



Central Kurdish Operators in Role and Reference Grammar

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Abstract

Operator theory constructs one of the key elements of the layered structure of the clause in Role and Reference Grammar. In fact, operators make a closed class of grammatical or functional components which modify different layers of the clause. Respectively, the present operators in every layer comprise their specific sub-layers with a projection different from the structural projection. It should be mentioned that negative and illocutionary force operators are the only universal operators among others. The present paper aims to define and analyze these components in Central Kurdish Dialect (CKD); henceforth, the theoretical framework is presented according to Van Valin (2005) and Pavey (2010). Then, Mukriyani's examples as one of the sub-dialects of CKD, which are chosen from daily interactions are studied in this frame. It is worth mentioning here that the researchers are native speakers of CKD, and their intuition plays an important role in describing and explaining the results, pointing the most important ones as: CKD's operators appear around the syntactic structure of Nucleus in two morphological forms of prefix and suffix, which in turn, are presented in three lexical forms of modal verbs, linking verbs and phonologically null morpheme.

Keywords: Layered Structure (LS), CKD, Nucleus, Core, Periphery.

1. Introduction

As a sub-division of functional syntax, Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) has been originated from typological concerns where semantics and pragmatics play an important role. By supposing a layered structure for the clause, two main distinctions appear in RRG: from one hand, a distinction between predicate and argument constituents, and on the other hand, a distinction between argument and non-argument constituents. Evaluating the clause structure and the clause constituents according to the layered structure (LS) stems from the theory that interpreting a piece of a language just by attention to the syntactic features is incomplete (Van Valin 2005, p.3).

Van Valin presupposes that every layer has its own periphery which is the true place of adjuncts. He (ibid, p.8) mentions that this uni-dimension layered structure with the above-mentioned syntactic and semantic elements provide a universal structure. Pragmatics reasons highlight the presence of language-specific elements mainly include pre & post-core constituents or right & left detached position (RDP & LDP) constituents. The second presupposition of RRG considers a projection different from the syntactic projection, titled operator projection for describing different layers of the clause and depicting grammatical tense, aspect, evidentiality, modality and negation. With respect to Role and Reference Grammar, it should be mentioned that some scholars such as Azizi and Daneshpazhouh study Kurdish language in this framework: Azizi (2019) studies the structure of the clause in Sorani simple sentences, and Daneshpazhouh (2014) studies passive voice in Kurdish. In relation to the dialect under study, Mackenzie (obtained in Kurdiel 1984, p.24) divides Kurdish language into Northern, Central and Southern dialects where Hama Khurshid (2008) as Mackenzie believes in the three above dialects plus Gorani dialect. Examples in this study are mainly



extracted from Mukriyani dialect that itself is placed under the Central branch of the Kurdish language. Mukriyani dialect which is spoken in the southern cities of West Azarbayjan province of Iran, according to more recent Kurdish linguists such as Moradi (2017, p.20), is put under Sorani main dialect of the Kurdish language. To avoid any distraction, and by following Mackenzie, Mukriyani in this study is considered as a sub-dialect of Central Kurdish Dialect (CKD) which is more familiar to Western scholars.

2. Materials and Methods

Hengeveld (1990, p.130) as a functional grammarian refers to four different layers in his Functional Grammar theory (FG) that each one of these layers is expressed through a certain constructional unit and a certain reference. He (ibid) calls those four layers of the clause from top to the bottom. Those four layers according to Van Valin & Lapolla (1997, p.47) correspond to RRG layers respectively. Hengeveld (1990, pp.8-14), moreover, refers to *operator* and *satellite* in his supposed LS that reveals the grammatical and lexical information of each layer. Here, Hengeveld offers the following template for the sentence, “I saw him yesterday.”

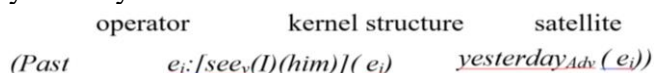


Figure 1. Predication template with grammatical and lexical modifiers (Hengeveld, 1990, p.9)

Historically, The LS of the clause in RRG as Van Valin (1990, p.194) has been taken from Olson (1981) where Olson proposes three layers for the clause, and operators are presented in every layers. Van Valin (1990:195) refers to Foley & Van Valin’s (1984) organization of the operators as follow:

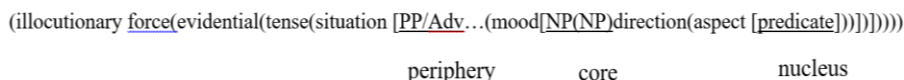


Figure 2. Operators organization in the LS of the clause (Foley & Van Valin 1984)

Van Valin (1990, p.195) counts some problems for this presentation, among them, lack of any specific place for question words and topicalized elements in the diagram. Also, operators in the external layers are considered as peripheral operators of the core layer which in fact, define the clause layer, and not the core’s. RRG devises a symmetric, bilateral base for the clause, i.e. a relational and a non-relational structure. Relational structure of the clause refers to the relations of a predicate with its arguments, and non-relational structure refers to the hierarchical structure of the clause constituents (Van Valin 2005, p.4).

RRG approaches the grammatical relations from a specific point of view; in the first stance, these relations are assumed as non-basic relations. Therefore, there is not any distinction between direct and indirect object on one hand, and also between subject and object on the other hand. In the second stance, RRG does not believe in the universal features of grammatical relations (Van Valin 2005, p.89). Grammatical categories of the clause are presented in operators’ projection according to RRG, which Van Valin (2005, p.8) put this closed class of grammatical categories out of the nucleus domain. Operators, actually define the three layers of clause, core and nucleus, among them are the operators of aspect, tense and illocutionary force. An important feature of RRG which gives it the universal applicability is non-linearity of its components which is obvious in figure 3. In the following figure, Van Valin (2005, p.4) presents the components of the LS in a clause which is applied in the CKD sentence:

(1)

Min Jamâlim la dūkane dit.

I saw Jamal at the store.

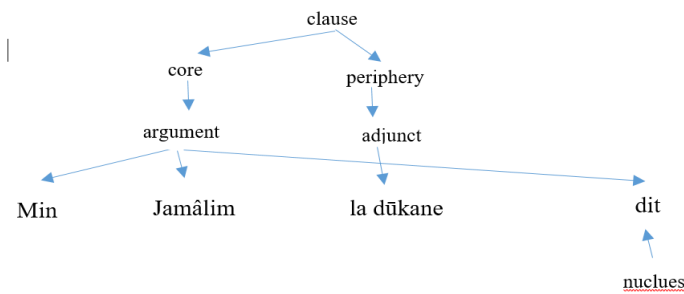


Figure3. LS components in a clause (Van Valin 2005, p.4)

3. Results and discussion

There are, as mentioned before, three types of operators for three different layers of the clause; nucleus layer, core layer and clause layer operators. Van Valin (2005, p.9) distinguishes the operators of each layer as follows: aspect, directional and negative operators are in the nucleus layer, mood, event quantification, negative and directional operators are in the core layer, and finally, status, illocutionary force, evidential and tense operators are in the clause layer. Since negative operators appear in all three layers of the clause, they are studied under a certain section, and then, the rest of the operators are introduced.

3.1. Negative operators in CKD

Although presented in every three layers of the clause, negative operators have different titles in respect to their layers (Pavey 2010, p.63). From nucleus to clause layer, negative operators respectively are called derivational negation, internal negation, and external negation operators. Consider the two following examples:

(2)
 mâl.aka.y xoš / nâ-xoš bû.
 Home-DEF¹-ACC beautiful/NEG-beautiful COP-PST-3SG
His home was/not beautiful.

(3)
 kâbrâ-yek-i hâli/nâ-hâli-a.
 Man- INDEF-OBL knowledgeable/NEG-knowledgeable-COP, PRES,3SG
He is a knowledgeable/un-knowledgeable man.

In these examples, the predicates are linking verbs (linking predicates); therefore, they are affected by the negative operators throughout deriving one word from another one (in these cases, derive one negative word from a positive one): the reason for calling them, *derivational operators*. On the other hand, internal and external operators which Kareem (2016, p.21) divides into four prefixes, are attached to verbal predicates in CKD. The first operator of these group is (*nâ-*) that is used for negation of verbal stems in present tense, and in fact replaces the modal prefix (*da-*) in this tense. The two prefixes are in complementary distribution.

(4)
 Sëw da².xo.m.
 apple ASP-eat.PRES-1SG

Throughout this paper, the following abbreviations are used: ACC accusative, ASP aspect, CAUS causative,¹ CLT clitics, CONT continuous, COP copula, DAT dative, DEF definite, DIR directional, EPS epistemic, INDEF indefinite, ILF illocutionary force, IPFV imperfective, LDP left detached position, NEG negative, NP noun phrase, NUC nucleus, OBL oblique case, OP operator, PASS passive, PERI periphery, PL plural, POP post position, PP prepositional phrase, PRED predicate, PRES present, PST past, SG singular, SUB subjunctive. (Da-) has two roles: one as an indicative mood marker, and the other as an aspect marker. This paper supposes² (Da-) as an aspect operator (progressive) according to RRG framework.



