Argument coding in the experiential predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən* 'to look' in Garrusi Kurdish

Mohammad Dabir-Moghaddam[1], Masoumeh Zarei[2]

Abstract

təmʃʌ kərdən 'to look' is an experiential predicate in Garrusi Kurdish whose arguments and event structure are represented as a coverb complex predicate. The present study explores how arguments are encoded in the predicate-argument construction of *təmʃʌ kərdən* based on Croft's typological perspective (2022). It investigates the strategies employed by this verbal event to express its participants' roles, which grammatical and semantic functions are hosted by its components, and how its event structure is represented with respect to its argument structure. For this purpose, a fieldwork was conducted and 30 native speakers of Garrusi Kurdish were interviewed. Wallace Chafe's The Pear Story film was used as a catalyst for data collection, and Kurdish narratives were recorded. A total of 88 tokens of *təmʃʌ kərdən*, extracted from our discursive corpus, were analyzed to study argument coding strategies. The findings revealed that this experiential complex predicate, exhibits variation in the participants' argument coding and the type of the event it expresses. It basically used experiencer-oriented strategy, encoding the experiencer as a subject argument phrase. However, the stimulus showed variation in coding strategies, being expressed as an object argument phrase, as an oblique argument phrase, or as a complement clause. Of the 88 tokens of *təmʃʌ kərdən*, only 16 instances employed subject-object argument structure. The most tokenized coding strategy was subject-oblique argument coding with a locative/goal stimulus. Additionally, this complex predicate was observed to function as a subevent in serial verb construction. It could also express a different event structure.

Keywords: experiential event, argument structure, complex predicate, coverb, serial verb

1. Professor of linguistics, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran (Corresponding author); dabirmoghaddam@atu.ac.ir
2. PhD candidate in linguistics, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran; masoumeh_zarei@atu.ac.ir

1. Introduction

The experiential predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən* exists in most of Iranian languages with slight phonetic variation. Dabir-Moghaddam (1997, pp. 37-38) <u>includes</u> this verbal form in his corpus of Persian compound verbs. He argues that this verb, meaning "to watch", is formed through a combination process: "watching + do". He defines it as a transitive verb that includes two core argument phrases. Family (2014, pp. 61-62) includes this verbal form in her list of Persian compound verbs in her discussion of *kærdæn* as a light verb. She argues that it is composed of "viewing + do" and means 'to look'. In Persian, *tæmaʃa kærdæn* ('to watch') is used less than *negah kærdæn* ('to look'), both in formal and informal contexts. The following examples illustrate the argument structure of these verbs in Persian:

(1) mæn   sæhnæ=ro   tæmaʃa   kærd-æm

I   scene=ACC   watch   make/do.PST-1SG

'I watched the scene.'

(2) mæn   sæhnæ=ro   negah   kærd-æm

I   scene=ACC   look   make/do.PST-1SG

'I watched the scene.'

(3) mæn   be   sæhne   negah   kærd-æm

I   to   scene   look   make/do.PST-1SG

'I looked at the scene.' [lit. 'I looked to the scene']

As the examples represent, in Persian, *tæmaʃa kærdæn* has a subject-object argument structure, whereas the arguments of *negah kærdæn* can be expressed in two ways: subject-object argument coding and subject-oblique argument coding with a prepositional object argument phrase. In Garrusi Kurdish, the single verbal form *təmʃʌ kərdən* denotes both events 'to watch' and 'to look'.

In the present study, we investigate argument coding strategies employed in the experiential complex predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən* 'to look' in Garrusi Kurdish. We studied this verbal event within the typological framework

of Croft (2022), exploring his perspective on predicate-argument construction. Croft focuses on the "strategies" used to express the arguments of a predicate in a language variety. He classifies predicates into different types based on the "strategies" employed in their formalization. In this regard, the predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən*, composed of two elements as "subevents of a single event" – that is, the event of 'looking' – is a subtype of "eventive complex predicates" (see Croft, 2022, p. 399).

Croft (2022) argues that eventive complex predicates and their argument structure are formed through four strategies as follows: serial verb construction, auxiliary verb construction, support verb construction, and argument complex predicate construction. Each of these constructions, based on the function of their subevents, represent a type of complex predicate with a specific argument structure.

This study aims to explore how arguments are encoded in the predicate-argument construction of the experiential complex predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən* in Garrusi Kurdish. It investigates the strategies this complex predicate employs to express its participants' roles, grammatical and semantic functions are hosted by its components, and how its event structure is represented with respect to its argument structure. For this purpose, we conducted a fieldwork and analyzed 88 tokens of this complex predicate in Garrusi Kurdish discourse. our findings revealed that this experiential complex predicate manifest variation in the participants' argument coding and the type of the event it expresses in sentential context.

This paper is organized into eight sections. After describing the verbal event under discussion and outlining our objectives, we present an overview of the recent typological studies about the experiential predicates in Section 2. In Section 3, we describe our fieldwork and the structure of our task utilized in the process of data collecting for our corpus analysis. Section 4 explores argument coding in experiential predicates from Croft's (2022) typological perspective. Then, we share our findings about argument coding in the experiential predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən* ('to look') in Garrusi Kurdish in the following four sections. Section 5 represents *təmʃʌ kərdən* as a coverb construction,

investigating its argument structure within the domain of this construction. Section 6 displays *təmʃʌ kərdən* as a subevent in serial verb construction, exploring its argument structure as followed by other experiential events. Section 7 depicts *təmʃʌ kərdən* as expressing a state, illustrating the experiential relation between its arguments. Finally, section 8 concludes with the outcomes of our findings in this study.

2. Typological Views about the Experiential Predicates

Experiential predicates, also known as perception events or verbs of perception, have been studied from different perspectives. Here we concentrate on those which are typological explorations in the languages of the world. Viberg (1984) explores perception verbs in different languages, studying the lexical field of perception in 50 languages. His aim was to investigate the representation of perceptual experience in different languages. Croft (1993) examines the semantics of mental verbs and subject assignment in experiential verbs within the scope of causal structure. Reh (ed., 1998) investigates the experiencer constructions in African languages, focusing on coding strategies in experiential situations.

Wierzbicka (1999) studies the diversities and universals of emotions in different languages. She focuses on the parameters that represented how languages encode emotions. Evans and Wilkins (2000) study 69 Australian languages to examine the lexicalization of perception words with respect to their semantic extensions. Croft (2001) studies experiencer coding with respect to morphological marking and syntactic properties. Bickel (2004) explores how experiencer is encoded in the Himalayas, focusing on the morphological downgrading of the experiencer in the language. Verhoeven (2007) explores experiential constructions in Yucatec Maya to represent functional domains of experience and the experiential situation.

San Roque et al. (2015) examines 13 languages to see the frequency of the perception words within these languages. They study the usage of perception terms in spontaneous conversation to explore the universals of experience and cognition. Winter, Perlman, and Majid (2018) conduct a

quantitative study on English sensory vocabulary to examine the frequency of visual words in this language. Croft (2022) studies argument coding strategies in experiential construction. This work is the theoretical framework used in the present study. Croft's views about experiential events are explained in section 4. Norcliffe and Majid (2024) conduct a quantitative study on the lexicalization of perception verbs in 100 languages from the perspective of lexical-semantic typology.

