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A Prototype Approach to Kurdish Prefixes

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Abstract: This paper sheds light on the semantic description of some Kurdish prefixes, important resources provided by language to derive new words and encode different perspectives taken by a speaker towards activities, events and states. It attempts to carry out the investigation within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics. The paper tries to substantiate two cognitive principles. The first principle is that all language elements have semantic import. Applying this principle to Kurdish morphology, we argue that Kurdish prefixes are meaningful in the sense that their presence as derivational morphemes causes a shift in the meanings of the derived words. The second principle is that language elements are polysemous by nature, i.e. having multiple senses. Applying this principle to Kurdish morphology, we argue that Kurdish prefixes display a network of numerous senses. The senses gather around a central sense, called the prototype. The other senses, called the periphery, extend from the prototype on the basis of semantic principles.

Keywords: prefixes, cognitive linguistics, polysemy, prototype, periphery.

1. Introduction

One semantic feature that is prevalent in language is *polysemy*, a word which has more than one sense which are related in some way (Cruse, 2006: 133). Take, for example, the lexical item *book*. A close look at *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2004) shows that the word *book* has multiple senses. In *She is reading a book on wildlife*, it means a written work published in printed or electronic form. In *She bought a new exercise book*, it means a set of sheets of paper that are fastened together inside a cover and used for writing in. In *She keeps a very nice book of stamps*, it means a set of things that are fastened together like a book. In *They hired an expert to do the books*, it means the written records of the financial affairs of a business. Applied to morphology, the English prefix *pre*- has, as Hamawand (2011: 63-4) explains, more than one meaning. This is shown in *pre-election* 'preceding the period indicated by the abstract nominal root implying action, *preview* 'carrying out in advance the action indicated in verbal transitive root', *predominant* 'surpassing others in the quality mentioned in the gradable adjectival root', *premolar* 'located before the place indicated in non-gradable adjectival roots'. As the examples demonstrate, the prefix *pre*- requires a different definition in each derived word.

In Kurdish, the situation is not different. If we take the prefix *hel*-, for example, we find that it has multiple but related senses. The word *helgeran* is derived from the root *geran* meaning 'moving' and the prefix *hel*- meaning 'upward'. The derived word has the meaning of 'climb up'. The word *helkirdin* is derived from the root *kirdin* meaning 'wrapping' and the prefix *hel*-meaning 'cyclic'. The derived word has the meaning of 'wrapping up'. The word *helriŝtin* is derived from the root *riŝtin* meaning 'pouring' and the prefix *hel*- meaning 'downward'. The derived word has the meaning of 'pouring out'. The word *helmalîn* is derived from the root *malîn* meaning 'taking' and the prefix *hel*- meaning 'away'. The derived word has the meaning of 'taking away'. The word *helxistin* is derived from the root *xistin* meaning 'down' and the prefix *hel*-meaning 'up' indicating the opposite action designated by the root. The derived word has the meaning of 'hanging up'. The examples show how the prefix has a different meaning in each case and how it changes the meaning of the derived word.

©ARC Page | 37

The question posed is: Do prefixes in Kurdish have single or multiple senses? If multiple, how are the senses related? In this regard, two arguments are made. The first argument is that a Kurdish prefix is polysemous by nature in that it forms a category of multiple senses. The senses gather around a central sense, which is the most salient one. The other senses extend from the central sense and exhibit some, but not all, of its properties. The second argument is that the meanings of any prefix are closely related despite the fact they are distinct. The aim of the study is to present a through description of each prefix, which includes the identification of the different senses it exhibits and the provision of a different definition for each sense. Before going any further, a word is in order. Few references on Kurdish exist, be they language dictionaries or grammar books. Due to this, we relied on a practical source, which includes asking native speakers of Kurdish with a remarkable command of the language for feedback on Kurdish prefixes and their multiple senses.

2. THEORIES OF CATEGORISATION

Most theories agree on the phenomenon of polysemy. Nonetheless, they differ in how to categorise the senses of lexical items. In the literature, there are two theories of categorisation. One theory categorises on the basis of identity. This is referred to as the *classical* theory. The other theory categorises on the basis of similarity. This is referred to as the *prototype* theory. Below is a brief description of each theory. For a full description of the theories, the reader is referred to Rosch (1973, 1975), Fillmore (1975), Lakoff (1987), Taylor (1995) and Evans (2007).

