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## SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF ILAMI KURDISH VERBS OF MOTION

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### Abstract

In this paper, we aim to analyze some of the most common Ilami motion verbs taken from Ilami native individuals to represent the semantic features of such verbs. In pursuit of this goal, we analyze Ilami dialect data through Slobin's (2000) theoretical framework which definitely concentrates on Manner in motion verbs. Results reveal that Ilami Kurdish enjoys a wide range of verbs describing different motion events. Interestingly, some of these verbs are solely used to describe human movements, while others describe animals or other entities motions. It can be said that Slobin's (2000) classification of motion verbs is to a great extent applicable to Ilami motion verbs, however there are still novel classes seen in Ilami, as "Continual motions", "Falling motions" and "Rolling motions", not found in the aforementioned classification.

### Keywords

semantics, human motion, animal motion, manner, Ilami Kurdish

## CLASIFICACIÓN SEMÁNTICA DE LOS VERBOS DE MOVIMIENTO EN KURDO ILAMI

### Resumen

En este trabajo nos proponemos analizar algunos de los verbos más comunes de movimiento en Ilami extraídos de individuos nativos para representar los rasgos semánticos de tales verbos. En pos de este objetivo, se analizan los datos dialectales del Ilami a partir del marco teórico de Slobin (2000), el cual se centra en el modo de los verbos de movimiento. Los resultados revelan que el kurdo Ilami tiene una amplia gama de verbos que describen diferentes clases de movimiento. Curiosamente, algunos de estos verbos

son exclusivamente utilizados para describir los movimientos humanos, mientras que otros describen los de los animales u otras entidades. Se puede decir que la clasificación de Slobin (2000) de los verbos de movimiento se puede aplicar en gran medida a los verbos de movimiento del llami, sin embargo todavía se han observado clases nuevas en este dialecto, como "movimientos continuos", "movimientos de caída" y "movimientos rondantes", que no se han encontrado en la clasificación antes mencionada.

### Palabras clave

semántica, movimiento humano, movimiento animal, modo, kurdo llami

## 1. Introduction

Motion verbs make a rather high portion of every language verbal lexicon. This is due to the world and its dynamic nature. Although many languages devote a percentage of their verbs to this kind of verbs, speakers of different languages often have different concept of motions (and motion verbs) in their mind, which is well reflected in their language. A motion event, according to Talmy (2000: 25), is “a situation containing motion and continuation of stationary location alike”. Talmy (1985, 2000) proposed six conceptual elements of motion events: the fact of motion; the moving object (Figure); the reference object (Ground); the trajectory (Path); the way the Figure moves (Manner); and the situation that brought about the event (Cause). A basic motion event is constituted by the first four elements while the final two make potential co-events (Talmy 2000).

Kudrnáčová (2008: 33) offers a sample sentence *John ran to the house* where *John* represents the Figure, *the house* represents the Ground, *to* expresses the Path, and *walk* presents the Motion and Manner. Kudrnáčová (2008: 33) further states, that deixis embodied in verb roots (as in *come* and *go*) is termed ‘Direction’. “The path may also be expressed in particles (called ‘satellites’) such as in *John went off*” (Kudrnáčová 2008: 33).

Motion verbs are also discussed by Frawley (1992). He describes a motion as a displacement of an entity. However, even though his work is based on Talmy’s characterization of motion events, he does not use entirely the same semantic factors as Talmy to describe the displacement. He uses such terms as Theme, Source, Goal, Path, Site, Cause, Manner, and Conveyance (Frawley 1992: 170). The Theme, the displaced entity, corresponds with Talmy’s Figure (1985). The Source represents the origin of the

movement and the Goal represents its destination, the Site denotes the location of the movement, and the Conveyance represents the means by which the motion is carried out.

Dragan (2011) reviews the important classification of motion verbs. He makes a distinction between verbs of inherently directed motion and manner of motion verbs regarding their semantics. The author then challenges these assumptions and proposes that motion verbs in English form a continuum along which they range from those that always express directed motion to those that never do so.

Cifuentes (2007) in her article concentrates on an important sub-domain of motion, i.e., human locomotion, and examines the way Spanish and English lexicalize it in verbs. The first part of the paper focuses on the semantics of human locomotion verbs with special attention to the sort of fine-grained manner information that each language encodes. In the second section, an empirical study on how Spanish and English monolinguals categorize human locomotion verbs (walk, run and jump) is analyzed.