3. Methodology and Data Collection

We employed an experimental method for the present study and conducted fieldwork to collect our data. We used "The Pear Story" film as a catalyst for our data collection and interviewed 30 native speakers of Garrusi Kurdish. "The Pear Story" film is a six-minute movie, with sound effects but no words, produced by Wallace Chafe and his colleagues at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1975.

The data was collected by a native interviewer who interviewed 30 native speakers of Garrusi Kurdish in Qohurd-e Olya, a village in Mehraban-e Sofla Rural District of Hamadan Province. Before watching the film, the participants were asked to provide their consent for recording their voice. Then, they watched the film and narrated it simultaneously while they were watching. Afterwards, we transcribed the recorded voices and encoded each sentence numerically. In the final stage, the sentences that included the experiential event *təmʃʌ kərdən* were extracted. A total of 88 samples were typologically investigated for the present study.

4. Argument Coding in Experiential Predicates

Croft (2022) investigates the relationships among the participants in experiential events and illustrates their typologically different argument structure. He classifies experiential events into four categories (2022, p. 227):

   a. **Perception events:** *see, look at, hear, listen to, taste, touch, feel, etc.*

   b. **Cognition events:** *know, think about, remember, forget, wonder about, etc.*

c. **Emotion events:** *fear, frighten, love, like, want, surprise, annoy, etc.*

d. **Bodily sensation events:** *itch, ache, feel hot/cold, be hungry, be sick, etc.*

Croft (2022) defines the presence of two participants, one expressed as a core argument phrase and the other expressed either as a core or a peripheral argument phrase, as inevitable in an experiential construction. The central participant is the "experiencer", who "is typically stimulated by some other participant", referred to as the "stimulus" (p. 227). He identifies some grammatical facts about experiential constructions that distinguish their argument structure from other events in transitive and intransitive constructions. He notes that "the most striking" one is that "the same events can be expressed with the experiencer and stimulus participants encoded in the reverse grammatical roles, even in the same language" (example 61, p. 227):

(4) a.   I like cats.   [Subject = experiencer, Object = stimulus]

   b.   Cats please me.   [Subject = stimulus, Object = experiencer]

Croft (2022), following Croft (1993) and Verhoeven (2007), calls example (4a) "experiencer-subject" or "experiencer-oriented strategy" and example (4b) "experiencer-object" or "stimulus-oriented strategy". These examples represent the experiential events encoding a transitive argument structure. Therefore, within the scope of transitivity, two types of transitive argument structures strategies can be formalized: "experiencer-oriented transitive strategy" (example 4a) and "stimulus-oriented transitive strategy" (example 4b). Then, he explores the same strategies in intransitive argument structures in which the non-subject participant is expressed as an oblique argument. He illustrates the expression of the experiencer and the stimulus in "reverse grammatical roles" with examples from Samoan and Ancient Greek languages (examples 62 and 63, p. 228):

(5) sā   'ou   ita   'i   l-o='u   uso[1]

   PST   1SG   angry   PREP   ART=POSS=1SG   brother

   'I was angry with my brother.'

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1. Examples from other sources are quoted without any change in writing alphabet and glassing rules.

(6) moi   enokʰlîe

    1SG.DAT   bother:2SG

    'You bother me.'

Example (5) from Samoan represents an "experiencer-oriented intransitive strategy", in which the experiencer is a subject argument phrase and the stimulus is an oblique argument phrase. Example (6) from Ancient Greek depicts a "stimulus-oriented intransitive strategy", in which the stimulus is encoded as a subject argument phrase and the experiencer is formalized as an oblique (Dative) argument phrase (Croft, 2022, p. 228).

Croft (2022, pp. 228-230) in the next step, based on the causal relations between the experiencer and the stimulus, subdivides the experiential events into three categories:

   a. **Attending events:** *look at, listen to, think about, grieve over.*

   b. **Affecting events:** *frighten, surprise, please, amuse, bore, excite.*

   c. **Experience events:** *see, remember, fear.*

Attending events "highlight the experiencer directing her/his attention". In these events, the experiencer is always encoded as a subject, while the stimulus can be expressed either as a direct object or as an oblique argument. Affecting events "highlight the stimulus altering the mental state of the experiencer". These events always express the stimulus as a subject and the experiencer can be encoded either as an object or as an oblique argument. The third type of experiential events, called "experience events", express a "state". The experiential situation of these events "highlights both the experiencer attending to the stimulus and the stimulus bringing about the mental state of the experiencer simultaneously". These events may employ "symmetric encoding strategies" (Croft, 2022, pp. 228-230).

5. *təmʃʌ kərdən* in Coverb Construction

Croft (2022, p. 421) considers the "coverb construction", also known as the "light verb construction", as an instance of a "support verb construction". These constructions are complex predicates in which an "inflecting verbal element" combines with a non-verbal element to conceptualize a single event.

In this type of complex predicate, the verbal element "has undergone semantic change" and "makes a minimal semantic contribution to the meaning of the whole complex predicate". Therefore, it is the semantic content of the non-verbal element that "describes the event" (Croft, 2022, p. 419). Croft refers to the following example from Wagiman (example 68, p. 421) to represent a sample of "coverb construction" in this language variety:

(7) bewh-ma   nega-bu-ni   boran
    cross-ASP   1SG-**hit**-PST   river
    'I crossed the river.'

The most highly productive coverb complex predicates in Iranian languages are those in which *kærdæn* (*kərdən* in Garrusi) 'to make/do' functions as the inflecting verbal element. This verbal form is a causative auxiliary that can precede any type of word in Iranian languages and form complex predicates with various event structures. The experiential predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən* 'to looḱ', composed of the nominal *təmʃʌ* (look) and the causative *kərdən* (to make/do), denotes both the events of 'looking' and 'watching' in Garrusi Kurdish. It is a "perception" event with two central arguments: an experiencer and a stimulus. Based on the relations between its participants, it is a dynamic "attending" event. Therefore, it always encodes the experiencer as a subject and uses an experiencer-oriented strategy (see Croft, 2022, p. 228).

The experiencer in *təmʃʌ kərdən*, like most subject argument phrases in Iranian languages, is indexed on the verbal event. However, we observed that it manifests variation in stimulus argument coding and represents different patterns. Furthermore, a detailed examination of its tokens showed that this complex predicate can also act as a part of another type of complex predicate and its participants can have other sorts of relations. We explore the argument structure of *təmʃʌ kərdən* as an attending event in coverb construction in the present section and focus on other observations in Sections 6 and 7.

5.1 Subject-Object Argument Coding

In a clausal event, subject argument is "the most salient participant" and object argument functions as "the next most salient participant". Therefore,

subject and object are prototypically "core arguments" or "central participants" in a predicate (Croft, 2022, p. 173). In this regard, bivalent transitive events, in which there are "two central participants" encoded as "subject and object", are considered to be "the prototypical clausal event type" (Croft, 2022, p. 183). Thus, subject-object argument coding is taken to be the prototypical argument coding in predicate-argument construction.