2.1. The Classical Theory

According to the *classical* theory, also known as the *definitional* theory, every concept is associated with a definition. Everything that satisfies the definition falls under the concept. Everything that fails to satisfy the definition is excluded. Definitions typically take the form of a set of features which are individually necessary and jointly sufficient. Take the case of the concept *bird*, which can be defined as 'a creature that is covered with feathers, has two wings and two legs, and is usually capable of flying'. These features are individually necessary in that every member of the category *bird* must have wings, feathers, two legs and a beak. In addition, every member of the category *bird* can fly and lay eggs. The features are jointly sufficient in that any creature that possesses these features qualifies as a *bird*, or belongs to the *bird* category. For example, *robin* is regarded as the prototypical instance of *bird* because it meets all the features of the *bird* category. However, an *ostrich* would not be regarded a member of the category because it cannot fly. Therefore, both are birds. As explained by Bussmann (1996: 505), of the two sentences *A robin is a bird* and *An ostrich is a bird*, only the former can be modified by the hedge *typical* or *par excellence*, while the latter can be modified only by the hedges *in the strictest sense* or *technically speaking*.

The classical theory of categorisation is based on a number of features. First, category is based on identity. For an entity to belong to a category, it must have all of its features. Second, category membership is determined by a set of necessary and sufficient features which all members should comply with. These features are called so because they are individually necessary but only collectively sufficient to define a category. Third, members of a category are of equal status as long as they satisfy the whole set of the category features. Fourth, category boundaries are sharp. If a member satisfies the features, it is included in the category; otherwise it is excluded. As a model of categorisation, the classical theory is implausible since it suffers a number of drawbacks. First, it is extremely difficult to come up with satisfactory definitions. Second, natural categories typically have fuzzy boundaries, not sharp boundaries. Third, members of a natural category have different status as some are central while others are peripheral. To remedy these drawbacks, the prototype theory was devised.

2.2. The Prototype Theory

The prototype theory is a theory of human categorisation that was posited by Eleanor Rosch (1973, 1975) and her colleagues during the 1970s. This is a theory about the nature and structure of concepts. The basic idea is that a concept is centred round an ideal example, or prototype. On this view, whether something belongs to a category depends on its degree of resemblance to the

prototype. As Evans (2007:176-7) mentions, the prototype theory is based on two principles. The first is that humans tend to group similar experiences into categories, rather than store separate information about every individual experience. This helps to maintain economy in cognitive representation. The second is that humans rely upon the correlational structure of the world in forming and organising categories. The prototype theory has been useful in showing how concepts are formed. Its application has been extended to lexical and grammatical categories. In all language areas, the prototype provides structure to and serves to organise a given category, a phenomenon known as *prototype structure*.

According to the prototype theory, people often define a concept by reference to a typical instance, or an ideal example, called *prototype*. As Evans (2007:175) states, the prototype is "a relatively abstract mental representation that assembles the key attributes or features that best represent instances of a given category. Accordingly, the prototype is viewed as a schematic representation of the most salient or central characteristics associated with members of the category in question". For example, the category *bird* might be represented by the features [has feathers], [has wings], [flies], [has two legs], [lays eggs], [builds a nest], [sings], and so on. The prototype of the bird category would be a small bird which flies rather than a large bird which cannot fly. In the light if this, *robin* would be judged as being typical or more representative of the category, whereas *ostrich* would be judged as being non-typical or less representative of the category. Even though an *ostrich* cannot fly, it belongs to the category *bird*. Such judgements in terms of typicality are known as *typicality effects*.

The prototype theory of categorisation is based on a number of features. First, category is based on similarity. For an entity to belong to a category, it must share some of its features. Second, category membership is structured in terms of distance of the senses from the prototype. Third, members of a category are not of equal status as long as they do not satisfy the whole set of the category features. Fourth, category boundaries are fuzzy. The category borders are clearly defined because the members exhibit different degrees of family resemblance. According to the notion of family resemblance, a particular member of a category can be judged on the basis of how well it reflects the prototype of the category it belongs to, i.e. how many salient attributes of the prototype the member shares. The more attributes of the prototype the member shares, the closer it is and more similar it is.

2.3. Comparison

The main differences between the classical theory and the prototype theory can be summed up in the following table:

	Classical theory		Prototype theory
1.	Category is based on identity. A category is	1.	Category is based on similarity. The
	governed by a definition to which all members		features are not individually necessary.
	should be identical.		
2.	Category membership is determined by a set of	2.	Category membership is determined by
	necessary and sufficient features which all		having a sufficient degree of resemblance
	members should comply with		to the category prototype.
3.	Members of a category are of equal status. This	3.	Members of a category are of distinct
	is so because they satisfy the set of features.		status. Some are more salient than others.
4.	Category boundaries are sharp. If a member	4.	Category boundaries are fuzzy. Both
	satisfies the features, it is included in the		prototypical as well as peripheral
	category; otherwise it is excluded.		members are included in the category.
			There is no sharp distinction between
			them.