Feist (2010) examines the interplay between the meaning encoded in the motion verb itself and the meaning encoded in the motion description construction then she explores the implications of this argument for research on possible language effects on thought in this domain.

Feiz (2007) presents an inventory of motion verbs located in the English and Persian datasets. The author examines the similarities and differences in the types and number of motion verbs habitually used by native speakers of English and Persian in the description of the events of the same story. There are finally conclusions about English and Persian motion verbal systems in terms of S-framing and V-framing features.

Another work done by Fialová (2011) is divided into two parts, the first part includes the theoretical explanations of verb, motion verb, manner of motion verb, etc.; the second part contains the practical analysis of the corpus data acquired from the BNC and the COCA.

Kurdish as a new western Iranian language has speakers dispersed within broad regions of Iran, from west (Kurdistan, Kermanshah and Ilam) to the east (Khurasan), (Gunter 2004: xxv-xxvi). The central Kurdish dialects embrace *Mukri*, which is spoken in Iran, to the south of Lake Urmiya, and *Sorani*, to the west of Mukri, in the province of

Erbil, in Iraq. The southern Kurdish dialect group includes *Kermanshahi*, *Ardalani*, *Laki* (and also *Ilami*) (Mackenzie 1963: 163; Oranskij 1979: 35-36; Asatrian 2009: 12).

Ilami, a less studied dialect, is one of the Kurdish varieties, which is widely spoken in Ilam, a small mountainous city located in the west of Iran. Ilami shares some features with Kermanshahi and Kalhori, but shows some idiosyncratic characteristics too. For example unlike most Kurdish varieties, this dialect has no ergative system (Kalbassi 2010).

## 2. Theoretical framework

In this article, we are to categorize different types of motion verbs in Ilami Kurdish on the basis of the classification for Manner of Motion proposed by Slobin (2000) (and also Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2006), Özçalışkan (2004)). We try to find out how variously Ilami employs motion verbs and to figure out whether a rational categorization is possible for these verbs. In order to collect our data, we requested Ilami native speakers to provide us with Ilami verbs in general. When gathered, examples were checked<sup>1</sup> to select the most related ones. In others words, we preferably include purely Ilami dialect verbs (and exclude other varieties'). The Collection, idealization and selection process of 'motion' verbs was scheduled in about one month altogether. Finally, out of 240 verbs, 91 entries were listed as motion verbs and in order to analyze the semantic components of the chosen verbs more accurately, we gained advantage of the linguistic intuition of native individuals too. Based on Slobin's (2000), the different Manners of motion are listed as follows:

- 'Mottor- Pattern' (mp): basic locomotive abilities
- Ways of walking (mp- walk)
- Ways of running (mp- run)
- Ways of jumping (mp- jump)
- 'Forced motion': motion requires an effort to be performed; e.g. *drag*, *trudge*
- 'Furtive motion': hidden purpose or secretive motion; e.g. *crawl*, *creep*, *sneak*

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<sup>1</sup> As a native speaker of Ilami, one of the authors uses his linguistic intuition to check and analyze the examples.

- ‘Obstructed motion’: there is some impediment or obstacle; e.g. *stumble, trip*
  - ‘Smooth motion’: motion flows, no obstacle; e.g. *glide, slide*
  - ‘Leisurely motion’: motion for pleasure; e.g. *hike, trek*
  - ‘No aim in motion’: no special purpose; e.g. *roam, saunter*
  - ‘Joyful, playful motion’: e.g. *scamper, frolic*
  - ‘Violent motion’: e.g. *charge, dash*
  - ‘Unsteady motion’: unbalanced motion; e.g. *totter, stagger*
  - ‘Rate’: speed of motion; e.g. *hurry, dash, zoom*
  - ‘State of Figure’: physical or psychological state; e.g. *limp, traipse, stroll, swagger*
  - ‘Length of Steps’: information about the steps the Figure takes; e.g. *Stride* (long steps), *scurry* (small short steps)
  - ‘Shape of Legs’: information about the Figure’s legs; e.g. *goosestep*
- ‘Use of Figure’s Hands’: whether the Figure’s hands are also involved in the motion; e.g. *crawl, climb, vault*.