The verbal event under discussion, *təmʃʌ kərdən*, is an experiential bivalent event encoding two participants expressed as an experiencer and a stimulus. However, to illustrate the transitivity of this event, the salience of its arguments, and their prototypical status, we need to explore the samples extracted from the corpus and classified based on the grammatical function of their argument phrases. We start with those examples in which an element cross references with an object:

(8)
05.334[1]

pijʌ-gæ	hæ	təmʃʌ=jʌn	kərd		læ	hʌl=ə		gʊlʌbi	xʷɒrd-ən
man-DEF.SG	just	look=3PL	make/do.PST		in	manner=GEN/EZ		pear	eat.PST-INF

bi-n
be.PST-3PL

'The man constantly looked at them (as) they were eating pears.'

(9)
11.306

ʔow=eʃ	təmʃʌ=j	ke-j		læ	bʌn	gʊlʌbi	kæn-i
he=ADD	look=3SG	make/do.PRS-3SG		from	above	pear	pick.PRS-3SG

'He (who) is picking pears from above looks at him.'

(10)
11.322

ʔʌhʌ	təmʃʌ=jʌn	ke-j		jek=i	jek=i
aha	look=3PL	make/do.PRS-3SG		one=NUM	one=NUM

'Aha! He looks at them one by one.'

(11)
13.333

dir-i		təmʃʌ=jʌn	ke-j		ʔyʃ-i	pæs
have.AUX.IPFV.PRS-3PL		look=3PL	make/do.PRS-3SG		say.PRS-3SG	so

gʊlʌbi-jægʌn=ə		me	kʌ
pear-DEF.PL=GEN/EZ		I	where

'(As) he is looking at them says "so, where are my pears?"'

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1. The numbers written before the glossing in each example stands for the code of the participants' sentence in the corpus.

(12)   fæɢæt   pijʌ-gæ   dir-i   təmʃʌ=jʌn   ke-j
13.337 just   man-DEF.SG   IPFV.PRS-3PL   look=3PL   make/do.PRS-3SG

    'The man is just looking at them.'

(13)   se   næfær=eʃ   l=ow   lʌ   læ   rubəru=j   təmʃʌ=j   kæ-n
22.187 thre   person=A   on=th   sid   fro   front=3SG:P   look=3   make/do.P
  e   DD   at   e   m   OSS   SG   RS-3PL

    'Three people on that side also look at him as they are in front of him.'

(14)   ʔow   se   næfær-æ   təmʃʌ=jʌn   kæ-n   hʌt-ən-æ   wær
24.196 that   three   person-   look=3PL   make/do.PRS-   come.PST-   forward
                DEF.SG   3PL   3PL-APPL

  kɔmæk=i   bə-kæ-n   ʔowɒnæ   kwɒ   bə-ke-j
  help=3SG   SBJV-do.PRS-   they   collect   SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
           3PL

    'Those three persons (who) are watching them came forward to help him to collect them.'

    The second argument in all these examples is a covert object which has been indexed as a pronominal clitic (*j/jʌn*) in the verbal structure. This oblique clitic was hosted by the nominal element of the complex predicate in all tokens. The argument coding pattern of these samples can be illustrated as [SBJ LOOK=OBL DO]. We observed that the sentences including an object in their argument structure basically followed this pattern. However, we found two samples in which the object was expressed overtly:

(15)   ʔi   lʌ   ʔow   lʌ=j   təmʃʌ=j   kərd
30.201 this   side   that   side=3SG:POSS   look=3SG   make/do.PST

    'He looked around.' [lit. 'He looked at this side and that side']

(16)   pʌ=j   fæk   kæ-m   zæxm-   bi-jæ   təmʃ   ke-j
                    dʌr   ʌ

23.175 leg=3SG:POS thin   do.PRS   wound   become.PS   look   make/do.PR
    S   k   -1SG   -ADJ   T-PRS.PRF   S-3SG

    'He looks at his leg (that) I think has become wounded.'

    The second argument of the predicate in example (15) has been represented twice in the clause: once as an overtly expressed noun phrase (*ʔi lʌ ʔow lʌ=j*) and again as an oblique clitic indexed on the nominal part of the

complex predicate. This example provides us with another pattern of subject-object argument coding: [SBJ OBJ LOOK=OBL DO].

In contrast, the object argument phrase in example (16) has not been encoded as a clitic inside the verbal structure. In this sentence, the second argument of *təmʃʌ kərdən*, overtly expressed at the beginning of the sentence (*pʌ=j*), has a relative construction. It functions as the subject argument of the relative clause. Therefore, the overt expression of the object of *təmʃʌ kərdən*, without oblique indexation, has been possible through its inclusion as a subject argument in the relative construction. This possibility provides us with the third pattern of subject-object argument coding with respect to *təmʃʌ kərdən*: [SBJ OBJ LOOK DO].

One may ask if the second argument of *təmʃʌ kərdən* was a noun phrase overtly expressed without clitic indexation, but not as a subject of its preceding clause, how would it be encoded in this Kurdish variety? To answer this question, we should investigate a set of other examples in the following section.

5.2 Subject-Oblique Argument Coding

The second argument coding strategy employed in the formalization of predicate-argument constructions is subject-oblique argument structure. Oblique arguments in an event are encoded as "the least salient" participants (Croft, 2022, p. 173). They are considered to be peripheral participants in a predicate. Just as the core participants are prototypically encoded by subject and object argument phrases, the peripheral arguments are also prototypically encoded by oblique argument phrases (Croft, 2022, p. 174). The arguments in the complex predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən* were also observed to be expressed by subject-oblique coding strategy:

(17)	təmʃʌ=j	dʊt-æ	ke-j	kʊlʌ-ge=j	kæf-i	zæmin
03.203	look=LOC/GL	girl-DEF.SG	make/do.PRS-3SG	hat-DEF.SG=3SG:POSS	fall-3SG	ground

'He looks at the girl (so) his hat falls on the ground.'

(18)	pijʌ-gæ	təmʃʌ=j	dæs=ijʌn	kərd	wæli	ʔowɒnæ	rˠuwej-n
07.299	man-DEF.SG	look=LOC/LG	hand=3SG:POSS	make/do.PST	but	they	go.PST-3PL

'The man looked at their hands but they went.'

(19)   təmʃʌ=j   tæræf   kərd   d-ir-ijʌ   wæ   zæmin
13.266 look=LOC/GL   guy   make/do.PST give/hit-PASS-   to   ground
                                            PST.INTR

'He looked at the guy (so) he was beaten to the ground.'

(20)   təmʃʌ=j   pijʌ-gæ   ke-j   sæbæd-ægæ   ʔælgir-i
19.195 look=LOC/GL   man-DEF.SG   make/do.PRS-3SG basket-DEF.SG   lift-3SG

'He looks at the man (then) he picks up the basket.'

(21)   se   dʌnæ   zʌrˠu   l=ow   lʌ   wusi-jʌ-g-ən   təmʃʌ=j   je
19.218 three NUM   child   on=that side stand-   look=LOC/GL this.HUM
                                             PST.INTR-
                                             PRS.PRF-3PL

        kæ-n
        make/do.PRS-3SG
        'Three boys (who) have stood over there are looking at this boy.'

(22)   təmʃʌ=j   bɒwk-i   ke-j
20.215   look=LOC/GL   father=3SG:POSS   make/do.PRS-3SG
         'He looks at his father.'