3. Prefixes

A prefix is a bound morpheme that can be added to the initial part of a free morpheme to form a new word. For example, *kokuj*/ kokuJ/ 'mass massacre' is a noun derived from the verbal root *kuj* 'kill' and the prefix *ko*- 'mass'. Using Taylor's (2002: 268) characteristics, Kurdish prefixes can be described as follows:

- 1) They are phonologically dependent: relying on a root for its articulation. This means that a prefix cannot be realized phonologically without the help of other linguistic items. For example, the prefix *da* cannot stand alone by itself. It needs a root like *rûxan* 'destroy' to complete its phonological shape, with the derived word meaning *darûxan* 'collapse'.
- 2) They are schematic: lacking specific details and so needing a root to fill its semantic whole. For example, the prefix *hel* is a schema: a mental representation with less precision. Its specific details come out in examples.
- 3) They are semantically dependent: cannot be conceptualized without reference to a root. This means that phonologically and semantically, a prefix, like *da*-, cannot stand alone by itself. It needs a root to complete its phonological shape and meaning, such as *rûxan* 'destroy' to derive a new noun *darûxan* 'collapse'.
- 4) They are semantically determinant: capable of influencing the character of the root. This means that a prefix changes the meaning of a derived word. For example, the prefix *ne*-, meaning 'not', changes a word form positive to negative. In *negeviw*, it means 'unripe'.
- 5) They are choosy with respect to the items to which they are attached or which they select. For example, the prefix *be* mostly selects nouns in the process of deriving adjectives, as in *behěz* 'strong'.

Kurdish belongs to the Western Iranian group of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. There are two principal dialects of modern literary Kurdish. The first dialect is called Kurmanji. It is the language of the vast majority of Kurds in North Kurdistan. It is the language spoken in Turkey, Syria, Armenia, and Azerbaijan with an estimated 15-17 million speakers. The second dialect is called Sorani. It is the language of the Kurds in South Kurdistan. It is the language spoken in Iraq (5 million speakers) and Iran (5-6 million speakers). Although the two are closely related, Kurmanji and Sorani differ in structure, vocabulary and idiom. The present study covers prefixes which are widely used by speakers of the Sorani Kurdish of Iraq. The purpose is to show how effective the prototype approach is in describing the semantic structure of such prefixes. Kurdish prefixes can be classified into positive and negative. In what follows is a survey of each type.

3.1. Positive Prefixes

A positive prefix is a bound morpheme that is attached to the initial part of a root to derive a new word with a new meaning. A word like *hawbeŝ* 'copartner or sharer', for instance, is derived from the prefix *haw*- meaning 'sharing the thing named by the nominal root' and the root *beŝ* meaning 'part'. Kurdish positive prefixes are mostly verb-forming prefixes. They are either deverbal or denominal. Below is the description of some positive Kurdish prefixes:

1. hel-

Prototypically the prefix *hel*- is added to verbal roots denoting movement to form new verbs with the following senses:

- a. Up. This sense is substantiated when the prefix *hel* is attached to infinitive forms of intransitive verbs to derive new verbs denoting movement to a higher level or position. For example, the verb *helfrîn* 'to fly up' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb *frîn* 'to fly' and the prefix *hel* 'up'. Other examples are *helawsan* 'to swell up', *heldan* 'to throw upward', *helgeran* 'to climb up', *helĉûn* 'to boil up, and so on.
- b. Round. This sense realizes when the prefix is attached to transitive verbs to derive new verbs denoting movement that is repeated many times and in the same order. For example, the verb *helpěĉan* 'to coil round' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb *pěĉan* 'to coil' and the prefix *hel* 'round'. Another example is *helkirdinewe* 'to wrap round'.
- c. Down. This sense appears when the prefix is attached to intransitive verbs to derive new verbs denoting movement to a lower level or position. For example, the verb *helwerîn* 'to drop down' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb *werîn* 'drop' and the prefix *hel-* 'down'. Other examples are *helriŝtin* 'pour down, *heldĕran* 'to roll down', and so on.

Peripherally, the prefix *hel*- is added to verbal roots denoting action to derive new verbs with the following senses:

- a. Away. This sense emerges when the prefix is attached to transitive verbs denoting action to derive new verbs indicating removal carried out naturally. For example, the verb *helmalîn* 'to sweep away' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb *malîn* 'to sweep' and the prefix *hel* 'away'.
- b. Into. This sense appears when the prefix is attached to intransitive verbs denoting action to derive new verbs denoting removal carried out forcibly. For example, the verb *heldirîn* 'to dig into' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb *dirîn* 'tear' and the prefix *hel* 'off'. Another example is *helaxnîn* 'to cram into'.
- c. Opposite. This sense occurs when the prefix is added to intransitive verbs denoting action to derive new verbs signifying an opposite action. For example, the verb *helhatin* 'to escape' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb *hatin* 'to come' and the prefix *hel* 'to do the opposite action'. Another example is *helxistin* 'hung up'.
- d. Together. This sense realizes when the prefix is added to transitive verbs denoting action to derive new verbs denoting combination. For example, the verb *helbestin* 'to combine' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb *bestin* 'to bind' and the prefix *hel* 'together'.