### 3. Data analysis

In this section, through examining the different aspects of conceptualization, we will give a categorization of Ilami motion verbs. As we will see, Ilami motion verbs may be divided into three main categories (in terms of Figure/Theme). 1) Some motion verbs are often used to describe human motions while 2) others are more specifically used to depict animal movements and 3) there are common motion verbs which can be used to depict both animal and human motions simultaneously. In addition to the mentioned classification, we also categorize motion verbs according to Manner components throughout the section mainly based on Slobin’s (2000) classification.

#### 3.1. Verbs for human motions

We know that human is a dynamic creature dealing with motion events repeatedly. Clearly, language has to describe these movements based on speakers' culture and

mental images. Since, in Ilami Kurdish there are several types (as far as Manner is concerned) of motion verbs, we propose different sub-classes as follows:

### 3.1.1 Rate

Here are verbs of motion, conceptualizing a sense of “rate” in their semantics. Regarding to this component, we classify related examples in “speedy” and “slow” motion verbs accordingly.

#### 3.1.1.1 Speedy motion verbs<sup>2</sup>

Like other languages (as English), Ilami Kurdish uses many words to describe different kinds of ‘going’ in terms of ‘rate’ or ‘speed’. There is an Ilami verb expressing “going” which is pronounced “tjægən”. This word has the neutral (i.e. lacking specific manner of motion) semantic notion of movement which is starting a motion from one point (source) and potentially unlimited time to stop in another (goal).<sup>3</sup> Examples (1) through (8) show different kinds of conceptualization of speed in some motion verbs.

In example (1), “fərte hat” is a verb depicting a motion, where “Figure” goes/runs with a high speed (=Manner). Assume that a woman obliges her daughter to wash the dishes, but she slackers and prefers to leave the home quickly. This way of leaving is expressed by “fərte hat”. The “Cause” of this motion would be traced either explicitly or implicitly, on the other hand the concept of Path (here “forward”) always conflates with the Motion.

(1) fərte hat

(An onomatopie sound expressing speed)- GEN 3<sup>rd</sup> PER PRO come- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past  
*S/he went quickly.*

<sup>2</sup> DEF[inite], GEN[itive], GER[und], IMPER[ative], INDEF[initive], PASS[ive], PER[son], PL[ural], PRO[noun], PRES[ent], S[in]G[ular], SUBJ[unctive].

<sup>3</sup> In other words, some of the spatiotemporal components of this verb depend on a given context.

(2) ta wətəme hādʒætəɫə bəʃur fərt-e hat (ta næʃurəgejan)

Manner-Figure-Path Implied Cause

*As soon as I told her to wash the dishes, she fled (not to wash them).*

(3) ta wətəme hādʒætəɫə bəʃur fərt-e hat ta næʃurəgejan

Manner-Figure-Path Explicit Cause

In the next example, we are dealing with another motion verb “pa æ|xəsən”. This motion verb may be used where Figure passes a Path (perhaps a mental one) to the end quickly. Ground is deictic, because we can add “from there” to the end of sentence.

(4) pa æ|xə, tʃu dijaɾəge.

leg fall- 2<sup>nd</sup> PER, goes (and) takes it.

*s/he fetches it quickly*

A metaphorical expression, describing human motion as a shot bullet is “bijæ tire”/ “dʒurə gwələ dəɾ tʃəg”. Obviously, the common semantic feature of a person running and a shot bullet is (+ extraordinary high speed). Again, Figure (“jæ” appeared as a clitic attached to the verb) starts a motion, which conflates with Manner (in a speedy fashion) and Path (implicitly “forward”).

(5) bijæ tire

become- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER/SG- simple past bullet- Indef

*To run like a shot bullet.*

(6) dʒurə gwələ dəɾ tʃəgən.

like bullet- Indef run- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER/ SG- simple past

*To run like a shot bullet.*

We continue with two other motion verbs “wə tən hətən/ wə tən tʃəgən”. In these examples Manner (= wətən) is attached to Motion and gives us the way the Figure carries

the motion out. It should be said that, Causes of motions are “calling him” and “understanding (a fact)” respectively.

