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Temporal noun squishes in Kurmanji academic writing: From lexicality via NP-level junction to clausal subordination

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Abstract: This is a synchronic investigation of the transitional area between clausal and NP-level patterns of junction, based on a corpus of academic writings published in Kurmanji Kurdish. By 'junction' is meant the linking of distinct syntactic units, ranging from NP-internal to clausal (i.e. by subordinators). A number of junctors in Kurmanji are multi-word units that combine a noun with adpositions, case, ezafe, deixis, indefinite determiners, phoric expressions, quantifiers, *wh*, plural, as well as the semantically neutral complementizer *ku*, enabling junction at a variety of syntactic levels. Academic writing in general can be assumed to purposefully shift between nominal and clausal patterns: achieving impersonal concision vs. providing slots for verb arguments. The study focuses on lexical nouns with a temporal meaning: *dem* 'time, period', *gav* 'moment, time, step', *wext* 'time, period, season' and *çax* 'time, age, period, era', which can flexibly change roles between lexical noun and subordinating junctor.

1   Introduction

This paper[1] takes a synchronic look at the transitional area between clausal and NP-level patterns of junction in a corpus of academic writings published in Kurmanji Kurdish. The term 'junction' refers to the linking of distinct syntactic units, both within the NP and at clause level (e.g. as subordinators). A number of junctors in Kurmanji are multi-word units that combine a noun with adpositions, case, ezafe, deixis, indefinite determiners, phoric expressions, quantifiers, *wh*, plural, as well as the semantically neutral complementizer *ku*, enabling connective employment at a variety of syntactic levels. Academic writing in general can be assumed to purposefully shift between syntactic levels, especially between nominal patterns (used to achieve concision and impersonality), and clausal ones (providing more slots for the distinctive expression of verb arguments). The present study focuses on a group of lexical nouns with a temporal meaning: *dem* 'time, period', *gav* 'moment, time, step', *wext* 'time, period, season' and *çax* 'time, age, period, era'.[2] These 'temporal nouns' ('TNs') can flexibly transcend categorial distinctions, to the effect that their syntactic role changes between that of a lexical noun and that of a subordinating junctor. Example (1) contains a junctor-like (1a) and a nominal (1b) employment of the TN *dem* 'time, period':

(1)   *Di   hevdîtin-an   de   yek wan   xal-ên*[3]   *ku   herî*
CRP interview-OBL.PL CRP one DEI.OBL.PL situation-EZ.PL COMP very
*zêde   berçav bû   ew   bû   ku   **dem-a***
frequently visible be.PST.3SG DEI.RCT be.PST.3SG COMP time-EZ.F
[mamoste-yan   qal-a   astengî   û   problem-ên   xwendekar-ên
teacher-OBL.PL talk-EZ.F challenge and problem-EZ.PL pupil-EZ.PL
*xwe di-kir-in],   ji   **dem-ên**   [xwe yên dibistan-ê]   referans*
RFL ASP-do.PST-PL PRP time-EZ.PL RFL EZ.PL school-OBL.F reference

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[2]Related expressions such as *car* 'time', *dewr* 'turn, period', and *cerg* 'ring' were also observed. Since the data showed no employment as clause subordinators, they were excluded from the investigation.

di-da-n   *û*   *behs di-anî-n-e*   *ser*
ASP-give.PST-PL and talk ASP-bring.PST-PL-DIR PRP

serhati-yên   *xwe.*
experience-EZ.PL RFL

'One of the situations that could very frequently be observed in the interviews was that when teachers talked about the challenges and problems of their pupils, they would refer to their own schooldays and bring the topic to their own experiences.' (KA_025_kur_t_073)[4]

The TN-construction *dema mamosteyan qala astengî û problemên xwendekarên xwe dikirin* (1a) can be translated as a temporal subordinate clause 'when teachers talked about the challenges and problems of their pupils'; the noun-plus-ezafe form *dem-a* 'time-EZ.F' functions as a clause-level junctor. By contrast, in *mamosteyan* [...] *ji demên xwe yên dibistanê referans didan* 'teachers [...] would refer to their own schooldays' (1b), *dem* means 'days, period, time'; someone's *demên dibistanê* are this person's schooldays. In both instances, *dem* is connected with its – noun-modifying – syntactic environment via ezafe, irrespective of the difference in syntactic roles.

As will become apparent, the full range of use does not fit into a dichotomy of subordinator versus lexical noun, as Example (1) might suggest. The present study looks at how TN-based junctors function in context, addressing the following questions: (1) How are multi-word expressions built on one lexical core employed to achieve effects of junction in different syntactic environments? (2) How do temporal nouns fare individually on an assumed scale between nominal lexicality and clause-level junction? (3) How do TNs combine with other elements, such as ezafe, adpositions, and *ku*? The analysis will present two paths of 'categorial gradience' ('categorial squishes' in the sense of Ross 1972): between nominal and clausal modifications to bare temporal nouns, and between temporal nouns as bare nouns versus accompanied by nominal functional categories.

Section 2 outlines the theoretical interest of the study; Section 3 presents the data; Section 4 inventories TN-constructions according to their phrasal characteristics. Section 5 and Section 6 establish two paths of gradience: Section 5 orders bare TN-ezafe-constructions according to modifier types on a

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[3]One reviewer wondered whether there might be a preposition missing: *yek **ji** wan halên ku ...* Example (1) has been double-checked: it corresponds to the original wording. The issue might deserve further scrutiny, however, not with the present thematic focus.

[4]Temporal noun expressions are given in boldface. Square brackets are used to mark formal attributes to TNs. The last figure in the code (e.g. _073) is a page number.

scale between fully nominal and fully clausal (Squish 1). Section 6 studies clausal constructions attributed to functionally specified TNs, i.e. adpositional and determiner phrases (Squish 2). Section 7 intersects the two transitions. While the main goal is a data-driven qualitative categorisation, a quantitative context is provided to appreciate tendencies of preferred usage in the corpus.

2   Theoretical interest

Grammars of Kurdish mention the investigated expressions in some of their uses as subordinators: Bedir-Khan & Lescot (1970: 269–273, 265) mention *dema ko* and *wexta ko* as subordinating conjunctions corresponding to French 'lorsque' and *gava* as 'lorsque' or 'quand'. They mention a principal link between conjunctions and prepositions in Kurmanji, the nominal character of *gav* 'instant', as well as some adverbial usages (*vê gavê* 'maintenant', *wê gavê* 'alors', *gavekê* 'une fois', *gavina* or *gavgavina* 'parfois, de temps en temps'). Kurdo (1991 [1984 [1973]]: 283) mentions *çaxê ku, dema ku, gava ku* and *wextê ku* under the term 'pevgırêkên wext û demê' (temporal conjunctions), in their use with indicative verbs. Thackston (2006: 20–22, 72–73) analyses *çaxê ku, dema (ku), gava (ku)* and *wexta (ku)*, all translated as 'when', as composed of a preposition plus (sometimes optional) *ku*, without, however, listing *çaxa, dema, gava* or *wexta* in his chapter on prepositions.[5]

The present study has been inspired by three theoretical frameworks: academic writing research, polylexical junctor research, and approaches of gradient (or 'fuzzy') grammar. Academic language, which requires concision and impersonality, has cross-linguistically been noted for its tendency towards nominal style (recently Hennig 2015a, 2015b, 2016). On the other hand, clausal constructions offer slots for syntactic argument positions that may not be available in the structure a noun can project. For expressive reasons, academic writing can therefore be expected to move between nominal and clausal constructions, offering material for a study of possible analogies (Szabolcsi 1990, 1994; Ágel 2013; Czicza 2015). The issue calls for a comparative approach to academic language. Thielmann (2009) compares English and German with respect to linguistic actions carried out in academic texts

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[5]Examples (2) and (6) of the present paper might be cases in point, displaying prepositional uses of *dem* and *çax*, respectively.