I eat apples.

(5)

Sêw nâ-xo-m.

apple NEG-eat.PRES-1SG

I do not eat apples.

(*Na-*) as the second CKD negative operator for describing verbal predicates, negates the past tense verbal morphemes. In respect to (*Na-*) and in contrast to the present tense, Bonami & Samvelian (2008) and Thackston (2013, p.27) believe that (*Na-*) is not in complementary distribution with (*da-*) in the past tense, and in order to prove their claim, they refer to this Mukriyani example from Bonami & Samvelian (2008):

(6)

bazirgân-akân

aspp-akân-yan

na-da-kri.

merchant-DEF.PL

horse-DEF.PL-ACC

NEG-ASP-buy.PST

The merchants were not buying the horses.

The second and the third members of this group consist of (*Ma-* and *Ni-*). (*Ma-*) is used for negating imperatives, and (*Ni-*) negates the present copulative verb; therefore, (*Ni-*) by placing in the domain of non-verbal predicates, can be rendered as a negative derivational operator in CKD (example 7). It should be mentioned here that if (*na-*) is used as a negating past tense linking verbs, it will be excluded from one of the clause operators (example 8):

(7)

aw xwêndkar ni-ya.

he/she student NEG-be.PRES.3SG

he/she is not a student.

(8)

našmil keteb-aka-^{3y} ba Marze na-da. (qalamakai daya)

Nashmil book-DEF-3SG to Marze NEG-give.PST.3SG

Nashmil did not give the book to Marze. (she gave her the pencil)

(9)

našmil češt-e saz na-kerd. (hasâri mâli.)

Nashmil food-ACC ready NEG-make.PST.3SG

Nashmil did not make the food. (swept the yard)

In sentence (8), the negative operator only affects the core domain; hence, *book* is in this domain, but in sentence 9, the negative operator affects the clause domain with all the sentence constituents. Another important factor in relation to negative operators in CKD is the person and number agreement, subjects that Matasović (2017) studies in RRG from a typological perspective. In his view, agreement makers which are normally attached to clause constituents including predicate, argument and peripheries have the ability to attach themselves to operators among them, the negative operators are good candidates in CKD. Kurdish Scientific Academy (2011, p.147) believes that intransitive verbs have the capacity to absorb the subject-verb agreement clitics, and in fact, these clitics move toward negative operators in intransitive verbs (example 10), and if the agreement clitics attach to the verb stem, the result would be ungrammatical as in (11):

(10)

ama na-man

xward.

3PL NEG-CLT.3PL

eat.PST

We did not eat it.

(11)

*ama na-xward-man.

3.2. clause later operators



As their title suggests, clause layer operators have dominance over the whole sentence, and describe the tense of the verb and realis or irrealis state of the verb's action, or the speech act of the verb. They are divided into four groups: status operators including *external negative*⁴ and *epistemic* operators, *evidential* operators, *illocutionary force* operators and *tense* operators, that are presented one by one.

Semantically, *epistemic operators* cover a domain from certainty to probability; speaker's rendering of the probability of the action to be done (Pavey 2010, p.65). In contrast to denotic modality which has its domain over the clause layer, epistemic modality is spread over the clause layer and consequently, the whole sentence. consider the following example from Kurdish Scientific Academy (2011, p.131):

(12)

dabe be-bar-et.
should/may SUBJ-rain-3SG
It should/may rain.

In this example, the speaker expresses the probability of the rain, in fact, epistemic operators refer to two types of actions: realis and irrealis events which the latter shows possible, imaginary and conditional ones. This contrast in CKD is presented through certain aspects or tenses; epistemic operator in Mukriyani has a combination of (*dabe*) in the sense of (*should* or *may*) plus (*-awa*) as suffix which is attached to the verb stem. The suffix (*-awa*) in Kurdiéf's belief (1984, p.86) shows the process of doing the action of the verb whenever be pasted to the end of the verb stem:

(13)

chand jár xerâwa-t-awa bandixâna.
Many times send.CAUS-3SG-EPS jail
He has been sent to jail many times.