(23)   hæ   wudʒi   dæs   wæ   kæmær   min-ijʌ-jæ   təmʃʌ=j   ʔowɒnæ
24.237 just likewise hand   to   waist   stay-PST.INTR- look=LOC/GL   they
                                              PRS.PRF

        ke-j
        make/do.PRS-3SG
        'Standing paralyzed with his hand on his waist likewise, he is looking at them.'

In all these examples, the stimulus has been expressed overtly, but with a different coding pattern. Participants of a clausal event can be generally ordered either as a preverbal or a postverbal argument. However, in all these samples, the stimulus has been expressed inside the complex predicate – between the nominal and the verbal components of *təmʃʌ kərdən*. The identification of this argument as an oblique argument opens a discussion based on prepositions in Garrusi Kurdish.

In Garrusi Kurdish, prepositions can also be formalized as clitics

hosted by any word, including verbs. These prepositions are case-assigners and when precede a noun phrase assign a flagging marker to them. The formal representation of the case marker is determined by the grammatical function of the noun phrase. If the noun phrase is an oblique adjunct, it will be overtly flagged by *-o/owæ* or *-dʌ/tʌ*:

(24)	ʔi	pijʌg=eʃ	**læ**	ʔi	bʌn-**owæ**	təmʃʌ=j	ke-j
21.192	this	man-DEF.SG=ADD	from	this	up-OBL	look=3SG	make/do.PRS-3SG

'This man also looks at him from above.'

(25)	jek-ə-l-ej=ʃ	**wæ**	tʃət-æg-**owæ**	hʌlæt=ə	tənis=ægæ
25.304	one-INDF=of=3SG=ADD	with	thing-DEF.SG-OBL	manner=GEN/EZ	tennis-DEF.SG
	təmʃʌ=j	ke-j			
	look=3SG	make/do.PRS-3SG			

'One of them also with that tennis like thing is looking at him.'

The locative/source argument phrase *læ ʔi bʌn-owæ* in example (24) and the instrumental argument phrase *wæ tʃət-æg-owæ* in example (25) are flagged by the marker *-owæ* in the event under discussion. Other samples of these flagging markers are also observable in example (45) with *l=ej-dʌ* and in example (59) with *nærdəwʌn-ægæ-ʔo* and *xʷɒr-ʌ*. However, not all the oblique arguments are flagged by these markers.

Prepositions in Garrusi Kurdish are argument markers – that is, when they precede a noun phrase, the presence or absence of the flagging marker they assign determines the semantic function of the oblique argument. If the noun phrase is an argument expressed as an oblique adjunct, it will be assigned a marker by the preposition. However, if the noun phrase functions as an obligatory oblique complement, the preposition will not formally assign a marker to it. Therefore, adjunct arguments are overtly flagged, whereas oblique complements lack an overt flagging, employing zero flagging strategy.

The lexical presence of the preposition is also specified with the function of the oblique complement. When the oblique complement is a recipient and functions as a dative argument, it is proceeded by the preposition *wæ*. When it is a location and functions as a source or goal argument, the preposition *læ* will precede it. These prepositions can also be represented as a

proclitic while preceding the oblique complement or have an applicative function when the oblique is a goal argument (dative or locative) expressed postverbally:

(26)   se   dʌnæ   rˠæfiq-ægʌn=i   **l=ow-ræ**   dir-ən
13.275 three   NUM   friend-DEF.PL=3SG:POSS   **from=**that=side   have.AUX.IPFV.PRS-3PL

        təmʃʌ=j   kæ-n
        look=3SG   make/do.PRS-3PL

        'His three friends are looking at him from there.'

(27)   se   dʌnæ   kʊrˠ   təmʃʌ=j   kərd-ən   hʌt-ən-**æ**   lʌ=j
09.228 three   NUM   boy   look=3SG   make/do.PST-   come.PST-   side=3SG:POSS
                                           3PL   3PL-**APPL**

        'Three boys (who) looked at him came to his side.'

(28)   geji-**jæ**   lʌ=j   pijʌ-gæ
09.206 reach.PST-**APPL**   side=GEN/EZ   man-DEF.SG

        'He reached to the side of the man.'

Example (26) depicts the clitic representation of the preposition *læ* in the noun phrase functioning as a locative/source argument phrase (*l=ow=ræ*). The clitic projection of the prepositions *læ* and *wæ* is also observable in examples (13) and (21) in *l=ow lʌ*, examples (31), (32), and (50) in *w=ej lʌ* and *w=ow lʌ*, and example (45) in *l=ej-dʌ*. Examples (27) and (28) illustrate the applicative function of these prepositions projected as *æ* with goal arguments. We can also observe the applicative use of these prepositions in examples (14) in *hʌt-ən-æ wær*, (39) in *de-j-æ bʌn*, and (59) in *hʌt-æ xʷɒr-ʌ*.

In some verbal structures, when the predicate is in complex form and the oblique complement functions as a locative/goal argument, the preposition *læ* can be represented by the non-verbal element of the predicate as the short vowel *ə* after consonant and as the glide *j* after vowel. This phenomenon provides a platform for the locative/goal argument to be located inside the complex predicate. In all examples of *təmʃʌ kərdən* with subject-oblique argument coding, the locative/goal oblique, preceded by the glide *j* which is attached to the nominal element, has been expressed between the nominal and the verbal parts of the complex predicate. To show how this clitic is

represented as a short vowel, we refer to another complex predicate from the corpus (*kʊmæk kərdən* 'to help') including an oblique complement with the same function:

(29)   ʔivæt-i   kərd   kʊmæk=**ə**   pijʌ-jægæ   bə-ke-j

01.188   stop=3SG   do.PST   help=**LOC/GL**   man-DEF.SG   SBJV-do.PRS-3SG

‘He stopped it (to) help the man.’

(30)   ʔowɒnæ   hʌt-ən   kʊmæg=**ə**   jæ   kərd-ən

10.310   they   come.PST-3PL   help=**LOC/GL**   this,HUM   do.PST-3PL

‘They came (and) helped him.’

The same projection of the preposition *læ* is also observable in possessive constructions of Garrusi Kurdish – that is, in what is known as Ezafe Construction in Iranian languages. As illustrated in examples (28) in *lʌ=j pijʌ-gæ* and (55) in *sæbæd-æge=j me*, when the possessee ends with a vowel, the genitive marker is expressed as *j*. However, when the possessee ends with a consonant, as depicted in examples (11) in *gʊlʌbi-jægʌn=ə me* and (54) in *sæbæd=ə gʊlʌbi-jæge=j*, this marker is represented as *ə*.

Croft (2022), as he is discussing Stassen's views on "presentational possession" (2009), highlights that genitive and locative flagging marker in many languages have the same form: "in many languages, a genitive (possessive) flag is identical to, or historically derived from, a locative flag" (p. 310). However, the zero projection of this marker in dependent-head sequence, as in example (42) in *læ des ʔʌj kʊrˣ-ægʌn*, or in the reversal sequence followed by an indexical clitic, such as example (57) in *bəzən-æ sədʌ=j*, were also observed in the corpus. We have glossed this marker as GEN/EZ in the present study. To say whether it is a linker or a prepositional clitic in Garrusi Kurdish needs further investigations and falls out of this study.

