KURDISTAN DIALECT STUDIES-I

BY

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TO MY
KURDISH FRIENDS
PREFACE

The study of Kurdish has a longer history than that of most modern Iranian languages. Yet, although it early became clear that the dialects of Kurdish differed considerably from one another, no attempt has previously been made to classify them. These studies are accordingly intended to point both the feasibility and the necessity of some classification. To this end, a descriptive sketch is given of the grammar of a series of dialects from central Kurdistan, some of them treated for the first time here, and an attempt is then made to group the dialects systematically.

My introduction to Kurdish, in 1951, I owe to Mr. C. J. Edmonds and it is a pleasure to record my gratitude to him for his help and encouragement at all times. The award of a most generous Studentship, 1953–5, by the Committee for Studentships in Foreign Languages and Cultures of H.M. Treasury made it possible for me to visit Iraq and to record new linguistic material. In Iraq my work was lightened by the liberal help and interest of so many Kurds, of all stations in life, that to mention all here would be impossible. I must, however, express my special thanks to Messrs. Fuad Reshid Bekr and Hasan Husein of Suleimaniye and Hashim Haji Hasan of Akre for their continued interest and co-operation.

Beside published works, and my own notes, I have occasionally made reference to the manuscript material collected by Oskar Mann. I am particularly grateful to the Directors of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, and the Institut für Orientforschung of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin for so generously placing this material at my disposal.

The basis of this work was approved by the University of London for the degree of Ph.D. in 1957. Professor W. B. Henning acted as supervisor of my research, and I am profoundly grateful to him for his munificent advice, criticism, and help both then and since.

It remains only for me to acknowledge my great debt to the School of Oriental and African Studies for accepting this work for the London Oriental Series and for meeting the cost of publication.

The texts which complement these studies are to be published shortly in the same Series under the title Kurdish Dialect Studies II.

1959

D. N. M.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA


p. 96, last line. For arāyawa read gaṛāyawa.

p. 195, line 28. For girīn² read girīn⁻².

p. 225, line 2. Delete double line before [Unaspirated stops].

p. 228, last line. For hāwurdin read hāwirdin.
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# ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
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<td>Akre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Am.*</td>
<td>Amadiye</td>
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<td>Ar.</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arb.*</td>
<td>Arbil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad.</td>
<td>Bādīnān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar.*</td>
<td>Barwarī-šōr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bin.*</td>
<td>Bingird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bot.</td>
<td>Bo(h)tan</td>
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<tr>
<td>BX.†</td>
<td>Bedir-Xan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dhk.</td>
<td>Dohuk</td>
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<tr>
<td>É.</td>
<td>Edmonds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gul.*</td>
<td>Gullū</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hak.</td>
<td>Hakari</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kd.</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KK.</td>
<td>Kurdoev</td>
</tr>
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<td>Muk.†</td>
<td>Mukrī</td>
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<tr>
<td>NP.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Piż.*</td>
<td>Piżdar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rdz.*</td>
<td>Rewandiz</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rwn.</td>
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<td>Sūrēt</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

Zeb. Zêbâřî (tribe in Ak. district).
Zx.* Zakho (town and district of Mosul province).

* Numbers following these abbreviations indicate the paragraph of the recorded texts, to be published separately (see Preface); a line — indicates ‘from MS. notes’.
† Numbers following these abbreviations indicate:
BX — page of Bedir-Xan, Langue kurde;
KK — paragraph of Kurodov, Grammatika kurdskogo jazyka;
Muk. — page and line of texts, or § paragraph of the Grammatische Skizze, in Mann, Mundart der Mukri-Kurden.

Ø indicates a morpheme ‘zero’.
- indicates a bound morpheme, or an enclitic.
( ) indicates ‘optional form’.
/ separates ‘alternative forms’.
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

(See also, Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie, I. 2. 253)


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INTRODUCTION

Brevis esse laboro . . .

The survey of Kurdish dialects which follows is based primarily on material gathered during a visit to Iraqi Kurdistan in 1954–5. Only in the case of the Suleimani dialect has it been possible to supplement this material where necessary with examples from printed sources.

It was originally intended to spend an equal period of time in the Kurdish-speaking areas of Turkey and Iraq. In the event, permission not being forthcoming from the Turkish authorities, some ten months were spent in northern Iraq, between Halebjé and Zakho (Map B). From the towns of Suleimaniye and Akre as bases visits were made to the centres of as many dialect areas as could profitably be covered in the time available.

Where possible the linguistic notes made were supported by connected texts, either taken down directly from dictation or recorded on magnetized tape and then transcribed. Inevitably these texts are of unequal value, according both to the nature of their authors and to the possibility of checking them. However, of the texts transcribed without the assistance of the authors those from Barwār, Barwārī, Barwārī-Ŝor are the only ones presented about which any serious doubt remains.

Throughout the history of Kurdish dialect studies it has been notoriously difficult to find trustworthy informants, even in situ. Thus Chodzko’s informant in Paris was an aristocrat better acquainted with Turkish and Persian than with his mother tongue; Prym and Socin were obliged to obtain most of their Kurdish texts from an Aramaic-speaking Christian and an itinerant Jewish story-teller; Makas’s Mardini Kurd, who had travelled for years in Eastern Europe, was telling stories he had heard twenty years before; even in recent years the authors of the Kurdoev–Cukerman texts were refugees who had arrived in the Caucasus by stages from various parts of Turkey.

The same difficulty was encountered in Iraq in certain cases. Thus the author of the main Bingirdî text (Bin. 314–79), a man of about twenty-five years of age, had lived for about one year in
Piżdar; the Xōsnāw speaker, some forty years old, had worked for a dozen years in cosmopolitan Arbil; the Sūrēçi speaker, well past his fiftieth year, had lived for the past two years on the outskirts of Akre; the forty-year-old Gulli informant had lived for about ten years in Zakho.

A new factor disturbing dialectal purity is the spread of the ‘official’ Suleimani dialect throughout its home province and neighbouring Arbil. Thus the Wārmāwā (War. 188–207), Bingird (Bin. 299–313) and Arbil speakers had all either attended school or done their military service, and adopted certain Suleimani forms as a result. In the main, however, the pure dialect forms are clearly discernible in all the texts.

As the majority of the dialects treated here have not been recorded or described hitherto, the material is presented in the form of a descriptive grammatical sketch. On the basis of this description the features distinguishing the different dialects are then summarized. In the description the dialects are divided into two ad hoc groups purely for convenience. Not unnaturally, however, this division will be found to coincide in general with the grouping into Northern and Central dialects adopted in the summary. In the two groups the two dialects best represented, viz. Suleimani and Akre, are taken as the basis of the description, the other dialects being described only in so far as they differ from these. Where possible the dialects have been quoted in the following, approximately geographical, order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group I. Suleimani</th>
<th>Group II. (Sūrēçi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wārmāwā</td>
<td>Akre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bingird</td>
<td>Amadiye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piżdar</td>
<td>Barwārī-žōr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukri</td>
<td>Gulli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbil</td>
<td>Zakho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewandiz</td>
<td>(Sheikhan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xōsnāw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Throughout, the words ‘the . . . dialect(s) alone’, or the like, naturally imply ‘alone of those here studied’.

Of previous descriptions of these and neighbouring dialects the following, which have appeared within the last hundred years, alone merit attention.
INTRODUCTION

For the Suleimani dialect the first sketch is that of Chodzko. It is inaccurate in a number of details, some of them hard to explain (e.g. یور reni ‘fox’, for یابوی), but suffers most from the deficiencies of the informant. His frequent, but not constant, pronunciation of $r$ for $l$ might be explained as an aristocratic peculiarity (cf. § 14), or as a non-Suleimani form, hardly as an older dialect form.

Both the grammars of Soane give a highly subjective description of the language. Many forms given are divorced from reality (e.g. the paradigms of intransitive verbs in the past tenses, conjugated here as if transitive) and there would be little point in making reference to these details merely to correct them. Even the vocabulary is suspect, in that a great deal of it has been taken uncritically from disparate sources.

Edmonds's description, unfortunately not yet in print, was made available to me by the author as an invaluable introduction to the study of Kurdish. My description of Suleimani, although it may differ in the manner of presentation, is essentially the same as that of Mr. Edmonds. Only where he intentionally errs, from the point of view of dialect purity, in favour of normalization has it been necessary to note the divergence.

The most recent description of a single Kurdish dialect is that of Dr. McCarus. His Descriptive Analysis of the Kurdish of Sulaimaniya is an interesting exercise in modern linguistic description. It is regrettable, therefore, that the writer soon parts company with fact and never fully regains touch. As an analysis of the dialect its value is thus somewhat impaired.

The grammars written by Kurdish scholars are of another stamp, being primarily prescriptive in character. An early attempt is that of Sa'id Şidqi. Although his analysis is somewhat naïve, and leans towards the Arabic grammatical system, the result is an honest and useful description of the Suleimani dialect at a time shortly after its rise to the dignity of an official written language.

Tawfiq Wahbi's first grammar, published in the following year, is more scientific in character. The writer is, however, concerned to purge the language of its non-Kurdish elements and is accordingly prone to theorize. For this reason he must be followed with caution.

The most recent work is that of Nuri 'Ali Amin. Although more

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1 e.g. the ghost-word purs 'pig', cf. Benveniste, BSL, xliv. 88.
2 See my detailed review in BSOAS, xxi. 591.
ambitious, and showing an acquaintance with English grammatical terminology, it could be described *mutatis mutandis* in almost the same terms as Şidqi’s earlier work. A comparison of the two books gives a valuable idea of the neologisms which have been introduced into the dialect in the course of the last thirty years of development.

Mann’s grammatical sketch of the Mukri dialect is quoted throughout for the sake of comparison with the neighbouring Sorani dialects. Any disagreement with Mann’s description is specifically noted. Fossum’s grammar of the same dialect, with its attachment to the written form, adds nothing to Mann’s analysis.

Of the Budehen dialects Jardine’s short grammar gives a quite accurate basic description. Covering as it does, however, some half-dozen dialects it is not a suitable source for our purposes. Beidar’s grammar of the Zakho and neighbouring dialects is entertaining but useless. Indeed, without a good knowledge of the dialect it is almost impossible to interpret the texts given in ‘transliteration’.

Rhea’s sketch of the Hakari dialect is accurate but, although this is nowhere stated, it bears unmistakable signs of representing two or more dialects, presumably those of the Gewer and Urmiye areas in the first place.¹

There remain the more derivative descriptions of Kurdish in Justi’s grammar and Socin’s sketch in the *Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie*. Both scholars were severely limited by the information at their disposal. For the dialects covered here only Chodzko’s material, discussed above, was available.

Apart from grammatical descriptions there are two sets of texts which can be quoted. The texts from Nehri, southern Hakari, published by M. Nikitine, being in the Persian script, give a good idea of indigenous ‘phonemic theory’. At the same time they suffer from the limitations of the script and to some extent require interpretation. They can, therefore, only be quoted here in cases of certainty. It is hoped to publish other material from this source, with a full commentary, at a later date.

The ‘Kurdish Songs’ of Dr. Mokri are mainly important for the information they provide concerning the lesser-known dialects of southern, Persian, Kurdistan. Nevertheless, the few Suleiman and Mukri songs given provide useful corroborative evidence.

¹ *e.g. ‘khaustin or kautin or kastin, v. fall’, ‘khin or khan [i.e. *xūn : xūn], n. blood’*.
INTRODUCTION

As it was found impossible to visit eastern Turkey no new material could be obtained concerning the Kurdish dialects of that area. While there is quite a large number of published Kurdish texts from the area—those of Dufresne (fl. As., 1910), Egiazarov (Tiflis, 1891), Hadank, Jaba, Kurdoev–Cukerman, Le Coq, Lerch, Lescot, Makas, Prym–Socin, &c.—they are extremely unequal in a number of particulars and, above all, lack uniformity. To have included a description of them, with the necessary apparatus criticus, would have enlarged this survey disproportionately.

Fortunately valuable evidence relating to these dialects has recently come to light. The material collected by Oskar Mann in the course of his 1966–7 journey from Aleppo to Mosul, via Urfa, Siverek, Diyarbekir, Bitlis, Jezire, and Dohuk, has mostly survived the upheavals of the Second World War and is now divided between the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, and the Institut für Orientforschung of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. This material provides a valuable unifying link between these Kurdish texts from Turkey and, moreover, records the dialects as they were before the displacement of Kurdish tribes which followed the First World War. The publication of Mann’s material will provide the opportunity to reassess the texts mentioned above.

Apart from the dialect texts quoted there have recently appeared two indigenous grammars of northern Kurdish, those of Bedir-Xan and Kurdoev. Both are normalized and as such do not provide an ideal source of information for a dialect study. However, they are cited parenthetically in the description of the Bādinānī dialects when they give features common to the Kurdish dialects of Turkey and the Caucasus, but contrasting with Bādinānī.

The studies of Cukerman, Miller, and Sokolova are highly specialized and largely deal with dialects beyond the scope of this survey. The same can be said of Barr’s description of Andreas’s southern Kurdish texts. These latter have been expressly excluded from this survey because of the lack of sufficient new evidence. This is now provided, however, by Mann’s manuscript material and will also be the subject of later work.
PART I

PHONOLOGY

A. DIALECTS OF GROUP I

SULEIMANIYE DIALECT (Kd. Silaymānt)

Phonemic System

§ 1. The Sul. dialect has the following phonemic system of twenty-nine consonants (including two semi-vowels, and with one important additional allophone)¹ and nine vowels:²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental, Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Pharyngeal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop and Affricate</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ġ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h ('³)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>(ə)²</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² Although this dialect has for some years been the vehicle of Kd. publications in Iraq the modified Arabic script now generally used represents not this, but an ‘ideal’ Sul. dialect with the phonemic system of the Piž., Muk. dialects (q.v. § 78).
Consonants

Labial

§ 2. $p$ is normally a voiceless, aspirated, bilabial plosive [p'].

§ 3. $b$ is a voiced, unaspirated, bilabial plosive [b]. In secondary contact with a following voiceless consonant it may be devoiced [ʃ], e.g.

\[ ēt bikam \quad [ˈtʃiː bʊkˈam] \]

§ 4. $f$ is a voiceless, labio-dental fricative [ʃ].

§ 5. $v$ is a voiced, labio-dental fricative [v]. It is extremely rare, occurring mainly in such sound-imitative words as $giv(v)a$ ‘whirr’ and by assimilation, as in

\[ ḫarıda [ˈhavɾa] < *ḥafda \quad tāvga [taːvɾa] < *tāfga \]

§ 6. $m$ is a voiced, bilabial nasal [m].

Dental and alveolar

§ 7. (a) $t$ is normally a voiceless, aspirated, dental plosive [t']. It has two other allophones of restricted occurrence.

(b) The ‘euphonic’ final consonant of the 2nd and 3rd Sg. verbal endings (v. § 208 (c)) is unaspirated [t]. When in pause, or followed by an initial consonant, the plosive is not released.

(c) The $t$ of the 2nd Sg. pronominal suffix -(i)t (v. § 197) may be realized as the unaspirated stop [t] or, more commonly, as a continuant [ɾ] (v. § 37). In view of this unpredictable alternation the continuant allophone may, where necessary, be written $t$, e.g.

\[ bitgirim [ˈbitgɾɪm] \sim bɪtʃɪrɪm [ˈbɪʃɩɾɪm] \]
\[ ēt kird [ˈtʃiːt kʰɪɾd] \sim ēt kird [ˈtʃiːɾ kʰɪɾd] \]

Following $i$, $u$ in final position this $t$ is frequently not realized, e.g.

\[ ʃəwɔk\i(t) \quad a\iɾameː \quad səwe:kʰi(t) \quad aɾameː \]
\[ mirdû(t) \quad mɨɾe [mir`duː mɾeː] \]

It is assimilated by a following nasal or lateral, e.g.

\[ nɔtɔsîm [nɔːnɾaːsîm] \quad ēt lɛ kird [tʃiːls: kʰɪɾd] \]
§ 8. *d* has two regular allophones.

(a) In initial and postconsonantal position it is normally preserved as a voiced, unaspirated, dental plosive [d], e.g.

\[\text{dast [dast]}\]  \[\text{dāyk [dā:ik]}\]
\[\text{nōxda [nɔ:zdə] '19'}\]  \[\text{kird [k'ird]}\]

Note, however,

\[\text{bayā 'Baghdad'}\]  \[\text{yānyza '11', &c.}\]

(b) In inter- and postvocalic position it is normally realized as the continuant [a] (v. § 37), e.g.

\[\text{āmāda [a:ma:3a]}\]  \[\text{nāwadā [nā:u3a:r]}\]
\[\text{libād [liːbəː]}\]  \[\text{bad [bə]}\]

It may, however, be lost entirely, e.g.

\[\text{bādam, bāam [bəː3am, bəːam]}\]  \[\text{maωlā [mauːlu]}\] Ar.  \[\text{maωlūd}\]

(c) Following *m*, *n*, *l*, *v*, *y*, it is assimilated, e.g.

\[\text{zāmdār [zaːmːmaːr]}\]  \[\text{birīndār [briːnːnaːr]}\]
\[\text{dildār [diːlːaːr]}\]  \[\text{ḥavda [ḥavːa]}\]  \[\text{maydān [məjːjaːn]}\]

§ 9. The *d* of the verb *dān* 'to give' is exceptional in that it behaves in almost all positions as medial *d* (v. § 8 (b, c)).

(a) Normally it is realized as the continuant [a], as a semivowel, e.g.

\[\text{dāya [ʔaːje]}\]  \[\text{adātē [ʔaː:tə]}\]

or as a vowel, e.g.

\[\text{ḥal dirāwa [ʔalaɾaːwa]}\]

Between two vowels it may, however, be lost, e.g.

\[\text{a(d)ātē [ʔaː:tə:]}\]  \[\text{b(id)arawə [ʔaɾəwa]}\]  \[\text{n(ad)āː [ʔnaːje]}\]

(b) In proximity to *y*, *i*, *e*, *ay*, it may be realized as *[j]*, e.g.

\[\text{dāya [jaːje]}\]  \[\text{nādayn [ʔnaːjeːn]}\]  \[\text{fīː dayt [frɛːjɛt]}\]

(c) It is assimilated by preceding *m*, *n*, *l*, *y*, e.g.

\[\text{bīmdār [bimmarəː]}\]  \[\text{amāndātē [amə:nəː:tə:]}\]
\[\text{tēy ḥal dān [tʔeːj haːlːan]}\]  \[\text{aydam [ʔiːjəm]}\]

\[1\] Cf. the realization of the initial *d* (with, however, medial position) in the following fixed, obscene, phrase: *la qusi dāykī(t) bim* [la q'usi: jaːik'i bim].
Only following $t$ is the plosive realization [d] preserved, e.g. 
\[ atdâte \ [at\d\a\te:] \]

§ 10. (a) $s$ is normally a voiceless, alveolar fricative [s].

(b) In three words only this normal realization alternates with an 'emphatic' alveolar fricative [s], the Ar. ص, viz.

\[ sad \ [s\a\d, s\a\d] '100', cf. NP. spelling صد \]
\[ ßast \ [ß\a\s\t, ß\a\s\t] '60', cf. NP. spelling شست \]
\[ sag \ [s\a\g, s\a\g] 'dog', cf. Ak. sa (v. § 118). \]

This need not be considered as more than a phonetic variant.

§ 11. $x$ is a voiced, alveolar fricative [z].

§ 12. (a) $n$ is normally a voiced, dental nasal [n]. In ûfû alone it may be vocalic [‘n\d\a\’] (v. § 41 (a) fn.).

(b) [n] does not, apparently, occur before a velar plosive, the only nasal in this position being [ŋ], e.g.

\[ [gul\i\ŋ\k\’a, mi\w\a\ŋ\k\’a, fi\ŋ\ga\:r] \]

A separate phoneme $y$ exists (v. § 24) and [ŋk, ng] might accordingly be taken simply as phoneme groups *ŋk, yg. They are often, however, demonstrably realizations of n+$k$, g, e.g.

\[ a-+yân+kîrd \ [i\j\a\ŋ\k\’i\rd] \quad bôn ka \ [’b\o\ŋ\k\’a] \]
\[ bân+guš \ [b\a\ŋ\’gu\j] \]

and there is no objection to considering them as nk, ng respectively in all contexts. No ambiguity is caused thereby. The velar nasal [ŋ] before a homorganic plosive is, therefore, an allophone of n, the examples above representing:

\[ gul\i\n\k\a, mi\w\n\k\a, Šing\a \]

The group ng is, however, often reduced to [ŋ] $y$, e.g.

*âsingär > âsinâr

§ 13. l is a voiced, dental, lateral non-fricative [l].

§ 14. l is a voiced, velarized, dental lateral [l]. It does not occur in initial position.

With some, rare, speakers it appears to be realized as a retroflex lateral [l]. Some women speakers (perhaps affectedly) replace l by r (cf. § 98).
§ 15. \( r \) is a voiced, alveolar single flap [ɾ]. It does not occur in initial position. It may be assimilated by a following lateral, e.g. 

\textit{har la} [ʰʔalla]

§ 16. \( ɾ \) is a voiced, alveolar roll or trill [ɾ].

**Palatal**

§ 17. \( ʈ \) is a voiceless, palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ].

§ 18. \( ʃ \) is a voiced, palato-alveolar affricate [dӡ].

§ 19. Apart from the symmetry introduced thereby into the phonemic system (v. § 1) the consideration of \( ʈ, ʃ \) as unit phonemes rests on the nature of their relation to other consonant groups. Thus (v. § 56):

(i) Other possible affricate groups, such as \( ʃʃ, ʰ ɾ \), do not occur at all. \( ʰ ɾ, ɾɾ, ʰ ɾ, ɾt \), and \( ɾt \) occur in initial position only as a result of secondary contact.

(ii) No groups of three consonants occur in initial position except \( [tʃk', tʃq, tʃt, tʃw, dӡg, dӡw, dӡj] \). In medial position no three-consonant groups beginning with a stop occur beside \( [tʃk', tʃq, tʃm, tʃr, dӡg] \). In final position no three-consonant groups occur apart from \( [ndӡ, ɾtʃ, ɾdӡ] \).

In each case the interpretation of \( [tʃ, dӡ] \) as \( ʈ, ʃ \) respectively obviates the exception.

§ 20. \( ʰ ɾ \) is a voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ].

§ 21. \( ɾ ɾ \) is a voiced, palato-alveolar fricative [ɾ].

**Velar**

§ 22. \( k \) is normally a voiceless, aspirated, velar plosive [k'].

§ 23. \( g \) is a voiced, unaspirated, velar plosive [g].

§ 24. (a) \( ɾ \) is a voiced, velar nasal [ɾ]. It never occurs in initial position.

(b) In \( qîn \) alone is it vocalic [qʠ]. In certain numerals only, in the context \( ɾn \) (v. § 193), the tongue dorsum does not touch the velum, the result being a nasalized frictionless continuant [ɾ] (and not a simple nasalization of the preceding vowel), e.g. 

\[ yǎn ɾə [jãːɾə] \]
When [ŋ] is followed, as occasionally happens in medial position, by a velar plosive it may be considered as an allophone of n (v. § 12 (b)), e.g.

\[\text{bāŋ, but } \text{bāŋ\textsuperscript{g}}\text{ūf] } bāngūf\]

§ 25. k, g, and y are all strongly palatalized by a following front vowel or the semi-vowel y, thus:

\[\text{kē [c'ē:] } \text{gēz [jēgMUX] } \text{fāŋē [t̪'arjē] (not [t̪'rapē])}\]

In the case of k, g this leads, but very rarely, to a vulgar pronunciation of k(y), g(y) as affricates approaching [tʃ, dʒ].

§ 26. x is a voiceless, velar fricative [x].

§ 27. y is the corresponding voiced, velar fricative [ɣ]. It occurs comparatively rarely.

Post-velar

§ 28. q is a voiceless, uvular plosive [q]. It is not normally aspirated except before u.

§ 29. h is a voiceless, pharyngal fricative [h].

§ 30. ʼ is a voiced, pharyngal fricative [ʕ], less tense than the corresponding Ar. ħ.

§ 31. Both h and ʼ appear in Kd. words in place of etymological h and [ʔ] (v. § 33). The incidence of h is regular, e.g.

\[\text{ḥawt 'seven' } \text{ḥīz 'lecher'}\]

but ʼ alternates almost freely with [ʔ], especially in initial position, e.g.

\[\text{āsmān } \sim \text{ʻāsmān 'heaven' } \text{am(m)ār } \sim \text{ʻamār 'granary'}\]

and in words of Ar. origin,

\[\text{amr } \sim \text{ʻamr 'order; age' } \text{qur'ān } \sim \text{qur'ān 'Coran'}\]

§ 32. h is a voiceless, glottal fricative, a full aspirate [h].

§ 33. (a) [ʔ], the glottal stop, occurs only in initial position before vowels, under the following conditions:

(i) Following a pause, or a final vowel, an initial vowel other than e (v. § 43) is normally preceded by [ʔ]. The modal prefix
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a- (v. § 206 (a)), however, is generally only so preceded after a pause. Thus:

\[ bō\ aw [bɔ: \text{ʔau}], \text{but} bō\ aykay [bɔ: \text{ʔik}’\text{ʔ}] \]

(ii) Following a final consonant, the conjunction ˚à ‘and’, the Izafe ˚ (v. § 183), and the prepositions baraw, la, an initial vowel is generally not preceded by [ʔ]. The appearance of the glottal stop in these contexts indicates ‘careful’ or ‘emphatic’ speech.

The glottal stop does not occur intervocalically, even at a morpheme juncture, thus:

\[ ahāt [\text{ʔa’hā,t}], \text{but} naahāt [\text{ʔnaahā,t}] \]

(b) The glottal stop is thus not a distinguishing feature of any utterance and cannot be considered as a consonant phoneme of Kurdish. It does occur, however, in a few unassimilated loanwords from Arabic, and is then written as ’, e.g.

\[ su’āl ‘question’, beside swāl ‘begging’ \]

Semi-vowels

§ 34. w is a bilabial (back) frictionless continuant [w]. When it is followed by a front vowel there is a slight fronting of the tongue, giving [w > u].

§ 35. (a) y is a palatal (front) frictionless continuant [j].

(b) Between vowels the realization of y is sometimes almost imperceptible, e.g. -āya- [-a:\text{ʔ}a-], particularly in the contexts ū, ē, ɵ–y–a, ā, e.g.

\[ kursiyak [k’ur\text{ʔi}’\text{ʔak}’] \quad dīyān [d\text{ʔi}’\text{ʔa:n}] (v. § 60) \]
\[ dēyak [d\text{ʔe}’\text{ʔak}’] \quad lēyān [l\text{ʔe}’\text{ʔa:n}] \]
\[ gōyak [’g\text{ʔe}’\text{ʔak}’] \quad gōyān [’g\text{ʔe}’\text{ʔa:n}] \]

§ 36. Many speakers regularly substitute the group wē for yō in initial or medial position, e.g.

\[ yōnān > wēnān ‘Greece’ \quad bālyōx > bālwēx ‘ambassador’ \]
\[ milyōn > milwēn ‘million’ \quad qarawēla < \text{Tk.} \ karyola ‘bed’ \]
\[ tanturwēt < \text{Fr.} \ ‘\text{teinture}’ (d’)iode’ \]

1 The Sul. Kd. orthography has ˚ before all vowels in initial position, and even medially, thus ˚nēhēt, ˚hēhēt, rather than ˚nēhēt, ˚hēhēt, ˚nēhēt, ˚hēhēt. This seems to be an unnecessarily misleading adaptation of the Ar. script.
The group wë, of other origin, may alternate with ø in certain contexts (v § 44 (b)).

§ 37. [æ], an allophone of t and d (v. §§ 7, 8), is a half-close, central continuant, accompanied by a raising of the tip of the tongue towards the position of realization of a dental stop.

Vowels

§ 38. (a) Of the nine vowel phonemes three, a, i, u, are 'short'. i (v. § 41 (c)) is particularly unstable.

(b) The phoneme ø is exceptional, being realized as a diphthong (v. § 44). The remaining 'long' vowels, i, e, a, ø, æ, are normally stable, but may be shortened in final, unstressed position. Only in the case of ø is there any possibility of confusion with another phoneme, viz. a.

§ 39.

§ 40. i is a very close, front vowel [i:], or shorter [i] in final, unstressed position. In unstressed position preceding another vowel it may be reduced to [j], e.g.

*xistia bæxæli* [xist'jæ bæ:xæli:]
§ 41. *i* has two normal allophones, and may also alternate with zero.

(a) In initial position in a word\(^1\) or syllable, or in contact with the semi-vowel *y*, it is a half-close, front vowel [*i*] (v. § 60), e.g.

\[išt [iʃt'] \quad āsāšt [q:ɔː:iʃt']\]

(b) In medial\(^2\) or final position in the syllable it is a half-close, front-central [*i*], varying somewhat in position according to the following consonant, e.g.

\[pišt [p'iʃt'] \quad nāwi ['naːwi]\]

(c) In unstressed position between two consonants *i* is generally not realized, provided that no impermissible consonant group is thereby caused (v. § 56). Thus, compare

\[bikam ['bik'am] \quad : \quad ēti bikam [tʃi: ʰb'k'am]\]
\[birdin [bir'din] \quad : \quad birdinawa [birdna'wa]\]
\[dasim [d'asim] \quad : \quad dasima [dasma]\]
\[dīwim [diːwim] \quad : \quad dīwimī [didiːmiː]\]
\[nārdit(ə) ['naːrditi] \quad : \quad nārditi ['naːrditi']\]

§ 42. The instability of the phoneme *i* raises an important problem of orthography. A large number of words appear to have initial groups of two consonants (v. § 56 (a)). When these words are subject to a change of stress, however, they are frequently seen to contain a phoneme *i*, not normally realized, e.g.

\[birā [bɾaː], but [b'ɾaː] 'O brother!' (v. § 181 (a))\]
\[šitīn [ʃiːn] 'to wash', but dasī(t) šit [dasiʃit'] 'have you washed your hands?';\]
\[from biɾīn [bɾiːn] 'to cut', aybīɾīm [aːbɾiːm] 'I cut it', but qalambir [qalam'bir] 'penknife' (v. § 253 (a) (ii)).\]

To most sophisticated Kurds the theoretically polysyllabic nature of such words as *dirēz, kirān, pilāw, sipī, &c.*, is evident, despite the regular realization as [dɾeːz, kraːn, pʰɾaːu, sp‘iː:], &c.\(^3\) This

\(^1\) The sole recorded exception is the word *infa* [iːndʒaː], more commonly [iːndʒaː].

\(^2\) The only exception recorded is the word *linj* [lindʒ].

\(^3\) An application of this is to be found in the prosodic value of such
analysis has, accordingly, been accepted in this work wherever appropriate.

§ 43. .bd is a half-open, front vowel [e:] (or shorter [e'] in final unstressed position) except in the diphthong [e:i], where it approaches a half-close [e:]. In initial or postvocalic position it is preceded by a fleeting anticipatory raising of the tongue, giving [l:e:], e.g.

em [l:e:m]  aēšā [aːl:e:-ʃə:]  

The same occurs following N, e.g. Nē [pːl:e:], while a preceding velar stop or nasal is palatalized (v. § 25).

§ 44.  (a)  bd is a diphthong [ææ], i.e. formed by the progressive unrounding of the lips while the tongue remains in the half-open, front position. Sometimes it is a falling [læː], sometimes a rising [gæː] diphthong. Usually a speaker will realize the diphthong in one way only, but occasionally both forms may be heard from the one person.

(b) [ææ] is here considered as a single vowel phoneme, since [æ] never occurs independently of [e] and the diphthong always appears in a single syllable. In Kd. orthography the vowel is, inevitably, generally written ə, and has at times been transliterated as æ.  bd, unlike æ, never appears in initial position, while both may appear in medial position (v. § 36), e.g.

wērān, bālēwēs, bilēr

Final bd is distinguished from bd by the suffixes -aka, -awa (v. § 171 (c)), e.g.

dēː-akā > dēkā  
donēː-awa > donēwa  

gōː-akā > goyakā  
koː-awa > koyawa

words. In both metrical and syllabic verse the i-syllable seems more often to be counted present than absent. For example:

-oo- | -oo- | -oo- | -oo-
Zer kara hānim odā dāxi darūni pūr-girim,
bēti kal ŋēsemi sikhād nāsikī garām ŋ ugušim;
dāxānum, kātē ha ēma bardamit wāgi wušim
wām alēwēnē ba jōrē nāyalē hič dar birim.
Hardi.

Decasyllabic,

La šēr mēzārā malay nūstāwa
qiyyāfat paʃpūt wah hitēbī kūn

Gērān.
Corresponding to -(i)wē- [ʁe:] the realization [œː] is normally heard in Sul., e.g.

\[ n(i)wēx [nœː3] > nox [nœː3] \]

cf. \[ ðinēw [ðiwsːu] > *țițën > jon [dʒoːn] \]

The converse is not, however, true. Thus

\[ gez [jøɛz] nowhere appears as [jœːz] *g(i)wēx \]

\( o \) has, therefore, an identity distinct from ûē.

§ 45. \( a \) has two allophones. Normally it is an open, front-central vowel [a]. In contact with \( i \) or \( y \) it is a half-open, front vowel [e], more close preceding\(^1\) and more open following \( i, y \), e.g.

\( yak [jɛk'] \quad gaîn [ges'în] \)

§ 46. (a) \( õ \) is an open, front-central vowel [œː], slightly more open and back than the corresponding short \( a \). Preceding \( i, y \), it is even more open and back. In final, unstressed position, as [œː], it may be confused with \( a \).

(b) \( õ \) has the effect of appreciably deaspirating a preceding voiceless stop, \( p, t, \) or \( k \), e.g.

\[ [pɛːʃ] : [paːʃ] \]

§ 47. (a) \( ð \) is normally a medium, back vowel [oː] (or [oˑ] in final unstressed position) with two other allophones.

(b) It appears before \( r, ř \), as a half-open, back vowel [œː].

(c) Followed in the same syllable by \( w \) it is closer, and preceded by a fleeting anticipatory lip-rounding, giving [ʷoːw], e.g.

\[ tōw [tʰoːwːu] \]

§ 48. \( u \) is invariably a half-close, back-central vowel [u].

§ 49. \( û \) is a close, back vowel [uː]. In unstressed position preceding another vowel it may be realized as [w], e.g.

\( kirdim û aykamaa \) [k'irdimwej'ama'wa]  

\(^1\) The realization [œː] is somewhat more close even than the normal realization of \( õ \), but in the same context \( õ \) is much closer [œː(j)] (v. § 43).
§ 50. There are three classes of diphthongs in the Sul. dialect, namely those ending in:

(i) a close, front vowel [ɛːi, ɛɛi, ɛi, ɑːi, ɔːi, uːi]
(ii) a close, back vowel [iːu, ɛːu, ɛɛu, au, aːu, oːu]
(iii) a half-close, central [ə], [iːə, ɔː, ɛːə, ɔː, ɞ, ʊː]

§ 51. Class (i). When these diphthongs are followed by another vowel their syllabic character is destroyed, e.g.

[ɛːiː 'min], but [ɛːiː ˈiːk’]

Thus they cannot be regarded as single phonemes.

[ɛːi, ɑːi], &c., are to be clearly distinguished from [ɛːiː, ɑːiː], &c., e.g.

[mɛːi] ‘wine’
[mɛːiː] ‘it congealed’
[maːiŋ] ‘we stayed’
[maːiːn] ‘mare’

Thus the second element of the diphthong cannot conveniently be regarded as a realization of i. It must rather be considered as representing the semi-vowel ɨ. Class (i) is then reducible to the groups ɛy (v. § 43), əy, ay (v. § 45), əɨ (v. § 46), əy, and əɨ.

§ 52. Class (ii). As with class (i) a following vowel destroys the syllabic character of these diphthongs, e.g.

[aːu], but [ɑːːwː ˈk’]

On the analogy of class (i) it is convenient to consider these diphthongs as phoneme groups with w as the second member, thus ɨw, ɛw, əw, aw, əw, and əw (v. § 47 (c)).

§ 53. ə occurring only as an allophone of t or d (v. §§ 7, 8) the diphthongs of class (iii) represent ɨt, ɨt, ət, at or əd, ət or əd, ət, and ət.

Distribution of Phonemes

Consonants

§ 54. (α) The following oppositions show that all consonants, except l, y, r, v, appear and preserve their identity in initial position in the word.
All consonants occur individually in medial and final position, with the exception of 't', though stops, particularly voiced stops, are far less common than continuants in final, postvocalic position.

\[ p : b : f : v : m : w \]

pē 'foot' : bē 'without', bā 'wind' : fē 'paroxysm, fit' : mē 'ewe', mā 'remained' : wā 'thus'. pilāw 'pilaff' : bilāw 'spread' : filān 'such-and-such' : wilāt 'country'.

hapā 'peg' : 'abdā 'Abdullah' : xatāt 'grief' : giv(v)ā 'whirring' : ama 'this' : awa 'that'. kapr 'bower' : zabr 'power' : bafr 'snow' : amr 'life; order' : hawr 'cloud'.


\[ t : d : s : z : n \]

tāw 'power' : dāw 'snare' : zāw 'having borne, milch' : nāw 'name'. dēw 'demon', dēw 'side' : sēw 'apple' : zīw 'silver' : nīw 'half'. tirē 'grapes' : dirēš 'long' : sirēš 'glue' : zirē 'chain armour, zip-fastener' : dā nirē 'be put down'.

pōtalāk 'crest' : hōdā 'room' : kōsā 'beardless; swindler' : gōzā 'pitcher' : sōnā 'duck'. ūttū 'student's pension' : jādā 'magic' : paṛasū 'ribs' : tarāzū 'balance' : jwānū 'foal'.

lat 'fragment' : bad 'bad' : has 'enough' : baz 'suet' : tan 'body'. part 'scattered' : bard 'stone' : tars 'dung' : barz 'high' : qarn 'century'.

\[ s : z : š : ž \]


hasār 'wall' : hazār '1,000' : hašār 'camouflaged hide' : hažār 'wretched'. tāsā 'pang' : tāzā 'fresh' : lāsā 'corpses', wāšā 'hawk' : wāžā 'buzzing'.

tīr 'fear' : dirz 'split' : tirēš 'sour' : girēž 'sullen'.

šān 'shoulder' : žān 'pain', žīn 'life' : čīn 'fold' : čūn 'they went'. jūn 'to chew' : yān 'or'. šwān 'shepherd' : žwān 'tryst' : čwār '4' : jwān 'beautiful'.

pāsā 'hind', pēsā 'former' : gūzū 'jackdaw' : bēčū 'young of animal' : bājī 'elder sister'. xānčē 'innkeeper' : tānīf 'greyhound'. čāsn 'sort' : fažn 'celebration'.
gaš 'shining': gač 'lime': xaǰ 'Khadije': bōš 'good', bōš 'empty': ḫōz 'day; sun': pāč 'pickaxe': bāj 'tax': farš 'carpet': wurč 'bear': marǰ 'bet'.

c: j: k: g: q
čō 'go!': jō 'barley': kō 'mass', kōč 'march': gō 'ball': qōč 'horn'. jīr 'elastic, tough': gīr 'tenacious': qīr 'pitch'. čwār '4': ľwān 'beautiful': kōwā 'where is?': ľwān 'udder'. ľyā 'separate': ľyān 'soul'.
qōčaqty 'sling': kīlōjā 'manner': lōkā 'cotton': kōgā 'store': lōqā 'trot'.
pāč 'pickaxe': bāj 'tax': pāk 'clean': lōq 'leg'. pārč 'curve': marǰ 'bet': ark 'work': farq 'liver': farq 'difference'.

k: g: x: γ: y
kā 'straw', kō 'mass': gā 'ox', gō 'ball': xō 'self': yār 'gallop'.
kař 'deaf', kaw 'partridge': gōra 'mangy': xaw 'sleep'. kōwā 'where is?': ľwārā 'earring': xwā 'God'.
akā 'does': agā 'reaches': axā 'throws'. bēkār 'bachelor': bēgār 'corvée': zūxāw 'puss': liyāw 'bridle': harāw 'pace'.
bāk 'fear': bāx 'garden': sāγ 'well': bāŋ 'call'. tūk 'hair': dūg 'sheep's fat tail': dīx 'spindle'.

x: γ: h: ' : h
xāl 'mole': yār 'gallop': hāl 'condition'. xañāt 'grief': ľapā 'barking': ľabā 'Abdullah': ľapā 'peg'.
axām 'I throw': layām 'tunnel': ῥahātī 'funnel': bāhāst 'heaven'.
ľōx 'pretty': řōh 'spirit', lawh 'tablet': naw 'sort'. nirx 'price': biłh 'lazy'.

m: n: y (but see §§ 12 (b), 24 (c))
māl 'house': nāl 'horseshoe'. mālē 'do not say!': nālē 'he should not say'.
māmā 'the uncle': mānā 'meaning': māŋā 'cow'. dámā 'draughts': dānā 'grain'.
tam 'mist': tan 'body': tan 'tight'. mām 'uncle': mān 'resentment': māŋ 'moon'.

l: l: r: ţ
lē 'from it': řē 'road'. lūt 'nose': řėt 'naked'.
pałā 'haste': pałā 'stain': pařā 'increase': pařā 'page'. kōlān 'street': gōrān 'peasant': gōrān 'to change'.

(b) There is some occasional alternation of similar consonants, e.g.

s : z. zig ~ zik ~ sik ‘stomach’ (v. § 172 (d)). zīf ~ siz ‘tick’.

wariz ~ wəris ‘angry’.

k : q. kīn ~ qīn ‘hate’. līk ~ līq ‘branch’. rīk ~ riq ‘anger’.

x : γ. xam ~ γam ‘sorrow’. cōxā ~ cōyā ‘homespun jacket’.

čix ~ čiy ‘reed screen’.

’ : ‘. (’)amr ‘life; order’. (’)āsmān ‘heaven’. (’)amār ‘granary’ (v. § 31).

n : ɲ. mindil ~ mindil ‘child’. ban ~ baŋ ‘tied’ (v. § 57 (a)).

Vowels

§ 55. (a) ø alone of the vowel phonemes does not appear in initial position (v. § 44 (b)). i and u are rare in this position and appear in final position in only one instance (v. § 197 (a), note 2). Otherwise the vowels preserve their identity in most positions, as the following oppositions indicate:

i : e : o : ā : ō : ā


i : a : u


Long vowel : short (i : i, &c.)


kərd ‘knife’ : kird ‘did’.


qəx ‘dandy’ : quz ‘vulva’.


A few words have alternative forms, ending in stressed a or ā, e.g. əstā = əstā ‘now’, ʃəgə = ʃəgə ‘road’.
Long vowel: diphthong (ē : ay, ō : aw)
ter 'satiated': tayr 'bird'. mē 'ewe': may 'wine'.
hōr 'sack': hawr 'cloud'. kō 'mass': kaw 'partridge'.

(b) The distinction between i : u is neutralized in contact with w, or in proximity to a back vowel, e.g.

wirē = wurē 'bear', āwūy = āwūy 'dew', biřō = [bu:ro:] 'go!', biwērē = *buwērē [bu:e:re:] (v. § 60)

That between i : i is to some extent lost in initial position, e.g.

isrāhat [i:seg:hat'] = isrāhat [i:seg:hat'] 'rest'

Regarding the distinction between i : ī, u : ū see also § 60.

Consonant groups

§ 56. (a) Initial groups of two consonants are common in Sul., some eighty being recorded. Those having w or y as the second element are stable, e.g.

čwār, gyān, jyā, pwāz, pyāw, šwān, xwā

The remainder are mostly to be considered as the result of secondary contact, caused by the non-realization of an unstressed i (v. § 42). They fall into two groups, viz. those having l, l, r, or ū as the second element, e.g.

gilān [gil:n] pilāw [pila:u] girān [gra:n] fiřē [fire:] and those with an initial sibilant or affricate, e.g.


Possible exceptions in this class are the groups st-, šk-, which seem more stable.

No group of three or more consonants is permissible in initial position (cf. § 19).

(b) In medial position practically any two-consonant group containing a continuant or affricate (v. § 19) is tolerated. The only groups of two plosives recorded are bd, gb, kt, pk, pq, tk, tq. The only primary geminate groups in Kd. words are ll, lv, mn, nn, and rarely vv.

Groups of three consonants are rare, even in secondary contact. They are all of the pattern l, r, s + C + C, where rarely more than one of the consonants C is a plosive.
(c) Groups of no more than two consonants may occur in final position. Some forty are recorded, the commonest being

\[ l+m, k, m, q;\quad l+b, f, k, m, p;\quad n+j;\quad r+c, d, g, f, k, m, s, t, x, z, \ddot{z};\quad r+k, t;\quad s+k, m, p, q, t;\quad \ddot{s}+k, m, n, t;\quad xt;\quad zm;\quad \ddot{x}+d, m, n.\]

Some speakers, however, appear to be less able than others to realize even these groups in final position. Thus both \[asp\] and \[asp'\] are heard. This mainly affects loanwords from Ar., ending in a consonant group tolerated in medial but not generally in final position. In the latter case an unstressed, non-phonemic \[i\] is realized between the consonants of the group, e.g.

\[xalq [\text{xal}^4 \text{q}]\]
\[xalq bājī akā [\text{xal}^4 \text{q} \text{bā}^\text{\text{j}} \text{e}^\text{\text{k}}] \text{, but}\]
\[xalqī kəy [\text{xalq}^\text{i} \text{kə}^\text{\text{e}}]\]

This vowel is not expressed as a phoneme, in contrast to a phonemic \(i\), realized in final but not necessarily in unstressed medial position (v. § 41 (c)), e.g.

\[ba əsik [ba ə\text{sik}'] \quad am əsikə手艺 [am ə\text{sik}^\text{\text{a}}]^\text{\text{na}}\]
\[hamū šit [ha^\text{m} \text{u}^\text{s} \text{t}] \quad hamū šitək [ha^\text{m} \text{u}^\text{s} \text{t} \text{e}^\text{k}']\]

§ 57. (a) The group \(nd\), formed by morpheme juncture, is normally realized as \([nn]\) (v. § 8 (c)). Otherwise the normal correspondence to the group \(nd\) of other dialects is Sul. \(n\) or \(\gamma\), less frequently \(mn\), e.g.

\[ban, \text{ban} : \text{band}, \text{di'r}^\text{i} \text{na} : \text{di'rinda}, \text{fan} : \text{fanad}\]
\[mənə : \text{mənd}^\text{u}, \text{min}^\text{dəl}, \text{miy}^\text{ə} \text{d} : \text{mind}^\text{dəl}, \text{şk}^\text{ə} \text{n}^\text{i} : \text{şkəndin},\]

but \(bannaxən\) : \(bannaxən\).

(b) The group \(st\) is normally stable in Sul.,\(^1\) e.g.

\[bist, \text{bista}, \text{dost}, \text{dəristən}, \&c.\]

and may even be introduced by analogy, e.g.

\[qastam < \text{Ar. q} \text{asam} \text{ 'oath', maqast} < \text{Ar. miq} \text{əəs} \text{ 'scissors'}\]

Certain words, however, with the group \(st\) in final position, have alternative forms in \(s\), e.g.

\[b\text{i} \text{s}(t), \text{das}(t), \text{kəs}(t), \&c.\]

\(^1\) But note the reduction of the heavy secondary group in \(\text{h} \text{o} \text{l} \text{st} \text{ən} > \text{h} \text{o} \text{l} \text{stən} \text{ or həstən}.\]
The group normally loses the \( t \) when it is followed by another consonant and if this be voiced then the \( s \) is also voiced,\(^1\) e.g.

\[
\text{\( \text{das}(t) \) n\( \text{ākawē} \) [daz \text{'nā:k'awē]} \)}
\]

cf. \( \text{dāsğā} \) [daz\text{'gā:}] \quad \text{dāsğīrān} \) [dazgi:\text{'tā:n}]

In one case the vowel is lengthened in compensation, viz.

\[
\text{dirust (\textit{hird, \&c})} \quad \text{[dru:s (\textit{'k'ird})]}\]

**Vowel groups**

§ 58. A feature of the Sul. dialect is the frequency of uninterrupt-

\[
\text{vowel groups, usually of a secondary nature, e.g.}
\]

\[
\text{āsālık} \) [\text{āsā:lıʃ}] \) (v. § 41 (a)) \quad \text{min ʉ aw} \) [\text{mi:n\text{u:}aw} (v. § 33 (a))
\]

\[
\text{wā akay} \) [\text{wā:ak'ęj}] \quad \text{law daştağ} \) [\text{la:w daʃ'ta:q}]
\]

With the presence of a semi-vowel longer groups of frictionless

\[
\text{continuants may arise, e.g.}
\]

\[
\text{lēy adā} \) [\text{le:jə:ŭa:}, \text{le:ja:ăː}]
\]

\[
\text{nērēn̩ač adâtē} \) [\text{ne:ri:nə:ə:qə,tə}]
\]

Such groups may, however, be contracted, e.g.

\[
\text{ba nōw am šårā} \quad \ldots \text{am šårā}
\]

§ 59. (a) In unstressed position the distinction between \[jə: \) -\( ya-, \)

\[-\text{ta-} \text{and} \) [\text{jıː:}] \) -\( ħ- \) appears to be lost. The former is generally per-

\nceived as the latter, e.g.

\[
\text{kuɾs̱iʃək'ą} \) [\text{k'uršısje:k'a}]
\]

\[
\text{aşn̩ōyawa} \) [\text{aʃ'ınə:jəwa}]
\]

\[
\text{intiʒ̱ri əkan} \) [\text{inti:'ziːre:k'ən}]
\]

Note, \( \text{yawāʃ [jə:wə:j]} \) \[
\text{hēwāʃ [hə:wə:j].}
\]

But following \( ā \) the reverse is the case, e.g.

\[
\text{nāɛm} \) [\text{nə:ɛm}]
\]

\[
\text{n̩adəč} \) [\text{nədətɛ}] \quad \text{n̩(ad)əya} \) [\text{nə:ja:}]\]

(b) The distinction between \[wə: \) -\( wə-, \)

\[u:a-\) -\( uə-, \)

\[-\text{wəə-}, \text{and} \) [\text{ʊ:] -\( ħ- \) is frequently lost, even in stressed position. They are
generally perceived as -\( ħ-, \)

\[
\text{örđuakā [ɔː:ɾduə:k'a]} \) > \text{örduakā [ɔː:ɾduə:k'a]}
\]

\[
\text{hāt sworn} \ldots \) [\text{hə:təwə:ta}]
\]

\[
\text{hātōta} \ldots \) [\text{hə:təq:ta}]
\]

\(^1\) Note the phrase, \( \text{r̩aʃ aʃay} \) [\text{ɾaʃə:ɔʃɛi}] \) 'You are right'.

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Note, Ar. muwaffaq > mofaq.
Conversely,

xøyän [ˈxɔːjɑːn] > xwayän [ˈkwɛjɑːn]

Note, əstə ~ wəstə 'master craftsman'.

§ 60. When a close vowel is followed by a related semi-vowel any distinction of length is lost in the realization. Thus -iy-, -i-, (-iyy-) are realized as [i:], e.g.

biygira [ˈbiːɡra]  biyāngira [ˈbiːaŋɡiːra]
čiyt [tʃiːt]  diyän [ˈdiːjn]
pirisi [pɪˈɾiːsiː]  kursiyak [kˈʊɾiːsiːk]  
Ar. niyyat > niyat (niːat) [niːˈʃt]  

Similarly [u:] may represent, beside ə, the groups -uvo- and -uuv- (-uvoov-), e.g.

biwērē > *buwērē [ˈbuːwɛɾeː] (v. § 55 (b))
būwin [ˈbuːwɪn]  čuwit [ˈtʃuːiːt]  
Ar. quowat > qūwat (qūat) [ˈquːat]  

WÄRMÄWA DIALECT

Phonemic System

§ 61. The War. dialect has the same phonemic system as the Sul. dialect (v. § 1). The realizations of a number of phonemes are, however, different. For comparison, therefore, following each paragraph number that of the corresponding paragraph of the Sul. section is given in parentheses.

Consonants

b, d, g

§ 62 (§ 3). In postvocalic position b coincides with w (v. § 67), e.g.

*fiwāb [dʒwaːu], *qabrisān [qaɾuɾsaːn], *aybam [ɡjwam]  
*aybīnim [eːjʊːniːm], *āfrasyāb [aːfraːjaːu]  
*taybāt [tʰjwaːtʰ] < Ar. tabīt, *qubūlī [quːliː]  

§ 63 (§ 8). d has the same realizations in medial and final positions
as Sul. d, viz. [q], &c., with the exception that it does not appear to be assimilated regularly by preceding i, y, m, &c., e.g.

sad [saː], badan [baːzan], hōda [hoːqɔa]
aydam [ejɔam], bimdarē [bimɔareː]

but [mejʃaːn] mayyān

§ 64 (§ 23). g. In intervocalic position and following n, r, y, z, the phoneme g appears as a voiced, frictionless continuant. The blade of the tongue approaches, but does not touch, the velum in the position of [g], producing IPA [w] with the lips in neutral position. This will be written [ɡ]. Following a vowel in a closed syllable the same sound forms a series of diphthongs [aɡ], &c., analogous to class (iii) (§ 50), e.g.

*āgir [aː gióː], *diɡān [diɡaːn], *saɡ [saɡ]
*ayɡirim [ejɔrim], *baɡzaːda [baɡzaːa]
*āsιŋɡar [aːsinɡar], *darɡa [daɾɡaː]
*mërg [meːɾɡ], *nişgara [nizɡara]

In the same contexts g occasionally disappears, e.g.:

*lagal [laɡal] > lēl [lɛːl], a(g)inā [eɡina]
miz(g)awt [mizautʰ]

§ 65. These developments do not in themselves alter the phonemic system, i.e. from the phonemic writing b, d, g, the medial, continuant realizations [w, ɣ, ɡ] would still be predictable. The case is altered, however, by the irregular occurrence of loanwords, be it from spoken Arabic or the dominant Sul. dialect, with intervocalic voiced plosives. The resulting confusion is well exemplified in the following sentences:

[aqeq] baqali bʊ: bidam. qaboːlim niːə
*ābē baqali bʊ: bidam. qabulim niːa

In certain verbal stems, moreover, the intervocalic continuant occurring in certain forms has been introduced into initial position, e.g.

wastî (Sul. bastî) after aywast (Sul. aybast)

Clearly, to preserve the predictability of the actual realization it is necessary to indicate in phonemic writing the incidence of either plosive or continuant allophones of b, d, g. Since a phoneme
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§§ 65-8

w already exists it is only necessary to mark the variant realizations [ə, ə] as ɣ and [ɣ] as ɣ, e.g.

\textit{fwəw, aywənim, taywət, qawrisən}, but qəlil (cf. § 62)
\textit{baqlan, ayqam, bimqarə} (cf. § 63)
\textit{ägir, baqzəda, mərg}, but aynə, mixawt (cf. § 64)

\textit{t}

§ 66 (§ 7). (a) When \textit{t} occurs in final position, i.e. in pause or followed by another consonant, and is preceded by \textit{a}, ā, it is realized as [ə], forming the diphthongs [əə, aːə], e.g.

\textit{hətim} [haːtʰim] but hət [haːt], kərət [karaː] Ar. karrat

(b) When \textit{t} is preceded by the diphthong aw it is not realized in final position, e.g.

\textit{kəwətim} [kəautʰim] but kəwət [kəaut], həwət [haʊə]

(c) As in § 65, these developments do not in themselves alter the phonemic system, since the spellings hət, kəwət, &c., would still indicate the realizations [haːə, kəaut], &c., but the irregular occurrence of Sul. dialect forms, such as [haːtʰ, kəautʰ], requires that the proper War. forms be distinguished by writing hət, kəwə(t), &c.

Semi-vowels

§ 67 (§ 34). \textit{w} is palatalized by a following \textit{y} or front vowel, giving [ʢ], e.g.

\textit{amawə biywənim} [amaːqː biːqːim]

\textbf{Vowels}

§ 68 (§ 39)
§ 69 (§ 41). i. Before ĝ, ĝ (v. § 65) and ĭ (§ 7 (c)), i is more close than otherwise, i.e. it is a close, central vowel [i], e.g.

hātīğim [hə:'tīğim], biṭkā [biŋkaː]

§ 70 (§ 43). ē is a half-close, front vowel [ɛː], coinciding with the position of ē in the Sul. diphthong ēy, in all positions. The War. diphthong ēy normally has a slight anticipatory raising of the tongue, e.g.

pēy [p'ɛːj].

§ 71 (§ 45). a. Both before and after ī, y the phoneme a is realized as a medium, front vowel [ɛ], coinciding with the position of a in the Sul. diphthong ay, e.g.

hayā [hejeː], ēmayā [ɛ:mjeː]

§ 72 (§ 47). ọ. The medium, back vowel [oː] is often preceded by an anticipatory lip-rounding, particularly following another vowel, e.g.

sordiŋma [(w)o:rdiŋma], pëo [p'ɛːwɔː]

§ 73 (§ 49). ā is sometimes palatalized by a following y or front vowel. The diphthong āy is then realized as [yːi], or simply [yː], e.g.

aparmûytō [ap'armyːiətɔː].

Modifications

Consonant groups

§ 74 (§ 57). (a) The group nd of other dialects (Sul. n or y) appears regularly as n, e.g.

[ma:nîŋ] māniŋ : Sul. māŋā
[zi:nâ:n] zînān : zînān
[tʃan] čan : čan, čan

(b) Corresponding to the medial and final st of other dialects the realization s is normal in War., e.g.
[dasak'] dasak : Sul. dastak
[zu:sa:n] zūsān : xistān
[misafā:] Misafā : Mistafā

Note the analogical back-formation in
rōstgār < NP. rōsgār

Vowel groups

§ 75. The group -iwi(i)- is sometimes contracted to [u:], e.g.

awim [a'wum] but biwim [bu:m]
awifi [a'wiri:] but biwifi [bu:ri-]

This [u:] is also palatalized by a following front vowel (v. § 73), e.g.

awēt [a'we:t] but biwēt [bu:e:t]
awīt [a'wi:t] but biwīt [bu:i:t, by:i:t, by:t]

§ 76. The group īg, when followed by i, y, is realized as [i:], e.g.

hātiği [ha:t'i:i:], wūtiğiya [wu:t'i:(j)i:]

This is the only recorded occurrence of [i:i:] or [i:j] (cf. § 60).

