language Mapping Typology (ELM-T).

In a next step, we will integrate the Evaluative Language Mapping Typology (ELM-T) proposed by [15] for a more reflective map creation process. For the current focus of our work refer to Table 1.

Numerous aspects need to be considered, like using a colorblind-friendly palette [16] to provide high accessibility or how to manage the resolution of visual complexity given many overlapping dialects (see Figure 2) and diverging classifications. Collectible data is manifold but inconsistent, requiring a well considered storage structure. Finally, server solutions will be explored for online availability.

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Getting rid of Turkish passives: Alternative strategies of impersonality in Kurmanji Kurdish translations of sociolinguistic publications

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This paper studies domain-specific patterns of impersonal style in a parallel corpus of published sociolinguistic writings, comprising 1,583 aligned sentences or 43,542 words: Kurmanji Kurdish translations based on Turkish originals (29,828 words).

The sociolinguistic situation of Kurmanji Kurdish has been characterised as not entirely balanced between domains of use (in the sense of Fishman 1991). The past years have seen an important increase in publications, contrasting with language shift occurring within families (Çağlayan 2014), to the effect that academic (or generally written) domains may present a higher degree of vitality than informal ones (Öpengin 2011). At the same time, notwithstanding some historical variation, formal and educational infrastructure in Kurmanji Kurdish has largely remained a matter of private and autodidactic initiative, thriving on little institutional support (Akin & Öpengin 2013). In this situation, the bilingualism of authors and translators, whose main or only language of formal education has been Turkish, may suggest an influence of this language at the level of patterns and constructions, where stylistic choice plays a greater role than typology. Such an influence can be expected to be even more pronounced where translation comes in (House 2006).

Impersonal style has been found to be a cross-linguistic hallmark of contemporary academic writing, demoting (while not eliminating) authors and other types of agents for effects of objectification, stance, and concision (Hohenstein 2012, Kameyama 2012). Grammatical strategies employed to demote agents of different types are part of the verbal, nominal and pronominal systems (Blevins 2003, Siewierska 2008). The corpus-linguistic research tradition of passives in academic writing goes back to Biber & Jones (2005).

Somewhat depending on field or discipline, academic Turkish has been found to make extensive use of passive constructions in order to reduce authors' agency (Erk Emeksiz 2015). This is a characteristic of Turkish more than, e.g., of English. The present study focuses on Kurdish translations of Turkish texts: To what extent do the Kurdish translations also use passives? Which strategies do they alternatively employ? How can these fulfill the same functions of impersonalisation?

The present study employs a linear reading method to identify seven demotable roles in the data. In a next step, it identifies the – verbal, nominal, pronominal – grammatical means employed to demote them. Results so far suggest that the use of passives in the Turkish originals, while not entirely disappearing, is noticeably diminished in the Kurdish translations (from 44% down to 10% of all impersonal constructions, but see ex. 1), mostly in favour of nominalisation (ex. 2), intransitive constructions (ex. 3), pronominal constructions (ex. 4), and abstract subjects in active constructions (ex. 5). All the examples shown in the following are based on passive constructions in the Turkish original.

- (1) [...] *divê di nav çarçoweyeke berfireh de konteksta wê ya sosyo-polîtîk [...] jî were ravekirin* ‘[...] has to be explained in a broad framework in its socio-political context [...]’
- (2) *Cummins dibêje ku ji bo famkirina sedemên van encamên cihê [...]* ‘Cummins says that in order to understand the reasons for these different results [...]’
- (3) [...] *lewre îro modêla netewedewletê heta vê dereceyê ketiye ber şik û pirsyaran* ‘[...] because nowadays the model of the nation state has to such an extent fallen into doubts and questions’
- (4) *Gava mirov li lîteratûra navneteweyî dinihêre [...]* ‘When one looks at the international literature [...]’

- (5) *Texmîn ew e ku gava Elmanya gihişte yekîtiya xwe, rêjeya kesên ku bi elmanî diaxiftin qederê sedî 17'an bû* ‘The estimate is that when Germany reached its unification, the proportion of people who spoke German was about 17 percent’

Thus, there seem to be clearly separate patterns at the genre-morphosyntax interface even in direct translations, monolingually produced writings remaining outside the scope of this study. Next to establishing an inventory of constructions, the present study seeks to explain how functional choices might be related to the typological differences between the two languages.

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Periphrastic causatives in Kurmanji Kurdish

Apart from a few studies (Akin & Bouveret 2021, Gundogdu & Akkus 2021), causative constructions in Kurmanji Kurdish have not been studied. The notion of causativity is a fundamental category of human conceptualisation of the world (Shibatani 2002), which is expressed in several ways across languages. Dixon has classified the ways of expressing causativity according to a scale of compactness (Dixon 2000). The scale is based on a continuum from the most compact to the least compact: lexical causatives, morphological causatives and syntactic / periphrastic causatives. The causative value is inherent in the semantics of lexical causatives, which are the most compact (*kuştin* ‘kill’, *şikandin* ‘broke’, *girtin* ‘arrest’, etc.). Morphological causatives include different morphological procedures. The addition of a causative affix to the verbal root is the most common. Kurdish uses the affix *-and* to make an intransitive verb causative: *meş-în* ‘run’ / *meş-and-in* ‘make run’. Syntactic causatives of the type *dan* ‘give’+V-inf are the least compact in that they involve complex predicates. It is these periphrastic causatives that we aim to examine in the paper.

The study is based on a corpus including articles extracted from the BLARK platform¹ (Basic Language Resource Kit), which aims to provide tools and resources in automatic processing of Kurdish dialects. Launched in 2014 by a group of researchers based in Iraqi Kurdistan, the platform brings together articles published in the period from 2019 to 2022 by the online news sites *Firat News Agency*, *BasNews* and *Kurdistan Press Agency* and includes a total of 231,418 words. In addition, an online search was conducted to verify the diffusion of the forms attested in the corpus and to access recent written attestations.

The corpus will allow examining causative periphrases with *dan* ‘give’ + V-inf, the constructions *kirin ku* ‘make that’, *hiştin ku* ‘let that’ in order to examine their complementary distribution according to their causal values and morphosyntactic constraints. The analyses are based on a set of criteria aimed at refining the notion of causality in these verbal constructions. Causativity, like the other categories of TAM, is thus posited as a grammatical category that can give rise to semi-auxiliaries or complex predicates of causativity, more broadly causative periphrases.

First analyses of the corpus show that, among the three verbs *dan* ‘give’, *kirin* ‘make’, *hiştin* ‘let’, the verb *dan* is by far the most typical and productive causative in causative periphrases. Kurdish Kurmanji illustrates the polyfunctionality of the *dan* with a grammatical sense of causativity in periphrastic constructions, which tends to show that the *dan* + V-inf seems to be

¹ <https://github.com/KurdishBLARK/BD-4SK-ASR>

a typological fact encountered in many other languages (Corre 2021, Gougenheim 1929, Newman 1996, 1998, Von Waldenfels 2012).

Keywords: causative constructions, periphrases, causativity, Kurmanji Kurdish

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Language Ideologies in the Context of Demands for Mother Tongue-Based Education in Iran

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This paper employs theoretical frameworks of critical language policy (Tollefson 1992), language ideologies (Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity 1998; Woolard 2022), language orientations (Ruiz 1984), and language rights (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 2022) to investigate the following questions: What are the main language ideologies that inform the discourses against mother-tongue education in Iran? What knowledge domains (ideological metaphors) these ideologies utilize? What semiotic processes and discursive strategies are used to operationalize them, and in what linguistic features are they realized? The data has been collected from media interviews, comments and discussions on social media forums, speeches of politicians, and manifestos and declarations that coalitions of political parties and personalities published during the 2022 Jīna uprising in Iran. Given that language ideologies are historical phenomena (Blommaert 1999), this paper also draws on a large set of similar data accumulated over the past twenty years. Employing critical discourse analysis (Flowerdew & Richardson 2017), and semiotic processes of language ideologies (Irvine and Gal 2000) the paper explores whether change to language policy in Iran is possible by identifying (1) language ideologies that appear as common sense (through appeals to a variety of knowledge domains such as linguistics, education, economy, history, politics, and culture), (2) semiotic processes and discursive strategies which construct and reinforce these language ideologies, and (3) lexicogrammatical features that realize these discursive strategies. The findings suggest that debates over mother tongue-based multilingual education in Iran are influenced by several language ideologies, especially the modernist nation-state ideology of one people/one language. These ideologies are constructed through identifiable discursive strategies that are detrimental to inclusive, democratic, and human rights-oriented language policy reform. Arguing that language ideological change is an essential prerequisite for language policy reform (Corson 1993), the paper calls for discourse planning (Lo Bianco 2010) and increased language awareness (Fairclough 2000) in a variety of public domains including education, media, and politics.

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Restrictions on clitic positioning and stacking in Ardalani-Kurdish
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Clitic positioning as well as clitic stacking exhibit interesting patterns in Sorani-Kurdish. However, there are variations among different variants of this language. In this paper, we concentrate on Ardalani, a variant of Sorani-Kurdish. There are also puzzling restrictions on both clitic positioning and stacking in this variant that call for explanation. We concentrate on a few patterns of clitic positioning and stacking, as well as the restrictions observed on those patterns, and try to provide a morpho-syntactic analysis for them within a phase theoretic framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2001). We propose that VoiceP functions as a phase in Ardalani. Furthermore we show that the syntactic structure of those patterns is provided within the Narrow Syntax based on the clausal architecture of Ardalani, and is morphologically realized post-syntactically. We show that the clitic ordering is subject to structural locality.

Data Sorani-Kurdish exhibits an interesting version of split ergativity (Karimi 2014): there is a distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in the simple present and present continuous (SP/PC) on one hand, and past tense and present perfective (PT/PP), on the other hand, with respect to agreement as well as subject clitic doubling. Intransitive verbs always agree with the subject regardless of the tense, while transitive verbs exhibit subject agreement in the present SP/PC only. As for transitive verbs in the PT/PP, no agreement is observed on the verb. That is, the verb exhibits the default third-person singular, yet subject clitic doubling is obligatorily (1).