The semantic network of the prefix *hel*- is summarized in Figure 1:

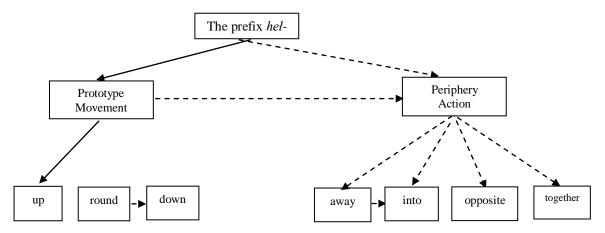


Figure 1. The semantic network of the prefix hel-.

2. da-

The central sense of the prefix da- is realized when the prefix is added to the beginning of verbal roots denoting action to express the following senses.

- a. Down. This sense is realised when the prefix is added to verbs to form new verbs denoting downward movement, glossed as 'getting or bringing a thing down'. For instance, *dagirtin* 'get down' is derived from the root of the transitive verb *girtin* 'catch' and the prefix *da-* 'down'. Other examples are *dakiŝan* 'glide down', *damalîn* 'bring down', *darûxan* 'collapse down', and so on.
- b. Into. This sense is realised when the prefix is added to some transitive verbs to form verbs expressing the sense of fixing or putting someone or something in a position or a place. For instance, *dakutan* 'hammer into' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb *kutan* 'beat' and the prefix *da-* 'into'. Another example is *daĉandin* 'plant into'.

The extensional meaning of the prefix -da arises when it is added to roots denoting action, resulting in the following senses:

a. Bringing something out. This sense is realized when the prefix is attached to the base of verbs to form abstract nouns denoting the act of invention, creation or innovation. For instance, the

- noun *dahěnan* 'to innovate' is derived from the infinitive form *hěnan* 'to produce' and the prefix *da-* 'out'. Other examples are *darŝtin* 'to compose', *dataŝîn* 'to derive', etc.
- b. Apart. This sense emerges when the prefix is attached to the infinitive form of verbs to derive new verbs denoting detachment, disconnection or separation. For instance, *dabiran* 'separate' is derived from the verb *biran* 'to cut' and the prefix *da* 'apart'. Another example is *datirazan* 'get apart'.
- c. Doing or making. This sense occurs when the prefix is added to verbs to derive new verbs expressing the act of doing or making. For instance, *dapoŝin* 'to cover' is derived from the verb *poŝin* 'to wear' and the prefix *da* 'to do'. Another example is *datikan* 'to drip'.

The semantic network of the prefix da- is summarized in Figure 2:

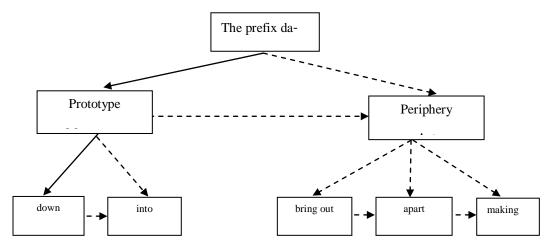


Figure 2. The semantic network of the prefix da-

3. lě-

Prototypically, the prefix $l\check{e}$ - is added to (in) transitive verbs to form new verbs denoting action with the following different meanings:

- a. Taking away from a source. This sense appears when the prefix is added to the infinitive form of verbs to derive new verbs denoting the act of taking something from a source by force. For example, *lěsendin* 'taking away something from' is derived from the verb *sendin* 'to take' and the prefix *lě* 'away'. Other examples are *lěfirandin* 'to take some thing or someone away by force', *lěbirdin* 'to take from', *lěkirdinewe* 'to pluck from', and so on.
- b. Directing or addressing a source. This sense realizes when the prefix is added to the infinitive form of verbs to derive new verbs denoting the act of addressing the source. For example, <code>lěpirsîn</code> 'to ask from' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb <code>pirsîn</code> 'to ask' and the prefix <code>lě-</code> 'from'. Another example is <code>lěxwastin</code> 'to borrow from'.
- c. Moving outwards. This sense realizes when the prefix is attached to the infinitive form of verbs to derive new verbs denoting outward movement. For example, $l\check{e}c\hat{u}n$ 'dribble or ooze out' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb $\hat{c}u$ n 'to go' the prefix $l\check{e}$ 'out'.

Peripherally, the prefix $l\check{e}$ - expresses the following meanings:

- a. Deprivation. This sense realizes when the prefix is added to the infinitive form of verbs to derive new verbs denoting deprivation. For instance, *lĕxistin* 'dismiss from' is derived from the infinitive form *xistin* 'to assign' and the prefix *lĕ* 'the act of depriving'. Further examples include *lĕderkirdin* 'to subtract from', *lĕbiran* ' to be short of', and so on.
- b. Agent. This sense realizes when the prefix is added to verbal roots to derive nouns denoting a person who performs an action. For example, the noun *lĕxur* 'driver' is derived from the verbal root *xur* 'drive' and the prefix *lĕ* 'agent'. Other examples are *lĕzan* 'specialist', *lĕdû* 'commentator' (Qazzaz, 2000:511), and so on.

