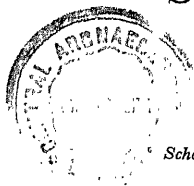


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# KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES-I



BY

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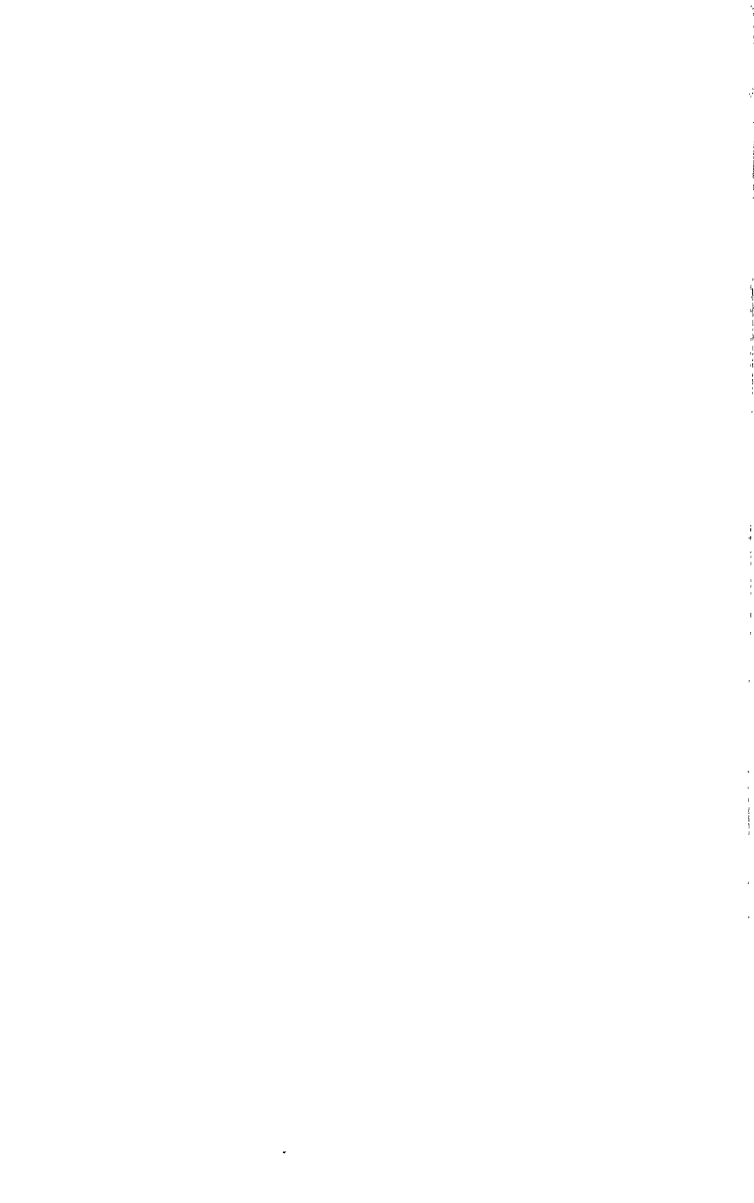
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TO MY  
KURDISH FRIENDS





## 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*.



## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- p. xiv. Add: *Šayx Muḥammad Mardūx. Kitāb-i farhang-i Mardūx* [Sinaī Kd.-NP.-Ar.], 2 vols., [Teheran, 1957].
- p. 96, last line. For *aṛāyawa* read *gaṛāyawa*.
- p. 195, line 28. For *girīn<sup>2</sup>* read *girīn-<sup>2</sup>*.
- p. 225, line 2. Delete *double* line before |Unaspirated stops|.
- p. 228, last line. For *hāwurdin* read *hāwirdin*.



# CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	xiii
MAPS	xv
INTRODUCTION	xvii
PART I. PHONOLOGY	I
PART II. GROUP I DIALECTS	50
PART III. GROUP II DIALECTS	150
PART IV. DIALECT GROUPING	220
APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS	226
CONSPECTUS	241



## ABBREVIATIONS

Ak.*	Akre	(town and district of Mosul province).
Am.*	Amadiye	(town and district of Mosul province).
Ar.	Arabic.	
Arb.*	Arbil	(town, <i>district</i> , and province).
Bad.	<i>Bādīnān</i>	(Kurdish area of Mosul province, comprising Ak., Am., Dhk., Shn., Zeb., Zx.).
Bar.*	<i>Barwārī-žōr</i>	( <i>sub-district</i> of Am. district).
Bin.*	<i>Bingird</i>	(village and <i>sub-district</i> of Piž. district).
Bot.	Bo(h)tan	(area south of Lake Van, east Turkey).
BX.†	Bedir-Xan,	op. cit., v. Bibliography, representing normalized Bot. and dialects west thereof.
Dhk.	Dohuk	(town and <i>district</i> of Mosul province).
Ē.	Edmonds,	MS. notes, representing normalized Sul., q.v.
Gul.*	<i>Gullī</i>	(tribe and <i>sub-district</i> of Zx. district).
Hak.	Hakari	(province of south-east Turkey).
Hal.	Halebje	(town and <i>district</i> of Sul. province).
Kd.	Kurdish.	
KK.	Kurdoev,	op. cit. (ii), v. Bibliography, representing normalized Rwn.
Muk.†	<i>Mukrī</i>	(tribe south of Lake Urmiye, north-west Iran).
NP.	New Persian.	
P.	v. Sul. P.	
Piž.*	<i>Piždar</i>	( <i>sub-district</i> and district of Sul. province).
Rdz.*	Rewandiz	(town and <i>district</i> of Arb. province).
Rwn.	Erevan	(city, Armenian SSR).
Shn.	Sheikhan	(town and <i>district</i> of Mosul province, predominantly Yezidi).
Sor.	<i>Sōrān</i>	(Kurdish area of Arb. province and Piž. district, comprising Bin., Piž., Arb., Rdz., Xoš.).
Sul.*	Suleimaniye	(town, <i>district</i> , and province).
Sul. P.		Printed sources which, with Sul. E, may contain conscious neologisms.
Sur.*	<i>Sūrē</i>	(tribe in Ak. and Rdz. districts).
War.*	<i>Wārmāwa</i>	( <i>sub-district</i> of Hal. district).
Xoš.*	<i>Xōšnāw</i>	(tribe south of Rdz. town).

## KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

Zeb.	Zēbārī	(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 Kurdoev, *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'.



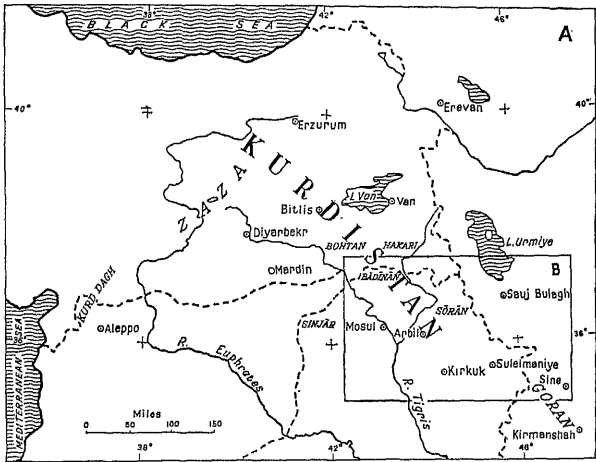
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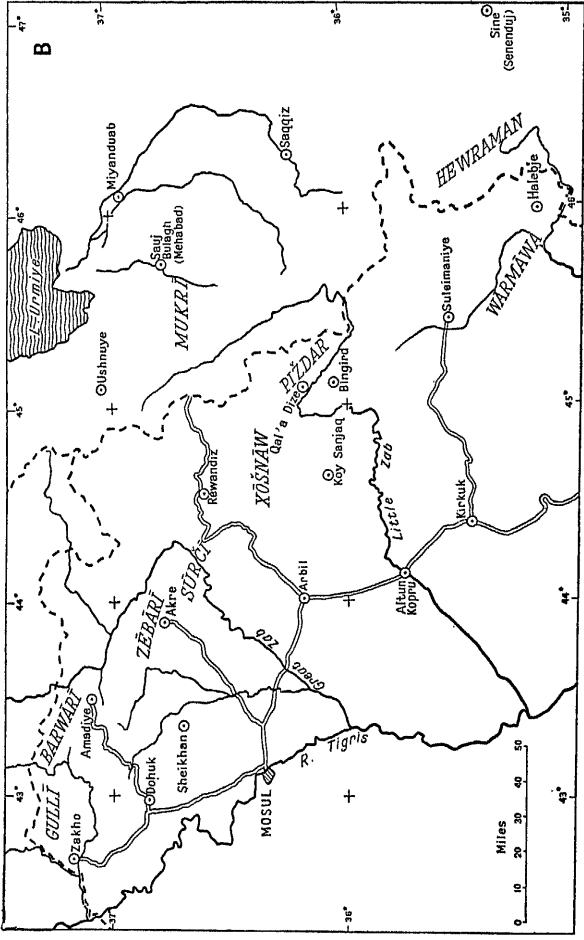
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## INTRODUCTION