- (1) a. Sara ktew-æk-an=**i** xwen-d Past tense (PT)
 Sara book-def-pl=**3sg** read-pst
 ‘Sara read the books.’
 b. Sara ktew-æk-an=**i** xwen-g-æ Present perfect (PP)
 Sara book-def-pl=**3sg** read-prf-is
 ‘Sara has read the books.’

Furthermore, the clitic has to appear in the VoiceP second position, otherwise the sentence becomes ungrammatical (2).

- (2) *Sara diwar-ækæ ræŋ=**i** ki.d Clitic attachment to the non-verbal element
 Sara wall-def color=**3sg** do.pst in the presence of the higher object DP
 Int. ‘Sara painted the wall.’

It cannot be attached to any element outside of the VoiceP (3).

- (3) *Sara ?aza=**j** diwar-ækæ ræŋ ki.d
 Sara quickly=**3sg** wall-def color do.pst
 Int. ‘Sara painted the wall quickly.’

Objects of preposition, if in the form of a clitic, may travel out of the PP, and attach to an element to the left of the PP. This is only allowed in the SP/PP. (4).

- (4) ktew-æk-an=**tan**. bo ?æ-ner-im
 book-def-pl=**2pl** for impf-send.pres-1sg
 ‘I send the books to you(pl.)’

This process is possible only when the PP is in the pre-verbal position. Otherwise, the sentence is ungrammatical regardless of what element the clitic attaches to (5).

- (5) a. *ktew-æk-an ?æ-ner-im=**tan** bo. Attached to the verbal complex
 book-def-pl impf-send.pres-1sg=**2pl** for
 b. *ktew-æk-an=tan ?æ-ner-im bo Attached to the object
 book-def-pl=**2pl** impf-send.pres-1sg for

Object clitics of prepositions cannot move out of the PP in a PT/PP construction (6).

- (6) *ktew-æk-an=**tan**=im bo nard

book-def-pl=**2pl**=1sg for send.pst.

Int. 'I sente the books to you(pl.)'

Ardalani also allows stacking of clitics which appear in a fixed order. That is, object clitic obligatorily precedes the subject clitic (7).

(7) a. dæʃwæt=**man**=**I** næ-ʔæ-kiɪd
invite=**1pl**=**3sg** neg-imp-do.pst
'S/he didn't invite us.'

b. *dæʃwæt=**i**=**man** næ-ʔæ-kiɪd
invite neg=**3pl**=**1sg** neg-imp-do.pst
Int. 'S/he didn't invite us.'

If the object clitic and the subject clitic are stacked on the object clitic of the preposition, the order is: P+obj+DO+Subj (8). Any other order is ruled out.

(8) a. bo=**man**=**tan**=**jan** nard
for=1pl=2pl=3pl send.pst
'They sent you(pl.) to/for us.'

b. *bo=**tan**=**man**=**jan** nard
for=2pl=2pl=3pl send.pst
Int. 'They sent you(pl.) to/for us.'

c. *bo=**jan**=**tan**=**man** nard
for=3pl=2pl=1pl send.pst Int. 'They sent you(pl.) to/for us'

Research questions: in this article, we try to respond to the following questions: (a) how can we account for the fixed order of clitics in this language, (b) how can we explain the fact that the object clitic of P cannot be stranded if the PP has already scrambled to the right, (c) what prevents the movement of the object of the preposition out of the PP in the PT/PP construction, but not in its SP/PC counterpart.

Outline of the analysis: as for (a), we show that the syntactic structure of the clausal architecture of Ardalani accounts for the order in (7a) and (8a). That is, the hierarchical structure of Ardalani clauses imposes a locality constraint that can only allow a fixed order of DO+Subj and P+Obj+DO+Subj. With respect to (b), we argue that scrambling of PP to the postverbal position moves it out of the VoiceP phase, a syntactic operation, and thus it will not be available for clitic movement post-syntactically. Further evidence for this post-syntactic analysis of cliticization is provided by a pattern of morphologically conditioned allomorphy exhibited by some prepositions (Nabors et al, 2019), e.g. and *la~lê* 'of' and *be~pê* 'to' which will be discussed in detail in the paper. Finally (c): the inability of the clitic object of a preposition to move out of PP in the PT/PP construction. We will propose a tentative analysis for this restriction based on (9) where the clitic object of P has moved out of PP in a PT construction:

(9) ew pirsiyar-êk=**im**=î **lê**= kird
3sg question-IND=**1sg**=3sg **of**= do.PST

While (9) is grammatical for some other variants of Sorani (e.g. Jafi), it is unacceptable for Ardalani speaker, unless it receives a possessive interpretation, in which case it is still severely marked. The contrast between Ardalani and other Sorani variants suggests that this restriction is not syntactic.

Conclusion: the analysis provided in this paper supports the theoretical assumption that cliticization is a post-syntactic process based on the structure provided in Narrow Syntax.

Selected references: Chomsky (2001), Holmberg and Odden (2004), Karimi (2014) Nabors, et al (2019), Smith (2018).

Voice is not a spell-out domain: Ask Kurdish and Baxtiari

Atefeh Shahbazi

INTRODUCTION. Non-active voice (henceforth, NAct) structures refer to a group of remarkably similar structures which prevent external arguments from surfacing syntactically, such as *anticausatives* (i.e., spontaneous events, e.g., predicates like *break*, *open*), *dispositional middles* (generic statements about the internal argument properties/abilities), and *passives*. NAct structures are classified morphologically into two types in many languages: *analytic* (or periphrastic) NAct voice is expressed through a combination of an auxiliary (AUX) and a non-finite element (participle, infinitive, or nonverbal element), as in English (1a), while *synthetic* voice is expressed by a designated NAct morpheme, as in Japanese (1b).

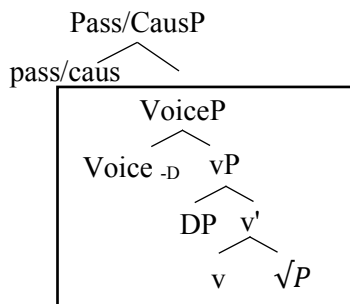
- (1) a. The door was opened. (English)
 b. hanako=ga sensei=ni sikar-are-ta. (Japanese)
 hanako=nom teacher=dat scold-NAct-Pst
 ‘Hanako was scolded by the teacher.’

NAct voices can also surface syncretically across languages (e.g., Russian, Greek, Korean, etc.). That is, two or more underlyingly distinct NAct voices are pronounced identically. For instance, in Russian, a single NAct morpheme can be interpreted ambiguously, either as passive or anticausative.

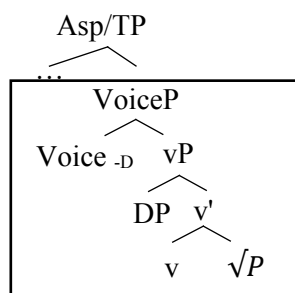
- (2) kalitka otkryvalas. (Russian)
 gate open.Impf.Pst.NAct
 Passive: ‘The gate was being opened (by e.g., Oleg).’
 Anticausative: ‘The gate was opening.’ (Oikonomou and Alexiadou, 2022: 25)

Oikonomou and Alexiadou (2022:25), henceforward O&A, make a generalization about voice syncretism in which they state that “voice syncretism is associated with synthetic morphology”. They argue that analytic NAct voice, unlike synthetic NAct voice, is associated with a single interpretation. Only synthetic morphology can be interpreted syncretically as passive, middle, or other voices. In languages with both synthetic and analytic constructions, there can be no syncretism in the interpretation of analytic constructions and these constructions must have a single designated interpretation (O&A, 2022: 2). O&A explains why analytic and synthetic forms correspond to non-syncretic and syncretic interpretations, respectively. In their analysis, they take voiceP as a spell-out domain and relate syncretism and non-syncretism to the absence and presence of a designated head above voiceP, respectively. Therefore, any head that disambiguates voice, being a causative, anticausative, passive head, etc., is phase-external (3). Thus, if a language aims to specify the NAct meaning, it requires additional heads and since these additional heads lie outside voiceP, they must be spelled out separately. Accordingly, this phase-external phrase has a designated interpretation. On the other hand, in the absence of a higher head, the vP and voiceP sequences remain in the same spell-out domain and are transferred to interfaces simultaneously, resulting in a synthetic NAct voice with a syncretic interpretation (4).

(3) Designated Pass/ Caus Cs



(4) Syncretic voice



DATA. This generalization, however, is at odds with two related Iranian languages:

- (5) a. ?atena mal-aka-i xæraw kerd. (Kurdish/ active)
 atena house-Def-acc destroy do.PST.3rd.SG
 ‘Atena destroyed the house.’
- b. mal-ækæ xæraw **bu.** (Kurdish, analytic: anticausative/ passive)
 house-Def destroy become.Pst.3rd.sg
 ‘The house was destroyed (by itself/ or by e.g., Atena).’
- c. ?æw rext-e **vaii.** (Baxtiari, analytic: anticausative/ passive)
 water pour-Prtc become.Pst.3rd.sg
 ‘The water was poured (by e.g, Atena). / The water poured (by itself)’

Kurdish and Baxtiari, with both analytic and synthetic¹ NAct voice systems, demonstrate the exact opposite behavior from O&A’s generalization. In what follows, we will focus on Kurdish but the analysis can be extended to Baxtiari as well. In the active sentence (5a), with a complex predicate (CPr), the light verb (LV) *kerden* ‘to do’, combines with a predicative item, here, a noun. To form a NAct counterpart, Kurdish can, analytically, replace the active LV, *kerden* ‘to do’ with the NAct auxiliary, *bun* ‘to become’. This structure is syncretic, lending itself to two interpretations²: it has either an anticausative reading, in which no external agent intentionally destroyed the house (i.e., the house destroyed by itself), or a passive reading, in which an implicit agent is present. This violates O&A’s generalization as Kurdish (5b) uses syncretic analytic NAct voice.