Treatment of loanwords

§ 77. Loanwords from Arabic suffer a variety of changes, e.g.

laqam ? < Ar. laqab ‘by-name’ da'b < Ar. daf ‘repulsion’
taf'i < Ar. tifl ‘child’—i

There is considerable confusion between h and i, e.g.

tamāh < Ar. tama’, tamā'at ‘desire’
mawqi'h < Ar. mawqi’ ‘place’ ma'b < Ar. māw ‘erasure’
even furhat < Ar. fur’at ‘courage’

Assimilation is common, particularly in the Ar. form maf'ul, which yields a measure mafmūl, e.g.

mafmar < Ar. mafbur ‘obliged’
maxmūt < Ar. madbūr ‘strong’
manmūn < Ar. mānum ‘thankful’
§ 78. The Bin., Piž. dialects have the following phonemic system of twenty-eight consonants (including two semi-vowels) and nine vowels:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\& p & t & ñ(c) & k & q \\
b & d & f(f) & g \\
f & s & ñ & x & ñ & h & h \\
v & z & ñ & ñ & y & ʰ & ʰ \\
m & n \\
l & l \\
r & r \\
w & y \\
i & u & ü \\
ê & o & å \\
a & å \\
\end{array}
\]

The only systemic difference from the Sul. dialect lies in the absence of a phoneme y (v. § 81). There are, however, a number of differences in the phonetic realizations of certain phonemes.

Consonants

Dental

§ 79 (§ 7). t is a voiceless, aspirated dental plosive [tʰ] with the same unaspirated allophone [t] as in Sul. In no context is it either assimilated or lost, nor has it the allophone [o].

§ 80 (§ 8). d is invariably realized as a voiced, unaspirated dental plosive [d].

§ 81 (§ 12). n has three allophones.

(a) Normally it is a voiced, dental nasal [n].

(b) Before a velar plosive it is realized as a voiced, velar nasal [n]. This occurs only before a homorganic plosive and cannot be considered as a separate phoneme, e.g.

\textit{xinkändê [xin'kændi:]} , \textit{dang} [dan'g]
Before a palatalized velar plosive (v. § 83) a voiced, palatal nasal [n] occurs, e.g.

\textit{datxin}kěnim \textit{[datxin\textsuperscript{c}'e:nim]}, \textit{dang}ě \textit{[d\textsuperscript{a}ŋi-]}

\textbf{Palatal}

§ 82 (§ 17). With some speakers \textit{č}, \textit{ǰ} are alveolo-palatal affricates [t\textsuperscript{č}, d\textsuperscript{č}]. For the same speakers the affricates [t\textit{f}, d\textit{ʒ}] are palatalized allophones of \textit{k}, \textit{g} (v. § 83), there being no confusion between the two types.

The peculiarity is marked, as a mnemonic, by writing the phonemes \textit{č}, \textit{ǰ}.

\textbf{Velar}

§ 83 (§ 25). \textit{k}, \textit{g} are strongly palatalized by a following front vowel or the semi-vowel \textit{y}. With some speakers this is carried to the extent of realizing, not [c, j], but the affricates [t\textit{f}, d\textit{ʒ}]. There is, however, no confusion with the phonemes \textit{č}, \textit{ǰ} (v. § 82).

\textbf{Vowels}

§ 84 (§ 43). \textit{ē} is normally a half-close, front vowel [eː], as in the War. dialect (v. § 70).

In final position following \textit{ē}, \textit{y} it is realized as a shorter and more open [\textit{ɛ}·], i.e. approaching \textit{a}, e.g.

\textit{swārīč} \textit{[swā:r\textsuperscript{i}ɛ·]}

§ 85 (§ 44). \textit{o} is commonly the rising diphthong [o\textsuperscript{e}]. With some speakers it is so close [q\textit{e}] as to suggest an analysis as \textit{ωe}.

\textbf{Diphthongs}

§ 86. The diphthongs of class (iii), ending in [o], do not occur (v. §§ 50, 53).

\textbf{Modifications}

§ 87. There appears to be some neutralization of the opposition \textit{ay} : \textit{ē} in final position (the former being perceived as the latter), despite the morphological confusion which may result (cf. Muk. § 7 (b) 1), e.g.

\textit{awē} < *\textit{awa}-\textit{y} \quad \textit{aw̩ bārē} < *\textit{bara}-\textit{y} \quad \textit{baw īē} < *\textit{īka}-\textit{y}
§ 88. With certain Piž speakers the w of class (ii) diphthongs is sufficiently consonantal in character to form an unpronounceable group with a following consonant group or final consonant. Accordingly an unstressed, non-phonemic [i] is realized after the semi-vowel (v. § 56 (c)), e.g.

kawt-bū [k'awt'buː]

Consonant groups

§ 89 (§ 57). (a) The groups nd and st are normally preserved in all positions.

(b) There is a tendency to form inter- and postvocalic groups of ‘voiced plosive preceded by a homorganic nasal’ to replace either single consonant, especially in loanwords, e.g.

bandan < Ar. badan ‘body’ mumbārak < Ar. mubārak ‘blessed’ ḥambāl < Ar. ḥammāl ‘porter’ ṕimb < Ar. rimḥ ‘lance’ mazanda < Ar. mažannat ‘conjecture’ dōndim < Tk. dönüm “acre”

Treatment of loanwords

§ 90 (§ 77). In addition to the changes described in § 89, loanwords from Arabic suffer such arbitrary treatment as

salam < Ar. šanam ‘idol’

yayānatī < Ar. xiyyānat ‘treachery’+-i

when they are not completely disguised by such malapropisms as ta’fil for both Ar. tasfīl ‘recording’ and tāfir ‘merchant’ tarbiat for Ar. tartīb ‘arrangement’

The phonemes h and ū are often confused, e.g.

ḥāṭā < Ar. ṣāṭa ‘gift’ ḥāyla < Ar. ṣāʿilat ‘family’ ḥāzīz, naḥmān < Ar. ḥāzīz, Nuʾmān

‘arb < Ar. ḥarb ‘war’

MUKRĪ DIALECT

Phonemic System

§ 91. The phonetic description of the Muk. dialect in Mann, Muk. §§ 1–7, suggests a phonemic system identical with that of the neighbouring Piž. dialect (v. § 78). This is supported by the transcription of the few Muk. songs in Mokri, op. cit., pp. 106–31.
PHONOLOGY

Consonants

§ 92. Mann states (Muk. § 2, end) that l and l are interchangeable in most, but not all, words. These exceptions alone suffice to justify the separate phonemic status of the two consonants. For the rest it can only be noted that in neighbouring dialects there is extremely little, if any, alternation between these sounds.

§ 93. Neither Mann nor Mokri differentiate between r and ð in Mukri. As the same is true of both writers' transcriptions of the Sul. dialect (Mann's in manuscript), where the opposition undoubtedly exists, the possibility of its existence in Muk. also is not thereby precluded. Moreover, Mann occasionally noted [rr], e.g. [kurr] 'boy', but normalized kur for publication.

Vowels

§ 94. Mann's transcription õe must be for (œe, œe]. His manuscripts often show [uɪ] before normalization. Since either vowel may be stressed the group appears still to be comparable with the single phoneme Sul. ə, albeit alternating with õe (v. §§ 44, 85), e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muk.</th>
<th>cf. Mokri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>720 nûžh- = nwêzh : 410 nwêzh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 khûën = xon : 428 khwên (Sul., sic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1321 khûën = xwên</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>727 gûê = go : (354 kwê)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diphthongs

§ 95. The transcriptions [êi] (in manuscript) and êû are but minor distortions of âi, au, which correspond exactly to Sul. ay, aw (v. § 50).

It must be assumed (despite Mann, Muk. § 6) that the long notation of the second vowel in the diphthongs âi, âû, &c., is a result of distortion of the sounds in slow dictation.

ARBIL DIALECT (Kd. Haulêr)

Phonemic System

§ 96. The dialect of Arbil, together with those of Koi Sanjaq (Kd. Kôya), the Xûşnaw and Rewandiz (Kd. Rawândiz) areas, and probably the Birâdîst area north of Rdz., has the following
phonemic system of twenty-seven consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{p} & \text{t} & \text{ç} & \text{k} & \text{q} \\
\text{b} & \text{d} & \text{f} & \text{g} \\
\text{f} & \text{s} & \text{š} & \text{x} & \text{h} & \text{h} \\
\text{v} & \text{z} & \text{ž} & \gamma & \text{‘} \\
\text{m} & \text{n} & \text{l} \\
\text{r} & \text{ř} \\
\text{w} & \text{y} \\
\text{i} & \text{i} & \text{u} & \text{ǔ} \\
\text{ē} & \text{o} \\
\text{a} & \text{ā}
\end{array}
\]

The system is differentiated from that of the neighbouring Piž. and Muk. dialects by its lacking the phonemes \(l\) and \(o\), and by the form of the affricates \(ç, f\).

Consonants

§ 97. \(ç, f\) are regularly realized as the alveolo-palatal affricates \([tš, dž]\), i.e. \(ç, f\) (v. § 82).

§ 98. \(l\) of other dialects is regularly replaced by \(r\) (cf. § 14), e.g.

\(\text{dir} \text{ ‘heart’ Sul. } \text{di}l \quad \text{darēm} \text{ ‘I say’ Sul. } \text{alēm}\)

\[\text{[l]} \text{ is only heard as a recent borrowing, possibly due to radio broadcasts in the Sul. dialect.}\]

Vowels

§ 99. The diphthongal phoneme \(o\) does not occur. It is replaced by various other phonemes, e.g.

\(\text{n(î)pěk} \text{ ‘prayer’ Sul. } \text{něk} \quad \text{sûr} \text{ ‘salty’ Sul. } \text{ser}\)

\(\text{xundin} \text{ ‘to study’ Sul. } \text{xonin} \quad \text{gē} \text{ ‘ear’ Sul. } \text{ge}\)

\(\text{giz} \text{ ‘walnut’ Sul. } \text{gez}\)

Modifications

§ 100. As in Piž., Muk. (v. § 87) there is some neutralization of the opposition \(-ay : -ē\), e.g.

\(\text{ḥarbē} \text{ as } \text{šawē} < * \text{šawa-}y\)

\(\text{bīrō} \text{ nōw } \text{bīray} : \text{aminyān} \text{ hāwēṣta } \text{nōw } \text{bīrē}\)
§ 101. The phonemes $h$ and ‘ are almost regularly interchanged by unlettered speakers, e.g.

\[ haft > 'aft 'seven' \quad h\ddot{a}f\ddot{i} 'al\ddot{a} > '\dot{a}f\ddot{i} h\ddot{a}l\ddot{a} 'Haji Ali' \text{ (not an isolated spoonerism)} \]

SÜRĊI DIALECT

Phonemic System

§ 102. The Sur. dialect has the same phonemic system as the Arb. dialect (v. § 96) but the realizations of certain phonemes are appreciably different.

Consonants

§ 103. $k$, $g$ are palatalized by a following front vowel or $y$, being realized as [c, j]. Before $\ddot{a}$ a fleeting [i] is heard, which does not, however, palatalize the consonant, e.g.

\[ k\ddot{e} [c'c:] \text{ but } k\ddot{a} [k'i:a:], \quad g\ddot{a} [g'i:a:] \]

§ 104. $l$, $x$ are replaced by the alveolo-palatal fricatives [g, ʔ], which for mnemonic purposes are represented phonemically as $\dot{s}$, $\dot{x}$ (cf. § 82).

Semi-vowels

§ 105. $w$ is palatalized by a following front vowel or $y$, giving [w]. Following another consonant in the same syllable it is realized before $i$ as a very close [u], e.g.

\[ bi\ddot{i}wi\ddot{i}sim [bin'wi:si:m], \text{ but } d\ddot{w}i\ddot{n}e [\ddot{i}du'i:ne:] \text{ (cf. Sul. } d\ddot{e}n\ddot{e}) \]

Vowels

§ 106. $\ddot{a}$ is an open, front vowel of an exceptional length [aː], causing most Sur. speakers to give an unmistakable impression of ‘bleating’.

Modifications

§ 107. $\ddot{a}$, $\ddot{e}$, and $i$ are sometimes reduced in final position, to coincide with short vowel phonemes,

\[ \ddot{a} > a \quad \ddot{e} > [e] > a \quad i > i \]

e.g. $d\ddot{e}$ čāra dam $< \ddot{c}\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}$

$d\ddot{e}$ jōta kayn $< j\ddot{a}t\ddot{e}$

awe bird $< aw\ddot{i}$

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## B. DIALECTS OF GROUP II

### AKRE DIALECT (Kd. Ḍkrē, Ar. Āgra)

**Phonemic System**

§ 108. The Ak. dialect, and that of the surrounding Zēbārī tribe, has the following phonemic system of thirty consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental, Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Pharyngeal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop and Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td><em>p</em></td>
<td><em>t</em></td>
<td><em>c</em></td>
<td><em>k</em></td>
<td><em>q</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>h</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td><em>b</em></td>
<td><em>d</em></td>
<td><em>j</em></td>
<td><em>g</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td><em>f</em></td>
<td><em>s</em></td>
<td><em>š</em></td>
<td><em>x</em></td>
<td><em>h</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>h</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td><em>m</em></td>
<td><em>n</em></td>
<td><em>ł</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrant</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
<td><em>r</em></td>
<td><em>l</em></td>
<td><em>y</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Phonemic System Diagram](image)

**Consonants**

### Labial

§ 109. *p* is a voiceless bilabial plosive, aspirated [pʰ] in all positions except in contact with a following consonant.

§ 110. *b* is a voiced, unaspirated bilabial plosive [b]. In secondary contact with a following voiceless consonant it is devoiced, e.g. *bu xō [bxu:]* (v. § 148).

1 See § 137.
The secondary group [ḍh] is further reduced to [pʰ], e.g.

*bihāvēza [b̪ʰaːveːza] > [pʰaːveːza]*

§ 111. *f* is a voiceless labio-dental fricative [f].

§ 112. *v* is a voiced labio-dental fricative [v]. It occurs frequently, corresponding generally to Sul., &c., *w*.

*Note.* In the south the Zēbārī territory meets that of the Sūrā, and in the west that of an isolated group of Gōrān tribes, still speaking a Kd. dialect akin to Sīnā. In some Zeb. villages, therefore, the phonemes *v* and *w* coincide in *w*.

§ 113. *m* is a voiced bilabial nasal [m].

**Dental and alveolar**

§ 114. *t* is a voiceless dental plosive, aspirated [tʰ] in all positions except in contact with a following consonant.

§ 115. *tɬ* is a voiceless, unaspirated, alveolar emphatic plosive [tɬ] produced by the blade of the tongue touching the upper tooth ridge, the rest of the tongue being depressed and rising at the back, thus forming a central hollow (as in Ar. ɬ).

§ 116. *d* is a voiced, unaspirated dental plosive [d] in all positions.

§ 117. *s* is a voiceless alveolar fricative [s].

§ 118. *s* is a voiceless, alveolar emphatic fricative [s] with the same tongue position as *tɬ* (v. § 115). It is identical with Ar. ٖ.

§ 119. *ʃ* is a voiced alveolar fricative [ʃ].

§ 120. *ʒ* is a voiced, alveolar emphatic fricative [ʒ], the voiced counterpart of *s* (§ 118). It is not identical with Ar. ٨ [ʃ], though this letter, with ٖ, is often used to write the phome *ʒ*.

§ 121. *n* represents a voiced and non-bilabial nasal. Normally, that is, it is dental [n], but it may have labio-dental [m] or velar [ŋ] allophones in contact with a following *v* or *k, g* respectively, e.g.

*nivist* [niːvistʰ]  *binivə* [biːmyə]
*bän* [baːn]  *bāŋ* [baːŋ]

In certain numerals only, in the context *ān* or *ān*, it is realized as a simple nasalization of the vowel, e.g.

*yānza* [jāːza] ‘11’
§ 122. \( l \) is a voiced, dental lateral non-fricative [l]. The velar [h] is heard extremely rarely. In [t\( \text{ilp} \)] it may be caused by the preceding emphatic \( t \). [barhâl\( \text{a} \):] is a loan from Sul., &c., barallâ. But [fâh] 'Christian', Ar. fallâh, is extraordinary.

§ 123. \( r \) is a voiced dental single flap [r]. It never occurs in initial position. It is sometimes assimilated or lost before \( l \), e.g.

\[
\text{har } l \text{ min } \text{[hal min]}
\]

§ 124. \( ñ \) is a voiced dental roll (trill) [r].

Palato-alveolar

§ 125. \( ñ \) is a voiceless, palato-alveolar affricate [t\( ñ \)]. In secondary contact with \( t \) it is reduced to [f], e.g.

\[
n\text{â}l\text{ita } [\text{n} \text{â}l\text{î} \text{t} \text{a}]
\]

§ 126. \( ŋ \) is a voiced, palato-alveolar affricate [d\( ñ \)].

There appears to be no reason for considering these two affricates as other than single phonemes (cf. § 19).

§ 127. \( ʃ \) is a voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ].

§ 128. \( ñ \) is a voiced, palato-alveolar fricative [ʒ].

Velar

§ 129. \( k \) is a voiceless, aspirated velar plosive [k\( ʰ \)]. It is palatalized by a following front vowel (including \( â \), § 149) or \( y \).

§ 130. \( g \) is a voiced velar plosive [g]. It is palatalized by a following front vowel or \( y \).

§ 131. \( x \) is a voiceless velar fricative [x].

§ 132. \( ɣ \) is a voiced velar fricative [ɣ]. It is very uncommon and even in loanwords is commonly replaced by \( x \).

Post-velar

§ 133. \( q \) is a voiceless uvular plosive [q].

§ 134. \( h \) is a voiceless pharyngal fricative [h].

§ 135. \( ʕ \) is a voiced pharyngal fricative [ʕ], identical with Ar. ʕ.

§ 136. \( h \) is a voiceless glottal fricative [h].
§ 137. The glottal stop [ʔ] is not a distinguishing feature of any utterance and is thus not a consonant phoneme in Ak. Kd.

All initial vowels are realized with a preceding glottal stop but this is normally lost in morpheme juncture, e.g.

\[ \text{āxivīt} ['\text{ʔa:xiviːt}'] \text{, but bāxivīt} ['\text{bʔa:xiviːt}'] \]

There is occasional variation between normal juncture of this sort and a rarer, more 'open' juncture, represented by a hyphen, e.g.

\[ \text{tāxivīt} ['\text{t'ʔa:xiviːt}'] \sim t-\text{āxivīt} ['\text{t'ʔa:xiviːt}'] \]

\[ \text{pāš-āvā} [\text{ruːʃʔaː'vaː}] \text{ (cf. Sul. [r̥oːʒəː'wəː])} \]

Semi-vowels

§ 138. \(\epsilon\) is a bilabial (back) frictionless continuant [w]. It is not noticeably palatalized by a following front vowel.

§ 139. \(\epsilon\) is a palatal (front) frictionless continuant [j].

§ 140. Vowels

§ 141. \(\epsilon\) is invariably a very close, front vowel [iː].

§ 142. (a) \(\epsilon\) is normally a half-close, front-central vowel [i]. In proximity to [yː] (v. § 149) it is also realized with lip-rounding as [y], e.g.

\[ \text{dirūn} [\text{d}y^{\text{r}}\text{yːn}] \]
(b) In unstressed position between two consonants \( i \) may not be realized. Compare:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bikam} & \quad [\text{bik'am}] \quad : \quad \text{či bikam} & \quad [\text{či bık'am}] \\
\text{kirin} & \quad [k'i\text{'rin}] \quad : \quad \text{kirinava} & \quad [k'i\text{'rna'va}]
\end{align*}
\]

and \( i < i \) (v. § 283 (a)) in

\[
\text{dā či} \quad [\text{dā: tʃi: t'}] \quad : \quad \text{dā čita} \ldots \quad [\text{dā:ʃt'a'} \ldots]
\]

(c) As the number of consonant groups tolerated in initial position in Ak. is limited (v. § 153 (a)) the syncopation of \( i \) in initial unstressed syllables is much less common than in Sul. (cf. § 42), though it does occur, e.g.

\[
\text{birā} \quad [\text{bɾa:}'] \quad \text{'brother'}, \text{ but } [\text{bɪɾa:}'] \quad \text{'O brother'}!
\]

The general intolerance of consonant groups often leads to the realization of a short, unstressed \( i \)-like vowel, not here considered as phonemic (v. § 153 (c)).

§ 143. \( ɛ \) is a medium, front vowel \([ɛ:\])\), except in the diphthong \( ɛy \), where it approaches a half-close, front \([ɛ:\])\.

§ 144. \( a \) is normally a half-open, front-central vowel \([ə]\). In the diphthong \( ay \) it approaches a half-open, front \([ə]\). Following an emphatic \( s, t, z \), it is slightly more back \([ə]\).

§ 145. \( ʰə [a:] \) is an open, back vowel, varying with different speakers between cardinals \([a \text{ and } ə]\). Following an emphatic \( s, t, z \), it is slightly more back \([a:]\).

§ 146. \( u \) is a half-close, back-central vowel \([u]\).

§ 147. No medium back vowel occurs in Ak. Corresponding generally to the vowels \( ə, ə \) of other Kd. dialects, Ak. has \([u:, y:]\) respectively. It is convenient, and within the Ak. system unambiguous, to represent these phonemically as \( ə, ə \), or, as here for mnemonic purposes, as \( ə, ə \).

§ 148. \( ə \) is a close, back vowel \([u:]\). In contact with the emphatic consonants \( s, t, z \), it is somewhat more open \([ɑ:]\), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
dōst & \quad [\text{du:st'}] \\
bōt & \quad [\text{bɒ:ʃt}]
\end{align*}
\]

In the common phrase \( bō \ xə \) there is frequently a reduction, thus \([bʊ:-] > bʊ- > b̚-xʊ:]\), written \( bʊ \ xə \), and so coincidence with \( p \ xə \).
§ 149. û is a close, front vowel with lip-rounding [yː]. Some speakers (it is said, the natives of one only of the three Kd. quarters of Akre, and certainly the non-Kurdish, Christian population) replace this vowel regularly by [iː], thus mû > mî. As a result of this, û occasionally replaces etymological i in common Ak., e.g.

'ûd < Ar. 'id ūnaga]bû < *bî ‘weeping willow’

Diphthongs

§ 150. There are two classes of diphthongs in the Ak. dialect, namely those ending in:

(i) a close, front vowel, [eːi, aːj, oːi, uːi, yːi],
(ii) a close, back vowel, [eːu, aːu].

They are phonemically identical with the corresponding Sul. diphthongs of the same classes (v. §§ 50–52) and for the same reasons may be written êy, ay, ây, ûy, ûy, and êw, aw.

Distribution of Phonemes

Consonants

§ 151. The recorded Kd. vocabulary of the Ak. dialect does not lend itself to the provision of a complete series of oppositions, as in Sul. (v. § 54).

From the following it is clear that all consonants except r appear and preserve their identity in initial position in the word. All consonants (with the possible exception of ʃ, ʒ, ʒ) occur individually in medial position. The question of final consonants requires further investigation (v. § 172).

p : b : f : v : m : w


t : t : d : s : ʃ : n

§ 151  KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

*katî* 'sand-grouse': *kudî* 'cub': *käsî* 'person': *kazî* 'plait': *kanî* 'laughter'.

*mat* 'aunt', *sad* '100', *kas* 'person', *gaz* 'yard', *ţan* 'fence'. *döst* 'friend': *bûst* 'hand span'.

*s*: *z*: *ğ*: *a*:

*sûr* 'salty': *zûr* 'hillock': *şûr* 'rampart'. *zûr* 'a die': *gûr* 'cold'.

*sivândû* 'caves': *şivân* 'shepherd': *şûvûlî* 'tryst'.

*xastî* 'mother-in-law': *ţastî* 'cold, numb': *taštî* 'spindle': *taštî* 'full'.

*bas* 'enough': *baz* 'suet': *paz* 'sheep'. *bûs* 'abundant': *rôz* 'day'.

*ş*: *a*: *č*: *f*: *y*

*šûn* 'blue': *žûn* 'life': *jûn* 'to chew'. *şîv* 'gully': *çûv* 'stick'. *čûr* 'qûr* 'time': *yûr* 'friend'.

*pêşû* 'mosquito', *bîzî* 'bastard', *kûçîk* 'puppy', *hajî* 'pilgrim'.

*şûs* 'mad', *rôz* 'day', *xûc* 'cross', *ţû(n)* 'crown'.

*č*: *f*: *k*: *g*: *q*

*čûr* 'qûr* 'time': *kûr* 'work; ornament', *kûr* 'knife': *qûr* 'pitch'. *çû* 'tea': *kû* 'where is?': *gû* 'ox'.

*mûcû* 'Club (cards)', *bûjân* 'aubergine', *nûkû* 'now', *lagû* 'basin',

*ţûqûr* 'plain'.

*pûcî* 'withered': *gûj* 'club-footed': *bûk* 'bride'.

*k*: *g*: *x*: *y*

*kiy* 'silent': *giy* 'rough': *xîy* 'spherical'. *kaw* 'partridge': *xaw* 'sleep'. *gâl* 'bright': *yaş* 'trick'.

*rûkûb* 'stirrup', *fûgûrâ* 'cigarette', *sîxûr* 'porcupine', *qîyâqîy* 'croaking'.

*tik* 'crack', *zig* 'stomach', *xûx* 'peach', *fûy* 'fringe'.

*x*: *y*: *h*: *'*: *h

*xûrî* 'wool', *yiyrî* 'glue', *hařî* 'mud'. *hajîk* 'throat': *afû* 'pardon'.

*heštîr* 'camel': *heštîr* 'mule'.

*buxûr* 'incense', *ayû* 'Agha', *rihân* 'basil', *dirûhâ* 'yonder'.

*čîx* 'reed-mat', *ruh* 'soul', *rah* 'root'.

*m*: *n*

*mû* 'hair': *nû* 'new'. *mûlîn* 'to sweep': *nûlûk* 'mattress'.

*qaymûy* 'cream': *qûnûy* 'stage'.

*têm* 'I come': *tên* 'you, they come'. *šûm* 'unlucky': *şûn* 'place, trace'.

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l : r : ɾ

Vowels

§ 152. The short vowels i, u rarely occur in initial or final position. ā occurs initially only in ādān < wiḏān ‘conscience’. Otherwise the vowel phonemes preserve their identity in most positions.

i : ē : ā : ŗ : ŗ
kī ‘who?’ : kē ‘whom?’ : kā ‘where is?’ , gū ‘ox’ : kō ‘that’ : gū ‘faeces’.
i : a : u

Long vowel : short (i : i, 깐.)
pīr ‘old’ : pīr ‘bridge’. kir ‘penis’ : kir ‘did’.
kār ‘knife’ : kir ‘did’.
xōrī ‘rascal’ : xurī ‘wool’.
kūr ‘deep’ : kuːr ‘boy’.

Long vowel : diphthong (ē : ay)
tēr ‘satiated’ : tayr ‘bird’. vē mālē ‘this house’ : vē mālai ‘this property’.

Consonant groups

§ 153. (a) Consonant groups are comparatively rare in the Ak. dialect, particularly in initial position. The following groups alone are attested initially, and then mainly in secondary contact:

br, dr, fr, kr; by, dy, gy, ţy; sm, sp, st; sː;¹ šk; xw²

¹ Cf. Xālidā’s writing sʔ- for Bitlisi.
² Not normal (e.g. xārīn, xāja: Sul. xwārdān, xwāja), but only in xwā, xwē < *xō ‘salt’ + -ā, -ē.
§§ 153-4 KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

(b) The commonest medial consonant groups may be summarized as follows:

$IC, mC, nC, rC, sC, šC, vC, xC, zC, ẓC$

The only groups of two plosives are individual occurrences of $bd, kb, tq$. The only true geminate is $ll$, and that rare.

There are no primary three-consonant groups apart from $CCy$, e.g. $fty, ngy, rsy, xty, zdy$.

(c) 22 final groups of two consonants are tolerated, viz.

$n+g, f, k; ~ r+č, f, k, m, ś, x, z; ~ s+k, t; ~ št$

and individual occurrences of $fs, ft, hm, hn, hr, hf, lg, lt, št$

When a consonant group which is permissible in medial, but not in final, position occurs in pause, or followed by a third consonant, a short, unstressed $i$-like vowel is realized between the consonants of the group. This is not written in the phonemic transcription (cf. § 56 (c)).

$bira$ bar $salbē$ [bira bar iasco:] $salb$ kay [iasco k’āj]}

§ 154. The occurrence of heavy secondary consonant groups is quite common, owing to the frequency of the prepositions $l, p, t, v$ and the modal affix $t$- (v. §§ 301, 281 (a)).

Groups of three consonants are commonly realized with no intervening vowel, thus $CCC$, e.g.

$tāyr$ p xurtē [tājrip’xurt’i:]$kiṛim$ p pênj [k’irimp’p’e:ndz]$sah$ tkatē [iasco tkat’eq]

A short, unstressed vowel [$i$] may, however, be realized, either before the final consonant of the group, thus $(C)CCvC$, e.g.

$az$ tšēm [as t’i:ʃem]$sah$ l āgirē [sah l’i:giɾi:]$kaft$ l xāni [k’aft liːxniː]

or, less commonly, before the penultimate consonant, thus $(C)CvCC$, e.g.

$dat$ p nān [dat’i:bnəːn]$sah$ tkatē [iasco tkat’eq]$hal$ stā [iasco st’eq]

Owing to this variation $CCC : CCvC : CvCC$ the vowel cannot be regarded as phonemic.

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Larger secondary groups may be occasioned by the non-realization of unstressed, but phonemic, i (v. § 142). The pattern of realization is then C^vCC^vCC, i.e. by groups of two consonants from the last, a non-phonemic [i] being realized where necessary, e.g.

\[ \text{yē t-fikirīt [je:tfik'ri:t'] but tē t-fikirīt-ē [t'e: t'ifk'iri:t'e:]} \]

\[ \text{galak t-girīt [galak'tigiri:t'] } \]

SHEIKHAN AND DOHUK DIALECTS (Kd. Šēxān, Dahōk) § 155. The Shn. and Dhk. dialects have a phonemic system identical with that of Akre (v. § 108). The only phonetic difference is in the realization of ŏ, ū as the simple vowels [o:, u:], rather than [u:, y:], respectively.

AMADIYE AND ZAKHO DIALECTS (Kd. Āmādi(e), Zāxō; Ar. 'Āmādīya)

### Phonemic System

§ 156. The dialects of Amadiye and Zakho, together with those of the intermediate Barwārī-Šōr, Sindī, and Gullī areas, have the following phonemic system of thirty-three consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight consonants:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\hat{p} & \hat{t} & \hat{č} & \hat{k} \\
\hat{p} & \hat{t} & \hat{č} & \hat{k} & \hat{q} \\
\hat{b} & \hat{d} & \hat{ǧ} & \hat{g} \\
\hat{f} & \hat{s} & \hat{š} & \hat{x} & \hat{h} & \hat{h} \\
\hat{v} & \hat{z} & \hat{ž} & \hat{γ} & (') \\
m & n & l \\
\end{array}
\]

\[ \text{w} \]

\[ \text{i, ū, i, u, ū, } \]

\[ \text{ā, ō, a, ā} \]

The system differs from that of Ak. (v. § 108) in having two series of voiceless plosives, namely \(\hat{p}, \hat{t}, \hat{k}\) aspirated and \(\check{p}, \check{t}, \check{k}\) unaspirated.
Consonants

§ 157. The aspirated voiceless plosives ṣ, t, ḳ correspond phonetically in every particular to the Ak. phonemes p, t, k [p’, t’, k’]. The Am., Zx. series ṣ, t, ḳ are unaspirated in all contexts. The significant factor in the oppositions [p’ : p, t’ : t, k’ : k] being the aspiration it is convenient to mark this positively in the phonemic notation ṣ, t, ḳ. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḥešā} & \quad \text{‘mosquito’} & : & \quad \text{ḥe} & \quad \text{‘foot’} \\
\text{ḥāhni} & \quad \text{‘heel’} & : & \quad \text{ḥaḥlin} & \quad \text{‘to cook’} \\
\text{t̥axʃ} & \quad \text{‘bench’} & : & \quad \text{taʃti} & \quad \text{‘felt rug’} \\
\text{kar} & \quad \text{‘donkey’} & : & \quad \text{kar} & \quad \text{‘piece’} \\
\text{kurk} & \quad \text{‘fur coat’} & : & \quad \text{kurk} & \quad \text{‘broody (hen)’}
\end{align*}
\]

Vowels

§ 158. ā [y:] is confused by some speakers with unrounded i [i:], e.g.

\[
d̥iŋg \ [\text{dy:ng}] > d̥iŋg \ [\text{di:ng}]
\]

Consonant Groups

§ 159. (a) In Am. secondary consonant groups are realized as in Ak. (v. § 154), i.e. either without an intrusive vowel, as CCC, e.g.

\[
\text{ṭe t̥kan Ḿ hiriː} \ [\text{tʃeːtkanʃ’hiriː}] \\
\text{or as CC’C, e.g.} \\
\text{raʃid l baydā} \ [\text{raʃiːd l’bayd’aː}]
\]

or as C’CC, e.g.

\[
\text{ẓon p ṭeva} \ [\text{ṭuːn’pɾeːva}]
\]

(b) In the remaining dialects of the group there is less flexibility. Whenever three consonants come into secondary contact a short, unstressed [i] is realized before the penultimate consonant of the group, thus always C’CC. Similarly when two consonants in secondary contact follow a pause they are preceded by a short, unstressed [i], thus C’CC. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bar. kāt Ḿ darva} & \ [\text{k’aṭ’iː3’darva}] \\
\text{Zx. ḫast p bɔli} & \ [\text{dast’iːp’fuːli}] \\
\text{Gul. ū zamān} & \ [\text{‘3a’muːn}]
\end{align*}
\]
§ 160. No satisfactory phonetic description of either of these dialects exists. The most recent description, that of Hadank (op. cit., pp. 20–25), is based on the speech of the cosmopolitan Emîr Kamuran Ali Bedir-Xan (KABX), of Bohtani family, and is of little value. It is possible, however, to cull the following facts from the description in L'Alphabet Kurde, a series of articles in the Kd. periodical Hawar (Damascus, 1932–43) by Emîr Celadet Ali Bedir-Xan (CABX).

(a) Hawar, No. 11, p. 7. 'Les Kurdes de la région constituée par le (Botan) au centre, le (Heqarî) au Nord et le (Behdînan) au Sud prononcent . . . le (ū) comme le (u) français, ainsi que la majorité des kurdes comme le (u) allemand. Comme conséquence naturelle de cette prononciation, les mêmes kurdes prononcent le (o) comme le (ou) français, . . .'

(b) CABX states (Hawar, No. 6, p. 10) that there is a 'manque de (ū) bref dans la langue Kurde'. Accordingly he uses the letter u for 'presque un nouveau son'. His description of this sound is somewhat obscure, but Lescot (op. cit. (ii), p. vi, n. 2) summarizes thus, 'u—correspond au son wi', i.e. [wi]. But Hadank gives no special description of this sound, cf. op. cit., p. 29, gûndê kurdîstanê, transcribed phonetically [gûndêkî kurdîstânê].

(c) Hawar, No. 10, p. 5. 'De même certains Kurdes . . . prétend(ent) que dans la langue Kurde aussi existe(nt) deux (t), comme en arabe le (س) et le (ص), le (ت) et le (ب) et ainsi de suite.' CABX, however, does not consider that the opposition k₁:k₂ exists and makes no distinction in his alphabet. But the following note, Hawar, No. 25, p. 2 n., is revealing: 'Me “kher” yani mirvê ko nabihize, bi vi awayê nîvasand, da ko ji “kerê” heywan bête vegetan(d)in. Ji xeve ev “kh” ji ya din stûrtîr e.' 'We have written kher, i.e. a man who cannot hear, in this manner to differentiate it from ker, the animal. This kh is by nature thicker than the other.' The choice of letters is unfortunate as kar 'donkey' has the aspirate and kâr 'deaf' the unaspirated ('thick' = emphatic?) k. Nevertheless the opposition appears to exist in (?) Bohtani.

(d) Hawar, No. 4, p. 9. 'On pourrait noter ce son au moyen du (ê), comme dans les mots (pêz ʁê) et (sêd ʁê) . . . ; avec la dictée arabe, on pourrait peut-être rendre ces sons en durcissant les
consennes et en écrivant (بد، میل).’ Nous avons constaté, d’autre part, la même variante de prononciation dans des mots empruntés à l’arabe. ĝeser, ĝereb, ĝeli.’ (I.e. ’askar, ’arab, ’ali.) CABX is speaking of his own pronunciation ‘en tant qu’originaire de Botan’. He attributes the difference in pronunciation of these and like words to an insignificant variation in the vowel alone and, accordingly, no distinction of the consonant values s : ʒ, t : ʔ, ʒ : ʒ, or indication of ’, is made in his alphabet.

It is reasonable to assume from these notes concerning the debatable phonemes ɟ, ː; u; k, k, &c.; ʒ, &c., that the Hakari and Bohtani dialects have a phonemic system identical with that of the Am., Zx. dialects (v. § 156).

**BITLIS DIALECT (Kd. Bülüs)**

§ 161. Xalîdi, writing in Mîški, a few miles west of Bitlis, comes as near as the Arabic alphabet permits to giving a complete picture of the phonemic system of this Bitlisi dialect.

A distinction between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless plosives is not made, nor is ʔ specially marked. On this subject, however, see the note (op. cit., p. 208) s.v. ʃ, ‘kar, “donkey” and “deaf” and “loan” and “piece”, and the Kurds have slight differences in their pronunciations of these words, according to the meanings given, which none but they can arrive at, and it is not possible to describe them here.’ Cf. Zx. kar ‘donkey’, kaɾ ‘deaf’, kar ‘piece’, but qar ‘loan’.

The emphatics ɛ, ɛ, ɔ and ’ all appear, described exactly as in the Ak., Am., &c., dialects.

It is justifiable to assume then that the Bitlisi dialect has a phonetic system identical with the Am., Zx. dialects (v. § 156) with the reservation that ɟ, ː are pronounced simply as [oː; uː] respectively.

**EREVAN DIALECT (Kd. Rawân)**

§ 162. For the last three decades Erevan, capital of the Armenian S.S. Republic, has been the centre for an increasing output of Kd. books and periodicals. These have appeared first in a Latin script, from 1929 to 1945, and since then in a modified Cyrillic. The language of these publications is, presumably, the dialect of
the Erevan area, albeit normalized. This, with the Kd. dialects spoken in the neighbouring Georgian and Azerbaijan Republics, has been the subject of the researches of a number of Soviet scholars. The fullest recent description of the Rwn. dialect is that of Kurdoev (op. cit. (ii)).

Phonemic System

§ 163. Kurdoev (ibid., pp. 15 ff.) gives the following system for the Rwn. dialect of thirty-one consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\hat{p} & \hat{t} & \hat{c} & \hat{k} \\
\hat{p} & t & \hat{c} & k & q \\
b & d & \hat{f} & g \\
f & s & \hat{i} & x & \hat{b} & h \\
v & z & \hat{z} & \gamma & (') \\
m & n \\
l \\
r & \hat{r} \\
w & y \\
\end{array}
\]

This system shares with that of the Am., Zx. dialects the two series of voiceless plosives, aspirated and unaspirated, but differs from it in the following particulars:

(i) absence of the emphatic consonants \( \hat{s}, \hat{t}, \hat{z} \) (v. § 164);
(ii) presence of a third affricate \( \hat{c} \) (v. § 165).
(iii) classification of \( x, \gamma \) as uvular, rather than velar,
(iv) realization of ' (v. § 166),
(v) replacement of \( u \) by \( \hat{o} \) (v. § 167),
(vi) realization of \( \hat{o}, \hat{u}, [o:, u:] \) rather than \( [u:, y:] \).

Consonants

§ 164. The emphatic consonants \( \hat{s}, \hat{t}, \hat{z} \) are not marked in any way. In some words the emphasis of an initial \( \hat{t}- \) in the Zx.
diascape appears to be reflected by the ‘aynation’ of the following vowel in Rwn. (v. § 166), e.g.

Zx. tārī, tāv, tāzī : Rwn. tōrī, tōv, tōzī

§ 165. The affricate phoneme written ē, then u', in Rwn., and here as ē, is variously described. Sokolova (op. cit. (ii), p. 79) quotes Cukerman simply, ‘ē - pharyngalized’. Bakaev (op. cit., p. 513) is inconsistent. Misled apparently by the diacritic, he describes u' first as an aspirate (with n', r', k') and then as having ‘a certain pharyngalization’. Adjarian transcribed the sound ē (unaspirated) in opposition to ē (aspirated). This is borne out by Miller’s (op. cit. (i), p. 72), Bakaev’s, and Kurdoev’s comparison with Armenian ā, i.e. a voiceless, ejective affricate [tʃ].

§ 166. In place of a consonantal phoneme ‘ there appear various modifications of the vowel a by means of a diacritic (ä, ø'). Miller (op. cit. (i), pp. 68–69) describes the sign both as indicating ‘aynation (ajnacija) of a vowel, or an ayn, or its voiceless equivalent ʰ, following it’ and as ‘simply an initial vowel, but pronounced with Presstimme’. He further observes that the Kurds of Azerbaijan replace ò by h, e.g. ʰrd > hardwood ‘earth’.

Sokolova (op. cit. (i), p. 14) refers to the ‘upper-pharyngal articulation which is a characteristic of Armenian Kurdish and there apparently forms a pharyngalized a (aœ) in place of an etymological ē’. Bakaev (op. cit., p. 512) defines ø' as ‘pharyngalized ø . . . pronounced with tension of the walls of the pharynx’. Kurdoev (op. cit. (ii), p. 17) describes it as a ‘tense, aynized sound of the type of Arabic ē’, approaching long ā in medial position.

Thus the sign appears to be ambiguous, representing initially ‘+ V and medially V+‘, with certain exceptions. The ‘ may be written over the vowel in transliteration also, thus

ānī, ârab, āmāāt, tārī, tāv, tāzī, &c.

Vowels

§ 167. For u there appears a vowel, written in Latin script as y (cf. u for ū), but in Cyrillic as ő. This Kurdoev describes as a ‘palatalized labial front’ vowel, with two variants, viz. pronounced

1 ‘Recueil de mots kurdes en dialecte de Novo-Bayazet’, M.S.L. XVI of 1910.
as Turkish ə following ı, ı, ı, and ı, and acquiring a ə-colouring following ı, ı, ı, ı, and ı. Bakaev defines it as a 'central (nearer to back) labialized vowel'. It may be transcribed as ə (contrast Sul. o, § 44).

OTHER NORTHERN KURDISH DIALECTS

§ 168. It is impossible to give a sufficient phonetic, still less phonemic, description of any of the remaining northern Kd. dialects from the published material available. The Latin alphabet designed for these dialects by Celadet Ali Bedir-Xan (v. § 160), far from representing any one dialect, is intended to give only the 'highest common factor' of all northern Kd. dialects. The letters employed give a basic system of twenty-five consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels, as follows:

a ( = ə), b, c ( = ı), ç ( = ı), d, e ( = a), è, f, g, h, ħ ( = ḥ), i, i, j ( = ı), k, l, m, n, o ( = ə), p, q, r, (rr = r), s, ş ( = ş), t, u, ü, v, w, x, ṭ ( = γ), y, z.

Index of phonemes

§ 169. [See overleaf] Unless otherwise stated, = signifies 'the description given in the paragraph noted to the left applies'.

C. GENERAL

STRESS, INTonation, AND JUNCTURE

§ 170. The Kd. dialect material available, both that presented here and published previously, does not provide a suitable basis for a full description of the features of stress and intonation.¹ Stress has been mentioned above, particularly as a criterion in the choice of a phonemic orthography for the various dialects. It will also be treated incidentally below when it appears relevant to the morphological description.

¹ McCarus, op. cit., gives a first and, notwithstanding a certain inaccuracy in his data, a useful analysis of the 'Non-Linear Phonemes' of the Sul. dialect.
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Although the spacing and punctuation employed in the texts implies some statement of different juncture and intonation patterns it is, in part at least, conventional.

**VOWEL COMBINATION**

§ 171. With certain minor variations from one dialect to another vowels in internal and external combination undergo the following changes. Examples, unless otherwise stated, are from Sul.

(a) ī, ū, following any other vowel are reduced to the corresponding semi-vowel, e.g.

ē-, ka-, dā-, xo-, nū-+*-ī > ēy, kay, dāy, xoī, nū"'
dī-, dā-+*-ū > dīw, dāw
pē, go, māma, gā, gō, gu+*-ī > pēy, goy, māmay, gāy, gōy, guy

The special cases of -i/i/+*-ī > -i/i'y > -ī, -u/+*-ū > -u/w > -ū, are described in § 60.

(b) ē normally retains its identity, sometimes coalescing with preceding ē, a, e.g.

ē-, nū-+*-ē(t) > ē(t), nūē(t)
War. gaya-+*-ē(t) > gayē(t)
Bin. ūē, qisa+*-ē > ūē, qisē

Unstressed -ē may appear as -ya following any other vowel (cf. § 59 (a)), e.g.

bida, nadā+*-ē > Bin. bīdaya, Sul. n(ad)āya
kursī, dē, go, ēwāra, kābārā, fō, xānū+*-ēk > kūstīyak,1 dēyak,1
goyak,1 ēwārāyak, kābrāyak, fōyak, xāndyak

(c) a is generally linked to a preceding vowel, other than ī, ū, by the semi-vowel y, e.g.

dē, go, ēwāra, kābārā, fō+*-a > dēya, goya, ēwāraya, kābrāya, fōya
Bin. de, sa, āyá, čaqō+*-aka > dēyaka, sayaka, āyāyaka, čaqōyaka

1 See § 35 (b).
Alternatively, unstressed -a may be elided following е, a, ä, ō, but not normally о, in internal combination, e.g.

dē, ēwāra, kābrā, jō, (go)+*-akā > dēkā, ēwārakā, kābrākā, fōkā, (geyakā)
donē, ēwāra, ēstā, nīwařō, (he)+*-awā > donēwa, ēwārāwa, ēstāwa, nīwařōwa, (heyawa)

The vowel a follows i, ū directly, but the resulting group may be reduced in unstressed position, ḫa, ūa > ē, ū respectively (v. § 59), e.g.

κursī, ṧorda+*-akā > kursiakā, ṭordaakā > kursēkā, ṭorda<kā

(d) ā is joined to preceding е, o, ā, ō by the semi-vowel y, e.g.

dē, ge, čīrā, halō+*-ān > dēyān,¹ geyān,¹ čīrāyān, halōyān

It coalesces with preceding a, e.g.

ēwāra+-*-ān > ēwārān

It follows immediately on i, ū, e.g.

κursī, xāntū+*-ān > kursiān, xāntūn

(e) Summary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i-</th>
<th>e-</th>
<th>o-</th>
<th>a-</th>
<th>ā-</th>
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<td>-ǐ</td>
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<td>ĕē, ē</td>
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</table>

SECONDARY CONTACT OF CONSONANTS

§ 172. (a) In all Kd. dialects final consonants are particularly unstable. There is a strong tendency for a final voiced plosive, affricate or fricative to be devoiced in pause or in secondary contact with a voiceless consonant, e.g.

¹ See § 35(b).
Sul. "la bar kird, [k'irt]  gurj hamām [gurtʃ k ... ]
sarī barz kird [bars k' ... ]  sad polis [sat p' ... ]
waḵā sag sar [sak sar]  ū watuv. [wat'uf]

Ak. "az xulām [Pas x ... ]  xō hižānd. [hiʒa:nt]
tō čituv hākimī [t'uf h ... ]  ū watuv. [wat'uf]

In one borderline case, that of Ak., &c., -av (v. § 300 (a)), so written in the light of the general form -(a)va, a voiced consonant is also regularly devoiced in contact with a following nasal or lateral, e.g.

Ak. bidav min [bidaf min]  čəv lāli [tʃu:f l ... ]

(b) To a lesser extent a final voiceless plosive or fricative may be voiced in contact with a voiced consonant or vowel, e.g.

Sul. pāšāvak abē [pæ:ʃa:ʃe a'be:]  amanay hōs bū [ho:ʒ ʰbu:]
agar lēt ni[t [e:d 'ni:t]
Bin. awiš de [awi:ʒ de:]  bas malikā [baz m ... ]
be-kayf nīm [be:k'ejv ni:m]
Ak. dast dā [daz da:]  ammā p wē [amma: bwi:]¹
Am. gōšt šē [gu:ʒ ʰe:]  čū ḫāvār < *čū-ḫāvār

(c) In secondary contact occasioned by the loss of an unstressed i (v. §§ 42, 142) a voiced consonant is generally assimilated to a voiceless consonant, whether it precedes or follows, e.g.

Sul., &c. kāsibē [kə:ʒip'i:] (cf. aspāb < Ar. asbāb)
War. tōskē < *tōzīkē
Ak., &c. čī bikayn [tʃip'ajn]  bēzītav xō [beːʃt'af xu:]

There are, however, exceptions, e.g.

Sul. rāw ā rāwāxgār < *rāw-w-šikār

(d) There are certain, very rare, examples of the assimilation of a consonant to another with which it is not in direct contact, e.g.

Sul. sik < zik < zig
Bin. yabar < xabar
Bin., Muk. kuti < guti

¹ This example is exceptional. The Ak., &c., prepositions p, t and the modal prefix t- (v. §§ 301, 281 (a)) are so normalized, rather than b, d, d-, because of the regular appearance of the voiceless consonant in contexts where a voiced consonant would normally be preserved, e.g.

Ak. p lāx [p'it ləx]  ax nīvišim [aʃut'ni:visim]
t dīl xōdā [t'it di]  axē nīvišim [aʃe:nı:visim]
tēni bim [t'e:nı:bim]
PART II
SULEIMANIYE, WARMAWA, BINGIRD, PIŻDAR, MUKRĪ, ARBIL, REWANDIZ, AND XŌSNĀW DIALECTS

A. MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS

Definition and Number

§ 173. (a) In Sul., War. the simple noun, formally singular, may have a generic or indefinite plural sense, e.g.

Sul. 1 ṛūy kirda šāx ā kēw: he set out for the mountains
10 kuř ... ṛūštin: the lads went
48 sarī binādam: men's heads
War. 118 lagal ṛašīqim: with my friends

(b) In the Sor. dialects and Muk. the same is true of a formally singular noun, be it in the direct or oblique case (v. § 180), e.g.

Bin. 312 talayān bō dirust dakhāt: he makes traps for them
Piž. — dastītān bišon: wash your hands
Muk. 8337 šēx nārdyān: the sheikhs sent ...
§ 12 šēri dābē bikūšin: you must kill lions

More frequently, however, the morpheme -ān is present to indicate indefinite plurality (v. § 177 (a)).

§ 174. (a) In Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. the suffix -akā serves to define a noun, e.g.

Sul. 11 xalqaka wutyān: the people said
26 šītaka abē ba 'ayba: the matter will become a shame

(b) Following a consonant or a semi-vowel (i.e. a diphthong) the suffix -akā is added directly to the noun, e.g.

Sul. — pyāwaka, šawaka: the man, night
It combines regularly with a preceding vowel (v. § 171 (c)), thus:
following ə, it appears as -yaká in all dialects, e.g.

Sul. — goyaka: the ear
following ē, a, ā, ō, it appears as -ká in Sul., War., Muk., e.g.

Sul. — ēwāraka, kābrāka: the evening, fellow
War. — dēka, jōka: the village, barley
Muk. § 9 angustišaka, āyāka: the ring, Agha
but as -yaká in Bin., Pīţ., Arb., e.g.

Bin. — dēyaka, sayaka, āyāyaka: the village, dog, Agha
With preceding i, ū the suffix commonly coalesces, e.g.

Sul. — xānūaka > xānwaka > xānōka: the house
12 qāpēaka > qāpēka: the gate
Muk. § 9 fūānūaka, fūānwaka: the foal

§ 175. (a) In Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. the suffix -ā, also defines a noun.
In Sul. it is used in narrative with known characters or things, e.g.

Sul. 30 gurzeḳi dā ba xānūa: he struck the (said) house a blow
with his mace
59 dāpīra: the old woman (in question)
This usage is less common in the other dialects, but does occur, e.g.
Muk. 106 fūa: the Jew

(b) The main function of the suffix -ā is to appear in conjunction with the demonstrative adjectives (v. § 192).
In Sul. a noun or nominal phrase (v. § 185 (b)) qualified by a demonstrative adjective always takes the suffix -ā, e.g.

Sul. 9 aw dašta: that plain
32 am hīča: this girl
37 am qūwat u harakata: this power and vigour
In War. -ā occasionally does not appear after a noun so qualified, e.g.

War. 218 am šorat u nāw-i bīst: he heard of this fame

See also § 199.

The suffix -ā, taken by Wahbī and Edmonds (quoted by me, BSOAS, xvi. 541) as a feminine form of 'definite article', is exclusively a vocative and hypocoristic ending (v. § 181 (b)).
§§ 175-6  KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

In Bin., Piż., Muk. a noun takes the suffix -ā when qualified by the simple demonstrative adjective, but not when the adjective has either the plural or feminine oblique endings (cf. § 192 (b)).

In Arb., Rdz., Xoş. a noun qualified by the demonstrative adjective aw only takes the suffix -ā when the sense is ‘proximate’ (v. § 192 (b)), e.g.

Arb. 417 aw kārwānā: this caravan
Rdz. 475 aw sē birāyānā: these three brothers

The examples in the texts of -akā appearing in this context, e.g.

Arb. 437 aw birāyaka: this brother

appear to be vulgar, if not ‘wrong’.

(c) The suffix combines regularly with a preceding vowel (v. § 171 (c)), i.e. following ē, o, a, ā, ā it generally appears as -yā, e.g.

Sul. — aw amustūlaya: that ring
      1 am pāśāya: this king
Bin. 300 am qisaya: this talk
Muk. § 10 aw xulūya: that God
Arb. 421 aw čākaya: this good deed

In Muk. (and possibly Xoş.) it may, irregularly, coalesce with preceding a, e.g.

Muk. 9⁹ aw angustūla: that ring
Xoş. 443 aw bīša: this thicket

§ 176. (a) The suffixes Sul., War., Bin., Piż., ʾē(k), Muk. ʾēk, Rdz. ʾēk, ʾak, Arb., Xoş. ʾak, give a noun indefinite sense, or one of unity, e.g.

Sul. 1 mamλakātēk: a country
      2 šartēk akayn: we shall make a bond
      5 yakēk: someone
Muk. 5³³ wūrēk: a bear
Arb. 414 ūrōzak . . . xawnakē dit: one day (he) saw a dream

The forms -ē, -ēk alternate freely except (with E.) when followed immediately by a personal pronoun suffix, the Izafē, the conjunc-
tion ḫ ‘and’ or the enclitic present tense of the substantive verb, when -ēk normally occurs. Exceptions to this rule, such as

Sul. 82 ṣartē- ḫ lagal: a bond with thee

(- ḫ personal pronoun suffix, v. § 197), are very rare.

(b) In Sul., Bin., Piž. the suffix appears regularly as -yakī following a vowel (v. § 171 (b)), e.g.

Sul. 30 xānāyaq: a house

49 qaravēlayak: a bedstead

98 malāyyak ḫ faqēyak: a mullah and a student

Bin. 300 sayak: a dog

307 dēyak: a village

In the shorter form, which rarely occurs in Sul. after another vowel, the vowel length is preserved, e.g.

Sul. 28 pārčāyē kāyax: a piece of paper

In War. the postvocalic forms -ya, -yē ([-/je, -je:], v. §§ 70, 71) appear to alternate freely, e.g.

War. 195 haftayē: a week

213 yakānayā: a boar

224 davʿayē: one time

233 tōya: someone like thee

Mann quotes the following combinations of -ēk with preceding vowels,

Muk. § 11 yalabāyēk, pādīšāēk: a victory, king

mēshā-ēk > mēšēk: a thicket

The latter may be a mistaken hearing of -āyak (cf. Muk. 116 hēnānawā ‘they brought back’, for hēnāyānawā), but Mokri, Song 383, also has Muk. jōgēk ‘a stream’ < jōga. Mann has tacitly normalized for publication in some places, e.g.


1 E., and some Kd. writers, normalize by writing -ēk łem, and -yēk łem following a vowel, e.g.

E. brayēk, kundayēk: a brother, water-skin
The Arb., Rdz., Xoš. form *āk may either be linked to a preceding vowel by *y, e.g.

Arb. 414 pārāyak: a king
419 hōdayak: a room
or the *a may be elided following an *a, e.g.

Arb. 441 kundak: a water-skin
Xoš. 443 bīšak: a thicket

The suffix may coalesce with a preceding *i, giving -ēk (v. § 59 (a)), e.g.

Arb. 427 grānīāk > grānēk: a famine

(c) A noun qualified by an indefinite or interrogative adjective (v. § 191) commonly takes the suffix -ē(k), -āk and may, nevertheless, have a plural sense, e.g.

Sul. 8 či kīčē . . . či kīčē: whichever girl
18 čaŋ wazīrēk: some viziers
Muk. § 11 čand dēwēk: some demons
hamū kārēk: all affairs
Arb. 421 či xawnak: what (sort of) dream

In conjunction with the numeral yak (v. § 193) a number of irregular contractions occur, thus:

Sul. — yakēkyân, but War. 252 yēkyân: one of them
Sul. — har yakē, but Bin. 308, Arb. 436 har yaka: each one

§ 177. (a) The morpheme -ān indicates plurality.¹ In its absence a noun may still have an indefinite plural sense (v. §§ 173, 176 (c), 185 (b)). Conversely an indefinite plural noun may take the ending -ān,² and in all Sor. and Muk. normally does so, e.g.