(reader steering, connectivity, and naming).[6] Heller (2012) compares Italian and German with respect to functions of deictic, derivational and other means of reader orientation. While none of these comparative studies specifically focuses on issues of nominality versus clausality, a central idea is that the inner functional composition of individual connective expressions can best be teased out when looking at their use in a variety of contexts.

Investigations of academic Kurmanji are still rare (Herkenrath 2016b). However, Kurmanji has a typologically specific interest: its productive cross-categorial use of ezafe facilitates the nouny expression of complex ideas. As head-dependent constructions, ezafe constructions can in a sense neutralise the distinction between arguments and modifiers, expressing both by means of a single construction type.[7] Furthermore, both neutral and semantically specific connecting elements can be shown to display a syntactically diverse employment (Herkenrath 2015); specific lexical nouns such as *dem* 'time', *ber* 'front', *qend* 'degree, amount' can form sets of polylexical or multi-word junctors ('families of junctors') that can be employed at different syntactic levels (Herkenrath 2016a).

Looking at Kurmanji Kurdish, the present study draws on analytical ideas cross-linguistically developed with respect to the semantics and micro-level functionality of internally complex connective elements in German (Redder 1990, 2007; Rehbein 1995; Fabricius-Hansen 2007) and Turkish (Borsley & Kornfilt's 2000 'mixed extended categories'; Kornfilt & Whitman 2012a, 2012b on nominalisation; Herkenrath 2014), two contact languages of Kurmanji, as well as in wider typological perspectives (Mithun 1988). Greaves & Warren (2010) present multi-word constructions as a corpus-linguistic topic of research. Libert (2014) cross-linguistically discusses the potential of nouns, including some with a temporal meaning, to be functionalised for clause-combining purposes. Kirchner (2006) analyses phenomena of cross-linguistic 'reconstruction' in temporal subordination, where strategies based on TNs are used on both sides of a Turkic-Iranian divide: in Persian, Ottoman, Azeri, and Turkish. Matras (1997a, 1997b, 2002) discusses the distribution of linguistic elements that constitute various types of complementizers in Kurmanji, however, without considering temporal clause linking. The TNs presently under investigation (*dem, gav, wext* and *çax*) are one specific group of junctor-

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[6]Ehlich (1992), at the basis of some of these comparative studies, highlights the specifically complex attention-organising functioning of deixis in academic ('scientific') texts, also dealing with issues of temporal deixis. While his study is based on German only, his analytical model holds potential for comparative undertakings.
[7]Thanks to Geoffrey Haig for this useful precision.

forming lexical expressions that, working in a transitional zone between NP-level and clause-level junction, achieve effects of temporal connectivity in Kurmanji.

In an explorative theoretical framework of 'fuzzy grammar'[8], Ross (1972: 316) proposes two categorial continua ('squishes') in English, namely one that ranges from verbs to nouns via different types of participles, adjectives, and adjectival nouns, and a second one ranging from *that*-clauses to lexical nouns via prepositionally subordinated clauses, embedded *wh*-constructions, different types of *-ing*-constructions, action nominals, and derived nominals (Ross 2004 [1973]: 351).[9] Corver & van Riemsdijk (2001) suggest to equally look for squishiness at the lexical/functional borderline; they discuss projections of functional categories and related syntactic movement in 'semi-lexical nouns'. What is important about fuzzy grammar research are its synchronic perspective and its focus on just one language.

This framework may be more widely contextualised in terms of 'emergent grammar' – or, for that matter, the extensive discussion of 'grammaticalisation' – , which makes reference to concepts of gradience (Hopper 1987, Hopper & Traugott 1993: 177–178, Himmelmann 1992; Lehmann 2015 [1982], 1988). Most of these approaches are interested in diachronic issues: they describe the direction of a development. Others, such as Sapir (1921) follow synchronic typological interests, paying attention to semantic shades of categorial gradience. The phenomena presently under investigation may be related to Sapir's (1921: 86f., 123f.) typologically-inspired idea of a word's diachronic "passage through a categorial continuum" (Lehmann 2015 [1982]: 5f.), with syntactic and semantic shades between 'concrete' and 'relational' concepts; while an underlying lexical concept may become 'latent', 'latent' does not mean 'lost'.

The present study takes semantically specific lexical units as a starting point, in order to follow their formal and functional variablity within the data. It combines polylexical junctor research with gradient grammar research in order to look at open-class phenomena of junctors. It follows a

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[8] See Bolinger (2004 [1961]) for an early discussion of phenomena of categorial overlap and ambiguity; Aarts et al. (2004) for a historical discussion of the concept; Bresnan's (1997) 'extended heads' in a discussion of constraints on syntactic combinability in 'hybrid constructions'.

[9] The research paradigm of 'fuzzy grammar' can be criticised for not forming "a coherent grammar theory", as one reviewer points out. The issue is, however, programmatic: the analytic goal of 'fuzzy grammar' research precisely consists in identifying areas that resist integration into a coherent model. Sapir (1921: 94) in this connection speaks of a 'destructive analysis of the familiar'. The entire undertaking must be seen as preliminary.

synchronic interest, related specifically to academic writing, qualitatively focusing on just one language: Kurmanji Kurdish. How does the gradient character of TNs enable their categorially flexible employment? How does it enable playing with the boundaries between verbal/clausal and nominal style, as is functional in academic writing?

3   Corpus of the study

The corpus (Herkenrath, In prep.), is a collection of contemporary academic writings published in Kurmanji Kurdish, thematically pertaining to the humanities and social sciences: linguistics, literary criticism, social, historical and cultural studies, and psychology. Spanning at present some 4,000 printed pages, the corpus contains a variety of text types, including for the most part academic writing in a narrower sense, but also some texts in which academic authors address a wider public, as well as a few samples published as transcriptions from oral academic speech; see Table 1.

Since Kurmanji cannot be considered to have been the main language of anybody's academic socialisation, in order to create academic texts, authors combine native competence in Kurmanji with patterns and conventions of academic writing acquired in other languages (Matras' & Reershemius' 1991 on orthographic issues of standardisation). Mirroring this overall situation, the corpus contains different types of individually or collaboratively produced academic Kurmanji, next to text versions published in other languages.[10] Abstracting away from these genre distinctions, the present study deals with an exclusively Kurmanji subcorpus of 1,490 pages, of which 632 pages were manually tagged and concordanced.[11]

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[10] In cataloguing texts, a coding system was applied to enable tracking of parallel versions: monolingually published Kurmanji original texts (kur_m), translations from other languages into Kurmanji (kur_t), and parallel publications (kur_p). In the references, translators [tr.] are listed as second authors in view of their crucial role in the production of the Kurmanji forms. The full bibliographical information is given in the Appendix.

[11] While a common measure of corpus size is number of words, the present corpus is a pilot corpus that still awaits digitisation. This is why its size is presently measured in pages.