The semantic network of the prefix *lě*- is summarized in Figure 3:

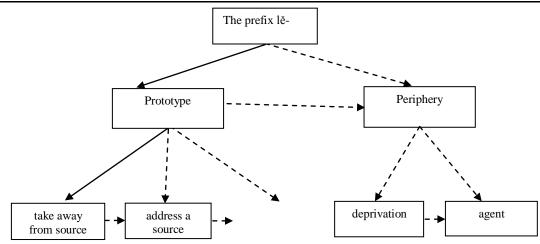


Figure 3. The semantic network of the prefix lě-

4. tě-

Prototypically, the prefix $t\check{e}$ - is added to intransitive verbs to form new verbs, having the following senses:

- a. Moving inward. This meaning happens when the prefix is added to intransitive verbs to derive new verbs denoting the act of moving inwardly. For example, the verb *těkirdin* 'put in' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb *krdin* ' to do' and the prefix *tě* 'putting a thing inside'. Further examples are *těkutan* 'set in', *těhawîstin* 'throw in', *těfrědan* 'throw into', and so on.
- b. Moving around. This sense happens when the prefix is added to verbal roots to form new verbs denoting the act of moving around a thing so as to cover it. For example, the verb *těpěĉan* 'wrap up' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb *pěĉan* 'enfold' and the prefix *tě* 'moving around'. Further examples include *těalan* 'wrap around', *těwrujan* 'swarm or gather around', and so on.
- c. Moving beyond. This sense appears when the prefix is attached to verbal roots to form new verbs denoting the act of moving beyond a certain limit or boundary. For example, the verb *těperandin* 'to trespass' is derived from the verb *perandin* 'to pass' and the prefix *tě* 'move beyond the boundaries'.

Peripherally, the prefix *tě*-denotes action with the following senses:

Targeting a goal. This sense appears when the prefix is added to verbs to form transitive verbs denoting the concrete act of targeting a goal. For example, the verb *těgirtin* 'to throw a thing toward' is derived from the verb *girtin* 'to throw' and the prefix *tě*- 'targeting a goal'. Further examples include *těxûrîn* 'to address somebody to halt', *těberdan* 'to chase something', and so on.

The semantic network of the prefix *tě*- is summarized in Figure 4:

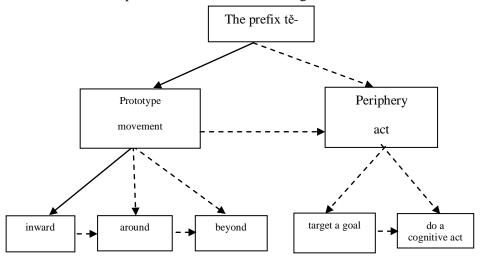


Figure 4. The semantic network of the prefix tě-

Doing a cognitive act. This sense appears when the prefix is added to cognitive verbs to derive new verbs denoting doing an abstract cognitive act. For example, the verb *těraman* 'contemplate' is derived from the verb *raman* 'thinking' and the prefix *tě*- 'to do the mental act deeply'. Further examples include *těgeîŝtin* 'to understand', *těbîryan* 'to pay attention to', and so on.

5. pě-

Prototypically, the prefix $p\check{e}$ - is attached to verbs to form new verbs denoting causation with the following tinges of meaning:

- a. Causing the action. This sense realizes when the prefix is attached to transitive verbs to form new verbs denoting the cause (Fattah and Qadir, 2006: 75). For example, the verb *pěkird* 'cause to do an action' is derived from the past stem of the verb *kirdin* 'to act' and the prefix *pě* 'causing to act'. Further examples include *pěŝordin* 'cause to wash', *pěbjardin* 'cause to compensate', and so on.
- b. Reaching the result. This sense realizes when the prefix is attached to intransitive verbs to form new verbs denoting the result. For example, the verb *pêgeyandin* 'dispatch' is derived from *geyandin* 'hand over to' and the prefix *pê* 'reach the goal'. Another example is *pêwitin* 'say to'. In some cases, the prefix is added to deverbal adjectives to form new adjectives meaning 'fit the state expressed in the adjectival root'. For example, the adjective *pêgeyw* 'ripe' is derived from the deverbal adjective *geyw* 'ripen' and the prefix *pê* 'being in the state'.

Peripherally, the prefix pe-expresses the following senses:

- a. Duration. This sense arises when the prefix is attached to intransitive verbs to form new verbs denoting duration. For instance, the verb $p\check{e}\hat{c}\hat{u}$ 'the time taken' is derived from the verb $\hat{c}\hat{u}$ 'passed' and the prefix $p\check{e}$ 'duration of time'.
- b. Instrument. This sense occurs when the prefix is attached to transitive verbs to form nouns naming the instrument with which the action designated in the verbal root is performed. For example, the noun pěnûs 'a pencil' is derived from nûs which is the root of the verb nûsîn meaning 'to write' and the prefix pě 'an instrument'. In some cases, the prefix denotes household materials or food when it is attached to the root of (in)transitive verbs. For instance, the noun pěxef 'bed-clothing' is derived from the xef 'sleep' and the prefix pě- 'an instrument'.