The data thus provide evidence that there is no constraint on combinations of syncretic readings and forms (i.e., synthetic or analytic) as is shown in table 1: analytic and non-syncretic (English), analytic and syncretic (Kurdish/Baxtiari), synthetic and non-syncretic (Hebrew) and synthetic and syncretic (Russian). The shaded cells were introduced by O&A.

	analytic	Synthetic
Unambiguous	English	Hebrew
Ambiguous	Kurdish/Baxtiari	Korean

table 1

In light of these languages falsifying the generalization, we can conclude that whether a voice is unspecified or not does not reflect its analytic or synthetic nature. Therefore, both non-/syncretic synthetic and analytic NAct forms should be possible in principle, and whatever mechanism drives non-/syncretism differs from what is responsible for analytic/synthetic, and the mechanisms work independently. We adopt O&A’s claim that the analytic form occurs when the derivation spells out voices separately. However, we argue against the idea that voiceP is a spell-out domain. Hence, if a particular head (be it the head of a PassP or CauseP) appears, as Kurdish, a synthetic form can still be generated. In addition, the head of VoiceP in languages can still be spelled out analytically without any specially designated interpretation. Regardless of the VoiceP’s nature, there is nothing that prevents a language from expressing the Voice head as an syncretic analytical construction. Concretely, we propose that NAct voices have the same underlying structure: VoiceP> PredP> RootP. It is language-specific properties, however, that determine whether voice, Pred, and Root heads are spelled out as one unit (i.e., synthetic) or separately (i.e., analytic). This fully depends on the morphophonological way such higher heads are realized (i.e., whether they are bound or unbound morphemes). The only crucial factor for NAct structures is that the NAct head c-commands the Pred head.

CONCLUSION: An analysis without any spell-out domain achieves the right effect with the fewest assumptions. By dropping the idea that VoiceP is a spell-out domain, there is no longer a prediction that the analytic forms are non-syncretic and only synthetic forms can be syncretic. There is no connection between analytic vs. synthetic morphology and the absence or presence of a particular interpretation anymore. NAct *forms* are governed by morphosyntactic rules which are language-specific, as proven correct by the data presented in this paper.

SELECTED REFERENCE: Oikonomou, D. & Alexiadou, A. 2022. Voice Syncretism Crosslinguistically: The View from Minimalism. *Philosophies* 7, 19. <https://doi.org/10.3390/>

¹ We are focusing only on analytic NAct voices here which falsifies O&A’s claim.

² We used typical passive (e.g., using *by-phrase*, using agent-oriented adverbials, control into purpose clauses, etc.) and anticausative diagnostics (e.g., using *by-itself*, using simply/easily adverbials, etc.) to make sure that these sentences have syncretic interpretation. However, as a matter of space, we have not mentioned them in the abstract.

Contact interference in Southern Kurdish:
an overview and selection of case-studies

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ABSTRACT:

Contact influence on Kurdish varieties, particularly on southernmost dialects of Kurdish (SK) often left out from seminal works on the topic (such as Öpengin 2020 on Kurdish-Arabic contact), has received both limited and uneven attention in the history of linguistic studies on the Kurdish language cluster.

This contribution aims at outlining research prospects on language contact in the area of diffusion of SK dialects which, by virtue of its diversified linguistic composition – including both Iranian (CK, Gorani, Laki, Northern Lori, Persian) and non-Iranian languages (Turkic, NENA, Arabic), with varying degrees of demographic salience and societal dominance – is a fertile territory for observing the historical stratification and synchronic results of various types of contact interference, both within and outside the Iranian language family.

Starting from an overview of the linguistic landscape of the Southern Kurdish zone, we will identify focal points of contact, alongside their relative time depth and spatial distribution. We will also consider a selection of interesting linguistic outcomes in SK as recipient language – some of which are being addressed in the framework of a project on cultural and linguistic interactions between Iranian and non-Iranian languages in history – and their potential to enlighten aspects of SK-internal variation.

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The Distribution of Kurdish Language Varieties in the Rural Districts of Damavand County, Iran

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Damavand County, due to its mountainous location, has been the birthplace of tribal forced migration by the rulers of Iran in the last three centuries. This phenomenon has caused a vast linguistic diversity in this region. Currently, twelve language varieties, including Perso-Tabari, Mazanderani, Azeri Turkic, Kurdish, Persian, Luri, Arabic, Laki, Tati, Hawrami, Razi, and Turkmen, are spoken with specific dialectal features in rural districts of this county. The endangered status of these varieties in the area, urges an emergency in linguistic studies for the documentation of their distribution. In order to map Damavand linguistic diversity in rural areas, we visited the villages of this county in person and interviewed their native speakers. As we were monitoring the rural districts of this county, we found that eleven out of its seventy villages speak Kurdish.

The present study investigates the geographical distribution of Kurdish language varieties in rural districts of Damavand County and aims to depict the basic phonological, lexical, morphological, syntactic, and discourse features of these Kurdish varieties. For this purpose, in each Kurdish speaking village, the interview was held in the form of voice and video recordings in three stages. At first, through an identity questionnaire, the speakers were asked to give some historical and geographical information about their village, their migration, and their social life. Then, they were provided with a linguistic questionnaire, including 180 basic words, phrases, and sentences, and were asked to express them in their own mother tongue. In the final stage, the native speakers were encouraged to talk about their memories, customs, rituals, and cultural beliefs in the form of a monologue or a dialog with their families and friends. The following examples illustrate Kurdish language varieties in six (out of eleven) Kurdish speaking villages of Damavand, representing a sample of a lexical ('mother'), a phrasal ('good boy'), and a sentential ('I saw you') variety:

Areal Varieties	'mother'	'good boys'		'I saw you'		
(1) <i>Garmabsard</i>	daʔək	kuʁʎ-án-ə boy-pl-EZ	χ ^w u good	me I.NOM	t ^w o-næ you-ACC	đí-m̩ see.PST-1SG
(2) <i>Saqezdareh</i>	næ̃næ	kuʁʎ-án-ə boy-pl-EZ	χ ^w u good	me I.NOM	t ^w o-næ you-ACC	đí-m̩ see.PST-1SG
(3) <i>Moghanak</i>	næ̃né	lav-ẽn-á boy-pl-EZ	rẽn ^ˈ d̩ good	ʔæz̩ I.NOM	t ^h æ you.ACC	đí-mæ see.PST-1SG
(4) <i>Khosravan</i>	dijé	lav-ẽn-e boy-pl-EZ	rẽn ^ˈ d̩ good	ʔæz̩ I.NOM	t ^h æ you.ACC	đí-m̩ see.PST-1SG
(5) <i>Jaban</i>	de	lav-ĩn-ə boy-pl-EZ	rẽn ^ˈ d̩ good	mẽŋ I.ERG	tæ you.ACC	dí see.PST

(6) <i>Sorkhedeh</i>	de	lav-éd-e	rēn`d	mēŋ`	t ^h æ	dí
		boy-pl-EZ	good	I.ERG	you.ACC	see.PST

As the examples show, Kurdish speaking villages of Damavand display variety in some linguistic levels. For instance, the agreement system, which has been illustrated by the sentence ‘*I saw you*’, represents different formalizations in different areas of Damavand County. In some villages (1, 2, 3, 4) the verb agrees with the subject in person and number while in the others (5, 6) it does not show agreement with the subject. The formalization of the object also varies in different Kurdish speaking areas. In (1) and (2) the object is marked by a suffix while in other villages (3, 4, 5, 6) it is formalized pronominally. Apart from verbal agreement and object formalization, the agent form also shows variety in different areas. In (5) and (6), despite the accusative form of the object, the agent has an ergative form (the subject forms of ‘*I*’ and ‘*you*’ in these areas are ‘*?æz*’ and ‘*to*’ respectively) while in the others (1, 2, 3, 4) the agent is formalized nominatively.

The present research along with mapping the Kurdish varieties in the Damavand rural areas, shows that these varieties do not belong to the same Kurdish language. In some areas Southern Kurdish is spoken while in the others, the spoken language varieties represent Northern Kurdish features. Three out of eleven Kurdish speaking villages of Damavand, located in the Southeastern of *Abarshiveh Rural District*, speak Kermanshahi Kurdish while eight of them, located in the center of *Abarshiveh* and the rural districts of *Jamabrud*, *Tarrud*, and *Mehrabad*, speak Kurmanji Kurdish. These two types of Kurdish, both by the local perception and the documented data, also show intra-dialectal varieties.

The linguistic documentation of Kurdish speaking villages in Damavand County, held by interviewing the native speakers whose ancestors were forced to migrate from their homelands (Khorasan and Kermanshah) centuries ago, maps one of the twelve language diversities that are currently spoken in the rural districts of this county. This documentation, which includes demographic and sociolinguistic data along with recordings of 1800 basic words, phrases, and sentences, and of 130 minutes free speech, can make a platform for further experimental studies in linguistics, more specifically, within the scopes of multilingualism and contact-induced change.

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The Emergence of the Turkish State as a New Actor in the Kurdish Linguistic Sphere and the Responses of Kurdish Language Activists during Peace Negotiations (2009-2011)

The state's emergence as a new actor in the Kurdish linguistic space during the peace negotiations process (2009-2015) inevitably impacted the relations and power dynamics within the independently organized Kurdish language activism. Kurdish language activists had formerly either worked independently or in relation to Kurdish language institutions, and a large number were in exile. With the peace negotiations process and the accompanying changes, the state called upon many Kurdish language activists to work in state-run institutions and support the state in its efforts, and it vowed to end its assimilationist policy and even support Kurdish language efforts. Whereas the end of the process brought about more bloodshed and violence than there was before the process, I will focus on how the Kurdish activists processed these changes and how their activism was transformed. There emerged heated discussions among Kurdish activists as to how to respond to the state's call which led to a deepening split among activists and organizations. A big part of this split stemmed from the already existing differences around the political orientations of Kurdish institutions and activists. This led to high levels of resentment, chaos, confusion, and splits within the larger Kurdish language movement. I explore how the already existing divergences among Kurdish language activists have taken a new form after the state's emergence as a new actor in the Kurdish linguistic arena. Moreover, I engage with the questions of neutrality and objectivity as claimed by certain language activists and alleged to be lacking by others in the very politicized Kurdish language arena. My data is based on an ethnographic study that I conducted in the cities of Diyarbakir and Istanbul during the years 2017-2018.