¹ A few nouns have plurals in -ēt, -ēt, -ēt, derived ultimately from the Ar. fem. pl. in -ēt, but here calques from NP., e.g.

bāx, bēyēt 'garden(s)', NP. bēy, -ēt
bāhrēt 'spices', NP. do.
dē, -ēt 'village(s)', NP. dēh, -ēt
mīswē, -hēt, -ēt 'fruit(s)', NP. mīsē, -ēt

The morpheme -ēl, which (with its derivatives -ēl, -ayēl) is the regular plural ending of the dialects of Sīna, Kirmānīūh, &c. (v. Barr, Mokri, opp. citt.), appears in Sul. with the names of animals as a 'collective' morpheme only, e.g.

gē 'ox', gēgēl 'herd of cattle'
mē 'sheep', mēgal 'flock of sheep'

² Cf. § 239 (a).
Sul. — *pašimānān lāxyān lē birwāyā*: if horns were to grow on those with regrets

Bin. 367 *astērān muwāfīqīn*: the stars are favourable

Piž. 409 *la binyādāman*: from men

Muk. §25 *birāyān*: brothers

A noun qualified by an indefinite or interrogative adjective (v. §191) may take the ending -ān, which then precedes the suffix -ē(k) (v. §176 (c)), e.g.

Sul. 4 *čañ kasānēk*: some persons

War. 209 *bāzē xalqān*: some people

In general, however, the ending -ān appears in conjunction with the defining suffix -akā (§174), forming -akān, e.g.

Sul. 107 *wulāxakāntān*: your steeds

Muk. §25 *aspakān*: the horses

Xoš. 446 *āyākānī tīr*: the other Aghas

(b) The ending -ān combines regularly with a preceding vowel (v. §171 (d)), thus:

it is joined to preceding ē, o, ā, ō by y, e.g.

Sul. — *am birāyāna*: these brothers

Piž. — *la hartiš lāyāndā*: on both sides

but coalesces with preceding a, e.g.

Sul. — *am jōgāna*: these streams (jōga)

Piž. 399 *law qisāna*: in these matters (qīsa)

and, in all dialects, -akān (v. (a) above).

In Sor. and Muk., however, -ān may coalesce, irregularly, with preceding ā, e.g.

Muk. §25, fn. 1 *malāyān, malān*: mullahs

Arb 415 *aw birāna*: those brothers (birā)

(c) In Sul., War. a noun qualified by a cardinal number (v. §194) does not normally take the ending -ān, e.g.

Sul. 16 *dū tōž āya sē tōž*: two or three days

21 *lam hatw kūray sē kuśyān*: three of these seven sons of his

44 *sē ēwār šaw*: three or four nights

War. 194 *dū sē ḫaywān*: two or three animals
§§ 177–9 KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

In all Sor. and Muk., however, a noun so qualified commonly does take the plural ending, e.g.

Bin. 340 bīst ā ćwār saʿātān: twenty-four hours
352 aw sē darkāna: those three doors (darka)
Piž. 385 sē ćōzān: three days
402 dagal da naʃarān: with ten men
Muk. § 48 čwār kuʃān: four boys

In Rdz. in this context the plural ending appears as -ā (cf. Ak., &c., -ă(n), § 261 (b)), e.g.

Rdz. 491 sē ćōzā: three days
493 sē saḥātā: three hours

§ 178. Of the nominal suffixes:

A. -akā (§ 174)  B. -ān (§ 177)
C. ćēk, ćak (§ 176)  D. -ā (§ 175)

the order of possible affixation to a noun is, for all dialects,

A B C D,

though A, C, and D are mutually exclusive. Thus the possibilities of combination are as follows:

A  Sul. 36 arzaka: the ground
AB  Piž. 382 šittiakān: the plants
   Xoš. 451 law wasīrakān: of those viziers (v. § 175 (b))
B  War. 209 bāžē xalqān: some people
   Rdz. 504 la wurāyān: on horses
BC  Sul. 4 ćan kasiṣānēk: some persons
BD  Sul. 78 am kićāna: these girls
   Piž. 382 aw šittiāna: these plants
C  Sul. 2 sēwēk: an apple
   Xoš. 445 dākak: a mother
D  Sul. 59 dāpira: the old woman
   Piž. 390 aw āṣīna: this iron

For combinations with other suffixes see §§ 187, 199.

Gender and Case

§ 179. (a) In Sul., War. there are no inflective morphemes,¹ and hence no distinction, of grammatical gender or case. In the system

¹ The ending -ā with certain noun forms is not a case ending but an enclitic postposition (v. § 236 (b)).
of Vocative endings, however, a distinction of *natural* gender is observed (v. § 181 (b)). Otherwise the uninflected noun appears in all contexts.

(b) In all Sor. and Muk. a distinction of two grammatical genders is observed, viz. Masculine and Feminine. This distinction is manifest in the inflective Oblique case morphemes (v. § 180 (b))\(^1\) and, in Bin., Piž. only, in the forms of the Izafe (v. § 183 (a)).

As in Sul., War. a distinction of natural gender is observed in the vocative endings.

Where a noun has natural gender the grammatical gender coincides with this. Otherwise it is largely unpredictable.

§ 180. (a) All Sor. dialects and Muk. present a declensional system of two cases, Direct and Oblique, in addition to the partial system of Vocative forms (q.v., § 181 (b)).

A noun in the Direct case may function as:

(i) Subject of a sentence or clause, or a Predicative noun,

(ii) Direct Affectee of a sentence or clause in the Agential construction (v. § 223).

Moreover, there is a general tendency, though varying in effect from one function to the next, for the Direct case form of a noun to replace the Oblique.

A noun in the Oblique case may be:

(i) Direct Object of a sentence or clause,

(ii) (in Sor. only) Agent of a sentence or clause in the Agential construction (v. § 224),

(iii) governed by a preposition,

(iv) following another noun with the Izafe (v. § 184), or following the Demonstrative Izafe (v. § 188),

(v) used adverbially.\(^2\)

A noun in the Oblique case, when followed by the Izafe (v. § 182), does not take Oblique case endings. The Izafe is enclitic to the uninflected noun.

(b) A noun in its simplest form is in the Direct case. The Oblique case is marked by the addition to the singular noun of

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1 The distinction was demonstrated for Muk. in *BSOAS*, xvi. 539 ff.
2 The examples at Muk. § 18 fall rather under category (iii). But cf. § 240 (o).
the morphemes, Masculine -ि, Feminine -े. Plural nouns in -अन have no separate Oblique form. Thus:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Sg. M.} & \text{F.} & \text{Pl. M. \& F.} \\
\text{Dir.} & -\text{Q} & -\text{Q} \\
\text{Obl.} & -\text{i} & -\text{e} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

-अन

Following a vowel the M. Sg. Obl. ending appears regularly as -y, e.g.

Bin. 315 ला रे (who) might do battle

Very rarely -ay appears to be reduced to -e (cf. § 87).

The F. Sg. Obl. ending -े coalesces with preceding a, yielding -े, e.g.

Bin. — ला रे (for Qala Diza)

308 ला रे (according to what you say (qisa)

but not with preceding श, thus

Bin. 300 ला रे (on the road)

Following औ the ending -े may appear as -ya (cf. § 59 (a)), e.g.

Piž. 398 ला रे (the governor of Baghdad)

Muk. 128 ला रे (214 ला रे (in MS. both ला रे)

When a noun is followed by any of the suffixes of definition -का (§ 174), -ा (§ 175), -क (§ 176) the Oblique case ending is -ि-य for both genders. Thus:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Sg. M. \& F.} \\
\text{Dir.} & -\text{का} & -\\
\text{Obl.} & -\text{का} & -\\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

(c) Examples of the Oblique case:

(i) as Direct Object,

Bin. — ला रे (M.) दाक : we plough

— मे (F.) दाक : they pray

— ठायाते (F.) दाक : I shall tell a story

316 ला रे (M.) ते : (he may) destroy the country

Muk. 48 ला रे (F.) नापेड़ : should not sell water

(ii) as Agent (v. § 224),

Bin. 319 ला रे (F.) पे : the woman said to him

320 पे, पटरु (M.) : Petrusya said to them
327 xwāy (M.)... hātā kird: God gave...
341 arsalānī (M.) širēkī gayāndē: Arselan struck him with a sword
348 -y qīsa kird... naḥmānī (M.): Naaman said

(iii) governed by a preposition,

Bin. 319 ba dim āwē (F.): at the water’s edge
349 ba sūrānawē: (began) to drive (all infinitives F.)
353 la ā ārōšēkida (F.): on whatever day
Piz. 398 bō xātīrī šīnakay (F.): for the woman
Muk. 59 ba kāka māmī (M.): to brother Mem
621 ba arzēdā: to the earth
Bin. 312 la 'arzī: from the earth ('arz M./F.)
Muk. 718 la rēq on the road (rē F.)

(iv) following the Izafe or Demonstrative Izafe,

Bin. — lāpī dastī (M.): palm of the hand
— xīnī aspī (M.): saddle of the horse
— xīnī māmī (F.): saddle of the mare
304 ā bāxwānākay (M.): the gardener’s
346 'ašqī aw kicāy (F.): in love with that girl
357 bargī qawācētē: clothes of the coffee-sellers’
calling (all abstract nouns in -ī (v. § 255 (a)) F.)
Muk. 118 mīsānī darwēkēki (M.): guest of a dervish
147 14 āwē daznošē (F.): ablution water
Arb. 425 la pānāy dārakī (F.): under a tree

(v) with adverbial sense,

Muk. 34 nīwāšawē (F.): at midnight
339 qadirēkī (? F.): for a while

Vocative

§ 181. (a) A noun in its uninflected form may serve as a vocative.
All such vocatives are stressed on the first syllable, e.g.

Sul. — bīrā: brother!
16 āmōzā: cousin!
35 mālūn: accursed one!
120 āfrat: wife!
120 pyāwaka: husband!
Muk. 151 xātūn astī: Lady Astī!
A vocative preceded by a particle, such as ay, yā, is generally uninflected, e.g.

Sul. 3 ay dfrat: O wife!
21 áy kuʔ: O lads!
53 yā xidri ziʔa: O immortal Khidr!

Similarly a noun qualified by any determinant, or by a personal pronoun suffix (v. § 197), is otherwise uninflected in the vocative, e.g.

Sul. — kícim, lagal tōma: daughter, my (business) is with thee
4 birikānīm: my brothers!
21 kuʔim: my lads!
89 kuʔi xoʔm: my son!

In Muk. an uninflected plural vocative is formed with the word gāli (*gal ‘group’ + Izafe -iʔ, cf. § 262 (b)), e.g.

Muk. 24 (MS.) gāli fūn mērān: O (group of) youths!

(b) Nouns denoting animate beings may take the following endings in the vocative:

Sg. M. & F. -a  F. -ē 2  Pl. M. & F. -ina 3

Examples:

Masculine

Sul. — kūra, matirsa: don’t be afraid, lad!
— kora, ēt awē: blind man, what dost thou want?
52 áy xuʔaya: O God!
Muk. 20 9 abdālbaga: Abdal Beg!

Feminine

Sul. — pāra šukrī: ‘Auntie’ Shukri!
12 dāya gyān: mother dear!
— kīcē, malarza: don’t tremble, lass!
— bûkē, gōt lē bē: daughter-in-law, pay thou heed!
Piž. 409, Muk. 100 11 xūskē: sister!

1 The -y in War. 230 kuʔi lālay ‘cousin’ (literally, ‘maternal uncle’s son’, but addressed to a girl, perhaps for politeness) is unexplained.
2 These Sg. endings also appear forming hypocoristic names (cf. § 262 (a)), e.g. Masc. miʔa ‘Mustafa’, qūla ‘Qadir’, xula ‘Mahmud’, ūfa ‘Rashid’, Fem. fāta, fārē ‘Fatima’, pēsa ‘Piroz’, xoʔjē ‘Khadija’.
3 Muk. generally --ina.
Plural
Sul. — žūnūna: women!
— kuṟīna (Muk. 188\textsuperscript{28} kuṟīna): lads!
Bin. 326 áy wazārinya [sic]: O viziers!
Muk. 97\textsuperscript{28} xismīna: kinsmen!
150\textsuperscript{29} faqēnā [sic]: students! (faqi)

Izafe

§ 182. All Kd. dialects possess particles the functions of which are mainly analogous to those of the NP. izāfa. These particles will be called generally Izafe.

The Izafe has three main functions:

(i) to connect a noun with a determinant immediately following it, be it an attributive adjective, a noun or pronoun in genitive relation to it or in apposition (v. §§ 184, 185),

(ii) to connect certain adjectives and nouns to their complements (v. § 186),

(iii) to act as a relative pronoun with a definite antecedent (v. § 243 (b)).

§ 183. (a) The Izafe has the following forms:
Sul., War., Arb., Xoš. -ī;\textsuperscript{1}
Bin., Piž., Muk.\textsuperscript{2}

general (following M. & F., Sg. & Pl. nouns) -ī; Sg. F. only -ē, e.g.
Muk. 30\textsuperscript{4} xātūnē nawfūwāna: fair young lady!
31\textsuperscript{1} (MS.) xuškē mīr xēndīnum: I am Mir Zendin’s sister
There is a tendency for the general form -ī to supplant the F. -ē, e.g.
Bin. — bō māle ma: to our house (māl F.)
— la mālī āšnāy ma: in our friend’s house

Very rarely the form -ē appears with a masculine noun, e.g.
Bin. 363 nēwē xōšit: thine own name (nēw M.)
Rdz. -ē without distinction of gender, e.g.
Rdz. — bābī/ē min: my father (bāb M.)
473 nēcīrē xō: (my) own prey (nēcīr F.)
474 nēcīrī tū: thy prey

\textsuperscript{1} There is a trace of a former wider distribution of the F. Izafe form -ē in the following isolated, but regular, form:
Sul. 56 pīrēśīn: old woman (but pīrāmērd: old man)
\textsuperscript{2} Despite Muk. § 20, fn. 1.
(b) The general form -i appears as -y following a vowel, e.g.

Sul. 2 kābrāy ṭīšpē: the grey-bearded fellow
Bin. 327 la xošīy awwa: for joy of that (v. § 60)

The form -ē coalesces with preceding a, e.g.

Bin. 337 tōlē bābī xūm: revenge for my father (tōla F.)
In Muk. (Muk. § 20, end), Rdz. the Izafe may appear as -(y)a following a vowel, e.g.

Rdz. 478 birāya xō: (my) own brother
484 kūrsī()y)a min: my seat

(c) In Bin., Piż., Muk., with an antecedent formally singular but with plural sense, or with two or more singular nouns joined by the conjunction a, w ‘and’, the Izafe form -i may be followed by a particle da, thus -i da, e.g.

Bin. 314 wazīrī da min: my viziers
319 pyāwī da pāšā . . . cūn: the king’s men went
349 dāk ā bābī da tō: thy mother and father
Piż. 404 la tirī da S.: from fear of S. (cf. § 239 (a))
411 farg ā sīy daw kuṇaya: that boy’s liver and lights (v. § 236 (c) fn.)

Muk. 5012 ama yaribīn, lawānī da bēgāna: we are strangers, of those who are foreign
6315 dan’kī da hanārē: pomegranate seeds
6325 gult da sosinē: lily flowers
1078 gōtay da maydānē: corners [sic] of the field
13612 la hartīk čawā da tū: from both thy eyes

§ 184. (a) When a noun, defined or otherwise, is qualified by an attribute or by another noun (cf. § 182 (i)) these follow the noun qualified and are normally joined to it by the Izafe, e.g.

1 Cf. Ak., &c., -ē(t) < -ē dī, § 264 (a).
2 In War. the Izafe is occasionally omitted, even before an attribute, e.g.

War. 237 dargāy māt( ) bēšin: the door of the widow’s house

This is perhaps influenced by the compound prepositions with māt, e.g.
War. 246 čāyna māt jāfīr bag: we went to the house of J.
246 la māt bāfī . . . bēyin: we were in the house of Hāji

The majority of such cases are marked by the presence of the suffix -ē(h), e.g.

War. 200 la šēnē( ) tir: in another place
206 ḥatā baynē( ) da . . . šeit: for a period of some ten days
(i) Attribute,

Sul.  5 kābrāyakī šīšpī: a grey-bearded fellow
    7 māmāy šīšpī: the grey-bearded ‘uncle’
    69 ṭutīkēkī pičkōla: a little dog

(ii) Genitive noun or pronoun (v. § 180 (a)),

Sul.  43 xānāy ēma: our house
    49 sarī binādām: men’s heads
    55 xismakārī wulāxakāt: thy horse’s servant
    69 mālī kići islāmsāy pariān: the house of the daughter
       of Islam Shah of the Peris

War. 188 kāsibiy māli xōmān: the work of our own house

Bin. 318 śinē malikkāy: Malikshah’s wife

Piž. 384 čagāndinē šitilākān: the planting of the seedlings

    394 kafilē aḥmādī: bail for Ahmed

(iii) Appositional noun,

Sul.  9 tawqēkī āltūn: a collar of gold
    86 hayāsī birāt: thy brother Heyas

War. 188 minātī ṛafīqīm: the children, my friends

    199 zalāmī sāhēvā jūtakān: men (who are) owners of a
       pair (of plough-oxen)

(b) A noun may be qualified by more than one attribute. In
such a case each attribute may be connected to the foregoing by
the Izafe or by the conjunction ū, w ‘and’, e.g.

Sul. — kiće kī jwānī ēwārda-sāl: a beautiful, fourteen-year-
    old girl (i.e. ‘sweet sixteen’)

    — minālēkī piś ū pōxīl: a filthy, dirty child

Bin. 306 ṣēkī kāy wā: such another place

    354 arsalānī fe-gawray xānadān: the noble, highborn
       Arselan

(c) A noun in partitive relation to another is not normally
followed by the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. — handē fār: sometimes (a few times)

P  naxtē/kamē pāqla: some, a few beans
    29 yak hagba pāra: a bag of money
    35 tōzēk binēst: a little mastic
    57 yak mist āltūn: a handful of gold
§§ 184–5  **KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES**

War. 230  *čil tanaka navot*: forty (4-gallon) cans of paraffin
265  *čwär favoʃ 'askar*: four battalions of soldiers
Bin. 303  *sê kûpa ğltûn*: three crocks of gold
Muk. 97*33 pârvek nân ê čêrêk āw*: a morsel of bread and a sip of water

but, exceptionally,

Bin. 326  *čand 'adadêkî ḥaskar*: some soldiers

§ 185. (a) In Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. an alternative construction to that described in § 184 exists. A noun qualified by an attributive adjective or another noun may form an ‘open’ compound with the qualifier, which follows the qualified noun and is joined to it by a compound vowel *a*. After *ê*, *o*, *a*, *ā*, *ō*, however, no compound vowel is realized (*v.* § 171 (c)).

Examples:

Sul. 25  *kuɾa pâša*: the king’s son
42  *birâ gawra*: eldest brother
56  *fûta swâr*: a pair of riders
War. 190  *kuɾa muxtâr*: the headman’s son
204  *birâ gawraka*: the elder brother
Muk. 24  *kâka man*: Brother Mem
66  *niwa lafî*: half of his body

(b) It is not possible to specify accurately all the conditions in which each construction may appear. In many cases either construction seems to be possible, e.g.

Sul. 2  *bâla gاردâni sari*: the wing circling about thy head
13  *bâli gardânî sari* (i.e. ‘thy protector’)

The open compound construction is essential when the qualified noun phrase is defined by either of the suffixes -akâ, -â, e.g.

Sul. 13  *am naw’â šîtânâ*: these sorts of thing
25  *am hamû štûnaka favânâ*: all this fine stuff
39  *aw xêwota sawzâ*: that green tent
40  *xêwota sawzaka*: the green tent
181  *dâyk û bêwka pîra faqîrakay*: his poor old mother and father

Piž. 390  *sara astûraka*: the thick end
Muk. 6¹⁵ beča waurna: the wolf cub
25¹³ aw dinyā xoša: this pleasant world
Xoš. 46¹ 'pīna waurna: the horse's back

The compound may also take the suffix -ēk, -ak, e.g.

Sul. E ḫaṅna āwēnayak: a kind of mirror
E kilka karēk: a donkey's tail
Muk. 17⁴ gaza ḥawēk: an ell of cotton cloth

Without a suffix it may have an indefinite plural sense, e.g.

Sul. 44 birā pīcak... būn: the younger brothers became...

§186. Certain adjectives and nouns, particularly those forming part of compound verbs (v. § 234), are joined to their complement by the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. 7 pīṇānī ēmat dā¹: you showed (pīṇān dān) us
23 pēḵaši kuray bikay: you present (pēḵaš kirdin) it to his son
66 svařī ṭaxš bā: he mounted (svaṛ būn) his steed
67 tūši am darada: afflicted (tūš) by this trouble

Piž. 396 taslimi... mahmudi kirdi¹: he surrendered (taslim kirdin) him to Mahmud

Muk. 3²⁵ xarikī bazmī dābūn: they would be engaged (xarik būn) in feasting

§ 187. In conjunction with the series of suffixes
A. -akā, B. -ān, C. ḫēk, ḫak, D. -ā (v. § 178),
the order of possible suffixation of
E. the case endings -ī, -ē (§ 180 (b)),
and F. the Izafe -ī, -ē (§ 183),
is, for all dialects, A B C D (E) F,
though B and E, and E and F, are mutually exclusive. Thus the possibilities of combination are

AE Bin. 303 la bāxakaydā: in the garden
AF Sul. E bāxakay ṭō dīt: the garden you saw
ABF Sul. E sārakānī xōyān: their own towns
BF Sul. — pālawānānī kurd: Kurdish champions
BDF Sul. — aw ṭīrānay ṭō dīt: those things you saw

¹ Agential construction, v. § 223.
Demonstrative Izafe

§ 188. In all Kd. dialects an independent Demonstrative Izafe occurs, related in form to the enclitic Izafe but with different functions.

The Demonstrative Izafe has the following forms (cf. § 183 (a)):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kd.</th>
<th>Izafe Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sul.</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War.</td>
<td>hi(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muk., Arb., Xoš.</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bin., Piž.</td>
<td>ḫ, (? ḫ), ḫ da (cf. § 183 (c))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdz.</td>
<td>ḫ/ē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may appear before:

(i) a noun or pronoun, to which it gives a possessive meaning, or
(ii) an adjective, giving it a definite, ‘substantive’ sense.

Examples: (i)

- Sul. — hi birāy min: that of my brother, my brother’s
- hi kē: whose?
- hi ūma: ours
- War. — hin mānā: the cow’s
- 199 hi bāwbāpīra gawaramāna: it is our ancestors’
- 200 hi kasēkī wakū F.: that of someone like F.

- Bin. 333 *tarbīati swāriē w ī pālawānīē: the learning of horsemanship and that of wrestling
- 379 dasū ṭā takānū, ī amūršangī: he jerked his hand, that of Amirsheng
- Muk. 242 *ī xōm la ī tū pitīra: mine is bigger than thine
- Rdz. 501 mārē miniē . . . ē birāē miniē: my house . . . my brother’s too

(ii)

- Sul. — hi gawra: the big one
- hi šin: the blue one
ADJECTIVES

§ 189. Attributive adjectives, which like adjectives employed predicatively are uninflected in all dialects, normally follow the noun they qualify, either with the Izafe (§ 184) or in the open compound construction (§ 185).

Adjectives may be used, in their uninflected form, as adverbs, e.g.

Sul. — bā yakā ā tuñ: a fierce wind
36 tuñ mačakā girt: he seized his wrist firmly

With the appropriate inflexional endings, adjectives may act as substantives, e.g.

Sul. — nūwī gawra, dē wērān: a great name (but) a ruinous village
— gawram: my master!
— gawray 'ēl: the leader of the tribe

Conversely, a small number of nouns may be employed much as attributive adjectives, e.g.

Sul. — kar: donkey
— pyūwēkī kar: a stupid fellow

Comparison

§ 190. (a) The morpheme -tir added to the simple adjective form yields the comparative adjective. This behaves exactly as a positive adjective, e.g.

attributively: Sul. — šāxēkī barztir: a higher mountain
predicatively: 30 ama . . . jwāntira: this one is more beautiful
adverbially: 47 zūtir ačē: goes quicker
substantively: 45 la min jwāntir: one more beautiful than me

The only irregularity in the formation of a comparative adjective attested is in Sor., Muk. § 32 ētir ‘better’, from ēāk ‘good’.

1 A shibboleth phrase containing three particularly Piž. forms. See also §§ 197 (-in), 218 (han).
(b) The morpheme -in added to the comparative adjective forms
the superlative adjective (cf. § 195 (b)). This, unlike the positive
and comparative adjectives, immediately precedes the noun it
qualifies, e.g.

Sul. P bô äzäîrîn sarbâz: for the bravest soldier

(c) har, combined with another adjective and the qualified noun
in the open compound construction (§ 185), gives the adjective
a superlative sense, e.g.

Sul. E qisna hara fjwânaka: the finest tomb (qisn: 'dry stone
wall')

Certain adjectives

§ 191. (a) Adjectives of the following categories immediately pre-
cede the noun they qualify:

(i) the demonstrative adjectives (v. § 192),
(ii) cardinal numbers (v. § 194),
(iii) superlative (§ 190 (b)) and ordinal (v. § 195 (b)) adjectives
in -in,
(iv) the following interrogative and indefinite adjectives (cf.
§§ 176 (c), 177 (a)),
War. båzê 'some' (Ar. ba'ã)
či 'what(ever), whichever'
War. čan, Sul. čanj, Sor. & Muk. čand 'how(ever) much,
some' (as an adverb 'how . . . ')
fîlân(a), Arb., &c., fîrân 'such and such'
gišt 'all'
Sul., War. hič, Sor. & Muk. also či: 'any'
hami, Arb. also hamî 'all, each, every'
har, harçî, harç, hač 'any, whatever'
kâm 'which(ever)'

but not

ka, tir, di(ka), dika 'other'
wâ, wahâ, wuhâ, wa, awa 'such'

xôr, War. fira 'many, much' may either precede or follow the
noun qualified.

1 Muk. či 'any' is probably a mishearing of či, e.g.
Muk. 414 či fêm nîa, but 324 či fêm nîa: 'I have no place'.

68
(b) Examples of interrogative and indefinite adjectives.

War. 209 bāzē xalqān: some people
Sul. 2 ba či dardē giriftāri: with what ill art thou troubled?
      17 la či šonēkā: in whichever place
War. 208 čan ūlspēyak: some elders
Sul. 4 čan ... , 8 čan muddatēk: some time
Bin. 326 čand ḍadadēk ḥaskar: some soldiers (cf. § 184 (c))
Sul. P čan ṣaš bū: how black it was!
Sul. 16 la filāna mawqi‘ā} in such and such place
Bin. 303 la filān londā} in such and such place
Sul. P gišt mindālakān: all the children
Sul. 58 hūc hasēk nāwērē: nobody dares
Bin. 362 či yadrim ... nakirduwa: I have not done any harm
Sul. 13 hamū šitēk: everything
Bin. 322 hamū sālēk: each year
War. 200 har hasēk} whoever
Sul. 11 hač hasēk} wherever
Bin. 318 hač mawqi‘ēk: wherever
Sul. P kām astēray gaš: which bright star

but,

Sul. — šiti wā nīa: there is no such thing
      — yakēkī ka{ another one
Arb. 426 yakakī dika} another one
Sul. — zōr fār} many times, often
War. — fira fār} but,

Sul. P pūray zōr, kalkī čīa: what is the use of much money?

Demonstrative adjectives

§ 192. (a) Sul., War. have two inflexible demonstrative adjectives, am ‘this’, aw ‘that’. A noun, singular or plural, qualified by either of these is normally followed by the defining suffix -ā (§ 175).

All Sor. and Muk. have only one demonstrative adjective aw ‘this, that’. The form am ‘this’ appears in Bin. as a loan from Sul., e.g.

Bin. 299 lam ūsānyay: from these works

69
(b) In Bin., Pîz. the general demonstrative adjective aw, qualifying an oblique plural noun, may also take the ending -ān, in which case the noun does not take the suffix -ā, e.g.

Pîz. 399, Muk. 4¹ law qisānā: from these words (qīsa)

but,

Bin. 378 lawān qisāndā: in these words
330 bō awān swārān: for those horsemen

In Pîz., Muk. the general demonstrative adjective aw, when qualifying a feminine singular oblique noun, may take an oblique ending -ē,¹ in which case the noun also takes the oblique ending -ē (§ 180 (b)) and not the suffix -ā, e.g.

Bin. 346 'ašqī aw kīcāy: in love with that girl

but,

Pîz. — awē kīcē wāy kirā²: that girl did thus
— ĉū bō aw mālay went to that house
— ĉū bō awē māfē

Muk. 99¹⁸ bawē birīnē: from this wound
passim, awē šawē: (on) that night

In Arb., Rdz., Xoš. a noun qualified by aw,

(i) takes the suffix -ā only when it is 'proximate', i.e. indicates something physically near or which has already been referred to in narrative, e.g.

Arb. — aw kurā: this boy
Rdz. 475 sē birā lagarim haya, aw sē birāyāna: there are three brothers with me, these three brothers . . .

(ii) takes the suffix -ēhē³ when it indicates something physically remote, e.g.

Arb. — aw kurēhē: that boy yonder

(iii) takes no suffix when it refers to something absent, e.g.

Arb. — aw kur: that boy
435 aw birāyānī min: those brothers of mine

¹ The resulting awē is not, therefore, with Mann, Muk. § 38, the general oblique case form of the adjective but a specifically Feminine oblique.
² Cf. § 180 (c) (ii).
³ Cf. Sur. awēhē § 277, there alone analysable as *awā+t−ē+hē.
### Numerals

#### § 193

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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>bīst ū yah</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>=</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>cīl</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>pānjā</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>pēnįf</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>pēnf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>fast (§ 10 (b))</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>haštā</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>haštā</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>haštā</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>haštā</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>mawān</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>sad (§ 10 (b))</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>dūsad</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>dū sat</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>sēsad</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>čwārsad</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
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<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>pēnsad</td>
<td>=</td>
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<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>šažad</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
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<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td>ūmawād</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>haštād</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>nōzād</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>hazār</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 m.</td>
<td>milyān (§ 36)</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 = signifies 'the same form as that noted to the left'.

#### § 194. (a) Cardinals immediately precede the noun they qualify. In Sul., War. a noun so qualified normally does not take the ending -ān (§ 177 (c)), while in all Sor. and Muk. it normally does.
A cardinal, other than 'one', appearing independently may take the plural ending -ān, e.g.
War. 227 syān bū, čwār bū: (whether) it was three or four
237 sāle, duān: a year or two
Muk. § 48 čuārūn, duāzān: 4, 12

(b) With certain numbers (generally round numbers—tens, hundreds, &c.) the qualified noun may take an ending -ī, giving the sense of 'about ...', e.g.
Bin. 311 tamānī ḥawt ḥaːst sālī: the age of about seven or eight years
Xoš. 459 ba qadar bīst tourāyī: to the extent of some twenty horses

(c) The repetition of the cardinal numbers, with or without the plural ending -ān, gives a distributive sense, e.g.
War. 197 hamū yaka yaka w dwān dwān ā čwār čwār ačīn: they all go by ones and twos and fours

Ordinal
§ 195. (a) Ordinal numbers are formed directly from the cardinals by the addition of the ending -am, e.g.
Sul. — yakam 'first', pēnfam 'fifth', bīstam 'twentieth'
Following ē, a, ā, ď an h is realized before the ending -am, e.g.
Sul. — sēham (also sēyam) 'third'
naḥam (also na'yam), nōham 'ninth'
daḥam (also dayam) 'tenth', yāŋzaham 'eleventh'
paŋfāham 'fiftieth'
These ordinals follow the qualified noun with the Izafe, e.g.
Sul. 47 ḍēgāy sēham: the third road

(b) The ordinal adjective in -am may further take the ending -īn (cf. § 190 (b)), e.g.
Sul. — yakamīn 'first', pēnfamīn 'fifth'
also awwolamīn 'first' (Ar. awwal)
With cardinals ending in a, ā this ending normally takes the form -mīn, not *-hamīn, e.g.
Sul. — yāŋzaham : yāŋzamīn 'sixteenth'
ḥaːftāham : ḥaːftāmīn 'seventieth'

1 Contrast the adverbial -ī, § 240 (b).
SULEIMANIYE, ETC., DIALECTS §§ 195-6

The ordinal adjective in -(a)mēn immediately precedes the noun it qualifies (v. § 191 (a) (iii)), e.g.

Sul. — yakamēn fār: the first time

In Rdz., corresponding to general -amēn, the form -amē occurs. This follows the noun qualified (cf. Ak., &c., -ē, § 274), e.g.

Rdz. 474 fārī sēyamē: the third time

PRONOUNS

Personal

Independent

§ 196. (a) Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. present systems of six personal pronouns, each with an independent and a suffix form (q.v. § 197). All Sor. and Muk. have further independent oblique forms for all persons and, in Bin., Piž., one additional person. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>amin</td>
<td>amin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tō</td>
<td>atō</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aw(3)</td>
<td>(h)aw</td>
<td>aw(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>(h)ēma</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ēwa</td>
<td>awa</td>
<td>angō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>awān</td>
<td>awān</td>
<td>awān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>(a)min</td>
<td>(a)min(3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(a)tō</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>(a)tō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 M.</td>
<td>(a)wē(4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 F.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a)wē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>(a)ma</td>
<td>(a)ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(a)wa</td>
<td>(a)ngō(6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(a)wān</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a)wān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

(1) Mann consistently writes 2nd Sg. (a)tū. There is evidence within his texts, however, that this represents, in conformity with the Sor. dialects, (a)tū, e.g. the rhyme at Muk. 136ff. diwa : atua : fūa : tua.

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In all Sor., except Arb., and in Muk. \((a)tō\) and \((a)tū\) alternate freely, regardless of case, e.g.

**Bin.** 315 \(kəɾəy\) \(ləqəl\) \(tō\) \(bikā\): (who) might fight with thee
321 \(tō\) \(ləy\) \(dagaɾēy\): (whom) thou art seeking
325 \(atū\) \(bō\) . . . \(hāt俵a\): why hast thou returned?
325 \(yəbəɾɪm\) \(bō\) \(tū\) \(hēnəwətəwa\): I have brought news for thee

**Muk.** 1\(^{33}\) \(atu\) \(xəlqi\) \(koy\): of where art thou a native?
6\(^{69}\) \(atōʃ\) . . . \(dəbam\): I shall take thee
7\(^{2}\) \(atōʃ\) \(wəra\): come thou too!
30\(^{7}\) Ċāwī \(tū\) [sic]: thine eyes

(2) The 3rd Sg. independent pronoun is identical in form with the remote demonstrative adjective \(a\text{wō}\) (v. § 192 (a)). In Sul., War. the proximate demonstrative adjective form \(a\text{mən}\) may also appear as a 3rd Sg. personal pronoun. Both forms may also function as 3rd Pl. personal pronouns with the ending -\(ən\), thus:

**Sg.** 3 \(a\text{wō}\), \((a\text{mən})\) 'he, she, it', Pl. 3 \(a\text{wān}\), \((a\text{mān})\) 'they', e.g.

**Sul.** 31 \(a\text{wō} \text{gəwərə}: he is an infidel
9 \(a\text{wān}ən\), 76 \(a\text{mān}ən\): they too

(3) Mann, Muk. § 37. 'Für den Nominativ [3rd Sg. pers. pron.] tritt meist das Demonstrativum \(a\text{w}i\) ein.' But \(a\text{wō}\) is an adjectival form of the demonstrative, requiring the noun qualified to take a suffix -\(d\) (v. § 192 (a)), while, as Mann rightly states Muk. § 38: 'Alleinstehend, substantivisch gebraucht, lautet das Pronomen [demons.] ursprünglich stets \(a\text{w}s\).' Thus \(a\text{wō}\) here should be recognized as the direct case of an independent personal pronoun.

Muk. § 37, 3rd Sg. direct \(a\text{w}s\) is perhaps best explained as an encroachment of the oblique form. Alternatively -\(s\) may be an Izafe.

(4) The 3rd Sg. masculine oblique form \((a)\text{w}s\) may replace the feminine oblique \((a)\text{w}ē\) even in Bin., Piž., e.g.

**Bin.** 344 \(nəsən\) \(wī\) \(biday\) \(wəkə\) \(əmīn\) \(bō\) \(wī\) \(sūtəwim\): show her that I am burning for her

(5) The doubly oblique forms \(əmīn\), \(atōi\), &c., quoted by Mann, Muk. §§ 33–35, appear unreal. All the examples quoted Muk. § 36 contain, as Mann's footnote admits, the 3rd Sg. personal pronoun suffix -\(i\) (q.v. § 197). But note

Xoş. 448 \(əmīn\) \(dəkuş\in\): they will kill me

(6) -\(ngō\) may only occur enclitically.
(b) The independent personal pronoun forms have the same functions as the corresponding nominal case forms (v. §§ 179 (a), 180 (a)).

In the oblique case the full forms, amīn, &c., appear mainly in the functions of the Direct Object and (in Bin., Piż. only) of the Agent in the Agential construction. The short forms, min, &c., with the exception of -ngō, appear in all the functions of the oblique case.

Examples:

Bin. — awē way kird: she (Agent) did thus
       325 nawałū ra sar tōś bidā, atōś bikūšē: lest he fall on thee too, kill thee too

Muk.  6² darxwärði wī dadā: he would feed her
       58²⁹ dagal awī: with her

Xoš.  465 dasgārānī wī dētin: her fiancé comes

(c) When an independent personal pronoun of the 1st or 2nd person appears as the Direct Affectee of the Agential construction (v. § 223), or as the complement of the substantive verb, then the verb does not agree with it in person but appears in the 3rd person singular, i.e. as if the pronoun were a noun,¹ e.g.

Sul. — minīt diwa = diwitim²: thou hast seen me
       — ŋmat diwa = diwitim²: thou hast seen us
       20 minī bō čia: what am I to him?
       35 tōyān nārduwa: they have sent thee
       68 ka mintān māra kird: when you married me (off)

Similarly with the verb wistīn (v. § 220),

Sul. P  azānī min tōm čand xōš awēt: thou knowest how much I love thee

The agreement of the verb is exceptional in

War. 214 čma haftā w avana pālawānī kuštīn: he has killed us seventy or so champions

¹ See also § 242 (d) and Muk. § 92.
² See § 228.
§ 197. (a) The personal pronoun suffixes have the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Additional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>-im (-m)(^{(1)})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-it (-t)(^{(2)})</td>
<td>Sul., War. -u (-w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-Ɂ (-y)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>-mān</td>
<td>Piż., Muk., and -in (-n)(^{(3)})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-tān</td>
<td>remaining Sor. -ū (-w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-yān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

(1) The forms in parenthesis appear after a vowel. When the suffix is followed by another enclitic the unstressed vowel of -im, -it is not normally realized (v. § 41 (c)). Regarding the realization of -y after Ɂ, see § 60.

(2) See § 7 (c). In Sul., War. the 2nd Sg. form frequently appears as -Ɂ in postvocalic, and reduced to -i in postconsonantal position.

Also in Sul., War. a 2nd Sg. form -u (-w) is occasionally heard (to be distinguished from the Piż., &c., 2nd Pl. form -u, -w).\(^{1}\) This may be no more than a phonetic variant of -i conditioned by the proximity of a back vowel or a bilabial consonant (v. § 55 (b)). The frequency of its occurrence with kuštin is noteworthy.

**Examples:**

Sul. — dasu bīšō: wash thy hands!
13 ėnwu pē bikawē: that thy eye may behold
51 nāwkusīm, aqayak akama got, aǰkam ba ʾabdī xōm:
    I shall not kill thee, I shall put a ring in thy ear,
    make thee my slave

War. 218 pēj bīzānē pałpaḷit akā: if he finds out about thee
    he will chop thee up
273 bō nāwkusīt: why hast thou not killed it?
284 awwā: will take thee
290 hākayatī xōmu bō akam: I shall tell thee my story

\(^{1}\) The similar form -o, given for the Sīner dialect in Mokri,

**Songs** 323 haʃt peshto: seven generations of thy forebears
247 dino namāga: thy faith has gone

may only be a representation of [i, Ɂ]. Cf. 323 bowkhar- for *bāʃkaːr* bōkhar.
(3) The Piž., Muk., and, less commonly, Sor. forms Pl. 1 -in, Pl. 2 -ū alternate freely with the general forms -mān, -tān.

(b) The suffix personal pronouns may fulfil the functions of a pronoun:

(i) in genitive relation to a noun (v. § 200),
(ii) Direct Object of a transitive verb in the present tenses,
(iii) Agent of a transitive verb in the past tenses (v. § 225),
(iv) governed by a preposition (v. § 237),
(v) with dative sense (v. §§ 218 (a), 220 (a), 239 (b)).

Examples:

(i) Genitive relation,

Sul.  P  la bariawo dā nīštuwin: they are seated in front of him

1  waʃāxi ker abē: he has no offspring (lit. ‘his hearth is blind’)

9  aw ăsikayān: that gazelle of them

69  la fyātā dāyktān: instead of your mother

Piž. 393  ḫayfī xōwa: it is your own pleasure

Muk. 103  sabrū bibē: let patience be yours

(ii) Direct Object,

Sul.  10  ḥayfa biykuʃin: it is a pity, that we should kill it

10  wīši . . . biyɡirē: he wanted to catch-it

20  ḥaz akā ka bitbiñe: he would like to see thee

Piž.  402  datbam: I shall take thee

(iii) Agent,

Sul.  2  dastī birda bāxalī, sēwēki dar hēnā, dāya das pāşā: he put his hand into his bosom, took out an apple, put it in the king’s hand

Piž.  380  mālin bār kirdi:n: we loaded up (our) homes

(iv) Governed by a preposition,

Sul.  17  bōy bēna: bring . . . for him

Bin.  351  lēt mumbārak bē: may it be fortunate for thee

Muk.  r16  zōrit čāka dagal dakam: I shall do much good for thee

63  nambē nēwān: let there not be between us . . .

167  lēn: against us
§ 198. The personal pronoun suffixes are affixed directly to a noun to which they stand in genitive relation (v. § 200). This is also true when the noun forms part of a compound preposition (v. § 238).

When fulfilling any of the other functions listed in § 197 (b) above, a pronominal suffix is affixed to whichever word of the following categories appears earliest in the clause:

(i) an independent noun, pronoun or adjective which is either
   (α) the Direct Object, or Affectee (§ 223), or its complement, of a transitive verb,
   or, in certain circumstances, is
   (β) the Subject, or its complement, of an intransitive verb;
(ii) a noun or pronoun governed by a preposition, i.e. the
    Indirect Object, or Affectee, of a transitive verb;
(iii) an absolute prepositional form (v. § 237);
(iv) the verb, with the limitation that this can support only one such pronominal suffix. It is then suffixed to the first of whichever of the following possible components of a verbal form is present:
   (α) a preverb (v. § 235) or other word forming a compound verb (v. § 234),
   (β) a negative or modal affix (v. § 206),
   (γ) the verbal stem or participle, or an auxiliary (v. § 227).

1 This construction often appears, deceptively, to haveבד 'eye' qualified by a possessive (genitive) suffix, e.g.
   Sul 27 ḍavīm pē ākawē; I shall see her
   34 ka... ḍavīyaṃ bān naudwāna kaust; when they beheld this youth
   but 20 min bāy akā, ḍavīm pē bikawē; he summons me that he may see me
   2 E, has a different exposition at BSOAS, xvii. 490 ff.
Examples:

(i. β) Sul. E  am pārayat cōn cīn kawtuwa: how has this money fallen into thy hands?

(i. β) Bin. 343 šiklēki zōr jwānī lē časp kirābū: a very beautiful picture was stuck to it

[but, despite the presence of (i. β),

(iii) Sul. — aw kūra zōr lēm nācē: that boy does not look much like me]

(i. α) — ēwa ba pēy qānūn am xawiltān la ēma war nagirt: you did not obtain this land from us legally

(ii) — ba pēy qānūn la ēmatān war nagirt you did not obtain it

(iii) — lēmāntān war nagirtīn from us legally

(iv. α) — ba pēy qānūn wartān nagirt: you did not obtain it legally

(iv. α) — wartān nagirt (lēmān): you did not obtain it (from us)

(iv. α) — ūm naakird: I used not to run away

(iv. β) — namakird: I used not to do (so)

(iv. β) — amkird: I used to do (so)

(iv. γ) — kirdim: I did (so)

(iv. γ) — kirduwoma: I have done (so) (v. § 227)

A pronoun suffix may also be attached to certain adverbs, e.g. zōr ‘much’ in

Sul. P zōrī ḥaz la qumār akird: he was greatly addicted to gambling

Muk. 1zōrit cāka dagal dakam: I shall do thee much good

§ 199. In conjunction with the affixes already listed (§§ 178, 187)


the order of possible suffixation to a noun of

G. -im, -it, -ī, -mān, -tān, -yān in genitive relation to it, and H. the same in any other function,

is, for Sul., all Sor. and Muk.  A B C D (E) G H, for War. also, A B C G H D.

E and H are mutually exclusive.

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Examples: Sul., &c.

AG Sul. 3 māṁakay: his mare
AGH Sul. 25 xuškatānim dāwa: I have given your sister
ABG ul. 4 birākānim: my brothers!
ABH ul. 12 fajīشكرānim ba fē hēstuwa: I have left my friends behind
CGH Sul. 74 čawēkitim bidarē: give me one of your eyes
CH Sul. 155 kičēkyān nadāynē: they did not give us a girl
DE Bin. — aw barday bēna: bring that stone
DH Bin. — aw bardam bidaya: give me that stone
DG Sul. 25 am čwār kuṟay: these four sons of his
EG Bin. — xušē dākēm: my mother’s sister
G Sul. 27 čawim: my eye
H Sul. 74 pyālay āwim bidarē: give me a glass of water

Wārmāwa

AH War. — kalawarakağm kirdō: I opened the door
BGD 249 am gorēşānimā: these donkeys of mine
GD 224 am kuşima: this son of mine
[DH 214 am harakatuy kird: he exerted this power]
HD 274 am palpita lē nagirtāyam: would you had not
not got this pretext from me
GH 189 fūti māli xōmānim akird: I used to do the
ploughing for our own home

Cf. Sinai, in Mokri, Songs,

GD 232, 286 law dam‘ta: from that mouth of thine
HD Mann, MS. am xawarīa śinaft: he heard this news

This displacement of the suffix -ā, partial only in War., is
characteristic of the more southerly dialects. See further §§ 202 (a)
fn. 1, 209 (a) fn.

§ 200. A noun qualified by a personal pronoun suffix in genitive
relation to it may or may not be further defined by the suffix -akā,
less commonly -d (§§ 174, 175).

(a) The defining suffix is generally present when a sense of
actual possession or personal connexion is intended, e.g.

Sul. 3 māṁakay: his mare
14 qisakay: his words
42 kirāsakat: thy shirt
45 gyānakam: my soul, beloved
55 wulāxakat: thy horse
War. 219 bārgirakam: my packhorse
Bin. — nūsinakam: my writing
Muk. § 9 jēgākan: our home
āyākatān: your agha

Note the fixed phrase
Sul. 2 ay pāśāham: O my king
but
War. 209 ay sāhim: O my king

This category includes the following nouns of relationship:
wife, son, daughter, brother and sister (particularly younger), e.g.
Sul. 4 birākānim: my brothers
19 śinakay: his wife
21 kuṛakāni: his sons
25 xuškakatān: your sister
War. 204 birā gawrakam: my elder brother
Muk. § 9 kīčakam: my daughter

(b) The defining suffix is absent when no actual possession is
intended, with parts of the body, with the remaining nouns of
relationship and with all nouns of relationship used conventionally,
e.g.
Sul. — xuškim: sister! (to any young woman)
12 ṭāwim: my quarry
16 āmoxām: my cousin!
21 kuṛim: my lads!
27 dasgīrānim: my fiancée
27 ēwim: my eye
28 ṭōhi širinim: my sweet soul, beloved
80 gāčim: my leg
Note bātokim ‘my father’, but bātokim, bāwkakam ‘old fellow!’

Reflexive

§ 201. The reflexive pronoun has the general form xō ‘self’. Very
rarely, with the suffix -yān, the form xwa appears (v. § 59 (b)).
Primarily the pronoun refers to the Subject of a sentence or
clause, or to the Agent in the Agential construction. The pronoun
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is generally further defined by a personal suffix, thus xê-m ‘myself’, xê-t ‘thy-self’, &c., e.g.

Sul.  8 kuši xêm: my (own) son
69 lagaš xôy: with him(self)
Arb. 446 ba xôyân cûnawa: they themselves went back

It may then refer to any person in the sentence, e.g.

Sul. 11 ba sar sarî xôtâ bâsî dâ: it jumped over thy (own) head

Demonstrative

§ 202. (a) The demonstrative pronouns combine the forms of the demonstrative adjectives (§ 192) and the defining suffix -d (§ 175),¹ which may here lose its stress. The plural forms incorporate the morpheme -ûn (§ 177).

Sul., War. have then a system of two, remote and proximate, pronouns, while Bin., Pîž., Muk. have one general demonstrative pronoun. In Arb., Rdz., Xoš. the same distinction is made as with the demonstrative adjective (§ 192 (b)), viz. awa ‘this’, awêhe² ‘that yonder’, aw ‘that (absent)’. Only awa is considered here, awêhe being inflexible and aw identical with the 3rd personal pronoun of the same dialects (§ 196).

In Sor., Muk. the demonstrative awa may take the oblique ending -î (-y) and is then frequently reduced to row, &c. Thus:


Direct

this  arma  arowa (arrowa, arô
that awa ahwa, ahô
these amûna arowûna
those awûna arowûna (arwhûna, &c.)

¹ In War. the demonstrative pronoun may be disrupted by a personal pronoun suffix (§ 197), or the adverbial suffix -if (v. § 240 (c)), appearing before the defining suffix -d (cf. § 199), e.g.

War. 190 amam akîrd: I used to do this
but 267 awîsa: that too
268 awîma arowê: that (is what) I want
280 amûna kîrd: thou didst this

² Cf. Sur. awêhe, § 277.
Oblique

Sg.  
away  
(away, &c.)

Pl.  
awānay  
(awhānay, &c.)

Examples:

Sul.  
9 āwayān: that one of them
9 awānay ha: those others
62 amāna hamāy: all these

Bin.  
347 awham lāxīma: I need that
367 lahway ātīr: better than that

Muk.  
830 hāta way bimirē: (he) came to this, that he would die

(b) There is some confusion in usage between the demonstrative pronouns and the 3rd personal pronouns (§ 196 (a)), e.g.

War. 194 awiś: that (not he) too (but cf. § 175 (b))
Arb. 414 tikrārī lō way kirdawā: he repeated it for him
426 'umrī wāna: their ages

Interrogative

§ 203. (a) The following inflexible interrogative pronouns, and related adverbs, occur:

Sul., War. ē, Sor., Muk. ē (ē only in pause and in bō ē, Arb., &c., lō ē ‘why?‘) ‘what?‘
Sul., War., Bin., Piž. ēn, Muk. ēlōn,2 Arb. kū ‘how?‘
War. ēn, Sul. ēn/y, Sor. & Muk. ēnd ‘how much, many?‘
kē3 (Muk. § 43 kē(hā)) ‘who?‘
Sul., War. kay, Piž., Muk. kānē, Arb. kāngē ‘when?‘
kām(a) ‘which?‘

1 Often reduced to bōē, lōē, and even bō, lō ‘why?’
2 The form ēn appears in an isolated phrase with xānīn, e.g.
Sul. 131 ēn xānīn: how should we know?
Muk. § 43 ēn xānīn: how should I know?
3 Once in Bin. kē appears as a relative pronoun with an antecedent (cf. § 243),
Bin. 355 atū kēt pē dalēn . . . : thou whom they call . . .
Examples:

Bin. 321 awa ba či čun: what did you go for?
368 atū dalēy či: what dost thou say?
Muk. 45 či dakay: what art thou doing?
2425 *čiya (čia): what is it?
Sul. — ama ba čaša: how much is this?
— kē awa: who (is) that (at the door)?
P jēgāy xālid kāmaya: which is Khalid's place?

(b) The following forms contain the sense of a verb:

Sul. kwā, kāmatā, Muk. kwānē, Arb. kānī 'where is, are?'

For example:

Sul. 117 kāmatā hanārakāntān: where are your pomegranates?
Muk. 21 kwānē swārī da nāzanin: where are the splendid riders?
Arb. 431 kānī birātān: where is your brother?

Sul. ko 'where?' requires a limiting preposition, thus:

Sul. la ko 'where?', cf. Arb., &c., kēndarē (v. § 278 (b))
bō ko 'whither?', cf. Arb., &c., kēwa

For example:

Sul. — wāy la ko? wām lēra: where art thou? Here I am

VERBS

§ 204. The verb has two simple tenses, namely Present and Past, formed regularly from the present and past stems (v. § 205) respectively. The present tense rarely appears in its simple form and then with subjunctive force (cf. compound verbs, § 234).

The two simple tenses are modified by modal affixes (v. § 206) to give a system in which distinctions of both tense and mood are made.

The past stem and past Participle (v. § 213) combine with tense forms of the substantive verb, the sole auxiliary in this function, to form further, compound, tenses.

The full system is summarized at § 217.
§ 205. (a) The simple tenses are formed from the present and past stems of the verb.

Verbs are normally quoted in the form of the infinitive verbal noun, which invariably ends in -n. The removal of the final consonant -n, and when it is preceded by the vowel -i- of this also, yields the past stem, which is thus regularly predictable from the form of the infinitive, e.g.

čān 'go' : čā-
ḥātin 'come' : ḫāt-
kīrdīn 'do' : kīrd-, &c.

The infinitive is, therefore, marked by a morpheme -(i)n.

The present stem is not always predictable from the form of the past stem or infinitive, or vice versa. The following empirical rules may be stated, but exceptions and irregularities are numerous and vary according to the dialect.

(i) When the past stem ends in -i, or, if the verb is transitive and polysyllabic, in -ā, then the form of the present stem is that of the past stem less this vowel, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Past Stem</th>
<th>Present Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fišl-1</td>
<td>fiš-</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>larsī-</td>
<td>larz-</td>
<td>'tremble'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pišmī-</td>
<td>pišm-</td>
<td>'sneeze'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bišī-</td>
<td>biš-</td>
<td>'cut'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirī-</td>
<td>kir-</td>
<td>'buy'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mālī-</td>
<td>māl-</td>
<td>'sweep'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīrsī-</td>
<td>pīrs-</td>
<td>'ask'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēnā-</td>
<td>(h)ēn-</td>
<td>'bring'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēlā-</td>
<td>kēl-</td>
<td>'plough'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēčā-</td>
<td>pēč-</td>
<td>'fold'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) When the past stem ends in -ā and the verb is either intransitive, or transitive and monosyllabic, then the present stem normally ends in -ē, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Past Stem</th>
<th>Present Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āusā-</td>
<td>āwiē-</td>
<td>'swell'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birāā-</td>
<td>birēē-</td>
<td>'roast'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirā-</td>
<td>dirē-</td>
<td>'tear'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikā-</td>
<td>tikē-</td>
<td>'drip'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 All forms are Sul. unless otherwise stated.
(but note, \( s(t)ä- \) : \( s(t)- \) ‘rise’
\( tirsä- \) : \( tirs- \), Muk. \( tirsë- \) ‘be afraid’
\( šëä- \) : \( šë- \) ‘live’)
Transitive \( gä- \) : \( gë- \) ‘copulate with’
\( nä- \) : \( në- \) ‘put’

(iii) When the past stem ends in \(-ä\) the present stem is normally identical with it, e.g.
Transitive \( dirë- \) : \( dirë- \) ‘sew’
\( farmë- \) : \( farmë- \) ‘order’
\( gurë- \) : \( gurë- \) ‘flay’
\( fë- \) : \( fë- \) ‘chew’
(but note,
Intransitive \( bë- \) : \( b- \) ‘be’
\( čë- \) : \( č- \) ‘go’)

(iv) When the past stem ends in \(-t\), \(-d\) then the form of the present stem is normally that of the past stem less this, e.g.
Intransitive \( bërd- \) : \( bür- \) ‘pass’
\( bizët- \) : \( bizë- \) ‘move’
\( gilëft- \) : \( gilëf- \) ‘rub’
\( kawt- \) : \( kaw- \) ‘fall’
\( mird- \) : \( mir- \) ‘die’
Transitive \( girt- \) : \( gir- \) ‘hold’
\( xënd- \) : \( xën- \) ‘study’
(but note, \( bast- \) : \( bast- \) ‘tie’
\( bëst- \) : \( bëst-, \) Muk. \( byë- \) ‘hear’
\( past- \) : \( past- \) ‘tread’)

(v) When the vowel preceding the final consonant, or consonant group, of the past stem is \(-ä-\) then the corresponding vowel of the present stem is normally \(-ë-\), e.g.
Transitive \( bwërd- \) : \( bwër- \) \( > \) \( bër- \) ‘pass’
\( bišërd- \) : \( bišër- \) ‘pick’
\( (h)a)nërd- \) : \( nër- \) ‘send’
\( pälëwt- \) : \( pälëw- \) ‘strain’
\( sütän(d)- \) : \( sütën- \) ‘burn’

(vi) When the past stem ends in \(-st\), \(-št\), the present stem frequently ends in \(-z\), \(-ž\) respectively, e.g.
Transitive  
gast-   : gaz-          ‘bite’
gwást-  : gex-          ‘remove’
părăst-  : părēz-       ‘protect’
xwăst-  : xwāx-        ‘demand’
cēst-   : cēz-          ‘taste’
kušt-   : kuż-          ‘kill’
nāšt-   : nēz-          ‘bury’
(but note,  
firō(si)t- : firōš-      ‘sell’, and
Intransitive  
nīšt-   : nīz-          ‘sit’)

A comprehensive list of verbs, with their present stems, is given in Appendix I. The more common ‘irregular’ verbs, i.e. those with unpredictable present stems, are marked with an asterisk.

(b) Certain verbs are compounded with preverbs (v. § 235), which then occur with every form of the verb. In one case the ‘preverb’ is in fact an enclitic, -a(wa). This does not, however, affect either verbal stem as it is invariably added after the personal ending of the verb (v. §§ 207 ff.).