The semantic network of the prefix $p\check{e}$ - is summarized in Figure 5:

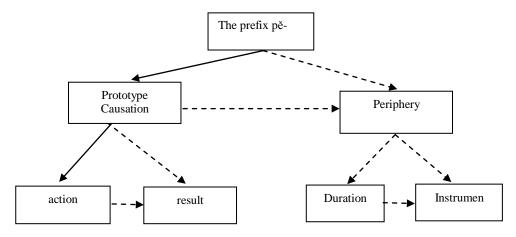


Figure 5. The semantic network of the prefix pě-

6. wer-

The central sense of the prefix wer- is movement. It acquires the following meanings:

a. Round. This sense realizes when the prefix is added to the infinitive form of verbs to form new verbs denoting a cyclic movement. For example, the verb *wersûran* 'to move a thing in a

circulation' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb *sûran* 'move' and the prefix *wer*-round' and. Another example is *wergeran* 'to turn round'.

b. Cause to do the action. This sense realizes when the prefix is added to the infinitive form of verbs to form new verbs denoting causation. For example, the verb *werĉerxandin* 'cause to turn around or about' is derived from the infinitive form of the verb *ĉerxandin* 'to turn around' and the prefix wer- 'cause to do the action'.

Peripherally, the prefix wer- is added to the root of verbs to form nouns denoting some senses:

- a. Agent. This sense realizes when the prefix- is added to the present stem of verbs to form nouns denoting an agent. The agent changes a thing, be it written or spoken, from one type to another one. For example, the noun *wergĕr* 'translator or interpreter' is derived from *gĕr* which is the root of the verb *gĕran* 'to transform' and the prefix *wer* 'a person who changes a text from one language to another'.
- b. Instrument. This sense realizes when the prefix is added to verbs to from nouns denoting an instrument. For example, the noun *wergir* 'receiver' is derived from *gir* which is the root of the verb *girtin* 'to receive' and the prefix *wer* 'an instrument'.
- c. Place. This sense occurs when the prefix is added to adverbs to form new adverbs denoting a place. For example, the adverb *werpal* 'foot of a mountain' (Hejar 1989:918) is derived from the adverb *pal* 'side of the mountain' and the prefix *wer* 'foot'.

The semantic network of the prefix wer- is summarized in Figure 6:

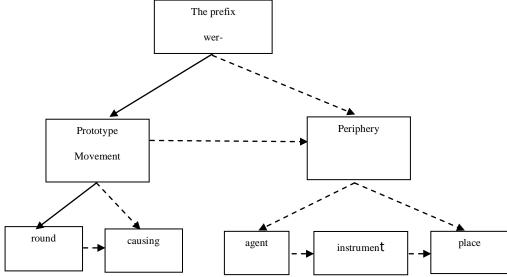


Figure 6. The semantic network of the prefix wer-

7. be-

Unlike the previous prefixes, the prefix *be*- is an adjectival prefix mostly added to nominal roots to derive qualitative adjectives.

Prototypically, the prefix be- is added to nouns to form new adjectives denoting abundance. This sense appears when the prefix is added to abstract nominal roots to form qualitative adjectives. For example, the adjective behez 'strong' is derived from the nominal root hez 'strength' and the prefix be- 'having a great amount of the thing named in the nominal root'. Further examples include betam 'delicious', be?erk 'burdensome', besûd 'useful', beperoŝ 'anxious', and so on.

Peripherally, the prefix *be*- is added to abstract nouns to form adverbs of manner denoting the way of performing an action. For example, the adverb *bexěrayî 'quickly'* is derived from the noun *xěrayî* 'quickness' and the prefix *be*- 'doing an action in the manner mentioned'. Other examples are *becwanî* 'nicely', *bepele* 'hurriedly', *betewawi* 'completely', *bedilnîyayi* 'certainly', and so on.

The semantic network of the prefix *be*- is summarized in Figure 7:

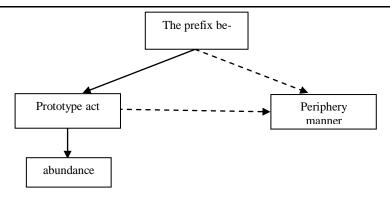


Figure 7. The semantic network of the prefix be-

8. haw-

Similar to the prfix be-, prefix haw- is also an adjectival prefix. It is similar to the prefix co- in English.