We found that the most frequent strategy observed throughout the corpus to be employed by *təmʃʌ kərdən* was the subject-oblique argument coding strategy. However, as discussed, the oblique argument in this coding strategy is expressed in a specific pattern: an interverbal argument phrase that was marked by the prepositional clitic attached to the nominal element as a

locative/goal oblique complement. The argument coding pattern of the samples with this oblique argument can be illustrated as [SBJ LOOK=LOC/GL OBL DO]. This pattern was the most tokenized pattern for the oblique argument of *təmʃʌ kərdən*. Nevertheless, two sequential samples articulated by a single participant were also observed in which the oblique complement was not expressed as an interverbal argument:

(31)   w=ej   lʌ   təmʃ   ke-j
25.344 to=this side   look   make/do.PRS-3SG
        'He looks at this side.'

(32)   w=ow   lʌ   təmʃ   ke-j
25.345 to=that side   look   make/do.PRS-3SG
        'He looks at that side.'

These examples manifest the overt expression of the oblique argument in the event *təmʃʌ kərdən*. However, the pattern of its encoding has two differences with the aforementioned pattern: it is a preverbal argument phrase and functions as a dative oblique complement marked by the proclitic form of the preposition *wæ*. This sample provides us with another pattern of subject-oblique argument coding: [SBJ OBL LOOK DO].

6. *təmʃʌ kərdən* in Serial Verb Construction

Croft (2022, p. 405) identifies serial verb construction as "the most common strategy" for expressing eventive complex predicates. In this type of complex predicates, both elements of the predicate are verbs denoting "subevents of a single event" (p. 400). He classifies serial verbs, based on their formalizing strategies, into two types: "zero-coded serial verbs" and "overtly coded serial verbs". Zero-coded serial verbs follow each other without any "linking element" and are formed based on "zero coding strategy", whereas overtly coded serial verbs are obviously connected by a "linking element" and are highlighted by "overt coding strategy" (Croft, 2022, p. 406). Following Durie's classification (1997), he presents Table 1 as "the family of strategies making up the zero-coded serial verb strategy":

Table 1.

The family of serial verb strategies (Croft, 2022, p. 406)

Contiguity	**contiguous**
	not contiguous, separated by an argument phrase
Incorporation (morphological boundness)	from a single word
	separate words
Locus of predicate Inflection	inflection on first verb
	inflection on last verb
	same inflection on all verbs
	split inflection
	separate inflection

Therefore, serial verbs can be either contiguous or separated by an argument phrase, can form a single word or be separate, and can show variation in their place of inflection. The following examples employed by Croft (2022) shed light on this construction. Example (33) from Sranan (example 19, p. 407) represents serial verbs separated by an object argument phrase, example (34) from Alamblak (example 20, p. 407) depicts contiguous serial verbs formed as a single word, and example (35) from Òbòlò (example 24, p. 408) illustrates same inflection on all verbs:

(33)   kofi   naki   amba   kiri
       Kofi   **hit**   Amba   **kill**
       'Kofi hit Amba dead.' [= Kofi killed Amba]

(34)   yënt   mi-ak-tita-r-t
       girl   ELEV-**get-carry_on_shoulders-**3SGM-3SGF
       'He carried the girl down there on his shoulders.'

(35)   é-gwên   èmi   é-nû
       PL-call   1SG   **PL-come**
       'Let them call me to come.'

Croft (2022, p. 406) defines serial verbs that are "contiguous and separate words" as "the prototypical serial verb strategy" in eventive complex

predicate construction. The zero-coded strategy employed for the complex predicates, "allows for variation in the position of the serial verbs with respect to each other and to their argument phrases". This variation can be attested in a language through the above-mentioned strategies: whether the verbs are contiguous or remote, whether they form a single word or are incorporated, and where the verbal inflections are placed, including variations in "verbal categories" like "person indexation, tense, and modality" (Croft, 2022, p. 408).

Delving deeply into our collected data, we observed that the coverb complex predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən* can also function as a subevent of serial verb construction in Garrusi Kurdish discourse. It can precede another experiential verb and thus employ serial verb strategies for encoding the arguments in the predicate. In this section, we explore the samples of *təmʃʌ kərdən* from the corpus expressed as a part of serial verb construction. We found two sets of serial verbs with respect to the verbal structure under discussion: 'to look + to see' and 'to look + to know', semantically belonging to the same category of experiential events. Both sequences are constructed through "zero-coded serial verb strategy". However, they show variation in specific features of "the family of serial verb strategies" that Croft refers to.

6.1 To Look + To See

In primary classification, 'to look' and 'to see' belong to the same group of experiential predicates as perception verbs. But, based on the relations among their participants, these two verbal events are subcategorized in different groups: 'to look' is a dynamic "attending verb" with an experiencer directing its attention to the stimulus, whereas 'to see' is an "experience verb" expressing a state through a parallel "tow way" relation between its experiencer and stimulus (see Croft, 2022, pp. 227-229). The verbal event *digən* 'to see' in Garrusi Kurdish has a subject-object argument structure, using experiencer-oriented transitive strategy. It can also employ another argument coding strategy and express the stimulus participant as a complement clause. Investigating the argument phrases of *təmʃʌ kərdən*, we found that in some cases *digən* followed this event immediately before a stimulus complement

clause:

(36)
05.317

təmʃʌ	ke-j	d-yn-i	jek-ə=l=ej	læ	sæbæd-ægʌn=i
look	make/do.PRS-3SG	IPFV-see.PRS-3SG	one-INDF=of=3SG	of	basket-DEF.PL=3SG:POSS

dəz-ij-ən
steal-PRS.PRF-3PL

'He looks seeing (that) they have stolen one of his baskets.'

(37)
05.322

hæ	təmʃʌ	ke-j	d-yn-i	ni=jæ
just	look	make/do.PRS-3SG	IPFV-see.PRS-3SG	NEG=be.PRS.3SG

'He constantly looks seeing (that) it is not there.'

(38)
19.256

tæʔædʒob-o	təmʃʌ	ke-j	d-yn-i	jek-ə=l=ej	ni=jæ
surprise-OBL	look	do.PRS-3SG	IPFV-see.PRS-3SG	one-INDF=of=3SG	NEG=be.PRS.3SG

'He looks with surprise seeing (that) one of them is not there.'

(39)
19.261

kælɒw-æge=j	de-j-æ	bʌn	təmʃʌ	ke-j	d-yn-i
hat-DEF.SG=3SG:POSS	give/hit-3SG-APPL	up	look	make/do.PRS-3SG	IPFV-see.PRS-3SG

zʌrˠu-gʌn   di-jʌ-n
child-DEF.PL   PRF-come.PRS-3PL

'He raises his hat (and) looks seeing (that) the children are coming.'

(40)
24.230

təmʃʌ	kərd	di	jek-ə=l=ej	læ	sæbæd-ægʌn=i
look	make/do.PST	see.PST	one-INDF=of=3SG	of	basket-DEF.PL-3SG:POSS

ni=jæ
NEG=be.PRS.3SG

'He looked seeing (that) one of his baskets is not there.'