Table 1: Data overview

Code	Short reference	Short title	Pages overall	Concordanced
KA_001_kur_m	Akin 2013c	Pêşgotin	5	5
KA_002_kur_t	Akin & Karademir 2013	Alfabeya kurdî bi tîpên latînî	11	11
KA_003_kur_t	Akin 2013d	Rêzimana zimanekî bindest	15	15
KA_004_kur_t	Akin & Dilsoz 2013	Nivîskariya ferhengê ya kurdî	14	14
KA_009_kur_m	Akin 2013b	Lêkolîneke înterdîsîplîner	13	13
KA_013_kur_m	Akin 2013a	Çend pirsgirekên kurdolojiyê	8	8
KA_019_kur_t	Öpengin 2011	Rewşa kurdî ya sosyolenguîstîk	170	62
KA_020_kur_p	Weqfa Navnetewî 2007	Encamên Psîkolojîk	135	75
KA_021_kur_p	Uzun 1992	Destpêka Edebiyata Kurdî	105	50
KA_022_kur_t	Derince & Mehmed 2012	Perwerdehiya Dînamîk	50	50
KA_024_kur_t	Beşikci & Lezgîn 2008	Ziman – Nasname – Netewe	263	23
KA_025_kur_t	Coşkun et al. 2010	Kula ziman	116	116
KA_026_kur_m	Öpengin 2007	Parastin û guherîna zimên	14	14
KA_030_kur_t	Kurdo 1984	Gramera zmanê kurdi	330	50
KA_045_kur_m	Reşîd 2010	Kurdên Yekîtîya Sovyetê	15	15
KA_046_kur_m	Yüksel 2014	Kurdolojî û Malbata Celîlan	161	46
KA_059_kur_t	Omerxalî & Öpengin 2007a	Destpêk	11	11
KA_060_kur_m	Omerxalî 2007a	Cihwarên Êzdîyên Koçberên	5	5
KA_061_kur_t	Omerxalî & Öpengin 2007c	Sîstema ocax	23	23
KA_062_kur_t	Omerxalî & Öpengin 2007b	Sembolîzma teyran	21	21
KA_063_kur_m	Omerxalî 2007b	Şîrovekirina Sembola Êzdiyan	5	5
Σ			1,490	632

4   Phrasal types of TN-constructions

The concordance consists of 858 tokens: constructions involving a TN. Alongside their frequent employment as subordinators, TNs productively participate in processes of lexical morphology and morphosyntax, thereby resembling any other noun. The data reveal:

- word-internal compounds or derivations ([...]TN[...]), e.g. *weşanên demî* 'periodical publications' (KA_002_kur_t_034), *Serdema Navîn* 'the Middle Ages' (KA_020_kur_p_ 027), *demdirêjî û berdewamiya tedbîrên bikaranîna zimanê zikmanî di perwerdeyê de* 'the longlastingness and continuity of measures for the use of the mother tongue in education' (KA_025_kur_t_122);[12]

- non-determined nouns (TN [...]), e.g. *dem û asta nexweşiyên derûnî piştî bûyerên trawmatîk* 'the duration and level of psychic illnesses after traumatic events' (KA_020_kur_p_083), *berî ku gav biavêjin dibistanê* 'before they set foot in a school' (KA_022_kur_t_034), *mamosteyên wan ji ser mijarê gav kirine* 'their teachers skipped (lit.: stepped over) the topic' (KA_025_kur_t_086);[13]

- determined nouns (DEI TN [...]) involving deictic determiners, e.g. *wê wextê* 'at that time, then' (passim), *gelo [...] ev dem çawa tê bibîranîn* 'how [...] this period is remembered' (KA_046_kur_m_038), or TN-INDEF [...], or indefinite determiners, e.g. *weke gaveke duyê jî* 'and secondly/and as a second step' (KA_002_kur_t_019);

- quantified nouns (QUA TN [...]), e.g. *her gav* or *hergav* 'always' (passim), *hin gavên ber bi demokrasiyê ve* 'some steps towards democracy' (KA_020_kur_p_065), *çend wext e* 'it has been some time/for some time' (KA_026_kur_m_052);

- adpositional constructions (ADP [...] TN [...]): *di wê demê de* 'at this period/stage' (passim), *di heman demê de* 'at the same time', *di demên beriya*

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[12] As one reviewer correctly observes, these processes are indeed part of lexical morphology, not of (morpho)syntax. As the data show, TNs productively participate in processes at both levels.

[13] This last example is accompanied by a possessive attribute. In the present analysis, this is not counted as a determiner.

Komarê de 'in pre-Republican times' (KA_022_kur_t_040), *ji her wextî zêde-tir* 'more than ever' (KA_022_kur_t_035);[14]

- *wh*-phrases (WH [...]), such as *çi demê da* 'in which time(s)' (KA_046_kur_m_055), *çi dema ku* 'whenever/each time' (KA_024_kur_t passim).

Table 2 shows the quantitative distribution of these types in the corpus. More than half of the findings (479 tokens or 56%) are bare nouns. *Dem* as the most frequent type (496 tokens or 58%) has the most varied distribution.

Table 2: Overview of constructions according to phrasal type, absolute figures (total: 858)

Phrasal type	Construction type	*dem*	*gav*	*wext*	*çax*	Σ
bare nouns	TN [...]	220	174	68	17	479
adpositional phrases	ADP [...] TN [...]	191	2	33		226
determined nouns	DEI TN [...], TN-INDEF [...]	58	11	6	9	84
quantified nouns	QUA TN [...]	7	37	2		46
word-internal	[...] TN [...]	14	1	1		16
with *wh*-phrases	WH TN [...]	6		1		7
Σ		496	225	111	26	858

5   Squish 1: Temporal subordination as a subcase of TN modification

With an eye on the manipulation of nominal versus clausal style in academic writing, this section considers various types of constructions in which a TN is in ezafe-construction with a modifying expression. To provide a quantitative context for the qualitative discussion, Figure 1 sets out the proportions of nominally versus clausally modified TNs, with a transitional zone in between.

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[14] Adpositional phrases can indeed be determiner phrases on the inside, as an adposition may govern a determined noun. The relationship between the categories can be hierarchical rather than mutually exclusive.
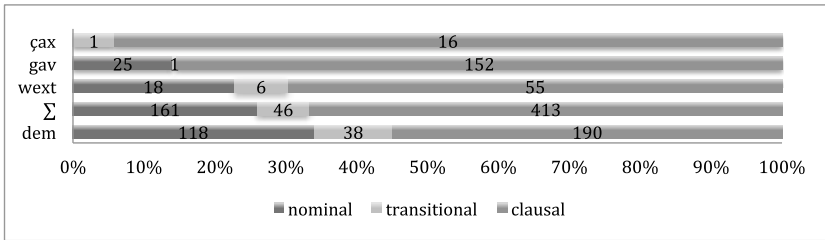
Figure 1: Proportions of nominal, transitional, and clausal TN-modifiers (total: 620)

While the overall tendency points towards predominantly clausal modification of the four TNs (66% or 413 out of 620 modifying tokens being clausal), this tendency is less pronounced in *dem* (54% or 190/346) than in the other expressions: 69% (55/79) for *wext*, 90% (152/178) for *gav*, and 94% (16/17) for *çax*. In what follows, this predominance of clausal constructions will be taken as a reference point from which to observe how patterns transit there from the more nouny areas.