(7) ta zæng dam e wæ tən hat.

as soon as call- 1<sup>st</sup> PER- SG/ simple past 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- PRO with speed come- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past

*As soon as I called (him), he came fast.*

(8) ta fæmæs wæ tən tʃæg.

as soon as understand- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past with speed go-3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past

*As soon as he understood, he went fast.*

### 3.1.1.2 Slow motion verbs

We elaborated some of the examples related to “high speed” motion events thus far. Let us have a look at the examples (9), (10), (11), (12) and (13), all depicting slow motion verbs in Ilami.

“wæ kukæ tʃæmi hat” is the first example used for a special manner of walking: “Figure came like a humpback”. In example (9), Figure commences a motion (=hatən) to which, Manner (=wæ kukæ tʃæmi) is attached. The Ground seems to be deictic and “(to) here” and “(to) there” can always be inferred.

(9) wæ kukæ tʃæmi hat

with hunched (shoulders) come- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past.

*To come with hunched shoulders.*

“wæ ʃælægæ ʃæli” and “wæ qomtæ qomt” are two other manner of motion used when Figure moves lamely, and regarding to the context of use both convey the same meaning, therefore can be used interchangeably.

In example (10), Figure (=I) starts a Motion (=comes and arrives) and as it can be seen, Ground (=mɑl) is also overtly mentioned in the example. Figure, in (11), moves lamely but the Ground is not explicitly mentioned and “here” could be inferred.



(10) wæ ʃælægæ ʃæli/ wæ qomtæ qomt xwæm ræsanəmə mɑl.  
with lame (legs) myself arrive- 1<sup>st</sup> PER- SG/ simple past- SUBJ to home.  
*I could reach home while I was tired and unable to walk.*

(11) wæ qomtæ qomt/ wæ ʃælægæ ʃæli hæm hat.  
with lame (legs) again come- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past.  
*S/he is coming to us limply and lamely, as if she wants something.*

As slow manners of motion, “wæ kærtʃæ kærtʃ” and “wæ qəngæ xəʃi” are joined to the verbs (and made compound verbs) to describe different manners of walking. As it can be seen, a reduplicative compound is often used to express the Manner of motion. Example (12) describes a motion in which Figure moves in a lame and stealthy fashion, and the Ground is not explicitly mentioned but “there” is inferable through the neighboring terms.

Example (13), on the other hand, describes a given motion which is carried out when Figure moves through his/her hips because of lacking enough energy or having painful legs.

(12) wæ kærtʃæ kærtʃ tʃæg.  
with lame (legs) again go- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past.  
*S/he went with lame legs.*

(13) wæ qəngæ xəʃi hawərde.  
with ass dragging bring- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past it.  
*S/he brought it when sitting.*

These idiomatic expressions are often used for elders or patients (always) with a humiliating intent; therefore “state (physical and/or psychological) of Figure” is depicted along with the “rate” component.

### 3.1.2 Continual motion verbs

The examples mentioned so far connotates a horizontal locomotion, but here we deal with verbs which describe a vertical direction. In examples (14) and (15), Figure starts a continual motion. It can be said that in these examples Motion, Manner and Path conflated all together, thus “motion event” (=jumping), “Manner” (=continuousness) and “Path” (= (jumping) up) can be inferred through a single unit. Since the concept of Ilami dance and joyfulness are closely interrelated, examples (14) and (15) can be called “joyful, playful motions” too.

(14) æ|pærægæ<sup>4</sup>

jump- GER

*To jump continually.*

(15) xændʒægæ

jump-GER

*To jump continually.*

As a horizontal motion verb, example (16) illustrates that Figure has started a continual (=Manner) motion but the Ground (i.e. goal) is not mentioned in the example, namely, it seems unclear where the motion ends.

(16) hæ ha hæ|kæ daw.

always be- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple PRES continuous run.

*Used when a person runs or works round the clock (for ex. in a job).*

### 3.1.3 Furtive motion verbs

In this part, we deal with a different sub-class of human motion verbs. When the Figure intends to move furtively, manner is pivotal to be mentioned along side of motion.

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<sup>4</sup> It is worthwhile pointing that “æ|pærægæ” depicting a continual jumping is nowadays used to refer to an Ilami local dance. “xændʒægæ” can be considered as a synonym for “æ|pærægæ”.

A general description of the following examples is that, Figure is involved in a stealthy motion, and is careful to move in a manner not to be seen (or heard as in example (18)) by others. In all cases, Manner component is expressed externally.