(41)
25.338

təmʃʌ	ke-j	d-yn-i	sæbæd-æg=ej	jek-ə=l=ej
look	make/do.PRS-3SG	IPFV-see.PRS-3SG	basket-DEF.SG=3SG:POSS	one-INDF=of=3SG

ni=jæ
NEG=be.PRS.3SG

'He looks seeing (that) one of his baskets is not there.'

These examples represent *təmʃʌ kərdən* and *digən* as sequential verbs in a serial verb construction. Both verbs match with the first two "family of serial verb strategies": they are contiguous and separate words. Thus, they are considered to be a sample of prototypical seral verbs. However, they show variation in some features of inflection. As the examples illustrate, both verbs are either in the present or in the past tense. Both are declarative affirmative predicates. Both lack any aspectual marker in the past tense but they behave differently in the present tense. Nevertheless, it is not a difference bound to verbal projection in specific situation.

The present form of *digən* in Garrusi is determined by aspectual features. *digən* is never articulated in simple present form in Garrusi Kurdish. It is always either in progression or perfection, hosting an aspectual marker – the prefix *də-* for imperfective aspect and the suffix *-igæ/-ijæ* for perfective aspect. Therefore, since it is a natural feature of this verbal form in Garrusi, we conclude that *təmʃʌ kərdən* and *digən* also match with respect to aspect.

After examining the uniformity status of their TAMP (tense, aspect, mood, polarity) features, we now investigate these two verbs' argument indexation in a serial verb construction. Both events have an experiencer indexed on the verbal structure. And both share a stimulus expressed as a resultative complement. A "temporal causal order" is observable between the two events and the resultative stimulus. This issue matches with Croft's discussion (2022) about the sequence of the events in serial verb strategies. Considering Durie's observations (1997), he argues that "the order of serial verbs is determined by causal ordering of the subevents" (Croft, 2022, p. 411). Likewise, here the second event *digən* is the effect of *təmʃʌ kərdən* manifested through the resultative stimulus complement:

təmʃʌ kərdən   ⟶   *digən*   ⟶   resultative stimulus

(cause)   (effect)

In all the examples mentioned above, both subevents encode a single stimulus in form of a clause. The argument coding strategy of tokens of this pattern can be depicted as [SBJ LOOK-DO + SEE RES-COMP]. However, we found some samples in the corpus in which the subevents of the serial verb did

not share a single stimulus:

(42)	bʌ	dəɢɢæt	təmʃʌ=j		ʔætrʌf=i	ke-j	d-yn-i		læ
03.248	with	care	look=LOC/GL		around-3SG:POSS	make/do.PRS-3SG	IPFV-see.PRS-3SG		in

	des	ʔʌj	kʊrˠ-ægʌn	kə	də-tʃə-n	gʊlʌbi	hæs
	hand	this	boy-DEF.PL	who.REL	IPFV-go-3PL	pear	be.PRS

'He looks around carefully seeing (that) these boys, who are going, have pears in their hands.'

(43)	təmʃʌ=j	bʌn	ke-j	d-yn-i	ʔi	pijʌ-gæ	dir-i
08.190	look=LOC/GL	up	make/do.PRS-3SG	IPFV-see.PRS-3SG	this	man-DEF.SG	have.PRS-3SG

	gʊlʌbi	də-tʃin-i
	pear	IPFV-pick-3PL

'He looks up seeing (that) this man is picking pears.'

(44)	təmʃʌ=j	ʔi	lʌ	ʔow	lʌ	ke-j	d-yn-i	ni=jæ
05.321	look=LOC/GL	this	side	that	side	make/do.PRS-3SG	IPFV-see.PRS-3SG	NEG=be.PRS

'He looks around seeing (that) it is missing.

These samples include a verbal form with subject-oblique argument structure discussed in coverb construction. The stimulus of the first verb in all these examples is a locative/goal noun phrase or an adverb, the direct target of the experiencer's attention, whereas the stimulus of the second verb is a resultative complement. Nevertheless, we found a case in which the subevents of the serial verb had a single stimulus (the pears), expressed as a noun phrase in the first event and as a complement clause in the second one:

(45)	təmʃʌ=j	gʊlʌbi-jægʌn	kərd	di	l=ej-dʌ	gʊlʌbi=jæ
30.200	look=LOC/GL	pear-DEF.PL	make/do.PST	see.PST	in=this-OBL	pear=be.PRS

'He looked at the pears seeing (that) there are pears here.'

6.2 To Look + To Know

The verbal form *zʌnəstən* 'to know' is the next event observed to function as a subevent in the serial verb construction of *təmʃʌ kərdən*. It is also an experiential predicate classified as a "cognition event" (see Croft, 2022, pp. 227-228). *zʌnəstən*, as an "experience event", shares the same eventive subcategorization features with *digən*. Likewise, it can have two patterns of argument structure: subject-object and subject-complement. However, when juxtaposed with *təmʃʌ kərdən* in a serial verb construction, *zʌnəstən* manifests some strategic differences as compared with its counterpart *digən*:

(46)   təmʃʌ   ke-j   bə-zʌn-i   jʌru   n-yn-i
30.205 look   make/do.PRS-3SG SBJV-know-3SG   guy   NEG-see.PRS-3SG
        'He looks (to) know if the guy does not see him.'

(47)   təmʃʌ   kæ   bə-zʌ-m   pijʌ-gæ   n-yn-i
29.222 look   make/do.PRS.IMP-2SG SBJV-know-1SG   man-DEF.SG   NEG-see.PRS-3SG
        'Look (to) let me know if he does not see!'

(48)   təmʃʌ   kæ   bə-zʌ-m   pijʌ-gæ   n-yn-i   ʔowæ
29.223 look   make/do.PRS.IMP-   SBJV-know-   man-   NEG-see.PRS-   he
                 2SG   1SG   DEF.SG   3SG

        gʊlʌbi-jægæ   du-we-j
        pear-DEF.SG   IPFV-take.PRS-3SG
        'Look (to) let me know if he does not see (that) he is taking the pears!'

As represented by the examples, *təmʃʌ kərdən* and *zʌnəstən* are prototypically contiguous and separate words. However, the subevents of these examples show variation in both TAMP features and argument indexation. In all examples, both events represent the same tense, aspect, and polarity. But they vary in mood projection. The second verb has a fix mood in all, representing a subjunctive event. However, the first verb in example (46) is a declarative event, whereas in examples (47) and (48) it represents an imperative event. In this regard, both events in example (46) share a single experiencer indexed on the verbal structure. By contrast, in the last two examples the experiencer of the first verb is indexed as a singular second person and as a singular first person in the second verb. This variation can be explored in the discursive

context of the examples. In fact, in these examples, the first event indexes the addressee or listener within the narration, whereas the second event indexes the participant as a speaker identifying with a character in the narration.