*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 *Barwāri-žōr* 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 *Bingirdi* text (Bin. 314-79), a man of about twenty-five years of age, had lived for about one year in

*Piždar*; the *Xōšnāw* speaker, some forty years old, had worked for a dozen years in cosmopolitan Arbil; the *Sūrčī* speaker, well past his fiftieth year, had lived for the past two years on the outskirts of Akre; the forty-year-old *Gullī* 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 *Wārmāwa* (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:

Group I. Suleimani	Group II. ( <i>Sūrčī</i> )
<i>Wārmāwa</i>	Akre
<i>Bingird</i>	Amadiye
<i>Piždar</i>	<i>Barwārī-žôr</i>
<i>Mukrī</i>	<i>Gullī</i>
Arbil	Zakho
Rewandiz	(Sheikhan)
<i>Xōšnāw</i>	

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. رنی *reni* 'fox', for *řēwī*), 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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 Šidqī. 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 Wahbī*'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 *Nūrī 'Alī Amīn*. Although more

<sup>1</sup> e.g. the ghost-word *purs* 'pig', cf. Benveniste, *BSL*, XLV. 88.

<sup>2</sup> See my detailed review in *BSOAS*, XXII. 591.

ambitious, and showing an acquaintance with English grammatical terminology, it could be described *mutatis mutandis* in almost the same terms as *Şidqî'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 *Mukrî* dialect is quoted throughout for the sake of comparison with the neighbouring *Sōrānî* 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 *Bādīnān* 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 *Hakārî* 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 *Suleimani* and *Mukrî* songs given provide useful corroborative evidence.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. 'kyautin or kautin or kaftin, v. fall', 'khîn or khon [i.e. \*xûn : xûn], n. blood'.