Table 3 below presents the figures for specific constructions, tentatively arranged in terms of a 'categorial squish' (Ross 1972; 2004 [1973]), i.e. along a path of categorial gradience. The squish begins in an area of clearly nominal constructions (25%) built around adjectival, nominal, adpositional and interrogative modifiers of TNs, crossing a transitional area (7%) from action nouns via verbal nouns to participial constructions, and arriving in the internally graded clausal zone (66%).[15] Within the latter, indicative finite clauses without the complementizer *ku* form the endpoint of Squish 1: the *ku*-less usage leaves the full load of the subordinating function to the TN, and the indicative verb form is the farthest possible from any (semi-)nominal status. It is precisely this type of construction that constitutes the most frequent type: 243 or 58% of all clausal findings, 39% of all TN-constructions in the data.[16]

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[15]Internal differentiation within the clausy area is considerable, comprising, next to full person marking and the full use of tenses, an indicative/subjunctive distinction, as well as hierarchically complex elaboration on the whole. TN constructions seem to have gone a long way towards sententialisation, projecting structures that expand into areas of rich sententiality. The situation thereby differs from what Lehmann (1988: 193–200) decribes as 'desentential isation', i.e. the loss of – mainly illocutionary – categories as a sentence gets subordinated. Lehmann's concept might more usefully be applied to compare the situation between the clausy and the transitional area.

[16]Constructions of the type 'TN-EZ *ku*…', involving clausal attributes to temporal nouns, can be considered a 'structural bridge' between the transitional zone and the fully subordinating use

Table 3: Constructions based on modified temporal nouns (total: 620)

Level of connectivity	Construction type	*dem*	*gav*	*wext*	*çax*	Σ
nominal	TN-EZ ADJ/NP/poss/AP/wh	118	25	18	–	161
transitional	TN-EZ AN [...]	14		3		17
transitional	TN-EZ VN [...]	22	1	2	1	26
transitional	TN-EZ PAR [...]	2		1		3
clausal	TN-EZ *ku* SBJ clause	16	7	4	–	27
clausal	TN-EZ *ku* indicative clause	78	9	11	1	99
clausal	TN-EZ SBJ clause	9	18	16	1	44
clausal	TN-EZ indicative clause	87	118	24	14	243
Σ		346	178	79	17	620

Nominally modified TN-constructions comprise expressions such as *demên xwe yên dibistanê* 'their own schooldays' (in example (1)), *dema Brêjnev* 'the Brezhnev era' (KA_046_kur_m_025), *wexta Ehmedê Xanî* 'the time of Ehmedê Xanî' (KA_021_kur_p_013f), *dema buhurî* 'past tense' (KA_020_kur_p_010f) etc. Example (2) illustrates how a TN may blend into an adpositional employment, forming an adverbial construction:

(2) **Dem-a** *[Sovyet-ê]*   *sê*   *navend-ên*   *kurdnasî-yê*
time-EZ.F Soviet Union-OBL.F three centre-EZ.PL Kurdology-OBL.F
li   *Moskva, Lênîngrad* *û*   *Yerêvan-ê*   *lêkolîn-ên*   *dîrok,*
PRP Moscow Leningrade and Erivan-OBL.F research-EZ.PL history
ziman   *û*   *çand-a*   *kurdî*   *di-kir-in.*   *Ji*
language and culture-EZ.F Kurdish ASP-do.PST-PL CRP
talebext-an   *re*   *niha tenê çend kurdnas*   *wî*
student-OBL.PL CRP now only a.few Kurdologist DEI.OBL.M
kar-î   *di-domîn-in.*
work-OBL.M IND-continue.PRS-PL

'In Soviet times, three centres of Kurdology in Moscow, Leningrad and Erivan conducted research on the Kurdish history, language and culture. From among the students now only a few Kurdologists continue this work.' (KA_045_kur_m_007)

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of TNs, somewhat resembling a relative clause, as one reviewer suggests. They will be given more attention in connection with the second categorial squish, in Section 6.

Clausal subordination occurs in four basic types, all based on an *ezafe*-marked form of the temporal noun. Depending on meaning (temporal versus hypothetical, in a rough manner of speaking), the embedded clauses contain an indicative, as in examples (1a) and (3), or a subjunctive verb (4–5). They may or may not be introduced by *ku* (as in examples (3) and (5) versus (1) and (4)); the *ku*-less usage leaves the load of the subordinating function to the TN.[17]

(3) *Li   ali-yê   din,   numûne-yeke   din   ku*
     PRP side-EZ.M other example-INDEF.EZ.F other COMP

     di-şibe   ne-bûn-a   têkili-yê   di
     IND-resemble.PRS.3SG NEG-exist-EZ.F relationship-OBL.F CRP

     navbera   mamoste-xwendekar de,   ku   me   berê
     space.between-EZ.F teacher-pupil   CRP COMP 1PL.OBL before

     behs lê   kir,   di   merhale-yeke   paştir a
     talk PRP.OBL.F do.PST.3SG CRP stage-INDEF.EZ.F later EZ.F

     perwerde-yê   de tê   dîtin   gav-a   [ku
     education-OBL.F CRP IND.come.PRS.3SG see.VN moment-EZ.F COMP

     dayik û   bav bi tirkî   ni-zan-in   û   ku
     mother and father PRP Turkish NEG-know.PRS-PL and COMP

     xwendekar jî   êdî   ni-kar-in   derd-ê   xwe bi
     pupil   also any.longer NEG-can.PRS-PL problem-EZ.M REFL PRP

     kurdî   bêjin].
     Kurdish SBJ.say.PRS-PL

     'On the other hand, another example that resembles the lack of a relationship between teacher and student, which we mentioned above, is observed at a later stage of the education, when the parents do not know Turkish and the pupils can no longer express themselves in Kurdish.' (KA_025_kur_t_051)

(4) *Ziman   ne dijmin, lê destgirê   hev in.   Wext-a*
     language NEG enemy but supporter-EZ.M REC be.PRS.PL time-EZ.F

     [feraset-a perwerdehi-ya pirzimanî   were   qebulkirin],
     idea-EZ.F education-EZ.F multilingual SJB.come.PRS.3SG acccept.VN

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[17] A fifth type, WH TN-EZ *ku* SBJ clause constructs the temporal noun with a *wh*-element (*çi dema ku… SBJ* 'whenever…/each time…'), expressing contingent iteration. Since this employment is limited to five tokens, all from the same text (KA_024_kur_t), it is presently not considered for the qualitative analysis.

li.ber   fikr-a   xelet   a   ku   ziman-an   wekî
against perception-EZ.F incorrect EZ.F COMP language-OBL.PL as
hevrik (reqîb) û   dijmin-ê   hev an jî   asteng-î   li.ber
rival   rival   and enemy-EZ.M REC or also obstacle-INDEF.EZ against
geşbûn-a   ya din   di-bîn-e   radibe   û
development-EZ.F EZ.F other IND-see.PRS-3SG rise.IND.PRS.3SG and
di   şûn-ê   de nêrîn-a ku   di-bêj-e   ziman
CRP place-OBL.F CRP vies-EZ.F COMP IND-say.PRS-3SG language
balpişt-ên   hev in   belav   di-ke.
arkadaş-OBL.PL REC be.PRS.PL distribution IND-do.PRS.3SG

'Languages are not rivals, but supporters of each other. When/if the idea of multilingual education is accepted, it rises against the incorrect perception that sees languages as mutual rivals and enemies or as an obstacle to each other's development, and it spreads in its stead the view that says languages are friends and supporters of each other.' (KA_022_kur_t_039)