(17) wæ ko|æ pəs pəsi hatən  
with (an onomatopia) come- GER  
*To come furtively.*

The above example represents a motion which is carried out in a stealthy manner. We can see that an onomatopoeic sound (as the manner) is used in the construction of the motion verb which helps the motion to be conceptualized as furtive and silent.

(18) wæ dəzijaw (or jəwə|egaw) tʃəgəm.  
with stealth go- 1<sup>st</sup> PER- SG/ simple PRES.  
*I went furtively.*

This example depicts a situation where Figure moves furtively, therefore it seems that examples (17) and (18) can be used in similar environmental contexts.

(19) (wæ) be dəng tʃəgəm.  
with no sound go- 1<sup>st</sup> PER- SG/ simple PRES.  
*I went silently.*

In this example, the most prominent way of furtiveness is conceptualized through “moving silently” and unlike the above examples which were semantically more general, here a specific way of furtiveness (moving silently) has been conceptualized.

### 3.2 Verbs for animal motions

In this section we give examples describing different animal motion verbs. As we will see, some animal (like wild boar, squirrel or donkey) motions are more frequently

lexicalized in Ilami dialect. This is due to Ilam environmental and ecological condition where these animals exist and not surprisingly their behaviors (and motions) are more attentively reflexed in language than other less familiar animals.

### 3.2.1 Violent motion verbs

In this part, we concentrate on verbs of motion which are violent in nature. There are motion verbs in Ilami, specifically used to describe “boar” motions: “puz xe”, “puz ælgære”, “sök xe”.

(20) puz xe

snout hit- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple PRES.

*Used when a hog snouts.*

As a distinctive motion verb “puz xe” is used when a wild boar “attacks on human/ animals by its snout”. Compared with those of other animals, a boar head and neck are remarkably less flexible to turn and consequently there are few specific verbs for boar motions; this helps the related verbs to lexicalize Manner and direction much more economically. In other words, in example (19) motion is directed straight forward and no one thinks of any other path to chase the direction.

(21) puz ælgære

snout up move- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple PRES.

*Used when a hog is ready to attack by its rostrum.*

In example (20) “æ|”, as a prefix attached to “gære”, helps the listener recognizing snout is moved upward. Due to that mentioned inflexibility, there is no more motion verb specialized for a boar to carry out through its head.

(21) sök xe

shoulder hit- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple PRES.

*Used when a hog attacks by its shoulder.*

In example (21), wild boar involves its shoulder to carry out the motion. It should be said that Ilami people believe these behaviors/motions are only observed in wild boars and if seen in other animals, the meaning can be extended to describe that behavior too.

(22) tʃəŋgæ həri kərdən

claw- GER

*To attack with claw.*

The last two examples, (21) and (22), could be categorized as motions in which “Figure’s hands are used”. In the above example, used to conceptualize animals (like squirrel, dog, etc) violent motions, “claw” is engaged. It should be said all of these motions are innate in nature, and they can be considered as the result of anger, fear, ferocity and so forth.

### 3.2.2 Jumping motion verbs

Examples (23), (24) and (25) illustrate that Figure (animal) starts a motion (jumping) for different purposes. In the first, Figure (a hunting animal like an eagle) jumps to hunt and take a raven.

(23) da gəʒejaw.

(suddenly) take- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past.

*Used when a hunting animal (like an eagle) hunts a raven.*

Example (24) can point to a simple jumping, when Figure (a tiger for ex.) jumps, or it can be used when Figure chases a raven through quick jumping(s). More about this example, we should add that for this motion “shape of legs” and “length of steps” are well conceptualized. This type of motion depicts a long steps and wide-open legs.

(24) gæ| taf gært.

jump- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past.

*To jump like a tiger.*

Example (25) is a more general motion verb used when animals like goat, horse, donkey and similar animals jump and stand (on two legs) in a point for seconds. This is an innate motion and sometimes happens to gain an edible material. So in this example “shape of legs” is also conceptualized.

(25) gænd̄z gært

Jump- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past.

*Used when an animal like a goat, jumps off.*

### 3.3 Verbs depicting birds motions

There are Ilami verbs depicting different bird innate motions. Like above animal motions, these examples are also totally innate in nature and thus the causes of motions would be biologically justified. In the first only “flying” and in the second “landing” can be inferred and it does not matter what kind of flying bird the Figure is.

