GOAL CONSTITUENTS ACROSS KURMANJI DIALECTS

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INTRODUCTION

Aim:

Investigating the variation observed in the morphological form (OBL case vs. ADPosition) and the position of goal constituents (preverbal vs. postverbal) across Kurmanji dialects spoken in Turkey.

Goal constituents:

locational goals of verbs of motion, *recipients* of verbs of transfer, and *addressees* of verbs of speech are taken as *goals* in Kurdish, (Haig 2014)

Variation:

a. OBL-goal in one dialect may be ADP-goal in another dialect or v/v.
b. The same goal in the preverbal position in one dialect might appear in the immediate postverbal position in another dialect.
c. ADP goal may be of different types of adpositions.

Data:

Five different dialect-regions indicated with red dots in the map below:
(The map is taken from Öpengin & Haig, 2014: 148)
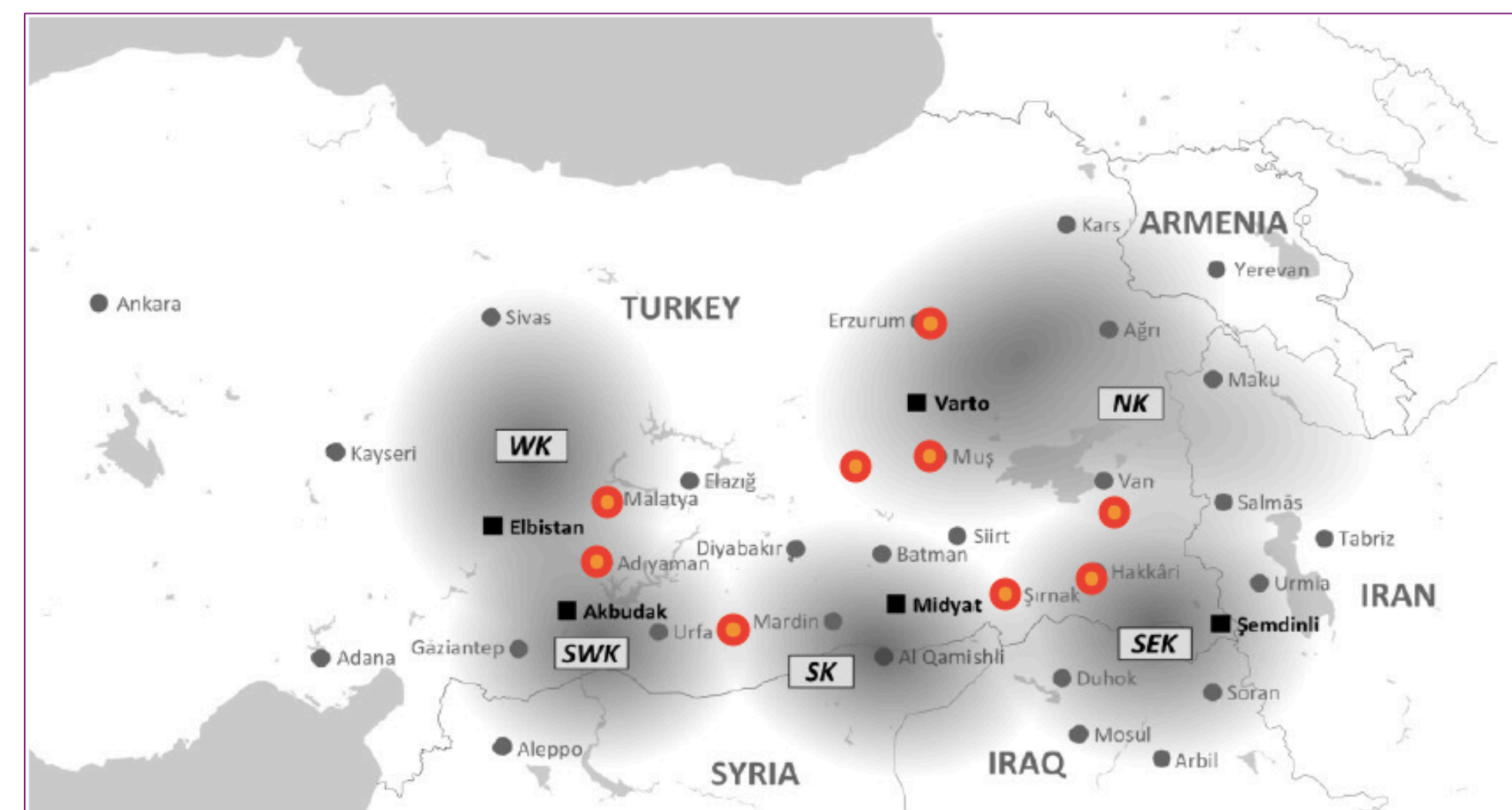
SEK: Hakkari and Van (southern)   **SK**: Mardin and Şırnak
NK: Muş, Bingöl and Erzurum   **SWK:** Adıyaman   **NWK:** Malatya