Nabaz (1976, p.29) distinguishes two different usages for (*-awa*): 1) as a part of the verb (*kolânawa*=to wander), and 2) not as a part of the verb which in this case, (*-awa*) undertakes these three duties: a) changes the meaning of the verb: (*xwenden*= to study) and (*xwendnawa*= to read), b) dividing the verb's action: (*çûnawa*= to go and to come back), and c) repeating the action of the verb: (*geryânawa*= to recry). With reference to the above mentioned usages, (*-awa*) as a suffixal epistemic operator does not comply with any of these distinctions; therefore, a new usage should be added to Nabaz category: 3. (*-awa*) as a *suffixal epistemic operator* in RRG. Evidential operators which conspicuously point to the source of information (Pavey *ibid*, p.68) do not exist in CKD, but instead, there is a process called evidentiality strategy. For example, (*pem*) as a propositional phrase consisted of preposition (*pe*= to) and (*-m*=1SG, *clitic*) carries this duty in CKD:

(14)

pe-m ço-t bo bâÿ-î.
to me go.PST-3SG to park-DAT
in my opinion, he went to park.

In relation to illocutionary force operators, different moods of the sentence are of great importance. Nabaz (*ibid*, pp.37-47) divides CKD'S sentences into four moods: interrogative, subjunctive, conditional and indicative which are conjugated in different tenses. In contrast to Nabaz, Haji Mâref (2000, pp.185-186) divides CKD's sentences into three moods of imperative, interrogative and subjunctive: hence, he ignores conditional and indicative moods. Haji Mâref (*ibid*, p.216) clarifies the prefixes (*be-/bi-*) and the suffixes (*-bâ/-ya*) which are added to the past tense stems of the verbs as the subjunctive mood markers, and also the prefixes (*be-/bi-*) at the beginning of the verbs stems as the imperative mood makers. Researchers of this paper, in comply with Nabaz, distinguish four moods for CKD sentences,

Negative operators in CKD are introduced previously.⁴



and believe that the prefix (-*da*) is indicative mood maker and the prefixes (be-/bi-) are subjunctive and imperative mood makers:

(15)

Men gerya, a'to xanda ba yek da-froš-in.
I cry you laugh to each other ILF-to sell-IPL
I sell cry to you, and you sell laugh to me.

(16)

beryâ be-çû-ba-m-awa.
I wish ILF-to go-1SG-EPS
I wish I would go.

The last clause layer operators consist of *tense operators*. Haji Mâref (2000, p.192) divides CKD tenses into two broad categories of past and non-past, and as Pavey (2010, p.67) points it out, typologically, languages are put in two tense groups: a) past against non-past, and b) future against non-future which Kurdish finds itself in the first group. Haji Mâref (ibid) divides CKD's non-past tense verbs into two sub-groups of present and future with highlighting this point that there is no morphological distinction between them in CKD. Veysi Hesar (2014) believes that in a parallel condition, referring the CKD verbs to the present tense is more probable than the future unless there would be the future tense adverbs in the sentence:

(17)

a) estâ da-ro-m.
Now OP-go-1SG
I go now.

b) sepheyne da-ro-m.
tomorrow OP-go-1SG
I go tomorrow.

Non-past CKD's prefixes according to Haji Mâref (ibid, p.191) and Kurdief (ibid, p.222) consist of (?a-) and (da-) which in Mukriyani dialect, the second prefix, which means (-da) does this function:

(18)

mendal haz la yari da-ka.
child like from game OP-to do
children like playing games.

In sharp contrast to Haji Mâref and Kurdief, Veysi Hesar (2014) does not consider these prefixes as indicators of the past tense because they are practically presented in both past and present tenses in CKD; as a result, these prefixes have a fixed form in different tenses. In a cognitive study of tense and aspect in Mukriyani, Veysi Hesar (ibid) divides Mukriyani's tenses in two *absolute* and *relational* groups, and finally concludes that the only tense makers in this dialect are past and present verb stems plus agreement clitics which are different in each tense. The present paper researchers accept Veysi Hesar's idea in this regard.

3.3. Core layer operators

Core layer operators consist of *directionals*, *event quantifications*, *deontics* and *internal negations*. In CKD, there are only deontics and internal negations among others. Deontic operators with their prominence over the core arguments, express obligation, permission or ability of the audiences. Thackston (2013, p.68) says that the modal verb (must) in CKD is made of prefix (da-) plus linking verb stem (*bûn*=to be), and (*can* and *may*) are shown by (twânîn):

(19)

hassan dabe sephene bi-bâ-t-awa.
Hassan must tomorrow SUB-win-3SG-EPS



Hassan must win (the game) tomorrow.

