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► To cite this version:

Agnes Korn. A multidimensional cline of post-verbal arguments in Balochi and Bashkardi. Ninth European Conference of Iranian Studies (ECIS 9), Sep 2019, Berlin, Germany. halshs-02300755

HAL Id: halshs-02300755

<https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-02300755>

Submitted on 13 Apr 2020

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This paper builds on HAIG 2014, who shows that the post-verbal position of “goal” arguments (goals of verbs of motion; recipients of “give”-verbs; addressees of speech verbs) is very common in Kurdish, and regular in varieties in the sphere of contact with Semitic. I will contrast these findings with those from two other Western Ir. languages to assess to which extent post-verbal arguments are triggered by language contact, confirming the main point of HAIG’s argument and contributing precisions on some part of it.

As noted by (Haig 2015:408), languages that share the combination of

(1) OV word order, prepositions and noun-genitive order

are very rare cross-linguistically. Only eight among the 1142 languages in the sample of (Dryer 2013) show this configuration, of which three belong to the Western Iranian group (viz. Persian, Tajik and Central Kurdish), and one is an Aramaic variety under strong Iranian influence. HAIG concludes that Western Iranian is an “outlier” of an (otherwise) “OV/postposition/GN block” and the configuration in (1) is likely to be due to language contact (Haig 2015:410), Kurdish and NENA (Northeastern Neo-Aramaic) being the cases in point that he studies. Haig proceeds to argue that Kurdish (and some more closely related Ir. varieties) and NENA developed the combination of OV and post-verbal goals under strong mutual influence, yielding a pattern that is unusual for both (otherwise head-initial) Semitic and (head-final) Iranian.

I argue that Bashkardi (a group of dialects spoken in the province of Hormozgan) and Balochi (spoken in the far south-east of the Ir. sphere) represent cases of contrast that might shed some light on Haig’s results. Differently from Kurmanji or NENA, both are not in an area of strong contact with Semitic and Turkic languages. Crucially, Bashkardi shares the features in (1). Balochi, on the other hand, is largely a member of the “OV/postposition/GN block”, although the dialects of Sistan, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan have moved towards the Persian model.

Differently from what Haig observes for Kurmanji, the post-verbal position is not grammaticalised for goals in these two languages, but it is the most frequent position for goals of verbs of motion and occurs with and without adpositions. Lower on the frequency scale are other post-verbal goals, viz. indirect objects. These overlap with direct objects that, contrary to Haig’s findings, are likewise not infrequently found in this position. Another type of arguments that is frequently postposed are other types of movements (e.g. coming from somewhere) and other types of location (non-directional) and related metaphoric expressions, suggesting that goal-related patterns might not be the only types of argument for which there is maybe a cognitive reason to be placed post-verbally.

While the post-verbal position of goal arguments “could be seen as an iconic reflection of Goals as natural endpoints of events” (Haig 2015:414), it seems difficult to accommodate other arguments likewise occurring post-verbally into this perspective. I will therefore suggest a multidimensional cline of “post-verbality” that could be seen as operating in Balochi and Bashkardi.

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A. Introduction

Topic: postverbal arguments in SOV;
illustrated with data from Balochi and Bashkardi

Postverbal goals and SOV

Framework: HAIG 2015

- Kurdish combines
 - (2) OV word order, prepositions and noun-genitive order
 - very rare cross-linguistically (Dryer 2013); disproportionately “frequent” in contact zone of Iranian and Semitic (Persian, Tajik, Kurdish, NE Neo-Aramaic variety):
 - (2) “only in contact situations” (Haig 2015:409f., following Harris 1995:137) Western Iranian “outlier” of an (otherwise) “OV / postposition / GN block”
 - combination of OV and post-verbal goals in Kurdish and NENA
 - due to strong mutual influence,
 - pattern that is unusual for both (head-initial) Semitic and (head-final) Iranian;
 - postverbal goals regular in Kurdish varieties in the Semitic area, less generalised in other Kurdish (etc.) varieties.
- (3) Kurmanji (Zakho / Iraq), (Haig 2015:415), adapted from (MacKenzie 1962:354)
- | | | | |
|--|-----------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>rābī</i> | <i>dē ē-n</i> | <i>bō</i> | <i>māl-ē</i> |
| get_up.PST(3SG) | so come.SBJV-PL | to | house-OBL |
| ‘(They) set off to come home .’ | | | |
- (4) Definition “goal”:
- goal of verbs of motion;
 - recipients of “give”-verbs;
 - addressees of speech verbs (Haig 2015:413).
- NB: human vs. non-human goals

Bashkardi and Balochi

- not in the NW Iran / Anatolia / Semitic contact zone

(5) <u>Bashkardi</u> group of dialects spoken in the province of Hormozgān Southern (Persian) branch of Western Iranian (Skjærvø 1989:846) shares (2)	<u>Balochi:</u> far south-east of the Iranian sphere Northern branch of Western Iranian (largely) member of the “OV / postposition / GN block”
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- (6) “[A]ssigning similarities to contact influence requires caution (...). First, we need to bear in mind the histories of related languages spoken outside the region (...) in order to formulate a benchmark of comparison against which the developments in the languages under consideration can be assessed.” (Haig and Khan 2018:6)