FINDINGS

- Goals appearing in the preverbal position are always adpositional in all dialects (examples (1)-(4))

- Goals appearing in the immediate postverbal position are either OBL-marked or ADP ((1a), (3a), (4)). The southernmost dialects mostly tolerate ADP goals in this domain while northernmost dialects generally do not.

- The recipient of *give-type verbs* is OBL-marked and appears in the immediate postverbal position in all dialects except for Malatya (3b).

- The recipient of *send-type is* always ADPositional and mostly shows up in the preverbal position (2).

- All dialects place the locational goals of verbs of motion in the immediate postverbal position, because allative reading seems to be available only in this position (4). Some dialects such as Muş and Bingöl prefer OBL while other dialects tolerate both ADP and OBL forms.

- The dialects that have the adposition *ji…ra* or *…ra/re* express *addressees* and *recipients of send-type verbs* with these adpositions.

- The dialects that do not develop one of these adpositions introduce *addressee* as OBL-marked in the immediate postverbal position while express *recipients of send-type verbs* through prepositions *bo/bû*.

DATA

(1) Addressee of verbs of speech

a. *Bahar-ê   eve   ne-gût-e   min*   (Hakkari)
Bahar-OBL   this   NEG-say.PST-DIREC 1S.OBL
'Bahar didn't say this to me.'

b. *Ez   ji te   ra   tiştek   bêj-im?*   (Muş)
1S.DIR ADP 2S.OBL ADP something say.PRS-1S
'Shall I say something to you? '

c. *Mihemmed-ê   vo   mi   ra   ne-go*   (Adıyaman)
Mihemmed-OBL   this   1S.OBL ADP   NEG-say.PST
'Mihemmed didn't say this to me.'

(2) Recipients of send type verbs

a. *Henê bû   min   pare   virekir.*   (Van)
Henê ADP 1S.OBL   money send.PST
'Henê sent money to me.'

b. *Di-ya   xo   ra   sêv   şand-in.*   (Malatya)
mother-EZ.F self ADP apple   send.PST-PL
'They sent apples to their mother.'

c. *Min   ji   wan   ra   sêv   şand*   (Bingöl)
1S.OBL ADP 3PL.OBL ADP apple   send.PST
'I sent apples to them.'

(3) Recipients of give type verbs

a. *Zana   kitop   da   min*   (Şırnak, the same in all dialects)
Zana   book   give.PST 1S.OBL
'Zana gave me the book.'

b. *Zana   Rojday   ra   kitab   da-y-e*   (Malatya)
Zana   Rojda.OBL ADP book   give.PST-PTSCP-COP.3S
'Zana gave the book to Rojda.'

(4) Locational goals of motion verbs (mostly the same across dialects)

a. *zilam-ek   hat   ber   mal-a   me*   (Mardin)
man-INDF   come.PST ADP   house-EZ.F   1PL.OBL
'A man came to our house.'

b. *Min   nan-ê   wan   şand   zevî-yê*   (Muş)
1S.OBL   bread-EZ.M   3PL.OBL send.PST-3S field-OBL
'I sent their meal to the field.'

The distribution of goals is sensitive to the *morphological marking* (OBL vs. ADP), the *adposition type* (preposition vs. circumposition- postposition) and *verb-type* (send vs. give, say, go, etc.) – (Levin 2011).

LITERATURE REVIEW

- Haig (2014) and Haig & Thiele (2014): the appearance of goal constituents (G) in the immediate postverbal position in an OV language like Kurdish is typologically unusual, and this unusual OVG order emerges as a result of *contact-induced change*.

- Haig (2014): an original 'proto-Kurdish' had VG order which might have been characterized through early Aramaic/Iranian contact, and this pattern has undergone some changes in some Kurmanji dialects due to contact with various languages in due course.