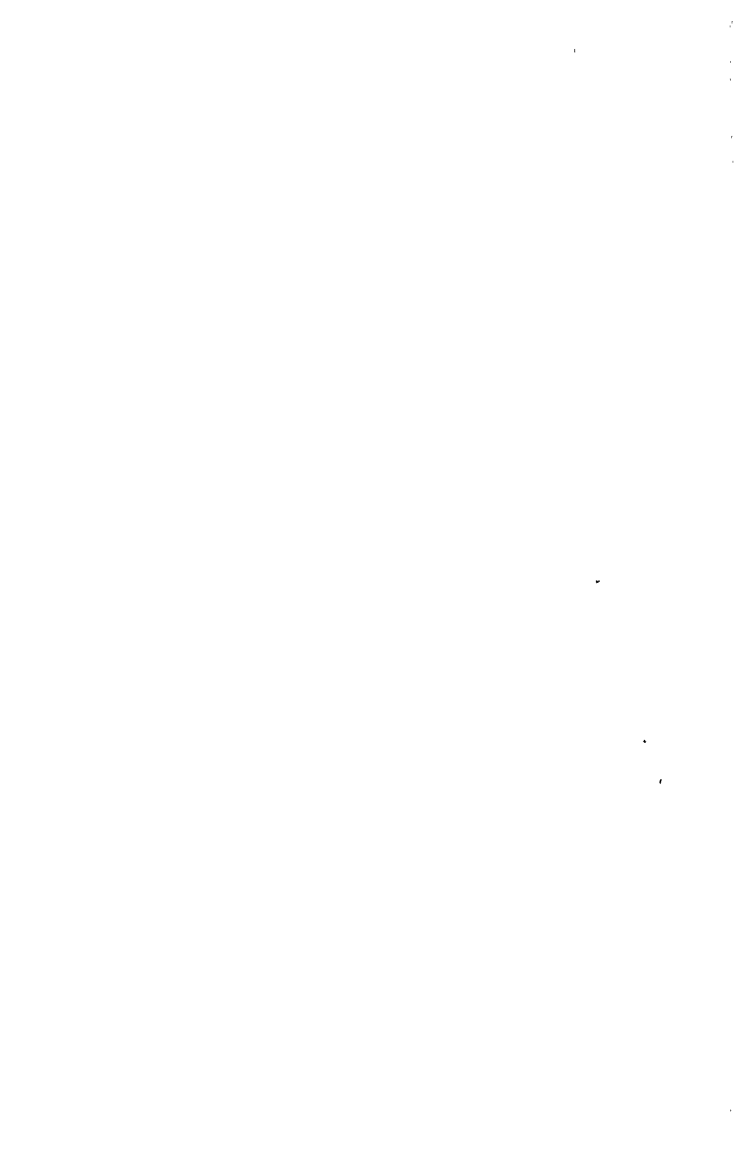
## INTRODUCTION

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 (*Jl. 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 1906-7 journey from Aleppo to Mosul, via Urfa, Siverek, Diyarbakir, 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 *Bādīnānī* dialects when they give features common to the Kurdish dialects of Turkey and the Caucasus, but contrasting with *Bādīnānī*.

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

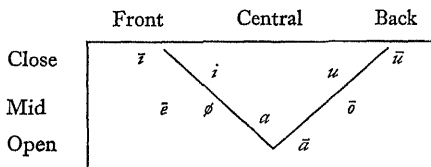
A. DIALECTS OF GROUP I

SULEIMANIYE DIALECT (Kd. *Silaymānī*)

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)<sup>1</sup> and nine vowels:<sup>2</sup>

	<i>Labial</i>	<i>Dental, Alveolar</i>	<i>Palato- alveolar</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Uvular</i>	<i>Pharyngeal</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
Stop and Affricate	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>	<i>t</i> <i>d</i>	<i>ç</i> <i>ʃ</i>	<i>k</i> <i>g</i>	<i>q</i>		
Fricative	<i>f</i> <i>v</i>	<i>s</i> <i>z</i>	<i>ʃ</i> <i>ʒ</i>	<i>x</i> <i>ɣ</i>		<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i> ( <sup>h</sup> ) <sup>3</sup>
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>			
Lateral Vibrant		<i>l</i> <i>r</i>	<i>l̥</i> <i>r̥</i>				
Semi-vowel	<i>w</i>	(ə) <sup>1</sup>	<i>y</i>				



<sup>1</sup> See § 37.

<sup>2</sup> 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).

<sup>3</sup> See § 33.

## Consonants

## Labial

§ 2. *p* is normally a voiceless, aspirated, bilabial plosive [pʰ].

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

*čī bikam* [tʃi: b̥k'am]

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

§ 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

*havda* [h'av'va] < \**hafda*      *tāvga* [t̩:v'ga] < \**tāfga*

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

## Dental and alveolar

§ 7. (a) *t* is normally a voiceless, aspirated, dental plosive [tʰ]. 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 [ə] (*v.* § 37). In view of this unpredictable alternation the continuant allophone may, where necessary, be written *t̩*, e.g.

*bitgirim* [bit̩g̩rim] ~ *bitgirim* [b̩i̯əg̩rim]  
*čī kird* [tʃi:t̩k'ird] ~ *čī̩ kird* [tʃi:ə̩k'ird]

Following *i*, *ū* in final position this *t* is frequently not realized, e.g.

*sēwēki(t) adamē* [s̩e:we:k'i(t) a'q̩ame̩]  
*mirdū(t) mirē* [m̩ir'du: m̩r̩e̩]

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

*nātnāsīm* [n̩a:n̩n̩a:sim]      *čī̩ lē kird* [tʃi:l̩le: k'ird]

§ 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.

*dast* [dast']                      *dāyk* [dɑ:kik']  
*nōzda* [nɔ:z'da] '19'              *kird* [k'ird]

Note, however,

*bayā* 'Baghdad'              *yānza* '11', &c.