(26) ba| gært

fly- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER-SG/simple past.

*It flew.*

(27) niftæ zæmin

sit- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER-SG/simple past land.

*It landed.*

As far as domestic birds (like hen, rooster or chicken) are concerned, the following motion verb can be used. Indeed, these birds, as Figures, reach their aviary when it gets dark and this type of returning is expressed by “lez gærtən”.

(28) lez gært

aviary reach- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past.

*It reached aviary.*

As intranslational (=self-contained) motion verbs, “ba|æ tæpæ”, “xakæ puzæ” and “nökejaw berdæn” are used when birds spread their wings, dig a shallow hole to find food and sleep, respectively.

(29) ba|æ tæpæ

wing (an onomatopia expressing wings' sounds when moved by birds).

*Used when birds spread their wings.*

(30) xakæ puzi

soil bill

*Used when a chicken scratches the ground and dig a shallow hole for worm.*

Regarding to example (31), it should be pointed that when a bird sleeps, its head (and its bill) usually hangs down and up and this hanging can be counted as a motion.

(31) nökejaw be.

Bill- GEN PRO go- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple PRES

*Used when a bird is sleeping and its bill moves down and up.*

As far as manner is concerned, as compared to human motion verbs, this feature is often lexicalized in animal motion verbs. In other words we seldom saw external manners to add manner information to animal motion verbs because Manner usually conflates with motion verbs, while it commonly occurs in human motive components.

### 3.4 Common motion verbs

Regardless of the Figure (whether it's a human or an animal), there are still common motion verbs that can be used to describe human, animal and even inanimate motions. “kæftæ re” or “tjæg” are amongst these neutral motion verbs.

As we can see “kæftæ re” is a motion verb which can be used to describe an inanimate thing (a car), an animal (a donkey) and a human (a boy) motion regularly:

(32) mǫfinæ dǫrəsaw bi, kæftæ re.

car- DEF repair- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past- PASS, move- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past.

*The car well works after that repair.*

(33) tǫnafæ wazaw bi, xǫræ kæftæ re.

rope- DEF open- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past- PASS, donkey- DEF move- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past.

*The donkey is fleeing, because the rope is torn.*

(34) koræ kæftæ re.

boy- DEF walk- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past.

*The boy started walking.*

Although there is a common verb used for different Figures, in each example manner is differently conceptualized. In the first, Figure can “move” after a repair, in the second Figure “goes” or “flees” aimlessly, because rope is torn and in the third, the boy starts “walking”. Ignoring the similar concepts of motion lexicalized in all examples, which is involving in a motion, on a semantic continuum we can consider the Figure in the first example as the lacking volition one, where Figure of motion is as passive and inactive as possible, on the other pole, we place the motion carried out by human (example (35)) which requires the highest level of volitionality.

#### 3.4.1 Falling motion verbs

“rǫmijan” is another common motion verb used when animals (like donkey, dog and cow) “lie down” or when a person falls down (in wrestling for ex.). It is also used when a construction (for ex. a house) ruins and collapses. Although here we are talking about “falling motion verbs”, we should not forget that in each case, a different manner of motion is conceptualized.



Example (35) represents a motion in which a donkey lies down and the motion is carried out in a vertical direction. Importantly, the verb of motion is used in a passive voice, this shows that the Figure's engagement in the motion is expressed in a passive manner, the Cause of motion could be "tiredness" or similar reasons.

(35) xæræ rəmija.  
donkey- DEF fall- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ PASS- simple past.  
*The donkey fell.*

Example (36) also depicts a motion where Figure, a human, is passively involved in the motion. Unlike the above example, here we can think of a certain Cause (being forced to fall by another person).

(36) axære ej rəmija.  
end- GEN PRO that fall- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ PASS- simple past.  
*Finally, he fell down.*

As hinted at the beginning, inanimate things can also be depicted by the same verb of motion. Example (37) shows that a "wall" can also be engaged in a falling motion. Like the above examples, verb is used in passive form and the Cause would be an external force leading to a sudden falling.