  - Southernmost Kurmanji dialects have preserved VG order due to the contact with Neo-Aramaic (VO language) thus goals are predominantly postverbal.

  - Northwards and westwards Kurmanji dialects (Central Anatolian dialects) have long contact with Armenian and Turkish (OV languages) thus goals are overwhelmingly preverbal.

- Stilo (2005, 2009): Iranian languages are sandwiched between *right-branching (VO)/prepositional (Semitic)* and *left-branching (OV)/ postpositional (Turkic, Armenian, Indic)* patterns and they resolve this conflict by creating an intersection zone which accommodates to both patterns.

IMPLICATIONS

➢ Kurmanji as an Iranian language both displays OVG order and develops prepositions, postpositions and circumpositions (mixed adpositional typology) as a reflection of conflict resolution under language contact.

➢ In line with Haig (2014) and Stilo (2005, 2009), Kurmanji dialects spoken in Turkey can be grouped roughly into three regions based on the adpositional type:
  - Goals in SEK dialect are prepositional
  - Goals in NK and SK dialects are introduced with circumpositions
  - Goals in NWK and SWK are postpositional

➢ Kurmanji dialects in Turkey are two groups with respect to the position of the goals:
  - Goals in SEK dialect are predominantly postverbal
  - Goals in northwards and westwards (including SK) dialects use both pre- and postverbal positions actively to disambiguate goal-types.

PROPOSAL

Why not OBL-goal in the postverbal position?

- The fact that OBL-goals cannot survive in the preverbal domain in all Kurmanji dialects implies that the linear order of goal constituents is sensitive to the morphological marking (Gündoğdu 2016)

- Kurmanji poses the following restriction on the linear order of constituents (5):

  (i) At most two case-marked NPs are licensed/allowed in the preverbal position.
  (ii) S and DO are the only case-marked constituents that can appear in the preverbal position.

How to capture the dialectal variation in structural terms?

- Ramchand (2002, 2008): syntactic structure is built through the operations [MERGE], [MOVE] and [AGREE] based on the interpretable category features of the lexical heads in l-syntax.

- The lexical items in this system come specified only with the following:
 (i) A number of interpretable category features
 (ii) Information on whether/if any of the category features are [+Move].

- Basic Principles of Argument Realization
 (i) Each head in the l-syntax requires a filled specifier position
 (ii) A single argument can be in more than one Spec position.

- The Spec positions are interpreted by the general semantic component as: INITIATOR (cause), UNDERGOER (process) and RESULTEE (result).

- A full l-syntactic structure expressed by a lexical dynamic verb:
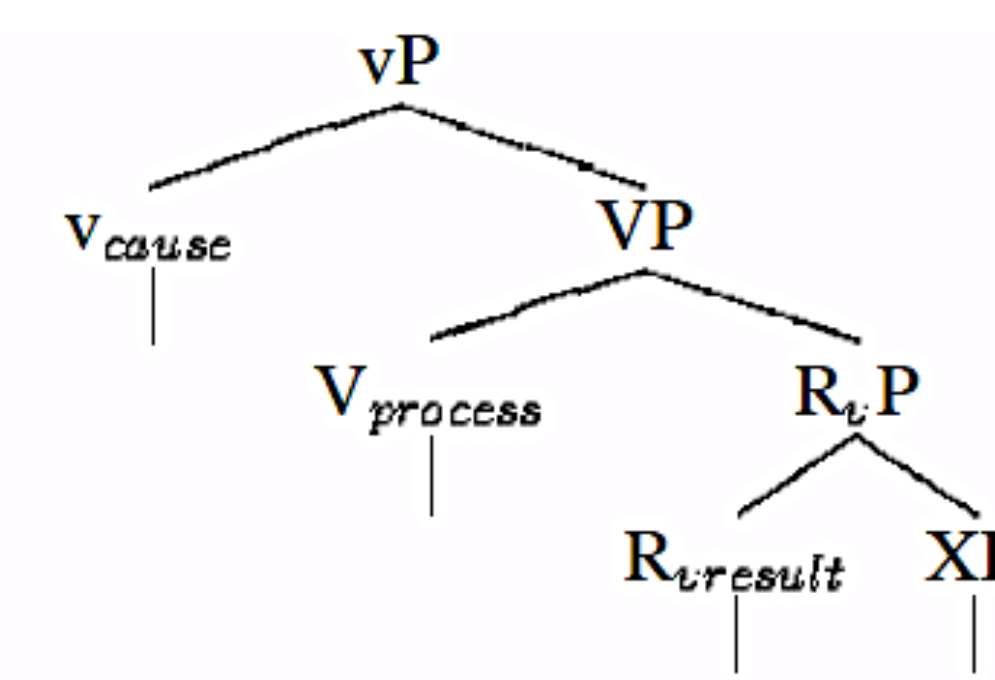