(5)   *Pirani-ya   zarok-ên   van   malbat-an,   ji.ber*
majority-EZ.F child-EZ.PL DEI.OBL.PL family-OBL.PL because of
herem-ên   koçberi-yê   an   kurdî-tirkî   yanî
region-EZ.PL migration-OBL.F either Kurdish-Turkish that is
duzimanî an jî   piranî bi   tirkî   di-peyiv-in,   tenê ji
bilingual or also mostly PRP Turkish IND-speak.PRS-PL only PRP
axftin-ên   kurdî   fehm   di-kin   lê bi
conversation-EZ.PL Kurdish understanding IND-do.PRS.PL but PRP
tirkî   bersiv-ê   di-din.   Ji bilî   wê   weke
Turkish answer-OBL.F IND-give.PRS.PL PRP other DEI.OBL.F as
ku   di kom-a   din   jî   de hebû,   di vê
COMP CRP group-EZ.F other also CRP exist.PST.3SG CRP DEI.OBL.F
*kom-ê   de jî   **dem-a**   [ku   di   mal-ê   de*
group-OBL.F CRP also time-EZ.F COMP CRP house-OBL.F CRP
xizm-ê   wek dapîr   û   bapîr-ên   ku   bi
relative-EZ.M like grandmother and grandfather-EZ.PL COMP PRP
kurdî   di-peyiv-in   hebin],   ev   rewş
Kurdish IND-speak.PRS-PL exist.SBJ.PRS.PL DEI.RCT situation
di-be   sedem-a   ku   zarok ziman-ê   xwe
IND-become.PRS.3SG reason-EZ.F COMP child language-EZ.M REFL

yî   dayik-ê   jibîr   ne-kin   û
EZ.M mother-OBL.F from.memory neg-DO.PRS.PL and

di-kev-e   war-ê   teşwîq-ê.
IND-fall.PRS-3SG home-EZ.M encouragement-OBL.F

'The majority of the children from these families, because of the regions of migration, speak either Kurdish-Turkish, i.e. bilingually, or mostly in Turkish; they only understand the Kurdish conversations, but answer in Turkish. Apart from this, as was also the case in the other group, in this group, too, when there is a relative in the house, such as grandmothers or grandfathers who speak Kurdish, this situation becomes the reason why the children do not forget their mother tongue and it becomes a stronghold of encouragement.' (KA_022_kur_t_020f)

The transitional zone is made up of constructions based on verbal nouns, action nouns and, marginally, participles. Verbal nouns occur in the data in expressions such as *dema xwendina xwe ya îlahiyatê* 'during his theological studies/when he was studying theology' (KA_004_kur_t_066), *dema nefîkirina malbatên kurd* 'during the exilation of Kurdish families/at the time when Kurdish families were exiled' (KA_045_kur_m_003), *dema hatina we-latê mêvandar* 'the time of arrival in the host country' (KA_020_kur_p_018f) etc. Examples (6) and (7), containing verbal nouns, illustrate two internal contrasts: (6) is a junctor-like, (7) a lexical use; the TN-construction in (7) is internally more complex:

(6) **Çax-ê**   [*axaftın-ê*]   *hewa lı.nav   devê*
time-EZ.M speak.VN-OBL.F air   between mouth-EZ.M

meriv-an-ra,   lı.nav   lêv û bêvılê   re (k'eop-ra)
person-OBL.PL-CRP between lip and nose-OBL.F CRP #-CRP

dıçe.   Bı vi cûre-yi   organ-ên   (andam-ên)
IND.go.PRS.3SG PRP DEI way-SPC.OBL organ-EZ.PL organ-EZ.PL

axaftın-ê   dı-gıhijn-e   hev, ya.ji jı hev dûr
speak.VN-OBL.F IND-join.PRS.PL-DIR REC or   PRP REC far

dı-k'ev-ın.
IND-fall.PRS-PL

'When speaking, the air passes through the mouth of people, through the lips and the nose. In this way, the speech organs join each other, or they move away from each other.' (KA_030_kur_t_013)

(7) *Têgîn-a   çandîbûn-ê   weke bi hev re   herikîn-a*
     concept-EZ.F acculturation-OBL.F as   CRP REC CRP flow.VN-EZ.F
     rîtuwal û   kirin-ên   gelerî,   tercîh-ên   xwarin û
     ritual and act-OBL.PL traditional preference-EZ.PL eat.VN and
     aktîvite-yan,   kompozîsyon-a   etnîk ya navkesî   ya
     activity-OBL.PL composition-EZ.F ethnic EZ.F interpersonal EZ.F
     kes-ekî,   nirx, nasname-ya tê   hîskirin,
     person-INDEF.OBL.M value identity-EZ.F come.PRS.3SG feel.VN
     guherbar-ên   rewş-a   koçberi-yê   (weke mînak,
     variable-EZ.PL situation-EZ.F migration-OBL.F as   example
     cih-ê   ji.dayikbûn-ê, rewş-a   nifş   di   nava
     place-EZ.M birth-OBL.F   situation-EZ.F generation CRP middle-EZ.F
     *civak-a   mêvandar de, dirêji-ya   **dem-a** [mayîn-a*
     society-EZ.F host   CRP length-EZ.F time-EZ.F stay.VN-EZ.F
     welat-ê   mêvandar]), û pêwîsti-yan (huner û   zext)
     country-EZ.M host   and need-OBL.PL art   and stress
     pêk.hati-ye.
     be.composed.PAR-BE.PRS.3SG

     'The concept of acculturation has been composed as a confluence of
     rituals and traditional acts, preferences of food and activities, the in-
     terpersonal ethnic composition of a person, values, the felt identity,
     variables of the situation of migration (e.g. place of birth, the genera-
     tional situation within the host society, the length of the time of stay
     in the host country), and needs (art and stress).' (KA_020_kur_p_078)

'Action nouns' refer to actions or experiences without being formally de-
rived from verbs, e.g. *êrîş* 'attack', *qir* 'slaughter', *zext* 'stress', *serjimar* 'census',
or *perwerdehî* 'education'. Examples (8) and (9), containing action nouns, con-
trast lexical nouniness (*dema weşana van bernameyan* 'the broadcasting time
of these programmes') with nominalised illocution (*mese-leya wextê destpêka
perwerdeyê* 'the issue of the time of beginning of the education/the issue of
when education should begin').