(37) diwaræ rəmija.  
wall- DEF fall- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ PASS- simple past.  
*The wall collapsed.*

### 3.4.2 Rolling motions

There is also another type of motion verb in which an inanimate thing, an animal or a human may be involved. "bijaw gəl" is a state that one of the mentioned Figures falls/rolls from the top (of a hill for ex.) towards the foot (=Ground). Since in this motion,

Figure loses balance, it can also be categorized as “Steady motion”. Needless to say, in this motion verb Figure is unwontedly engaged in the action. Originally, this verb has been used to describe “stone” motion, and then semantically extended to describe animal and human similar motions as well. This claim is on the basis that “son” meaning “stone” is used in “san gəl” which means “rolling of stone”.

In the following example, Figure suddenly starts rolling from the top of hill because of losing his/her balance. Though the Figure is unwontedly involved in the motion, a concept of “struggling to gain control” is implicitly inferable from the sentence.

(38) dæ banə köjæ bimaw gəl

from tip of hill- DEF start- 1<sup>st</sup> PER- SG/ simple past roll

*From the top of the hill I was rolling down.*

Since this sort of motion needs no specific volition, the same concept would be inferred in the next example. In other words we cannot make a clear-cut distinction between examples (38) and (39) in this respect, except that in the first Figure is a human and in the latter is a cow.

(39) mængagæ bijaw gəl

cow- DEF become- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple PRES- PASS roll.

*The cow is rolling down.*

Example (40) depicts a motion in which a stone rolls down. Comparing this example with the last two, Figure is totally passive because of lacking any meaningful volition neither in starting nor in stopping the motion.

(40) kwətjægæ bijaw gəl

Stone- DEF become- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple PRES- PASS roll.

*The stone is rolling down.*

### 3.5 Forced motion verbs

As its name indicates, this sort of motion is carried out forcibly. Clearly, Figure of this kind of motion is reluctant to move. Here are given two Ilami forced motion verbs which are “kəranən” and “(wær) də|æk dəjən”:

(41) wæ bædbæxti kəranəme.

with force drag- 1<sup>st</sup> PER- SG/ simple past.

*Since resisting to come, I dragged him/it.*

(42) ta sərə kōtjæ də|æke də.

to tip of alley- DEF push- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past- OBJ PRO (2<sup>nd</sup> PER- SG)

*He pushed him/it to the end of alley.*

In these examples, which are commonly used for human/ animal/ inanimate motions, the concept of forcing the Figure to move is inferred in both cases, there is a difference in the manner through which the forced motion takes place. In the first example, Figure is forced to move, because of being “dragged” by someone else (who is positioned in front of the Figure), while in the second, Figure is pushed forward and is forced from back. It should be said that the type of Figure (whether it is a human, animal or inanimate) is not clear in the above examples and for detecting the Figure, one needs more awareness regarding the contextual components.

### 3.6 Animal motion verbs extended to human movements

It was discussed that some of human and animal motion verbs are normally distinguishable. Nevertheless most animal motion verbs can be used for human movements too. Look at the following examples:

(43) də ətaqæ rəmijogæ.

In room-DEF lie- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER-SG/PRES progressive.

*He reposes in the room.*

(44) bætʃelæ dæ namə xakæ gawzæ kərdən.  
 children-DEF in soil-DEF roll-3<sup>rd</sup> PER-PL/simple past.  
 The children played in the soil.

(45) wæt nijam, səmægæ wəranəgæsæ zæmin.  
 Say- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER-SG/simple past not come-1<sup>st</sup> PER-SG/simple PRES, hoof- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER-SG/simple PRES.  
*S/he said I do not come with you; we cannot change his/her mind.*

In these examples, “rəmiɟæ”, “gawzæ kərdən”, “səmægæ wəranəgæsæ zæmin” attribute some of animal innate behaviors to human. Not surprisingly, almost all the animal loco/motion verbs have a negative sense when used for a man. It can be concluded that Ilami speakers express their disgust at someone's behavior through using an animal motion verb for a specific addressee. In the above examples “rəmiɟæ” is used to express that someone has laid down like an animal (a dog for ex.), “gawzæ ke” is used when someone is rolling on the soil like a dog, and “səmægæ wəranəgæsæ zæmin” is used when Figure resists against a compulsory movement (like a donkey).

Recall that, “gæʃ tɒf gərtən” was classified as a jumping animal motion verb. When this motion verb is extended to depict human motion, again a negative sense is added to its semantics which is “ferocity”, though to a low degree “bravery” or “agility” could be also conceptualized.