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

*āmāda* [ɑ:mɑ:ʔɑ]              *nāwdār* [nɑ:u'wɑ:r]  
*libād* [li'bɑ:ə]                      *bad* [bɑə]

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

*bādam*, *bāam* [bɑ:'dɑm, bɑ:'ɑm]              *mawlū* [mau'lu:] Ar.  
*mawlūd*

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

*zāmdār* [zɑ:m'mɑ:r]              *birīndār* [bri:n'nɑ:r]  
*dīldār* [di'l'dɑ:r]              *havda* [hav'va]              *maydān* [mej'dɑ:n]

§ 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 [ə], as a semivowel, e.g.

*dāya* [dʔɑ:jɛ]              *adātē* [ɑdɑ:'tɛ:]

or as a vowel, e.g.

*hal dirāwa* [haɫɪ'rɑ:wa]

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

*a(d)ātē* [ɑdɑ:'tɛ:]              *b(id)arawa* [b'barawa]              *n(ad)āē* [nɑ:jɛ]

(b) In proximity to *y*; *ī*, *ē*, *ay*, it may be realized as [j],<sup>1</sup> e.g.

*dāya* [jɑ:jɛ]              *nādayn* [nɑ:jɛjn]              *fīrē dayt* [fɪrɛ:'ɛjt]

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

*bimdarē* [b'immɑrɛ:]              *amāndātē* [ɑmɑ:nɑdɑ:'tɛ:]  
*tēy hal dan* [t'ɛ:j haɫ'dɑn]              *aydam* [ɛj'dɛm]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the realization of the initial *d* (with, however, medial position) in the following fixed, obscene, phrase: *la quzi dāyki(t) bim* [la q'uzi: jɑ:k'ik'ɪ bim].

Only following *t* is the plosive realization [d] preserved, e.g.

*atdātē* [aʔdɑ:'tɛ:]

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

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

*sad* [saʕ, saʕ̥] '100', cf. NP. spelling صد

*ʃast* [ʃast', ʃast'̥] '60', cf. NP. spelling شصت

*sag* [sag, sag̥] 'dog', cf. Ak. *ša* (v. § 118).

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

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

§ 12. (a) *n* is normally a voiced, dental nasal [n]. In *injā* alone it may be vocalic [ʔndʒɑ:] (v. § 41 (a) fn.).

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

[guliŋk'a, miŋwɑ:ŋk'a, ʃiŋ'gɑ:r]

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

*a-+yān+kird* [ɛjɑ:ŋk'ird]      *bōn ka* [ʔbɔ:ŋk'a]

*bān+guš* [bɑ:ŋ'gʊʃ]

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:

*gulinka, milwānka, Šingār*

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

\**āsingar* > *āsiŋar*

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

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

With some, rare, speakers it appears to be realized as a retroflex lateral [ɭ]. Some women speakers (perhaps affectedly) replace *l̥* 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.

*har la* [ˈhalla]

§ 16. *r̥* is a voiced, alveolar roll or trill [r̥].

### Palatal

§ 17. *č* is a voiceless, palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ].

§ 18. *ǰ* is a voiced, palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ].

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

(i) Other possible affricate groups, such as *pf*, *kx*, do not occur at all. *kš*, *pš*, *bš*, and *št* occur in initial position only as a result of secondary contact.

(ii) No groups of three consonants occur in initial position except [tʃkʰ, tʃq, tʃɬ, tʃw, dʒg, dʒw, dʒj]. In medial position no three-consonant groups beginning with a stop occur beside [tʃkʰ, tʃq, tʃm, tʃr, dʒg]. In final position no three-consonant groups occur apart from [ndʒ, rtʃ, rdʒ].

In each case the interpretation of [tʃ, dʒ] as *č*, *ǰ* respectively obviates the exception.

§ 20. *š* is a voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ].

§ 21. *ž* is a voiced, palato-alveolar fricative [ʒ].

### Velar

§ 22. *k* is normally a voiceless, aspirated, velar plosive [kʰ].

§ 23. *g* is a voiced, unaspirated, velar plosive [g].

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

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

*yāŋza* [jā:ŋ̃ˈza]

(c) 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.

[bā:ŋ] *bāŋ*, but [bā:ŋ'gʊ] *bānguš*

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

*kē* [c'ɛ:]      *gəz* [ʤɛz]      *raŋē* [ʀaŋ'jɛ:] (not [ʀaŋɛ:])

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. *ɣ* 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. *ħ* is a voiceless, pharyngeal fricative [ħ].