The Status of Prepositions in Ditransitive Structures in Ardalani Kurdish

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Ditransitives in Ardalani Kurdish offer manifold realizations consisting of two patterns for simple verbs, shown in (1-2), and five for complex predicates, which include a light verb—these are shown in (3-7). I will focus on the status of the preposition in these constructions, using gapping as a new diagnostic to investigate the status of the preposition in these constructions. I argue that the preposition in some cases is incorporated into the verb in the syntax, forming a constituent with the verbal element, and in other cases, it undergoes morphological merger with the verb in PF. Furthermore, I will argue that the Kurdish data in question provide support for Kayne’s (2000) proposal that P and what is traditionally considered to be its complement are not base-generated as a single constituent.

Data Description. With simple verbs, the direct object (DO) is a DP preceding the verb and the indirect object (IO) is a PP following the verb. The preposition surfaces in two forms: independent/free-standing, as in (1), or incorporated into the verb, as in (2). With complex predicates (CPrs), the P is incorporated into the light verb (LV) in two patterns (4-5) and independent/free-standing in other patterns (3-6-7). DP_{IO} always precedes the CPr (both parts), as in (3), and PP_{IO} follows the LV (see (4-5-6-7)), with the preposition having several options that will be discussed below.

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|-----|------------------|------|------|------------------|------------------|
| (1) | mɪn ʔæks-ek | æ-æ-m | bæ sahel | | | | | | |
| | I photo-INDEF | IND-give.PRS-1SG.SU | to Sahel | | | | | | |
| | ‘I give a photo to Sahel.’ | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Sub | DP _{DO} | V | P | DP _{IO} | |
| (2) | mɪn ʔæks-ek | æ-æ-m=æ | sahel | | | | | | |
| | pro photo-INDEF | IND-give.PRS-1SG.SU=to | Sahel | | | | | | |
| | ‘I give a photo to Sahel.’ | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Sub | DP _{DO} | V=P | | DP _{IO} | |
| (3) | mɪn ʔæks-ek | nɪʃan=∅ | sahel æ-æ-m | | | | | | |
| | I photo-INDEF | show=Ez | Sahel IND-give.PRS.1SG.SU | | | | | | |
| | ‘I show Sahel a photo.’ | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Sub | DP _{DO} | PR | | DP _{IO} | LV |
| (4) | mɪn ʔæks-ek | æ-æ-m=æ | nɪʃan=∅ sahel | | | | | | |
| | I photo-INDEF | IND-give.PRS-1SG.SU=to | show=Ez Sahel | | | | | | |
| | ‘I show a photo to Sahel.’ | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Sub | DP _{DO} | LV=P | PR | DP _{IO} | |
| (5) | ∅ ʔæks-ek | nɪʃan | æ-æ-m=æ sahel | | | | | | |
| | pro photo-INDEF | show | IND-give.PRS-1SG.SU=to Sahel | | | | | | |
| | ‘I show a photo to Sahel.’ | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Sub | DP _{DO} | PR | LV=P | DP _{IO} | |
| (6) | mɪn ʔæks-ek | æ-æ-m | bæ nɪʃan=∅ sahel | | | | | | |
| | pro photo-INDEF | IND-give.PRS-1SG.SU | to show=Ez Sahel | | | | | | |
| | ‘I show a photo to Sahel.’ | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Sub | DP _{DO} | LV | P | PR | DP _{IO} |
| (7) | mɪn ʔæks-ek | nɪʃan | a-a-m bæ sahel | | | | | | |
| | pro photo-INDEF | show | IND-give.PRS.1SG.SU to Sahel | | | | | | |
| | ‘I show a photo to Sahel.’ | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Sub | DP _{DO} | PR | LV | P | DP _{IO} |

Analysis. I will use gapping as a new diagnostic for probing the status of the preposition and its derivational path in the constructions under consideration. With simple verbs, the preposition in (2) cannot be gapped along with the verb, as shown by (8b), which, I argue, shows that what looks like P-incorporation here is actually a result of the morphological merger of the preposition and the verb

in PF (where ellipsis precedes morphological merger in PF) and not a syntactic operation of P-to-V movement. (If incorporation happened in the syntax through P-to-V movement, the verb and the incorporated preposition would form a constituent so it should be possible to elide them together.)

- (8) a. $m\ddot{m}$ $\text{?}\ddot{a}ks\text{-}ek$ $\text{æ}\text{-}\text{æ}\text{-}m\text{=}\text{æ}$ sahel, sadaf= $i\text{f}$ $\text{?}\ddot{a}ks\text{-}ek$ bæ nyan
 I photo-INDEF IND-give.PRS-1SG.SU=to Sahel, Sadaf=also photo-INDEF to Nyan
 ‘I give a photo to Sahel, Sadaf also a photo to Nyan.’
 b. * $m\ddot{m}$ $\text{?}\ddot{a}ks\text{-}ek$ $\text{æ}\text{-}\text{æ}\text{-}m\text{=}\text{æ}$ sahel, sadaf= $i\text{f}$ dan-ek nyan
 I photo-INDEF IND-give.PRS-1SG.SU=to Sahel, Sadaf=also one-INDEF Nyan
 Lit. ‘I give a photo to Sahel, Sadaf Nyan.’

In contrast, with CPRs in (4-5) the incorporated preposition is gapped along with the LV, as shown in (9-10) respectively.

- (9) $m\ddot{m}$ $\text{?}\ddot{a}ks\text{-}ek$ $\text{æ}\text{-}\text{æ}\text{-}m\text{=}\text{æ}$ nijan= \emptyset sahel, sadaf= $i\text{f}$ $\text{?}\ddot{a}ks\text{-}ek$
 I photo-INDEF IND-give.PRS-1SG.SU=to show=Ez Sahel, Sadaf=also photo-INDEF
 nijan= \emptyset nyan
 show=Ez Nyan
 Lit. ‘I show a photo to Sahel, Sadaf also show(Pr) Nyan a photo.’

- (10) $m\ddot{m}$ $\text{?}\ddot{a}ks\text{-}ek$ nijan $\text{æ}\text{-}\text{æ}\text{-}m\text{=}\text{æ}$ sahel, sadaf= $i\text{f}$ $\text{?}\ddot{a}ks\text{-}ek$ nijan nyan
 I photo-INDEF show IND-give.PRS-1SG.SU=to Sahel, Sadaf=also photo-INDEF show Nyan
 Lit ‘I show a photo to Sahel, Sadaf also show(Pr) a photo to Nyan.’

I take the possibility of gapping the verb and the preposition in (9-10) to indicate that in these constructions the preposition incorporates into the verb in the syntax (through P-to-V movement). Since they form a constituent, the preposition, and the verb can be gapped together. I further argue that syntactic incorporation takes place in structures where the preposition is not adjacent to its traditional complement DP. This is clearly the case in (4)/(6). Regarding (5)/(7), I argue that these examples are derivationally related to the examples in (4)/(6). In particular, examples in (5)/(7) are derived from (4)/(6), with the PR undergoing movement from the position where it is located in (4)/(6). P-incorporation then proceeds in (5) on a par with (4) (the two examples have the same structure at the relevant point of the derivation). I also argue that the proposed analysis provides support for Kayne’s (2000) proposal that Preposition and what looks like its complement are not base-generated together. According to Kayne (2000), Prepositions are introduced above VP rather than directly merging with what is traditionally assumed to be their complement. The full derivation of the relevant constructions under Kayne’ (2000) proposal that P and what is traditionally considered to be its complement are not base-generated together will be presented in the talk.

Conclusion. Using gapping as a new diagnostic for examining the status and the derivation of what look like incorporated prepositions in ditransitive constructions in Ardalani Kurdish, I argue that there are two distinct derivational paths for them: with simple verbs, the preposition undergoes morphological merger with the verb in PF. In Complex Predicate Constructions, on the other hand, the preposition undergoes syntactic incorporation into the verb. The proposed analysis also provides support for Kayne’s (2000) proposal that P and what is traditionally assumed to be its complement are not base-generated together.

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Complex predicates in Hawrami
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Complex predicates (CPs) constitute one of the salient features of Iranian languages. This study offers an empirically based account of CPs in the Takht dialect of Hawrami. The material for this study comes from a corpus of Hawrami Takht consisting of 10,000 words (xxx *in prep*). In Hawrami CPs are comprised of a non-verbal element and a light verb. The non-verbal elements can be of the following categories, noun (e.g., *kūč kerđey* ‘to migrate’); adjective (e.g., *neweš kewtey* ‘get ill’); and particle (e.g., *ber ārdđey* ‘to take out’)

A peculiarity of Hawrami within West Iranian languages is that the non-verbal element within the complex predicate shows agreement, most typically in gender and number, with a preceding clausal argument. The agreeing categories include by default adjectives:

- (1) [[kināčē=w pādšā=y misr-ī **neweš-è** gin-o]^l [ZP.25]
daughter.F=EZ king=EZ Egypt-OBL.M ill-F fall.PRS-3SG
‘The king of Egypt’s daughter fell sick.’
- (2) [[ī merāsēm=e **kem** mē-ker-o] [ZP.130]
DEM.PROX ceremony.M=DEM little.M NEG-do.PRS-3SG
‘This ceremony will keep on being held (it does not decrease).’
- (3) *ēme zāmdār-ē nē-ker-o*^l [DG.64]
1PL wounded-PL NEG.SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
‘He shall not make us wounded.’

A small clause analysis can capture the incorporation of the adjectives in the above examples. The nominal elements within the complex predicate fall into a continuum with respect to their categorial status as nouns or adjectives. With nominals floating between adjectives and nouns the tendency is to show agreement, just like adjectives. The nominal elements in this category are often loans from Arabic (see 4-5). This could explain the uncertainty speakers faced in assigning a word category to the loans when they borrowed them from Arabic.