(8) *19'ê   tîrmeh-a 2003'yan,   weşan-ên   radyo û*
     19-EZ.M July-EZ.F 2003-OBL.PL programme-EZ.PL radio and
     televîzyon-an   ên bi ziman   û lehce-yên   cuda
     television-OBL.PL EZ.PL PRP language and dialect-EZ.PL different
     *ket-e   bin sîwan-eke   yasayî. **Dem-a***
     fall.PST.3SG-DIR under umbrella-INDEF.EZ.F legal   time-EZ.F

[weşan-a]   van   bername-yan   pir   kurt
broadcasting-EZ.F DEI.OBL.PL programme-OBL.PL very short
bû   [...]
be.PST.3SG

'On July 19, 2003, radio and television broadcasting in different lan-
guages and dialects came under a legal umbrella. The broadcasting
time of these programmes was very short [...].' (KA_025_kur_t_037)

(9) *Li   ali-yê   din,   li.ser mesele-ya **wext-ê**   [destpêk-a*
    PRP side-EZ.M other PRP issue-EZ.F time-EZ.M beginning-EZ.F
    perwerde-yê],   ango heke   li   dibistan-an   perwerde-ya
    education-OBL.F that.is whether PRP school-OBL.PL education-EZ.F
    kurdî   hebe   divê ji   çi   sal-ekê
    Kurdish exist.SBJ.PRS.3SG must PRP which year-INDEF.OBL.F
    dest.pê.bike,   hin   kesan   got   ku   çawa zarok
    begin.SBJ.PRS.3SG some people-OBL.PL say.PST.3SG COMP how child
    dest bi   dibistanê   di-kin   divê bi   perwerde-ya   bi
    hand PRP school-OBL.F IND-do.PRS.PL must PRP education-EZ.F PRP
    ziman-ê   dayik-ê   dest.pê.bike,   hinek-an   jî
    language-EZ.M mother-OBL.F begin.SBJ.PRS.3SG some-OBL.PL also
    diyar   kir   ku   divê zarok hem hînî   kurdî
    statement do.PST.3SG COMP must child both learning-EZ Kurdish
    bi-bin   û   hem jî   hînî   tirkî   bi-bin   ango
    SBJ-be.PRS.PL and also also learning-EZ Turkish SBJ-be.PRS.PL that.is
    divê perwerde bi   du ziman-an   dest.pê.bike.
    must education PRP two language-OBL.PL begin.SBJ.PRS.3SG

    'On the other hand, with respect to the issue of the time of beginning
    of the education, i.e. concerning those schools that do have Kurdish
    education, in which year it should begin, some people have said that
    as children start school, it should begin with education in the mother
    tongue, and others have stated that the children should learn both
    Kurdish and Turkish, i.e. that the education should begin in both lan-
    guages.' (KA_025_kur_t_088)

6   Squish 2: Functional categories of the TN

This section takes a different perspective from the previous one in looking at the occurrence of functional categories within the syntactic domain of TNs: initial ezafe, adpositions, deictic or indefinite determiners, phoric expressions, quantifiers, *wh*, and/or plural marking.[18] These categories, by their nature, can be analysed as indicators of nouniness. Their occurrence can naturally be expected in nominal TN-constructions; what is more interesting about them is how they occur in constructions in which a TN functions as a clause-level junctor. In such syntactic environments, the occurrence of nominal functional categories will be interpreted as a small step back from full junctor status.[19]

As Table 4 shows, only unmodified TNs and nominal TN-constructions are accompanied by the full range of functional categories. However, clausal and transitional TN-constructions can be accompanied by adpositions (52 findings), indefinite determiners (21), as well as, more marginally, *wh* (5), plural (3) and deictic determiners (1).

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[18]Possessive attributes/modifiers, as ezafe-constructions, are not counted. They were included in Section 5.
[19]Alberti et al. (2017: 170) speak of "nominal structure build[ing] upon the verbal layers".

Table 4: Nominal functional categories in TN-constructions

Connectivity	Construction type	Initial ezafe	ADP	Deictic det.	Phoric expr.	Quantifier	Wh	Indef. det.	Plural	Σ
unmodifed TN		8	95	75	52	51	2	10	1	238
nominal	TN-EZ ADJ/NP/POSS/AP/WH	2	80	10	–	2	1	54	33	161
transitional	TN-EZ AN [...]	–	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	17
transitional	TN-EZ VN [...]	–	17	–	–	–	–	1	1	26
transitional	TN-EZ PAR [...]	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	3
clausal	TN-EZ *ku* SBJ clause	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	1	27
clausal	TN-EZ *ku* indicative clause	–	23	1	–	–	–	20	–	99
clausal	TN-EZ SBJ clause	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	44
clausal	TN-EZ indicative clause	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	243
Σ		10	227	86	52	53	8	85	37	858

Examples (10–13) illustrate some of these uses. (10) is an adpositional construction based on *dem* and connecting a *ku*-indicative clause; (11), likewise adpositional, works without *ku*. (12) features *dem* with a deictic determiner, connecting a *ku*-subjunctive clause. (13) combines adpositional marking with indefiniteness in forming the expression *di demeke/ê de ku* 'CRP time-INDEF-EZ/OBL CRP COMP', 'while, whereas, at a time when'.[20]

(10) *Dîsa   jî   **di dem-a**   [ku   herêm-a   Kurdan   ji*
      again   also CRP time-EZ.F COMP region-EZ.F Kurd-OBL.PL CRP

      ali-yê   du   hukûmet-ên   herêmî   ve
      side-EZ.M   two government-EZ.PL regional CRP

      *di-hat-e   rêvebirin], di sal-a   2001'ê   **de***
      ASP.come.PST.3SG-DIR   govern.VN   CRP year-EZ.F 2001.OBL.F CRP

      di.nav.de   qanûn-ên   der.barê   'jiholêkirin-a   şerm-ê'
      among.these law-EZ.PL concerning   remove.VN-EZ.F   shame-OBL.F

      de   hin   reform-ên   qanûn-a   ceza   hatin   kirin.
      CRP some reform-EZ.PL law-EZ.F punishment come.PST.PL   do.VN

      'Still, in the period when the region of the Kurds was governed by two regional governments, in 2001, some reforms of the penal code, including of the laws concerning the 'removal of shame', were made.' (KA_020_kur_p_050)

(11) *Netîce-yên   lêkolîn-eke   li.ser encam-ên   derûnî   û*
      result-EZ.PL   study-INDEF.EZ.F PRP   consequence-EZ.PL psychic and

      civakî yên   koçberi-ya   bi.darê.zorê li.hundir, ku   di
      societal EZ.PL migration-EZ.F   forced   internal   COMP CRP

      sal-a   2002'an   da di nav-a   jin-ên   penaber
      year-EZ.F 2002-OBL.PL   CRP CRP middle-EZ.F woman-EZ.PL   refugee

      ên   kurd   ên   li Stenbol-ê   de   hat-in
      EZ.PL Kurdish EZ.PL PRP Istanbul-OBL.F CRP come.PST-PL

      meşandin   nîşan di-de   ku: [...] ji.sedî 90'ê
      conduct.VN   sign IND-give.PRS.3SG COMP [...] percent 90-OBL.F

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[20]While any 'loss of lexicality' (e.g. Lehmann 2015 [1982]: ix) has not so far been an issue in the present study (as the temporal meaning is retained throughout), the comparison between Examples (10), involving *ku*, and (11), without *ku*, nicely illustrates how at the very point of transition between *dem* as a (clausally) modified noun and *dem* in full junctor status ((11) might, of course, still be read as a *ku*-less relative clause), not only the ability to be accompanied by adpositions is retained, but so is the temporal meaning. The phenomena at hand in the present study cannot therefore be regarded as pertaining to issues of 'grammaticalisation'.

wan   ji dem-a   [koçberî   Stenbol-ê
DEI.OBL.PL PRP time-EZ.F migration Istanbul-OBL.F
bûne]   û   vir.ve ji pirsgirêk-ên   derûnî û
be.PST.PAR-COP.PL and CRP   PRP problem-EZ.PL psychic and
serê-a   timûdaîm gazinc-an   di-kin.
headache-EZ.F constant complaint-OBL.PL IND-do.PRS.PL

'The results of a study on the psychic and societal consequences of
forced internal migration, which was conducted in 2002 among Kur-
dish refugee women in Istanbul, shows that [...] 90 percent of them,
since (the time) they migrated to Istanbul, have complained of psy-
chic problems and constant headache.' (KA_020_kur_p_041f)