(20)

hassan da-twân-e bi-bâ-t-awa.
 Hassan OP-can-3SG SUB-win-3SG-EPS
 Hassan could win (the game).

3.4. Nucleus layer operators

As the last group of operators, nucleus layer operators consist of aspect operators, derivational negations and nuclear directionals. Since derivational negation has been studied earlier, in this part, aspect operators and nuclear directionals are studied. There is a close semantic connection between tense and aspect, and at the same time, there is a main distinction between them; tense refers to the real point of doing the action, but aspect refers to the initiation, continuation and termination of an action. Haji Mâref (ibid, pp.200-212) and Nabaz (ibid, pp.40-44) categorize CKD’s past tense into four groups of *near past*, *continuous past*, *perfect* and *pulperfect past*. Prefix (*da-*) is a symbol of past continuous, prefix (*-û*) at the end of past verb stems and before the subject pronouns is a symbol of past perfect, and the two suffixes (*-û/-w*) plus modal verb (*bûn*=to be) which is conjugated according to number and person are the symbols of pluperfect tense:

(21)

men-ish pâr ĉ-û-bû-m.
 I too last year go-ASP-be.ASP-1SG
 I went (there) last year.

Bohnmeyer & Van Valin (2009) absorb the attentions to this point that there should be a distinction between adverbs of time and aspect operators, because the adverbs of time are one of the core peripheries and show the real time of the verbs. It is true in the condition that the aspect operators show the relationship between the real time of the verbs and the real time of speaking. For a better understanding of the matter, the tree diagram of the above sentence (sentence 21) is drawn as below:

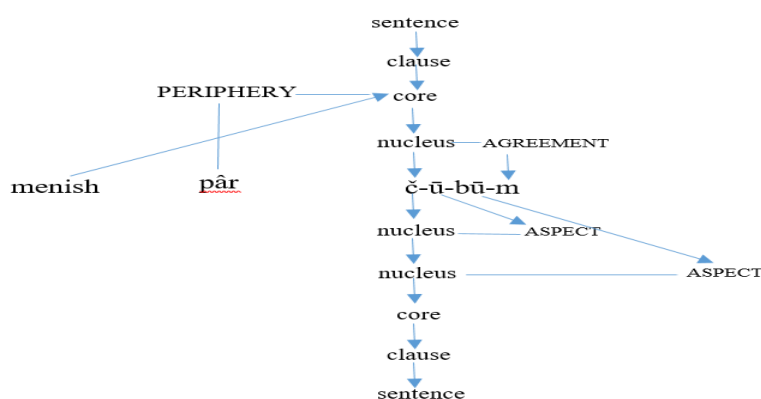


Figure 4. the tree diagram of sentence (21)

The last nucleus layer operators presented here are directional which refer to the direction of core arguments’ movement. These directionals are attached to the beginning of verb stems in CKD in the forms of prefixes or separate morphemes. In the following examples, some of these directionals are attached to the verb stem (*kawten*=to fall), and shows different directions:

(22)

a) dâ-kawten
 DIR(down)-fall
 to fall down



b) sar kawten
DIR(up) fall
to go up

c) pâš kawten
DIR(back) fall
to fall behind

d) peš kawten
DIR(front) fall
to proceed

As it is clear, directionals consist of two groups of prefixes and morphemes. The number of prefixes are limited in CKD to (*dâ-* =down), (*râ-* =out), like (*râkeshân*=to stretch out), and (*hal-* =up), like (*halparin*= to jump up). Directional morphemes, on the other hand, are limited to these prepositional morphemes: (*pâš*=back), (*peš*=back), and (*sar*=up) as the examples above.

4. Conclusion

Operators in CKD are presented in different layers of the clause in two general morphological and lexical forms. Morphologically, operators are prefixed to the verb stems as negative, subjunctive, imperative, illocutionary force, pluperfect aspect and directional operators, and are suffixed to the verb stems as perfect aspect and epistemic operators. Lexically, modal verbs appear as deontic modality, helping verbs as perfect aspect, prepositions as nucleus directional operators. Negative operators in CKD are categorized in two types: those which are attached to non-verbal predicates and linking verbs, and those which are attached to verbal predicates. The first group are called (following Pavey) derivational negation, and the second group consist of internal and external negations which in turn, are presented in the domain of core and clause. An important point is that, in CKD there is not any evidential operators, but there are some evidential strategies instead.