- (4) *xwā derde=š def-e kero* [DG.28]
God illness.F=3SG exclusion-F do.PRS-3SG
‘May God cure his illness.’
- (5) *řed-ē b-ā*^l [ZB.43]
crossing-PL be.PRS-3PL
‘They crossed.’

The rest of noun-verb CPs are categorised into two groups, they either permit an additional object e.g. (6), or they do not (7)-(8). While in the first group, the N has lost its syntactic status, in the latter group it controls agreement on the light verb, as exemplified by saturated CPs (7), and possessor complement CPs (8):

- (6) *ī kināčē=m=e peyš māre ker-dē*^l [KŠ.80]
PROX daughter.F=1SG=DEIC for=3SG marriage.M do.PRS-2PL
‘Marry my daughter to him!’

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

(8) **ŕemre=ū** **xwā-y=š** **kerd-e^l** [ZQ.31]
order.F=EZ God-OBL.M=3SG do.PST-F
'He passed away [lit. he did the command of God]'

As can be seen, in CPs that do not take an additional argument, the light verb agrees with the non-verbal element of the CP, regardless of the CP as a whole being unaccusative or unergative. In other words, the N is an argument of the light verb. These types of CPs thus reveal that the N has not totally lost its syntactic status, contrary to similar CPs in related languages, e.g., Kurmanji (cf. Haig 2002). Considering that one of the important diagnostics for objecthood in ergative languages is the ability of the N to control agreement on the verb, following Hale and Keyser (2002) these predicates are considered underlying transitive structure in which the agentive (transitive) LV selects for its object. Taken together, it seems that Hawrami CPs represent a more incipient stage of CP formation, reflected by the lack of full syntactic incorporation of the non-verbal element, in comparison with CPs in related languages such as Kurdish and Persian, where incorporation has been pushed forward.

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The accentual system of Ankara Northern Kurdish

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This study presents the results of an intonational analysis of the Northern Kurdish variety spoken in Ankara, Turkey (Kurmanji, nort2641), hereafter referred to as NK Ankara. Data are from recordings available as part of the “Word Order in Western Asia (WOWA)” project (Iefremenko, 2021), providing stimulus-based natural speech in the form of narratives and thus allowing for analysis of intonation in casual speech from a range of speakers between 24 and 38 years of age.

Our results show a tendency for the realization of a high pitch target on the right edge of prosodic words, barring those at the right edge of an intonational phrase. Figure 1 shows an example of such a pattern.

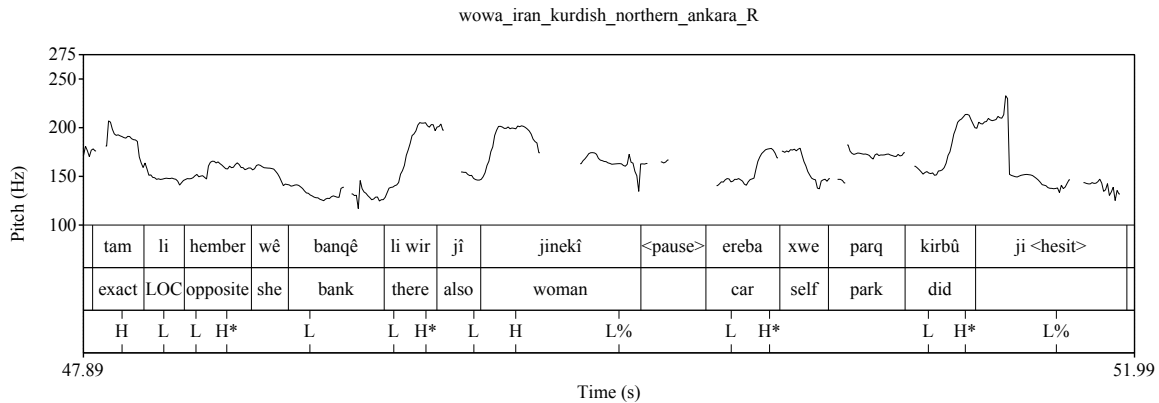


Figure 1: Sample intonation for NK Ankara

This pattern shows remarkable similarity to that for Turkish described in Ipek & Jun (2013), suggesting the possibility of high tone prominence marking on the ultimate syllable as a potential areal feature.

The speech was analyzed from the recordings of 30 speakers of NK Ankara to determine the prevalence of a right-edge high tone target on prosodic words, with reference to additional recordings for Northern Kurdish speakers elsewhere in the region. Based on this analysis, we come to the conclusion that pitch is the primary acoustic correlate of word-level prominence marking, with much less substantial variation in amplitude on the high-tone syllable. This is perhaps contrary to (Hasan, 2017), although in part on terminological grounds. Furthermore, this pitch is predictably placed on the final syllable, as has been described for the neighboring Turkish language.

Past accounts have used subjective methods based on personal intuitions (e.g., Ahmad, 1986; Hamid, 2015; McCarus, 1997). Up to now, it has been universally stated in the literature that Kurdish is a stress-accent language.

Studies and descriptions of Kurdish varieties seem to agree that stress placement is a predictable (non-phonemic) aspect of Kurdish. Important descriptions, like Mackenzie (1961); McCarus (1997), seem to agree about stress placement on nouns: stress occurs on the stem-final syllable unless marked by a stress-attracting suffix. However, these descriptions disagree about stress placement on verbs/verb phrases. Each acknowledges a stress-placement hierarchy, where stress can fall on the stem, negation marker, preverb, aspect-mood marker, etc. However, they disagree about some details, e.g., whether or not absolute prepositions (applicatives according to Karim & Salehi, 2022) factor into the hierarchy or whether or not the imperfective marker is a stress-bearing element, etc.

Finally, in order to address the potential influence of Turkish on NK Ankara, we investigate

the form and placement of accent marking in Turkish and elsewhere in Northern Kurdish based on additional recordings from the WOWA corpus.

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Breakthroughs in Kurdish lexicography

Michael L. Chyet

- There are 2 sets of words for 'wet' and 'dry' in Kurmanji (& Zazaki):

Kurmanji: **teṛ** ≠ **hişk**; **şil** ≠ **ziwa**

Zazaki: **tern** ≠ **wişk**; **hî[t]** ≠ **zwa**

The first pair (**teṛ** ≠ **hişk**) reflects the life-sustaining aspect of water; the second pair (**şil** ≠ **ziwa**) reflects the destructive aspect of water. The differences between the two pairs are explained with examples, together with a folkloristic interpretation. This distinction should be of special interest to language learners. It also begs the question: does a similar distinction exist in other languages?

- In Margaret Kahn's book *The Children of the Jinn*, the word *khilbileek* (xilbilîk) appears, which is absent from the Kurdish dictionaries. It refers to a creature which is believed to attack people, and can be fended off with safety pins. New research has uncovered independent confirmation of this word and the accompanying folk belief.

- Innovative methods for verifying words: *Derleme Sözlüğü*, a dictionary of Turkish dialect words, which includes detailed information about the meaning and geographical distribution of the entries. Several Kurdish words appear here, and particularly when such words do not appear in the existing Kurdish dictionaries, this is an important source of independent corroboration of their existence. Several examples include: **dişliq** = 'tranquility'; **horîk** = 'pair of oxen'; **qeṛaş** = 'fruit compote'; **satircem** = 'flu, head cold'; **taxim** = 'border'; **tereg** = 'shelf'.

- The word **male/malinc** = 'trowel', and the comparative methodology used in establishing its etymology.

- Words for a traditional Kurdish implement: a "baby-walker" (Kurmanji: 'ecelok = girgirok = selîlank; Central Kurdish: **ṛewṛewe**)

Jaffi Variety: a sub-dialect of Central Kurdish

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This study argues that there is an unreported cross-country variety of Central Kurdish. The variety starts from Ravansar and Javanrud from the east including Salas Bawa jani, Sarpole zahab and the non-gorani areas around Paveh in Iran. It crosses the Iraqi border to include Halabja, Shrazur, and Garmyan. Since this area is mainly inhabited by a tribe known as Jaff, I propose to use the Jaffi term for this variety. In the dialectology literature of Kurdish, this variety has been reported improperly. McKenzie (1961) describes the linguistic account of this variety. He claims that this variety which is a subdialect of CK is spoken only in west of Sharazur (Warmawa). On the other hand, Hama Khursheed (1983) and Baseer et al (1980) describe this subdialect of CK as Garmyani. However, the linguistic account of this variety, as stated above, is much wider than described in literature; starting from Ravansar in east to Kifri and Garmyan in West). The linguistic behaviour that sets this variety apart from other sub-dialects of CK are mainly phonological. So it is more of an accent than a dialect. The Jaffi Variety is mainly distinguished from other CK sub-varieties by the following features:

1. /s/ replaces the copular verb /a/ for the third person singular when the complement (adjective or noun) ends with a non-high vowels /a, o and a/:

<u>Sulaimani</u>	<u>Jaffi</u>
Azaye ‘ he is brave’	Azas
Sharezaya ‘ he is an expert’	Sharezas
Haloye ‘it is eagle’	Halos
Penjereye ‘it is window’	Penjeres

The use of /s/ could be attributed to language contact influence with Farsi. /est/ is also used in Farsi as a copular verb. *پنجره است* is the translation of penjeres. There are also some evidence from vocabulary of Jaffi that shows it has a closer language contact with Farsi.

2.

<u>Sulaimani</u>	<u>Jaffi</u>	<u>Farsi</u>
Were ‘ come’	be	bya
Dreng ‘late’	der	der
Henan ‘bring’	hawrdn	awrdn

3. /a/ does not change to /s/ when the complement ends with other vowels or ends with a consonant.