Like *təmʃʌ kərdən + digən*, these subevents in examples (46-48) also share a single stimulus expressed as a complement clause, though purposive. Likewise, the second event *zʌnəstən* is the effect of *təmʃʌ kərdən* demonstrated through the purposive stimulus complement:

təmʃʌ kərdən ⟶ *zʌnəstən* ⟶ purposive stimulus

(cause) (effect)

In examples (46-48) subevents of the serial verb express a single stimulus in form of a purposive complement. The argument coding pattern of these examples can be represented as [SBJ LOOK-DO + KNOW PURP-COMP]. However, like *təmʃʌ kərdən + digən*, we observed some cases in the serial verb construction of *təmʃʌ kərdən + zʌnəstən* that did not share a single stimulus:

(49) ʔævvæl təmʃʌ=j pijʌ-gæ ke-j bə-zʌn-i pijʌ-gæ
03.189 first look=LOC/GL man- make/do.PRS- SBJV-know- man-
   DEF.SG 3SG 3SG DEF.SG

   təmʃʌ ni-ke-j
   look NEG-make/do.PRS-3SG

'First, he looks at the man (to) know if the man is not watching.'

(50) təmʃʌ=j w=ej lʌ w=ow lʌ ke-j bə-zʌn-i læ
23.212 look=LOC/GL to=this side to=that side make/do.PRS- SBJV- in
   3SG know-3SG

   kuræ=s ki bərd-ijæ-gej
   where=be.PRS.3SG who.Q take.PST-PRS,PRF=3SG

'He looks around (to) understand where it is (and) who has taken it.'

(51) pijʌ-g=eʃ təmʃʌ=j ʔowɒnæ ke-j bə-zʌn-i ʔowɒnæ
25.348 man- look=LOC/GL they do.PRS- SBJV-know- they
   DEF.SG=ADD 3SG 3SG

   læ kuræ hɒwərd-əg-ən ʔowæ xʷɒrd-əg-ən
   from where bring.PST-PRS.PRF- it eat.PST-PRS.PRF-3PL
   3PL

'The man also looks at them (to) understand from where they have brought and have eaten it.'

Similarly, in these examples, the first subevent employs a subject-oblique argument structure, encoding a locative/goal argument phrase as its second argument. The second subevent, on the other hand, expresses the stimulus participant as a purposive complement clause.

7. *təmʃʌ kərdən* as an Experience Event

In further explorations throughout the corpus, we observed instances where the experiential complex predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən* was not a dynamic attending event. Instead, behaving like verbs such as "see, remember, or fear", it functioned as an "experience event" and expressed a "state" (see Croft, 2002, pp. 228-229):

(52)   təmʃʌ   kərd   jʌnæ   gʊlʌbi   xʷæ-n
05.329   look   make/do.PST   these   pear   eat.PRS-3PL
         'He looked [=saw that] they are eating pears.'

(53)   ʔe: təmʃʌ   kərd   hətʃ-i   ni=jæ
11.426   wow   look   make/do.PST   non-INDF   NEG=be.PRS.3SG
         'Wow! He looked [=saw that] there is nothing!'

(54)   təmʃʌ   kərd   ʔe: sæbæd=ə   gʊlʌbi-jæge=j   pæs   kʌ
20.283   look   make/do.PST wow   basket=GEN/EZ   pear-   so   where
                                                     DEF.SG=3SG:POSS
         'He looked [=saw that] wow! So where is his basket of pears?'

(55)   təmʃʌ   kərd   ʔe: sæbæd-æge=j   me   kʌ
21.302   look   make/do.PST wow   basket-DEF.SG=GEN/EZ   I   where
         'He looked [=saw] (and said) "Wow! Where is one of my baskets?"'

(56)   ʔyʃ-i   təmʃʌ   bə-kæ-n   gʊlʌbi   dʌ
25.327   say.PRS-3SG   look   SBJV-make/do.PRS-3PL   pear   give/hit.PST
         'He says "look! [=see that] he gave us pears".'

In all these examples, the stimulus of the event *təmʃʌ kərdən* has been expressed as a perceptional complement motivating the mental status of the

experiencer. Here the attending verb 'to look' has been used as an experience verb like 'to see'. This usage provides us with another argument coding pattern of *təmʃʌ kərdən* as a complex sentence: [SBJ LOOK-DO COMP].

The discursive context of the narration motivates the expression of utterances like examples (55) and (56). These samples reveal the mental processing of the participants as they were simultaneously narrating what they observed. As discussed in Section 3, The Pear Story film is a six-minute narrative with sound effects but no words. The participant identifies with characters inside the narration in these examples and expresses her mental processing as a complement clause. Another pattern of these samples was also observed in the corpus in which the participants seemed to address an absent listener:

(57)   ʃʌ   bəzən-æ   sədʌ=j   hʌt
02.225 look goat-DEF.SG sound=3SG:POSS come.PST
'Look! [=see that] The sound of the goat came.'

(58)   ʃʌ   dʊtʃærx-æg=eʃ   ʔælvərˠ-ʌn
11.328 look bike-DEF.SG=ADD lift-CAUS.PST
'Look! [=see that] He also lifted the bike.'

(59) ʔʌhʌ ʃʌ pijʌ-gæ bitʃʌræ nærdəwʌn- hʌt-æ xʷɒr-ʌ ægæ-ʔo
11.422 aha look man- poor ladder- come.PST- down- DEF.SG DEF.SG-OBL APPL OBL
'Aha! Look! [=see that] The poor man came down from the ladder!'

(60)   ʃʌ wæ zurˠ-o we-j=ɢej
16.184 look with force-OBL take.PRS-3SG=3SG
'Look! [=see that] He takes it by force.'

(61)   təmʃʌ je kælɒw-æg=ej bərd be-j wæ ʔowæ
22.209 look this.HUM hat- take.PST SBJV.give/hit- to he DEF.SG=3SG 3SG
'Look! [=see that] He took the hat (to) give it to him.'

In these examples, the verbal part of the complex predicate is deleted from the discourse and the nominal element – that is, *təmʃʌ*, frequently expressed in short form as *ʃʌ* in discourse, conveys the event per se. Therefore, we do not have access to TAMP features and argument indexation. However, we can say that, contextually, a participant as a speaker addresses a singular or a plural second person argument, sharing his/her experience with them. In fact, the short form *təmʃʌ*, basically articulated as *ʃʌ*, functioned as a marker for evidentiality in the narrative discourse of The Pear Story film.

8. Discussion and Conclusion

təmʃʌ kərdən is primarily an attending coverb complex predicate composed of a nominal element *təmʃʌ* ('look') and a verbal part *kərdən* ('to make/do'). It includes two central participants as experiencer and stimulus in its predicate-argument construction. Of 88 samples of *təmʃʌ kərdən* observed in the corpus of our study, in 51 tokens both participants were expressed as argument phrases and in 37 tokens the stimulus was expressed as a complement clause.

Investigating the tokens with two central argument phrases, we observed that the experiencer, whether expressed overtly or not, was indexed on the verbal element of the complex predicate in all cases. However, coding strategy was not consistent in stimulus argument phrase and the stimulus showed variation in its form, its semantic content, and the location of its formalization. In these samples, we found two basic argument coding strategies: subject-object argument coding and subject-oblique argument coding. Only 16 tokens out of 51 employed subject-object argument coding and 35 tokens used the second strategy. The following figure represents the frequency of stimulus argument phrase coding strategies in the verbal event under discussion:

Figure 3.