Affixes

§ 206. (a) Modal affixes

Sul., War. a-,¹ Sor., Muk. da-, Rdz. a-/da-, prefixed to:

the simple present give the Present Indicative,
the simple past give the (Past) Imperfect.

¹ In War. a modal affix t- occurs with two verbal stems only, forming the Present Indicative, viz.

War. — tēm/tēm, &c.: I, &c., come
     — tērin, &c.: I, &c., bring

Cf. Kirmānlāhi (Mokri, Songs, 33) tīyam
     (Mann, MS.) tīyām

Sinai (Mokri, Songs, 231) tērin
     (Mann, MS.) tēm tērin

The form at War. 196 adērin ‘we bring’, appears to be a compromise between tērin and an artificial *a-ērin.

The present forms of this verb hāwirdin are exceptional in that a personal pronoun suffix is attached not to either affix t- or b(i)- (v. § 198 (iv. β)) but after the personal ending, e.g.

War. — tērin: I am bringing it
     — bērin: bring ye it!
294 aō bērēti: the water should bring him

Cf. Sinai (Mann, MS.) tērēštaw: he brings it back.
But note, influenced by Sul. ay(h)ēnim,

War. — ayērin: I am bringing it
b(f)-, in all dialects (but v. § 234), prefixed to:

the simple present gives the Present Subjunctive,
the past, with the suffix -āya, gives the Past Conditional.

b(f)- may also be prefixed to the Imperative, and (in Bin., Piž.,
Muk.) to the Perfect Conditional and its derivatives (v. § 216).

The vowel of the prefixes a-, da- is not realized before present
stems with an initial vowel ē-, except where this occurs through
the loss of an ē-, e.g.

Sul. — ēm, Bin. — dēm: I come (ē-)
       — ēēē, Bin. — dēēē: it hurts (ēē-)
but, 187 āēnē: he brings ((h)ēn-)

War. — ēčim: I say (ēč-)  
Muk. § 53 dēlim: I leave (ēl-)
but,   daēēnim: I bring ((h)ēn-)

It is realized before the initial stem vowel ē-, e.g.

Sul. — xarīka aāwōsē: it is swelling (āwōsē-)
Arb. — tēk daārēn: they will become embroiled (ārē-)

and before past stems with initial ē-, e.g.

Sul. 180 sarīm aēšā: my head was aching

When a personal pronoun suffix is present the vowel of a-, da-
is always realized, whatever the stem, e.g.

Sul. — a-y-ēlim: I shall leave it (ēl-)

The vowel of b(f)- is not realized before any initial stem vowel,
thus

Sul. — bēm: should I come? (ē-)
War. — bēšim: should I say? (ēş-)

(b) Negative affixes

nā-, prefixed to the simple present,¹ gives the negative of the
Present Indicative.

nā-, prefixed to all other tense forms (replacing the positive

¹ When, as rarely, the negative is separated from the verb then this takes the
positive affix a-, e.g.

Sul. P agirm bēt bō ērtā na: I am not weeping for thee for now (i.e. for thy
present state)
affix b(i)- of Subjunctive and Conditional tenses), gives the negative of these tenses.

má-, prefixed to the Imperative (replacing the affix b(i)- where present in the positive), negates it.

Personal Endings

§ 207. Each tense distinguishes five persons by characteristic endings. These do not correspond entirely to the personal pronouns (§ 196) in that the endings appropriate to the 2nd and 3rd persons plural are identical in form.

There is a characteristic Imperative ending for the 2nd person singular.

Present Tenses

§ 208. (a) The Present tense is formed from the present stem with the prefixes a-, da- (Indicative), or b(i)- (Subjunctive), negative nd-, ná- respectively, and the appropriate personal endings. These are essentially as given below. In conjunction with different stem finals these endings undergo regular modification. Thus the i of the 1st Sg. and 2nd, 3rd Pl. endings does not appear after a stem final vowel, while the î of the 2nd Sg. and 1st Pl. endings is normally realized as y in the same context. The other modifications, particularly of the 3rd Sg., are not simply analysable and are best given in detail (v. (b) below).

Present Personal Endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>-im&lt;sup&gt;(1)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-îm</td>
<td>-îm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-î(t)&lt;sup&gt;(2)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-î</td>
<td>-î</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ê(t)</td>
<td>-ê(t)/-û(t)&lt;sup&gt;(3)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-î(t)&lt;sup&gt;(4)&lt;/sup&gt;, -ît-&lt;sup&gt;(4)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>-în&lt;sup&gt;(1)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-în</td>
<td>-în</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>-în&lt;sup&gt;(1)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-în</td>
<td>-în</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

(1) Before an enclitic the (unstressed) vowel of -îm, -în is often not realized (v. § 41 (c)).
(2) Regarding the bracketed forms see (c) below.
(3) The alternative form -i(t) (cf. Arb., &c., -ı) is heard but rarely in Bin., Piž.
(4) The form -it- occurs before the vowel of an enclitic.

(b) Thus, when the present stem ends in:

(i) a consonant or semi-vowel, e.g. b-, &c., 'be'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>abîm</td>
<td>awîm</td>
<td>dabîm</td>
<td>dabîm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>abû(t)</td>
<td>awî(t)</td>
<td>dabî</td>
<td>dabî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>abê(t)</td>
<td>awê(t)</td>
<td>dabê(t)</td>
<td>dabê(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>abîn</td>
<td>awîn</td>
<td>dabîn</td>
<td>dabîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>abîn</td>
<td>awîn</td>
<td>dabîn</td>
<td>dabîn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the corresponding Present Subjunctive in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(bi)bîm</th>
<th>biwîm [bu:m] (v. §§ 73, 75)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>(bi)bî(t)</td>
<td>biwî(t) [bu:i(t), by:i(t), by:(t)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(bi)bê(t)</td>
<td>biwê(t) [bu:e(t), by:e:(t)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>(bi)bîn</td>
<td>biwîn [bu:in, by:in, by:n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>(bi)bîn</td>
<td>biwîn [bu:n]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) -ê-, e.g. -lê-, &c., 'say'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>alêm</th>
<th>dalêm</th>
<th>darêm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>alêy(t)</td>
<td>dalêy</td>
<td>darêy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>alê(t)</td>
<td>dalê(t)</td>
<td>darê(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>alêyn</td>
<td>dalêyn</td>
<td>darêyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>alên</td>
<td>dalên</td>
<td>darên</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) -û-, e.g. nû- 'sleep'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>anâm</th>
<th>danûm</th>
<th>danûm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>anûy(t)</td>
<td>danûy</td>
<td>danûy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>anwê(t), ano(t)</td>
<td>danwê(t)</td>
<td>danwê(t), danwê(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>anûyn</td>
<td>danûyn</td>
<td>danûyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>anûn</td>
<td>danûn</td>
<td>danûn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) -a-, e.g. ka- 'do'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>akâm</th>
<th>dâkâm</th>
<th>dâkâm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>akây(t)</td>
<td>dâkay</td>
<td>dâkây</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>akâ(t)</td>
<td>dâkâ(t)</td>
<td>dâkâ(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>akâyyn</td>
<td>dâkâyyn</td>
<td>dâkâyyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>akan</td>
<td>dâkan</td>
<td>dâkan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(v) -ö-, e.g. xöö- ‘eat’

Sg. 1  axööm
     2  axööy(t)
     3  axwöö(t)

Pl. 1  axööyn
     2, 3 axööñ

(vi) -öö-, e.g. girī- ‘weep’, Sor., Muk.  difíc- ‘defecate’

Sg. 1  agirím
     2  agirí(t)
     3  agirí(t)

Pl. 1, 2, 3  agirín

(vii) -ya-, e.g. War. gaya- ‘reach’, Muk. *girya- ‘weep’

Sg. 1  agayáám
     2  agáy(t)
     3  agayé(t)

Pl. 1  agáyn
     2, 3 agayán

(d) The euphonic (t) (v. § 7 (b)) of the 2nd Sg. (Sul., War.) and 3rd Sg. forms is always realized when the tense form is immediately followed by the vowel of an enclitic, and may be so in pause. It is seldom realized before another consonant, however.

Examples:

Sul. 28  amdööztawa: thou wilt find me
       62  abayta dar: thou carriest out

[contrast]

Bin. 344  bikay-awa: if thou makest...
       350  dači-awa: thou wilt go back

Muk. 93  agar bimday-öö: if thou givest it to me]

Piž. 399  hatá S. bimënët: while S. remains (alive)

Muk. 1435  bët la wurmi: comes from Urmüye

Xoš. 460  bō yaxöy bëčit: he should go to war

In Arb., &c., the 3rd Sg. -tin is an optional form, occurring most commonly in pause.

1 Mainly the enclitic ‘preverb’ -awa (v. § 235 (a)) or the preposition -a, -öö (v. §§ 236 (d), 237 (b)).
Substantive Verb

§ 209. (a) Beside the normal tense forms (§ 208 (b) (i)) the substantive verb has an enclitic present tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. 1</th>
<th>Bin., Piż., Muk.</th>
<th>Arb., Rdz., Xoš.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-im/-m</td>
<td>-im/-m</td>
<td>-im/-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-i(t)/-y(t)</td>
<td>-i/-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Sul.</td>
<td>-a(t)/-(y)a(t)</td>
<td>-a(t)/-(y)a(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War.</td>
<td>-a(s)/-(y)a(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>-i/n/-yn</td>
<td>-i/-yn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>-i/n/-n</td>
<td>-i/-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

where the second forms in each case appear following a vowel. In Arb., &c., the second forms of the 1st Sg. and 2nd and 3rd Pl. (-ma, -na) also follow a diphthong. The -(y)- of the 3rd Sg. forms is realized after all vowels except i, u.

Examples: (v. also § 214):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sul.</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>min pâšâ-m: I am a king</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
<td>hâsîr-im: I am ready</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td></td>
<td>wû-y la kw: where art thou?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td></td>
<td>âltûnî tyâ-ya: there is gold in it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td></td>
<td>ba xxwâ kar-in éwa: by God, you are asses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War.</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>xarîk-î amkušî: art thou about to kill me?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Muk. | 97
|      | 15 | hamû pâlawân û ba-nâw-în: we are all champions and famous |
| Arb. | 435 | mindâr-im, sabî-ma: I am a child, a boy |
|      | 442 | gurg-a, dêto-a, çî-ya: is it wolf, demon, or what? |
|      | 436 | la tû-na: they are from thee |
| Rdz. | 474 | amin-im, amin nêçîrî tû-ma: I am (she), I am thy quarry |
|      | 489 | þyâwô-ma: I am a man |
|      | 475 | kuřî kîsrây-ña: they are the sons of Chosroes |

1 In War. the enclitic verb precedes the defining suffix -d (cf. § 199), e.g. War. 281 'ādî aw 'arab-im-d: I belong to that Arab (cf. Sul. — 'ādî aw 'arâbd-m)
SULEIMANIYE, ETC., DIALECTS § 209-10

(b) The negative of this form is independent, not enclitic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Sul., War</th>
<th>Bin., &amp;c.</th>
<th>Arb., &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nīm</td>
<td>nīm</td>
<td>nīta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nī(t) &lt; *nīy(t)</td>
<td>nī &lt; *nīy</td>
<td>nī &lt; *nīy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nīa(t)</td>
<td>nīa(t)</td>
<td>nīa, nīt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War.</td>
<td>nīa(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>nīn &lt; *nīyn</td>
<td>nīn &lt; *nīyn</td>
<td>nīna &lt; *nīyna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>nīn</td>
<td>nīn</td>
<td>nīna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) The euphonic (t) of the 2nd Sg. (Sul., War.) and 3rd Sg., and the (s) of the 3rd Sg. (War.) is always realized when the verb is immediately followed by the vowel of another enclitic (v. § 208 (c) fn.). In general only the (t) of the 2nd Sg. (Sul., War.) may be realized in pause or before a consonant (but v. § 214 (b)), e.g.

Sul. 38 tō čiyt hātuwīta šašawa: what art thou that thou hast come to do battle?
59 agar šeš nīt, ēm: if thou art not mad I shall come

Imperative

§ 210. (a) The Imperative is formed from the present stem, and normally the prefix b(f)- (negative má-), with the following endings:

Sg. 2 -a, Pl. 2 -in, when the stem ends in a consonant,
   -Q       -n,        "        vowel.

Thus, for example, when the stem ends in:

(i) a consonant or semi-vowel,

Sul. — bēna: bring! ((h)ēn-)
   5 bičin: go ye! (ē-)
   77 bikawa: fall! (kaw-)

War. — biyɡirin: hold ye it! (ɡir-)

Arb. — bīna: bring! ((h)ēn-)

(ii) -ē-,

Sul. — bilē¹: say! (-lē-)

47 bilēn: say ye!

¹ Mann, Muk. § 69, has bēlē ‘say!’ but his informant wrote regularly

Cf., however, the variation in

War. 285 dām na | put me down! (nē-)
   294 dām nē |

Bin. 318 magirya: do not weep! (ɡirye-)
§ 210  KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

(iii) -ū-,
Sul. 97 binū: go to sleep! (nū-)
— bifarmūn: be ye so good! (farmū-)

(iv) -a-,
Sul. — maka: do not! (ka-)
42 ba < bida: give! (da-)
War. 221 biywan: take him! (ba-)
Arb. 415 mayban: do not take him!

(v) -ō-,
Sul. — bīrō: go! (rō-)
— biyxōn: eat ye it! (xō-)

(vi) -ē-,
Sul. — magirī: do not weep! (girī-)

(b) In Sul., War. only, when the Imperative is followed by the vowel of an enclitic, an euphonic -r- is realized after the 2nd Sg. form, e.g.

(i) consonant stem,
Sul. — bīygōrara: exchange it! (gōr-)

but

Bin. — biyxōna-wa: read it! (xon-)

(ii) -ē- stem,
Sul. — bīylērwa: repeat it! (-lē-)
War. 297 bēra lāy xōm: come to my side (ē-)

but

Bin. — bīylē-wa: repeat it! -(lē)-

(iii) -a- stem,
Sul. 58 bimdarē: give it to me! (da-)
12 rāwim bidarawwa: give back my quarry!
War. — biykarō: open it! (ka-)

but

Bin. — -im bidaya < bida-ē: give me . . .! (da-)
Arb. — biyka-wa: open it! (ka-)

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(c) The following Imperative forms from irregular stems occur:

Sul. 78 bičō: go!
Bin. 373 bičōn: go ye!
[Sul. — bičin: go ye! (ći-) is regular]
Sul., Muk. — wara, warin: come! come ye!
Rdz. — mē: do not come!
[War. — bē, bēn: come! come ye! (ći-)
Sul. — maya < *maē: do not come!, are regular]
Bin., Muk. § 69 harō: go!

Note the varying irregular position of the personal pronoun suffix (v. § 198 (iv. β)) in the following War. Imperative forms:

War. — bērin-ī: bring ye it! (v. § 206 (α) fn.)
— bēr-ī-a¹: bring it!
— bēx-ī²: say it! (ēx-)

but
— bi-y-ēxarō: repeat it!

Past Tenses

§ 211. (a) The Past tense is formed from the past stem and the appropriate personal endings. These are essentially:

**Past Personal Endings:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sul., War.</th>
<th>Sor., Muk.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-i(t)</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ti̯</td>
<td>-i̯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They differ from the present endings only in the 3rd Sg. (cf. § 208 (a)).

(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. hāṭ- ‘come’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sul., War.</th>
<th>Sor., Muk.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>hátim</td>
<td>hátim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>háṭi(t)</td>
<td>háṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>háṭ (v. § 66)</td>
<td>háṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>háṭun</td>
<td>háṭun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>háṭin</td>
<td>háṭin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Cf. order -i-a, § 199, loss of -a, § 175 (b).
(ii) -ā-, e.g. bū-, &c., ‘be’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Sul.</th>
<th>War.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>būm</td>
<td>būm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>būy(t)</td>
<td>būy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bū, -w</td>
<td>bū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>būyn</td>
<td>būyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>būn</td>
<td>būn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) -ā-, e.g. mā- ‘stay’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Sul.</th>
<th>War.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mām</td>
<td>mām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>māy(t)</td>
<td>māy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>māyn</td>
<td>māyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>mān</td>
<td>mān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) -ā-, e.g. gaĭ- ‘reach’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Sul.</th>
<th>War.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gaĭm</td>
<td>gaĭm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>gaĭ(t)</td>
<td>gaĭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>gaĭ</td>
<td>gaĭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1, 2, 3</td>
<td>gaĭn</td>
<td>gaĭn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) In Sul., War. the (t) of the 2nd Sg. is always realized when the verb form is followed by the vowel of an enclitic,¹ e.g.

Sul. 15 gaatórioawa: thou returnedst
(cf. Sor. — gaatórioawa)

In Sul., Bin. when a 3rd Sg. past form ending in -ā ((b) (iii) above) is followed by the vowel of an enclitic an euphonic -y- is realized between the vowels,² e.g.

Sul. 2, Bin. 304 gaatórioawa: he returned
(cf. Muk. 220 gaatóriowa)

Bin. 321 nadítratórioawa: (she) could not be found

§ 212. (a) The Imperfect tense is formed from the Past by the addition of the prefix a-, da- (§ 206), thus, e.g.

Sul., &c., ahaṭim, ahaṭī(t), ahaṭ, ahaṭīn, ahaṭīn
Sor., &c., dakahṭim, dakahṭī, dakahṭ, dakahṭīn, dakahṭīn, &c.

¹ Mainly the enclitic ‘preverb’ -awa (v. § 235 (a)), the preposition -a, -ē (v. §§ 236 (d), 237 (b)) or the conditional suffix -āwa (v. § 212).
² The form War. 217 gaatório seems to be a compromise between Sul. aatórioawa and War. *gaatório.
(b) The Past Conditional tense is formed from the Past by the addition of the prefix $b(f)$- and the suffix -āya. This latter follows the personal endings in all dialects, but in War. may also precede them in certain instances, thus:

Sg. 1  | bihātimāya  
2  | bihātitāya, Sor., &c., bihātiāya  
3  | bihātiāya

Pl. 1  | bihātināya  
2, 3  | bihātināya

but not *bihātiāyan  
*bihātiāyan

§ 213. A Past Participle, which beside its normal function in the formation of the Perfect tense may serve as an adjective, is formed from the past stem. To the stem are added the following morphemes:

Sul., Bin., Piž., Muk. *-ą, *ęw; War. -(f)ę (v. § 76);³ Arb., Rdz., Xoš. -f, ęy.

The behaviour of Sul., &c., *-ą before an enclitic substantive verb is abnormal. In those cases where a distinction is observable the enclitic verb appears in its postconsonantal form, thus [-u:um, -u:i:], &c., rather than *[-u:m, -u:j].⁴ A personal pronoun suffix, or the adverbial suffix -N (v. § 240 (c)), however, appears in its postvocalic form following the past participle. A convenient compromise is to interpret such an [-u:] as -uw (v. § 60) throughout the conjugation. Thus, e.g.

Sul., &c., hātūw, būw (v. § 60), māw, gaśw
War.  hātiğ, çuğ (N.B. wiğ: Sul. būw), māğ, gağ
Arb. &c., hāt, bûy, mûy, gaî (< *gaîy)

---

¹ Mann, Muk. § 72, has ‘Optat.: bāmāya ...; 3. sing. bāyāya’, but, § 83, ‘In der Bedeutung eines Optativus perf. ... bēhātināya ...’
² The 3rd Sg. Past Conditional of the verb bûn ‘be’ appears in various irregular forms, viz. Sul., Bin. (b)i)būwiya, Muk. būyāya, Piž., Sor. bāya, War. wāya.
³ Cf. Sinai (Barr, op. cit., p. 224) -(i)g.
⁴ Note, in corroboration, the metre of the following lines by Šēx Razā Tālabāni, viz. -○ -○ -○ -○ -○ -○ -○ -○ -○ -○ -○ -○ -○ -○ -○ -○ -○:

maslaḥat wāya hatā naywxwārduwim biynēr-mawā: It is best that I send it back before it eats me!

min azaxīm kē la xištay birduwī, ammā či rūd: I know who has led thee astray, but to what advantage?

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H
§ 214. (a) The Perfect Indicative tense is formed of the Past Participle and the enclitic (Present) form of the substantive verb (§ 209 (a)) as auxiliary. Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. hāt- ‘come’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. 1</th>
<th>Sul., &amp;c.</th>
<th>War.</th>
<th>Arb., &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hātuwin</td>
<td>hātiğim</td>
<td>hāṭima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hātuwi(t)</td>
<td>hātiğî(t) (§ 76)</td>
<td>hāṭî (&lt; *hāṭî-y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>hātuwa,</td>
<td>hātiğâ(s)</td>
<td>hāṭîa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hātôt- (§ 59 (b))</td>
<td>hāṭît-</td>
<td>hāṭît-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl. 1</th>
<th>hātuwin</th>
<th>hātiğîn</th>
<th>hāṭîna (&lt; *hāṭî-yna)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>hātuwin</td>
<td>hātiğîn</td>
<td>hāṭîna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) -u-, e.g. bû-, &c., ‘be’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. 1</th>
<th>bûwin</th>
<th>búğim/wiğîm</th>
<th>búyma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bûwi(t)</td>
<td>*bûğî(t)/wiğî(t)</td>
<td>buy (&lt; *bûy-î)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bûwa,</td>
<td>búğâ(s)/wiğâ(s)</td>
<td>buya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bût-</td>
<td></td>
<td>buyt-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl. 1</th>
<th>bûwin</th>
<th>*bûğîn/wiğîn</th>
<th>buya (&lt; *bûy-îna)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>bûwin</td>
<td>búğîn/wiğîn</td>
<td>buya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) -a-, e.g. mâ- ‘stay’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. 1</th>
<th>mâwin</th>
<th>mâğîn</th>
<th>mâyma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mâwi(t)</td>
<td>*mâğî(t)</td>
<td>mây (&lt; *mây-î)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mâwa(t)</td>
<td>mâğâ(s)</td>
<td>mâya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mâyat-</td>
<td>mâyat-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl. 1</th>
<th>mâwin</th>
<th>*mâğîn</th>
<th>mâyma (&lt; *mây-îna)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>mâwin</td>
<td>mâğîn</td>
<td>mâyma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) -i-, e.g. gaî- ‘reach’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. 1</th>
<th>gaîwin</th>
<th>gaîğîm</th>
<th>gaîma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>gaîwi(t)</td>
<td>gaîğî(t)</td>
<td>gaî (&lt; *gaî-y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>gaîwa(t)</td>
<td>gaîğâ(s)</td>
<td>gaîa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gaîit-</td>
<td>gaîit-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl. 1</th>
<th>gaîwin</th>
<th>gaîğîn</th>
<th>gaîna (&lt; *gaî-îna)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>gaîwin</td>
<td>gaîğîn</td>
<td>gaîna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Distinguished from the Past tense form (§ 211 (b)) by the position of the stress. With past stems ending in a vowel no such distinction is possible.
(b) Concerning the (t) and (s) forms of the auxiliary, see § 209 (c). Note that in Piž. the (t) of the 3rd Sg. Perfect form may appear before a consonant, e.g.

Piž. — cōt bō fātī: he has gone to plough

(c) In Sul. when the verb form is followed by the vowel of an enclitic (v. § 208 (c) fn.) the 3rd Sg. Perfect is regularly, e.g.

Sul. — gařāwatawa, hātōtawa: he has returned, come back

The syllable -at- is generally added, redundantly, to the 1st Sg. and 1st, 2nd, 3rd Pl., but not 2nd Sg. forms, in this context, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>gařāwimatawa</th>
<th>hātuwimatawa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>gařāwītawa</td>
<td>hātuwītawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>gařāwatawa</td>
<td>hātōtawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>gařāwimatawa</td>
<td>hātuwimatawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>gařāwimatawa</td>
<td>hātuwimatawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

Sul. E hūčyān naďōwimatē: they have given me nothing (v. §§ 229 (b) (ii), 237 (b))

E hūčtān bō nagēřāwimatawa: you have not related anything to me

but,

Bin. 325 gařāwimatawa: I have returned

359 hātuwimatawa: I have come back

Muk. § 78 hātuśimawa: we have come back

§ 215. (a) The Perfect Subjunctive and Pluperfect tenses are formed from the past stem with the Present Subjunctive and Past tenses of the auxiliary verb būn (§§ 208 (b) (i), 211 (b) (ii)) respectively.¹

In all dialects except Bin., Piž. a stressed -t- is added to a stem ending in a consonant before the auxiliary.

¹ In War. these two tenses would thus be identical in form in all but the 3rd Sg., e.g.

Perf. Subj. *hātuśim, -śū(t), -wē(t), -śōn, -śōn
Pluperf. hātuśim, -śū(t), -ū, -śōn, -śōn

No examples of War. Perfect Subjunctive were, however, recorded. Mann, Muk. § 80, notes the contracted Sinai Pluperfect hātūm (v. § 75).
§ 215-6 KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. háṭ- ‘come’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>háṭībīm</td>
<td>háṭībīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>háṭībī(t), Sor. -bī</td>
<td>háṭbī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>háṭībē(t), -bī(tin)</td>
<td>háṭbē(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>háṭībīn</td>
<td>háṭbīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>háṭībin</td>
<td>háṭbin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pluperfect

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>háṭībūm, &amp;c.</td>
<td>háṭbūm, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) a vowel, e.g. ĉū- ‘go’

All dialects

Perfect Subjunctive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sul., &amp;c.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>ĉūbīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ĉūbī(t), Sor. -bī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ĉūbē(t), -bī(tin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>ĉūbīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>ĉūbin</td>
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Pluperfect

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sul., &amp;c.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>ĉūbūm, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

§ 216. (a) In all Sor. and Muk. a Perfect Conditional tense is formed from the past stem and a particular form of the auxiliary verb būn with the ‘conditional’ infix -ā- (cf. §§ 287 (b), 291) and past endings (§ 212 (a)). The modal affix b(t)- is commonly prefixed to this form, and must be so when an Agential suffix (v. § 225) is part of the verbal form (v. § 227).

1 In Bin., Pīz., Muk. § 72, the past stem of the verb būn is reduced to bī- in the Pluperfect tense, thus bībūm, &c.

2 Not, with Mann, Muk. § 72, an alternative present stem bā- directly comparable with NP. bā-. Muk. 116 bām ‘would I had been’, Rdz. 487 nābāy ‘hadst thou not been’, &c., are reduced forms of the Perfect Conditional *bībūm, &c., due presumably to confusion of the stem bī- (cf. previous fn.) with the identical modal prefix.
Thus:

Sor., Muk.
Sg. 1 (bi)ḥāt(i)bām
2 (bi)ḥāt(i)bāy
3 (bi)ḥāt(i)bā
Pl. 1 (bi)ḥāt(i)bāyn
2, 3 (bi)ḥāt(i)bān

(b) The suffix -āya (v. § 212 (b)) may be added to this form giving a Perfect Conditional II tense, thus:

Sg. 1 (bi)ḥāt(i)bāmāya, &c.

In Bin., Piż. the 'conditional' -ā- may, in addition, be infixed between stem and auxiliary, giving a Perfect Conditional III tense, thus:

Sg. 1 (bi)ḥātābāmāya, &c.

For examples, see § 249 (c).

Summary

§ 217. The tense and mood system may be summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative (§ 208)</th>
<th>Present Subjunctive (§ 208)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-kaw-im, &amp;c.</td>
<td>bi-kaw-im, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative (§ 210)
bi-kaw-a, &c.

Past (§ 211)
kawot-im, &c.

Imperfect (§ 212 (a))
a-kawt-im, &c.

Past Conditional (§ 212 (b))
bi-kawt-im-āya, &c.

Past Participle (§ 213)
kawot-ā

Perfect Indicative (§ 214)
kawotūw-im, &c.

Pluperfect (§ 215)
kawt(i)bām, &c.

Perfect Subjunctive (§ 215)
kawt(i)bim, &c.
§ 218. (a) The morpheme ha- with the verb bûn yields the verb habûn 'exist'. Of this only 3rd person forms, Sg. in Sul., War., Sg. and Pl. in Sor., Muk., commonly occur, though the remaining persons are attested. In War. there occurs a distinct 3rd Sg. Present form.

In conjunction with the personal pronoun suffixes (with dative sense, v. § 197 (b) (v)) this verb gives the sense of possession. Thus:

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3 'there is'       | hay(t)    | has  | haya, hayt-
| Pl. 1              | hayn      |      |      |
| 2, 3 'there are'   | han       |      |      |
| 'I have'           | ha-m-a    | has-im, | hayt-im, |
|                    | -m haya   | -m has | -m haya |
| 'thou hast'        | ha-t-a    | has-i(t), | hayt-it, |
|                    | -t haya   | -t has | -t haya |
| 'he has'           | hayat-i,  | has-i, | hayt-i, |
|                    | -i haya   | -i has | -i haya |
| 'we have'          | ha-mân-a, | has-mân, | hayt-mân, |
|                    | -mân haya | -mân has | -mân haya |
| 'you have'         | ha-tân-a, | has-tân, | hayt-tân, |
|                    | -tân haya | -tân has | -tân haya |
| 'they have'        | ha-yân-a, | has-yân, | hayt-yân, |
|                    | -yân haya | -yân has | -yân haya |
| 'I have (Pl.)'     | (Sor., Muk. only) | han-im, |      |

1 See § 219.
Present Subjunctive
‘if there be’  habē(t)  habē(tin)
‘if I have’  ha-m-bē(t),  ha-m-bē(tin),
-m habē(t), &c.  -m habē(tin), &c.

Past, Imperfect
‘there was, used to be’  habū
‘I had, used to have’  ha-m-bū, -m habū, &c.

Past Conditional
‘if I (had) had’  ha-m-bwāya,  ha-m-būya,
-m habwāya, &c.  -m habūya, &c.

Perfect Indicative
‘I have had’  ha-m-būwa,  ha-m-būya,
-m habūwa, &c.  -m habūya, &c.

Examples:
Sul.  P  našūrazāy galē ūgāy šērzāwī hay: thou art unaware of many underground passages
War.  —  ĉitēkī tir has: there is another thing
Piż.  —  malān hayà, faqēsîn han: we have a mullah and some students too
Muk.  19719  hanim hудūdî: I have some noble horses
Sul.  69  tūtikēkī piĉkōlay habū: she had a little puppy
Bin.  310  hamānbū: we were well off (lit. ‘we had’)
Arb.  —  agar ĵīm habūya nadažātim: had I had work to do I would not have come

(b) In conjunction with a personal pronoun suffix the enclitic forms of the substantive verb (§ 209 (a)) may still give the sense of possession in the absence of the morpheme ha-, e.g.

Sul.  —  tinū-m-a: I am thirsty (‘j’ai soif’)
        —  birsi-at-ī: he is hungry (‘il a faim’)
16  ĉi-at-ī: what is the matter with him (‘qu’est-ce qu’ila’)?

The morpheme ha- does not appear with negative forms, thus:

‘(there) is not’  nīa, &c. (v. § 209 (b))
‘I have not’  Sul., &c.  nī-m-a,  Arb.  nīt-im,
-m nīa  -m nīa

‘we have not’  nī-mān-a,  nīt-mān,
-mān nīa, &c.  -mān nīa, &c.

1  See § 219.
§ 219. When the 3rd Sg. personal pronoun suffix -ı is employed with the enclitic substantive verb 3rd Sg. -a ambiguity could arise in certain contexts, e.g.

Sul., &c. haya ‘there is’  
    : *ha+y+a ‘he has’ (v. § 218 (a))
čə-a ‘what is it?’  
    : *čer+y+a ‘qu’est-ce qu’il a?’
birsi-a ‘he is hungry’  
    : *birsi+y+a ‘il a faim’
(birsi, (1) hungry, (2) hunger)

The ambiguity is obviated by the pronoun suffix appearing after the enclitic verb (v. § 209 (c)), even when it is also plainly present before it, thus:

Sul., &c. hayat-ı: he has
    ı(k(γ)at-ı: what is the matter with him?
birsi(y)at-ı: he is hungry

Arb. tēnit-ı: he is thirsty

The resulting groups Sul., Muk. -iţ, -yatţ > -etţ, War. -yasţ, Arb. -itţ, then commonly replace -ıa, -ya in this context, whether the latter actually contains a 3rd Sg. personal pronoun suffix or not, and even when no ambiguity could arise, e.g.

Sul.  13 xonuwatyatı<-*y-a: she has studied
     16 či dardēkētī <-*i-a: what pain he has
War.  210 xāloyasī<-*y-a: it is his uncle
     224 kustiğyası<-*y-a: he has killed him
Muk. MS. gestuwatyatiwa<-*y-at-awa: he has moved (house)

Arb. — awa pištī <-*i-a: that is his back

and, where -y- is merely euphonic,

Sul.  112 ba ẓēr sarēwayatī<*sar-ī-awa-ya: is under his head
     178 la barīyatī<*bar-ī-ā-ya: he has (his coat) on

§ 220. (a) The present tenses of the verb wīstin ‘want’ are provided by an impersonal construction. The stem (a)toē-, taking the normal modal affixes (§ 206) and present verbal endings (§ 208),

1 See § 227.
appears with the personal pronoun suffixes with dative sense (§ 197 (b) (v)).

The full stem awē- occurs after a personal pronoun suffix attached to the modal or negative affix. Otherwise the shorter stem we- appears connected immediately with the affix. Thus:

Sul. — a-m-awē(t), -m a-we(t): I want
— a-t-awē(t), -t a-we(t): thou wantest
— a-y-awē(t), -i a-we(t): he wants, &c.
— a-y-awēm: he wants me
— xōš-im a-weyt: I love thee (xōš wīstin)

P azānī min tōm ċand xōš awēt: thou knowest how much I love thee (v. § 196 (c))
— bi-t-awē(t), -t bi-we(t): if thou want, &c.
P ċōnī biwēt: however he may want (it)
— nā-t-awē(t), -t nā-we(t): thou dost not want, &c.
— na-t-awē(t), -t na-we(t): if thou do not want, &c.

Bin., &c. da-m-awē(t), -m da-we(t): I want, &c.
394 dayawētawa: (he) wants (him) again

Arb., &c. da-m-awē(tin), -m da-we(tin): I want, &c.

In the past tenses wīstin is conjugated as a regular transitive verb (v. § 223 ff.).

(b) In War. the verb wīstin is largely replaced by a periphrasis with the adjective garak ‘necessary’ and the substantive verb, e.g.

War. 224 garak-im-a: I want, need ...
227 garak-a: please ... (it is requested ...)
321 min tō-m nağarak-a: I do not want thee

With Sul., &c., xōš wīstin ‘to love’ compare

War. 223 xōš-i garak būn: (he) loved them

§ 221. (a) The following forms of a defective auxiliary verb with the sense ‘must, ought to’ are attested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sul.</td>
<td>abē, War. awē</td>
<td>Sul. abwāya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The stem appears to have adjectival meaning, ‘wanted, necessary’ or the like. Its verbal status, however, indicated by the 3rd Sg. forms in which the characteristic verbal endings, with optional -(t), Arb., &c., -(tin) (§ 208 (b) (ii)), occur and not the enclitic substantive verb (§ 209 (a)), is confirmed by the varying modal affixes. Contrast the adjectival construction in (b) below.

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Examples:

Sul. — abē kuṛ bē: it must be a boy
— abwāya kuṛ bavāya: she should have been a boy
— abē xēwēkā dibē: he must have seen a ghost
10 abē . . . biy girīn: we must catch it
41 abē bēy lagalmānā: thou must come with us

War. 196 awē bīčīn: we must go
Bin. 299 dabē bīčim: I must go
Piż. 404 dabū xūtīr . . . hātbūy: thou shouldst have come sooner

Muk. 25\textsuperscript{26} dabē ba qisay bikay: thou must do as he says

(b) The particles bā, Muk. § 71 bilā, dā (cf. §§ 295 (b), 310 (b)) have the sense ‘let...’, e.g.

Sul. 8 bā minālī tō bibīnim: let me see children of thine
14 bā bīrbūynawa: let us go back
26 bā aw āzāya bē: let that hero come
45 nabā . . . nagaṟēmawa: let it not be that (= lest)

I do not return

Bin. 322 aw bā lawē bē: let him be there
Rdz. — da, bā lēra bī: let it be (= stay) here

Xoş. 445 bā bīčāna ṭāwē: let us go hunting

Muk. 25\textsuperscript{6} bilā bīčīm: let me go

27\textsuperscript{b} bilā . . . mami hal girīn: let us take up Mem.

Verbal Constructions

§ 222. In the present tenses of Intransitive and Transitive verbs alike a Subject (A)\textsuperscript{1} is always expressed in the personal ending of the verb and possibly by an independent nominal form, e.g.

Sul. [(A)min] arōm(=A): I go

With Transitive verbs a Direct Object (B) and/or an Indirect Object (C) is normally expressed (exception, v. § 223 (b)) by a noun or pronoun form. Normally therefore two, and possibly three, parts are expressed in the phrase, e.g.

Sul. [(A)pūwaka] (B)sagaka akuşē(=A): [the man] kills the dog

\textsuperscript{1} See fn. 3 opposite.
SULIMANIYE, ETC., DIALECTS §§ 222-3

[(A)pyāwaka] a-(B)y-dā(=A) ba (C)sagaka: [the man] gives it to the dog

[(A)pyāwaka] la (C)sagaka adā(=A): [the man] strikes at the dog

a-(B)y-kušē(=A): he kills it

a-(C)y-dāt(=A)ē: he gives (it) to him\(^1\)

a-(B)m-dāt(=A)ē: he gives me to (him)\(^1\)

a-(C)m-dāt(=A)ē: he gives (it) to me\(^1\)

lē-(C)y adā(=A): he strikes at it

In the past tenses of Intransitive verbs likewise a Subject (A) is always manifest in the personal ending and possibly in an independent nominal form, e.g.

Sul. [(A)min] ṭōlštim(=A): I went

The past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs, however, are marked by a particular construction in which three, and with an Indirect ‘Object’ four, parts may be expressed. This construction requires elaboration.\(^2\)

§ 223. (a) With the past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs an Agent (1)\(^3\) may be present in the form of an independent noun or pronoun (v. § 224). This Agent is in no way equivalent to a Subject, in concord with the verbal form.

A Direct Affectee (2), i.e. a person or thing directly affected by the Agent, without reference to the verbal form,\(^4\) is generally represented (exceptions, v. (b) below). It is then expressed by a verbal personal ending (v. § 226) and may also be present as an independent nominal form.

An Indirect Affectee (3), i.e. a person or thing affected, but indirectly, by the Agent,\(^4\) may be represented. If not expressed by a nominal form it may appear in either of two alternative suffix forms (v. § 229 (b)).

\(^{1}\) -ē, v. § 237 (b). A 3rd Sg. pronominal Direct Object cannot be expressed in this short form.

\(^{2}\) With the following §§ 223–30 cf. E.’s somewhat different presentation, with examples, in BSOAS, xvii. 490, 499 ff.

\(^{3}\) The figures (1)–(4) are used to indicate the parts of this Agential construction as distinct from the letters (A)–(C) used for the parts of the simple construction described in § 222.

\(^{4}\) The terms ‘Direct/Indirect Affectee’ are employed to avoid confusion with the formal terms ‘Direct/Indirect Object’, i.e. ‘nouns &c. primarily/secondarily affected by the action of the verb’, as in § 222.
A fourth part, which is essential to the construction, is the personal pronoun suffix form which resumes an Agent (1) already expressed or is, otherwise, the agent itself. It is convenient to term the pronoun suffix in this function the Agential suffix (4).

The term Agential construction will, therefore, be used for this characteristic construction of the past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs. Thus:

Sul. [(1)pyāwaka] (2)sagaka-(4)y kuṭt(=2): [the man] killed the dog
[(1)pyāwaka] (2)nānaka-(4)y dā(=2) ba (3)sagaka: [the man] gave the bread to the dog
[(1)pyāwaka] ba (3)sagaka-(4)y dā(=2): [the man] gave it to the dog
kuṭt(=2)-(4)ī: he killed it
dā(=2)-(4)y-(3)m-ē: he gave it to me

(b) A sub-class of Transitive verbs is formed by those denomina-
tive verbs which indicate the making of some sound (v. § 255 (d) end). Although these verbs do not take a Direct Object (indicated therefore (Q)) they follow the Agential construction in the past tenses. The verb then appears in the minimal 3rd Sg. form, e.g.

Sul. — abořēnē(=A): it (cow) is lowing
— bōrān(=Q)-(4)ī: it lowed
— a-(4)y-bōrān(=Q): it was lowing
— ašilēnīn(=A): they (horses) neighed
— ḫīlām(=Q)-(4)yān: they neighed

Similarly, on the rare occasions when no Direct Affectee (Q) is expressible in the Agential construction the verb appears in the minimal 3rd Sg. form. Cf.

Sul. (2)tirēk-(4)ī dā(=2) la (3)sagaka: he shot an arrow at the dog, he hit the dog with an arrow
la (3)sagaka-(4)y dā(=Q): he struck (at) the dog
lē-(4)y dā(=Q+3)2: he struck (at) it

Examples:

War. 219 (1)muxtār . . . pē-(4)y zānī(=Q)-m(=3)2: the head-
man found out about them
Bin. 356 (1)ḥač kasē lē-(4)y pirsī(=Q)-m(=3)2: whoever
might ask (from) me

1 -ē, v. § 237 (b).
2 Regarding the double verbal ending see § 229 (b) (ii).
§ 224. In the Agential construction if an Agent (1) is expressed by an independent noun or pronoun form this generally appears at the beginning of the phrase, though it may be preceded by an adverb. In narrative style, however, such an agent may be reiterated after the phrase.

In Sor., but not Muk. (v. Muk. § 87), such an Agent frequently appears in the Oblique case (§ 180 (a)), e.g.

Bin. 349 (1)gamiwa¥i pëy gut: the boatman said to him
Piž. — (1)awê kiçê wäy kird: that girl did thus
Arb. 422 (1)kuûakay, yisîf, qî tô: the boy, Joseph, said...

and, reiterated,

Bin. 320 pëy gut, (1)patrûsyâ: he, Petrusya, said to him...

§ 225. The Agential pronoun suffix (4) is suffixed to whichever word of the four appropriate categories listed above (§ 198) appears earliest in the sentence, e.g.

(i) Direct Affectee (2),

Sul. 2 (2)dâst-(4)î birda bûxâli: he put his hand into his bosom

2 (2)sêwëk-(4)î dar hênâ: he took out an apple

War. 204 (2)awûk-(4)yân bûy kird: they called him too

Its complement,

Sul. 67 tûši am darda-(4)î kirdim: thou hast inflicted this pain on me

68 bû çi qët-(4)tân kirdim: why did you make me (out to be) mad?

War. 190 bûy-(4)yân kirdim: they called me

(ii) Indirect Affectee (3),

Sul. 5 yakëk la (3)dargâ-(4)y dâ: someone knocked at the door

(iii) an absolute preposition (v. § 237),

Sul. — lê-(4)y dâ: he set off (lit. ‘beat it’)

(iv. α) a preverb,

Sul. 67 ë-tr-(4)y kësân: he dragged them

(iv. β) a negative or modal affix,

Sul. 36 kuû na-(4)y-hëst: the boy did not allow

— æ-(4)mân-xwârdawa: we used to drink
(iv. γ) the verbal stem,

Sul. 2 dā-(4)y-a das pāšā: he gave it into the king's hand
2 xist-(4)ṭ-a bāxalī: he put it into his bosom

When ambiguity arises, or when the presence of the Agential suffix is not immediately obvious, then it may be repeated after the verb, e.g.

Sul. 3 latēk-ī xō-y xwārd-(4)ī: a piece of it he ate himself
69 lagal xō-y bird-(4)ī: he took it with him

Note. In one text (Bin. 314-79) there are a few examples of the Agential construction without an Agential suffix (v. also Muk. § 91), viz.

Bin. 331 mālēkī sōr (1)xwāy dāwa: God has given great wealth
335 (1)awī čand ḥadadēkī ḥaskar ʿū ḥasākīr ṭagal xist:
   he took some soldiers with him
342 áwī (1)awī dīhū: that which he had seen
370 (1)patrūsīyāy gut: Petrusya said . . .

The Agent (1) is here always in the oblique case (v. § 224). If these are genuine dialect forms they bear a close resemblance to the construction, without Agential suffix, of the Bad., &c., dialects (v. § 296).

§ 226. (a) In the Agential construction a Direct Affectee (2) which is expressed by an independent nominal form appears in the direct case (v. § 180 (a)).

(b) A Direct Affectee when present, whether expressed by a nominal form or not, is always manifested in a verbal ending of the appropriate tense (§ 211 ff.). It is, however, an over-simplification to state that the verb 'agrees' with such a Direct Affectee, as is demonstrated by the frequent intrusion of the Agential suffix between verbal stem and personal ending (v. § 228).

(c) The commonest Direct Affectee being a noun or pronoun form (v. § 196 (c)), the verbal ending is commonly that of the 3rd Sg., i.e. in the past and pluperfect tenses Š, and in the perfect -a(t), &c.

§ 227. When the Agential suffix is attached to the verb itself a series of paradigms arises, according to the nature of the verbal
ending (v. §§ 226 (b), 229 (b) (ii)). The commonest paradigms are those in which the verbal ending is 3rd Sg., thus:


Past (cf. § 211)

Sg. 1 Agent xónim | xwéndim, &c. xíndim
2 xóni(t) | xwéndit xíndit
3 xóni | xwéndí xíndi
Pl. 1 xónman | xwéndin, &c. xíndmän
2 xontân | xwéndu xíndtän
3 xonyân | xändeñyän xíndyän

Imperfect (cf. § 212 (a))

Sg. 1 amxón | damxwénd, &c. damxínd, &c.

Past Conditional (cf. § 212 (b))

Sg. 1 bímxwónâyä | bímxwéndôya, &c.

Perfect (cf. § 214 (a))


Sg. 1 xóniwa | xwandíghma xínditim
2 xónuveta | xwandíghta xínditít
3 xónuvya(t)i | xwandíghya(t)i xínditi
Pl. 1 xonuvmänä | xwandíghmänä xínditmän
2 xonuvtänä | xwandíghtänä xíndittän
3 xonuvyänä | xwandígyänä xíndityän

Cf. negative,

Sg. 1 námxwónuwa námxwandíga, &c. námxíndia, &c.

Perfect Subjunctive (cf. § 215)

Sg. 1 xóni-bëtim | xwéndbëtim, &c. xíndibëtim
2 xónibëti(t) | xwéndbëtit, &c.

Pluperfect (cf. § 215)

Sg. 1 xónibüm | xwéndbüm xíndibüm
2 xónibüt | xwéndbüt, &c. xíndibüt, &c.

Perfect Conditional (cf. § 216 (a))

Sg. 1 bímxwéndbä bímxíndibä
2 bitxwéndbä, &c. bitxíndibä, &c.

1 Realized [-u:ma], &c., v. §§ 60, 213.
2 See § 219.
3 Realized [-li:š], v. § 76.
§ 227-8  KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

It will be noted that the Agential suffix generally precedes the auxiliary -a of the Perfect Indicative tense, but follows the equivalent -t- in Arb., &c. (v. § 209 (a)).

§ 228. When the verbal ending is other than 3rd Sg. it normally follows the Agential suffix. A general exception to this is the 3rd Sg. Agential suffix -t which always follows the verbal ending. Particular exceptions are noted below.

The full range of possible combinations of two parts, viz. Agential suffix and verbal ending expressing either Affectee, may be summarized as in Table I. The material for dialects other than Sul. is insufficient to cover all possibilities (v. Muk. § 90), but known divergences are noted below. In Arb., &c., the range is, in practice, limited to Past tense forms where the Agent is 3rd Sg. or Pl. and the verbal ending other than 2nd Sg. Thus the Arb. forms shown in the Table comprise all those attested.

Notes to the Table

1) In Sul. the final (t) of a group such as dimi(t) 'I saw thee' is always realized, to avoid confusion with the form dimi 'he saw me'.

2) In Piž., Muk. the group -im-im 'I . . . you/them' alternates freely with -in-im.

3) In Sul., when the past stem ends in -t, the Agential suffix 2nd Sg. -i(t) follows the verbal ending, e.g. kuštimi(t), kuštini(t), kuštini(t). The grouping may then be extended to other verbs, e.g. ditimi(t).

4) In Sul., following a past stem ending in a consonant and the past participle in -e (v. § 213), the first vowel of the groups -iti-, -ity-, -ini-, -iny- is usually reduced, thus:

\[xwārditi > ['xwaːrdtːiː]: \text{he ate thee}\]
\[\text{Bin. 311) nārdini > ['nərdːniː]: he sent us}\]
\[nārduwiti > [nər'duːtːiː]: \text{he has sent thee}\]

Certain forms then coincide, e.g.

[nər'dniː]: he sent us, you, them

demanding, in turn, a consistent spelling as -iti, -ity-, -ini, -iny- (v. §§ 41 (c), 208 (a) 1), e.g.

xwārditi, nārdini, nārduwiti, &c.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A-imag</th>
<th>Direct Affectee</th>
<th>-im ‘me’</th>
<th>-i(t) ‘thee’</th>
<th>-in ‘us’</th>
<th>-in ‘you, them’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>[Past]</td>
<td>dimít(1)</td>
<td>nárđimít†</td>
<td>dimin</td>
<td>nárđimín(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Perfect]</td>
<td>dimišít</td>
<td>nárđusimít</td>
<td>dimin</td>
<td>nárđusimín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i(z)</td>
<td>díšim</td>
<td>nárđimíš(2)</td>
<td>nárđusimíš</td>
<td>díšim</td>
<td>nárđimín(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thou’</td>
<td>díšimí</td>
<td>nárđušimíš</td>
<td>díšimíš</td>
<td>nárđušimíš</td>
<td>díšimíš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i ‘he’</td>
<td>díšimí, Arb.</td>
<td>nárđini</td>
<td>díšimíš(4)</td>
<td>díšimíš</td>
<td>nárđini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>díšimíš</td>
<td>díšimíš(4)</td>
<td>díšimíš</td>
<td>nárđimín(4)</td>
<td>díšimíš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mán</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
<td>díšimíš(4)</td>
<td>nárđimáníš(4)</td>
<td>díšimíš</td>
<td>nárđimáníš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>díšimíš(4)</td>
<td>nárđušimáníš(4)</td>
<td>díšimíš</td>
<td>nárđušimáníš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tán</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
<td>díšimíš(4)</td>
<td>nárđušimáníš</td>
<td>díšimíš</td>
<td>nárđušimáníš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>díšimíš(4)</td>
<td>nárđušimáníš</td>
<td>díšimíš</td>
<td>nárđušimáníš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yén</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
<td>díšimíš(4)</td>
<td>nárđušimáníš</td>
<td>díšimíš</td>
<td>nárđušimáníš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>díšimíš(4)</td>
<td>nárđušimáníš</td>
<td>díšimíš</td>
<td>nárđušimáníš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† dín ‘see’, nárđin ‘send’; thus ‘I saw thee, I sent thee, I have seen thee, I have sent thee, &c.’
Examples:

Sul. P ke narditi: who sent thee?
    P girtini: he seized us
    P wahima girtuwiti: fear has seized thee

Note the same reduction in the following, irregular, example,

Sul. P min narduwitim (: narduwmit): I have sent thee

(5) The 3rd Pl. Agential suffix -yan may either precede or follow the verbal ending, more commonly the former.

§ 229. (a) In the Agential construction an Indirect Affectee (3), if it is expressed by an independent nominal form, does not modify the verbal form; the ending of the verb then indicates the person of the Direct Affectee (2) (v. § 226 (b)), thus:

Sul. — la (3)ema-(4)y sandin(=2) he took them
    (2)awani-(4)i la (3)ema sandin(=2)1 from us
— dani-(2)=(4)i ba (3)ema
    (2)awani-(4)i da=(2)1 ba (3)ema he gave them to us
— dami(=2)=(4)i ba (3)gurgan-xwarda: he ruined me
    (lit. 'gave me into (the state of being) wolf-eaten')
158 (2)xawo-(4)im ba (3)towa diwa(=2): I have seen a
    dream about thee

(b) When the Indirect Affectee (3) is not expressed by an independent nominal form it may appear in either of two alternative forms, viz.

(i) as a personal pronoun suffix, if it is attached to an absolute preposition (v. § 237), thus:

Sul. — le-(3)mah-(4)i sandin(=2) he took them from us
    sandin(=2)=(4)i le-(3)mahn
— pe-(3)mah-(4)i dani(=2) he gave them to us
    dani(=2)=(4)i pe-(3)mahn
E le-(3)tan-(4)iim war nagirt(=2) I did not receive it
    war-(4)iim nagirt(=2) le-(3)tan from you

(ii) as a verbal personal ending, if it is attached to the verb form, thus:

1 Cf. §§ 196 (c), 242 (d).
SULÉIMANIYÉ, ETC., DIALECTS § 229

Sul. — (2)awān-(4)i lē sand(=2)in(=3) he took them from lē-(4)y sandin(=2)in(=3) } us
      — (2)awān-(4)i dā(=2)yn(=3)-ē } he gave them to us
              pē-(4)y dān(=2)in(=3)
158 (2)xaw-(4)im pēwa dīwīt(=3): I have seen a dream about thee

These forms show clearly that the verbal stem is capable of supporting two endings, expressing both affectees. From this fact a number of formal points arise which are treated separately in § 230.

(c) Similarly a personal pronoun (P2) qualifying the Direct Affectee (2) may, when the Agent is suffixed (4) to that Affectee, in fact be represented, not by a personal pronominal suffix, but by a corresponding verbal personal ending attached to the verbal form, e.g.

Sul. 127 (2)bačhakān-(4)i axwār(=2)im(=P2): it used to eat my children
E šēṭaka (2)das-(4)i gazī(=2)m(=P2): the madman bit my hand
War. 204 (2)rasm-(4)yāngirt(=2)in(=P2): they took photos of us
Bin. 331 (2)sar-(4)im la qalbē jo dākir(=2)i(=P2)-awa:
          I would have separated thy head from thy body
Piž. 412 (2)balak-(4)yān dagirt(=2)im(=P2): they would seize my shank
Muk. 17450 (2)fīāntvala-(4)y . . . bird(=2)im(=P2): he took my foal

A rare extension of this to the complement (P3) of the Indirect Affectee is seen in

Bin. 326 ba (3)qīsa-(4)y kīrd(=2)in(=P3): he did according to their words

(d) The characteristic construction described in (b, c) above often gives the verb the appearance of ‘agreeing’ with the Indirect Affectee or the complement of the Direct Affectee, but see § 226.

The extension of this construction seen in the present or intransitive examples at Muk. § 95 is extraordinary, if real. Muk. 21516 hīč farzandū nābīn is explicable simply as a 3. Pl. verb ‘you had no sons’ (cf. § 242 (b, c)).

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§ 230. (a) When both Direct and Indirect Affectee are pronominal then the verb stem carries two evident personal endings (§ 229 (b) (ii)), e.g.

Sul. — lê-(4)y sandîn(=2)în(=3): he took them from us
— pê-(4)y dân(=2)în(=3): he gave them to us

The order of suffixation is apparently

(2)Direct Affectee + (3)Indirect Affectee

When, in addition, the Agent is also suffixed to the verb, it (4) and the verbal ending representing the Direct Affectee (2) appear in the order described in § 228, the Indirect Affectee ending (3) normally being last, e.g.

Sul. — dâ-(4)m-ît(=2)în(=3)-ê: I gave thee to them
— xwâ dâm(=2)-(4)i-n(=3)-ê: God gave me to you

That the connexion between the Indirect Affectee ending (3) and the verbal stem is tenuous is shown by the fact that it may follow another enclitic, e.g.

Sul. — dâw-(4)ît-în(=2)-ê-n(=3): Thou hast given us to them (-ê postposition, v. § 237 (b))

(b) In practice such complex forms are avoided and the examples in (a) above (and even those given by E. in BSOAS, xvii. 502, § 49) are to be regarded with caution.

When, however, either Affectee is 3rd Sg. pronominal, and hence represented in the past tense by a verbal ending -ît, the form is quite common, e.g.

Sul. — dâmîtê (dâ-(4)m-ît(=2)-ît(=3)-ê): I gave thee to him
— dâmîtê (dâ-(4)m-ît(=2)-ît(=3)-ê): I gave him to thee
— lê-(4)y sandîn(=2)-ît(=3): he took them from her
E lê-(4)m war nagîrît-ît(=2)-în(=3): I did not receive it from you/them
P dâ-ît(=2)-(4)y-m(=3)-ê: he gave it to me
P dâ-ît(=2)-(4)y-n(=3)-ê: he gave it to them
Muk. 42° xulâ dâ-ît(=2)-m(=3)-(4)i-ê: God gave (him) to me

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(c) In most cases, however, the Direct Affectee is represented by a nominal form, to which the Agental suffix is commonly attached, and hence also by a 3rd Sg. verbal ending (v. § 226 (c)), viz. Ọ in the past tense, e.g.

Sul. 7 (2)sọy-(4)i ḏā-Ọ(=2)-m(=3): he administered an oath to me
10 ṭē-(4)y wut-Ọ(=2)-in(=3): he said to them...
14 ṭā... (2)čēšt-(4)i bō kird-Ọ(=2)-in(=3): by the time that she had made a meal for them
80 (2)harsēkāyān-(4)im bō ḥāzīr kird-Ọ(=2)-i(=3): I have brought all three of them for thee
Muk. 425 (2)xō-(4)y lē kird-Ọ(=2)-in(=3)-a dārōya: he made himself policeman towards them
111$ --(4)im pēskēš kird-Ọ(=2)-i(=3): I gave (it) to thee
16319 --(4)m ḏā-Ọ(=2)-n(=3)-ē: I gave (it) to you
16320 --(4)i ḏā-Ọ(=2)-ym(=3)-ē: (God) gave (it) to us
17633 (2)tīrēk-(4)i lē ḏā-Ọ(=2)-m(=3): he shot me with an arrow
2326 wā-(4)y lē kird-Ọ(=2)-im(=3): he did thus to me

(d) The corresponding 3rd Sg. ending of the Perfect tense, -a(t), &c., is apparently omitted in these constructions, on the analogy of Past tense forms, e.g.