§ 30. ' is a voiced, pharyngeal fricative [ʕ], less tense than the corresponding Ar. ع.

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

*ħawt* 'seven'      *ħīz* 'lecher'

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

*āsmān* ~ 'āsmān 'heaven'      *am(m)ār* ~ 'amār 'granary'

and in words of Ar. origin,

*amr* ~ 'amr 'order; age'      *qur'ān* ~ *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 *ē* (v. § 43) is normally preceded by [ʔ]. The modal prefix



*a-* (v. § 206 (a)), however, is generally only so preceded after a pause. Thus:

*bō aw* [bɔ: ʔau], but *bō aykay* [ʔbɔ: ɟikʔɟ]

(ii) Following a final consonant, the conjunction *ū* 'and', the Izafe *ī* (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 intervocally, even at a morpheme juncture, thus:

*aḥāt* [Paʔhɑ:tʔ], but *naahāt* [ʔnaa:hɑ:tʔ]<sup>1</sup>

(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 ʔ, e.g.

*suʔāl* '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 [w̥ > ɥ].

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

(b) Between vowels the realization of *y* is sometimes almost imperceptible, e.g. *-āya-* [-ɑ:ʔjɑ-], particularly in the contexts *ī*, *ē*, *ø-y-a*, *ā*, e.g.

*kursiyak* [kʔurʔsi:ɟkʔ]      *dīyān* [ʔdi:ɑ:n] (v. § 60)

*dēyak* [ʔde:akʔ]              *lēyān* [ʔle:ɑ:n]

*gōyak* [ʔgœʔakʔ]              *gōyān* [ʔgœʔɑ:n]

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

*yōnān* > *wēnān* 'Greece'      *bālyōz* > *bāl̄wēz* 'ambassador'  
*milyōn* > *milwēn* 'million'      *qarawēla* < Tk. *karyola* 'bed'  
*tanturwēt* < Fr. 'teinture (d')iode'

<sup>1</sup> The Sul. Kd. orthography has ʔ before all vowels in initial position, and even medially, thus نه هات، ئه هات، نه نه هات، rather than آهات، آهات، آش. This seems to be an unnecessarily misleading adaptation of the Ar. script.



§ 41. *i* has two normal allophones, and may also alternate with zero.

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

*išt* [ɪʃtʰ]      *āsāišt* [ɑ:sɑ:ɪʃtʰ]

(b) In medial<sup>2</sup> 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* [pʰiʃtʰ]      *nāwi* [ˈnɑ:wɪ]

(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

<i>bikam</i> [ˈbɪkʰam]	:	<i>čī bikam</i> [ˈtʃi: bɪkʰam]
<i>birdin</i> [bɪrˈdɪn]	:	<i>birdinawa</i> [ˌbɪrdnɑˈwɑ]
<i>dasim</i> [ˈdɑsɪm]	:	<i>dasima</i> [ˈdɑsmɑ]
<i>dīwim</i> [ˈdi:wɪm]	:	<i>dīwimī</i> [ˈdi:umiː]
<i>nārdi(t)</i> [ˈnɑ:rɔi(t)]	:	<i>nārditī</i> [ˈnɑ:rɔtiː]

§ 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* [brɑ:], but [ˈbɪrɑː] ‘O brother!’ (v. § 181 (a))

*šitīn* [ʃtʰɪn] ‘to wash’, but *dasi(t) šit* [ˈdasi ʃitʰ] ‘have you washed your hands?’;

from *biřim* [bri:n] ‘to cut’, *aybiřim* [ɛjbʰɪm] ‘I cut it’, but *qalambir* [qɑlamˈbɪr] ‘penknife’ (v. § 253 (a) (ii)).

To most sophisticated Kurds the theoretically polysyllabic nature of such words as \**dirēž*, *kirān*, *pilāw*, *sipī*, &c., is evident, despite the regular realization as [dɪrɛ:ʒ, krɑ:n, plɑ:w, spʰi:], &c.<sup>3</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> The sole recorded exception is the word *infa* [ˈɪndʒɑː], more commonly [ˈɪndʒɑː].

<sup>2</sup> The only exception recorded is the word *linj* [lɪndʒ].