(12) *Li.gorî   Salmi, du cure-yên şiddet-a   neyekser hene.*
according.to Salmi two kind-EZ.PL violence-EZ.F indirect exist.PL
Yek jê   şiddet-a   ji.ber îhmal-ê   (violence by omission),
one thereof violence-EZ.F PRP   omisssion-OBL.F
ev dem-a [ku   mirov di rewş-eke   xeternak   de
DEI time-EZ.F COMP person CRP situation-INDEF.EZ.F dangerous CRP
bin   yan.jî derfet   hebin   ku   bandor-ên
be.SBJ.PRS.PL or   possibility exist.SBJ.PRS.PL COMP influence-EZ.PL
bixisar   ên   li.ser mirov-an   li   rû-yê   teknîkî
damaging EZ.PL PRP   person-OBL.PL PRP face-EZ.F technical
bêne   berbendkirin an.jî bêne
SBJ.come.PRS.PL-DIR impede.VN or   SBJ.come.PRS.PL-DIR
kontrolkirin, lê ev   îmkan   neyên   bikaranîn],
control.VN but DEI.RCT possibility NEG.come.PRS.PL use.VN
ev   şiddet-a   ji.ber îhmal-ê   ye.
DEI.RCT violence-EZ.F PRP   omisssion-OBL.F be.PRS.3SG

'According to Salmi, there are two kinds of indirect violence. One
of these, violence by omission, [at] this moment when people are in
a dangerous situation or there are possibilities that damaging influ-
ences on people can be technically impeded or controlled, but these
possibilities are not made use of, this is violence by omission.'
(KA_025_kur_t_082)

(13)   *Bi*   *vî*   *reng-î*   *ron* *di-be*   *ku*
         PRP DEI.OBL.M colour-OBL.M clear IND-become.PRS.3SG COMP
         sebeb-ên   *bingehî yên betilîn* *û* *zelîn-a* *zimanî*   *eynî*
         reason-EZ.PL basic   EZ.PL attrition and shift-EZ.F linguistic same
         ne.   *Lê.belê, her weku Yağmur (1997:14)*   *îşaret-ê*   *pê*
         be.PRS.PL but   all as   Yağmur (1997:14) sign-OBL.F PRP.OBL.F
         di-ke,   *ev*   *diyarde*   *bi wê*   *jî*
         IND-do.PRS.3SG DEI.RCT phenomenon PRP DEI.OBL.F also
         jêk.cuda.dibin   *ku*   *betilîn-a*
         be.distinguished.from.each.other.IND.PRS.PL COMP attrition-EZ.F
         zimanî   *diyarde-yeke*   *nava-nifşî*   *ye,*   **di**
         linguistic phenomenon-INDEF.EZ.F intragenerational be.PRS.3SG CRP
         dem-eke   **de** [*ku* *zelîn-a*   *zimanî*   *pêvajo-yeke*
         time-INDEF.EZ.F CRP COMP shift-EZ.F linguistic process.INDEF.EZ.F
         di *navber-a*   *nifşan*   *de ye].*
         CRP middle.EZ.F generation-OBL.PL CRP be.PRS.3SG

         'In this way, it becomes clear that the basic reasons of language at-
         trition and language shift are the same. However, precisely as Yağ-
         mur (1997:14) shows, these phenomena are distinguished from each
         other by the fact that language attrition is an intragenerational phe-
         nomenon, whereas language shift is an intergenerational process.'
         (KA_019_kur_t_045)

     One may assign several of these constructions the status of relative clauses,
as one reviewer indeed suggests. However, they do at the same time form
part of a categorial continuum that takes TNs from a lexical-nominal to a
fully subordinating use. In such a view, *dema (ku)* 'when', *di dema ku* 'at the
time when', *ji dema... û vir ve* 'since the time when', *ev dema ku* 'at this time
when' and *di demeke de ku* 'at a time when; whereas' can also be analysed as
forming a family of morphosyntactically complex and semantically specific
(in terms of individuation or deictic discourse anchoring of the temporal sit-
uation) subordinators, all based on the TN *dem*. In other words: the function-
alisation of *dem* as a temporal subordinator has not yet come to an endpoint
of fixed 'grammaticalisation', but can currently be observed at a highly pro-
ductive stage.[21]

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[21]The idea can cross-linguistically be linked to Herkenrath & Karakoç (2017), who, in a typolog-
    ically different situation, pay attention to the appearance of nominal attributes, determiners,
    and quantifiers in constructions that otherwise display a range of clausal characteristics; see

7   Intersecting Squish 1 and 2

Squish 1 and 2 intersect where the transitional categories of Squish 1 (action nouns, verbal nouns and, rarely, participles) are constructed with temporal nouns that are accompanied by nominal functional categories. These constructions display traces of nouniness at two levels: in expressing their predicates by means of semi-nominal means (verbal nouns, action nouns, participles) and in featuring some of the said functional categories.

Table 5 positions all analysed examples in their quantitative context with respect to the intersection of Squish 1 and 2. In unmodified TNs, zero, one or two functional categories are equally frequent. At the nominal end of Squish 1 as well as in the more nouny action-noun-constructions within the transitional zone, there is a slight preference for bare TNs without functional categories. However, in the transitional zone of semi-clause-like TN-constructions (based on verbal nouns, and participles), two thirds of the TNs do contain a functional category. Moving into the clausal area, among TN-constructions that contain a finite verb, one finds a clear preference against nominal functional categories. While this tendency is not absolute, the occurrence of functional categories in transitional and clausal constructions seems to be restricted to a single one, and in the clausal area, it is rare overall. The occurrence of twenty clausally modified TNs containing two functional categories, a statistical outlier of sorts, can be exclusively attributed to the fixed expression *di demeke de ku* 'at a time when; whereas', a specialty of two texts and possibly one author/translator. Taken together, this picture can be interpreted as a progressive loss of nouniness as the usage of TNs moves towards clause subordinatorship at the two levels, however, with nouny rebound effects even at advanced stages of clausiness.

also Alberti et al. (2017) on Hungarian.

Table 5: Intersection of Squish 1 and 2 with reference to cited examples

Squish 1	Construction type	Squish 2: Number of functional categories				Σ
		0	1	2	3	
unmodified TN		87 (36%) Ex. 2	61 (25%)	90 (37%)	–	238 (100%)
nominal	TN-EZ ADJ/NP/POSS/AP/WH	77 (47%)	38 (23%) Ex. 1b, 14b	39 (24%)	7 (4%)	161 (100%)
transitional	TN-EZ AN [...]	10 (58%) Ex. 8	7 (41%) Ex. 9, 15	–	–	17 (100%)
transitional	TN-EZ VN [...]	9 (34%) Ex. 6, 7	17 (65%) Ex. 14a	–	–	26 (100%)
transitional	TN-EZ PAR [...]	1 (33%)	2 (66%)	–	–	3 (100%)
clausal	TN-EZ *ku* SBJ clause	26 (96%) Ex. 5	1 (3%) Ex. 12	–	–	27 (100%)
clausal	TN-EZ *ku* indicative clause	75 (75%) Ex. 3	4 (4%) Ex. 10	20 (20%)	–	99 (100%)
clausal	TN-EZ SBJ clause	44 (100%) Ex. 4	–	–	–	44 (100%)
clausal	TN-EZ indicative clause	241 (99%) Ex. 1a	2 (1%) Ex. 11	–	–	243 (100%)
Σ		570 (66%)	132 (15%)	149 (17%)	7 (1%)	858 (100%)

Examples (14) and (15) below are adpositionally governed verbal-noun and action-noun constructions, respectively. (14) coordinates two categorially distinct TN-modifiers: the verbal noun *avabûn* 'founding' (14a) and the lexical noun *kurtejiyan* 'short life' (14b). (15), based on an action noun without any verbal lexical base (*koçberî* 'migration'), has slots for a subject (*jinên kurd ên karker* 'Kurdish working women') as well as for local (*ji Tirkiyeyê* 'from Turkey') and temporal (*di salên 1970'yî de* 'in the nineteen-seventies') information, creating the effect of syntactically complex nominal style that can be seen as a hallmark of contemporary academic writing.