Sul. — ḏōw-(4)iṭ-in(=2)-Ọ(=3)-ē: Thou hast given us to him
E (2)kāyasaka-(4)yān diřīw-Ọ(=2)-im(=P2): they have torn my letter
52 agar (2)afal-(4)i hēnāw-Ọ(=2)-im(=P2): if Thou hast brought (the hour of) my death
Hal. — (2)nāmakān-(4)yān diřānūw-Ọ(=2)-i(=P2): have they torn thy letters?
Piž. 409 (2)fīmāh-(4)yān... they have had
... lagal kirduw-Ọ(=2)-i(=3), intercourse
... kirduw-a(=2) lagal (3)tō with thee
Bin. 327 (2)dū kārakar-(4)i bō ṭā girtuwinata aw mindāla: he appointed two maids for her to that child (girtuw-in(=2)-Ọ(=3)-aṭ(by extension, as § 214 (c))-a)
§ 231. The Passive voice of a transitive verb is expressed by a secondary conjugation. This passive verb is conjugated regularly as an intransitive verb.

(a) In Sul., Sor., and Muk. the addition of the morpheme -rē- to the present stem of the transitive verb yields the present stem of the Passive conjugation. Predictably (v. § 205 (a) (iii)) the past stem of the Passive has then the form of the present stem of the active verb plus the morpheme -rā-, thus:

Sul. kuštīn, kuč- ‘kill’ > kučrē-, kučrā-, kučrān ‘be killed’
nūsīn, nūs- ‘write’ > nūsrē-, nūsrā-, nūsrān ‘be written’
nārdīn, nēr- ‘send’ > nērrē-, nērrā-, nērrān ‘be sent’

(b) In War. likewise the present stem of the Passive verb is formed from the present stem of the active verb, regularly, by the addition of the morpheme -rē-. Corresponding to this, however, the past stem has generally the morpheme -yā-, thus:

War. nūsīn, nūs- ‘write’ > nūsrē-, nūsyā-, nūsyān ‘be written’
or the compromise form -ryā-, thus:

War. kuštīn, kuč- ‘kill’ > kučrē-, kuč(r)yā-, kuč(r)yān ‘be killed’

(c) In Sor. and Muk. particularly the Passive present stem is often formed by the addition of the morpheme -rē- to the past stem of the active verb, e.g.

Bin. 321 nadirtāyawa: could not be found (ditinawoa)
335 hangāwtrābū: had been surrounded (hangāwttin)
Muk. § 100, fn.1. *gutrē-, gutrā-, gutrān ‘be said’ (gutin) (cf. § 232 (ii), s.v. wutin)
Rdz. — kurāndrāya¹: has been boiled (kurāndin)
— sōtāndrā¹: was burnt (sōtāndin)

Cf. Sul. gā(f)n, gē- ‘copulate with’ > gāyṛē-, gāyṛā-, gāyṛān.

§ 232. The formation of the passive stems of certain verbs is irregular:

(i) Reduction of stem final -a- to -i-,

1 Cf. § 232 (iv).
Suleimaniye, Etc., Dialects §§ 232-3

Sul. kirdin, kā- 'do' > kirē-, kirā-, kirān 'be done'
    bīrdin, bā- 'carry' > bīrē-, bīrā-, bīrān 'be carried'
    dān, da- 'give, hit' > dirē-, dirā-, dirān 'be given, hit'
    xistin, xa- 'throw' > xirē-, xirā-, xirān 'be thrown'

Cf. War. kiryān 'be done', xiryān 'be thrown', &c.

(ii) Loss of stem final -ē-

Sul. nān, nē- 'put' > nirē-, nirā-, nirān 'be put'
    wutin, -lē- 'say' > defective present -lrē- (more commonly wutrē-) 'be said'

(iii) Assimilation of -r-

Sul. gōrin, gōr- 'change' > gōr-rē > gōrē-, gōrā- 'be changed'
    bīrin, bīr- 'cut' > bīr-rē- > bīrē-, bīrā- 'be cut'

Cf. War. bīryān 'be cut'.

(iv) Euphonic -d-. The groups -(i)r-, -rr- arising in the passive stems commonly become -ndr-, -rdr- respectively in Sor. and Muk., e.g.

Bin., Rdz. dā nān, nē- 'put down' > dāndrē-, dāndrā-, dāndrān (cf. Sul. nān > nirē-, ii. above) 'be put down'

Muk. § 101 nārdin, nēr- 'send' > nērdrē-, nērdrā-, nērdrān 'be sent'
    zānēn, zān- 'know' > zāndrē-, zāndrā-, zāndrān 'be known'

(v) Various,

Sul. girtin, gir- 'hold': gīrē-, gīrā-, gīrān 'be held',
    also gīrē-, gīrsā-, gīrsān; cf. War. gīrs(y)ān
    xwārdin, xo- 'eat': xurē-, xurā-, xurān 'be eaten'
    šittin, šo- 'wash': šōrē-, šōrā-, šōrān 'be washed'

Arb. šēštin, šo- 'wash': šūrē-, šūrā-, šūrān 'be washed'

Causative Conjugation

§ 233. The Causative of an intransitive verb is expressed by a secondary conjugation. This causative verb is conjugated regularly as a transitive verb.

The addition of the morphemes Sul., War., Bin., Piž., Muk., Arb. -ēn-, Rdz., Xoš. -ēn- to the present stem of the intransitive
verb yields the present stem of the Causative conjugation. If the present stem of the intransitive verb ends in -ë- this is displaced by the causative morpheme.

The addition to the Intransitive present stem of the morphemes Sul., War., -än-, Sor., Muk. -änd- yields the past stem of the Causative. Thus:

Sul., War. dirän, dirë- 'tear' > dirën-, dirän-, diränin 'tear'
Rdz., Xoš.
Sul., &c. sütän, sütë- 'burn' > sütên-, sütän-, sütänin 'burn'
Bin., &c. sütänd-, sütändin
Rdz., Xoš. sötän, söt-
Sul. fiřin, fiř- 'fly' > fiřën-, fiřän-, fiřänin, also řifën-, řifän-, řifänin 'snatch'
řižän, řiže- 'flow' > řižën-, řižän-, řižänin 'pour'
Note,
gai(stìn), ga- 'arrive' > gayên-, gayän-, gayänin 'send'
nüstin, nû- 'sleep' > nwên-, nwân-, nwânin 'put to sleep'

**Compound Verbs**

§ 234. A simple verb may combine with either a preverb (v. § 235) or a nominal form to yield a compound verb. The meaning of compound verbs is a lexical matter. They do not differ in form from simple verbs beyond the fact that the modal prefix b(i)- (§ 206 (a)) does not normally appear with them, e.g.

Sul. 25 kuř lëra dâ nîše: let the boy sit here (dâ nüstin)
56 řâm gira: take me up! (râ girtin)
80 qâči mâč hâ: in order to kiss his foot (mâč kirdin)
but, with b(i)-,

Sul. 11 ěwa dâ binnish: sit ye down!

**Particles**

**Preverbs**

§ 235. There are two types of preverbs:

(a) The adverbs dar, dâ, hal (Arb., &c., har), řâ, řô (Sor., Muk.), war and the 'postverb' suffix -(a)wa (War. -ô). This latter may appear, but rarely, in the form of a preverb wa, e.g.
War. 191 *wa dān* : *dān-ō*
Bin. 345 *wa paʁēna* : *paʁānd-in-awa*
Muk. § 61 *wa baʁin* : *baʁin-awa*

The suffix has two distinct functions. It may either give the sense of repetition, or reversion, e.g.

Sul. *wutin* : *wutin-awa* — say : repeat
*gaʁān* : *gaʁān-awa* — wander : turn back

or modify the meaning of the simple verb unpredictably, as do the other preverbs, e.g.

*kirdin* : *kirdin-awa* : ṭā kirdin — do : open : run away
*xwārdin* : *xwārdin-awa* — eat : drink

(b) The ‘absolute’ forms of the simple prepositions, *pē*, &c., and their derivatives, *pēwa*, *pēdā*, *pēk*, &c. (*v. § 237*).

**Pre- and Postpositions**

§ 236. (a) The simple prepositions immediately precede the noun or pronoun they govern. The following are attested:

*ba* (War., Sor., Muk. also *wa*) ‘to’¹
*la* (Sor., Muk. also *da, ṭa*) ‘at’
*a* ‘to’
*bō* (Arb., Rdz., Xoš. also *la bō, lō*) ‘for’
*tā, hātā* ‘till’
*bē, more commonly ba bē* ‘without’²

*lagal* (War. also *laɡal, lēl*, Sor., Muk. also *daɡal, ṭaɡal*, Arb., &c., *lagen*) ‘with’³

*baraw* ‘towards’
*wak, wakū* (Sor., Muk. *wakī*) ‘like’

¹ English equivalents of the prepositions are given only as approximate labels.

See § 239.

² Mann, Muk. § 112 end, is mistaken is considering *bē-øyāf *, &c., as an abstract noun. The *-f* is here the Obl. case ending. Cf.

Sul. — *ba bē tiʃaf ṭesf*: he went without a gun
War. 254 *wa bē pādā*: without a king

An abstract is to be found, however, in

War. 271 *ba bē-ʔawī mād*: it was left eyeless

³ *lagal* also occurs as a relative adverb ‘when’, ‘as soon as’, e.g.

Sul. 10 *ama lagal giṟtmōn*: when we have caught this

65 *lagal dūnyā ṭaṅak bū*: as soon as it was light
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(b) In conjunction with the simple prepositions the following enclitic 'postpositions' occur:

-āwa (War. -ā, Arb., &c., -wa)
-dā (Sul., War. also -ā,¹ Sor., Muk. also -rā)
-aw-tāu (cf. § 252 (b))

The commonest combinations are:

ba . . . -dā 'through', la . . . -dā 'in', lagāl . . . -dā 'with'
ba . . . -awa 'with', la . . . -awa 'from', a . . . -awa 'into'
bō . . . -awa 'towards', la . . . -awdā 'after'

and their variant dialect forms.

(c) The final vowel of ba, la, da² is elided before the 3rd person pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns and adjectives and the adverbs awē 'there', ēra 'here', e.g.

Sul. — bama 'to this', lawē 'there', lēra 'here'
War. — layra 'here'
Sul. P duktür farmānī bēra čia: what has a doctor to do here?

9 law daštā: in that plain
Piž. 410 daw kuña čukala: for that little boy

but, exceptionally,

Xoš. 453 la aw darwēša: on that dervish

The suffix -awa appears as -wa following the vowels ē, a, ā, ŏ (v. § 171 (c)), e.g.

Sul. — la ēstāwa: from now (on)
— la dēnēwa: from yesterday

The War. form -ō may coalesce with preceding a or not, e.g.

War. 226 law dēw qāpīkō: on that side of the door
227 a nāw šatakaō: into the river

The suffix -ā may coalesce with preceding a, ā or not, e.g.

Sul. 9 law daštā: in that plain
56 la bar qāpīy aw mālā: before the door of that house

¹ Barr (op. cit., p. 231, § 40) sees here two separate suffixes; the postposition -dā and an oblique case ending -ā = *-ā. That this is mistaken is shown, within the Šināi 'Gulistan' text under discussion, by the appearance of the -d suffix after a personal pronoun suffix, viz. 106 la xātir-im-ā 'in my mind' (v. § 199).
² Also of the 'Plural Izafé' particle da (§ 183 (c)).
(d) a only occurs in conjunction with a verb and is realized as an enclitic, e.g.

Sul. 12 čū-a xēwatēhawa: went into a tent
27 agařem-a ḍīwāwā: I shall go back
61 lā ismā'il-a ḍīwā yōx xist: she put Shah Ismail behind her
62 abayt-a ḏar: thou carriest out

Only on the rare occasions when the preposition is repeated, but not the verb, does it stand independently, e.g.

War. 227 gaštā qarāxī ṭar ū a ḏam ḍarwāzaka: reached the edge of the town and (came) before the gate
246 hātīna pāryāwala, a dēy ḍēx: we came to Pariyawle, to the sheikh’s village

§ 237. (a) Corresponding to the simple prepositions ba (wa); la (da); a there are the following ‘absolute’ forms, employed when the form governed is other than an independent noun or pronoun:¹ pē, we; lē, tē; ē,² e.g.

Sul. 17 ba min bilē \{ tell me!
pē-m bilē
158 xawim ba tōwa dīwa \{ I have seen a dream about xawim pēwa dīwit \} thee

The correspondence is not, however, always regular, e.g.

Sul. 130 tē-y ḥal ḏan: thrash him!
-yān lōw ḥal dā: they thrashed him
— ayardam ba filān: I give it to so-and-so
ayrdam-ē: I give it to him

Muk. 35¹¹ āwirim bar bū la badāne: a fire has ignited in my body
42³ āwirēkim tē bar būwa: a fire has ignited in me
bō, &c., and lagal, &c., are also employed absolutely.

(b) The absolute forms of the prepositions, with the exception of ē, stand independently and in no particular position in relation to the form they govern. This may be a pronoun suffix, in its

¹ See §§ 198, 229 (b), 235 (b).
² The recognition of ē as the absolute form of a is E.’a, v. BSOAS, xvii. 496, § 22. Mann, Muk. § 67, could not explain the form.
appropriate position (v. § 198), or a corresponding verbal ending, attached to the verb (v. § 229 (b) (ii)).

e, like a (§ 236 (d)), is always enclitic following a verb, e.g.

Sul. 2 xwā avolāyakī nērinat adāt-ē: God will give thee male offspring

(c) The independent absolute prepositions unite with the postpositions -awa, -dā, &c., yielding:

\[ \text{pēwa (War. pēō), pēdā (Sul., War. pyā)} \]
\[ \text{lēwa (War. lēō)} \]
\[ \text{tēwa (War. tēō), tēdā (Sul., War. tyā)} \]
\[ \text{lagaldā (Sul. lagalā, War. lēlā, &c.)} \]

With a personal pronoun suffix -m, -t, -y, &c., the Sul., War. forms pyā (pēdā), tyā (tēdā) yield pyā-m-ā, pyā-t-ā, pyā-y-ā, &c., tyā-m-ā, &c., i.e. with repetition of the suffix -ā (cf. Sor. pē-y-dā tē-y-dā, &c.), e.g.

Sul. — avānay ka tyāyān: those who are inside it
P    bašaim pyātā hātuva: I have taken pity on thee
Hal. — sirīšakam hal swi pyāyā: I spread the glue on it

Corresponding to the groups ‘preposition + cardinal yak’ the absolute forms pēk, wēk, lēk, tēk appear, e.g.

Sul. 20 ba yakawa
\[ \text{pēkawa (War. pēkō, Arb. pēkwa)} \] \text{together}

Sul. — kā w dānakay la yak fyā
\[ \text{akūtawā} \]

Bin. 313 kā w dānakay lēk jūdā dakah-tawā

(d) The absolute forms of the simple prepositions, pē, &c., and their derivatives, pēwa, pēdā, pēk, &c., may function as preverbs (§ 235 (b)).

The simple prepositions are generally ‘separable’ preverbs, i.e. they may appear either in the absolute form, immediately preceding the verb, or, if an indirect object is expressed, in their simple form immediately preceding the word(s) governed, e.g.

Sul. — lē-y dā: he struck (at) it (la|lē dān)
5 la dargā-y dā: he knocked at the door
They may, however, be ‘inseparable’, i.e. always appear immediately preceding the verb in their absolute form, e.g.

Sul. — pē akanī: he was laughing (pē kanīn)
— pē-y pē akanī: he was laughing at him (bal pē pē kanīn)
— ba kuṟaka pē akanī: he was laughing at the boy

The derivatives are generally inseparable, e.g.

Sul. — išakay tēk dā: he spoilt the work (tēk dān)
Muk. MS. pō tēwa dān: to insert the weft (tēwa dān)

§ 238. The simple prepositions, with or without a postposition, form compound prepositions with nouns, particularly of place, and less commonly with adjectives. The prepositions may be omitted and the noun, &c., appear alone with the function of a preposition. The nominal form may, in certain cases, varying according to dialect, be followed by the Izafe, and in any case may be considered as being in genitive relation with the form governed (v. § 198).

Examples. Noun

Sul. — la pišt dārkā: behind the tree
  11 ba sar sari kuṟā: over the boy’s head
  56 la bar qāpīy aw málā: before the door of that house
  86 ba taništ hayāsawa: next to Heyas
War. 195 la pāš awa: after that
  204 la pēš aw: before him
  219 pāš čīl saw: after forty nights
Bin. 323 ba dim balārēdā: by the sea
  325 fa sar malikšāy: upon Melikshah
  355 wa dast ma kate: falls into our hands

Noun + Izafe

Sul. — la (mā)baynī dā šăfāradā: between two windows
 — la bardamī xāntīaka: before the house
War. 195 la pāši awa: after that
  204 la pēšī awā: before him

Adjective

Muk. 710 nizik mirdinita: it is near thy death(-hour)

§ 239. The meaning of prepositions is idiomatic and a matter of lexicon (v. E., BSOAS, xvii. 494 ff.). Two particular features may, however, be noted.
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(a) la (. . . -dā) 'at, in (of place)' appears with certain nouns, usually in conjunction with the ending -ān, with the connotation of 'manner', e.g.

Sul. — la ḡiqāndā: in anger
62 la xūšānā: for joy
74 la tūnā: with thirst
87 la tirsānā: from fear

Muk. 25 la bīrsān: of hunger
63 la tirsān: from fear
103 la šarmān: for shame

That this is the plural morpheme -ān (§ 177) is suggested by the following example with Pl. Izafe (§ 183 (c)),

Piž. 404 la tirsī da S.: from fear of S.

(See also § 304).

An ending -ān, perhaps to be distinguished from the plural morpheme, is seen also in

Sul. — la pāšānā: afterwards
Bin. 311, Muk. 15 la pāšān: afterwards
Arb. 416, Rdz. 483 la pāšdān: afterwards (*pāš-dā-ān)

This may be compared with the adverbial -ān seen in

Sul. — ba zīstānān pīna w pārū, ba hāwīnān würd würd birū: in winter (it is) patches and rags, in summer go slowly (to show off your finery)
123 la fārān čāktir: better than formerly

It is noteworthy that this adverbial -ān may appear in conjunction with a preposition.

(b) Very rarely an absolute preposition (§ 237 (a)) is omitted without otherwise altering the construction. A personal pronoun suffix can then be said to have dative force (v. § 197 (b) (v)), e.g.

Sul. 10 ḡatā mumkīnān abē) as far as it may be possible
hatā bōmān mumkīn bibē) for us

By the same token the Indirect Affectee of the Agential construction, appearing in the form of a verbal ending (§ 229 (b) (ii)), may be unsupported by a preposition, e.g.

Sul. E yārīayān dāwim (= dāwim-ē): they have given me help
Adverbial Suffixes

§ 240. Three adverbial suffixes merit particular mention.

(a) In Sor., Muk. an adverbial ending -ē (-i) occurs. It is identical in form with the Obl. case ending -ē (-i) (§ 180), e.g.

Piž. 380 pār bahārē: last spring
     384 aw ūsavay: that night
     397 hamū waxtēkī: at all times

Piž. 399, Muk. 1010 rōsēkī: one day
Muk. 436 awē ūsavē: that night

and, with a preposition,

Bin. 320 hāta xxwārē: came down
Muk. 1012 rōina šūrē: went inside

The form -ē appears occasionally in Sul., where it cannot be equated with an Oblique case form, except possibly as a fossil form, e.g.

Sul. 14 bō mālē: towards home
     32 ūsavē: at night

With prepositions, however, the normal Sul. formation is with the suffix -awa, e.g.

Sul. 12 hāta darawa: came outside
     15 bō mālawa: towards home

(b) A suffix -i appears to form a type of distributive adverb with the numeral yak and (attested in War. only) with nouns signifying periods of time, e.g.

War. 205 yakī sē fāsmyān girtēn: they took three photos of each one of us
     257 yakī dasē bardē bō dirūs kirēd: he made a suit of clothes for each one

Muk. 2417 yakī kuṛēkīyān dabē: each one will have a son

War. 193 rōzi dū haywān, sē haywān akusēn: each day we kill two or three animals
     234 agar rōzi . . . gōsti lē biwīfī: if each day thou cuttest flesh from him
     269 sālī kařatē: once each year
(c) -(f)š 'also, even'1 may be suffixed to either a nominal or a verbal form. The form -š is normal following a vowel, e.g.

Sul. 13 amaš: this too
41 ēmaš: we too

In War., however, and as an exceptional form in Sul., -yʃ appears in postvocalic position, e.g.

Sul. 74 bō xōy̱š: for himself
War. 197 xwoy̱š: God also

In order of suffixation -š always precedes a personal pronoun suffix. Thus when suffixed to a nominal form it has the position ō in the order Sul., &c., A B C D (E) ŋ G H,

War. A B C ŋ G H D (v. § 199).

Examples: Sul., &c.

AJ Muk. 9933 kōstānakaš: the highlands too
BJG Muk. 8928 šinānišū: your women too
CJ Sul. P la lāyakhava . . . la lāyakīšava . . . : on the one hand . . . on the other hand also . . .
CJG Sul. — kurēkīšim la karīka: one of my sons also is in Kirkuk
DJ Sul. 76 am dū kī′ayš: these two girls also
EJ Muk. 8726 xānzādaxānēš . . . dēnim: I shall bring Kh. too
JG Sul. — xōši: he himself
JH Sul. 52 agar aʃalīši nahēṉo wym: if on the other hand

Thou hast not brought (the hour of) my death

Wārmāwa

JD War. 200 uvo bağzāḏayša: that begzade too
267 uviša: that too

With a verbal form it is suffixed to the first of whichever of the following possible components is present (v. § 198 (iv)), preceding any personal pronoun suffix: (α) a preverb, (β) a negative or modal affix, (γ) the verbal stem or participle.

Examples:

(α) Sul. — lešši būrd: he forgave him also
— tēkīšim dā: I have spoilt it too

1 Cf. Sinat -tš, -yʃ, e.g. Mokri, Songs 231, xwoy̱šim 'I too'.
SULEIMANIYE, ETC., DIALECTS §§ 240-2

(β) Sul. P ašināsim: I know him too
      P agar našhātimawa: and if I do not come back
Muk. 33  dašibaynawa: even if we take her back
(γ) Sul. P agar hātišimawa: and if I do come back
      P kawtišawa birī: he remembered also
      P agar mirduwša: even if he has died (v. § 213)

B. SYNTAX

Emphasis

§ 241. In the Agential construction the Agent generally appears at the beginning of the sentence and syntactically outside it, i.e. it is not essential to the main construction and must be resumed by the Agential suffix within the sentence (v. § 223). There is thus no particular emphasis on an Agent expressed by a nominal form.

A similar construction with verbs in the present tense, however, gives emphasis to the nominal form so isolated, which may be either the direct or indirect object or the complement of the subject. It is then resumed within the sentence by a personal pronoun suffix, e.g.

Sul. — pašīmānān, šāxyān lē birwāya: those with regrets, if horns were to grow on them ...
    10 ama, zōr hayfa biykušīn: this, it is a great pity that we should kill it
    26 šīšā, čišī dar ē: the king, may his eyes come out
War. 188 min, nāwim nāmiq: I, my name is Namiq

In Sor., when the nominal form so removed from the main phrase requires it, it appears in the Obl. case, e.g.

Bin. 353 xwājā kāwusu, nafūmī habū: Khwaja Kawus, he had a horoscope
Piž. 385 tūtinaqay, nēwkōlī hāt: the tobacco, its weeds came
    398 ţinēkī habū: aw kumāndāray: he had a wife, that commander

Concord

§ 242. (a) The concord between subject and verb is generally straightforward, i.e. a singular subject takes a singular verb and a subject with the plural morpheme -ān takes a plural verb.
(b) A simple noun with generic plural sense (§ 173) may take either a singular or a plural verb, e.g.

Sul. — dānī am kuṛa sīxa/sīxin: this boy’s teeth are close together

E lēra šēr zūra: there are many lions here

Muk. 872 ūgin da yalín: women are treacherous

17826 ūawkar būgīrin: may hunters catch you

(c) Two or more singular nouns joined by the conjunction u, w ‘and’ or the prepositions lagal (…-dā), ba …-awa, &c., ‘with’ constitute a plural subject taking a plural verb, e.g.

Sul. 2 min ū tō šartēk akayn: I and thou, (we) shall make a bond

21 pāšā ba istiqābālēk biwānawa … ēn: the king, with a fine reception committee, (they) went

63 kuṛ lagal pūrēzin ētin: the boy, with the old woman, (they) came

Muk. 249 dagal wazīrī sōy hal stān, ūūn: he, with his viziers, (they) set off and went

138ū24 hātūn … qaravēś ū māmānčē: maids and nurses have come

In Bin., Piž., Muk. (Muk. § 28) two nouns joined by ū may take the plural ending -ān, e.g.

Bin. 340 awo bit ū salamāna: those idols (bit, salam)

369 gwēy law qisa wō bāsānaya: he hears these sayings (qisa, bās)

Muk. 664 bāxīn ū gwārān bistēnē: takes bracelets and earrings (bāxīn, gwāra)

11236 la tirē šir ū xanfārān: from fear of swords and daggers (šir, xanfar)

or the plural Izafe -i da (§ 183 (c)), e.g.

Bin. 349 dāk ū bābī da tō: thy mother and father

A noun with the meaning ‘one of many’ may take a plural verb, e.g.

War. 213 hatā yakēktān … bimēnin: as long as one of you remain
(d) The Direct Affectee of the Agential construction, if it be plural, is nevertheless represented by a 3rd Sg. verbal ending in Sul., e.g.

Sul. — minälakānī nwān: she put the children to bed
— sagakānī kūšt: he killed the dogs

In Sor., Muk., on the contrary, the verbal ending is commonly plural, even when the noun is not marked by the plural morpheme -ān, e.g.

Piž. 380 mālīn būr kirdīn: we loaded up (our) property
380 fašmān lē ū xīstin: we spread carpets in it
382 šitilakānim dāštīn: I watered the seedlings
Muk. 232 hamūyān qatlū-āmm kirdīn: they massacred everybody
Rdz. 478 harsēkī girtīn: he captured all three

There appears to be a distinction between animate and inanimate in

Bin. 332 cand wulāxī cākī bō kīrīn: he bought him some fine horses
  cand šīrī cākī bō kīrī: he bought him some fine swords

Relative and Subordinate Clauses

§ 243. (a) In Sul., War. the inflexible particle ka serves to introduce both relative and subordinate clauses. The former may be either descriptive, e.g.

Sul. E salāḥadīn, ka dīnīyā girtī: Saladin, who conquered the world, ...
  9 am āsikāna, ka wā alawārēn: these gazelles, which are grazing thus, ...

or restrictive, e.g.

Sul. 9 aw āsikayān ka wā tawgēkī āltūnī la milāya: that gazelle which has a collar of gold round its neck ...

In Sor. and Muk. ka is commonly replaced by other particles.
To introduce a descriptive relative clause *wakū* appears in Bin., Piž., har *ka* in Arb., *agar* in Muk., e.g.

Bin. 327 *žin* ... *wakū* *malikay faxrūtānfa* (his) wife, who is Queen Fakhruṭāj, ...

Arb. 418 *pāsāy mīsr*, har *ka* 'ašīā *mīsrē bū* the king of Egypt, who was Aziz of Egypt, ...

Muk. § 44 *xulā*, *agar amin ā tōy ba rōšay hēnāwa* God, who created me and you, ...

To introduce a restrictive clause, and in the other functions of *ka*, viz. introducing a subordinate clause and as an adverb ‘when’, *agar* appears in Bin., Piž., Muk. (Muk. § 44), har *ka*, *wakī* in Arb., (wa)kū in Muk., Rdz., Xoš., e.g.

Bin. 323 *aw manāqīhay* āgar ... *lēy lā dā būn* that place at which they had landed

336 *agar xxwēndiwa* ... dazānē *agar kuřī N. nīːa* when he read it he knew that he was not the son of N.

348 *tēy gāt maxābūt* āgar *qisakay kirdībū* (for *qisaka(y)* āgar *kirdībūy*): she understood perfectly what he had said

Muk. 212 *bō xātir awukū* (for *aw aw īk*) ... *bīzānim* so that they should think ...

Arb. 424 *wīstī* har *ka qisay lager bikā* he wanted to speak with her

429 *wakī ganimī* ... tē *dakan* when you are pouring in wheat

Xoš. 459 *ći wūruyak nīːa* ... kū *amin swār bibim* is there no horse that I may mount?

(b) When a relative clause is restrictive and immediately follows an antecedent which is either defined by the suffix -*akā* (§ 174) or a demonstrative adjective, or is a pronoun, then the relative clause may be introduced by the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. — *aw kitēbay dām xistuwa, halī* āgar,

1 In Sul. this is probably restricted to ‘story-tellers’ style, e.g.

Sul. 47 *kuřī, wakū ītā ismā́līl bē* the boy, who is Shah Ismail ...

2 *kē* once in Bin., v. p. 83, fn. 3.

3 -y Izafe, v. (b) below.

4 See § 241.
but aw kitēba hal gira ka dām xistuwa: pick up that book which I have thrown down

13 away tō dīwita: that which thou hast seen

Muk. § 46 aw niwānakay hāṭibū: the guest who had come
Arb. 414 aw xawnay aw jāra gērātawa: that dream which you related then

The particle ka, &c., may appear with the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. 9 awōnay ka wā alawaṛen ba ḫyā: those which are grazing apart
Piž. 408 aw kāšēla saray ka . . . hēnābūyawa: that skull which he had brought back

An extension of this is to be seen in such conjunctival phrases as

Sul. 31 la sar ama ka kuṟ . . . dāwāy mini kird, . . . la sar away ka aw gāwira: because the boy asked for (my hand), . . . because he is an infidel

Use of Tenses

§ 244. (a) The Present Indicative has both habitual and actual present meaning, e.g.

Sul. — mixgawt bē malā nābē: there is no mosque without a mullah (no rose without a thorn)
— xalqi kāyasī sipī axoṇētawa: people read (evil into) white (i.e. blank) paper
— āsinī sārd akutē: he is striking cold iron
— har nān axōm: I am just eating
2 tō ētī akay lēra: what art thou doing here?

(b) The adverb wā ‘thus’ gives a sense of a state or action in progress,¹ e.g.

¹ In War. the forms wā and (h)ā give a similar sense in the absence of the normal substantive verb, e.g.

War. — ēōwim wā tēō: I see it (my eye is on it)
199 wā wa a damānō: it (is) in our possession
269 hā la xurānō: (they are) on the point of being eaten
271 bardī hā wa sar lānō (there is) a rock on her shoulder
273 bardē ā wa sar lānō
Sul. — wā-y la ko: where art thou?
— wā-m lēra: here I am

9 am āškāna ka wā alawāfēn: these gazelles which are grazing

9 aw āškayān ka wā tavēqēkī āltūnī la milāyā: that one of them which has a collar of gold round its neck

(c) The Present tense is also used for Future time, e.g.

Sul. 10 ba das aygirēn: we shall take it by hand
16 ēti talab akay atdamē: whatever thou seest I shall give thee
58 amkuēzē: she will kill me

(d) In narrative it may alternate with the simple Past tense, e.g.

Sul. 1 pāšāyak abē ... noē akē ... alē ... la bar kird ... ūy kirda šāx: there is a king ... he prays ... he says ... he put on (clothes) ... he turned towards the mountains
16 kuř āmōzāyakē ... abē ... wutī ... ĕū: the boy has a cousin ... she said ... she went ...
27 lēy dā, ūrī, kuř — wā kuř ařwā: the boy set off and went — lo, he is going —
Bin. 378 agar wa šūr kawt tamāšā dakē: when he entered he sees ...

§ 245. The Present Subjunctive is used:

(a) in subordinate clauses, whether introduced by a conjunction or not, e.g.

Sul. 4 wā fswāna nāwēkē bixayna sar: it is good that we should give him a name

7 soyī dām ... ka nāwē zāyir nakam: he made me swear that I would not disclose his name

8o dā nawē, qēēt mēkē kā: he bent down to kiss his foot

(b) with injunctive force, e.g.

Sul. — bûkē, got lē bē: daughter-in-law, pay thou heed
10 ba girtēn biygirēn: let us catch it by hand
11 ēwa lēra dā binēšin: let ye sit down here

(c) following the particle bā ‘let ... ’, and abē, &c., ‘must’ (v. § 221, with examples).
(d) following certain verbs, e.g.

Sul. 4 nātwānim...nāwē binēm: I cannot name him (twānin)

27 amawē...sarēk...bidam: I want to visit...(wistin)

35 nayānsōrā bēn: they durst not come (wērān)

55 nāelu...bīrōy: I shall not let thee go (hēstin)

§ 246. (a) The Past tense is the normal narrative tense describing
a single action in the past, e.g.

Sul. 5 tāq yakēk la dargāy dā: someone knocked at the door

5 čūn, dargāyān kirdawā: they went and opened the door

43 šawēk lawē būm: I was there one night

43 bayānī hātim bō lāy ēwa: in the morning I came to you

(b) The Past tense is also used for a recently perfected action, e.g.

Sul. — yakēkim škān: I have (just) broken one

— la pās away ka minālakānī nwān: after she had put

the children to bed

22 šēxul'arābīm hēnā w hātin: I have brought the Sheikh

of the Arabs and we have come

38 halim gira, fawtām: take me up, I have perished

43 tō čūyta xānūy ēma: hast thou been to our house?

A long completed action is expressed by the perfect or pluperfect

tenses, e.g.

Perfect

Sul. P la bāti insān mirīškēkyān swār kirduwa: instead of a

man they mounted a hen (in Montgolfier’s balloon)

13 la mamlakatī xōy tōrāwa, hātōta ḫra: she has tired of

her own country and come here

Pluperfect

Sul. — ka čūma láy minālakānī nwānibū: when I went to

(see) her she had put the children to bed

Muk. 2510 awrō...sar-ū-pēy...nārdibū: today she (had)

sent a stew

(c) Corresponding to the narrative use of the Present Indicative

(§ 244 (d)) the Perfect tense may also appear to indicate pluperfect

action, e.g.

War. 201 amānawē das bikayn wa īsrāhat kirdin wa mawqūh-

ēknān bō aw dyāri kirdiğa: we wanted to set

about resting and we had appointed a place for it
§ 247. (a) The Imperfect tense indicates a continuous, prolonged, repeated, or habitual action in the past, e.g.

Sul. 9 tamā rõay aw daštay akird, čāwī kawt ba āsīk la nāw bāxēkā alawāfān: he was scanning that plain (when) he saw some gazelles grazing in a garden
15 duxtūryān abirdā sar: they kept on taking doctors to him
38 donē ba mintān awut: yesterday you kept on saying to me . . .
179 rādyō nabū, gomān la grāmāfōn agirt: there was no radio, we used to listen to the gramophone

(b) The Imperfect appears in the apodosis of certain conditions (v. § 249 (a)) and in suppositions, even when the condition is not expressed, e.g.

Sul. — kāškī amāt, dū qisam lagalā akird: I wish I could see him, (were I to do so) I would have a word or two with him!

Conditions

§ 248. Present, possible conditions.

(a) In the protasis the Present Subjunctive appears, e.g.

Sul. 2 agar tō amam lagal bikay: if thou dost this with me
16 agar bēt ā tō bizānī: if it should happen and you shouldst discover . . .
65 kūr xabar bikaytawa: if thou wakest the boy
72 am sē kiča māra nakam: if I do not marry these three girls

Bin. 324 lēra bawt lāwa bifōy: if thou goest hence in that direction
361 nēwī xōt ba min nalēy: if thou dost not tell me thy name

generally followed, in the apodosis, by the Present Indicative, e.g.

1 In Arb. the Imperfect appears exceptionally as the narrative past tense, e.g.

Arb. 430 amā āšafā kūt hātā nīsārē dagāfānawa: they set off and went half of the way back
431 amāna āšafān fōn dabōwa: their eyes regained sight

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SULIEMANIYE, ETC., DIALECTS §§ 248-9

Sul. — min bim la fyaţi tō nān nāxōm: if I were you I would not eat anything
— agar biči bō lāy nātnāsim: if thou goest to see him I shall have nothing to do with thee

Occasionally the Present Indicative appears in the protasis, e.g.
War. 263 hal asī . . . atbasim, hal nāsī . . . awkuţim: if thou arisest I shall tie thee up, if thou dost not I shall kill thee

(b) If the action of the apodosis must, of necessity, follow that of the protasis in time then the Past tense may appear in the protasis, e.g.

Sul. — agar dīt pēy bičē: if thou seest him tell him
28 agar hātī la dwāmā . . . amdōzītawa: if thou comest after me thou wilt find me
58 agar hātī ā mirdī . . . atnečim: if it should happen and thou shouldst die I shall bury thee
War. — aş gar hātī pēy bēşa: if he comes tell him
— agar čūy bō sīlēmānī: if thou goest to Suleimaniye (please do something for me)
ka nayčūy awā hič: if thou dost not go, no matter
266 tēy gayānim nāykuţim: if I make him understand then I shall not kill him

Bin. 350 agar hātimawa čāka: if I return all is well

Note. agar, ka in the sense of ‘as, since’ are generally followed by the Indicative, e.g.

Sul. 2 agar aţānī min pāsām: since thou knowest I am king
58 ka mādam wāya hāzirim: since it is so I am ready

§ 249. Past, impossible conditions.

(a) The Past Conditional tense is used in the protasis and the Imperfect tense in the apodosis, e.g.

Sul. — agar donē šaw bihātītāya čra xānīt adī: if thou hadst come here last night thou wouldst have seen Khan
— agar la jėgāy tō būmāya am ītam bāšir akird: had I been in thy place I would have done this job better
— am īlat wāhā bikirdāya čaktir ābū: it would have been better hadst thou done this job thus
War. — ağar tápiřim pē wāya lēm akuštin: had I had a shotgun with me I would have killed some of them

234 tō agar âqiî büytâya naakawtîta ayraô: hadst thou had any sense thou wouldst not have got here

Bin. 331 agar attâ dâk nabûyîya ... mistêkim ... dadâ: hadst thou not been my mother I would have punched (thee)

377 agar amin bitirsâmîya ... nadahâtîm: had I been afraid I would not have come

(b) The Imperfect tense may occasionally appear in the protasis, e.g.

War. 219 agar asp â čakîm abû ba lâô: if I but had a horse and arms with me

(c) In Sor., Muk. the Perfect Conditional tense, in any of its forms, may appear in the protasis, e.g.

Bin. 337 agar zût pē bigutbâmîya: if thou hadst told me sooner

Piž. — agar pēt bigutbâmîya] if thou hadst told me

391 agar ba minît bigutbâ] if thou hadst told me

Muk. § 84 agar aw waxta nahâtîbâm: if I had not come then

Arb. — nahâtîbân intîzûrim dakîrdîn: if you had not come I would have waited for you

§ 250. (a) In general the distinction between Subjunctive and Indicative Perfect tenses in conditional sentences is governed by the element of doubt, e.g.

Sul. — agar hâtuwa xabarîm bidârê: if (you know) he has come tell me

— agar hâtîbê wara, pêm bîlê: if he should have come, come and tell me

— agar dîrâniñîtî çâwî dar ahênim: if he should have torn it I’ll have his eyes out!

52 agar ajâli hêñawîm: if Thou hast brought my death-hour

In War., however, only the Perfect Indicative is attested (v. § 215 (a) fn.), e.g.

War. — ağar dîrîwîtî çâwî dar têrim: if he has torn it I’ll have his eyes out!
— agor agiraka kuzyagato naxte darib bixara sar: if the fire has died down put a little wood on it

(b) The Pluperfect may appear in the protasis instead of the Perfect Subjunctive when the action of the apodosis must follow it in time (cf. § 248 (b)), e.g.

Sul. 42 agar xanu ruxabu xuskitim bô sar birâ: if the house has been destroyed decapitate thy sister for me

§ 251. The particles xozga (Muk. § 83 xozia), birya, kashi ‘would that . . .’.

(a) When these particles introduce a wish still possible of realization they are normally followed by the Imperfect tense, e.g.

Sul. — xozga ahât] I wish he would come
Muk. § 83 birya dahât]
Sul. — kashi amdi: I wish I could meet him

A subordinate verb following such a wish appears in the Past Conditional, rather than the Present Subjunctive (cf. § 245 (d)), e.g.

Sul. — xozga amtwâni bičumâya mâlawa: I wish I could go home
(cf. § 221 (a), abwâya kuř bwâya)

(b) When the wish is impossible of realization the Past Conditional tense is used (in Muk. also the Perfect Conditional), e.g.

Sul. — xozga am kâbrâyan nadiâya: I wish I had never seen this fellow
— kashi donê bimdiâya: I wish I had seen him yesterday
— sad birya bimtwâniâya bičima mâlâwa: would a hundred times that it had been possible for me to go home

[cf. — ḥazim akird amat bô bikirdimâya: I wish you had done this for me (would have liked you to do this)

P zor ārazumân akird . . . bihâttäyawa . . . balâm nahättatawa: we very much wanted you to come back, but you did not]

139
Muk. 11625 *biryā amin sēwēk bām ... kawtibām ... bihāti-nāyawa, aminyān hal bigirtāyawa: would that I had been an apple, ... that I had fallen ... that they had come back and had picked me up

C. WORD FORMATION

*(All references, unless otherwise stated, to Sul. only)*

Compounds

§ 252. Copulative compounds are of three types.

(a) The commonest consists of two related nouns or adjectives joined by the conjunction  thảo, *to 'and' into a syntactical whole, e.g.

- *bāzn-ū-balā* 'stature'
- *dan-ū-chāw* 'face' (mouth and eye)
- *dan-ū-bās* 'news' (noise and talk)
- *dirō-wo-dalasa* 'deception' (lies and deception)
- *das-ū-pil* 'hand and fingers'
- *hāt-ū-cū* 'traffic' (coming and going)
- *hāt-ū-nahāt* 'luck' (coming and not-coming)
- *narm-ū-hil* 'soft and flabby'
- *rēgā-wo-bān* 'highroad' (road and plateau)
- *tan-ū-čalama* 'trouble' (tight and collar-bone [sic])

Less commonly one member is merely a rhyme of the other, e.g.

- *ēsk-ū-prāsk* 'body' (bone, skeleton and spark)
- *čāw-ū-tāw* 'deception' (eye and hunting)
- *fē-wo-řē* 'accommodation' (place and way)
- *rēk-ū-pēk* 'regular, tidy' (tidy and together)
- *sēl-ū-mil* 'loose' (flabby and neck)

(b) Two members may, alternatively, be joined by a simple preposition, or an equivalent morpheme having no separate identity. The resulting compound may be a noun, adjective, or adverb, e.g.
-aw- (cf. postposition -aw-deuā, § 236 (b))

dam-aw-nuxūn  'inverted' (face towards inverted)
dast-aw-ašnō  'depressed' (hand towards knee)
pāš-aw-pāš  'backwards'

-āw-

čašn-āw-čašn  'various' (kind to kind)
gōš-āw-gōš  'from ear to ear' (NP. gōš 'ear')
pēč-āw-pēč  'winding' (turn to turn)
ray-āw-ray  'various' (colour to colour)

ba

das-ba-fē  'immediately' (hand to place)
haprūn-ba-haprūn  'in pieces' (piece to piece)
fē-ba-fē  'in place, in effect' (place to place)

baraw (i.e. bar-aw- 'front towards . . .')

sar-baraw-xwāra  'declivity' (head towards downwards)

(c) Two repeated parts, particularly verbal stems, may form a
compound, either noun, adjective or adverb, e.g.

anšin-anšin  'chopped fine' (chop chop)
picīr-picīr  'separately' (bit bit)
tik-tik  'drip by drip'

An important subsection of this type is formed by morphemes of
'noise', e.g.

fīrīwa-fīrīwa  'chirping'
qāspa-qāspa  'clucking (of partridge)'
xirta-xirt  'knocking'

The final -a- of the first element is not merely a compound vowel.
The first element frequently appears alone with the same meaning as the compound, e.g. fīrīwa, qāspa, &c.

§ 253. Determinative compounds may be dependent or descriptive.

(a) Dependent compounds are of two types:

(i) A noun qualified by another noun in some case relationship
to it, generally genitive. Such compounds appear with the qualifier
preceding the qualified, or inverted, and in either case with or without a compound vowel -a-, e.g.

östä-ţin   ‘craftsman’s wife’
biră-ţin   ‘brother’s wife, sister-in-law’
čēst-ayāw  ‘(mid-morning) mealtime’
dēto-fāma  ‘huntsman’s patchwork camouflage shield’
            (demon-dress)
maraza-fār  ‘rice patch’

and, with the compound vowel,

būm-a-larza  ‘earthquake’
hawr-a-bīrūska, -tirīqa  ‘lightning’ (cloud-lightning)
nargis-a-fār  ‘field of narcissi’

Inverted,

čāl-āw    ‘well’ (pit of water)
hīza-rūn   ‘skin bag’ (bag for clarified butter)
kilāfa-dazū  ‘skein of cotton’
kūra-haş    ‘beehive’ (hive for bees)

and, with the compound vowel,

čapik-a-gul  ‘bouquet of flowers’
čarm-a-gā    ‘oxhide’
danik-a-fō    ‘barleycorn’
gul-a-bāx   ‘rose’ (flower of garden)
gul-a-ganim  ‘ear of wheat’
kilk-a-bēl   ‘spade handle’ (tail of spade)
kun-a-lūt    ‘nostril’ (hole of nose)

(ii) A verbal stem, present or past, restricted by a preceding object, or complement, e.g.

Present:  bā-wašēn   ‘fan’ (wind-waver)
barg-dirū    ‘tailor’ (clothes-sewer)
bīxin-miţ   ‘“goat-sucker” lizard’
dār-firōš    ‘wood-seller’
mōr-halkan  ‘seal-engraver’
pyaw-kuzu    ‘murderer’ (man-killer)
sar-tāş    ‘barber’ (head-shaver)
xon-fēţ    ‘bloodthirsty’ (blood-spiller)
zōr-zān    ‘shrewd’ (much-knower)
Note. With the defective present stem -lē- the modal affix bi-
is also present in zör-bīlē ‘talkative’ (much-talker).

Past: \hspace{10pt} \textit{dast-kird} \hspace{10pt} ‘hand-made’
\hspace{10pt} \textit{dast-kawt} \hspace{10pt} ‘income’ (hand-fallen)
\hspace{10pt} \textit{sūraw(a)-kirāw} \hspace{10pt} ‘baked’ (red-made)\(^1\)

(b) Descriptive compounds consist of a noun qualified either by a noun in apposition or an adjective. When the qualifier is a noun in apposition it may precede the noun qualified, e.g.

čilk-ēw \hspace{10pt} ‘foul water’ (dirt-water)
šā-rag \hspace{10pt} ‘jugular (king-) vein’
šā-haj \hspace{10pt} ‘queen bee’

and, with the compound vowel -a-,

sāl-a-waxt \hspace{10pt} ‘a year’s time’

Commonly, however, it follows the qualified noun, e.g.

dār-hanār, -xurμā \hspace{10pt} ‘pomegranate, date tree’
galā-mēw, -tūtin \hspace{10pt} ‘vine-, tobacco-leaf’

and, with the compound vowel,

būk-a-šūša \hspace{10pt} ‘doll’ (bride—glass)
dār-a-ban \hspace{10pt} ‘terebinth tree’

When the qualifier is an adjective the compound is also normally inverted and of the ‘open’ type, e.g.

bizin-a-kēwī \hspace{10pt} ‘mountain goat’
qārčik-a-mārāna \hspace{10pt} ‘toadstool’ (mushroom—snaky)
&c., \textit{ad infinitum} (v. § 185). A few uninverted compounds do occur, e.g.

farīk-a-nōk \hspace{10pt} ‘unripe chick-pea’
kaww-a-fāhīša \hspace{10pt} ‘old whore’ (abuse; otherwise kōn ‘old’)
mīzir-a-sēw \hspace{10pt} ‘tart apple’
narm-a-zīn \hspace{10pt} ‘saddle-cloth’ (soft-saddle)

Cf. Muk. § 31,

garm-a-šīn \hspace{10pt} ‘bitter (hot) lamentation’
nāsk-a-tīr \hspace{10pt} ‘fine arrow’

\(^1\) From sūr kirdinawa. The appearance of the ‘postverb’ -awa (§ 235(a)) suffixed to the word preceding the verb is a characteristic of the Sinai and more southern dialects.
§ 254. Secondary Adjectival compounds may be possessive or prepositional.

(a) The Possessive compounds are generally descriptive compounds with adjectival meaning, e.g.

bad-kūr ‘evil-doer’ (bad-work)
dā-řū ‘two-faced, hypocritical’
gardin-biȳr ‘with a throat (translucent as) crystal’
girān-bā ‘expensive’ (dear-price)
hawa-řōţ ‘overclouded’ (grey-day)

and, with the compound vowel,

kurt-a-bālā ‘short’ (short-stature)

They are more commonly inverted, without compound vowel, e.g.

ēsik-sūk, -qurs ‘handsome, ugly’ (bone-light, -heavy)
bālā-barx ‘tall’ (stature-tall)
cāw-šīn ‘blue-eyed’
dil-tān ‘sad’ (heart-tight)
dil-tār ‘sentimental’ (heart-damp)
dāwēn-pīs ‘licentious’ (skirt, hem-dirty)
hanāsā-sārd ‘despairing’ (breath-cold)
kayf-xōš ‘happy’ (spirits-pleasant)
sar-garm ‘eager’ (head-hot)

(b) The prepositions ba, bē form an infinite number of adjectival compounds, e.g.

ba ba-go ‘obedient’ (with ear)
ba-fē ‘fitting’ (in place)
ba-κār ‘useful’ (with work)
ba-wanawx ‘drowsy’ (with sleep)
bē bē-go ‘disobedient’ (without ear)
bē-hōšt ‘unconscious’
bē-gazə ‘unharmed’ (without accident)

Suffixes

§ 255. The following suffixes form nouns:

(a) Abstract

-ī forms abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g.

With adjectives of measure, &c., it alternates with
-āī, (-āyati), e.g.
garmī, -āī ‘warmth’, qūlī, -āī ‘depth’, bilindī, bilindāyati
‘height’.

With other adjectives it frequently alternates with
-yatī > -ētī, e.g.
āzāī, āzāyati ‘bravery’, bandai, bandayati ‘slavery’, kamī,
kamētī ‘shortcoming’, pānī, -āī, -ētī ‘breadth’.
-atī, -iati > -yatī > -ētī, -āyati form abstract nouns from nouns,
pronouns, or adjectives, e.g.
āyāyati ‘agha-ship’, birāyati ‘brotherhood’, dōstayati ‘friend-
ship’, duśminayati ‘enmity’, ḥākimētī ‘judge’, governor-
ship’, pyāswati ‘manhood, service’, ūṣristānētī ‘civilization’,
xizmāyati ‘kinship’;
čōnati ‘how-ness’, kēyatī ‘who-ness’;
birētī ‘hunger’, čākētī ‘goodness’, īnūētī ‘thirst’, yakīati,
yakhētī ‘oneness, unity’.

-ēnī, more rarely, forms abstract nouns, e.g.
kuvēnī ‘youth, boyhood’.

(b) Diminutive
-ča, -ka, -l-, -l-, in various combinations, form derived nouns, and
occasionally adjectives, which may be classed generally as ‘diminu-
tive’. Thus:
-ča bāxcā ‘small garden’, nāwča ‘district’
-čka ṭečka ‘string, file’, xānūčka ‘little house’
-ak dāstāk ‘pole, beam’, ṭānāk ‘trousers’
-īk dastik ‘bunch, handle’, ūčik ‘chick’
-ka dūlka ‘bucket’, lātka ‘mountain peak’, milwānka ‘necklace’
-aka pūlaka ‘fish scale, spangle’, tūraka ‘small bag’
-ōk tūrok ‘rolling pin’
-ōka bārōka ‘pullet’, fīrōka ‘whirligig’, ēnōka ‘jinnee’
-kaḷa xīrkaḷa ‘short and stout’
-la mērūla ‘ant’, pīšīla ‘cat’, qūtīla ‘little lamp’
-laka ḫūlaka ‘Jew’
-ila amustila 'finger ring', gurčila 'kidney', kārila 'kid'
-ūla dānūla 'porridge', jāsūla 'baby ass', mēšūla 'mosquito'
-ūlka dāsūlka 'small sickle', pāčūlka 'small pick'
-ūla gōzula 'small pitcher', jūfala 'chick'
-ala girdala 'hillock', sawzala 'little fresh one'
-ūla kīcōla 'little girl', pickōla 'small, tiny'
-ūlka dizōlka 'small saucepan', girdōlka, tapōlka 'hillock'

(c) Concrete

-gō, forms nouns of place, e.g.

hōrdūgā (War. hōrdūū) 'army camp', kōgā 'store', ūgō 'road',
sayrāngā 'beauty-spot', tātga 'waterfall'.

-alān, (Bin., Pīž. -alēn), forms nouns with the meaning 'tract,
expanses of . . .', e.g.

bardalān 'stony tract, wilderness', narmalān 'soft land',
qāmīṣalān (Bin. qāmīṣalēn) 'reed-bed', sawzalān 'green,
verdant tract', zītalān (Pīž. zītalēn) 'thorny tract', zīxalān
'stretch of gravel'.

-(i)stān forms nouns with the meaning 'place, country of . . .', e.g.

dāristān 'wood(land)', faylistān 'jungle', kurdistān 'land of the
Kurds', kōstān 'highlands, uplands', qabristān 'graveyard',
kēristān 'city'.

-awān, -ēt, -gar form nouns of trades or skills, e.g.

āšawān 'miller', bāxawān 'gardener', kāštawān 'boatman',
malawān 'swimmer', pāśawān 'watchman', šāxawān 'mountain-
taineer', tōrāwān 'fisherman' (net-man);
bōyāxtē 'shoemaker', čēytē 'teashop-keeper', qāčāxtē 'smuggler',
ṭāwēt 'huntsman', tanakātē 'tinsmith';
āsingar 'blacksmith', ḍaqqāgar 'cutler', misgar 'coppersmith'.

-dān forms nouns with the meaning ' . . . -holder', e.g.

čeřādān 'lamp-holder', darsīdān 'needle-holder', fišakdān
'bandolier', fīzdān 'wallet', mōmdān 'candlestick', mināldān
'womb', misīldān 'bladder'.

-dār forms nouns and adjectives with the meaning 'possessor of . . .', e.g.

-kar, -kar, less commonly -gar, -yar, form nouns and adjectives with the meaning ‘doer, maker of . . .’, e.g.

araxikar ‘desirous’, iskar ‘industrious’, noskar ‘devout’;
harzakkar ‘lusty youth’, kirkar ‘hired labourer’;
paresgar ‘abstemious’;
jutyar ‘ploughman’, kiril(y)ar ‘buyer, customer’.

-baz forms nouns with the meaning ‘addicted to . . .’, e.g.

hatiwbaz ‘pederast’ (hatk ‘orphan’), qumurbaz ‘gambler’.

-en (Arb., &c., -an) forms the names of games, e.g.


(d) Verbal

-ok, -nok form nouns or adjectives with the sense ‘habitual doer of . . .’ from verbal stems, e.g.

garon ‘wandering, nomad’;
girinok ‘whining, cry-baby’, tirsnok ‘coward’.

-ar forms agent nouns from verbal stems, e.g.

kuchar ‘killer’, nusar ‘writer’.

aman forms nouns of materials from verbal past stems, e.g.

sutiaman ‘fuel’, xwardaman ‘food’.

-a forms nouns of ‘noise’. From the suffix-free morpheme denominative transitive verbs are formed by the addition of the causative morphemes (§ 233).


1 A neologism, formed on the analogy of nouns in -kar (v. (c) above): kirdin, ka-; -dar (v. § 256): dan, da-; -bar: birdin, ba-; e.g. barbar ‘load-carrier, porter’, ranjbar ‘labourer’.
Such nouns also form copulative compounds (§ 252 (c)), e.g.


§ 256. The following suffixes form adjectives:

-ı forms adjectives of kind, or origin, e.g.

hawleri ‘of Arbil’, hawrami ‘of Avroman’.

-in, -ätı form adjectives from nouns, chiefly of materials, e.g.

ägirin ‘fiery’, äsinin ‘iron’, ränin ‘colourful’;
ärđawi ‘floury’, bafräwī ‘made of snow’, qıwını ‘muddy’,
xolawí ‘dusty’, xonawí ‘bloody’.

-in forms adjectives of quality from nouns, e.g.


-man/ı, (-mand) forms adjectives with the sense ‘possessed of . . .’, e.g.


-dar forms adjectives meaning ‘giver of . . .’, e.g.

ägädar ‘aware’, farmändar ‘commanding’.

-kär, -baw modify adjectives of colour, e.g.

faškär ‘blackish’, sıpıkär ‘whitish’, sürbaw ‘reddish’, šınkär,

-baw ‘bluish’.

-aña forms adjectives and, more commonly, adverbs, e.g.

märına ‘snaky’, mānāna ‘monthly’, sālāna ‘annual’;
äyäyāna ‘agha-like’, ăzāyāna ‘bravely’, biräyāna ‘brotherly’,
pyätüna ‘manly’, šırāna ‘like a lion’.

§ 257. In Sul., Sor., and Muk. the ‘regular’ Intransitive verb is characterized by the past stem ending -ă-, infinitive -ăn, e.g.

With a few verbs this may alternate with a past stem in -i-, e.g.

qawmā/iN 'happen', Šimā/iN 'collapse', Šizā/iN 'rot', Šoqā/iN 'burst', xurā/iN 'itch'.

The corresponding Transitive verb is a Causative formation (§ 233) from the Intransitive, e.g.

biržānin 'roast', kulānin 'boil', sūtānin 'burn', škānin 'break',
šoqānin 'terrify', xurānin 'scratch'.