B. Data and findings from Bashkardi and Balochi (remote dialects)

B.1 Postverbal goals

• Goals of verbs of motion:

• [-human]

(7) Bashkardi (Southern)

az bād_e *a-rra-īn* *mahale=i* *ahmad=i mādī*
 after_that IPFV-go.PRS-1SG home=EZ PN=EZ PN
 'Then I go the house of Ahmad Mahdi.

ahmad=i mādī *or-* *gir-īn*
 PN=EZ PN up- take.PRS-1SG
 I take Ahmad Mahdi

a-p-īn *dah* *gare-a*
 IPFV-come.PRS-1SG to PN-DIR

[and] we (lit. I) come to Gaverx.

dah *gare-a* *šiv* *a-b-īn*
 to PN-DIR down IPFV-become.PRS-1SG
 From Gaverx, I come down

a-p-īn *ǰaydān*
 IPFV-come.PRS-1SG PN

[and] come to Jaghdan.'

(8) Balochi (Southern / Iran)

ē *čī* *kan-ant* *ē* *raw-ānt* *ē* *ēdga*
 DEM what do.PRS-3PL COP3SG go.PRS-3PL COP3SG here
 'What do they do? They go there [and]...'

• [+human]

(9) Balochi (Southern / Iran)

mard-ā *hakalet* *šo* *pada* *ot-ī* *padešāh-e* *gwarā*
 man-OBL leave.PST go.PST3SG back REFL-GEN king-GEN by_side
 'The man left and went back to his king.'

- ▶ Preverbal: "more literary" dialects in Balochi? cf. (Barjasteh Delforooz 2010:60f.) apparently free variation in Bashkardi

(10) Balochi (Western / Turkmenistan), (Axenov 2006:80)

dukkāndār *wat-ī* *dukkān-ay-ā* *āt*
 merchant-OBL REFL-GEN shop-GEN-OBL come.PST3SG
 'The shopkeeper came to his shop.'

(11) Bashkardi (Southern)

men *lek* *bīx=īn*
 I up become.PRF=COP1SG
 'I went up

ī *rāh* *bišnou* *a-sar* *vuox=īn*,
 this way PN again come.PRF=COP1SG
 I again came towards Bishnoven

vuox=īn *ba* *erd.*
 come.PRF=COP1SG to here

[and then] came here.'

• Indirect objects:

(12) Bashkardi (Northern)

tāg barr-om boz-ā, boz gerom šīr-ā,
leaf carry.PRS-1SG goat-DIR goat take.PRS-1SG milk-DIR
‘[so that] I take the leaves to the goat, get milk [from] the goat,
šīr dah-om zāl-ā
milk give.PRS-1SG woman-DIR
and give the milk to the woman.’

(13) Balochi (Southern / Pakistan), (Farrell 2008:132)

manī darwāzag bīst-o-čār sāt-ā pač ē šumē wāstā
I.GEN door twenty-and-four hour-OBL open COP3SG you.PL.GEN for
‘‘... my door is 24 hours open for you.’’

(14) Bashkardi (Southern)

davā a-kī ba yamah ?
benefit IPFV-do.PRS.3SG to we
‘Does this make [any] benefit for us?’

► Preverbal:

(15) Bashkardi (Southern)

hālā to yeu gap=ō serāk=i yamah a-deh
now you.SG one word=IND showing=PC3SG we IPF-give.IPR2SG
‘Now show us a word of it (= the tape recorder)!’

Conclusion:

(16) Cline of “postverbal-ness” in Balochi and Bashkardi:

non-human goal of motion > human goal of motion > indirect object

B.2 Other postverbal arguments

B.2.1 Grey zone of cline?

• Purpose

(17) Bashkardi (Northern)

če meil=t a-kan-t
what desire=PC2SG IPFV-do.PRS-3SG
paim be-kan-īn nāštā=t, yā čāšt=et?
ready SBJ-do.PRS-1PL breakfast=PC2SG or lunch=PC2SG
‘‘What would you like us to prepare as your breakfast or lunch?’’

• Ambiguous indirect/direct object

(18) Balochi (Southern / Iran)

mā hanī gap-ā ā, na ? gōš dār manī gap-ā !
I now word-OBL COP1SG NEG ear hold.IMP2SG I.GEN word-OBL-PL
‘I am speaking now, right? Listen to my words!’

(19) Bashkardi (Southern)

būr=om ke do xom, rout-īn jangal,
load=PC1SG do.PST two date go.PST-1SG forest
‘I loaded two [loads of] dates; I went to the wood.’

(20) Balochi (Coastal / Iran)

čest=ē ko hamē ās-e koṭēnag o jat=ē ma
 lift=PC3SG do.PST DEM fire-GEN log and hit.PST=PC3SG I
 'She took a log of the fire and hit me [with it].'