<sup>3</sup> 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. *e* is a half-open, front vowel [ɛ:] (or shorter [ɛ·] in final unstressed position) except in the diphthong [ɛ: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 [ʲɛ:], e.g.

*ēm* [ʲɛ:m]      *aēšā* [aʲɛ:ʲā:]

The same occurs following *p*, e.g. *pē* [pʲɛ:], while a preceding velar stop or nasal is palatalized (v. § 25).

§ 44. (a) *ø* is a diphthong [œɛ], 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 [ʲœɛ], sometimes a rising [œʲɛ] diphthong. Usually a speaker will realize the diphthong in one way only, but occasionally both forms may be heard from the one person.

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

*wērān, bālwēz, bilø*

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

*dē+ -aká > dēká*                      *gø+ -aká > gøyaká*  
*donē+ -awa > donēwa*                 *kø+ -awa > køyawa*

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

— — — | — — — | — — — | — — —,  
*Zōr kaṛat hānim adā dāxi darūni piṛ-giṛim,*  
*bōli hal řēšim sikālāy nāsiki garm ū guṛim;*  
*dāxakam, kātē ka ēma bardamit wāqī wuṛim*  
*wām ašēwēnē ba jōrē nāyalē hič dar biṛim.*

*Hardi.*

Decasyllabic,

*La řēr mēzarā malāy nūstāwa*      *řiři bū sar siṅ paṛš ū bilāwa*  
*qiyāfat paṛpūt wah kitēbi kōn*      *ximāni řirin, simāy nextē mōn*

*Gōrān.*

Corresponding to  $-(i)w\bar{e}-$  [ʏɛ:] the realization [œɛ] is normally heard in Sul., e.g.

$n(i)w\bar{e}\check{s}$  [nʏɛ:ʒ] >  $n\check{o}\check{s}$  [nœɛʒ]

cf.  $\check{f}in\bar{e}w$  [dʒinɛ:u] >  $*\check{f}iw\bar{e}n$  >  $\check{f}on$  [dʒœɛn]

The converse is not, however, true. Thus

$g\check{o}\check{s}$  [ʒœɛz] nowhere appears as [ʒʏɛ:z]  $*g(i)w\bar{e}\check{s}$

$\check{o}$  has, therefore, an identity distinct from  $w\bar{e}$ .

§ 45.  $a$  has two allophones. Normally it is an open, front-central vowel [a]. In contact with  $\bar{i}$  or  $y$  it is a half-open, front vowel [ɛ], more close preceding<sup>1</sup> and more open following  $\bar{i}$ ,  $y$ , e.g.

$ya\check{k}$  [jɛk']  $ga\bar{i}n$  [gɛli:n]

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

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

[p'ɛ:] : [pa:]

§ 47. (a)  $\bar{o}$  is normally a medium, back vowel [ɔ:] (or [ɔ·] in final unstressed position) with two other allophones.

(b) It appears before  $r$ ,  $\bar{r}$ , as a half-open, back vowel [ɔ:].

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

$t\bar{o}w$  [t'ʷɔ:u]

§ 48.  $u$  is invariably a half-close, back-central vowel [ʊ].

§ 49.  $\bar{u}$  is a close, back vowel [u:]. In unstressed position preceding another vowel it may be realized as [w], e.g.

$kirdim \bar{u} aykamawa$  [k'irdimwɛjk'ama'twa]

<sup>1</sup> The realization [ɛ] is somewhat more close even than the normal realization of  $\bar{e}$ , but in the same context  $\bar{e}$  is much closer [ɛ:(j)] (v. § 43).

### Diphthongs

§ 50. There are three classes of diphthongs in the Sul. dialect, namely those ending in:

- (i) a close, front vowel [ɛ:i, œɛi, ɛj, a:i, o:i, u:i]
- (ii) a close, back vowel [i:u, ɛ:u, œɛu, au, a:u, o:u]
- (iii) a half-close, central [ə], [i:ə, iə, ɛ:ə, ə, ə, ə, u:ə]

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

[lɑ:i 'min], but [lɑ:ɪ'ek']

Thus they cannot be regarded as single phonemes.

[ɛj, a:i], &c., are to be clearly distinguished from [ɛ'i:, a:'i:], &c., e.g.