In War. the 'regular' Intransitive verb form is marked by the past stem ending -ya-, infinitive -yān, e.g.

biržyān, kulīyān, sūtyān, škiyān (< *škīyān, v. § 56 (a), end).
PART III

SÜRČI, AKRE, AMADIYE, BARWARI-ŢOR, GULLĪ, ZAKHO, AND SHEIKHAN DIALECTS

A. MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS

Definition

§ 258. (a) A noun in its simplest form may be either definite or indefinite, singular or plural (v. § 260 (b)), e.g.

Ak. — kاع: rock, the rock, rocks, the rocks
     — bičak: child, the child, children, the children

There is no general means of further defining a noun. The following suffixes, however, appear in particular contexts.

(b) The suffix -aka appears in Sur., Ak. only, in narrative, defining known characters (cf. § 174), e.g.

Sur. 508 mirwaka 姝a ɹinake: the man said to the woman
     Ak. 534 mirwaka ʧoːva: the man returned
     555 məraka kuʃt: the snake was killed
     682 das hawətə ʮiçake: he reached for the girl

(c) The suffix -a appears in all dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx. following a noun qualified by the proximate demonstrative adjective av, &c. (v. § 270 (a)), e.g.

Ak. 547 av məra: this snake
     591 av ʮiftə: this watermelon.
     Zx. 775 av ʃiɾa: this bridge

It is not realized after a noun ending in a, e.g.

Ak. 564 av ʃa: this dog (ʃa)

1 See § 261 (b).
Note. The same ‘proximate’ suffix is present in

Ak. 597 čī l hindā ganimay kam: what shall I do with this much wheat? (v. § 261 (b))
contrast
— čī l hindā ganimi kam: what would I do with that (so) much wheat?
Cf. also Ak. hutuwa ‘in this way’: watuwo ‘in that way’.

§ 259. (a) The suffix -ak (i.e. Sur., Ak. [-ak'], Am.-Zx. [-ak])
gives the noun an indefinite sense or one of unity, e.g.

Sur. 508 šinak ā mirōwak habūn: there was once a woman and a man
Ak. 531 mirōvak habō: once there was a man
534 kāyazak nivīšī: he wrote a letter
551 ye hanē ŝišik-a: yonder is a fox
Zx. 790 muskilak: a difficulty
(b) Following a noun ending in a, ā an euphonic -y- appears before the suffix, thus -yak, e.g.

Ak. 556 qurbašayak: a badger
580 ēzyāyak: a serpent
586 birāyak: a brother
In Am.-Zx., however, this -y- is often imperceptible after ā (cf. § 35 (b)), e.g.

Am. 704 birāvak: a brother
709A bāvak: a wind
718 qazāvak: 723 qazāvak: a district
In all dialects, Ak.-Zx., the suffix may appear following a as -k only, e.g.

Ak. 536 dabānjak: a pistol
563 qisak: a saying
587 ŝigārak: a cigarette
Am. 705 qabilak: a tribe
719 fāmil/'ak: a mosque

1 BX 5 describes a ‘Plural Indefinite Article’, i.e. suffix, -in. Although quoted BX 19 with a Plural oblique ending -ān (v. § 261 (b)), thus, dāngē ḥaspīnān ‘the sound of horses’, it is elsewhere only attested with the Secondary Izafe, q.v. §§ 263 (c), 264 (c).
The group -šak may be reduced to -ēk (cf. § 59 (a)), e.g.

Ak. 531 pîstêčê dârâ: a load of sticks (pîstî)
653 hêvârêčê: one evening (hêvârî)
Bar. 737 âvâhêc: a building (âvâhî)

(c) A noun qualified by an indefinite, but not normally an interrogative, adjective may take the suffix -ak, e.g.

Ak. 579 har kasak: whatever person
Am. 715 hamî kasak: each person

A noun qualified by indefinite number may have the suffix -ak, commonly in conjunction with the Plural oblique morpheme -â(n) (§ 261 (b)) when oblique, e.g.

Ak. 592 çâr pênf daf‘akā: four or five times (dafs‘a)
611 gâsti çâr pênf bičûkakâ kir: called four or five children
613 tgal sê çâr nânakâ: with three or four loaves
Am. 707 hašî nah rûžakâ: eight or nine days
711A p čand rûžakâ: by some days
Bar. 731 sê čâarak dî: some three or four others
Zx. 773 dah daqîqayakâ: some ten minutes

Note. In conjunction with the numeral yak, &c. (§ 272), and certain indefinite pronouns an ‘indefinite’ suffix -ê (also ? -r) appears, e.g.

Ak. 563 har yêkê qisak gôt: each one said something
617 hašî dîbîtâva: whoever has seen it
618 hašî bûnitâva: whoever brings it back
629 kasê . . . nâškînit: nobody breaks . . .
Am. 706A har êkê këfîkak dâē: gave each one a cat
Gul. 765 kasê . . . nagôta min: nobody told me . . .
Zx. 774 lázîma ékê am bîkuşin: we must kill someone

Cf. also Ak. 585 çû êkî . . . nânivîstîn: no one slept.

Declension

§ 260. (a) In all dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx., Shn. the noun declension presents a system of:

two numbers, Singular and Plural,
two grammatical genders, Masculine and Feminine,
two cases, Direct and Oblique.

1 Adverbal Oblique, v. § 305 (a).
In addition, in the system of Vocative endings, a distinction of *natural* gender is observed.

(b) The simple noun, i.e. in its Direct case form, gives no indication of its grammatical gender or number (v. § 258). These are manifest only in the Oblique case forms (§ 261 (b)) and in the forms of the Izafe (§ 264).

§ 261. (a) A noun which is the Subject of a verb, or a Predicative noun, appears in the Direct case, i.e. in its uninflected form.

A noun which:

(i) is the Direct Object of a verb,
(ii) is the Agent of a sentence in the Passive construction (v. § 296),
(iii) has ‘oblique’ (i.e. dative, ablative, locative, &c.) sense, whether governed by a preposition or not,
(iv) follows another noun with the Izafe (§ 263), or follows the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266),
(v) has adverbial sense (v. § 305 (a)),

normally appears in the Oblique case. There is, however, a tendency for the uninflected, Direct case form to replace the Oblique form, particularly in its function as Agent.

If a noun in the Oblique case is followed by an Izafe form then it does not take an Oblique ending.

(b) The Oblique case is marked by the following Primary morphemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg. M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>Pl. M. &amp; F.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All dialects Sur., Ak.-</td>
<td>-ə</td>
<td>-ə</td>
<td>-ə(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zx., Shn., BX</td>
<td>-ə</td>
<td>-ə</td>
<td>-ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KK § 75 ff.</td>
<td>-ə</td>
<td>-ə</td>
<td>-ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are added to the simple noun directly, or after the defining suffix -aka (§ 258 (b)) when present. Examples, v. (d) below.

1 The paradigm given in *BSOAS*, vii. 530, is wrong, and a misinterpretation of K. A. Bedir-Xan’s ‘Langue Kurde’, in that the Plural morpheme -ə(n) occurs only in the Oblique case.

2 Alternatively in KK, BX the internal vowels a, ä of Masculine nouns may be modified to ë in the Sg. Obl., e.g. KK § 89 Ḳwân 'shepherd' > Ḳwēn, darî 'door' > dērî.
Following a, ă the M. Sg. Obl. ending -i appears as -y, e.g.

Ak. 531 a čyăy: to the mountain
      534 măłă kăbrăy: the fellow’s house
      556 a qurbaşay: to the badger
      544 mirıvākay götī: the man said (mirōv, -aka)

The F. Sg. Obl. ending -ę coalesces with preceding a, e.g.

Ak. 533 l filēn jadē: in such-and-such street (jāda)
      536 darīkē qišē: the door of the town hall (qišla)
      533 göta žınakē: said to the woman (žin, -aka)
      682 das hūvēta kičakē: reached for the girl (kič, -aka)

An ē preceding the Pl. Obl. ending -ă(n) may be modified to ī, e.g.

Ak. 555 p har dō piă: with both feet (pē)
Zx. 785 piă hăś: he came on foot

contrast,

Ak. 565 sē: three people (sē)

The full form -ān of the Pl. Obl. morpheme only occurs when it is followed by the enclitic form of the substantive verb (§ 284 (a)), e.g.

Ak. 662 kuřē darwežān-ī: thou art the son of (one of) some dervishes
      679 šeşō ‘arabān-a: he is the Sheikh of the Arabs
Am. 720 na šiβāli hūřē hamūn-a: is not like everybody’s dress
Zx. 777 yē l sar vān gir-ō-mirūn-in: they are on these hills
      and humps

(c) When the noun has the indefinite suffix -ak (§ 259) then the Oblique case morphemes take the following, Secondary, forms (in all dialects Sur.–Bar. identical with the Primary morphemes, v. (b) above):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg. M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>Pl. M. &amp; F.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All dialects, Sur.–Bar.</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-ă(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gul.</td>
<td>-i (? -ē)</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zx.</td>
<td>-ē M. &amp; F.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KK § 92 ff., BX. 19</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Agent oblique, v. § 296 (b).
2 In KK §§ 95, 96 also when qualified by a demonstrative adjective avă, avăđ.
3 The distinction of such Primary and Secondary morphemes, though largely disguised here, is common is neighbouring dialects. Cf. the Izafe forms, § 264.
Examples:

Ak. 531  dīkānā mirōvakā: a man’s shop (mirōv M.)
540  har biskakē: on each curl (bisk F.)
592  čar pēnf daf’akā: four or five times (v. § 259 (c))
Am. 704A  nikh naʃārakā: to a carpenter (naʃār M.)
Bar. 729  šinakē bīna: take a wife (šin F.)
Gul. 750  l bīstlāmakī: in an orchard (bīstlān M.)
Gul., Zx. —  nānakē bīna: bring a loaf of bread (nān M.)
Zx. —  kalaxē tayrakē: the carcass of a bird (tayr M.)
—  ťarmē šinakē: the body of a woman
771  ū gundakē: from a village (gund M.)

(d) Examples of the Oblique case:

(i) as Direct Object,

Sur. 507  āxē dē kōrin: they will dig up earth (āx F.)
507  dē kēšīn, quīfi: they will take it, mud (quīf M.)
Ak. 531  vi tayray nākīrī: won’t you buy this bird? (tayr M., -a, v. § 270 (a))
532  šikāyatē bīka: make a complaint (šikāyat F.)
539  kāyasū tnīvūsīt: is writing letters (kāyas F.)
542  ču dangū naka: make no noises (dang M.)
Am. 703A  šīvē lē nin: we shall cook supper (šīv F.)
720  dē darsōkā thāvēt: puts two kerchiefs (darsōk F.)
Bar. 730  dō kayfē kan: in order to make merry (kayf F.)

(ii) as Agent (v. also § 296 (b)),

Ak. 544  mirōvakāy gōtē: the man said (mirōv, -aka)
533  šinakē gōtē: the woman said to him (šin, -aka)
Am. 704A  ťīʃārā gōlē: the merchants said to him (ťīʃār M.)

(iii) with ‘oblige’ sense, when governed by a preposition,

Ak. 531  a čyāy: to the mountain (čyā M.)
533  l filān jādē: in such-and-such street (jāda F.)
556  tgal qurbašayakī: with a badger (qurbaša M.)
540  wakō dīsā: like thieves (dīz M.)
532  p hašt dinārā: for eight dinars (dinār M.)
Am. 703  a āfi: to the mill (āfi M.)
703  p sē tivangā: for three guns (tivang F.)
704  ū jūkī: from a Jew (jū, -ak M.)
Zx. 790  tgal māktablītā: with the pupils (māktablī M.)
and when not so governed (v. also § 301 (d)),

Ak. 540 har biskakê: on each curl (bisk, -ak F.)
Am. 705 da nî 'ardaki: camped in a place ('ard, -ak M.)

(iv) following the Izafe,

Ak. 532 xudâne layrî: owner of the bird (layrî M.)
534 ëlaî kâbrây: the fellow's house (kâbrâ M.)
531 xudâne diחלק: owner of the shop (diחלק F.)
536 fê garmê: place of warmth (garm F.)
Am. 705 qabîlakë 'arabâ: a tribe of Arabs ('arab M.)
Bar. 730 hâkîmêt bûzêri: governors of the city (bûzêri M.)
Gul. 750 pistî sa'îlakê: after an hour (sa'ît F.)

(v) with adverbial sense (v. also § 305 (a)),

Ak. 531 hamû rûzê: daily (rûz F.)
531 rûzakê: one day
553 hindû rûzê: for some days
548 hâvinê: in summer (hâvin F.)
545 sû dûr qûnûyû: for three or four stages (qûnûy F.)
Am. 703 naqlakê: once, at one time (naql F.)

Vocative

§ 262. (a) In the Vocative nouns denoting animate beings may take the following endings, with a forward shift of stress where possible:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>Pl. M. &amp; F.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sur.</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ak.</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am.-Zx.</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KK § 49 ff., BX. 20</td>
<td>--ö</td>
<td>--ê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples: M. Sg.

Sur. 510 bûha: fellow!
Ak. 545 mûrî: snake!
Ak. 561, Bar. 730 bûbû: father!
Am. — kuûdî: son!
Bar. 742 kûfîrû: monster!

¹ This ending also appears forming hypocoristic names (cf. § 181 (b)), e.g. mîdî 'Mustafa', tamo 'Ramazan', simêdî 'Ismail'. Cf. Nikitine’s text, BSOS, III. 85.

* tatû to tamô ... êna nîk hayû: Tetu and Temu went up to Hayu
F. Sg.

Sur. 510 žinē: woman!
Ak. — xuškē: sister!
647 dāykē: mother!

(but note, xučō ‘sister! sis!’, perhaps with ‘honorific’ M. ending, cf. § 181 (a) fn.),

Am. — kīčē: daughter!

Plural

Ak. — qāḥbayna: ye whores! (a girl to her young playmates)
Am. — kūřīnō, kūčīnō: boys! girls!
KK § 51 xōrtnō, qīznō: lads! lasses!

(b) Alternatively the uninflected noun may appear as a vocative, with a shift of stress to the first syllable where possible, e.g.

Ak. 564 bīrā: brother! (bird)
591 dā: mother!

Preceded by a Vocative particle, such as yā ‘O’, a singular noun is generally uninflected, e.g.

Ak. 573 yā xalīfa: O caliph!

but contrast,

Gul. 761 yā dāyē: O mother!
762 yā xālō: O uncle!
KK § 50 lē qīsē, lō kōrō: O girl! O son!

A noun qualified by any determinant takes no vocative ending, e.g.

Ak. 545 haywānē xudē: God’s creature!

A plural vocative is formed with galī as in Muk. (v. § 181 (a)). The noun then appears in the Oblique case, e.g.

Ak. — galī bičūkā: children!
Am. — galī kuřā: lads!

Izafe (v. § 182)

§ 263. (a) The Izafe appears in a variety of forms according to its functions. These may be classed as Individual and Generic forms. In certain dialects the Individual forms may be subdivided into Primary and Secondary forms.
All Izafe forms are realized enclitically and follow their antecedent in its uninflected form, even when it is grammatically Oblique (v. § 261 (a)).

(b) The functions of the Individual Izafe are:
(i) to connect a noun with a qualifying word which immediately follows it, be it an attributive adjective (§ 267), or a noun or pronoun in genitive relation to it or in apposition,
(ii) to introduce relative clauses (v. § 307 (b)).

(c) The Secondary forms appear:
(i) following a noun qualified by an indefinite suffix -ak (KK § 101, BX also -(i)n, v. § 259 (a) fn.); in Sur. also apparently following the suffix -aka and the adverbial suffix -iš (§ 305 (b)),
(ii) when a noun is qualified by two or more adjectives, joining the second and subsequent adjectives to the first (examples, KK § 100, Cukerman, op. cit., p. 136, BX 4). See also fn. 2, p. 206
Otherwise the Primary forms are used.

(d) The Generic Izafe serves to connect certain adjectives and nouns, particularly those forming part of a compound verb (§ 299), with their complements. It occurs also in certain compound prepositions (§ 303).

§ 264. The Izafe has the following forms:

(a) Primary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg. M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>Pl. M. &amp; F.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sur.</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All dialects, Ak.-Zx.</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ē(f)¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ak. [-e:t'], Am., &c. [-e:t])

| KK §§ 98, 99 | -ē | -ā | -ē(d) |
| BX 1         | -ē | -ā | -ē(n)² |

¹ In literary texts from this area the Pl. forms -ē di, -ē ti occur, i.e. with a separate ‘plural’ particle (cf. § 183 (c)), e.g. Ahmadê Xândi, ‘Nûbâr’ (dated a.h. 1094 = a.d. 1682), line 5.

*ko bóna payvarê di xê: who became his followers
Cl. Huart, 'Prière canonique musulmane', Jl. Ar. 1895, xcvii, dated c. a.d. 1780, metre ramal-i magfur [contd. p. 159]
The M. Sg. and Pl. Izafe forms -ê, -êt normally coalesce with preceding a, ā, e.g.

**Sur. 511**  khôcê dîka: the other swindler (kôsa)

**Ak. 537**  albîsê xô: his own clothes (albîsa)

545   fê garmê: place of warmth (fê)

542   daraft 'usmânî: the stairs of heaven (darafa)

**Gul. 750**  pê xwa, pê wî: his foot (pê)

but contrast,

**Ak. 690**  şayê wî: his dog (şî)

Note also

**Am. 711A**  birê min: my brother (birâ)

The F. Sg. Izafe -â coalesces with preceding a, ā, e.g.

**Ak. —**  ôdâ hanê: yonder room (ôda)

588  čâ xô: his own tea (čâ)

**Am. 709A**  qahwâ xô: his own coffee (qahwa)

Note also

**Ak. 565**  xwâ wî: his salt (xwê)

(b) Examples of the Primary Izafe with:

(i) a qualifying adjective,

**Sur. 514**  karê dêna: the grey ass (kar M.)

514   har dû gâcî: both the other oxen (gâ M.)

---

**verse 3.**

گر فقه دی اینی تو فرضی تخطو

*gar vi jîh dê ini tó fargê ti xô: if thou wilt carry out thy duties

**cf. verse 4.**

دا به پرزم کینه فرضیت واجبه

*dê bibêšim kîna fargê ûxîbà: let me say which are the obligatory duties

In all dialects the form -ê, with no trace of the particle, may appear occasionally in the Plural.

* Malûd Jîrî ('Dîwân', ed. Hartmann, Berlin, 1904) has, besides *-ên, the form *-ên di, e.g. p. 217, metre hâsaj-i axrab-i makşûf-i maqşûr

---

چشمان د سیه را دکر فتنه و خونان

*çašmên di siyâh ū dihirin fitna u xûnân: black eyes caused riot and bloodshed

نادم بشمالین بشمالین د بهشتی

*nâdam bi šamalên, bi šapâlên di bihîftî: I shall not give (up your beauties, &c.) for the paradisian lights and beauties

See Kurdoev, KK § 100, note 2.
§ 264  KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

Ak. 533 birāē māstirē: the eldest brother (birā M.)
548 tāē hanē: yonder bough (tā M.)
537 xanfarā pišik-zēr: gold-studded dagger (xanfar F.)
Am. 716 ḥaywānēt kēvē: wild animals (ḥaywān M.)

(ii) a noun or pronoun in genitive relation,

Ak. 539 kuřē min: my son (kuř M.)
531 dāykē xo: his own mother (dāyk F.)
537 xanfarēt xo: your own daggers (xanfar F.)
Am. 703 kāre wā: their ass (kār M.)
712A żinā hārōnañaḍid: Harun al-Rashid’s wife (żin F.)
704 ṭiṣārēt baydā: the merchants of Baghdad (ṭiṣār M.)
Bar. 727 kuřē ḥxa: his own sons
736 kuřē hēma: whose son am I?
Zx. 779 ğilḵēt xo: my own clothes (ġilk Pl.)

(c) Secondary

Sur. -ī -ā
Ak., Am. -ē -ā (= Primary,
         v. (ā) above)
Bar. -ī -ā
Gul. -ī -ā/-Q
Zx. -ī/-Q -ī/-a/-Q
KK § 100 ff., BX 20 -ī -a -a

Examples:

Sur. 525 mīrovaḵā faqīrīm: I am a poor man (mīro M.)
512 šīwakē xo: a nice soup (šīw F.)
517 mīrovaḵay xwärē: the lower man (-aha)
519 tanakaḏ dōlwē: the tin of syrup also (tanaka M.,
       -f)</td></tr>  
Ak. 531 tayrakē zēr: a gold bird (tayr M.)
548 dāraḵā māzin: a big tree (dār F.)
Am. 722 ‘ardakē hān: a cool place (‘ard M.)
718 qazāyakā kava: an ancient district (qazā F.)
Bar. 728 ēltimakā wān: an orphan from among them (ēltim M.)
Gul. — zāxē fihakē xwaka: Zakho is a pleasant place (fih M.)
767 t kutiliḵaka maḏindā: in a big rissole (kutiliḵ F.)
Zx. — mīrovaḵā maḏ: a big man (mīro M.)
     — mēzaka bičūk: a small table (mēx F.)

160
774 fārak( ) dī: again, another time (fār F.)
781 fārakā dī: same
773 pirakā bilind: a high bridge (pir F.)
775 kīčīkakā dalāl: a beautiful girl (kīčīk F.)

(d) Generic (see also § 303)

All dialects Sur.–Zx., KK, BX -ī, e.g.

Ak. 558 dē gāzī ta kam: I shall call thee (gāz kirin)
602 nēzîkī hākimī bō: was near the judge (nēzîk)
603 taslimī ... wazirī bika: give it to the vizier (taslim kirin)

Am. passim, pīštī hingī: after that, afterwards (pištī F.)
714 sībatī gurg: such as wolves (sībat)

Following a noun, &c., ending in ī no Izafe is realized, e.g.

Ak. 558 dē hēma hārī ta: I shall come to thy aid (hārī)
567 taśī zēr: full of gold (taśī)
608 mēvānī min kirbō: had entertained me (mēvānī (F.) kirin)

(e) A noun in partitive relation to another generally appears without the Izafe, e.g.

Sur. 514 hindak pāra: a little money
Ak. 544 hindak āx: a little soil
Am. 709 hindak aw zibīl: a little of that dung

Contrast the following forms with the (?) Secondary) Izafe (cf. § 184 (c)).

Ak. 531 pīštēkē dārā: a load of sticks (pištī M.)
533 dastakē fīlēt žīnā: a suit of women’s clothes (dasta M.)

§ 265. The nominal suffixes

A. -akā (§ 258 (b)), C. -ak (§ 259), and D. -ā (§ 258 (c))

are mutually exclusive. This is equally the case with the endings

E. oblique case -ī, -ē, -ā (-ē (§ 261), and
F. Izafe -ē, -ā, -ēt; -ī, -ā (-a (§ 264).

1 See now Kurdoev, Numerativnye slova, p. 34, where a distinction is made between the nominative use of certain words, e.g. ravūkak hasp 'a (one) herd of horses', and the attributive use with the Izafe, e.g. ravūkā haspā 'a herd of horses, a hóarse-herd'.

2 Cf. §§ 178, 187. Note that Sul., &c., B -ān is transferred to the position of Ak., &c., E -ā, while Ak., &c., F -ēt replaces Sul., &c., BF -ānī.
A representative of the group A C D always precedes E or F in order of suffixation to a noun. Thus the possibilities of combination are:

- **A** Sur. 508 mirōwaka: the man
- **AE** Ak. 533 göta ūnakē: said to the woman
- **AF** Sur. 517 mirōwakay xwarē: the lower man
- **C** Sur. 508 ūnak ū mirōwak: a woman and a man
- **CE** Ak. 540 har biskakē: on each curl
  - Ak. 592 čär pēnʃ daf' akā: four or five times
- **CF** Am. 718 qazāyakā kauv: an ancient district
- **D** Zx. 775 av pira: this bridge
- **DE** Ak. 531 vi țayray nākīrē: won’t you buy this bird?
- **E** Sur. 507 āxē dē kōrin: they will dig up earth
- **F** Ak. 531 āyakā xō: his own mother
  - Am. 716 ĕyewmēt kōrē: wild animals

### Demonstrative Izafe

§ 266. (a) The Demonstrative Izafe has the following main functions. It appears:

1. before a noun or pronoun, giving the group a possessive sense,
2. before an adjective, to which it gives substantive sense (often, however, untranslatable),
3. before certain verbal forms, materially altering the sense (v. §§ 309, 313).

It may, moreover, alternate with the Individual Izafe (§ 263 (b)), particularly when a qualifying adjective, noun, or phrase is separated from the word qualified by any word other than a like qualifier.

(b) The Demonstrative Izafe has the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg. M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>Pl. M. &amp; F.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sur.</td>
<td>y/we</td>
<td>y/wo</td>
<td>y/wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All dialects, Ak.—Gul.</td>
<td>y/we</td>
<td>y/wo</td>
<td>y/wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zx.</td>
<td>y/wo</td>
<td>y/wo</td>
<td>y/wot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KK § 126</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>yēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BX 4</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>yēn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the forms ye, &c., the initial y is frequently not realized, particularly when following a consonant, and the remaining vowel
is then (except occasionally in Zx., Fem.) formally identical with the Individual Izafe (§ 264 (a)).

Either the form yē or the Plural Izafe particle t (v. § 264 (a) fn.) may appear alone for the combined form yēt.

The forms wē, &c., appear in all dialects with the demonstrative adjective hanē, &c. (§ 271 (b)), and in Gul., Zx. particularly with the verb habīn (cf. § 293).

(c) Examples:

(i) with nouns, &c.,

Ak. — av kitēba yēt minīn: these books are mine
 — yā hāsīmī māxtīra: Hashim’s (daughter) is bigger

(ii) with adjectives,

Sur. 517 max yē xwārē: in front of the lower one
 530 gōriā yē dī: the other one’s turn

Ak. 534 ava yēt xōsīn, yēt naxōs dē l dā hēn: these are the
   pleasant things, the unpleasant ones will come later
 562 yē dwē . . . yē sēyē: the second . . . third one
 596 šinkēt wān t xīrāb bīn: their wives are bad ones
 622 gōta yē fālā: said to the Christian fellow

Am. 722 hačīka yē dīa: as for the other one
 705 mīšk t mišā bōn: mice were numerous
 713 yā garm bō: it was (a) warm (one)

(iii) qualifier separated from qualified,

Ak. — lēvā min yā xārē: my lower lip
 685 wakīlē xō yē ‘ām: his own general agent
 697 kūrē wē awwil (*wē yē awwil): her first son

Gul. 751 bīrāēt wē yēt dīka: his other brothers
 752 mī kičā xō yā dāē, yā māzin: I have given him my
       eldest daughter

[contrast,

Zx. — min kičā xō yā māzin yē dāē: ditto]

Zx. — bīrāyak min yē maṣṭīn sē vē: a brother of mine older
     than this one

ADJECTIVES

§ 267. (a) All adjectives, except when used substantively, are inflexible. Attributive adjectives normally follow the noun they qualify with the Izafe (§ 263 (b)). An attributive adjective separated
from the noun it qualifies is normally preceded by the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266 (c) (iii)).

(b) In Am., Zx. a noun qualifying another, be it in genitive relation or in apposition to the qualified noun, may appear in the form of a 'transient' attributive adjective with the suffix -ê. Reliable examples are, however, rare.

Am. — mēšā hingōnē: honey bee [contrast
Ak. — mēšā hingōnī: honey bee (hingōn M.)]
Am. 719 dargahê zēbārē: the Zebar Gate
Zx. — tarmē nihē: the Great Bear (lit. 'Noah's body')
776 dārakē banōkē: a terebinth tree (banōkē)
777 jōā hāzim bagē: the Hazim Beg channel [contrast
— jōā bagī: the Beg's channel (bag M.)]
787 litwā silēmānīē: in Suleimaniye province

Comparison

§ 268. (a) The morpheme Sur., Ak. -tīr, Am., &c., -tīr (i.e. all dialects [-t'īr]) added to the simple adjectival form yields the comparative adjective. This behaves exactly as a positive adjective. The following irregular comparatives occur:

Ak. — māz/stīr 'bigger' < māzin 'big'
Zx., &c. maštīr < mazīn
Ak. — ētēr 'better' : bāś 'good'

(b) The morpheme -ê added to the comparative adjective forms a superlative adjective (v. also § 274 (a)). This also follows the qualified noun with the Izafe, like a positive adjective, e.g.

Ak. 533 birāē māztīrē: the eldest brother
598 birāē gīčatīrē: the younger brother (of two)

Note. In Rwn. har yields a type of superlative with a following adjective to which it is joined by the Secondary Izafe (cf. § 190 (c)), e.g.

Rwn. — dawlatā hara dēmōkrāṭī: the most democratic state
— zār . . . ē harī jūlāt: the most daring child

Certain adjectives

§ 269. (a) Adjectives of the following categories immediately preceed the noun they qualify:
(i) the demonstrative adjectives av, aw (§ 270),
(ii) cardinal numbers (§ 273),
(iii) the following interrogative and indefinite adjectives,

či, Sur. či ‘what, whatever’
Ak. ču, Am. či (KK lō, BX 52 tu) ‘any’
čand ‘some, how much’
filān ‘such-and-such’
galak ‘many’
hamō, hamē, Sur. hama, hamū ‘all’
(av)hinda ‘so much’
har ‘whatever’
Ak. kē, Am., &c., kē ‘what, which’ (Obl. also kē, perhaps
influenced by the equivalent pronoun, § 278 (a))

but not

dā(ka) ‘other’
Ak. wa(tw), Zx. waṣā ‘such’

(b) Examples. Interrogative and indefinite adjectives:

Sur. 510  əz hama fōzhē . . . akiīrin: every day I buy . . .
512  či šīw lē nāya: what supper has been cooked
Ak. 542  ču dāngā naka: make no noises
596  čand daf‘ā żinā min čō: how many times did my
wife go?
589  kūfē filān kasi: the son of such-and-such person
—  galak mirōv hātin: many men came
550  hamō sālē: every year
597  l hinda ganimay: with so much wheat (v. § 258 (c))
578  har kasakē xānīn bit: whatever person be treacherous
607  aw kī faqira: which poor man is that?
593  l kī mamlakati: in what country
596  t zamānē kī hākimidā) in the time of what ruler
582  l zamānē kē hākimī
583  l kē maḥalē: in which quarter?

Am. 719  či mināra . . . nīnin: there are no minarets
710  či tiśi nāvōnā nābōn: there was nothing inside them
711A  čand xalē baydā: so many people of Baghdad
706A  hamē mirk raśīn: all the mice fled
725  har kas . . . naśētin: whatever person cannot . . .
711  kē dirkē: from what place?
Demonstrative adjectives

§ 270. (a) All dialects Ak.–Zx. have two inflecting demonstrative adjectives which precede the noun they qualify, viz. aw ‘this’, aw ‘that’.

A noun qualified by Ak., &c., aw, but not aw, is normally followed by the defining suffix -a (§ 258 (c)). In Sur. there is some evidence of the distinction between aw ... -a ‘this’ and aw ... ‘that’; e.g.

Sur. 506 aw ganim-in kēla: we took that wheat
      526 aw fēra: this trick

The occurrence of the suffix -a with nouns qualified by av in the Oblique cases varies according to the dialect. Thus the following combinations are attested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dir. Sg. &amp; Pl.</td>
<td>aw ... -a</td>
<td>av ... -a</td>
<td>av ... -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl. Sg. M.</td>
<td>av ... a[y]</td>
<td>vē ... a[y]</td>
<td>(a)vē ... [ī]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. F.</td>
<td>awē ... [ē]</td>
<td>(a)vē ... [ē]</td>
<td>vē ... -a Am.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. M. &amp; F.</td>
<td>va(n) ... [ā]</td>
<td>vā ... [ā]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘that’</th>
<th>All dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dir. Sg. &amp; Pl.</td>
<td>aw ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl. Sg. M.</td>
<td>(a)wī ... [ī]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. F.</td>
<td>wē ... [ē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. M. &amp; F.</td>
<td>(a)wā(n) ... [ā]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. KK §§ 95 ff. ‘definite article’ avō, avō, &c.

2 A Direct Plural ending -oma in conjunction with aw was said to exist in Ak., Am., but not generally heard, e.g.

Ak. — av kitēbana: these books
Am. — av tiğğāna: these things

Cf. Bar. 728 av kalasayna: these Helweis (people of Helwe)

3 i.e. no M. Sg. Obl. form of the adjective aw was attested in Sur. This may have been fortuitous. In the Gul. texts the Dir. form is often used for the Obl., e.g.

Gul. 731 aw xezūle biıkā: to kill that gazelle
      750 bē mâlū aw kāfrī: for the house of that monster
      but 750 l wī mīlē wē: in that shoulder of his
where the forms in [square brackets] represent the appropriate nominal inflexion.

From this it is possible to deduce the following basic paradigm for the adjective alone:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'this'</th>
<th>'that'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>$av \ldots -a$</td>
<td>$aw$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>$(a)\nu\ldots -a$</td>
<td>$(a)\nu\nu$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. F.</td>
<td>$(a)\nu\nu\ldots -a$</td>
<td>$(a)\nu\nu\nu$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. M. &amp; F.</td>
<td>$(a)\nu\nu\nu(n)\ldots -a$</td>
<td>$(a)\nu\nu\nu(n)$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fuller Obl. forms $av\nu$, &c., appear mainly following a pause.

(b) Examples:

(i) $av$, &c.

Ak. 547 $av\ m\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\n
KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

§ 270-1

Ak. —  kā aw kiteb: where are those books?
571 aw širikê ma: that partner of ours (širik M./F.)
539 hâkimê wê û jêy: ruler of that place (jê M.)
544 awi mîrû çê kir: what did that man do? (mîrov M.)
587 çê bô wê mahalê: went to that quarter (mahala F.)
561 wân dizû ma'yan kir: those thieves decided (diz M.)
618 l wâ sî hisâr û fîştê ûharâm: than those thirty thousand illicit rupees

Am. 706 aw mîrov: those men
706 xalkê wî gundî: people of that village (gund M.)
706A wê dirêkê: in that place (dirêk F.)
709 awû tîfarê dit: those merchants saw (tîfar M.)
710 gâzî kîra wê mîrovâ: he called to those men

§ 271. (a) All dialects have a further, inflexible, demonstrative adjective, Sur. hê, Ak.-Zx. ha(nê), Bar. hana (KK § 120 hân, BX 45 hâ, Xûlîdî, s.v. awohê, hênê) ‘yonder, here’. It either follows the noun or pronoun it qualifies with the Izafe, or may appear independently with the Demonstrative Izafe, e.g.

Ak. — l ûdê hanê: in that room (yonder) (ûda F.)
546 a lâli binadâr rê hanê: to that tree-trunk (binadîr F.)
572 qurbânê faqîrê hanê: the sacrifice of that beggar (faqîr M.)
549 yê hanê cêlaka: yonder (thing) is a cow (cêl F.)
551 yê’ hanê rivîaka: see! yonder is a fox (rivî M.)

It frequently appears in conjunction with either of the inflecting demonstrative adjectives (§ 270), e.g.

Ak. 548 av tâh hanê: this (here) bough (tê M.)
Bar. 726 sarê wê skafê hana: above that cave yonder (skafî F.)
Zx. 773 av þûrê hanê: this (here) bridge (þûr F.)

(b) With this adjective the forms wê, wêa, wêt of the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266 (b)) commonly occur, forming in effect a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

Ak., Am. — wê hanê čiya: what is yonder thing?
— wêt hanê čina: what are those?
Am. 719 nûvakê wê hanê fîdana: in the middle of that (place) there are roads
Gul. — wêt ha yêt minin: those are mine

1 yê [je:]? with ‘emphatic’ lengthening of the vowel and glottal stop.

168
Cardinal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yēk</td>
<td>yak, (y)ēk</td>
<td>ēk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dū</td>
<td>dō</td>
<td></td>
<td>dū</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>sē</td>
<td>sē</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ċär</td>
<td>ċär</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pēn$j$</td>
<td>pên$j$</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ši</td>
<td>ši</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>haft</td>
<td>haft</td>
<td>haft</td>
<td>haft [sic]</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>haft</td>
<td>haft</td>
<td>haft</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>na(h)</td>
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<td>da(h)</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
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<td>dwān$za$da</td>
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<td>sē$za$da</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ċār$da$</td>
<td>ċār$da$</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
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<td>sān$za$da</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>hav$da$da</td>
<td>hav$da$da</td>
<td>hav$da$da [sic]</td>
<td>hav$da$da [sic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>hav$za$da</td>
<td>hav$za$da</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>bīst</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>sī</td>
<td>sī(h)</td>
<td>sīh</td>
<td>sī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>cīl</td>
<td>cīl</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>pēn$j$a</td>
<td>pēn$j$a</td>
<td>pēn$j$a</td>
<td>pēn$j$í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>lēst</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>haftē</td>
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<td>haftē</td>
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<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>nōt</td>
<td>nōt</td>
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<td>nōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>sad</td>
<td>sad</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>hisvār</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hazvār</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Sur., Ak., Shn. p, t, k always aspirated, Am.–Zx. p, t, k unaspirated.

Sur., Shn. ō, ū [o; u;], Ak.–Zx. ō, ū [u; y;].

² = signifies 'the same form as that noted to the left'.

§ 273. (a) Cardinal numbers immediately precede the noun they qualify (v. § 269).

A cardinal used substantively, or a noun qualified by a cardinal number, takes the Plural Obl. ending -ō(n) (§ 261 (b)) when appropriate, e.g.

Direct

Ak. 545 āva sē čār ṭōż-a: this is three or four days

598 sē čār dirham habiin: if there be three or four dirhams

Am. 705 sē mirōv ṭā wasṭyān: three men were standing
§§ 273-4

KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

Oblique

Sur. 510 az dē dūā ārama tū: I shall give thee two
Ak. 565 sēā piştīt xō dā girtin: three put down their loads

(b) With certain numbers (generally ‘round’ numbers—tens, hundreds, &c.) the qualified noun may take the ending -ē, giving the sense of ‘about . . .’; e.g.

Ak. 583 amrē ve gaštta šad ā čil sāli: his age has reached about 140 years

Ordinal

§ 274. (a) Ordinal numbers are formed from the cardinals by the addition of the morpheme -ē (cf. Rdz. -am-ē § 195 (b), also § 268 (b)), e.g.

Ak., &c., čārē ‘fourth’, pēnfē ‘fifth’, nōfē ‘ninetieth’

The final a of the numbers 11–19 is absorbed by the ending -ē, thus:

sēxē ‘thirteenth’, haşdē ‘eighteenth’

Note the following irregular forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>haουwil</td>
<td>awwil(l)</td>
<td>awwil</td>
<td>awwil</td>
<td>'awwil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>dwe</td>
<td>dwe</td>
<td>dē</td>
<td>dē</td>
<td>dē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>sēyē</td>
<td>sēyē</td>
<td>sēē</td>
<td>sēē</td>
<td>sēē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30th</td>
<td>sēē</td>
<td>sēē</td>
<td>sēē</td>
<td>sēē</td>
<td>sēē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50th</td>
<td>pēnfakē</td>
<td>pēnfakē</td>
<td>pēnfakē</td>
<td>pēnfakē</td>
<td>pēnfē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70th</td>
<td>haftēyē</td>
<td>haftēyē</td>
<td>haftē</td>
<td>haftē</td>
<td>haftē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Ordinals follow the noun they qualify with the Izafe. With large numbers, only the last member takes the ordinal ending, e.g.

Zx. 787 sēlē hisar 6 naḥsad 6 pēnfi 6 dēē: in 1952 (lit. ‘in the 1950-and-second year’)

1 See Cukerman, op. cit. (i), p. 114, where many Rwn. examples.

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§ 275. (a) All dialects present a system of six personal pronouns, each with Direct and Oblique case forms. In all but Sur., however, the pronoun of the 3rd person Sg. and Pl. is formally identical with the remote demonstrative pronoun and is described as such, § 277.

   Suffix forms occur only in Sur. They are:
   
   Sg. -im, -it, -i; Pl. -in [sic], -u, -yân (cf. § 197 (a))

   The independent forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>az</td>
<td>az(1)</td>
<td>az(1)</td>
<td>az</td>
<td>az</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>atū</td>
<td>(a)tō</td>
<td>tō</td>
<td>tō</td>
<td>tū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>amē(4)</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>angō</td>
<td>hu/ing</td>
<td>hing</td>
<td>hūn</td>
<td>hūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aw(ān)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>(a)min</td>
<td>(a)min</td>
<td>mi(n)</td>
<td>mi(n)</td>
<td>min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(a)tū</td>
<td>(a)ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(a)wē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>(a)ma</td>
<td>(a)ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(a)ngō</td>
<td>(hu/i)ngō</td>
<td>(hi)nga,</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wā [sic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Notes:

   (1) See § 272, fn. 1, on the realization of t and ə, ū.
   (2) Cf. KK § 118, BX 24, Dir. az, tu (KK tō), am, hūn (BX hōn), Obl. min, ta, ma, wa.
   (3) In conjunction with the adverbial suffix Ak. -tē, and Am., &c., ū (§ 305 (b)) the 1st Sg. Direct pronoun appears as Ak. ayī, Am., &c., aēi, e.g.
   Ak. 542 ayī dē ... kam: I too shall do ...
   561 ayī dīsim: I too am a thief
§ 275  KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

Ak. 697 ažī dē hēm [sic] I too shall come
Am. 704 ažī dē . . . hēm I too shall come
Gul. 756 ažī čôm: I too went
Zx. 779 ažī dē xo ăvêžim: I too shall throw myself in

(4) Sur. ā being [a:] (v. § 106), and not [a:], the example Sur. 508 amā rūsin ‘we are naked’ may be *ama a rūsin (v. fn. 1, p. 206). But Sur. — amā dē čina ăkrē ‘we are going to Akre’ cannot be so explained.

(b) The personal pronoun forms have the same functions as the corresponding nominal case forms (§ 261 (a)).

The fuller Obl. case forms, amin, &c., appear principally as agent in the Passive construction (§ 296) and generally after a pause. The shorter forms, min, &c., appear in all functions of the oblique case.

(c) Examples:

(i) Direct

Sur. 529 atū la bō atirsêy: why art thou afraid?
522 amay kuştin:\; he has killed us
518 angō nābêtin: do you not see?
Ak. 534 az ahmadé pîrikêma: I am Ahmed (son) of the old woman
539 atō kîy: who art thou?
545 min tō . . . ĭnây:\; I brought thee
561 am dizin: we are thieves
559 hung bō nāhên: why do you not come?
560 hung kîna: who are you?
Am. 703 am dē bayn: we shall take . . .
707 hing şî harin: go ye also!
Bar. 736 az kuřê kêma: whose son am I?
Zx. 781 aw hûn ċê tkin: what is that you are doing?

(ii) Suffix

Sur. 506 hinārdim:\; I sent (him)
529 kapî lē gitr ė lēy bîrî:\; he seized his nose and cut it off
506 kârûnakîn ċê kîr:\; we built a straw-store

1 Agent oblique (in Sur., suffix), v. passive construction, § 296.
(iii) Oblique

Sur. 509 nēriē tū: thy goat
516 bīfirōla ma: sell it to us
519 la bō-ngō: for you

Ak. 533 mālā min: my house
547 amin ... hal girt¹: I picked (it) up
533 mālā ta: thy house
554 atā ... dirō kir¹: thou liedst
556 dē ma xōt: it will eat us
630 ama sānd ... xār¹: we swore an oath
534 birāē hungō: your brother
546 bāpirē-ngō: your ancestor

Am. 710 daynē mi bidanava: repay my loan
710 muqāwilā min ǩ hingga: the bond between me and you

703 kēr ma nāhēt: it is no good to us
704A mā-nga ōlā: is it any affair of yours?

Bar. 735 mi ṣad dinār ... dā¹: I gave 100 dinars
727 min ēlārāt dā hawa: I gave you the signal

Gul. 768 nižda hāt sar ma: a raiding party has come upon us
749 wasātā min l wa bit: let this be my testament to you

Zx. 781 šarma bō wa: it is a shameful thing for you

Shn. — xātirē wā: good-bye to you!

Reflexive

§ 276. (a) The reflexive pronoun has one form, Direct and Oblique, Sur. xō, Ak., Am., Zx. xō, Bar. xō, xwa, Gul. xwa (KK § 122, BX 36 xwa). It refers always to the subject of the verb or, in the Passive construction (§ 296), to the agent, e.g.

Ak. 531 dā batava bō xō: used to take it back for himself
537 hung xanjarēt xō ... dā nēn: put your daggers down
540 xō hižānd: (he) shook himself

Am. 712 fū hāta daynē xō: the Jew came for his debt
Bar. 726 qasrā xwa dā nā: he placed his mansion
748 xūškā xwa bida min: give me your sister

Gul. 750 dastnīvēzhā xwa šūšt: he performed his ablutions

(b) The pronoun xō, &c., appears in conjunction with the

¹ Agent oblique, v. passive construction, § 296.
preposition $p^1$ (BX 32 also $bi$ $xwa$, but KK § 122 has $xwa$-$xwa$) with the intensive sense ‘my-, him-, &c., -self’, e.g.

Ak. 531 $pxōdā$ $dā$ $tā$ $cyā$: he would himself go to the mountains
Am. 725 $hačika$ $xalkē$ $wā$ $gundā$ $pxōya$: as for the people of those villages themselves
Zx. 771 $tnafše$ $zāxō$ $pxōdā$: in the actual (town of) Zakho itself

Demonstrative

§ 277. (a) All dialects Ak.–Zx. have two demonstrative pronouns, proximate and remote, each having Dir. and Obl. case forms.

The proximate pronoun, Ak., &c., $ava$, combines in the Dir. case the forms of the demonstrative adjective $av$ (§ 270) and the defining suffix $-a$ (§ 258 (c)). The remote pronoun $aw$ is formally identical with the corresponding adjective (§ 270) and also serves as 3rd Sg. and Pl. personal pronoun (v. § 275 (a)).

Sur. has the same forms as Arb., &c. (v. § 202 (a)), viz. $awa$ ‘this’, $aw$ ‘that (absent)’, and, with the inflexible demonstrative adjective $he$ (§ 271), $awēhē$ ‘that yonder’.

The forms attested are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sur.</th>
<th>Ak., &amp;c.</th>
<th>Cf. KK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>§§ 120, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>$awā$</td>
<td>$av(a)$</td>
<td>$av$ ‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>$(a)vānā$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. M.</td>
<td>$way$</td>
<td>$(a)vē$</td>
<td>$vē$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>$(a)vē$</td>
<td>$vē$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>$(a)vānā$</td>
<td>$vān$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>$aw(ēhe)$</td>
<td>$aw(a)$</td>
<td>$aw$ ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>$(a)vānā$</td>
<td>$aw$ ‘(he)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. M.</td>
<td>$(a)wē$</td>
<td>$(a)wē$</td>
<td>$wē$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>$wē$</td>
<td>$(a)wē$</td>
<td>$wē$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>$(a)wā(n)$,</td>
<td>$(a)vānā$</td>
<td>$wān$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zx.</td>
<td>$wānā$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^1$ Cf. Arb. $ba$ $xō$, with the same sense. The Ak., &c., form is often indistinguishable from $bē$ $xō > bu$ $xō$ ‘for himself’, &c., v. § 148.
The fuller Oblique forms, avi, &c., appear principally as agent in the Passive construction (§ 296) and generally after a pause.

(b) Examples:

(i) Direct

Sur. — awēhē āiya: what is that?
524 awa āiya: what is this?

Ak. 591 ava yē xirāba: this one is bad
541 aw kēa: who is that?
591 aw biravaː: that one was taken back
535 aw taḥayir mān: they were amazed

Am. 710 ava ma či kirː: what is this we have done?
703 aw ṭā bōn: they got up
710 aw nīnaː: is it not that?

Bar. 726 aw šīː: he too

(ii) Oblique

Sur. — xataː way bū: it was this one’s fault

Ak. 591 vī biravaː: take this one back
558 az . . . vāna nāxōmː I shall not eat these
565 awi či kirː: what did he do?
534 birāet wīː his brothers
549 lālī wēː next to her
535 birāe wāː: their brother
536 gōta wānː: said to them
537 awān gōtēː: they said to him
537 awā či kirː: what did they do?

Am. 709 hing dē . . . awi danav minː you will give me that back
703 kārē wāː: their donkey
706 awā gōlēː: they said to him . . .

Bar. 743 awi širak girlː: he seized a sword
726 bō wānː: for them

Gul. 760 birāe wē hāːː her brother came
749 bābē wān mirː: their father died

Zx. 772 ʂōlē wānā avayaː: this is their work

Interrogative

§ 278. (a) The following interrogative pronouns, and related adverbs, occur (cf. adjectives, § 269 (a) (iii)):

1 Passive construction, v. § 296.
§ 278  KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

čî (čî only in pause, and in the fixed adverb bó čî 'why?'), Oblique (rare) čē; Sur. č(i) 'what?'
čand, Obl. Sur. čandiši, Ak., &c., čandē 'how much?'
čituv (Sur. kū, Gul. ? ku, Am., &c., čawā, KK § 367 čitō, čawā) 'how?'
kī, Obl. kē (Am., &c., kī, kē) 'who?'
kangī (KK § 367 kange) 'when?'
Am. kīšk (KK § 141 kīšān, BX 51 kīšik) 'which?'

Examples:

Sur. — čū xwārd: what did you eat?
      520 kū bū: how was it?
Ak.  537 awā či kir: what did they do?
      560 hung čina: what are you?
      561 atō či tsānē: what dost thou know?
      667 bar čē: for what (reason)?
Ak.  531, Am. 706 p čandē: for how much?
Ak.  595 čituv bó: how was it?
      539 atō kīy: who art thou?
      564 kī kufrē kēya: who is son of whom?
      546 lālē kē: to whom?
      — kangī dē hēt: when will he come?
Am.  711 ma či kir: what have we done?
      706a čiya: what is it?
      — kīna: who are we/you/they?
      — ava kē dā nā: who put this down?
    712 čawā ḫā . . . bibat: how can the Jew take . . . ?
Bar.  736 az kufrē kēma: whose son am I?
Gul.  756 kū le hátin: how have they fared?
Zx.   774 kē kušin: whom should we kill?

(b) The form kā(nē), Am., &c., kā(nē) contains the sense of a verb, 'where is, are . . . ?', e.g.

1 As an indefinite pronoun čî has an obl. pl. form čyā, 
   Ak. 636 čyā az bēzima ta: whatever (things) I may say to you
3 The same form has another, seemingly untranslatable, use, e.g.
   Ak. 639 kā bīzānīs čî haya, čî nīa: let us go and see what there is and what
   there is not
   Am. 717 kēnē dē tō čî l ma hāy am t hāzīrēn: (well), whatever thou wilt do
   to us we are ready

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Ak. 613 kānē aw māsī: where are those fish?
Bar. 747 kā qōdīk: where is the box?
Gul. 764 kā xalē min: where is my uncle?

The following forms are formally Oblique and may take a preposition:

Ak. kērē, kē(n)darē (< kē darē 'what place', cf. § 89 (b)),
Am. kērē (:kē dirkē) 'where?'
Ak. kēva, Zx. kūva 'whither?'

Examples:

Ak. 645 dē kēva ēi: whither art thou going?
Am. 711A zē kīrē: from where, whence?
Zx. 771 zāxō thavita kūva: where does Zakho lie?

Verbs

§ 279. The verb has two simple tenses, namely Present and Past, formed from the present and past stems (§ 280) respectively.

The two simple tenses are modified by various modal affixes and particles (§ 281) to give a system in which distinctions of both tense and mood are made.

The past stem and past Participle (§ 288) combine with tense forms of the substantive verb, the only auxiliary in this function, to form further, compound, tenses.

The full verbal system is summarized at § 292.

Stems

§ 280. The simple tenses are formed from the present and past stems of the verb.

Verbs are normally quoted in the form of the infinitive verbal noun, ending in the morpheme -(i)n (v. § 205 (a)). The form of the past stem is that of the infinitive less this morpheme and is thus regularly predictable from the infinitive, e.g.

čōn 'go' : čō-
ḥātin 'come': hāt-
kīrin 'do': kīr-, &c.

The present stem is not always predictable from the form of the past stem or infinitive, or vice versa. The following empirical
rules may be stated, but exceptions and irregularities are numerous and vary according to the dialect.

(i) When the past stem ends in -ı, or, if the verb is transitive and polysyllabic, in -ā, then the form of the present stem is normally that of the past stem less this vowel, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>lariz-:\lariz-</th>
<th>'tremble'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gawmì-:</td>
<td>gawm-:</td>
<td>'happen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zivīř-:</td>
<td>zivīř-:</td>
<td>'return'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girī-:</td>
<td>girī-:</td>
<td>'weep')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>bīrī-:</td>
<td>'cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kīrī-:</td>
<td>'buy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nāsī-:</td>
<td>'know, recognize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pīrsī-:</td>
<td>'ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>īnā-:</td>
<td>'bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kōlā-:</td>
<td>'carve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šēlā-:</td>
<td>'knead'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) When the past stem ends in -ā and the verb is either intransitive, or transitive and monosyllabic, the present stem normally ends in -ı, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>čeryā-:</th>
<th>čeryē-:</th>
<th>'graze'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diryā-:</td>
<td>diryē-:</td>
<td>'tear'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gařyā-:</td>
<td>gařyē-:</td>
<td>'go about'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rīžyā-:</td>
<td>rīžyē-:</td>
<td>'pour'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zā-:</td>
<td>zē-:</td>
<td>'give birth'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(but note,</td>
<td>čamyā-:</td>
<td>čam-:</td>
<td>'bend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halyā-:</td>
<td>hāl-:</td>
<td>'melt'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīrīyā-:</td>
<td>tīrs-:</td>
<td>'be afraid'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wērā-:</td>
<td>wēr-:</td>
<td>'dare', &amp;c.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>nā-:</th>
<th>nē-, Am. n-:</th>
<th>'put'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>syā-:</td>
<td>šē-:</td>
<td>'be able'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) When the past stem ends in -ō, -ā the present stem is normally identical with it, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>gurō-:</th>
<th>gurō-:</th>
<th>'flay'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dirū-:</td>
<td>dirū-:</td>
<td>'sew; reap'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husū-:</td>
<td>husū-:</td>
<td>'whet'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fū-:</td>
<td>fū-:</td>
<td>'chew'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* All forms are Ak. unless otherwise stated.

178
(but note,
Intransitive  bö- : b- 'be'
cő- : č- 'go')

(iv) When the past stem ends in -t, -d preceded by a voiced consonant the form of the present stem is normally that of the past stem less the dental stop, e.g.

Intransitive  hašimt- : hašim- 'be still'
warimt- : warim- 'swell'

Transitive  girt- : gир- 'hold'
simt- : sim- 'bore, pierce'
(note, xund- : xûn- 'read')

(v) When the past stem ends in -t preceded by a voiceless fricative the present stem frequently ends in the corresponding voiced fricative, e.g.

Intransitive  äxift- : äxiv- 'speak'
buhušt- : buhuš- 'dissolve'
bizift- : biziv- 'move, budge'
ghust- : guhuz- 'move house'
kašt- : kav- 'fall'
Zx. kat- : kav-

(but note, harif- : harif- 'be ruined'
kališt- : kališ- 'split')

Transitive  gast- : gaz- 'bite'
kuršt- : kurš- 'crunch'
kušt- : kuš- 'kill'
xast- : xâz- 'demand'

(but note, álist- : álts- 'lick'
bast- : bast- 'freeze')

(vi) When the vowel preceding the final consonant, or consonant group, of the past stem is -ā- then the corresponding vowel of the present stem is commonly -ē-, e.g.

Transitive  birāšt- : birėš- 'roast'
bizāšt- : bizės- 'move'
bižārt- : bižėr- 'choose; roast'
čānd- : čēn- 'sow'
hinārt- : hinėr- 'send'
kalāšt- : kalėš- 'split'
Causative verbs in -ändîn, however, form the present stem in -în (v. § 298). Note also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stdînd-</th>
<th>stîn-</th>
<th>'take'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>škand-</td>
<td>škin-,</td>
<td>'break'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Am. škên-

A comprehensive list of verbs, with their present stems, is given in Appendix II. The more common 'irregular' verbs, i.e. those with unpredictable present stems, are marked with an asterisk.

**Affixes and Particles**

§ 281. (a) Modal affixes

Sur. a- (t- before vowels), Ak. (? Shn.) t- (i.e. [t'-]), Am.-Zx. t-, (KK § 271, BX 149 di-),¹ prefixed to:

- the simple present give the Present Indicative,
- the simple past give the Past Imperfect tense.

b(f)- in all dialects (but v. § 299) prefixed to the simple present gives the Present Subjunctive. b(f)- may also be prefixed to the Imperative.

(b) Modal particles

dê² in all dialects Sur., Ak.-Zx., Shn., employed with the simple present, forms the Future tense. (In KK § 290-1 ê (we), BX 149 dê with the Present Subjunctive form the Future.)

dâ³ in all dialects, employed with the simple present, forms the Present Imperfect.

¹ Traditionally the affix is written d(f)- in general, t- only prevocally. A solitary exception is the text of Huart, op. cit. (p. 158 above), where t(f)- occurs throughout, e.g. *tibâni, tîdâni, tîbêšîn, &c. (cf. fn. 3, p. 197). Concerning the realization of t-, see §§ 154, 159. With ên 'go' particularly the affix is frequently inaudible.

² In Gul., Zx. dê, dâ may be reduced to enclitic ê, d respectively after the personal pronouns 1st Sg. ae, 1st Pl. am, e.g.

Gul. 749 ææ ëmï: I shall go
759 amê ... ëmï: we shall make ...
   — amê ëæë âhêmï: we would have caught up with him (cf. §§ 311 (c), 315)
Zx. 774 amê gërinï: we shall seize
779 ëæ æxò hûêêïmï: I shall throw myself

³ dâ is also a conjunction, employed regularly with the Present Subjunctive, 'in order that', &c. (v. § 310 (b)), and a preverb (§ 300 (a)).
(c) Negative affixes

$nd$-1 in all dialects, prefixed to the simple present, forms the negative of the Present Indicative and Future tenses (i.e. the particle $de$, v. (b) above, does not occur in the negative).2

$na$- in all dialects, prefixed to all the remaining tense forms3 (replacing $bi$- in the Present Subjunctive), gives the negative of these forms.

$na$- prefixed to the Imperative (replacing $bi$- where present in the positive) negates it.