<u>Sulaimani</u>	<u>Jaffi</u>
Spy + a ‘it is white’	Spya
Pamu + a ‘it is cotton’	Pamuwa
Jwan + a ‘it is pretty’	jwana
Sur + a ‘ it is red’	sura

4. /s/ also replaces the copular verb /a/ in possession constructions:

<u>Sulaimani</u>	<u>Jaffi</u>
Hama 'I have it'	hasm
Hata 'you have it'	hast
Hamana 'we have it'	hasman

5. In Complex and compound adjectives derived from infinitive, in passive and transitive form, /g/ replaces /w/:

<u>Sulaimani</u>	<u>Jaffi</u>
Nusraw 'written'	nwsyag
Swtaw 'burnt'	sutyag'
Shkaw 'broken'	shkyag
Stamlekraw 'prosecuted'	stamlekryag
Dlsutaw 'heartbroken'	dlsutyag

6. In perfective aspect when two adjacent low vowels cause coalescence in Sulaimani, they are blended to a mid-back vowel in Jaffi:

<u>Sulaimani</u>	<u>Jaffi</u>
Hatewe 'came'	hato
Daixstaewe 'locked'	daixsto
Kwzhandyewe 'switched off'	Kwzhandyo

7. In Jaffi variety, /s/ replaces /t/ when it is followed by a front high vowel:

<u>Sulaimani</u>	<u>Jaffi</u>
Germayaty 's/he is hot'	Germayasy
Mawety 'not finished'	imagesy
Tinuyety 's/he is thirsty'	tingesy
brsyety 's/he is hungry'	brsyesy

8. The stop consonants are mostly lenited in Jaffi variety or deleted in consonant clusters:

<u>Sulaimani</u>	<u>Jaffi</u>
Xeber 'news'	'xewer'
Jwab 'answer'	jwaw
Qebrsan 'graveyard'	qewrsan
Helebje 'city name'	helewje
Mamosta 'teacher'	mamosa
Xest 'thick'	xes

Kurdish Lexicography and Linguistic Sexism

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*PhD in Linguistics**

Given the increasing prominence of lexicography in "Rojhelat" (Kurdistan of Iran), this article seeks to shed light on the presence of linguistic sexism within Kurdish dictionaries. It underscores how dictionary definitions and meanings can mirror the biases and prejudices of societies, perpetuate gender discrimination, and, in turn, reinforce a male-oriented discourse. The primary objective in addressing these issues is to draw the attention of lexicographers to the critical importance of employing neutral language when describing linguistic elements across all levels of language to eliminating gender-biased meanings and discriminatory conceptualizations within languages, including the Kurdish language. To examine the impact of dictionary content on the consolidation of unfair gender roles and stereotypes, a selection of linguistic items was drawn from Kurdish dictionaries, including "Henbane-Borine" and "Kurdistanica," utilizing purposive sampling methodology. The analysis of these lexical and textual items is conducted using a mixed methodology approach, which combines the perspectives of Structuralist models (Deficit, Difference, and Dominance) and Post-Structuralist (CDA), all while considering lexicographical standards. This analysis underscores the significant role that dictionaries play in shaping perceptions of gender and reveals a prescriptive aspect of dictionaries, contrary to the

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common belief that regards these references as authoritative and neutral ones.

Keywords: sexism, lexicography, Kurdish dictionaries, stereotypes, dominance, CDA

Constructionalization as a Model for Systematic Description;

The Case of Alignment Shifts in Kurdish Varieties

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Constructionalization, or diachronic construction grammar, is a conceptual framework that combines the theoretical foundations of both cognitive grammar, as represented in various versions of construction grammar, and historical linguistics to account for historical changes in grammar (Goldberg 2006, 2004, 2003, Trousdale 2014, Traugott and Trousdale 2013, Hilper 2013). In this approach historical changes in various components of grammar are explicated based on gradual structural changes in the internal form of micro constructions together with successive large-scale changes in the overall design of macro constructions. More specifically, it is assumed that any subtle change in the form and function of a low-level construction may eventually lead to more extensive changes in high-level dominating constructions and create a new network of constructions with different patterns of internal relationships. Although this approach was first developed for explaining the historical phenomena from an entirely diachronic perspective, it may also be employed for the synchronic description of linguistic variations. In other words, this approach can help grammarians come up with a systematic uniform framework of linguistic description in languages like Kurdish that show intensive dialectal variations yet lack authentic historical data.

Using the theoretical apparatus of constructionalization, the present study attempts to describe the past-tense alignment patterns that are realized as different constructions in Northern, Central, and Southern Kurdish varieties (Haig 2008). It will be argued that the structural and semantic diversities of these constructions in Kurdish, which in the available literature are generally referred to as ergative, post ergative, double oblique and accusative, can be uniformly described based on the successive changes of micro past-tense constructions that lead to the creation of new macro constructions and modified connecting nodes in each of the dialectal clusters of Kurdish. Moreover, it is shown that since these changes do not occur in isolation and affect the internal relationships among constructions in each dialect, they may lead to a number of alternations in the other domains of Kurdish grammar such as possessive expressions. Adopting such an approach helps us design a systematic descriptive model that can collectively account for linguistic differences in Kurdish varieties in a more plausible way. Additionally, it should be noted that such a collective model for capturing dialectal differences in Kurdish might be applied to pedagogical courses for Kurdish language.

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Are we neglecting Kurdish Part of Speech Tagging (POST) ?

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Kurdish language processing has slightly started to receive more attention in recent years. One can assert this by looking into the publications regarding the subject during the past few years. While the main focus is from the Natural Language Processing (NLP) point of view, one can also notice evidence of dealing with the topic from the Computational Linguistics (CL) perspective. Although work on the latter case is not as noticeable as the former, for instance, the fact that a few computational linguists talked at ICKL5 and now I am submitting an abstract to ICKL6 shows that the community of Kurdish linguists welcomes their colleagues who look into the subject from the computational standpoint. Regardless, what I have seen so far, is a gap or lack of active communication between Kurdish CL/NLP researchers and Kurdish linguistic specialists. Part-of-speech Tagging (POST), as a fundamental task of NLP and CL, requires plenty of synergy among computational linguists and theoretical/applied linguists. POST requires a deep linguistic knowledge of the language, which, I believe, is fundamentally well attributed to traditional linguists rather than computational ones. Of course, that does not apply to the computational linguists who either studied both computer science and linguistics or one of them and well self-studied the other. I should say I do not consider myself a proper example of either! However, I understand the paramount influence of a POST-tagged corpus on many aspects of applications we assume for Kurdish NLP and CL. So I have been searching for any plausible shortcut that could give us a base for automated POS tagging using close languages to Kurdish, for example, Persian. However, any attempt, regardless of how fruitful it might be, requires human review not only to assess and validate the outcome but also to correct the errors the machine might make during the automated process.

To start with, Hassain (2021) used a Persian POS-tagged corpus to prepare a Kurdish-tagged lexicon. One can plan to expand this experiment by applying the result to existing corpora, for example, the KTC corpus (see Abdulrahman and Hassani, 2019). One can take an approach to develop a bootstrap to be a combination of word-for-word tagging and a well-crafted rule-based tagger to prepare a base resource to tag larger corpora. To be able to do so, the project needs support from Kurdish linguistics fellows. Based on the task, the colleagues who are interested in the project can establish a committee and plan for the project and aim to present the results in the next ICKL. The project can first target one of the Kurdish dialects and use it for POS-tagging the others.

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EZAFE IN THE CONTEXT OF CPS

Songül Gündoğdu, Arsalan Kahnemuyipour and Marcel den Dikken

This study investigates the distribution of Ezafe (a nominal linker found in many Iranian languages) in the context of nouns followed by CPs, both relative clauses (RCs) and so-called noun-complement clauses (NCCs) in three Iranian languages, namely Persian, Kurdish (Northern Kurdish [NK] & Central Kurdish [CK]) and Zazaki.

Ezafe (EZ) typically appears between the head noun and modifiers that follow N (Samiian 1994, Ghomeshi 1997, Samvelian 2007, Larson & Yamakido 2008, Haig 2011, Kahnemuyipour 2014). One prominent analysis of EZ takes it to be a case assigner required before all [+N] elements (Samiian 1994, Larson & Yamakido 2008, Larson & Samiian 2020). This type of analysis predicts that adnominal elements which are [-N] should not be preceded by EZ. Persian non-restrictive RCs seem to provide support for this analysis as they are not preceded by EZ (1). Meanwhile, restrictive RCs are preceded by a (so-called relative) particle *-i* (2), phonologically distinct from the regular EZ *-e*. This particle has been analyzed as an allomorph of EZ, presenting it as a counter-example to the case analysis (Kahnemuyipour 2014). This idea finds further support in NK (3) and Zazaki (4), which use the regular form of EZ with restrictive RCs. Under this view (contra the case analysis), EZ is used uniformly before a modifier, regardless of its [+/-N] status.

- (1) Dust-e Hasan, ke tu Tehran dars mi-xun-e, xeyli baahush=e
 friend-EZ Hasan that in Tehran lesson DUR-read.PRS-3SG very smart=is
 ‘Hasan’s friend, who is a student in Tehran, is very smart.’
- (2) Zan-i ke az Tehran umad-e xeyli baahush=e
 woman-i that from Tehran came-PERF very smart=is
 ‘The woman who has come from Tehran is very smart.’
- (3) Jin-a ku ji Stenbol-ê hat-iy-e gelek zîrek e
 woman-EZ.F that from Istanbul-OBL came-3SG-PERF very clever is
 ‘The woman who has come from Istanbul is very clever.’
- (4) Merdim-o ke Istambul ra amo
 man-EZ.M that Istanbul from come.PERF.3SG.M
 ‘The man who has come from Istanbul...’

Non-restrictive RCs in NK and Zazaki add an interesting twist to the data presented above, as in these contexts, both languages allow EZ. While Zazaki uses the regular form of EZ (5) preceded by a prosodic break, NK employs a different type of EZ known as anaphoric EZ (AEZ) (6), (Haig 2011).

- (5) Embaz-ê Hesên-i, o ke Istambul ra ame, zef jihati yo
 friend-EZ.M.OBL Hasan-OBL EZ.M.DIR that Istanbul from came very capable is
 ‘Hasan’s friend, who came from Istanbul, is very hardworking/capable.’
- (6) Heval-a Hasan, ya (ku) li Stenbol-ê di-xwîn-e, gelek zîrek e
 friend-EZ.F Hasan AEZ.F (that) in Istanbul-OBL PROG-read.PRS-3S very clever is
 ‘Hasan’s friend, who is a student in Istanbul, is very clever.’