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به کارخه رەکانی کوردی ناوەندی له رێزمانی رۆل و ئاماژەدا

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پوخته

تیۆری به کارخه رەکان یه کێک له توخمه سه ره کیه کانی پیکهاتهی چیندارانهی بره که له رێزمانی رۆل و ئاماژەدا دروست دهکات. له راستیدا، به کارخه رەکان پۆلیکی داخراو له پیکهاته رێزمانی یان کاراییه کان دروست دهکەن که چینه جیاوازهکانی بره که دهستکاری دهکەن. به ریکهوت، به کارخه رەکانی ئیستا له هه موو چینه کدا چینه لوه کیه تابه ته کانیان پیکه هتین به پیشینییه کی جیاواز له پیشینی پیکهاته یی. پێویسته ئاماژه به وه بکریت که به کارخه رەکانی هیزی نه رینی و بیدهنگ تاکه به کارخه رەکانی گشتگیرن له تیوان ته وانی تر دا.

ئه م توێژینه وه یه ئامانجی پیناسه کردن و شیکردنه وه ی ئه م پیکهاتانه به شیوه زاری کوردی ناوهندی؛ له مه ودوا (CKD). چوارچێوه ی تیۆری به پیتی وان والین (2005) و پاری (2010) ده خرته پوو. پاشان، نموونه کانی موکریانی وه ک یه کێک له زارواوه لوه کیه کانی کوردی ناوهندی که له کارلیکه کانی رۆژانه دا هه لده بزێردرین، له م چوارچێوه یه دا لیکۆلینه وه یان له سه ر ده کریت. لێره دا شایانی باسه که توێژه ران قسه که ری په سه نی کوردی ناوهندی ن و ئینتیویان رۆلیکی گرنگ ده گریت له وه سفکردن و پروونکردنه وه ی ئه نجامه کان، ئاماژه به گرنگرینیان دهکات به م شیوه یه: به کارخه رەکانی کوردی ناوهندی له ده وری پیکهاته ی رسته سازی ناوک له دوو فۆرمی مۆرفۆلۆژی پیکه ردا ده رده که ون و پاشگر، که له به رامبه ردا، به س فۆرمی وشه یی کرداری مۆدالی، کرداری به سه تنه وه و مۆرفیمی فۆنۆلۆژی پووچ، پیکه ش ده کرین.

وشه ی سه ره کی: پیکهاته ی چیندار، کوردی ناوهندی، ناوک، کپۆک، په راویزی

العوامل المركزية الكردية في الدور والمراجع النحوية

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ملخص

تبني نظرية المشغل أحد العناصر الأساسية للبنية الطباقية للفقرة في قواعد الدور والمرجع. في الواقع، يقوم المشغلون بعمل فئة مغلقة من المكونات النحوية أو الوظيفية التي تعدل طبقات مختلفة من الجملة. على التوالي، يشكل المشغلون الحاليون في كل طبقة طبقاتهم الفرعية المحددة بإسقاط مختلف عن الإسقاط الهيكلية. تجدر الإشارة إلى أن علامات سلبية هم العالميون الوحيدون من بين آخرين.

تهدف الورقة الحالية إلى تعريف وتحليل هذه المكونات في اللهجة الكردية المركزية. من الآن فصاعداً، تم تقديم الإطار النظري وفقاً لى ون ولين (2005) و باوى (2010). بعد ذلك، تمت دراسة أمثلة الموكرياني كواحدة من اللهجات الفرعية الكردية المركزية، والتي تم اختيارها من التفاعلات اليومية في هذا الإطار. ومن الجدير بالذكر هنا أن الباحثين هم متحدثون أصليون الكردية المركزية، ويلعب حدسهم دوراً مهماً في وصف وشرح النتائج، مشيراً إلى أهمها: تظهر عوامل الكردية المركزية حول البنية النحوية للنواة في شكلين شكليين من البادئة. واللاحقة، والتي بدورها، يتم تقديمها في ثلاثة أشكال معجمية من الأفعال الشرطية، وترتبط الأفعال وصرف الصيغ الفارغة.

الكلمات الدالة: هيكل متعدد الطبقات، الكردية المركزية، نواة، الجوهر، المحيط