**Personal Endings**

§ 282. Each tense distinguishes five persons by characteristic endings. These do not correspond entirely to the personal pronouns (§ 275) in that,

(i) the endings appropriate to the 2nd and 3rd persons plural (in KK, BX, all three persons in the plural) are identical in form, and

(ii) no distinction of gender is made in the endings of the 3rd singular.

There is a characteristic Imperative ending of the 2nd person singular.

**Present Tenses**

§ 283. (a) The following tenses are formed from the present stem:

the Present Indicative and Subjunctive, with the modal affixes $t$-, &c., and $bi$- (§ 281 (a)), negative $nd$- and $na$ (§ 281 (c)) respectively,

the Future and Present Imperfect, with the modal particles $de$ and $da$ respectively (§ 281 (b)).

All these tenses have essentially the following

1 The irregular form $ni$- is employed in this function with the verb $znin$ 'know' (in Sur. also ? with $wadin$ 'be able'). The verbs $nadin$ 'know', $fydn$, Shn. $qarin$ 'be able', $eydn$ 'be necessary' and $wdrdn$ 'dare' take the general negative affix $na$- in these tenses, not $nd$-.

2 There are no recorded examples of a negative of the Present Imperfect tense.
Present Personal Endings:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-'</td>
<td>-'</td>
<td>-'</td>
<td>-'</td>
<td>-'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3 | -i(t), | -it(in),
    | -it(in) | -it | -' | -a |
|   | -i(t'in) | -it-' |
| Pl. 1 | -in | -in | -in | -in | -in |
| 2, 3 | -in | -in | -in | -in | -in |

In conjunction with different stem finals these endings undergo regular modifications, given in detail below (b).

(b) Thus, when the present stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. b- 'be', č- 'go'

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>abim</td>
<td>tbim</td>
<td>tbim</td>
<td>tbim</td>
<td>dibim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>abī</td>
<td>tbi</td>
<td>tbī</td>
<td>tbē</td>
<td>dibī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3 | abī(t), | tbīt(in),
    | tbīt | tbīt | diba |
| abī(t'in) | Ak. tēt-' |
| Pl. 1 | abin | tbīn | tbīn | tbīn | dībin |
| 2, 3 | abīn | tbīn | tbīn | tbīn | dībin |

Note. The verb bōn does not normally take the prefix b(i)- in the Present Subjunctive, which appears as bīm, bī, bit(in), &c.

(ii) -ē-, e.g. (h)ē- 'come', Sur. nē- 'put'

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>anēm, tēm</td>
<td>tēm3,4</td>
<td>tēm</td>
<td>tēm</td>
<td>tēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>anēy</td>
<td>tēy</td>
<td>tēy</td>
<td>tē</td>
<td>tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>anē(t)</td>
<td>tēt(in)</td>
<td>tēt</td>
<td>tēt</td>
<td>tēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>anēyn</td>
<td>tēyn</td>
<td>tēyn</td>
<td>tēn [sic]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>anēn</td>
<td>tēn</td>
<td>tēn</td>
<td>tēn</td>
<td>tēn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 i.e. Ak. [-i:t'], Am., Bar. [-i:t].
2 The form -i- occurs, in Ak. only, in unstressed position before the vowel of an enclitic. When the verb is monosyllabic, and with the verb bōn 'be' generally, the full ending -it is preserved, e.g.

Ak. 531 dā čīta čīdy (v. § 142 (b)): he would go to the mountain

but 616 čīta maktabē: (when) he goes to school

3 Note the reduction before an enclitic in:

Ak. 533 dā nīma māl: I (must) put... down at home (nūm, nē-, Am. n-), but 685 ūd nēma xārē: I (shall) sit down (ništīn, nē-, Am. n-)

4 In Am. an intrusive -h-, common in noun forms (e.g. Am. bēhm: Ak. bēn 'breath') may occur in verbal forms also, e.g.

Am. 706 bēhma dēru: (they) should come out

(cf. Nikitine, BSOS, 111. 89, *bihēta ēra: he should come hither)
Sūrāl, Akre, etc., Dialects  §§ 283-4

(iii) -a-, e.g. ka- 'do' (but Zx., &cc., k-, as (i) above)
Sg. 1  akám  tkam  tkim
2  akay  thay  &cc.
3  akat  that(in)
Pl. 1  akayn  thayn
2, 3  akan  tkan

(iv) -ō, -ō-, -u-, e.g. xō-, xō-, xu- 'eat'
Sg. 1  axōm  txōm  txum  txum
2  axōy  txōy  txwē  txwē
3  axōt  txōt  txut  txut
Pl. 1  axōyn  txōyn  txwīn  txwīn
2, 3  axōn  txōn  txun  txun

(v) -ī-, e.g. girī- 'weep', rī- 'defecate'
Sg. 1  ařīm  tgirīm  tgirīm
2  ařī  tgirī  tgirīē
3  ařī(ī)  tgirīt  tgirīt
Pl. 1, 2, 3  ařīn  tgirīn  tgirīn

Substantive Verb

§ 284. (a) Besides the normal tense forms (§ 283 (b) (i)) the substantive verb has an enclitic present tense,

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-im/-ma = -im/-ma</td>
<td>-im/-ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>-ī/-y = -ī/-y = -ī?</td>
<td>-ī/-yē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-a, -t-</td>
<td>-a/-y(a) = -a/-ya, ? - na</td>
<td>-a/-ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in/-yna = -in/? - na</td>
<td>-in/-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in/-na = -in/-nin</td>
<td>-in/-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

where the second forms in each case appear in postvocalic position. The -(y)- of the 3rd Sg. forms is realized after all vowels except i, u.

Examples:

Ak. 589  az-im: I am, it is I
586  az mēvānē ta-ma: I am thy guest
544  dinyā hatāv-a: the weather (lit. 'world') is sunny
549  kayfā ta-ya: it is thy pleasure
560  hung kī-na: who are you?
561  am diz-in: we are thieves
658  am sē-yna: we are three
§285. (a) The Imperative is formed from the present stem by the addition, normally, of the prefix ƀ(f)- (negative ƀā-) and the following endings:

Sg. 2 -a, Pl. 2 -in, when the stem ends in a consonant, -Q -n, ” ”, vowel.

Thus, for example, when the stem ends in:

(i) a consonant,

Ak. 531 ƀīna: bring! (īn-)
558 ƀīnin: bring ye!
Am. — ƀū na: sit down! (n-)
706 ƀū nin: sit ye down!

Imperative

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Am. 705A ƀā wasfyēy-na: they are standing
720 ƀačkā xalkē āmēdē-na āmē kurd-in: as for the people of Amadiye, they are all Kurds
Bar. 736 az kufē kē-ma: whose son am I?
Zx. — am sē čār ...  zobac na-na: we are three or four from our college
771 zākō ... sar mūsildē-na: Zakho is above Mosul
783 sīh tā yē tēdē-nin: there are thirty branches in it

(b) The negative of this form is independent, not enclitic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sur., Ak.</th>
<th>Am.-Zx.</th>
<th>Cf. KK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>nīna</td>
<td>nīnin</td>
<td>nīnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nī &lt; *nīy</td>
<td>nīnī</td>
<td>nīnī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nīa</td>
<td>nīna</td>
<td>nīna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>nīna &lt; *nīyna</td>
<td>nīnin</td>
<td>nīnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>nīna</td>
<td>nīnin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

Ak. 535 dyār nīa: it is not visible
596 ma nīa: we have none (v. § 293 (a))
656 tāgatē madē nī: thou art not within our power
Am. 710 mā ... aw nīna: is it not that?
719 či mināra wakē wē nīnin: there are no minarets like it
Gul. 770 ta šōl ... nīna: it is no affair of thine
Zx. 786 masalā distā ... nīna: there is no question of theft
(ii) -ē-
   Ak. 558 ūa nē: sit down! (nē-)  
      537 dē nēn: put ye down! (nē-)  
      565 dā ninava: put ye down again!

(iii) -a-
   Ak. 532, Am. 711a bika: make! (ka-)  
   Ak. 531 bidava: give back! (da-, -va)

(iv) -ō-, -o-, -u-,  
   Ak. — bixō: eat! (xō-)  
   Gul. — bixwa, Zx. — bixō: eat! (xu-)

(v) -i-  
   Ak. — nagirī: don't cry! (girī-)

(b) The following Imperative forms from irregular stems occur:
   Sur. 505 harū: go!  
   Ak., Am. hara, harin: go! go ye!  
   [nača, načīn: do not go! (č-) are regular]  
   wara, warin: come! come ye!  
   [nahē, Zx. na-ē: do not come! ((h)ē) are regular]

   Gul.  
   navva, nawin: do not come!  
   Am., Gul. 752 hilō: get up!

Past Tenses

§ 286. (a) The Past tense is formed from the past stem and the appropriate personal endings. These are essentially as follows:

Past Personal Endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sur., Ak.—Zx.,</th>
<th>Gul.</th>
<th>Cf. KK,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shn.</td>
<td></td>
<td>BX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-Q</td>
<td>-Q</td>
<td>-Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* From nē-, cf. fn. 3, p. 182.

185
(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hät/î*- 'come'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>hätîm</td>
<td>hâtîm</td>
<td>hâtîm</td>
<td>hâtîm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hâtî</td>
<td>hêtî</td>
<td>hêtî</td>
<td>hêtî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>= Ak.</td>
<td>hât</td>
<td>= Ak.</td>
<td>hât</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>hâtîn</td>
<td>hâtîn</td>
<td>hâtîn</td>
<td>hâtîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>hâtîn</td>
<td>hâtîn</td>
<td>hâtîn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) -û-, -ô-, e.g. Sur. *bû-, Ak. *bô*- 'be', Zx. *ôô*- 'go'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>bûm</td>
<td>bûm</td>
<td>êôm</td>
<td>êôm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bûy</td>
<td>bûy</td>
<td>êôy</td>
<td>êôy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bû</td>
<td>bû</td>
<td>êô</td>
<td>êô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>bûyn</td>
<td>bûyn</td>
<td>êôyn</td>
<td>êôyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>bûn</td>
<td>bûn</td>
<td>êôn</td>
<td>êôn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) -ô-, e.g. *mâ*- 'stay'

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<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>mâm</td>
<td>mâm</td>
<td>mâm</td>
<td>mâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mây</td>
<td>mây</td>
<td>mây</td>
<td>mây</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>= Ak.</td>
<td>mâ</td>
<td>= Ak.</td>
<td>mâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>mâyñ</td>
<td>mâyñ</td>
<td>mâyñ</td>
<td>mâyñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>mâñ</td>
<td>mâñ</td>
<td>mâñ</td>
<td>mâñ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) -î-, e.g. *girî*- 'weep', Zx., Gul. *bî*- 'be'

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>girîm</td>
<td>bîm</td>
<td>bîm</td>
<td>bîm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>= Ak.</td>
<td>bî</td>
<td>= Ak.</td>
<td>bî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>girîn</td>
<td>bîn</td>
<td>bîn</td>
<td>bîn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 287. (a) The Past Imperfect tense is formed from the Past tense by the addition of the prefix *t*-,...

(b) In no Bad. dialect is a Past Conditional tense attested (cf. fn. 1, p. 189).

In KK, BX such a tense is formed from the simple past tense by the addition of the prefix *b(i)-* and the following combinations
of the ‘conditional’ infix -ā- (sometimes repeated as a suffix) and the past personal endings:

Sg. 1     -(ā)m(ā)
2         -āyī
3         -ā
Pl. 1, 2, 3 -(ā)n(ā)

Examples:    KK §§ 285, 299  Celadet BX

Sg. 1     būmā    bi katāmā    bi katām
2         būyāyī  bi katāyī    bi katāyī
3         būyā     bi katā     bi katā
Pl. 1, 2, 3 būnā    bi katānā    bi katān

This tense may further take the modal particles KK ē (wē), BX dē (v. § 281 (b)).

§ 288. (a) The Past Participle is formed from the past stem by the addition of the morpheme -ī, -y, thus:

Ak., &c., ḥāti, čōy, māy, girī (<*girī)
Ak., Am. būn ‘be’ has the irregular participle bī, cf. Zx., &c., bīn ‘be’, participle regularly bī.

(b) The Past Participle may function simply as an adjective, e.g.

Ak. — tē gahištī: intelligent (tē gahištīn ‘understand’)
Zx. 777 awo ēē-kiřī: the artificial one (ēē kirin ‘make’)

See also the compound forms, § 318 (a).

**Compound Tenses**

§ 289. (a) The Perfect Indicative I is formed from the Past Participle and the enclitic (present) forms of the substantive verb (§ 284 (a)) as auxiliary.  

---

1 From Hawar (v. § 160), no. 26, p. 15; (Kamuran) BX 142 differs.

2 In Gul. the only Perfect I forms attested are formed from the past stem and the auxiliary, viz.

Gul. — min dīnyā nadīfā: I have not seen the world
753 ta bō ēi . . . kušīn: why hast thou killed . . .?
765 kasē . . . nagōla min: nobody has said to me (questionably Perfect)

Perfect II forms (v. (c) below) are, however, regularly formed.

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(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. hāt/i- ‘come’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sur., Ak.–Zx.</th>
<th>Cf. KK, BX</th>
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<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>hāthma</td>
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<td>2, 3</td>
<td>hātīna</td>
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(ii) -ū-, -ō-, e.g. ĺū-, ĺō- ‘go’

| Sg.  | ĺōyma, ĺōy, ĺōya |
| Pl.   | ĺōyna          |

(iii) -ā-, e.g. mā- ‘stay’

| Sg.  | māyma, māy, māya |
| Pl.   | māyna           |

(iv) -ī-, e.g. girī- ‘weep’, bī- ‘be’

| Sg.  | girīma, girī, girīa |
| Pl.   | girīna           |
| Zx.   | bīma, bī, bīa    |

(c) In certain contexts (v. § 313) a Perfect Indicative II form occurs, in which the auxiliary verb loses the final vowel -a where it is present in the Perfect I forms. Thus (cf. (b) (i) above),

Ak.–Zx.

| Sg. 1 | hātīm |
| 2    | hātī |
| 3    | hātī Sur. also hātī |

§ 290. (a) The Perfect Subjunctive and Pluperfect tenses are formed from the past stem and the Present Subjunctive and Past tenses respectively of the auxiliary, Ak. bōn, Zx. bīn (§§ 283 (b), 286 (b)).

1 Distinguished from the Past tense form (§ 286 (b)) by the position of the stress. With past stems ending in a vowel no such distinction is possible.

2 The appearance of the 1st Sg. and 1st, 2nd, 3rd Pl. forms with ‘postconsonantal’ forms of the enclitic verb (§ 284 (a)) is deceptive. The loss of the vowel is probably on the analogy of the 3rd Sg. form with its omission of the enclitic (cf. § 309 (c)).

3 The verb bōn, &c., ‘be’ itself has the irregular reduced stem bī- in these tenses; thus Ak. has Perfect Subjunctive bībīm, &c. (not Present Subjunctive, q.v. § 283 (b) (i)), Pluperfect bībōm, &c.
(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. ḥāṭī- ‘come’

Perfect Subjunctive

Sg.  ḥāṭbīm, ḥāṭbī, ḥāṭbit
Pl.  ḥāṭbīn, ḥāṭbin

Pluperfect

Ak., &c., ḥāṭbōm, &c.  Zx. ḥāṭbīm, &c.

(ii) a vowel, e.g. ēō- ‘go’

Perfect Subjunctive

Sg.  ēōbīm, ēōbī, ēōbīt
Pl.  ēōbīn, ēōbin

Pluperfect

Ak., &c., ēōbōm, &c.  Zx. ēōbīm, &c.

§ 291. A Perfect Conditional tense is formed from the Past stem and a particular form of the auxiliary verb Ak. bōn, Zx. bīn,1 with the ‘conditional’ infix -ā-, sometimes repeated, and past endings (§ 286 (a)). In Zx., Gul. the -i- of the 1st Pl., and occasionally of the 2nd Sg., ending is lost. Thus:

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<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
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<td>1  čō-, &amp;c., -bāmā</td>
<td>-bām</td>
<td>-bāmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-bāyā</td>
<td>-bā(y)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-bā</td>
<td>-bā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-bāynā</td>
<td>-bān</td>
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<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>-bānā</td>
<td></td>
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For examples, see § 309.

Summary

§ 292. The tense and mood system may be summarized as follows:

1 The substantive verb has the irregular stem ēi- in this tense also (cf. previous fn.). The form may then be further reduced, thus Perfect Conditional 3rd Sg. bībā > bā, giving the appearance of a Past Conditional tense (formed without an auxiliary verb from the past stem), but see § 287 (b).
§§ 292–3  

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<th>Past Imperfect (§ 287 (a))</th>
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<td><em>t-ká(f)t-im, &amp;c.</em></td>
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<th>Perfect Indicative II (§ 289 (c))</th>
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<td><em>ká(f)t-ū-m, &amp;c.</em></td>
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<tr>
<th>Pluperfect (§ 290)</th>
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<td><em>ká(f)t-būm, &amp;c.</em></td>
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<td><em>ká(f)t-būm, &amp;c.</em></td>
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## Certain Verbs

§ 293. *(a)* The morpheme *ha-* with the verb *bōn, &c.*, yields the defective verb *habōn, &c.*, ‘exist’. Commonly only 3rd person forms are met (KK § 275 has all persons, *hama, hayī, haya, hana, &c.*, but without examples). The negative is provided by the simple forms *nīa, &c.* (§ 284 *(b)*).

In conjunction with the Oblique case forms of nouns and pronouns this verb gives the sense of possession. Thus:

- **Ak., &c.**
  - Present Indicative I
    - ‘there is’  
      - *haya*   
    - ‘there are’  
      - *hana*   
  - Sur. *haya*   
  - *hayna*
Sūrći, Akre, etc., Dialects § 293

'I have' min haya, hana
'we have' ma haya, hana, &c.

Present Subjunctive habit, habin
'if there be' habō, habōn

Past, Past Imperfect Zx. habī, habīn
to be'

Perfect I 'there has been' habīa, habīna

Perfect Conditional 'if there has been' habā (cf. fn. 1, p. 189)

Examples:

Ak. — ta qalam haya: hast thou a pen?
— min šōl habō: I had work (to do)
544 mirōvak haya: there is a man
579 har kasakē māramak habā: whoever might have
(had) a wish
582 hākimēt habīn: there have been rulers (v. § 313 (a))
619 ta šāhid hana: hast thou witnesses?

Am. 703 hākimakī sē kūr habōn: a ruler had three sons

Bar. 727 haft kūr wī habōn: he had seven sons

Gul. 749 sē kūr habīn gal kūčak: (he) had three sons and a
daughter

(b) In affirmative sentences only, the Demonstrative Izafe
appears with the Present Indicative of this verb in a modified form.
The 3rd Sg. form loses the final vowel -a and an analogical 3rd Pl.
is formed (cf. Perfect Indicative II, § 289 (c)), thus:

'there is' y/wē, &c., hay Sur. also hay
'there are' y/wēt hayn but hayna

Examples:

Sur. — šūr-īn wā hay: we have work (to do) (šūr F.)
— sē kūr-im wē hayna: I have three sons

Ak. 580 avē ēzyāy ma' łüm šōlakē hay: that serpent certainly
has some business (šōl F.)
583 mirōvakē hay: there is a man (mirōv M.)
586 min birāyakē dīka yē hay: I have another brother
(birā M.)

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Am. 709 bālītī āgirē hay: Bahlul has a fire (āgir M.)
718 yēt lē hayn sē dargah: there are three gates in it
Bar. 740 ūnkak wā hay: there is (such) a woman (ūnk F.)
Zx. 771 filahēt hayn 6 bīsrīmān ātī yēt hayn¹: there are Christians and there are Moslems also
772 dihī l zāxō wēt hayn¹: there are Dihis (Armenian refugees from Dihé) in Zako

The Demonstrative Izafé is omitted, the Present II appearing alone, in the following construction:

Ak. 638 ěand ... zērēt wē hayn: as many gold ornaments as she has
673 ěand nānkedēt hungō hayn bā'nīn: bring as many bed-clothes as you have

§ 294. The verb vnān ‘be necessary’, Sur. wūstīn, is passive throughout.² It normally appears with the Oblique case form of the agential noun or pronoun, thus:

Sur. amin awē: I want
Ak., &c. min tvēt: I want
min navēt²: I do not want
min tvēd: I wanted

Examples:

Ak. — min tvēt az bičimava: I want to go back
575 ta či tvēt: what dost thou want?
595 birāē min masraf tvēt: my brother needs (money for) expenses
633 ta az navēm: thou dost not want me
643 ama hasp navēn: we do not want horses
644 min tō xoš vyāy: I took a liking to thee
Am. 712 awē tvyā ... ībāt: he wanted to take...
711A mi ī zē hinga tvētin: I want from you ...

¹ These two examples at least suggest that the choice between the forms yē and sē of the Demonstrative Izafé may be determined in part by the nature of the preceding sounds.
² No distinction in meaning between Ak. vnān and Sul., &c., wūstīn ‘want’ (§ 220) is intended, but such forms as Ak. navēm = bēx lē nākam ‘I do not like it’, Zx. vnān tvēn ‘they want’, occurring under the influence of the more common active verbs, indicate in effect the development of a new verb, as yet defective, vnān ‘like, want’.
³ See fn. 1, p. 181.
\$ 295. (a) The forms *tbît* (formally 3rd Sg. Present) and *tvyā* (3rd Sg. Past Imperfect of *vyān*, \$ 294) appear equally in the present with the meaning 'must, ought'. In the past only *tvyā* occurs.

Examples:

Ak. — *či az bēšim tvyā tō ṛāst bikay*: thou must do whatever I say
— *tvyā nōka bičim*: I must go now
— *ān tbît xu bičim ān haṛ načim*: either I should go soon or not at all
— *tvyā duhū čōbāmā*: I should have gone yesterday

(b) The particle *bilā* has the sense of 'let... ', e.g.

Ak. 662 *bilā*: so be it!
567 *bilā hal girin*: let them take it up

See also \$ 310 (c).

\textbf{Passive Construction}

\$ 296. (a) The past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs are conjugated in the same manner as Intransitive verbs, but the forms have Passive sense throughout\(^2\), e.g.

\begin{itemize}
\item Ak. 546 *bāpīrē ma... l baḥaṣṭē hávēta darē*: our ancestor was thrown out of Paradise (*hāvētā* 'throw')
\item 567 *sindōqā škāndī*: the Treasury has been broken (*škāndī* 'break')
\item 572 *aw har sē diz birina lālī*: all three of these thieves were taken before him (*birīn* 'take')
\item 632 *az darmān kirim*: I was treated with medicine
\item Am. 703 *sē paz kuśtin*: three sheep were killed (*kuśtin* 'kill')
\item 705 *gād inā*: food was brought (*inān* 'bring')
\item Zx. 787 *az ta'īn kirim*: I was appointed
\item 781 *az ō aw āśīl kirin*: he and I were reconciled
\end{itemize}

\(^1\) Sur. *tabī... bīṣtīni* 'thou must take... ', apparently for *ābī* under the influence of Ak. *tbīt*. Cf. the Sur. prepositions, \$ 301 (a).

\(^2\) Only in Zx. are there occasional signs of the development of active meaning through assimilation to the Intransitive conjugation, e.g.

Zx. 775 *kičik girīn ō kuśtin*: they seized the girl and killed her
Frequently the Agent, though not expressed, is obvious from the context, e.g.

Ak. 531 ṭoẓakē čō čyāy, ṭayrakē zēr girt: one day he went to the mountains (and by him) a gold bird was caught
532 aw... harṣēk birāēt yēk bōn, gōta xudānē ṭayrī: they were all three brothers (and by them) it was said to the owner of the bird
533 gaštā birāē māxtīrē, milē xo l milē wē dā: ‘she’ reached the eldest brother (and by ‘her’) her shoulder was struck against his shoulder
Am. 706 aw ūā bō, kēlikak īnā dārēa: he got up (and by him) a cat was brought out
Zx. 774 aw hustāē kō aw pīrā hanē āvā kirī...: the mason who (by him) this bridge has been built...

(b) When an Agent is expressed it is in the Oblique case, e.g.

Sur. — kāyaz-ū nīvīsī (angō kāyaz nīvīsī) have you written the letter?
509 zinakē gā bird: the woman took the ox
509 wakī gā-y bird: when she took the ox
Ak. 533 zinakē gōtē¹: the woman said to him
536 aḥmadī zānī: Ahmed knew
538 min akyāē hūngō bir: I have taken your things
539 ḥākimī... gōtē²: the governor said...
539 min tō ‘afō kirī: I have forgiven thee
542 aḥmadī ḥākim t sindोqē nā: Ahmed put the governor into the chest
Am. 705 bālīlī kēlikak kir t barīkā xoḍā: Bahlul put a cat into his pocket
709 awā gōtē³, bilā: they said to him, ‘So be it’

The Oblique case endings may, however, be omitted (§ 26r (a)), e.g.

Sur. 508 mirōwaka gōta zinakē: the man said to the woman
Ak. 534 kābrā das hāvēta zinakē: the fellow reached for the woman
535 kas fābā wā nadā: nobody answered them
537 aḥmad gōtē¹...: Ahmed said to him...
Am. 707 bālīl sē ṭanūrvān girtin: Bahlul took three bakers

¹ -ē, cf. § 302 (b).
² Cf. fn. 1, p. 212.
Passive Periphrasis

§ 297. (a) There is no secondary passive conjugation.¹ The past tenses of all Transitive verbs have passive meaning (§ 296).

(b) To express a passive without reference to an agent recourse may be had to a periphrasis with the verb hātin ‘come’ and the preposition -a (§ 301 (c)) governing the infinitive of the Transitive verb, e.g.

Ak. — watuv dē hēta kuštin: that way he will be killed
— sēvēt xirāb tēna isti’māl kirin bō ‘alafē haywānā: the bad apples are used for animal fodder
569 čand diziē . . . hātīna kirin: as many thefts as have been committed
569 sindōq . . . yā hātīa škāndin: the Treasury has been broken (into) (cf. § 296 (a))
Zx. 773 wē hāṭī (? for hāṭia) āvā kirin: has been built

Causative Conjugation

§ 298. The Causative of an Intransitive verb is expressed by a secondary conjugation. The Causative verb is conjugated regularly as a transitive verb.

The addition of the morpheme -in- to the present stem of the Intransitive verb yields the present stem of the Causative verb. If the present stem of the Intransitive verb ends in -(y)e- (v. § 322 (a)) this is displaced by the causative morpheme.

The causative past stem is formed by the substitution of the morpheme -ānd- for the -in- of the present stem, thus:

Ak. kalīn, kal- ‘boil’ > kalīn-, kalānd-, kalāndin ‘boil’
dišyān, dišyē- ‘tear’ > dišīn-, dišānd-, dišāndin ‘tear’
girīn, girī- ‘weep’ > girīn², girīyānd-, girīyāndin ‘make weep’

Compound Verbs

§ 299. A simple verb may combine with either a preverb (§ 300) or a nominal form to yield a compound verb. These do not differ

¹ The solitary -rē- passive (cf. § 231) kirē- ‘be done’ appears in Ak., e.g.

Ak. — watuvīt talafūs tkirēt: it is pronounced so also
569 ma ēu pē nākirēt: nothing can be done by us

² girīn- < *girī-in-.
in form from simple verbs beyond the fact that the modal affix b(i)- (§ 281 (a)) does not normally appear with them, e.g.

Ak. 584 šyā . . . lē war girīt: he could take . . . from him (war girīn)
584 ūn nē: sit down! (ūn ništīn)
Am. 704 šaš ūndōgā čē ka: make six chests! (čē kirīn)
but, with b(i)-,
Gul. 758 xudān bikē: that thou mayest nourish him ((p) xudān kirīn)

The meaning of compound verbs is a matter of lexicon.

PARTICLES

Preverbs

§ 300. There are two types of preverb:

(a) The adverbs dā, dar, hal (Sur. har, Zx., Gul. hil), ū, ū, va (Sur. va), war and the suffix -(a)va (Sur. -(a)va, Zx., Gul., -va). These preverbs, including va, generally modify the meaning of the simple verb unpredictably, e.g.

Ak. kirīn : va kirīn : ū kirīn — do : open : lift
xārin : va xārin — eat : drink

The main function of the suffix -(a)va, &c., is to give the sense of repetition or reversion. It then appears alone, e.g.

Ak. 531 dā batava bō xō: he used to take it back for himself
531 bidava: give it back!
538 ḥātā zivūrīnava saḥ thanē . . . : by the time they returned they saw (that . . .)
581 yē vēk ḥātava: it has come together again
Am. 703 kārē xō dīfava l bin qēlēchak: they saw their donkey again under a nut-shell
Gul. 769, Zx. 775 zivūrīnva: they returned
Zx. 786 dē bīnitīnva: he will see it again

In Ak. it may also appear reduplicating the preverb va, e.g.

Ak. 533 va gārīvāva: he returned
534 darīk bō va kirava: opened the door for him
562 dē va binava: (doors) will open
605 wāxtē . . . va xundava gāx kir: when he read it he called
In Ak., Am., when a verb with this suffix immediately precedes either a complementary adverb or an indirect object, the suffix appears as -(a)v (v. § 172 (a)), e.g.

Ak. 581 hātav xārē: he came down again
581 ēzyā čòv žōr: the serpent went back inside
582 ava mārī dānav min: the snake gave me these
665 hātīnav mazalkā kuṟakaydā: they came back into the boy's room
666 čōnav bar dikan: they went back to the shop
Am. 708 dā bēhnav baiyādā: in order to return to Baghdad
709 dē . . . aṣī danav min: you will give that back to me
710 čōv mālā xō: went back to his house

(b) The 'absolute' forms of the simple prepositions, pē, &c., and their derivatives, pēva, pēk, &c. (§ 302 (c)).

Pre- and Postpositions

§ 301. (a) The simple prepositions immediately precede the nominal form they qualify, which is normally in the Oblique case. The following are attested:

l1 (Sur. la (cf. § 236), KK, BX lī) 'at, from'2
p1 (Sur. pa, KK, BX bi) 'to'
t3 (Sur. ta, KK, BX di) 'at'
v 'to'
ś Am.-Zx. only (KK, BX śī) 'from'
a 'to'
bō (Sur. la bō, KK, BX bōnā) 'for' (v. also §§ 148, 276 (b))
ḥatā (Am., &c., ḫātā) 'till'
bē 'without'
gal, tgal, lgal (Sur. tagar, BX dignal) 'with'
wakō, hakō (Am., &c., wakē) 'like'

(b) Both alone and in conjunction with the simple prepositions the following enclitic 'postpositions' occur:

-dā (BX da), -rā (BX ra), -va (Sur. -awa, KK -vā, BX va)

1 Concerning the realization of these minimal forms, see §§ 154, 159.
2 English equivalents of the prepositions are given only as approximate labels.
3 i.e. Ak. [p', t'], Am., &c. [p, t]. The traditional spelling is bi, di, with KK, BX. Huwart's text (op. cit., p. 158 above), however, agrees with these our dialects, having ṣ n p̣ i, ṭ i throughout (cf. fn. 1, p. 180).
Thus, in combination,

$p\ldots-va$ ‘with’, $t\ldots-dâ$ ‘in’, $t\ldots-fâ$ ‘into’, &c.

Note Ak. *l bar-va-fâ* ‘from in front’, with two postpositions.

(c) *a* only occurs in conjunction with a verb and is realized as an enclitic, e.g.

Ak. 544 *hât-a garmîânê*: came to the low country
549 *êòn-a làû çêlê*: they went to the cow
Am. 713 *êôn-a çyây*: we went to the mountain(s)

Following a verbal form ending in *a*, *â*, *ô* the preposition *a* is not realized, e.g.

Ak. 545 *ço barakâ kabûry*: it went in front of the fellow
(cf. 547 *zeviûl-a barakû mâin*: it went back in front of me)
581 *ço ûr ô hât-a darê*: went inside and came out
Am. 704 *ço nik nâyrt*: went to a carpenter
(cf. 709 *aw êôn-a nik*: they went to (him))

*a* may also be followed by *t\ldots-dâ* with the sense ‘into’, e.g.

Ak. 544 *kira t fandikêdä*: he put it into the bag
695 *xo hûvêta t bûrêdä*: she threw herself into the well
Am. 704 *kirina t zindogdä*: he put them into the boxes
Zx. 773 *waxle ko têta t xaxôdä*: when it comes into Zakho
779 *xo bûvêma t âvedä*: (if) I throw myself into the water

but is not, apparently, realized after a final *i* in this context, e.g.

Zx. 779 *tô tîy xo bûvêti t âvedä*: can you throw yourself into the water?
781 *min xo âveldi t âvedä*: I have thrown myself into the water

(d) An Oblique nominal form, ungoverned by a preposition, may nevertheless have dative, ablative, locative, &c., sense, e.g.

Ak. 540 *har biskakê zangilak pêva kir*: attached a bell to each curl
550 *ax golik bôm mâlê xudânê xo*: I was a calf in my master’s house
565 *hindak davê xo nâm*: he put some into his mouth
Am. 705 *dâ nâm ‘ardakâ*: they camped at a place
718 *amêl\ldots tâxîvîn âmêditê*: we are talking in Amadiye
Zx. 784 *êbîn makahê*: they had been to Mecca

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§ 302. (a) Corresponding to the simple prepositions l, p, t, v, ṣ; a there are the following ‘absolute’ forms: lē, pē, tē, vē, ṣē1; ē.

The correspondence is not always regular, e.g.

Am., Zx. — dā p mirā gahī: thou wouldst have met me
dā vērā gahīn: we would have met him
bō and tgal, &c., are also employed absolutely.

(b) The absolute forms of the prepositions, with the exception of ē, stand independently. They do not govern another form, but give the sense of a 3rd person pronoun governed by the preposition, e.g.

Ak. 541 gardanā xo pē āsā kam: that I may take leave of them (lit. ‘free my neck from them’)
568 sē mirōvēt lē: there are three men in it
584 kābrā tgal ēō: the fellow went with him
Am. 703 gōst ūrā bō: the meat rose out of it
714 am ... ūrā tirsyāyn: we were afraid of them
ē, like a (§ 301 (c)), is always enclitic following a verb, e.g.

Ak. 536 saḥ that-ē: he looks at them
547 hindak āx min bō kir-ē: I put some earth into it (-ē)
for it (bō)

Am. 712 daynē wī jū dā-ē: gave the Jew’s loan back to him

(c) With the postpositions -dā, -rā, -va the absolute forms pēdā, pēva, tēdā, tērā, &c., are formed.

The absolute forms lēk, pēk, tēk, vēk, ṣēk appear with the meaning of ‘... one another’ and the appropriate preposition (cf. § 237 (c)), e.g.

Ak. 553 lēk ṣūn nābirin: they do not pass by one another
559 am ... pēk hātīn: we have come together
549 vēkō: together (with one another)

(d) The absolute forms of the simple prepositions, pē, &c., and their derivatives, pēva, pēk, &c., may function as preverbs (v. § 300 (b)).

The simple prepositions are generally ‘separable’ (v. § 237 (d)), e.g.

Ak. 584 1 dargāy dā: he knocked at the door (lī/lē dān)

2 Although ṣ hardly occurs as a preposition in Ak., ṣē appears as a preverb, e.g. ṣē kirin ‘pluck (fruit)’.
KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

The derivatives are generally 'inseparable', e.g.

Ak. 540 har biskakê zangilak pêva kir: attached a bell to each curl (pêva kirîn)

In Gul., Zx. certain inseparable preverbs and adverbs have united with the verbal stem and are preceded by the modal prefixes, &c., e.g.

Gul. — az êvê nûlênim: I shall not cook supper
— bilêna: cook (it)! (lênân: Ak. lê nân)

Gul., Zx. daynân: to put down (: Ak. dû nân)
Zx. 774 nûrêbit hôzê: it will not be built thus (çêbîn: Ak. çê bûn)

§ 303. The simple prepositions form compound prepositions with nouns, adjectives, and certain adverbs. The prepositions may be omitted and the noun, &c., appear alone with prepositional force. The noun, &c., may be followed by the Generic form of the Izafe (§ 263 (d)).

Examples: Noun

Sur. 505 harû maz mañ: go to (lit. 'before') the sheep
517 la bû maz ye xwêrê cõ: he went in front of the lower one

Ak. — l bin xivênday: under the eaves
548 dê ket-a bin sêbrû min: will come under my shade
570 dê ... nik ta tê birîn: I shall pass by near thee
571 hariêk inân-a bar salbê: all three were brought before the gallows

572 sar taxtê xô tê ništ: sat on his throne
626 pêx darwêšî kaft: he went ahead of the dervish

690 hâvêt-a pişt xô: put her behind himself

Noun + Izafe

Ak. 688 birîn-a barî bûbê xô: he took them before his father
ossipim, pûsî hîngî) after that, afterwards

Am. passim, piştî hîngî)

Adjective

Ak. 647 nêzîkî dax pûnza taşê: for approximately (near to) ten or fifteen days

Am. 714 xibañ kûrg: like (= such as) wolves
Zx. 785 halâ nêzîk fêxê: till near the gardens

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Adverb

Ak. — darva-y māl: outside the house
Zx. 773 ḅ darvay zāxō: outside Zakho

§ 304. Various pre- and postpositions appear with formally plural nouns with the connotation of ‘manner’, e.g.

Ak. — mir tirsēt xōdā: he died of fright (lit. ‘in his own fears’)
— mir tirsādā: he died of fright
Gul. — dīlē min tēsit ḅ bīrsā: my stomach aches with hunger
Zx. — dāvē min ḫīsh ḅī ḅ tēhnā: my mouth is dry from thirst
784 ḅ tēhnā ḫalbīn hamī: they had all collapsed from thirst

Adverbs

§ 305. (a) A nominal form, Sg. or Pl., formally Oblique, may have adverbial sense (v. § 301 (d)), e.g.

Ak. 531 hamō ṭōṣē: every day, daily
553 hindā ṭōṣā: for some days
545 sē čār gūnāyā hāt: he came for three or four stages
548 hāvinē, wāxtē garmē: in summer, in the time of heat
573 vē halē: at this time, then
631 čōma bilādā muʾāmilē: I went to (many) countries trading

Am. 703 naqlakē: once (upon a time)
705 qōnāyakē čōn: they went for one stage
Gul. 749 način nēcīrē: do not go hunting!

(b) The suffix -(ḵ)š ‘also, even’ occurs in Ak. and Sur. only, e.g.

Sur. 506 siwānūšim girt: I took a shepherd also
Ak. 555 ta davīš lē dirūbō: hadst thou sewn the mouth of it too?
561 awīš disa: he too is a thief
569 wānīš gōtē: they too said to him ...

The form -š appears following a vowel, e.g.

Sur. 506 hingīšīn ḫar āvētē: then too we winnowed it
514 hindak pāray māsawa¹: he had a little money left too
Ak. 545 avaš: this also
550 nōkaš: now also
657 wē ṭōṣēš: that day also
Ak. 700 malāyš ‘the mullah too’, is exceptional.

¹ Cf. § 240 (c), end.
KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

In other dialects the independent forms Am. ḥi, Gul., Zx. ḥi/i occur with the same meaning, e.g.

Am. 703A ḥākimī ḥi karak habō: the governor had an ass too
Gul. 752 aw ḥi kir t xānīva: put him in the house too
Zx. 782 gundi ḥi dē čin: the villagers also will go
790 mi ḥi zabānī . . . diṭ: I had trouble too

With the 1st person pronoun as the following contractions occur, Ak. ayi, Am., Zx. aṣṭ (v. § 275 (a), Note 3).

Preceding ḥi the adjective di ‘other’ appears as di, e.g.
Am. 706A galakēt di ḥi: many others also
719 dargahē di ḥi: the other gate too
Zx. 785 hindā trumpēlēt di ḥi: some other cars also

Contrast di used substantively in

Bar. 732 ʂad di ḥi: a hundred others also

(c) The suffix -ănī with nouns has the sense ‘in the manner of . . .’, e.g.

Sur. 529 xōtsxānī ċōč: he went to it gently
Ak. — ‘arabhānī swār bō: he rode (the donkey) side-saddle
(lit. ‘Arab-wise’)
543 ʂānī ṭawāi: he barked like a dog (ṣa)
543 karānī xūrū: he brayed like an ass

B. SYNTAX

Concord

§ 306. (a) Since nouns in the Direct case are formally identical in the Sg. and Pl. (§§ 258, 260 (b)) only the verbal personal ending indicates the number, thus:

Ak. — mirōu ċō/tōn: the man/men went
611 aw bītāk ḥōn: those children went
Am. 706 mišk dar kaftin: the mice came out

The concord between personal pronoun and verb is straightforward. The following few examples are obvious anacolutha:

Ak. 560 hung . . . bibēša (for *bibēšin): say (ye)!
562 az dē šēm xō lē xilās kayn: *I can free us from it
(b) A noun marked by a plural Izafe form (§ 264 (a)) normally
takes a plural verb, e.g.

Ak. 565 sēā pištēt xo dā girtin: three put down their loads
566 harsēkā pištēt xō xāli kirinavā: all three emptied
their loads again
but, 566 ma pištēt xo yēt dirust kirī: we have made up our loads

(c) Two or more nouns joined by the conjunction ḑ, w ‘and’, or
the preposition tgal, &c., ‘with’, constitute a plural subject and
take a plural verb, e.g.

Ak. 546 ču hēva w hōva nīna: there is no shilly-shallying
556 ūvēa tgal qurbaṣayakī bōna širīk: a fox and (lit.
‘with’) a badger became companions
Am. 709 bāyak ḑ bārān hāfīn: a wind and rain came
Gul. 751 šīr ḑ maṭalēt xwa girē dān: he girt on his sword and
shield
Zx. 781 az ḑ aw āšt kirīn: he and I were reconciled

Relative and Subordinate Clauses

§ 307. (a) In all dialects Ak.–Zx. the inflexible particle kō serves
to introduce subordinate clauses, e.g.

Ak. 538 saḥ thanē kō tištē wān yē birī: they see that their
things have been taken
548 dē ūa bit kō dē čit: he will get up to go
587 čit kō saṭdē ūa ništīa: he saw that Said was sitting
Am. 708a ūa bōn kō bārēt xo bār kirīn: they got up (so that)
they loaded up their loads
Zx. 787 mi natsānī . . . kō faḍrīsāt . . . p kūrdīa: I did not
know that the teaching was in Kurdish

(b) A relative clause is normally joined to its antecedent by
the appropriate form of the Izafe (§ 263), e.g.

Ak. 578 har kasakē xāin bit: whatever person be treacherous
579 har kasakē māramak habā1: whatever person might
have (had) a desire . . .
606 aw pārēt . . . ta dāna min: those monies which thou
gavest me
Am. 710 tištē min dāyav hingga: the thing which I gave you
Zx. 774 aw kasē awwili bēt: that person who first comes

1 See § 293 (a).
With the omission of the enclitic substantive verb form described at § 309 (c) the distinction between a relative clause and an adjectival phrase is formally removed, e.g.

Ak. 543 ao hâkimê t sindogêdâ gânî ūawê: that governor (who is) in the chest barked like a dog
Am. 707A ao tišlet binê bahrêdä: those things (which are) at the bottom of the sea

When the relative clause is separated from its antecedent it is introduced by the appropriate form of the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266), e.g.

Ak. 575 azê hâtima wê darsokâ zêrâ, yû ūsubay zû filân kassi inây: I have come for that kerchief (full) of gold which so-and-so brought early this morning
Gul. 757 ao azim yê birâê ta az kuştîm: I am he whom thy brother has killed

(c) Alternatively a relative clause may be introduced by the particle kô, with or without the Izafe, e.g.

Ak. — sar āvâ kô têtit l dirêzâtâ galî: over the river which goes along the valley (āv F.)
535 kâyazak dit kô yû nivîšî . . . : (they) saw a letter (in) which was written . . . (kâyaz F.)
593 ao masalâ kô az bó hâtîm: that question about which I have come (masala F.)
Zx. 774 ao hustîc kô ao firâ hanê āvâ kirê: the mason who built this (here) bridge (hustî M.)

Use of Tenses

§ 308. (a) The Present Indicative has aorist sense, e.g.

Ak. 561 atê čê tzânî: what dost thou know?
562 (akar sa bişawit) ax tê tgahim ao čê tbêzît: (if a dog barks) I understand what it says
Am. 719 tbêna dargahakê dargahê zêbærê: they call one gate the Zebra Gate

The sense of continuity, of a state or action in progress, is given by a construction described in detail at § 309.

1 See § 313.
2 The particle kô may even intrude in the normal Izafe construction (§ 263 (b)), e.g.

Ak. 622 ao wê kô xudênê pîra: he, the owner of the money
(b) Future time is expressed by the simple present tense and the particle dē (§ 281 (b)). This normally comes at the beginning of the sentence or clause, either preceding or following a subject expressed, e.g.

Ak. 539 az dē kīcā xo damē: I shall give him my daughter
541 dē ta kama sindōqēdā: I shall put thee into the chest
545 dē tō p min va (day): wilt thou strike me?
Am. 704 ażī dē gal hinga hēm: I too shall come with you
706 tō dē vi hāywānī firōšī: wilt thou sell this animal?
717 dē tō či l ma kay: whatever thou wilt do to us
Gul. 756 am dē mālā xwa bīn: we shall take our home...

§ 309. (a) The Demonstrative Izafe (frequently reduced to an enclitic vowel, indistinguishable from the Individual Izafe, v. § 266 (b))\(^1\) appears with the Present Indicative tense (§ 283) giving the sense of a state or action in progress, i.e. of a Present Continuous tense, e.g.

Sur — az wē tē gam: I understand
— xawān wā tē: we are sleepy (lit. ‘our sleep is coming’)
(xaw F.)

Ak. — maryamā txōt, azē nāxōm: Miriam is eating, I am not
— dastē minē tēšīt: my hand is aching (dast M.)
— xawā minā tēt: I am sleepy
539 hākimē músilē yē kāyāzā tnivīsēt: the governor of Mosul is (constantly) writing letters (hākim M.)
557 amē čēčikēt xo nanūsīnava\(^2\): (now) we do not recognize our own cubs
633 azā tbīnīm: I (female) can see

Am. 707 čand rōša axē nānī dama hinga: how many days is it that I have (continuously) given you bread?
718 amēt... tāxīvīn: we are talking

Gul. — azē nānī txum: I am eating
Zx. — xawā minē tēt: I am sleepy
777 lōlē xo yē tkīn: they are doing their work
777 amē tbīnīn: we can see
781 ava... wē p min kānitīn: he is laughing at me

Shn. — xawā mi wā tēt: I am sleepy

\(^1\) In the following example the Demonstrative Izafe appears to be replaced by the Secondary Izafe,
Bar. 742 ava kāṣiraki tētin: here is a monster coming (cf. (e) fn. below)
\(^2\) See fn. 1, p. 181.
(b) The same construction occurs with the enclitic present tense form of the Substantive verb (§ 284 (a)) when the predicate is a simple nominal form,¹ e.g.

Ak. 533 axē musāfīr-im: I am (temporarily) a traveller
contrast,

Ak. 561 ayē diz-im: I too am a thief
619 ax bisilmān-im: I am a Moslem

With adjectives the same temporal sense may be given, e.g.

Ak. 548 mār yē ḥaq-a: the snake is in the right
568 cānd malyēn t kēm-in: how many millions are short?
616 dikān yā gapāt-kirī-a²: the shop is shut
Am. 717 am t ĥāsīr-īn: we are ready

The Demonstrative Izafel may, however, merely give the adjective 'substantive' force (v. § 266 (a) (ii)), e.g.

¹ The following examples have unexplained forms, possibly Secondary Izafe out of normal context:

Sur. 508 amā ṭāsin nā bīsin-ynā: we are naked and hungry (v. § 275 (a), Note 4)
520 ḥatā axī sāx-im: as long as I am well (alive)
— axī mafābir-im: I am obliged (to go now)
Shn. — awī niśitā-a: he is asleep
but — aw yā niśitā-a: she is asleep, regularly

² Cukerman, op. cit. (i), p. 139, using texts of varying provenance, describes a similar construction with the Secondary Izafe in place of the Demonstrative. He does not, however, differentiate between the temporal construction, the simple 'substantivized' adjective and the 'phrase introduced by a preposition' ((c) below), though all three types appear in his examples, e.g.

Temporal
axī xarīb-im: I am a stranger
ṣūnika ventyāy-a: (the mare) Sosik is tired

Substantivized
swardâxa zafa šqil bū: Wardak was a very clever woman
quṣra badaw bū: the palace was beautiful

Prepositional
mār na l māl: the Mir is not at home

³ When the adjective is a past participle (§ 288 (b)) this construction may contrast with a verbal one in which no substantive verb is expressed (v. § 313), e.g.

Ak. 587 ḏit ḏō saʿidē ṭū-ništī-a l sar taxtī: he saw that Said was seated on a chair
contrast,

543 ḏit ḥākimē ḏêrē yē ṭū ništī l sar taxtē xō: he saw the governor of Akre (was) sitting on his throne

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Ak. — hakö märi yē xēr-a: he is as crooked as a snake
548 av tāē hanē yē bāš-a bō hinfār: this (here) branch is
a good one for a plough-arm
589 riśinā wē yā ṭaś-a: his beard is a black one
Am. 718 āmēdiē . . . yā ḥisār-kirī-a: Amadiye is walled round

(c) When the predicate of an affirmative sentence or clause is
a phrase introduced by a preposition, or comprises an absolute
preposition alone (§ 302), it is joined to its subject by the Demo-
strative Izafe,¹ whether the sense be aoristic or continuous. The
enclitic present form of the Substantive verb is then omitted,
generally in the 3rd person Sg. and Pl. and optionally in the other
persons, e.g.

Ak. — minē gu lē: I hear (lit. ‘for me the ear (is) to it)
533 mālā minā l filān āddē: my house (is) in such-and-
such street
538 kāyazakā l wē darē: (there is) a letter there
544 mārak yē t nāv bafréddā: (there is) a snake in the snow
568 sē mirōvet lē: (there are) three men in it
572 awēt wē āxistīnēdē: they (are) engaged in this talk
616 āntak yē l barē dikhānēkē: (there is) a bag (lying) in
front of a shop
Am. 718 galak bināyatēt kavnēt lē: (there are) many old
buildings in it
718 āmēdē yē l sarē girakē: Amadiye (is) on a hill
Gul. 768 kūlitik . . . yē t sēnit kā wōdā: (there is) a rissole in
his tray
Zx. — axtē l vē ōdē(-ma): I (am) in this room
 — amē(t) l vē ōdē(-yna): we (are) in this room
777 filbrēt lē-nā: there are Christians in it

When the sentence contains a main verb the Izafe in this con-
struction may also be considered as joining a relative clause (with-
out a verb) to its antecedent (cf. §§ 307 (b), 313 (b)), e.g.

Ak. 543 axt ūkimē t sīndōqēdā sēnē ṭawī: that governor (who
was) in the chest barked like a dog

¹ In the following example the Demonstrative Izafe appears to be replaced
by the Secondary Izafe (cf. fn.1, p. 205).

Bar. 734 axtā ūrikō dastē dolālakidā: (here is) a sword in the hands of a
broker.

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The construction is not affected when the relative clause has a different subject to that of the main sentence, e.g.

Zx. — bāzērē hīčkā minā lē galak dīra: the town, in which my daughter (is), is very far away

In a phrase introduced by waxtē, &c., 'when' the Demonstrative Izafē is omitted (cf. § 313 (b)), e.g.

Ak. 616 waxtē īraq t dastē anglēzīdā: when Iraq (was) in the hands of the British

§ 310. The Present Subjunctive is employed:

(a) in subordinate clauses, whether introduced by a conjunction or not, e.g.

Ak. 556 hīlayakē bīka dā ... xīlās bibīn: make some ruse that we may be saved
557 dē šari kây nhatā gurg bibēzīta ma . . . : we shall fight so that the wolf says to us . . .
561 min nākana širihē xo, gal hundō bēm: won't you make me your companion, that I may come with you?

Am. 703 A rā bōn dā čina āši: they got up to go to the mill
708 kārē xo kir dā bēhnāv baydā: they made their preparations in order to return to Baghdad

(b) with the conjunction dā, with injunctive force, e.g.

Ak. — dā bizānīt namāya: he should know that there is none left
533 dā bičim, jarike xō dā nima māl: let me go and put my water-pot down at home
544 dā namirītin sarmādā: it ought not to (be left to) die of cold
626 dā bičīna māl: let us go home

(c) following tovā, &c., 'must, ought' and bīlā 'let . . .'. (v. § 295 (b), with examples).

(d) following certain verbs, e.g.

Ak. 684 az našēm bēm: I cannot come (vyān)
574 min tvēt . . . paydā bītava: I want it to be found (vyān)
600 az haz kam bizānim: I would like to know (haz kirin)
684 malā nawērā dar kavītin: the mullah durst not go out (wērān)

§ 311. (a) The Present and Past Imperfect tenses (§§ 283 (a), 287 (a)) are practically coextensive, the Present being the more common, in giving the sense of a repeated or habitual action or state in the past, e.g.

Ak. 543 hakō māndī tbō . . . dā gurēl kat: whenever he became tired he would roll it
550 hamō sālē dā šīrī l min xōn: every year they would drink milk from me
595 xinā wē har fīvin tdānē, ahmād har dā girīt: his wife kept abusing him (and) Ahmed wept all the time
Am. 707a harō sipēda yā xū dā rā bīt: he would get up every day at early dawn
Bar. 730 av dā bičūktē xalkī kužītin: he used to beat people's children
Zx. 774 hindī . . . ḍuvā tīkī . . . dā pīr fārak dī kavītin: however much he used to build it up the bridge would always fall down again

(b) The Present Imperfect also gives the sense of an action, &c., about to take place, e.g.

Ak. 545 naxō dā mirī: otherwise thou wast about to die
547 av māra t nāv bafrēdā bō, dā mirīt l sarmā: this snake was in the snow, dying of cold
682 dā ṭā bītīn, . . . tōlā xirāb . . . bikātin: he was going to get up and do something evil
Zx. 780 azā qūqīm . . . av zī dā mī qūtī: I was about to hit him, he too was going to hit me

(c) The Present Imperfect appears in the apodosis of certain conditions (v. § 315) and in Suppositions, even when the condition is not expressed, e.g.

Ak. — xōzī min dītbā, dā tōlā xo lē va kam: I wish I could see him, (were I to do so) I would take my revenge
§ 312. (a) The Past tense is the normal narrative tense, describing a state or action in the past, e.g.

Ak. 547 amin ... hal girt, dā nā jandikēdā ... davē jandikē min dirū ḍ jandik min hāvēta piştā xo: I picked it up, put it in the bag, sewed the mouth of the bag and put it over my shoulder

Am. 704 bālīl čō, kēlīk girīn, kirīna t sindōqādā: Bahlul went, caught some cats and put them into the chests

(b) The Past tense is also employed for recently perfected actions, e.g.

Ak. 536 la'bēt xo min hamō bīr kirinava: I have (just) forgotten all my tricks again

559 am ... pēk hātīn: we have come together

A long completed action, &c., is expressed by the Perfect or Pluperfect tense, e.g.

Ak. 567 ta zānīa čī qawmīa: hast thou learnt what has happened?

582 wa dyāra aw l min ‘adālattir bia: evidently he was more just than I

595 atō bia mēvānē ahmadī: wast thou Ahmed’s guest?

579 awī čī kirbō, ... awī zangilak ... dirist kirbō, xinjīrak vē ēxistbō: what did he do (lit. ‘had he done’)? He made a bell and fixed a chain to it

§ 313 (a) The Perfect Indicative I (§ 289 (a)) is employed only in the negative and interrogative and in some subordinate clauses. In affirmative statements (including relative clauses) the Demonstrative Izafe, or a reduced form of it (v. § 266 (b)), generally appears with the Perfect II form (§ 289 (c)), e.g.

Sur. 512 hindak nān ā kasbim č ... hīnāy: I have brought some bread and comestibles

512 --im gōst ... wē hīnāy: I have brought meat

520 hind zērī wē ēitim: it has voided so much gold

Ak. — av mēza kē čē kirīa? min čē nakirīa, naʃārē yā čē kirīl: who has made this table? Not I, the carpenter has made it (mēz F.)

535 kāyazak dīt kō yā nivisī ... : they saw a letter (in) which was written ... (kāyaz F.)
543 dit hākimē ākrē yē řū nisti l sar taxtē xō: he saw the governor of Akre was sitting on his throne
550 âsā pīr bim: I (a cow) have grown old (čēl F.)
550 galak čēl ȍ gē yē l min zēda bīn: many cows and oxen have sprung from me
550 min galak xēr yē l vē čēlē dīti: I have seen much good from this cow (xēr F.)
553 min tô yē l pištā xō kirī: I have put thee (a snake) on my back (mār M.)
557 ma čēčik vēkārā yēt kirin: we have whelped together

Am. 710a minē dāynav hinga lōlik: I have given you dung fuel-cakes
717 wājīb ma yē hāl kirī, balē hamē ma na hāl kirīa: we have done (lit. ‘solved’) our homework, but we have not done all of it (wājīb F.)
Bar. 732 âsē dayndār bim: I have become indebted
Gul. — min ūvā lēnāy: I have prepared supper (ūv F.)
Zx. 773 pīraka . . . wē hātī ēvā kirin: (there) is a bridge (which) has been built . . . (pīr F.)
776 aw dārā banōkē . . . wē māy: that terebinth tree still remains (lit. ‘has remained’) (dār F.)
777 jō . . . yē . . . ṭaq kirī: the canal has been split off (from the river) (jō F.)

(b) The Demonstrative Izafe is omitted from this construction in a relative clause introduced by either an Individual or a Demonstrative Izafe form (cf. §§ 307(b), 309(c)), even when this ‘relative’ Izafe has no connexion with the verb, e.g.