(14) *Komar bi hêvi-yên mezin hat-e   vekirin, 1946, lê*
     republic PRP hope-EZ.PL big   come.PST.3SG-DIR open.VN 1946 but
     *[...] Lê **di dem-a** [avabûn û kurte.jiyan-a Komar-ê]*
        but CRP time-EZ.F found.VN and short.life-EZ.F republic.OBL.F
     ***de**, xebat-eke   bêhempa ya çandî çêbû.*
     CRP work-INDEF.EZ.F unique   EZ.F cultural take place.PST.3SG

     'The Republic was opened with big hopes, in 1946, but [...] But at the time of/during the founding and the short life of the Republic, a unique cultural work took place.' (KA_021_kur_p_058)

(15) ***Di dem-a** [koçberi-ya jin-ên   kurd ên karker*
     CRP time-EZ.F migration-EZ.F woman-EZ.PL Kurdish EZ.PL worker
     *ji Tirkiye-yê   di sal-ên   1970'yî] **de**, piranî*
     PRP Turkey-OBL.F CRP year-EZ.PL 1970-ADJ CRP majority
     jin-ên   ciwan ên bi ten-a   ser-ê   xwe ji.bo
     woman-EZ.PL young EZ.PL CRP alone-EZ.F head-EZ.M REFL for
     peydakirin-a derfet-ên   abor-a   xwe bi-kin
     find.VN-EZ.F possibility-EZ.PL livelihood-EZ.F REFL SBJ-do.PRS.PL
     û ji.bo li xizm-ên   xwe yên li welêt
     and for PRP relative-EZ.PL REFL EZ.PL PRP home.country-OBL
     bi nêr-in   koçber bûn.
     SBJ-take.care.PRS-PL migrant become.PST.PL

     'At the time of migration of Kurdish working women from Turkey in the nineteen-seventies, the majority of young women, who on their own, in order to find possibilities of livelihood and to take care of their relatives back in the home country, became migrants.' (KA_020_kur_p_067)

8   Conclusion

Depending on their syntactic environment, TNs function as nouns, junctors, and adpositions; this allows them to flexibly cross categorial boundaries in shifting between nominal and clausal style, as required in academic writing; their use as subordinators is a special, albeit frequent case. The overall picture reveals a quantitative core within the clausal area, made up of *ku*-less indicative clauses in ezafe-construction with bare *dem* or *gav*. At the other extreme, TNs in unambiguously nouny environments occur on a distinctly lesser scale. The main point of interest of this study have been the quantitative and qualitative squishes and transitions, in an attempt to trace two paths of categorial gradience. Following the first, finite subordinate clauses appear at one end of a scale of TN modifiers, after nouns, action nouns, verbal nouns and participles. Following the second, clause-embedding TNs may express up to two functional categories associated with the NP area. Further, at the intersection of these two continua, constructions can be observed to subtly transit into and out of nouniness at both levels simultaneously.

The four TNs taken together form what can be conceived of as a 'repertoire of items', with the most frequent TN *dem* exhibiting both the most varied use and the lowest proportion of clause-subordinating findings (38% as opposed to 67% in *gav*). While this study has been synchronic[22] in outline and certainly cannot provide a dialectological perspective, differences between authors are discernable, such that, based on a picture of preferences for individual clause-subordinating items, one may arrive at a broad distinction between *dem*-users and *gav*-users, next to some minor other preferential types (see Table 6). These relations are far from conclusive and would require deeper investigation.

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[22]With the exception of Kurdo (1991 [1984 [1973]]) and Uzun (1992), all texts are twenty-first-century publications.

Table 6: Frequency of the four TN items by authors[23]

Author(s)/ translator(s)	*dem*	*gav*	*wext*	*çax*	preferred clausal TN
Akin	4/18 (22%)	–	0/1 (0%)	–	*dem*: 4/4 (100%)
Beşikçi & Roşan	14/29 (48%)	–	–	–	*dem*: 14/14 (100%)
Weqfa Navnetewî	28/97 (28%)	1/6 (16%)	–	–	*dem*: 28/29 (96%)
Omerxalî & Öpengin	22/33 (66%)	0/1 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	1/1 (100%)	*dem*: 22/23 (95%)
Akin & Dilsoz	3/19 (15%)	1/1 (100%)	–	–	*dem*: 3/4 (75%)
Öpengin	27/33 (81%)	12/18 (66%)	0/2 (0%)	–	*dem*: 27/39 (69%)
Uzun	0/21 (0%)	17/29 (58%)	0/9 (0%)	4/4 (100%)	*gav*: 17/21 (80%)
Reşîd	3/26 (11%)	10/12 (83%)	–	–	*gav*: 10/13 (76%)
Akin & Karademir	1/13 (7%)	3/4 (75%)	–	–	*gav*: 3/4 (75%)
Coşkun et al.	67/92 (72%)	70/97 (72%)	3/13 (23%)	–	*gav*: 70/140 (50%)
Yüksel & Celîl	13/63 (20%)	17/20 (85%)	17/20 (85%)	0/7 (0%)	*gav/wext*: 17/47 (36%) each
Derince & Mehmet	7/51 (13%)	21/33 (63%)	33/60 (55%)	–	*wext*: 33/61 (54%)
Kurdo	–	0/4 (0%)	2/3 (66%)	11/14 (78%)	*çax*: 11/13 (84%)
Omerxalî	0/1 (0%)	–	–	–	–
Σ	189/496 (38%)	152/225 (67%)	55/111 (49%)	16/26 (61%)	

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[23] The item-related columns document the number of clause-subordinating (total: 316) out of the overall TN-usages (total: 858), in absolute figures and percentages, for each item and author (team). The rightmost column lists the subordinating items with the highest frequency among all items employed for this purpose, for each author (team).

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Appendix

Annotational abbreviations

1	first person	EZ	ezafe	PST	past tense
2	second person	F	feminine	QUA	quantifier
3	third person	FUT	future	RCT	direct case
ADP	adposition	IND	indicative	REC	reciprocal
AN	action noun	INDEF	indefinite	RFL	reflexive
AP	adpositional phrase	M	masculine	SBJ	subjunctive
ASP	aspect	NEG	negation	SG	singular
ATT	attribute	OBL	oblique case	SPC	specificity
CAUS	causative	PAR	participle	SUP	superlative
COMP	complementizer	PHO	phoric expression	TN	temporal noun
COP	copula	PL	plural	VN	verbal noun
CRP	circumposition	POP	postposition	WH	*wh*-expression
DEI	deixis	PRP	preposition		
DET	determiner	PRS	present tense		
DIR	directive	POSS	possessive		

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