Prototypically, the prefix *haw*- is added to abstract nouns to form new nouns denoting possession. The prefix expresses the following meanings:

- a. Having equal status. This sense holds when the prefix is attached to nominal roots to derive adjectives expressing equal status. For example, the adjective *hawŝan* 'counterpart' is derived from *ŝan* 'shoulder' and the prefix *haw-* 'having equal status'. Other examples are *hawseng* 'equal in weight or importance', *hawserok* 'co-president', *hawpayie* 'equal status', and so on.
- b. Having the same trait. This sense occurs when the prefix is attached to nominal roots to derive adjectives having the same trait. For example, the adjective *haw?aheng* 'harmonious' is derived from the noun *?aheng* 'tone or voice' and the prefix *haw-* 'having the same trait'. Other examples are *hawregaz* 'having the same sex or belonging to the same species', *hawcor* 'of the same kind', *hawŝewe* 'having the same shape', and so on.

Peripherally, the prefix *haw*- expresses the following senses:

- a. Sharer. This sense holds when the prefix is attached to abstract nouns to derive new nouns denoting 'sharing the thing named by the nominal root. For example, the noun *hawpiŝk* 'shareholder' is derived from the noun *piŝk* 'share' and the prefix *haw* 'a person who shares the thing named'. Other examples include *hawĉeq* 'sharing the same centre i.e., concentric', *hawbeŝ* 'sharer or participant', and so on.
- b. Togetherness. This sense occurs when the prefix is attached to nominal roots to derive new nouns denoting togetherness. For example, the noun *hawser* 'spouse' is derived from the noun *ser* 'head' and the prefix *haw-* 'togetherness'. Another example is *hawkar* 'co-worker'.
- c. Time. This sense holds when the prefix is attached to time expressions to derive new adjectives denoting 'be in the same period of time signified by the root'. For example, the adjective hawĉerx 'modern or contemporary' is derived from the noun ĉerix 'century' and the prefix haw- 'be in the time named in the root'. Other examples are hawteman 'being in the same age', hawkat 'coincidence', and so on.

The semantic network of the prefix *haw*- is summarized in Figure 8:

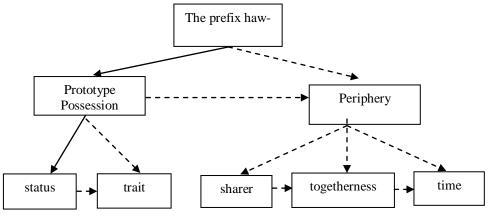


Figure 8. The semantic network of the prefix haw-

3.2. Negative Prefixes

A negative prefix is a bound morpheme that is added to the beginning part of a root to form a new word, changing its meaning to its opposite. Thus, the role of the prefix is to deny the truthfulness of what is mentioned in the root. Negative prefixes are mostly adjectival prefixes. They include *ne*- and *na*-. Below is a description of each negative prefix.

1. ne-

In Kurdish syntax, the same form of *ne* is used as a negative particle. It precedes all the forms of past tense including simple, perfect, and continuous, as in *nexward* 'did not eat', *nexwardwe* 'had not eaten', and *nedexward* 'was not eating'.

In Kurdish morphology, the prefix *ne*- is mostly added to adjectival roots to form negative words. Prototypically, it expresses privation: lacking the quality. This sense realizes when the prefix is attached to adjectival roots to form new adjectives expressing the absence of the quality named in the adjectival root. For example, the adjective *nexoŝ* 'ill' is derived from the adjectival root *xoŝ* 'healthy' and the prefix *ne*- 'not'. Further examples include *neŝareza* 'inexpert', *neŝiyaw* 'inconvenient', *neyar* 'hostile', and so on. In some cases, the prefix is added to deverbal adjectives to derive non-gradable adjectives denoting lack of the quality mentioned. For example, *negeyiw* 'unripe' is derived from the adjective *geyiw* 'ripe' and the prefix *ne*- 'lack of the quality mentioned'. Other examples are *neguncaw* 'incompatible', *nenasraw* 'unkonwn', and so on.

Peripherally, the negative prefix *ne*- is attached to the root of verbs to form non-gradable adjectives denoting the quality of being opposite to the action named by the verbal roots. For example, the adjective *nemir* 'immortal' is derived from *mir* which is the root of the verb *mirdin* 'to die' and the prefix *ne*- 'opposite to'. Other examples are *nezan* 'ignorant', *nenas* 'stranger', *nebez* 'unconquerable', and so on.

The semantic network of the negative prefix *ne*- is summarized in Figure 9:

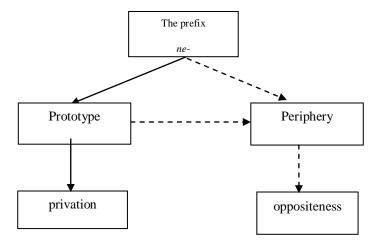


Figure 9. The semantic network of the negative prefix ne-

2. na-

In Kurdish syntax, the same form of *na* is used as a negative particle. It precedes all the forms of present and future tenses including simple and continuous, as in *naxom* 'I do not eat', 'I shall not eat', and *naxomewe* 'I am not eating'.