Ak. 575 . . . dasrōk . . . yē filān kasi īnāy: the kerchief which so-and-so brought
593 aw masalā kō ax bō hātīm: that question about which I have come

[contrast,

Ak. 588 âsē hātīm bō masalak: I have come about a question]
Am. 710 tištē min dāyav hinga . . . bidanav min: give me back the thing which I have given to you
Zx. 774 aw hustē kō av pīrā hanē ēvā kirī: the mason who has built this (here) bridge
Likewise in clauses introduced by wəxtē, &c., 'when' and similar temporal adverbs the Perfect II form appears without the Demonstrative Izafe (cf. § 309 (c)), e.g.

Am. 703a wəxtē čōyna āšī: when they went to the mill
Bar. 731 wəxtē se čerak kuşī: when he had beaten three or four
Gul. — wəxtē ax čōym sūkē: when I went to the market
Zx. 776 pišī kō pîr āvā kirī: after the bridge was built

Occasionally the Demonstrative Izafe is omitted in other contexts,¹ e.g.

Ak. 580 sarē xo (yē) hāvētīa kalābā xinīrē: it has put its head in the hook of the chain
583 'amrē wē gaštīa 140 sāli: his age has reached some 140 years

Conditions

§ 314. Present and future, possible conditions.

(a) In the protasis the Present Subjunctive, or where appropriate the Future tense, appears, e.g.

Subjunctive

Ak. — agar xuđē nadat, nādat: if God does not give (a thing) He does not (and there is an end)
546 duştmin bigata duştminē: if one enemy meet the other
562 akar sa bişawīt: if a dog should bark
562 akar ma bigirin: if they should catch us
Am. 712 az bisilmān bim: if I am a Moslem
Gul. — hakar xalīl bēt: if Khalil should come
Zx. — hakar min pāra habīn: if I were to have (any) money

Future

Ak. 569 akar dē ma xalbīš kay: even if thou wilt hang us
573 dē tōba kan: if you will repent

¹ The Ak. form gōstī 'he said', in contrast to gōt-ē 'he said to him', might be explained as such a Perfect II, without the Demonstrative Izafe, from gōt-. The Past Imperfect in Ak. 609 min ṭgōstī 'I used to say', however, suggests a secondary past stem *gōstī-. The same example, having a 1st Sg. agent (Ak. 618 min gōstī 'I said' also), rules out any immediate connexion with the Sor. construction gōt-ī 'he said' (cf. § 223 (iv) (γ)).
(b) If the action of the apodosis must, of necessity, follow that of the protasis in time then the Past tense may appear in the protasis, e.g.

Ak. — agar fikêt bâš min ditin dê bô ta kirîm: if I see any good clothes I shall buy them for thee

553 akar dušîmin gašta dušîminî lêk îa nîbirîn: if one enemy meet the other they do not pass one another by

Gul. — hakar xalîl hât bêsha wê: if Khalil comes tell him

§ 315. Past, impossible conditions.

The Perfect Conditional tense is used in the protasis and the Present or Past Imperfect in the apodosis, e.g.

Ak. — agar az zûtîr čôbâmâ . . . dâ bînim: if I had gone earlier I would have seen (him)

— hakar min tîving vê bê1 . . . dâ kužîm: if I had had a gun with me I would have killed it

— hakar ta nakûštba ta filâr natkîr: hadst thou not killed him thou wouldst not have fled

Am. — haka tî dirangîtir hâtbâyâ . . . dâ p miňâ gahî: if thou hadst come later thou wouldst have met me

Zx. — hakar am nahâfbân awî am naf审în: if we had not come he would not have seen us

§ 316. The particle Ak., Am. xôzî, Gul. xwaxî, Zx. xuzî ‘would that . . .’ is always followed by the Perfect Conditional tense, regardless of the possibility or otherwise of the realization of the wish, e.g.

Ak. — xôzî aw şubay hâtbâ: would he were coming to-morrow

— xôzî nôka hâtbâ: would that he would come now

— xôzî min tô ditbâyava: would that I could see thee again

— xôzî min tô ditbâyâ: would that I had seen thee

Am. — xôzî am hâfbâyânâ: would that we had come

Gul. — xwaxî tô čôbâê: would that thou wouldst go

Zx. — xuzî hûn čôbân: would that you had gone

1 See fn. 1, p. 189.
C. WORD FORMATION

(All references, unless otherwise stated, to Ak. only)

Compounds

§ 317. Two types of Copulative compound occur.

(a) Compounds of two nouns or adjectives joined by the conjunction ő, &c., 'and' are not common, but do occur, e.g.

kār-ő-bār 'affairs' (work and ? load)
sar-ő-čāv 'face' (head and eyes)
ṭayr-ő-tawāl 'birds' (birds and ?)
ēk-u-dō 'one another' (one and two)

(b) Morphemes indicating the making of some noise occur reduplicated with the compound vowel -a- (cf. § 252 (c)), e.g.

bilq-a-bilq 'bubbling'
uš-a-huš 'rustling'
kūs-a-kūs 'whispering'
xūr-a-xūr 'snoring'

Nouns or morphemes occur reduplicated and with the 'diminutive' suffix -ők (§ 320), e.g.

vīr-vīrāk 'whirr' (vīr 'whirr')
xālxālāk 'lady-bird' (xāl 'spot')
xāxāxāxāk 'mumper, cadger' (xāz- 'beg')

§ 318. Determinative compounds may be dependent or descriptive. However formed, such compounds frequently take a 'diminutive' suffix -ik, -ōk, &c. (§ 320).

(a) Dependent compounds are of two types:

(i) A noun qualified by another noun in some case relation to it, mainly genitive. Such compounds may appear with the qualifier preceding the qualified, but more commonly are inverted, and with the compound vowel -a-, e.g.

gil-kan 'clay-pit'
ma-čētīr 'ghost' (us-better, cf. NP ax-mā-behtarān)
ťōč-āvā 'sun-set' (āvā bōn 'set')

Inverted,

birā-zāvā 'best man' (brother of bridegroom)
gul-buhār 'marigold' (flower of spring)
kuř-xāl  ‘cousin’ (son of maternal uncle)
kūra-gēč  ‘lime-burning-pit’ (pit for lime)
žin-bāb  ‘stepmother’ (wife of father)

and, with the compound vowel,
āv-a-māst  ‘curds and water mixed’ (water of curds)
bar-a-āš  ‘millstone’ (stone of mill)
fālk-a-pānk  ‘mint sweetmeat’ (lump of mint)
žān-a-sar  ‘headache’ (ache of head)

(ii) A verbal stem, or past participle, restricted by a preceding object, e.g.

Stem:
didān-kēš  ‘dentist’ (tooth-puller)
das-gir  ‘fiancé(e)’ (hand-holder)
mēr-kuž  ‘murderer’ (man-killer)
māśī-gir(ik)  ‘kingfisher’ (fish-catcher)
sar-vō  ‘bath-attendant’ (head-washer)
[cf.  sar-sōk  ‘bath-house’]

Participle:
das-bardāy  ‘spendthrift’ (hand-opened)
kār-kirī  ‘adorned’ (adornment-made)
til-dāy  ‘bulging’ (bulge-given)
xūn-girtī  ‘bloody’ (blood-seized)

(b) Descriptive compounds consist chiefly of a noun qualified by an adjective or, rarely, a noun in apposition. The latter follows the noun qualified in

bā-kurōva  ‘sleet’ (wind—fine snow)

A qualifying adjective may precede the noun it qualifies, e.g.
mē-kawo  ‘she-partridge’
ṭaš-māl  ‘black tent’
ziś-bāb  ‘stepfather’ (barren-father)

or follow it. e.g.
dahla-ṭaš-ik  ‘blackberry bush’ (thorn—black)
kunamērū-sūār  ‘long-legged ant’ (ant—mounted)
māsi-xiś-ik  ‘tadpole’ (fish—spherical)
paz-kāvī  ‘moufflon’ (sheep—mountain, wild)
tū-mirī  ‘inedible mulberry’ (mulberry—dead)
and, with a compound vowel,

Am. kirm-a-şor-ik  ‘caterpillar’ (worm—red)
kēz-a-raf  ‘cockchafer’ (beetle—black)

There is a small group of descriptive compounds formed with the negative prefix na-, e.g.

na-hiš  ‘un-conscious’
na-xoš  ‘un-well’

§ 319. Secondary Adjectival compounds may be possessive or prepositional.

(a) The Possessive compounds are generally descriptive compounds with possessive meaning, e.g.

du-tu  ‘two-faced’
gīrān-bā  ‘one who sells dearly’
zīla-qḷn-k  ‘dragonfly’ (straw—tail)

and, inverted,

bēn-tang  ‘impatient, depressed’ (breath—tight)
cērik-dirēz  ‘boring, garrulous’ (story—long)
dā-maqas-ik  ‘earwig; swallow’ (tail—scissors)
Zx. hastī-sīvīk  ‘handsome’ (bone—light)
xān-širīn  ‘handsome’ (blood—sweet)
nāvčāv-līn  ‘glum’ (forehead—blue)
sar-fūt  ‘bald’ (head—bare)
Am. sar-taštī  ‘dragonfly’ (head—spindle)
pič-zar  ‘blond(e)’ (hair—yellow)

(b) The preposition p forms an infinite number of adjectival compounds, e.g.

p-čak  ‘armed’  p-sanātī  ‘easy’
p-hīfī  ‘hopeful’  p-šyārī  ‘attentive(ly)’
p-hawas  ‘happy’  p-tišt  ‘pregnant’
p-laz  ‘in a hurry’  p-xabar  ‘faithful’

Other examples of prepositional compounds are:

bē-xwē  ‘tasteless’ (without salt)
bar-dast  ‘available’ (before hand)
bar-pirs  ‘responsible’ (before questioning)
pēš-čāv  ‘famous’ (before eye)
Am. t-xaw  ‘asleep’ (in sleep)
Suffixes
§ 320. The following suffixes form nouns:

(a) Abstract

-î, forms abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g.

-āī, -ātī, -yātī, likewise form abstract nouns of measure or quality, e.g.
dīrēḵātī ‘length’, pānātī, pānātī ‘breadth’;
dūzminātī ‘enmity’, kīčikātī ‘smallness’, kāvnātī ‘age’,
māzīnātī ‘bigness’, Bar. māzīnātī ‘rulership’;
sūryātī ‘redness’, sīvīḵyātī ‘flippancy’.

-īnī, -ānī, form abstract nouns of state, e.g.
dōstīnī, dōstānī ‘friendship’, havālinī ‘comradeship’;
lāvānī ‘youthfulness’.

(b) Diminutive

The following suffixes form derived nouns of various meanings, some of which may be classed as ‘diminutive’. Often the meaning of the simplex is completely unaltered and the suffix is optional.

-(i)k, Am., &c., generally -(i)k,


-ôk, Am., &c., -ôk,


-lik, -lka, (rare)

sipîlik ‘egg-white’; pēšâlka ‘mosquito’, *pîșîlik or *pîșîka ‘kitten’ in pîșîkâ mîrâ ‘thistledown’.
-êşîk, (rare)

baqmarêşik ‘type of lizard’, dûpîrôşîk ‘spider’.

(c) Concrete

-(a)vân, -êtî, form nouns of trades or skills, e.g.

eşît ‘teashop-keeper’, laymaêt ‘sapper’.

-kar, -kêr, form nouns and adjectives meaning ‘doer, maker of...’, e.g. saêkar ‘aggressive, fighter’;

ehêrikêr ‘helper, assistant’.

-ân, -êna, -êné, form names of games, e.g.

hôlân ‘polo’; çamkânë ‘hockey’;

§ 321. The following suffixes form adjectives:

-th, forms adjectives from nouns, e.g.


-thêk, Zx. -ôth, rare, forms adjectives of quality from nouns, e.g.

tirsêk ‘cowardly’;

Zx. gilîzê ‘dribbling, slobbering’, kûlmêsê ‘snotty’.

-dêr, forms adjectives meaning ‘possessed of...’, e.g.


§ 322. (a) The ‘regular’ Intransitive verb is characterized by the past stem Ak., &c., -yê-, Gul. Zx. -hê-, infinitive -yân, -hân, present stem -(y)ê-, -hê- respectively, e.g.

Ak. bîryân, bîryê-, Zx. birhân, birhê- ‘cease’

Ak. garyân, gaê(y)ê-, Gul. gaêhân, gaêhê- ‘wander’

Ak. rişyân, rişyê-, Zx. rişhân, rişhê- ‘pour’
The corresponding Transitive verb is a Causative formation from the same stem (v. § 298).

(b) The same morphemes, Intransitive -yā-, -yē- (Gul., Zx. -ḥā-, -ḥē-), Transitive -ānd-, -īn-, also form verbs from 'loan-morphemes' of Arabic origin, e.g.

Ak. ālamāndin, ālamīn- 'teach' (Ar. ālima)
ḥabāndin, ḥabīn- 'love' (Ar. ḥabba)
ḥalyān, Zx. ḥalhān 'melt' (Ar. ḥalla), ḥalāndin 'melt'
gatyān, Gul. qathān 'finish, come to an end' (Ar. qaṭaʿa),
gatāndin 'finish, bring to an end'

In Zx. the morpheme -āndin may also form infinitive verbal nouns from Transitive present stems although the past stem is not in -ānd-, e.g.

Zx. daynā-, dayn- 'put down' : daynāndin F. 'putting down'
nivās-, nivās- 'write' : nivāsāndin F. 'writing'
§ 323. Of the historical sound-changes which distinguish dialects within the Kurdish family two may be considered of major significance. As will be seen, both are reflected in the morphology of the dialects.

(a) OIr. inter- and postvocalic m, p yield v in all the dialects described in Part III except Sur. (viz. Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., Shn., Bot., Rwn.), w in all the dialects of Part II and Sur. (viz. Sul., War., Bin., Piž., Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur.), e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ak., &amp;c.</th>
<th>Sul., &amp;c.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Av. gāman-</td>
<td>&gt; gāv : han</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāmina-</td>
<td>&gt; hāvīn : hāwīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāman-</td>
<td>&gt; nāv : nāw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av. āp-</td>
<td>&gt; āv : āw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xšap-</td>
<td>&gt; šav : šav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*fsu.pāna-</td>
<td>&gt; šīvān : šīwān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This development of m affects the proximate demonstrative adjective. In Ak., &c., the forms av, &c. (§ 277) < OIr. ima- are distinct from the remote demonstrative aw, &c. < OIr. awa-. In Sur., Muk., and the Sor. dialects the two demonstratives fall regularly together in the forms aw, &c. Only in Sul., War. is the m irregularly preserved, and with it the distinction between proximate and remote demonstratives am:aw (§ 192) (cf. Barr, op. cit., p. 183, Anm.).

The development of p is reflected in the common preverb Ak., &c., va, -(a)va (§ 300 (a)), Sul., &c., -(a)wa (§ 235), cf. NP bāz, vā (Mann, Muk. § 59) < *apāčā or *apāk- respectively (Henning, ZII. 9. 231).

(b) The regular outcome of OIr. suffix -aka in Kd., reflected even in loanwords of the NIr. period, appears to be War. -iğ (Sinaī, &c., -iğ), Sul., Bin., Piž., Muk. -uw, -u, Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur., Ak., &c., -i, e.g.
Dialect Grouping §§ 323-4


Sinat  daxīg  :  daxū  :  daxī  ‘thread’
harīg  :  haṛī  ‘mud’
māṣīg  :  māṣū  :  māṣī  ‘gall-apple’
vrōzīg  :  vrōṣū  :  vrōṣī  ‘fasting’
tinīg  :  tinū  :  tēnī  ‘thirsty’
War. xāṇīg  :  xāṇū  :  xāṇī  ‘house’
xēnīg  :  xēnū  :  xēnī  ‘alive’

This development is most regularly seen, however, in the past participle of all verbs (§§ 213, 288) < Ori. *-ta-ka-, e.g. War. hātīg:Sul. hātuw:Arb., Ak. hātī ‘having come’.

§ 324. Other sound-changes are best epitomized by a comparison of the phonemic systems of the various dialects. Of those studied:

(i) War. is alone in possessing the allophone ĝ, i.e. continuant realization of g (§ 64 ff.). War. is also the only dialect to show the regular reduction of intervocalic b to w (§ 62), of -iwi- to -a- (§ 75), and of st to s (§ 74 (b)).

(ii) War. and Sul. are marked off from all other dialects by the phoneme y (§ 24), the diphthongs of class (iii) (§§ 50, 53), and by the reduction of nd to n or y (§§ 57 (a), 74 (a)) with its bearing on the causative conjugation, -āndin > -ānin (§ 233).

(iii) War., Sul., Bīn., Piž., ? Muk. alone have ð (§§ 47, 72), and l (§ 14).

(iv) Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur. regularly replace l by r (§ 98). Other dialects have l for Sul., &c., l, l. The same dialects, Arb., &c., regularly have ĉ, ĝ for common ĉ, ĝ (§ 82).

(v) Sur., although it has the same phonemic system as Arb., is marked by a number of phonetic divergences (§ 102 ff.).

(vi) The dialects of Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., &c., are differentiated from those of Sul., &c., by the ‘emphatic’ phonemes ḡ, ṭ, ḥ.

(vii) The dialects of Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., Rwn. present two groups of consonant phonemes, aspirate and unaspirate k, ṭ, ṁ: k, ṭ, ṁ (§ 157), in opposition to Sul.–Ak. (and possibly Shn., BX, &c.) which have only one, aspirate, series k, ṭ, ṁ.

(viii) Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., with Hak. and Bot., form a
unique group with the modified realization of \( \delta, \dot{u} \) as \([u; y:]\) (§§ 147, 160 (a)).

A further, but less definite, distinguishing feature between certain dialects, here represented by Sul. and Ak. respectively, is the incidence of consonant groups. The difference between Sul., with some eighty possible initial groups, and Ak., with little more than a dozen, is most striking. On the other hand, the ‘algebraic’ realization of secondary consonant groups in Ak., Am., &c. (§§ 154, 159), is not found in Sul., &c.

§ 325. The main line of distinction between what may conveniently be called N(orthern) and C(entral) dialects can be seen to run between the dialects of Ak., Shn., &c., on the one hand and Arb., Rdz., Muk., &c., on the other, with Sur. necessarily taking an intermediate position. On either side of this line there appear, apart from the phonetic items mentioned above (§§ 323 (a), 324 (vi)), a number of contrasting morphological features.

(i) A major distinction lies in the system of personal pronouns—with suffix forms in the case of the C. dialects, including Sur. (§ 196), without suffix forms in the N. dialects (§ 275).

(ii) The suffix pronouns have a variety of functions (§ 197 (b)) of which the most characteristic is that of Agent in the Agential construction of the same C. dialects (§ 223). This construction, with its obligatory Agent, contrasts with the simpler Passive construction of the N. dialects (§ 296). The contrast is heightened by the faculty of the C. dialect verb for taking two verbal endings (§ 230). In Bin., Piż. alone of the C. dialects is there any reflection of the N. construction (§ 225, Note).

(iii) Apart from the Passive construction of the past tenses of all transitive verbs the N. dialects have no Passive conjugation. A present Passive can only be expressed by a periphrasis (§ 297). In contrast, all the C. dialects have a fully developed secondary Passive conjugation (§ 231).

(iv) While an indefinite nominal suffix appears in all Kd. dialects in the form -\( \dot{e}k \) or -\( \dot{a}k \) (§§ 176, 259) a corresponding definite suffix -\( \dot{a}ka \) is found only in the C. dialects, including Sur., and to a lesser extent in Ak. (§§ 174, 258 (b)). Cognate with this there appears a general demonstrative suffix -\( \dot{a} \) in all C. dialects (§ 175), which is restricted to proximate demonstrative use in the N.
dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx. Both -aka and -a commonly appear in conjunction with the open compound construction (§ 185), which is not found in the N. dialects.

§ 326. In the main the systems of nominal inflexion for number, gender, and case, and including the Izafe, are contrasted on either side of the same line. A number of Northern features do, however, appear in modified form below the line. Thus:

(i) All N. dialects have a distinction of grammatical gender in the Singular, manifest in the case endings (§ 261) and the Izafe (§ 264). This distinction is preserved in the C. dialects of Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš., but only in the case endings (§ 180). With the gender distinction preserved in the Bin., Piž. (Muk.), Izafe (§ 183), and 3rd singular personal pronoun oblique (§ 196), as well as in the nominal case endings, these dialects go together with the N. dialects more closely.

(ii) Corresponding to the Singular Oblique case endings the N. dialects have an exclusively Oblique Plural ending -ă{(n)} (§ 261 (a)). This same ending forms a general plural in all C. dialects (§ 177), whether the dialect has a case system or not.

(iii) The specifically Plural Izafe forms -ët, &c., of the N. dialects (§ 264) are found also in Bin., Piž., Muk. -ĩ da (§ 183 (c)).

§ 327. The verbal systems of the various dialects offer the following contrasts:

(i) While all dialects from Bin., Piž. northwards have a modal prefix da- (§ 206 (a)), or t- < di- (§ 281 (a)), Sul. and War. have a-. This must be taken as a separate entity (with Barr, op. cit., p. 221, Anm.), and not as a form of da-, since initial d is not lost completely in any dialect (cf. § 8). Moreover, the two prefixes appear together in Rdz., Sur. where d is quite stable, but a- may here be a later borrowing.

(ii) The formation of a Future tense with an independent modal particle ãë, &c., is restricted to the N. dialects, including Sur., Rwn., Bot. (§ 281 (b)). The temporal and other use of various forms of Izafe with the verb (§§ 309, 313) is likewise a feature of the N. dialects from Sur. to Rwn., with no counterpart in the C. dialects.
§ 328. From the following diagram it will be seen that there are two major lines of division between the dialects treated here:

(a) that between Arb. (Sur.) and Ak., dividing North from Centre, and

(b) that between Sul. and Bin., &c., dividing the more archaic Central dialects (Sor. and Muk.) from those of Sul. and War., with their leaning towards the Southern group.
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APPENDIX

LIST OF VERBS

I. Dialects of Group I

All forms are Sul. unless otherwise stated. Where only infinitive, or present stem, is quoted for another dialect this alone differs from Sul. ‘Sor.’ does not necessarily indicate that the form is common to all Sor. dialects.

ālān, ālē-; Arb. ārān, ārē-; tēk ~, vi. become entangled, embroiled. ālōxān (ālōshān), ālōxē-, vi. tangle. [Arb. ārōx būn.]

āyūtin, ayyū-; Piż., Muk. angūtin, vi. impinge.

āyātōtin, ayyēto-; Piż., Muk. angātōtin, vt. hit a mark.

(an)jinīn, (an)jin-; Muk. anjinīn; War. jīnīn, vt. mince.

aspārdin, see sipārdin.

astāndin, sec stānin.

astiriṇ, see siiriṇ.

ēlān, ēlē-, = Sor., Muk., vi. ache, hurt.

āwān, āwē-, = Muk., vi. swell.

āwāsīn, see wāsīn.

āwī(ī)tin, sec hāwīšītin.

War. āwāyān, ?, vt. grow up.

āxīnīn, āxīn-, = Sor., Muk., vt. stuff, fill.

ēxītin, sec xīstin.

āxīmārdin, see ūxīmārdin.

āxītīn, āxīn-, vt. prick, pierce.

Muk. āxītān, āxē-; Arb. hāōī(ī)tin, vt. drive flocks.

bičūrin, = pičūrin.

bōlānin, bōlēn-; Sor. -āndin, vt. murmur, mumble.

*būn, b-, = Sor., Muk., vi. be.

bīnin, see din.

*birādin, ba(r)-, = Sor., Muk.; War. wa-, vt. take, carry.

būrdān, būr-, vi. pass.

bārin, bār-, = Sor., Muk.; War. wārīn, wār-, vi. rain.

bīrāān, bīrē-, = Muk.; Piż. birētin, vi. be roasted.

* In alphabetical order of consonants, as in § 169. Vowels (and short diphthongs, in the order: a, ā, ē, ay, i, ĕ, o, aw, u, ā) are only considered in initial position, or in the event of two words having the same consonant structure.

* See § 205 (a), end.
APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS

biri'n, bir'-, vi. cease.

birst, bir-, = Sor., Muk.; War. wirst-, vt. cut.

bārānin, bārān-; Sor. -āndin, vt. bleat.

bārānin, bārān-; Sor. -āndin, vt. low, moo.

*bāstīn, bast-, = Sor., Muk.; War. was-; Sur. bēn-, vt. tie.

*bīstīn, bīs(t)-; Muk. byē-, vt. hear. [Arb. gē lē būn.]

bāwādin, bāwār- (ber-), = Sor., Muk., vt. pass.

bāxīn, bāx-, = Sor., Muk., vt. forgive.

bāxīn, bāx-, = Muk., vi. run.

bīsūtin (bīzwān), bīz-, = Muk.; Arb. bizīstin (bīzwīn), bīz-, vi. move, stir.

bēān, bēā-, ~awa; Arb. bēśtin (bēšīn), vt. sift.

būān, būā-, ~awa, vi. recover, convalesce.

būādin, būār-, = Muk., vt. pick, select.

[Pīz. bīārtin, roast, see list H, s.v.]

čālān, čāl-, = Sor. -āndin, vt. start, shy.

čāmān, čāmē-, = Muk.; Rdz. čōmān, čōm-, vi. bend.

*čīn, č-, = Sor., Muk.; Sur. čōn, č-, vi. go.

čānān, čēn-; Sor., Muk. čāndin, vt. sow.

čīnān, čīn-, = Sor., Muk., vt. 1 knit, 2 pluck.

ćāqān, čakē-, vi. stick, be inserted.

čārihān, čārikēn-; Sor. -āndin, vt. shrick.

čārēn, čārēn-; Sor. -āndin, vt. whisper

čērān, čērē-, = Muk., vi. drip.

časpān, časpē-, = Sor., vi. stick, adhere.

čēśtin (čēšīn), čēš-, = Muk., vt. taste.

damān, damēn-; Sor. -āndin, vt. blow.

*dān, da-, = Sor., Muk., vt. give.

*dān (binin), bin-, = Sor., Muk. dātin; War. wīn-, vt. see.

dārkān, dārkēn-, vt. utter, blurt out.

dārān, dārū-, = Muk.; War. dārān, dār-, vt. sew [sic]; ~awa, reap.

dārān, dārē-, = Muk.; War. dārān, vi. tear, be torn.

dārin, dār-, = Muk., vt. tear.

dārān, dōrēn-; Sor. -āndin, vt. lose a game, stake.

dōsīn, dōs-, = Sor., vt. milk.

*Muk. dōštin, dēr-, vt. irrigate.

dātin, see dīn.

dīwān, dīwē-, = Muk., vi. speak.

dīzān, dīz-, = Sor., Muk., vt. steal.

dōsīn, dōs-, War. wās-; ~awa, vt. discover.

*Fākān, fikēn-; Sor. -āndin, vt. whistle.

farmūn, farmū-, = Sor., Muk., vt. order, deign.

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gilân, gilê-, = Muk.; War. gilyân, vi. tumble.
gilêštin, gilôf-, vt. rub, squeeze.
gân, gê-, = Sor., Muk.; War. gâîn, vt. copulate with.
gunjân, gunfê-, vi. be possible, occur.
gânîn, gan-, vi. rot.
girân, girê-, = Muk., vi. be caught, held.
gurûn, gurû-, = Muk., vt. flay in one piece.
gârên, gârên-, vt. cluck.
gîrîn, girê-, = Sor., Muk.; vt. take, hold.
gîrîn, girê-, = Sor. gîrîn; War. gîryân; dâ ~, vi. light, be kindled.
gîrîn, girê-, = War. gîryân; = girân.
gîrtin, gir-, = Sor., Muk., vt. transplant.
*gîryân, gîrî-, = Sor. gîryê-, Muk. ? gîrya-, vi. weep.
garân, garê-, = Muk.; War. gârîn, vi. wander.
gêrân, gê-, = Muk., vt. turn; ~aow, relate.
gêrân, gôrê-, = Muk., vi. change.
gêrên, gôr-, = Muk., vt. change.
gastin (gâstîn), gaz-, = Muk., vt. bite.
gâstân, gâzê-, = Muk., vt. move.
gastîn, gasîn, see gûstîn.
gastîn (gâstîn), gaz-; Muk. gastin (gosstin); Arb. gûstîn, gâz-; ~aow, vt.
move house, home.
*gain (gâistîn, gaystîn), ga-, = Sor., Muk.; War. ga(ya)-, vi. arrive.
gayânîn, gayên-, = Sor. -ândîn, vt. cause to arrive.
gazîn, see gastin.
gazân, see gwastîn.
gazân, gawx-, vi. roll in the dust.

habûn, haya, = Muk.; Arb. haya, hayz-, War. has, vi. exist.
hêlân, see hêstîn.
hênân, (h)ên-, = Muk.; Arb. hînân, (h)ên-, vt. bring.
hûnîn, hûn-, = Muk. hûndîn; Arb. hunîn, hun-; ~aow, vt. plait.
hanûrdîn, see nûrdîn.
hûrin, hûr-, = Arb.; Piê. hêrîn, hêr-, vt. grind.
*hestit (hêlân), (h)êl-, = Muk.; Arb. hêl-; Rdz. (h)êr-, vt. leave.
*hûtit, ê-, = Sor., Muk., vi. come.
*War. hêwurdîn, êr-, vt. bring.
APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS

*(h)āwī(f)tin, (h)āwē(ž)-, = Muk.; Arb. hāwīštīn (hāwē(f)tin), hāwē-;
Bin. hāw-, vt. throw.

hāzō(f)tin, see āzwān.

ḥafīmin, ʔḥafim-, vi. be still.
ḥilānīn, hilēn-; Sor. -āndīn, vt. neigh.
ḥapasān, ḥapasē-, = Muk., vi. be bewildered.
ḥasān, ḥase-, = Muk.; ~awa, vi. rest.
ḥawān, hawē-, = Muk., vi. stay, dwell.

jūlān, jūlē-, = Muk.; Arb. jūrān, vi. move.

jimīn, jim-, vi. move.

jūn, jū-, = Muk., vt. chew.

jūnīn, see anjūnin.

kaftīn, see kaftin.

kūšīn, = kūšīn.

kēlān, kēl-, = Muk., vt. plough.

kuṭīn (kuṭān), kōlt-, = Muk.; Arb. kōrīn, vt. dig out.

kulān (kulīn), kulē-, = Muk.; Arb. kurān; Sur. kōrīn, kōr-, vi. boil.

kanīn (hāṣīn), kan-; Muk. kanīn, vt. dig.

kanīn, kan-, = Muk., Arb.; pē ~, vi. laugh.

kirmānīn, kirmēn-; Sor. -āndīn, vt. crunch.

*κηρίν, ka-, = Sor., Muk., vt. do, make.

kīrō(f)tin, kīrōḏ-, vt. crunch.

kirtānīn, = kirmānīn.

kīrūzān, ʔkīrūzē-; ~awa, vi. complain of poverty.

kīrīn, kīr-, = Muk., vt. buy.

kīrīnīn, kirēn-; Sor. -āndīn, vt. scratch.

kōrēnīn, kōrēn-; Sor. -āndīn, vt. neigh.

kēlān, kēl-, = Muk., vt. pull.

kūṭān, kūṭē-, = Muk., vi. crawl.

kūšīn, kūš-, = Muk.; tē ~, vt. strive.

kuśīn, see gulīn.


kawtīn, kaw-, = Muk.; Arb. ka(f)tin, kaw-, vi. fall.

kuṭān, kut-, = Muk., vt. strike.

kutīn, see wutīn.

kūšīn, kūx-, = Muk., vi. cough.

kızānīn, kizēn-, vt. scorch, singe.

kuṣān, kuṣē-, = Muk.; War. kuṣyān; ~awa, vi. die down.

līhān, līkē-, = Muk., vi. adhere.

lālān, lālē-, = Muk.; ~awa, vi. implore.
KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

laqēn, laq-, = Muk., vi. move, shake.

lurânin, lurēn-, Sor. -āndîn, vt. howl.

larân (larîn), larē-, ~awa, vi. shake, tremble.

larzîn, larz-, = Muk., vi. shiver, tremble.

*listîn, lēz-, = Muk.; Arb. lêstîn; ~awa, vt. lick.

kowîn, kow-, vi. be suitable.

lówânîn, lâwîn-, Sor. -ândîn; ~awa, vt. x soothe, z lament.

lawârân (lawânîn), lawârê-, = Muk., vi. graze.

mâlîn, mâl-, Muk. mâlîn (mâštîn); Arb. mârîn, mîr-, vt. sweep.

*mân, mên-, = Muk.; Arb. mânê; Rdz. mîn-, vi. remain.

mêrînîn, mêrîn-, Sor. -ândîn, vt. growl.

Muk. mâsân, mîsê-; ūzī ~, vi. kiss.

Muk. mîstîn, mîz-, vi. urinate.

mîstîn, see mâlîn.

mâîn, mâyê-, vi. coagulate.

maârân, maaxrê-, = Muk.; dā ~, vi. be established.

mîzîn, mîz-, = Muk., vt. suck.

nîk/gânîn, nîk/gên-, vt. moan.

nûkânîn, nûkên-, vt. moan.

*nân, nê-, = Muk., Arb.; War. niân, nê-, vt. put.

nûqân, nûqê-, vi. close, clench.

nîrdîn (hanîrdîn), nîr-, = Muk., Arb., vt. send.

nîrîn, see nûdîrîn.

nâsîn, nûs-, = Sor., Muk., vt. know, recognize.

nûsân, nûsê-, = Muk., vi. adhere.


*nûsîtn, nûs-, = Sor., Muk.; Sur. niwîstîn, niw-, vi. sleep.

nûstîn, nêz-, = Muk., vt. bury.

nîstîn, nîz-, = Sor., Muk., vi. sit, settle.

nûlân, nûshê-, = Muk., vi. fold, bend.

nûwânîn, nên-, Sor. -ândîn, vt. show, (also caus. of nûstîn).

Muk. nûwîrîn, nûwê-; Arb. nûrîn, nûr-, = ūwânîn.

nûzîn, nûz-, vi. be proud.

pêçîn, pêç-, vt. chop, clip.

pêçîn, pêç-, = Muk., vt. fold.

piçîrîn, piçîrê-, = Muk., vi. break, snap.

piçîrîn, piçîr-, = Muk., vt. break, cut, sever.

pêkân, pêk-, vt. hit a mark.

pîlûsîn, pîlûs-; Arb. parûsîn, parûs-; dâ ~, vt. maul.
APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS

pālāwētūn, pālēw-, = Muk.; Arb. pārāsītūn, pārēw-, vt. filter, strain.
pāqīn, pāq-, vi. split, burst.
pārmūn, pārmū-, vi. trust.
pīrsīn, pīrs-, = Muk., vt. ask.
pāristūn, pārist-, = Muk., vt. worship.
pārāsītūn, pārēw-, = Muk., vt. protect.
pīrwēnīn, pīrwēn-, vt. crumble.
pārā̀n, pārē-, = Muk.; War. pārēyān, vi. be idle, have leisure.
pīrēsīnīn, pīrēsên-; Sor. -āndīn, vt. sprinkle.
pārīn, pār-, = Muk., vi. leap.
pārēn, pārē-, = Muk., vi. beg, beseech.
pīrūsīn (pīrūskān), pīrūsē-, vi. be singed, scorched.
pīsān, pīsē-, = Mūk., vi. be torn, shredded.
pāsārdīn, see sipārdīn.
pāsīn, past-, = Muk., vt. tread, crush.
pāsōkān, pāsōkē-, = Muk., vi. be confused.
pīšīnīn, pīsīn-, = Muk., vt. examine, inspect.
pīškūtūn, pīškū-, = Muk.; Arb. pīškīsītūn, vi. bloom.
pīšīnīn, see pīšīmin.
pīsān, pīsē-, vi. be baked.
pōsīn, pōs-, = Muk., vt. cover.
Muk. pīšātūtūn, pīšēw-, Arb. pīšāsītūn; hal ~, vt. rub, squeeze.
pēwān, pēw-, = Mūk.; Arb. pēwān, pēw-, vt. measure.
pīšīnīn, pīsīm-, Mūk., Arb. pīsīmīn, pīsīm-, vi. sneeze.
pīsān, pīsē-, vi. spurt.
qāblānīn, qāblēn-, vt. evaluate, assess.
qūūānīn, qūūēn-, vt. clench.
qīlīn, qīlīsē-; Muk. qaliśūn, qaliś-; Arb. qaraśītūn, qaraṣ-, vi. split, crack.
Muk. qaliśūn, qaliś-, vt. split.
qawūmān (qaw̱ūmin), qawūmē-, = Muk., vi. happen.
qūpān, qūpē-, vi. be dented.
qirān, qirē-, hal ~, vi. 1 be scorched, 2 curl (līp).
qirānīn, qirēn-; Sor. -āndīn, vt. implicate.
qirānīn, qirēn-, vt. croak, caw.
qīṣānīn, qīṣēn-; Sor. -āndīn, vt. scream.

Rīsānīn, Rīsēn-; Sor. -āndīn, vt. snatch.
Rīmān (Rīmīn), Rīmē-, vi. collapse.
Rīn (Rīnīn), Rī-, = Muk.; Arb. Rītīn, vi(t), stool, (defecate).
Rīnān, Rīnē-, = Muk., vi. be vexed.
Rīmān, Rīn-, = Muk., vt. scratch.
Rīlān, Rīlē-, = Muk.; ~awa, vi. vomit.
KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

ťūkān, ŧūē-, = Muk., vi. be abraded.
ťaštīn, ŧaē-, = War., vt. apply kohl to the eyes.
*ťīšīn, ŧēē-, = Muk.; Arb. ŧīštīn, vt. pour.
řītin, see fin.
řūtān, ŧūē-, ~awā, vi. become bare.
*řūwān, ? řwo-, = Muk., vi. grow, sprout.
řawān, ŧaw-, = Muk.; ~awā, vi. shy, flee.
řwōn, řwō-, = Muk. (see řwārin), vt. look at.
řūxān, ŧūē-, = Arb.; Muk. řuxān, řuxē-, vi. collapse.
řūn (řīštīn, řoyn, řoýštīn), řū-, = Muk., vi. go.
řūxān, ŧūē-, = Muk.; ~awā, vi. be adorned.
řīzīn (řīzān), ŧīzē-, = Muk., vi. decay.
řīšān, ŧīśē-, = Muk., vi. pour, spill.

silāmīn, ? silamē-, ~awā, vi. shy, flinch.
simīn, sim-, = Muk., vt. bore, pierce.
śān, see stān.
śūn, śē-, = Muk.; War. sōn; Arb. stvāndīn, sōn-, vt. rub.
*sān(d)īn (stānīn), sēn-, Muk. astāndīn, -stēn-, Arb. stāndīn, stēn-, vt. take, War. buy.
sipārdīn, sipēr-, Muk. aspārdīn, -spēr-, Arb. pasārdīn, pasēr-, vt. commit, entrust.
sirpānīn, = čīrpānīn.
sirawān (sirawōn), siraw-, Muk. sirawān, sirawē-, vi. rest, relax.
sīfīn, sīr-, Arb. stīfīn, stīr-, Muk. astīfīn, vt. wipe.
sīfēn,  söz-, = Muk.; Sur. sīwīfīn, sīwēr-, vi. revolve, circulate.
*s(al)ān, s(ʔ)-, = Muk.; hal ~ (hastān), vi. rise.
Muk. sōtīn, sōd-, Rdz. sōt-, vi. burn.
sütān, sūtē-, = Muk., Arb., vi. burn.
stānīn, see sandīn.
sūtānīn, sūtēn-, Sor. -āndīn; Rdz. sōtāndīn, sōtēn-, vt. burn.
sāzān, sāzē-, = Muk., vi. be reconciled.

īkān, īkē-, = Muk.; War. īkēyān, vi. break.
īkān, īkē-, = Muk., vi. shake, tremble.
śalīn, šal-, = Muk., vi. limp.
śēlān, šēl-, = Muk., vt. tread, knead.
śilaqān, śilaqē-, Arb. šīlōqān, šīlōqē-, vi. shake.
śīnīn, šīn-, vi. quiver, glitter.
*šōrdīn, šōr-, = Arb.; Muk. šūr-, ~awā, vt. hide.
śīrīxānīn, = čīrikānīn.
*śīštīn, šō-; Muk. šuštīn; Arb. šūštīn; War. šārdīn, šōr-, vt. wash.
šēwān, šēwē-, = Muk., vi. be disturbed.
APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS

takān, takē-, vi. shake.
tikān, tikē-, = Muk., vi. drip.
tilān, tilē-, vi. roll.
tanān, tan-, = Muk., vt. plait.
tānīn, see twānīn.
tapīn, tapē-, vi. be compressed.
tōpīn, tōp-, vi. die, drop dead (animal).
taqīn, taq-, = Muk., vi. burst, pop.
tōqīn (tōqān), tōqē-, = Muk., vi. 1 burst, 2 be terrified.
tirakīn, tirak-, vi. crack, burst, whelp.
tirūkānīn, tirūkēn-; Sor. -āndīn, vt. blink.
tūrān, tūrē-; War. tūryān, vi. be annoyed.
tirīnjān, tirīnjē-, vi. be crammed, stuffed into something.
*tirīsān, tirs-; Muk., Arb. tirsē-, vi. be afraid.
tirīsān, tirāsē-, vi. ferment.
tirāsān, tirāsē-, vi. come apart.
tirīn, tir-, vi. break wind.
tāsān, tāsē-, = Muk. vi. choke.
tāsīn, tāsē-, = Muk., vt. cut, shave.
tūtān, tūtē-; hal ~, vi. crouch.
twān, tw-, = Muk.; Arb. tāwān, tāwē-; ~awa, vi. melt.
twānīn, twān-, = Muk.; Arb. tānīn, tān-, vt. be able.
taxīn, tax-, = Muk., vi. be numbed.

wāqānīn, wāqēn-, vt. cry (newborn baby).
warīn, war-, = Muk. vi. drop off.
wērān, wēr-, = Muk., vt. dare.
warīn, war-, = Muk., vi. bark (dog).
wāsīn, wās-; Muk. āwasīn, āwas-; hal ~, vt. hang up.
*wastān, wast-, = Muk.; War. wēsān, wēs-, vi. stand, stop.
*wistin, (a)wē-, = Muk., vt. impers. want.
wāsān, wāsē-, = Muk., vi. sway, fall.
*wutīn, -lē-; Muk. g/lutin; Arb. gōtin, -rē-; War. toutin, ē-ē-, vt. say.

xulān, xulē-, = Muk.; ~awa, vi. spin, revolve.
xiliskān, xilīshē-, = Muk., vi. slip.
xilāfānīn, xilāfēn-, vt. deceive.
xalatān, xalatē-, = Muk., vi. be deceived.
xonīn (xōnīn), xon-; Piţ., Muk. xondīn; Arb. xīndīn, xīn-; Rdz. xwīn-;
Kōya, xundīn, xūn-, Sur. xōndīn, xwīn-, vt. study; ~awa, read.
xinkān, xinkē-, = Muk., vi. choke.
xurīn (xurān), xurē-, = Muk., vi. itch.
xurūpān, xurūpē-, = Muk., vi. start, flutter.
xirōdān, xirōlē-, = Muk., vi. be in commotion.
KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

xûsîn, xûsê-, = Muk., vi. soak.

xurîn, xurê-, = Muk.; lê ~, vt. goad.

xasênîn, xasên; Sor. -ânêîn, vt. castrate.

*xîstîn, xî-, = Muk.; Arb. êxîstîn, êx-, vt. throw down.

xîsîn, xîsê-, vi. slide, glide.

War. xawstîn, xawê-, vi. sleep.

xawwânîn, xawwên; Sor. -ânêîn, vt. deceive.

*xwârdîn, xô-, = Sor., Muk., vt. eat.

xwastîn, xwûsz-, = Sor., Muk., vt. demand.

xîsûn, xîsê-, = Muk., vi. slide.

*xan (xânîn), xê-, = Sor., Muk., vi. give birth.

zânîn, zân-, = Muk., vt. know.

zirîpân, zirîpê-, vi. jingle.

zaxîn, zaxê-, = Muk., vi. bray (donkey).

zâkûn, zâkê-, = Muk., vi. be creased, crumpled.

zhmârdîn, zhêmîr-, = Sor.; Muk. âhmârdîn, -âmêr-, vt. count.

zânîn, zân-, = Muk.; Muk. also zûndîn, zûn-, vt. beat, churn.

*xûnîn, xû-, = Sor., Muk., vi. live.

II. Dialects of Group II

Forms unmarked are Ak. The other main source is Zx. Many verbs, although attested in only one of these two dialects, are common, either in the form given or slightly modified, to all Bad. dialects.

âlisîn, âlîs-, Zx. -îsîn, vt. lick.

angîstîn, angîo-, hal ~, vi. trip, stumble (cf. kîngîstîn).

înân, în-, Zx. înâdîn [sic], vt. bring.

ûrân, ûr-, dû ~, vt. swallow.

êlân, êl-, vi. hurt.

Zx. âwiştîn, âwiî-, hil ~, vt. hang up.

dîsîstîn, dîzîv-, Zx. -în, vi. talk.

*êxistîn, êx-, vt. throw down, drop.

'alamândîn, 'alamîn-, vt. teach.

'asîqîn, 'asîq-, vi. be blocked.

bêhiştîn, see pêhiştîn.

bûhiştîn, see bîstîn.

bûhuştîn (bûhuştîn), bûhuê-, vi. melt, dissolve.

* See § 280, end.

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bāhitīn, bāhit-, vi. blanch.
bind-, see ditīn.
būn (bind), bū-; Zx. būn, vi. be.
*birīn, ba-; Zx. bū-, vt. take, carry.
birīn, bir-; Zx. bōrīn, bōr-; rā ~, vi. pass, go past.
birāštīn, birēš-, = bišārtīn 2.
bārītn (bārdīn), bēr-; rā ~, vt. pass time.
birīyān, biryē-, Zx. birhān, birhē-, vi. cease.
bārīn, bār-, vi. bleat.
birīn, bir-, vt. cut.
bōrīn, bōr-, vi. low, moo.
bastīn, bast-, vt. freeze.
bīstīn, ? bī-; Zx. bīhistīn, bīhit-, vt. hear.
bīhīstīn, bīhīv-, Zx. -śīn, vi. blossom.
Am. bāwīšīn, bāwīš-, vi. yawn.
bīṣdyān, bīzd-, vi. i snap, 2 be afraid.
bīṣīftīn, bīṣīv-, vi. move, budge.
bīṣāftīn, bīṣēv-, vt. move.
bēč-, see gōtīn.
bīṣārtīn, bišēr-, vt. i choose, 2 roast (cf. birāštīn)

čamīyān, čamē-, vi. bend.
čōn, č-; Sur. čōn; Shn. čōn, vi. go.
čīnīn, čīn-, vt. i knit, 2 pluck.
čērāndīn, čērīn-, vt. graze.
čēryān, čēryē-, vi. graze.
čīrāndīn, čīrīn-, vt. tear.
čīrīyān, čīrīyē-, vi. tear.

*dān, da-; Zx. d-, vt. give.
dīrīn, dirā-, vt. i sew [sic], 2 reap.
Zx. dērāndīn, dērīn-, vt. i sweat, 2 winnow.
đarīstīn, darīz-, vi. split.
dīrāndīn, dīrīn-, vt. tear.
dōrāndīn, dōrīn-, vt. lose game.
dīryān, dīryē-, vi. tear.
dōśīn, dōš-, vt. milk.
*dīṭīn, bīn-; Zx. -śīn, vt. see.
Zx. dawīsāndīn, dawīśīn-, vt. press.
dīsīn, dīz-, vt. steal.

fīkirīn, fīkir-, vt. think.
*fīrōštīn, fīrōš-, vt. sell.
gahändin, gahîn-, vt. cause to attain.
guhâftin, see görän.
guhustin, guhuz-, vi. move house.
Zx. guhâftin, guhez-, vt. take home bride.
*gahtîn (gaštîn, gahîn), giha- (ga-); Zx. gahîstîn, gah-, vi. reach, ripen.

gihtîanîn, gîhtîîn-, vt. crumple.
gêrân, gêr-, vt. roll flat.
girîn, gîrî-, vi. weep.
görän (görîn), gör-; Zx. guhâftin, guheîr-, vt. change.
gurôn, gurô-, Zx. gurûn [sic], gurô-, vt. flay.
gûrëndîn, gûrîn-, vt. take about.
gîrtîn, gîr-, vt. take, hold, contain.
giryân, gîryê-, vi. be blocked.

garîdân, garîyê-; Zx. garîhân, garîhê-, vi. go about, wander.
gastîn, gaz-, vt. bite.


gaštîn, see gihaštîn.
*göti'n, bê-; Am. götin, bê(z)-, vt. say.
giviştîn, givîş-, Zx. givištîn, givêš-, vt. squeeze, press.

habûn, haya'; Zx. habîn, vi. exist.

helân, hêl-, vt. leave, allow.
hingâftin, hîngê-, vt. strike (cf. angîftin).
hunûn, hun-, vt. smoothe.

hinârtîn, hinêr-; Am. -tin, vt. send.

harîstîn, harîf-, Am. -tin, vi. be ruined, collapse.

harîsîn, harîš-, vi. be crushed.

hustûn, hustû-; Zx. hastûn, hastû-, vt. rub.

hisyân, hisyê-; va ~, vi. be at ease, relax.

*hâtîn, (h)ê-; Am. -tin, vi. come.

hûvêstîn, (h)ûvevî(z)-; Zx. -tin, vt. throw.

hiştûrîn, hiştür-, Am. -tin, vt. count.

hiştûndîn, hiştîn-, vt. brandish.

hûråstîn, (h)ûråstîn-, vt. drive.

habûndîn, habîn-, vt. love.

hâjîmtîn, haşim-, vi. be still.

hiûtîn, hitî-, vi. neigh.

halyân, hal-; Zx. halhân, halhe-, vi. melt, dissolve.

harîmîn, harîm-, vi. be defiled.

hasyân, hasyê-, vi. be aware.

haštîndîn, haštîn-, vt. stuff.

hâwyân, hawayê-, vi. dwell, lodge.

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fán, já-, vt. chew.
fāriañdīn, fāriañ-, vt. try, attempt.

kaftin, kāv-; Am. kaftin, Zx. kațin, kāv-, vi. fall.
kațīn, kāl-, vi. bleat.
kañān (kālīn), kāl-, vt. carve.
kašītīn, kāli-, vi. split.
kašītīn, kāle-, vt. split.
kañān (kañīn), kāl-, vi. boil, be agitated.
kanīn, kan-, vi. laugh.
karīn, see qārin.

kirīn, ka-; Zx. k-, vt. do, make.
kurītīn, kurō-, vt. crunch.
kīryān, kīrē-, vi. be done.
kīrin, kīr-; Am., Zx. kīrin, kīr-, vt. buy.
kēșān, kēš-, vt. attract.
kuštīn, kuš-, Zx. kuštīn, vt. kill.
kuxīn, kux-, vi. cough.
kuxīrīyān, kuxīrē-, vi. be singed.

larīzin, lariz-, vi. tremble.
lavaryān, lavaryē-, vi. graze.

mahīn, mah-, vi. coagulate.
mālīn (māšīn), māl-, vt. sweep.
*mān, min-, vi. remain.
mīrin, mīr-, vi. die.
mīryān, mīr-; va ~, vi. die down, out (fire).
mīštīn, mīn-, vi. urinate.
māšīn, see mālīn.
mē(f)īn, mēš-, vt. suck.

nālin, nāl-, vi. groan, lament.
nān, nē-; Am., Zx. n-, vt. put.
nagīšāndīn, nagīšīn-, vt. decorate.
nērdān, nēr-, vi. look.
nāsīn, nās-; Am. nyāsīn, nyās-, vt. know, recognize.
nāsīyān, nāsīyē-, vi. adhere, stick.
nīškīnīn, nīškīn-, vi. break in.
*nīštīn, nē-; Am. n-; ḍā ~, vi. sit down.
nūštīn, nūl-; ṍā ~, vt. fold.
nūšyān, nūšyē-, vi. alight (bird).
nīvūsīn, niwūs-, = Zx.; Gul. nīwēsīn, nīwēs-, vt. write.
*nīwīstīn, niw-, vi. sleep.
nīxāfīn, nīxēv-, vt. dress, wrap up warmly.
KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

pêkîšîn, pêkiş-; Zx. bêknişîn, bênihîş-, vi. sneeze.
Am. palaxîn, palax-, vi. be shattered.
pandîfyûn, pandîfyê-, vi. swell.
pangyûn, pangyê-, vi. be stopped up, held back.
paqîn, paq-, vi. 1 split, 2 die (animal).
paqîşîn, paqîş-; hal ~, vi. fly off (sparks, wood chips, &c.).
pîrîqîn, pîrîq-, vi. be squashed.
pîrîgyûn, pîrîgyê-, vi. snap.
pîrsîn, pîrs-, vt. ask.
pûrâşîn, pûrêz-, vt. preserve.
parkànîn, parxîn-, vt. massage.
paxîn, paît-; tê ~, vi. pass over, cross a river.
pûrîyûn, pûrîyê-, va ~, vi. beg, beseech.
pîsîrînîn, pîsîr-; hal ~, vt. lean (something) against.
pûlîn, pûl-; dâ ~, vt. cover.
paştîn, paît-, vt. twist.
pâtîn, pêz-; Am., Zx. paştîn, vt. cook, bake.
pîvûn, pêv-, vt. measure.
Zx. qadân, qad-, vi. pass, suffice.
qahîrin, qahir-, vi. be angry.
qalyûn, qal-, vi. fry.
qasîmin, qatem-, vi. happen, occur.
Am. qaramtîn, ? qaram-, vi. freeze, be numb.
Shn. qânîn, qar-; (Rwn. kânîn, kår-), vt. be able.
qirânînîn, qirîn-, vt. shout.
garişîn, garîs-, vi. be clenched (teeth).
gusândînîn, gusîn-, vt. cut.
gawûnîn, gawî-; vi. crowd around.
gûtân, gût-; Zx. gûtân, gût-, hit, knock.
gatyûn, gatyê-; Zx. gatthân, gathê-, vi. finish.
giştînînîn, giştîn-, vt. shout, yell.

Zx. ŋabîstîndînîn, ŋabîsîn-, vt. water (land).
*îstîn, îs-; Am. -îsîn, vt. spin.
 naïstîndînîn, naïsîn-, vt. sprinkle.
îlîstînîn, îfê-, Zx. -îstîn, vt. pour.
îstîn, see ñîşyûn.
îkîyûn, îkîyê-; va ~, vi. vomit.
îtîn, îî-, vi(t), stool, (defecate).
îtqûsînîn, itqîs- [sic], vi. dance.
îvûnîn, îvî-; vi. fleece, elope.
îvînîn, ñîvo-, vt. abduct.
îvûnîn, îvô-, vi. bark.
APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS

rifin, rif- = Zx., vi. rot, decompose.
řişyân, řişe-; Zx. řişähän, řişe-; Gul. řištîn, řişe-., vi. pour, spill.
safyân, safyê-, vi. be filtered, strained.
simirîn, simir-, vi. be numb, freeze.
simtîn, sim-; Am. -tin, vt. bore.
stîndîn, stîn-; Zx. stîndîn, stîn-, vt. take.
stîrîn, stîr-, vt. wipe.
sîwîrin, see xîwîrin.
šawîlîn, šawîl-, vt. wash rice.
*šûtîn, šô-, vi/t. burn.
stîndîn, see stîndîn.
škëndîn, šîn-; Am. škënin, vt. break.
*škastîn, šuke-; Am. šœtin, vi. break.
šêlîn, šel-, vt. knead.
šêtîn, šer-; va ~, hide, bury.
*šuštîn, šô-; Gul. šuštîn, vt. wash.
šawîtîn, šawît-, vi. be spoilt.
šyân, šê-, vt. be able.
Zx. tahišîn, tahš-, vi. slip.
talîfîndîn, talîfîn-, vt. destroy.
tapîsîndîn, tapîsîn-, vt. dent, ram.
tirîkîn, tirîk-; Am., Zx. tirîkîn, tirîk-, vi. whelp.
tîrsyân, tîrs-, = Am., vi. fear, be afraid.
tîrâsîn, tirâ-, vt. carve.
Zx. ţamîrîndîn, ţamîrîn-, vt. put out (fire, light).
taysîn, tays-, vi. shine.
ţazîn, ţaz-, = Am., Zx., vi. freeze, be numb.

*wyân, wê-, vt. want, wish.
warîmtîn, warîm-, vi. swell.
wêrân, wêr-, vt. dare.
wârîndîn, warîn-, vt. envelop.
wâryân, wâryê-; hal ~, disintegrate.
*waštîn, wašt-, ţâ ~, vi. stop, stand.
wâşîndîn, wašîn-; dâ ~, vt. shake.
wâlyân, wâlyê-; hal ~, vi. collapse.
sîcîyân, xîcîyê-, vi. be caught, deceived.
xâlyân, xalyê-, vi. be dislocated (twist, &c.).
xamîlîndîn, xamilîn-, vt. adorn.
*xundin, xûn⁻; Zx. xândin; Gul., Shn. xwandin; vt. study, read.

xandîqándin, xandîqîn⁻; Shn. xaniqändin, xaniqîn⁻, vt. strangle.

*xärîn, xo⁻; Zx. xu⁻; Gul. xwârîn, xu⁻; Shn. xwârîn, xo⁻, vt. eat.

xurêndin, xurîn⁻, vt. scratch.

xuryên, xuryê⁻, vi. itch.

xurîn, xuî⁻; tê .getMap, vi. challenge.

xasandin, xarîn⁻, vt. castrate.

xâstîn, xax⁻; Zx. -sin; Gul. xwastîn, xwax⁻, vt. demand.

xîșändin, xishîn⁻, vt. drag.

xwandin, see xundin.

xwârîn, see xärîn.

xwastîn, see xâstîn.

xân, xê⁻⁻; = Zx., vi. give birth (animal).

xânîn, xân⁻, vt. know.

xîryên, xîryê⁻, vi. tear, split.

xîrizîn, xirî⁻, vi. bray (donkey).

xîvîrîn, xîwîrî⁻; Sur. siwîrîn, siwîrî⁻, vi. move, revolve.

xîn, xî⁻⁻, vi. live.

-, see before b⁻.
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  - Semi-vowels
  - Vowels
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    - Vowel groups

- **WARMAWA**
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