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Universität Hildesheim

Annette Herkenrath (Poznań)

Residuals of goal constructions in Kurmanji Kurdish periphrastic passives

Abstract:

This paper analyses traces of lexicality in Kurmanji Kurdish passive constructions, in a corpus of published literary and academic writings. Passive in Kurmanji is periphrastically constructed on the basis of the auxiliary verb *hatin* ‘come’ plus an infinitive form of a lexical verb; this is a highly standardised, grammaticalised pattern; see example (1):

- (1) *Berî hingê li Yêvropa-yê di nivîs-ên çend zanyar-ên*  
 before little PRP Europe-OBL CRP writing-EZF.PL some scholar-EZF.PL  
*Yêvropî da di-hat gotin ku ...*  
 European CRP ASP-come.PST.3SG say.VN COMP  
 ‘A short time ago, in Europe, in some writings by European scholars, it was said that...’

The auxiliary *hatin* originally is a lexical verb of movement (Korn 2013) and continues to be used in so-called ‘goal constructions’ (Haig 2014, Haig & Thiele 2014). Goal constructions can contain an oblique marker *-(y)ê* on the goal (*Stockholm-ê* in example 2) as well as a directivity agreement marker *-(y)e* on the verb (*dihat-e* in example 3):

- (2) *Ez hatim Stockholm-ê û min dest bi*  
 1SG.RCT come.PST.1SG Stockholm-OBL.F and 1SG.OBL hand PRP  
*jiyan-a xwe ya nû kir.*  
 life-EZF.F REFL EZF.F new do.PST.3SG  
 ‘I came to Stockholm and started my new life’

- (3) *Xwesûya Gewrê gava li bûk-a xwe di-nêrî*  
*Xwesûya Gewrê when PRP daughter.in.law-EZF.F REFL ASP-look.PST.3SG*  
*ciwani-ya wê di-hat-e bir-ê.*  
*youth-EZF.F 3SG.OBL.F ASP-come.PST.3SG-DIR mind-OBL.F*  
 ‘When Xwesûya Gewrê looked at her daughter-in-law, her youth came to her mind’

Auxiliaries may retain certain features of the lexical verbs they grammaticalise from (Redder 1992, Lehmann 2015: 30–34). The lexical verbs they combine with, i.e., nonfinite forms such as participles or, in the case at hand: infinitives, straddle a nominal-verbal borderline. This seems to be the case for *hatin* as well, as suggest the passive examples (4) and (5). In (4), the lexical verb of the passive construction *weşandin-ê* is marked with an oblique case, just as any nominal goal argument of a *hatin* as a lexical verb of movement (cf. ex. 2):

- (4) *Piştî sal-ekê, sal-a 1929-an bi wê*  
*after year-INDEF.OBL.F year-EZF.F 1929-OBL.PL PRP DEI.OBL.F*  
*elfabe-yê kitêb-a perwerdekirin-a ziman-ê kurdî ya*  
*alphabet-EZF.M book-EZF.F education-EZF.F language-EZF.M Kurdish EZF.F*  
*Îsahak Marogûlov û Erebe Şemo bi sernav-ê “Xo-xo*  
*Îsahak Marogûlov and Erebe Şemo PRP title-EZF.M self-self*  
*hînbûn-a xwendin-a nivîsar-a kurmancî” li Yêrêvan-ê*  
*learn.VN-EZF.F read.VN-EZF.F writing-EZF.F Kurmanji PRP Yerevan-OBL.F*  
*hat weşandin-ê.*  
*come.PST.3SG publish.VN-OBL.F*  
 ‘A year later, in 1929, the Kurdish language textbook by Îsahak Marogûlov and Erebe Şemo with the title “Autodidactically learning to read Kurmanji writing” was published in this alphabet in Yerevan’

In (5), the auxiliary form *tên-e* carries the directionality marker *-(y)e*, just as in its employment as a lexical verb of movement (cf. ex. 3):

- (5) *Daxwaz-ên kurd-an yên mîna bidestxistin-a nasname-ya*  
*claim-EZF.PL Kurd-OBL.PL EZF.PL such.as obtain-EZF.F identity-EZF.F*  
*etnikî û bidestxistin-a nasname-ya neteweyî, bi têgeh-a*  
*ethnic and obtain-EZF.F identity-EZF.F national CRP concept-EZF.F*  
*“nîjadperestî-ya hindikahî-yê” re wekî.hev tîen-e*  
*racism-EZF.F minority-OBL.F CRP identical ASP.come.PRS.3PL-DIR*  
*dîtin û ji.ber vê yek-ê jî kurd*  
*see.VN and because.of DEI.OBL.F one-OBL.F also Kurd*  
*tîen-e rexnekirin.*  
*ASP.come.PRS.3PL-DIR criticise.VN*  
 ‘The claims of the Kurds, such as their wish to obtain an ethnic identity and to obtain a national identity, are seen as identical with the concept of ‘racism of the minority’ and because of this, the Kurds are also criticised’ (KA\_024\_kur\_t\_026)

These data suggest that in (4) and (5), which clearly qualify as passive constructions, two different morphosyntactic features of goal constructions are still visible. These phenomena

are rare in the data, with the most frequent type represented by (1) and with variation between authors and within texts; however, they do occur. The present study aims to link the observed phenomena to Functional-Pragmatic discussions of ‘functional etymology’ (Ehlich 1994) and ‘field transposition’ (Redder 2005, Rehbein 2016, Rehbein, Herkenrath & Karakoç 2009). Next to establishing a quantitative picture, it deals with questions related to the functional motivations of the observed variation.

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