L-SYNTAX

In Kurmanji, the verbs that require a goal constituent are specified for ResP or PathP in its l-syntax:

  - verbs of motion have PathP in their l-syntax
 - verbs of speech and verbs of transfer have ResP in their l-syntax

The variation is the output of the different featural content of the lexical heads with respect to [+MOVE] in a dialect.

  - verbs of motion: $[(v), V, PathP]$ → OVG order
  - verbs of transfer: $[v, V_{[+MOVE]}, ResP]$ → OVG order
  - verbs of transfer: $[v, V, ResP]$ → OGV order
  - verbs of speech: $[v, V_{[+MOVE]}, ResP]$ → OVG order
  - verbs of speech: $[v, V, ResP]$ → OGV order
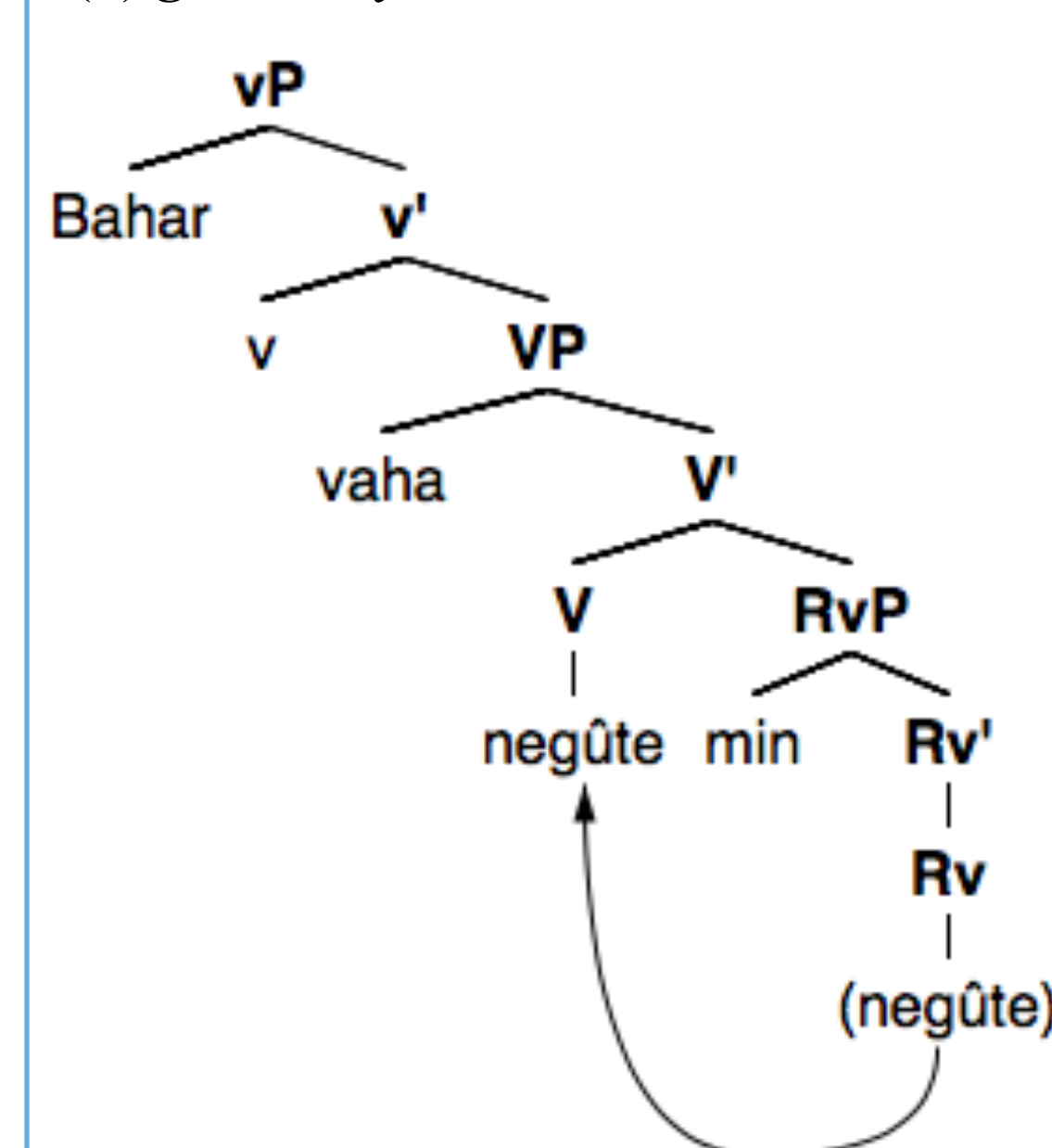