▶ Preverbal:

(21) Bashkardi (Southern)

se tā čūr tā dūr=ih ba mē zax
 three piece four piece wood=PC3SG to I strike.PRF
 '...he hit three-four pieces of wood against me.'

⇒ Metaphorical directions and ambiguous indirect/direct objects
 extension of indirect objects?

B.2.2 Non-directional• Direct objects:

(22) Balochi (Southern / Iran)

goš-ī mā har-jāgāh be-gend-ā kahīr-ā
 say.PRS-3SG I every-place SBJV-see.PRS-1SG PN-OBL
 'He said, "Wherever I see Kahir,
kahīr-ā koš-ā
 PN-OBL kill.PRS-1SG
 I will kill Kahir (...)."'

(23) Bashkardi (Northern)

guespand-ōn gonāh=ī
 sheep-PL sin=SPC
 '[Offering] sheep is a sin;
kabūl nā-kan āye guespand
 acceptance NEG.PRS-do.PRS3SG s/he.OBL sheep
 he (the guest) doesn't accept his sheep."

(24) Bashkardi (Northern)

bād=ah nen-en ham-orā yār-en čelīm
 later=PC3SG sit_down.PRS-3PL EMPH-there bring.PRS-3PL waterpipe
 'Then they sit down there, bring the water pipe,
sar a-kan-an dah-en barā=i mō
 up IPFV-do.PRS-3PL give.PRS-3PL for I
 start [it and] give it to me'

▶ direct objects in postverbal position: maybe always pragmatically triggered?

"Direct objects may be fronted for pragmatic purposes, but are only exceedingly rarely positioned after the predicate" (Haig 2015:408 about Kurdish in general)

• Locations (local, temporal, metaphorical):

(25) Balochi (Western / Iran), (Jahani 2003:125)

dars=en a wā ā zamān-ā
 lesson=PC1PL IPFV read.PST DEM time-OBL
 'We were studying in those days.'

(26) Balochi (Southern / Iran)

jest-en tatk-en dar ātk-en ĉe dabestān-ā
 jump.PST-1PL run.PST-1PL out come.PST-1PL from school-OBL
 'We came out of school running.'

• Diverse adverbials

(27) Balochi (Western / Pakistan), (Jahani 1997)

čarr-ay ĉu duzz-ēn tōlag-ā
 turn.PRS-2SG like thief-ADJ jackal-OBL
 'You are moving like a thievish jackal' (poem by Gul Khan Nasir)

(28) Bashkardi (Northern)

mō a-g-om: hēč ehwāl=ī nie ba_žoz salāmātī
 I IPFV-say.PRS-1SG nothing news=SPC NEG.COP3SG except_for health
 'I say: "There's no news except for health."'

(29) Balochi (Southern / Iran)

ōtī dast borret-ag-ā gō kārč-a
 self.GEN hand cut.PST-PRF-3PL with knife-OBL
 'He cut his own hands with a knife.'

(30) Bashkardi (Northern)

estera=ī be-ge a moč=et
 dagger=SPC SBJ-take.PRS.IPR2SG to fist=PC2SG
 'Take a dagger in your hand!'

⇒ locations and diverse adverbials maybe not pragmatically triggered:
 extension of directional location?

C. Conclusions

The Goal-dimension

(15') Cline of "postverbal-ness" in Balochi and Bashkardi:

non-human goal of motion > human goal of motion > indirect object

Cline of arguments in post-verbal position (preliminary; simplified)¹

	verbs of motion	indirect object	direct object
regular	Kurmanji		
preferred	Balochi, Bashkardi, Sistani Balochi TR	Kurmanji	
optional		Balochi, Bashkardi	
pragmatically triggered	Sistani Balochi ITR		Balochi,, Bashkardi, Sistani Balochi
"exceedingly rare"			Kurdish

¹ Data for Sistani Balochi from Barjasteh Delforooz (2010:60f., 64f., 68-70). He does not mention postverbal indirect objects (maybe just an oversight).

The Other dimension

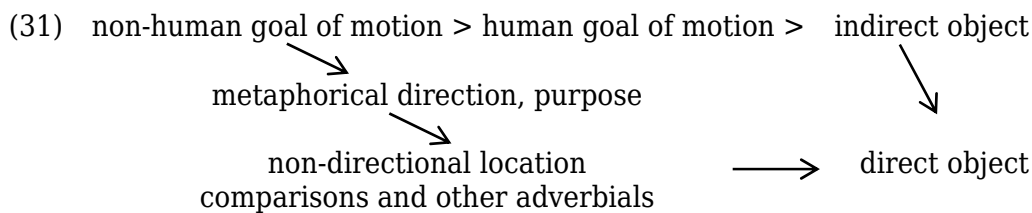
overlapping categories in Balochi and Bashkardi:

- indirect / direct object (complex predicates)
- direction / adverbial
- direction / location / metaphorical state

What to do about this, and where to put the direct object?

Summary

suggestion for a more-dimensional cline of “postverbal-ness” in Balochi and Bashkardi:



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