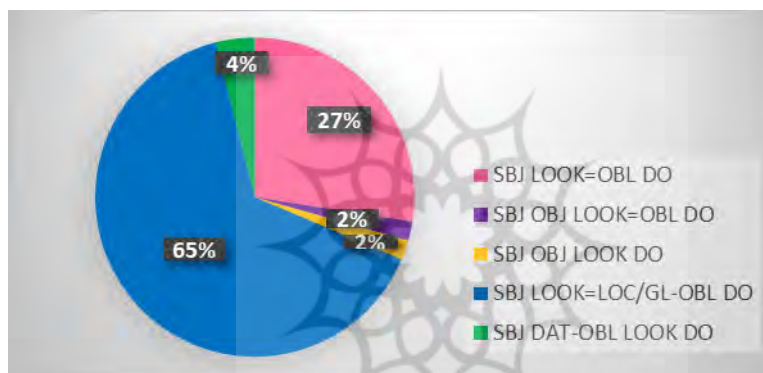*Stimulus argument phrase coding strategies in təmʃʌ kərdən*
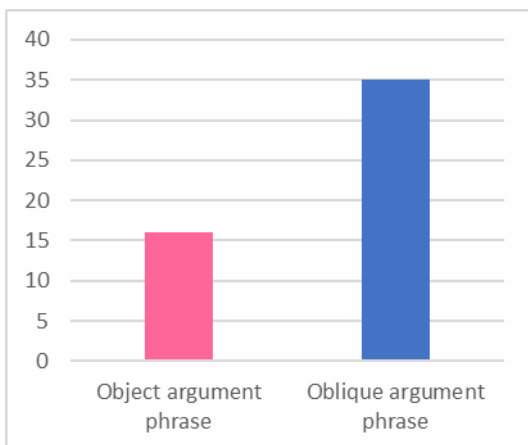
These argument phrases also showed variation in each coding strategy and represented different patterns of expression in the argument structure of *təmʃʌ kərdən*. We observed that, in subject-object coding strategy, the stimulus argument phrase was expressed in three patterns. It could be indexed as an oblique clitic in the nominal part of the complex predicate, cross-referencing a covert object. In one sample, this oblique clitic also indexed an overt stimulus. In the third pattern, also observed only in one case, object was overtly expressed without indexation in the verbal structure.

In the second argument coding strategy, the stimulus was overtly expressed as an oblique argument phrase. It was expressed basically, in 33 out of 35 tokens, inside the verbal structure – that is, between the nominal and the verbal elements of the complex predicate. In this pattern, the stimulus argument phrase, flagged by the prepositional clitic attached to the nominal part of the complex predicate, was expressed as a locative/goal argument phrase. This prepositional clitic was also identical with the genitive maker used in possessive construction. There were also two sequential clauses articulated by a single participant in the corpus that used another pattern of oblique coding strategy. The oblique argument in this pattern was expressed preverbally as a dative argument. The following table and figure demonstrate the distribution of the argument coding patterns used for the stimulus argument phrase in *təmʃʌ kərdən*:

Table 2.

Distribution of the argument coding patterns of the stimulus

Argument Coding Strategy	Pattern	Token
Subject-object argument coding	SBJ LOOK=OBL DO	14
	SBJ OBJ LOOK=OBL DO	1
	SBJ OBJ LOOK DO	1
Subject-oblique argument coding	SBJ LOOK=LOC/GL-OBL DO	33
	SBJ DAT-OBL LOOK DO	2
		51

Figure 4.

Distribution of the argument coding patterns of the stimulus

As illustrated in Table 3 and Figure 2, the stimulus argument phrase is basically expressed as a locative/goal oblique in Garrusi Kurdish discourse. Therefore, in this Kurdish dialect, the prototypical argument coding strategy – the usage of two core argument phrases – is not common with respect to the verbal event under discussion. The following table represents the basic features of the stimulus argument phrase encoded in the experiential predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən*:

Table 3.

Basic features of the stimulus argument phrase in təmʃʌ kərdən

Object Argument Phrase	Oblique Argument Phrase
covert stimulus	overt stimulus
interverbal	interverbal
hosted by the nominal	partly hosted by the nominal
clitic indexation	clitic flagging
oblique object	locative/goal oblique

Tables 2 and 3, as well as Figure 2, demonstrate that the object argument phrase is basically expressed as a pronominal clitic, which functions as an oblique clitic. Therefore, it can be concluded that the stimulus argument phrase in *təmʃʌ kərdən* is basically expressed as an oblique argument, either covertly and indexed as a clitic or overtly and flagged as a noun phrase.

Furthermore, we observed some samples in the corpus where the coverb complex predicate took part in serial verb construction. In all samples, the serial verbs were formalized through zero-coded strategy and were prototypical serial verbs – that is, they were contiguous and separate words. However, we found variation in patterns of argument indexation, TAMP marking, semantic content of the stimulus, argument structure of the first verb, and the event structure of the second verb. Table 4 present the patterns observed in the argument coding of these serial verbs:

Table 4.

Argument patterns of təmʃʌ kərdən in serial verb construction

Serial Verb Strategy	Pattern	Token
look + see	SBJ LOOK-DO + SEE RES-COMP	6
	SBJ LOOK-OBL-DO + SEE RES-COMP	4
look + know	SBJ LOOK-DO + KNOW PURP-COMP	3
	SBJ LOOK-OBL-DO + KNOW PURP-COMP	3
		16

We also found some samples in the corpus where the event 'to look' was identified with 'to see' and expressed the stimulus as a complement clause. In these cases, *təmʃʌ kərdən* was no longer an "attending" experiential event but functioned as an "experience" and expressed a state. Table 5 presents the patterns observed when the event of the complex predicate changed:

Table 5.

Argument patterns of təmʃʌ kərdən as an experience event

Event Change Strategy	Pattern
look ⟶ see	SBJ LOOK DO + COMP
	LOOK + COMP

We end our discussion and conclusion about the experiential predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən* by highlighting the contribution of its components in the formalization of the argument and the event structures:

Table 6.

The contribution of the components of təmʃʌ kərdən in argument and event structures

Nominal Element	Verbal Element
attending event	causative auxiliary
experience event	
object indexation	subject indexation
oblique flagging	TAMP indexation

Eighty-eight tokens of the experiential predicate *təmʃʌ kərdən* in Garrusi Kurdish were studied to explore the arguments encoding in the predicate-argument construction of this complex predicate. According to the results, this experiential event demonstrates variation in encoding its participants in the predicate-argument construction, showing inconsistency in its event structure.

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Abbreviations

1	first person	IMP	imperative
2	second person	IPFV	imperfective
3	third person	LOC	locative
ACC	accusative	NEG	negative
ADD	additive	NUM	number
ADJ	adjective	OBJ	object
APPL	applicative	OBL	oblique
ART	article	PASS	passive
ASP	aspect	PL	plural
AUX	auxiliary	POSS	possessive
CAUS	causative	PREP	preposition
COMP	complement	PRF	perfective
DAT	dative	PURP	purposive
DEF	definite	PRS	present
DEM	demonstrative	PST	past
EZ	ezafe	Q	question
GEN	genitive	RES	resultative
GL	goal	SG	singular
HUM	human	SBJ	subject
INDF	indefinite	SBJV	subjunctive
INTR	intransitive	TAMP	tense, aspect, mood, polarity