(6) *gotin* 'say'   (7) *hat* 'come'
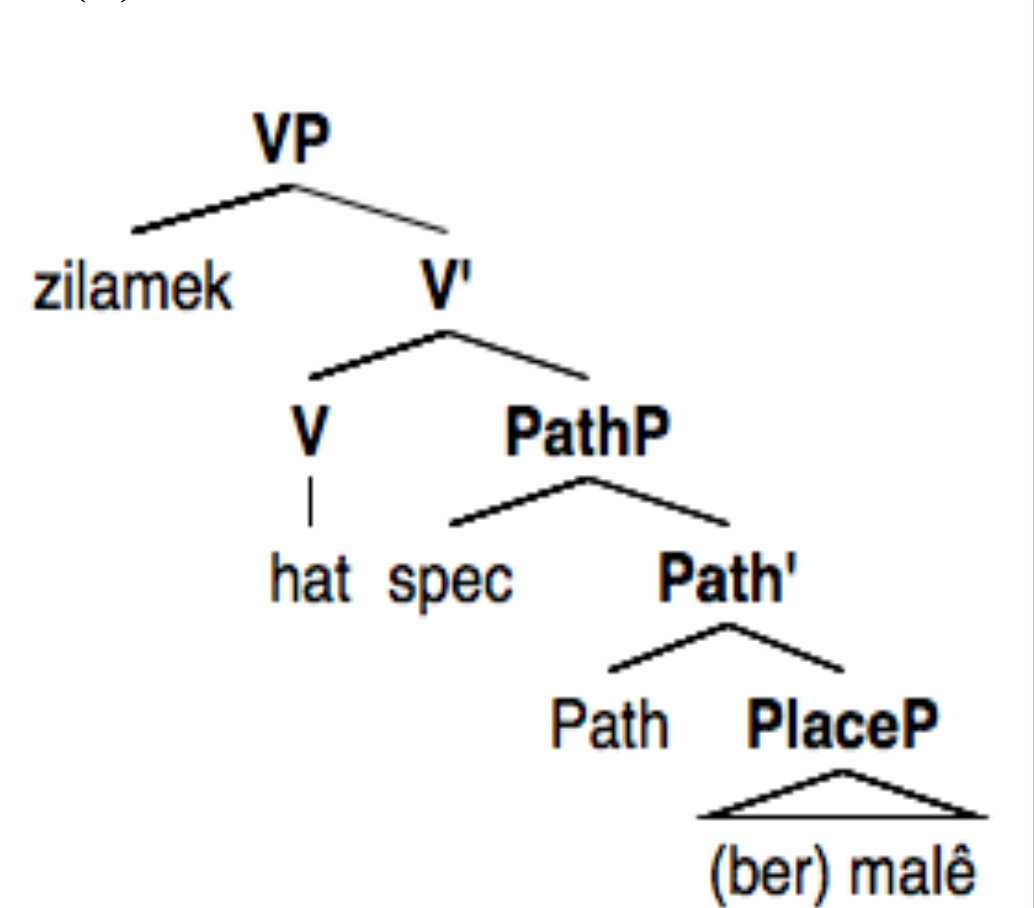
CONCLUSION

The current study concludes that (i) the distribution of goals is sensitive to morphological form (case vs. adposition), the adposition type (preposition vs. circumposition- postposition) and the verb-type (send vs. give, say, go, etc.) and (ii) the variation observed across Kurmanji dialects is mostly conditioned by language contact (Haig 2014) and language areal typology (Stilo 2005, 2009), and (iii) it is structurally represented by different featural content of the lexical heads in l-syntax (Ramchand 2002, 2008).

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