Thus, on the one hand, we have Persian with no EZ preceding a non-restrictive RC (1) and, on the other hand, we have Zazaki with EZ (5) and NK with AEZ (6). Here, we follow de Vries (2006) in analyzing non-restrictive RCs as restrictive RCs to a silent-headed NP that serves as an appositional modifier of the head noun: Head N, Silent N – restrictive RC. The distribution of EZ in Persian, Zazaki and NK non-restrictive RCs follows straightforwardly, as it matches the distribution of EZ following a silent N more generally: while Persian does not allow EZ in these contexts, Zazaki and NK use EZ and AEZ, respectively (examples not shown here for space reasons).

NK and Zazaki NCCs are always linked to the head N with EZ (N-EZ CP), while Persian has been claimed to lack EZ in NCC contexts.

- (7) a. Ew gotegot-a ku derzî bêkêr e [NK]
 DEM rumour-EZ.F that vaccine useless is
 ‘the rumour that the vaccine is useless’
- b. Hevi-yo ke şah Iran ra vecyo [Zazaki]
 hope-EZ.M that Shah Iran from exit
 ‘The hope that Shah will leave Iran...’

- c. in omid (*=e) ke Shah æz Iran xahæd=ræft [Persian]
 this hope =EZ that Shah from Iran will=go
 ‘the hope that the Shah will leave Iran.’ (Larson and Samiian 2020: 200)

This difference has been attributed to the alleged [+N] status of CPs in NK, as opposed to Persian (Larson & Samiian 2020). However, under the right circumstances, Persian allows for the possibility, largely overlooked in the literature, of using in NCCs the same particle *-i* used with restrictive RCs: (8). These facts combined present a further challenge for the case analysis.

- (8) {in edeaa / edeaa-yi } ke vaaksan xatarnaak=e=ro man matrah na-kard-am
 this claim / claim-i that vaccine dangerous=is=RA I mention NEG-did-1SG
 ‘I didn’t mention the claim that the vaccine is dangerous.’

In our proposal, underlyingly an NCC can serve either as the subject of predication for the projection of the head noun (cf. ‘[that S] is the claim’, den Dikken 2006) or as (a subpart of) the predicate for the projection of the head noun (Krapova & Cinque 2015, Moulton 2009, Kratzer 2006) – two strategies which are associated with different information-structural construals of the NCC (Hankamer & Mikkelsen 2020). The former strategy is input to a syntactic derivation involving inversion and giving rise in Persian to the particle *-i* (Kahnemuyipour 2014), the latter results in no particle or EZ in Persian. Under this view, NK and Zazaki employ the former strategy only.

We have argued above that the distribution of EZ in the context of adnominal clauses in Persian, NK and Zazaki follows from the general behaviour of EZ and the syntax of N-CP structures. The distribution of EZ in the same contexts in two different CK dialects present some new twists to these patterns. Ezafe in the the Silemani dialect is obligatorily used in restrictive RCs and NCCs similar to NK, Zazaki and Persian (in certain NCC contexts), while its use is mutually exclusive with the complementizer *-ka* in non-restrictive RCs. The appearance of EZ in non-restrictive RCs makes the prediction that we should also get EZ in the context of a silent N à la Vries (2006), and this prediction is borne out. The use of the EZ in N-CP contexts in this dialect is in line with the proposed analysis in this study. In contrast, EZ never surfaces in an N-CP context in the Ardalani dialect. This is the first variety we have seen so far with no marking at all in the restrictive RC context. We tentatively suggest that a grammatically conditioned \emptyset allomorph of EZ is used in Ardalani in this context. It is worth noting that this is not the only environment where we see the \emptyset form of EZ in Ardalani, as overt EZ also fails to surface after consonants in nominal modification, e.g. *gorwā-i sur* ‘red sock’ vs. *ktew xas* ‘good book’. This paves the way for a prosodic domain-based analysis of the \emptyset allomorph; i.e. the *-i* allomorph of EZ appears only after vowels in some prosodic domain. If we assume that there is a prosodic boundary between the vowel-final N and the CP, in N-CP contexts, the Ardalani RC facts follow. The absence of EZ in non-restrictive RCs is not surprising when we note that EZ does not appear following a silent N in this dialect. Therefore, the behaviors of EZ in N-CP contexts in this dialect is also compatible with the proposal if we take the absence of marking as allomorphy of EZ in some contexts and absence of EZ in others.

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The additive enclitic =îš in Central Kurdish

The additive enclitic =îš in Central Kurdish is employed in a number of functions, such as, among others, simple additivity (1a), scalar additivity (1b), (bi/)/syndetic constituent and clause coordination (2).

In all these cases, the use of the additive particle implies the truthness of a presupposed alternative, in conformity with the prototypical semantico-pragmatic contribution of additive particles as focus-sensitive elements (cf. König 1991; Krifka 2008).

However, the same particle is also widely employed in narratives where its interpretation is based on discourse continuity/textual cohesion and used almost always with a topic (extensively discussed in Öpengin 2013). In this case, the particle is mainly used in contrastive topic constructions (3), for topic-shift or foregrounding/retrieving a participant of the event (always in the form of a “left-dislocated topic”), or yet for establishing a relationship (correlation) between consecutive events (5).

Based on a 13,518-word corpus of connected speech, this paper will provide a fine-grained descriptive account of the functions of the additive particle in Central Kurdish. The paper will then investigate the viability of a unified analysis for its two subsets of the functions in terms of a shared function of ‘evoking alternatives’ (Öpengin 2013) and/or of other shared semantic contribution to the organization/structuring of the discourse. The presentation will also consider both the diachrony of the particle (its use in Parthian and early-modern Kurdish) and the impact of potential language contact (e.g. with Turkic, Neo-Aramaic) on the diversification of its uses.

Examples:

(1) a. *gā-eke-ān=îš=im* *de-č-in*
OX-DEF-PL=ADD=1SG:POS IND-go.PRS-3PL
‘[If I lose the bet, not only I will not get the girl,] I will lose my OXEN too.’

b. *hetā le dāyk=ū* *bāb=îš* *šīrīn-tir-e*
until from mother=and father=ADD sweet-more-COP.3SG
‘S/he (the child of one’s own) is even sweeter than PARENTS’ EP.336

(2) [*ew_demī māšīn=îš=mān ne-bū*] [*terextūn=îš=mān ne-bū*]
then car=ADD=1PL NEG-be.PST.3SG tractor=ADD=1PL NEG-be.PST.3SG
‘Back then, we had neither a car nor a tractor.’ HA.076

(3) [A- Do you know the King? B-It is not necessary to know him,]

emin bo=y *de-be-m*
1SG for=3SG:R IND-take.PRS-1SG

ew=îš *pūt=im* *de-dā-t-ē*
3SG=ADD money-1SG IND-give.PRS-3SG-DRCT

'I will take it (the load of melons) to him, (and as for him,) HE will give me money.'

- (4) [Now that you have completed four nights of guard shift, here are hundred heads of sheep I give them to you]

ew kuř-e=š, [de-zān-im engo bi-řo-n]
DEM boy-DEM1=ADD IND-know.PRS-1SG 2PL IRR-go.PRS-2PL

šewe de=y-bā-t-ewe
ghoul IND=3SG:O-take.PRS-3SG-ASP

'(but) as for **this child**, I know, if you leave, the ghou will take **him** back.' [*that's why, you had better take him with you.*] CN.042

- (5) [(After his car accident) they had taken Xalid to the hospital of Mahabad]

lewē=iš řā be řē=yān kird-bū bo kin škestebend-ī
there=ADD POST to road=3PL:A do.PST-PST.PRF to next bonesettler-OBL

'From **whence** they had sent him to the bonesettler.' TS.29

škestebend=iš dest=ī bo heř-best-bū-ewe
bonesettler=ADD hand=3SG:A for PVB-tie.PST-PST.PRF-ASP

'(As for) **the bonesettler**, he had settled his hand.' TS.30

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Language distribution in West Azarbayjan Province of Iran

Despite a legacy of linguistic research in Iran that goes back more than a century, scholarly understanding of the language situation in Iran is still fragmented. There exist several general maps that have covered the country (TAVO 1988, Irancarto 2012, Izady 2006-2021), but detailed language maps have been produced for only five of the country's provinces: Hormozgan, Chahar Mahal va Bakhtiari, Kordestan, Bushehr, and Ilam (ALI 2015-2021).

In the present paper, we present the methodology and results of our language distribution research for the province of West Azarbayjan, located in the north-west corner of Iran. Collection of language distribution information was carried out with residents of districts across the province in 2017. Because of the prevalence and complexity of multilingualism at the level of individuals, we focused on documenting mother tongue only. At the same time, to provide content and context for an online map that we are planning to build, we recorded local pronunciations of place names.

It is commonly assumed, ostensibly because of the province name, that this region is primarily Azarbayjani Turkic-speaking. However, the results of our study confirm that Kurdish is both geographically and numerically dominant. Roughly speaking, Northern (Kurmanji) Kurdish is spoken in the north-west third of the province, and Central (Sorani) Kurdish is spoken across most of the southern half with some small presence of Southern Kurdish in Tikab. There is also a convergence zone of these two varieties in the south of Orumiyeh and north of Oshnovieh (Shino) where extensive dialect levelling has taken place. Turkic speakers are concentrated in the city of Orumiyeh and in a wide band along eastern border of the province. Although their populations have decreased continually over the past centuries – a process which is still taking place today – there are some villages in which Aramaic and Armenian are still spoken. Finally, Persian is now also being learned as a mother tongue in some areas of the province, particularly in urban centres such as Orumiyeh.

Currently, we are working on construction of a map of language distribution in West Azarbayjan Province based on these data. This will be an essential contribution to the larger picture of Kurdish in Iran, and to the understanding of language distribution in the country as a whole.