Prototypically, the prefix na- is added to adjectival roots to form new adjectives denoting opposition. It expresses the following senses:

a. The converse quality. This sense holds when the prefix is attached to gradable adjectives to form new adjectives denoting the converse of the quality expressed by the adjectival root. For example, the adjective *naxoŝ* 'uncomfortable' is derived from the adjectival root 'xoŝ 'comfortable' and the prefix *na*- 'the converse quality'. Further examples include *natewaw* 'incomplete', *nalebar* 'inappropriate', *nabecĕ* 'misfit', *narĕk* 'irregular', *nacĕgîr* 'unstable', and so on.

- b. The opposite trait. This sense emerges when the prefix is attached to adjectival roots describing humans to form new adjectives expressing the opposite of the trait expressed by the adjectival root. For example, the adjective *naĉalak* 'inactive' is derived from the adjectival root *ĉalak* 'active' and the prefix *na* 'the opposite trait'. Further examples include *nasax* 'unhealthy', *narawa* 'unjust', *naŝad* 'unhappy', and so on.
- c. Distinct from what is specified. This sense emerges when the prefix is attached to adjectival roots describing non-humans to form new adjectives expressing distinctness from what is specified by the adjectival root. For example, the adjective *nafermî* 'informal' is derived from the adjectival root *fermî* 'formal' and the prefix *na* 'distinct from what is specified'. Further examples include *naresmi* 'unofficial', *nahkûmî* 'non-governmental', and so on.

Peripherally, the prefix *na*- is added to non-gradable deverbal adjectives to form new adjectives denoting inability. For example, the adjective *nabîna* 'blind' is derived from the deverbal adjectival root *bîna* 'ability to see' and the prefix *na*- 'unable to do the action expressed by the nominal root'. Similarly, the adjective *napesend* 'unacceptable' is derived from the adjective *pesend* 'acceptable' and the prefix *na*- 'having no ability'. In some cases, the prefix *na*- is added to nominal roots denoting non-action to derive adjectives. The prefix conveys inability to have (or to reach) the quality or trait expressed by the nominal root. For examples, the adjective *nahez* 'unfriendly' is derived from the nominal root 'love' and the prefix na- 'inability to do the action'. Other instances include *nakam* 'disappointed', *napiyaw* 'unmanly', *namerd* 'unbrave', and so on.

The semantic network of the negative prefix *na*- is summarized in Figure 10:

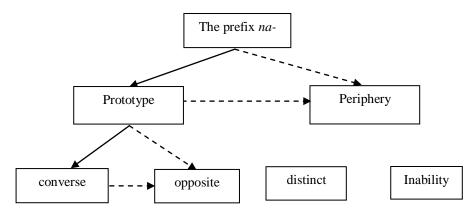


Figure 10. The semantic network of the negative prefix na-

4. CONCLUSION

This paper has dealt with Kurdish prefixes, laying emphasis on their morphological properties and semantic functions. The paper has arrived at the following general and specific findings:

General findings

- 1. Kurdish prefixes are polysemous. This means that any prefix has many distinct but related senses.
- 2. Kurdish prefixes are contentful. This means that every prefix has semantic content of its own.
- 3. Kurdish prefixes are dependent. This entails that every prefix depends on roots to fill the semantic hole in its structure.
- 4. Kurdish prefixes function as profile determinants. They lend their character to the new derivation.
- 5. Kurdish, like other languages, has both positive and negative prefixes. Positive prefixes outnumber the negative ones. Positive prefixes include *hel-*, *da-*, *lĕ-*, *tĕ-*, *pĕ-*, *wer-*, *be-*, and *haw-*, whereas negative prefixes include *ne-* and *na-*.

Specific findings

- 1. Kurdish prefixes are mostly verbalisers. This means that they can be attached to verbal roots to form new verbs. In this regard, the prefixes *hel-*, *da-*, *lĕ-*, *tĕ-*, *pĕ*, *wer-* are frequently added to verbal roots. Accordingly, these prefixes can be described as class preserving.
- 2. Unlike verbalizier positive prefixes, the prefixes *be* and *haw* are adjectival prefixes. They are denominal prefixes. This entails that they are added to nominal roots to derive qualitative adjectives.
- 3. Few positive prefixes are nominalisers or adjectivalisers.
- 4. Negative prefixes *ne* and *na* are typically adjectival prefixes and thus class preserving.
- 5. The prefix *ne* tends to be attached to the verbal roots as in *nebez* 'invincible' or those adjectives that are derived from the verbal roots as in *nexwaziraw* 'unwanted', whereas the prefix *na* is rarely added to verbal roots and it can mostly be added to adjectival roots or roots as in *narěk* 'disorder'.

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