(46) gæʃ tɒf gərt  
 jump- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past.  
*To jump like a tiger.*

“səlijan” and “pəl xwərdən” are definitely used for two of snake motions. The first is used when a snake creeps into a hole silently and rapidly and the latter when an injured snake rolls (on the soil) due to a severe pain.

Example (47) represents that a snake motion verb has been used to describe a human motion. In addition to “creeping like a snake”, the concepts of “lacking courage” and “fearfulness” are also inferable in this case.

(47) *dæ tawe næwirəs səlija wæ kɔnɑ.*

from fear of him not can- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER-SG/ simple past creep- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past into hole  
*S/he feared and hid.*

It is worthwhile mentioning that in the following example, Figure is resembled to a rolling snake. We should know that “suffering an intolerable painful situation not allowing sleep” is well reflected in this case.

(48) *ðijæfæw ta fuwæki pəl xwardægæ.*

last night to morning roll- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER\_ SG/ past progressive.  
*Due to pain, he could not sleep last night.*

Regarding to the bird motion verbs, it is worth to hint to “lez gært” and “nökejaw be”. These two may be extended to refer to human movements. Example (49) represents a motion verb (=lez gært) figuratively used to refer to “an idle person” returned to home after a long absence, and in this sense the Figure (=idle person) is resembled to a “hen” or “rooster” returning (motion) to its aviary.

(49) *axəre lez gært.*

Finally aviary reach- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple past  
*After a long time, (S/he) came back to home.*

The next example is also a metaphorical component used when a sitting person sleeps (and his/her head and nose move downwards (and upwards), then this motion verb could be sarcastically used.

(50) *hæ nökejaw be.*

Always bill go- 3<sup>rd</sup> PER- SG/ simple PRES  
*S/he is sleeping.*

#### 4. Conclusion

In this article, we analyzed Ilami motion verbs in terms of different aspects of their conceptualization. Based on the analyzed data, it was figured out that a main classification could be related to the Figure (or agent) of the verb (whether it is a human or an animal). Based on this criterion, we concluded that some of Ilami Kurdish motion verbs are specifically used to describe human movements, while some others are definitely used for animal motions.

As far as frequency is concerned, based on checked Ilami verbs, it was recognized that out of 240 verbs, 91 entries (meaning 37.91%) were listed as motion verbs, and when agent was considered, human, animal (sum of animal motions) and common motion verbs were calculated 38.46%, 25.27%, and 36.26%, respectively. It is believed that human is more dynamic and creative than animals; consequently a man deals with motions (of any kinds) remarkably more than animal (a snake for ex.). Comparing quadrupeds with birds, we found out that birds are not engaged in those complex/frequent motion verbs. Hence birds motion verbs are not variously observed in Ilami Kurdish.

Although motion verbs are usually specialized for human or animals, it does not mean that all motion verbs fall into these classes, as there are Ilami verbs which can be commonly used for both human and animal movements. In other words, there are neutral (in terms of doer) motion verbs which can be used to describe a human or an animal motion. Should someone use the verb “xər xwegæ dawrə xwejaw” to refer to a man or an animal motion, it sounds acceptable because in both cases “confusion” can be naturally inferred.

As far as Manner is considered, we saw that we could have different sub-classes like “speedy motion”, “slow motion”... and some other classes not seen in Slobin’s categorization but found in Ilami Kurdish, like, “continual motion”, “falling motion” and “rolling motion” which were discussed separately. We should remember that it is common to face with motion verbs classified in different categories simultaneously. As an example, “xəndzəgæ” which was first fell into “Continual motion” class, could also be a member of “Joyful, playful motion” class. Indeed, due to the multifunctional nature of

motion verbs, a linguist has to prioritize the concepts in order to classify the verbs accordingly, and then describes other conceptualized notions peripherally. On the other hand, such classes as “Smooth motion” or “No aim in motion” were not seen in Ilami.

It was also concluded that most animal motion verbs can be used for human too. We should remember that these interchangeably used motion verbs are semantically specialized (often with a negative sense), when they are attributed to a man. The opposite way rarely occurs in Ilami, because it sounds strange to employ human motion verbs to animals. It may be the result of the volitional nature of human motion events which cannot be extended to animal motions which are innate in nature.

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