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Family Language Policy in Kurdish Speaking Families in Kermanshah: The Nexus of Gender and Language Practice

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Previous sociolinguistic research on Kurdish language has neglected issues pertinent to Family Language Policy (FLP) and has more generally discussed language policies from a macro perspective. The current research is a follow-up study to the researchers' previous works and its focus is on the role of gender on the linguistic practices of parents in Kurdish speaking families. The purpose is therefore to explore the role of gender and how mothers and fathers differ in their linguistic practices in their home-domain interactions with their children and what factors contribute to the formation of these linguistic ideologies. Using snowball sampling, 40 parents (20 males and 20 females) from Kurdish speaking families in the city of Kermanshah were recruited. Ethnographic observation, interviews, and a questionnaire were employed to collect data for this purpose. The results indicated that, despite the fact that all of the studied parents held a strong ideological affinity for Kurdish, they differed in their adoption of Kurdish in their everyday communication with their offspring. Fathers were more likely than mothers to use Kurdish and displayed a greater propensity to preserve their heritage language. On the other hand, mothers appeared to be the primary determinants of Persian language use, as they encouraged their spouses to speak Persian with their children. The analysis of data further revealed that language choices and practices in Kurdish families are highly value-laden with Persian and Kurdish being in a tug-of-war competition to gain supremacy in difference domains. This study concludes that most mothers associate Persian with prestige, power, and educational advantage and fathers associated Kurdish language with their sense of honor and heritage which accordingly affected either of parent's linguistic ideology and practice at home. Moreover, it was observed that parents, especially mothers, believed that additive bilingualism (learning Persian and Kurdish simultaneously) would be detrimental to Persian/Kurdish language development. The final results are discussed from both linguistic and educational perspectives.

Keywords: Family Language Policy, Gender, Kurdish Language, Language Ideology, Language Practices, Parent-Child Interaction

SEARCHING THE ORIGIN OF VIGESIMAL IN KURMANJI SUB-DIALECT
OF FORMER “RED KURDISTAN”

In the last two decades, the methods of contact linguistics (or areal linguistics) have yielded tangible results. This is particularly evident in the study of non-inherited grammatical forms found in Northern Kurdish (Kurmanji) dialects. Many of these forms have been attributed to the superstrate influence of the dominant or “titular” language, as demonstrated by scholars such as Dorleijn (1996), Bulut (2006), Haig (2001, 2006, 2007), Çabuk (2020), and others.

The above-mentioned results enable today in the framework of Kurdish dialectology to return again to the problem, stated by Vil’chevskiy in the 1930s (Vil’chevskiy 1938) and completely forgotten in the following decades, namely to the problem of the origin of vigesimal (base-20 numeral system) in one now almost extinct dialect of Kurmanji, which in the early 20th century and until the 1970s was still spoken in the territory of former “Red Kurdistan”, an autonomous region in Soviet Azerbaijan (1923 - 1929).

By the majority of comparativists, studying the Indo-European languages and proving that in Proto-Indo-European (PIE) there was only a decimal system of numerals, have been long shown that the use of vigesimal in any Indo-European language, e.g. French, Eastern Iranian languages, Caucasian Persian (Tat) etc., could be exclusively conditioned to language contacts, in particular to the substrate influence of the language spoken in the same area in the past, or to the superstrate influence of a language which later appeared in the area and became dominant or titular in that. However, in addition to this approach, there is another point of view, which connects the origin of this phenomenon with other, often extra-linguistic factors or the internal developments of language (Bauer 2022).

The purpose of the present study is to consider the problem in a new way and as comprehensively as possible, in particular to examine the origin of the vigesimal in sole Kurmanji sub-dialect among Kurdish dialect system simultaneously within the framework of both language contact (in historical aspect) and internal development.

In the context of the first approach, the problem will be discussed not only in comparison with the material of the Caucasian languages, but especially that of the Armenian dialects, because the specialists of Indo-European linguistics, studying vigesimal, seem to have left out of their sight not only the case of “Red Kurdistan” Kurmanji, but also some Armenian dialects which had historical contact with the Kurdish dialects. It refers to the dialects of Moks and Vozim, spoken in the southern part of Lake Van in the past, the dialects of Maku and Urmia in the historical Parskahayk' province, and the Hadrut dialect of Artsakh (Karabakh). Unfortunately, the population of the Hadrut dialect area was partly

killed and completely forcibly displaced by Azerbaijani troops during the most recent Artsakh (Karabakh) war in 2020. In all of these mentioned Armenian dialects, vigesimal is attested during the 19th and 20th centuries. In all of mentioned Armenian dialects vigesimal is attested during 19-20th centuries.

And finally, the main focus of the second approach will be the discussion of interpretation of Vil'chevskiy, who explained the origin of this phenomenon in Kurmanji partly by internal development, and this approach is especially relevant now given the new tendency to explain the origin of vigesimal in some Indo-European languages by internal development.

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Wordhood domains in Central Kurdish (project update)

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This paper introduces an ongoing project exploring the discrepancies with regard to wordhood on different levels of linguistic analysis in Central Kurdish. The “word” is a fleeting concept, which is usually described using some prototypical features. These can be divided into several groups, demarcating a grammatical word (g-word) and a phonological word (p-word) (following van Gijn & Zúñiga, 2014) to which might be added an orthographic word (o-word). These designations have been made in linguistic typology and language documentation for quite some time now (e.g., Bresnan & Mchombo 1995, Nespor & Vogel 2012, Aikhenvald et al. 2020). Depending on the language, these levels of analysis can show internal variation. In other words, cohesion domains established by different criteria belonging to the same linguistic subdomain do not necessarily align. In terms of phonological cohesion, these criteria could be stress assignment, vowel harmony, insertion or reduction processes (e.g., Turkish vowel harmony is not isomorphic with stress assignment, Kabak & Vogel 2001; also see, e.g., Hall & Hildebrandt 2008, or Woodbury 2011). As for grammatical cohesion, this can be established by criteria such as cross-slot dependency or non-interruptability (Bickel & Zúñiga 2017).

What is known about “word” in Central Kurdish is complicated. In the verbal system, there seems to be a particularly salient mismatch between the p-word, g-word, and o-word. A verb or verbal complex may consist of the verbal stem, any number of clitic person markers (non-past, one in the past excluding pronominal possessors), an affix person marker (non-past, up to two in the past), an aspect-mood prefix, an aspect-mood suffix, a derivational preverb, an “Absolute Preposition” (applicative following Karim & Salehi, 2022), or either the directive suffix or iterative suffix. Suppose that the orthographic word is a reflection of native-speaker intuitions about what constitutes a unit. In that case, native speakers disagree about which elements are morphological (part of the same word) and which are syntactic (independent words).

- (1) a. $pê=m$ $pê\ kenî-n$ $\sim pém$
 DAT.AP=1SG.O_{AP} PV laugh.PST-3PL.S DAT.AP=1SG.O_{AP}
pê-kenî-n *پێم پێکەنین* *~ پێم* ‘they laughed at me.’
 PV-laugh.PST-3PL.S
- b. $hést-e$ $\sim *hél\ st-e$ $هەستە$ *~* $*هەل\ استە$ ‘stand!’
 PV.STAND-2SG.IMP PV stand-2SG.IMP
- c. $sér-kewtû$ $\sim *sér\ kewtû$ $سەرکەوتوو$ *~* $*سەرکەوتوو$ ‘elevated’
 PV-fall.PCPL PV fall.PCPL

Example (1) shows the Central Kurdish Arabic script with the transliteration augmented by stress marking to the left (stress placement based on Thackston 2006 and McCarus 1997). Some Kurds write the phrase ‘they laughed at me’ (1-a) as two or three words and slightly less often as a single word $pê-m-pê-kenî-n$ [DAT.APPL-1SG.O_{AP}-PV-laugh.PST-3PL.S]. The absolute preposition $pê$ carries the main stress, which can be drawn to another morpheme like the negation marker $ne-$ in $pê-m-pê-né-kenî-n$ [DAT.APPL-1SG.O_{AP}-PV-NEG-laugh.PST-3PL.S] ‘they did not laugh at me,’ suggesting a single p-word. Note that separative spelling is not possible in (1-b), where there is a phonological reduction at the boundary between the derivational preverb $hét-$ ‘up’ and the stem $st-$ ‘stand.’ Likewise, separative spelling is not possible when a verbal participle is used adjectivally, e.g., (1-c), where the preverb ser ‘up’ can not be separated from verbal stem $kewt-$ ‘fall.’ The separative spelling is permissible when used verbally, e.g., $le\ şax-êk=a\ ser\ ?e-kew-ê$ [on mountain-INDF=on up.PV IPFV-fall.PRS-3SG.S] ‘he’s climbing a mountain.’ All examples in (1) show a single stress despite being variably conceptualized as

separative or combined, illustrating one example of a mismatch between the p-word and the o-word. Even if all formatives in (1) are part of the same g-word, they do not always show this level of morphosyntactic cohesion. For instance, the object of the absolute preposition in (1-a) =*m* can be preposed on a preceding lexical item, e.g. the logical subject in *ewan=im pê-pê-kenî-n* [3PL=1SG.O_{AP} DAT.AP-PV-laugh.PST-3PL.S].

According to Haspelmath (2011), “there is no definition of ‘word’ that can be applied to any language and that would yield consistent results that are in accord with our writing habits.” Given this assertion, we must acknowledge that there are not only different domains regarding the levels of linguistic analyses but also potentially different domains within these levels. We describe these domains based on logically independent features while remaining agnostic about any presupposed conceptions regarding wordhood. The array of morphosyntactic and phonological domains will be charted following the basic ideas proposed by Bickel & Zúñiga (2017), keeping distinct morphosyntactic and phonological features. Ultimately, this project aims to further develop the scholarly understanding of “word” in Central Kurdish in a way that is not constrained by etymological pressures. Additionally, it contributes to a growing corpus of language-specific accounts of wordhood domains that aims to answer several questions, including (1) Are there cross-linguistic tendencies for particular domains to nest? and (2) Is there a tendency for particular markers to be involved in domains that are “tighter”?

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