[mɛj] 'wine'	[mɛ'i:] 'it congealed'
[mɑ:i'n] 'we stayed'	[mɑ:'i:n] 'mare'

Thus the second element of the diphthong cannot conveniently be regarded as a realization of *ɪ*. It must rather be considered as representing the semi-vowel *y*. Class (i) is then reducible to the groups *ēy* (v. § 43), *øy*, *ay* (v. § 45), *āy* (v. § 46), *ōy*, and *ūy*.

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

[a:u], but [a:wɛ:k']

On the analogy of class (i) it is convenient to consider these diphthongs as phoneme groups with *w* as the second member, thus *īw*, *ēw*, *ow*, *aw*, *āw*, and *ōw* (v. § 47 (c)).

§ 53. [ə] occurring only as an allophone of *t* or *d* (v. §§ 7, 8) the diphthongs of class (iii) represent *īt*, *it*, *ēt*, *at* or *ad*, *āt* or *ād*, *ōt*, and *ūt*.

### Distribution of Phonemes

#### Consonants

§ 54. (a) The following oppositions show that all consonants, except *l*, *ŋ*, *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 *ʿ*, 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'.

*hapá* 'peg' : *abá* 'Abdullah' : *xafát* 'grief' : *giv(v)á* 'whirring' : *ama* 'this' : *awa* 'that'. *kapr* 'bower' : *zabr* 'power' : *bafr* 'snow' : *amr* 'life; order' : *hawr* 'cloud'.

*qāp* 'plate' : *ʃwāb* 'answer' : *qāf* 'Q, "call-up"' : *wām* 'debt' : *āw* 'water'. *kīf* 'bag' : *gīv* 'crouching position'. *qap* 'bite' : *kaf* 'palm of the hand' : *čam* 'stream' : *kaw* 'partridge'.

*t : d : s : z : n*

*tāw* 'power' : *dāw* 'snare' : *zāw* 'having borne, milch' : *nāw* 'name'. *dēw* 'demon', *dīw* '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' : *kōsá* 'beardless; swindler' : *gōzā* 'pitcher' : *sōnā* 'duck'. *řātū* 'student's pension' : *řādū* 'magic' : *parāšū* 'ribs' : *tarāzū* 'balance' : *řwānū* 'foal'.

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

*s : z : š : ž*

*sē* '3' : *zē* 'river, Zab' : *šē* 'dampness' : *žē* 'bowstring'. *sīn* 'S' : *zīn* 'saddle' : *šīn* 'blue; lament' : *žīn* 'life'. *syāņzā* '13' : *šāņzā* '16' : *šyākā* 'dung'. *zyān* 'loss' : *žān* 'pain' : *žyān* 'to live'.

*hasār* 'wall' : *hazār* '1,000' : *hašār* 'camouflaged hide' : *hažār* 'wretched'. *tāsá* 'pang' : *tāzā* 'fresh' : *lašá* 'corpse', *wāšá* 'hawk' : *wāžá* 'buzzing'.

*tīrs* 'fear' : *dirz* 'split' : *tīř* 'sour' : *girž* 'sullen'.

*š : ž : č : ř (: y)*

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

*pāšū* 'hind', *pēšū* 'former' : *qāžū* 'jackdaw' : *bēčū* 'young of animal' : *bāřī* 'elder sister'. *xānčī* 'innkeeper' : *tānřī* 'greyhound'. *čašn* 'sort' : *řažn* 'celebration'.

*gaš* 'shining' : *gač* 'lime' : *xaĵ* 'Khadije'. *bāš* 'good', *bōš* 'empty' : *řōž* 'day; sun' : *pāč* 'pickaxe' : *bāĵ* 'tax'. *farš* 'carpet' : *wurč* 'bear' : *marĵ* 'bet'.

*č* : *ĵ* : *k* : *g* : *q*

*čō* 'go!' : *ĵō* 'barley' : *kō* 'mass', *kōč* 'march' : *gō* 'ball' : *qōč* 'horn'. *ĵīř* 'elastic, tough' : *gīř* 'tenacious' : *qīř* 'pitch'. *čwār* '4' : *ĵwān* 'beautiful' : *kwā* 'where is?' : *gwān* 'udder'. *ĵyā* 'separate' : *gyān* 'soul'.

*qōčaqañt* 'sling' : *kilōĵá* 'manner' : *lōká* 'cotton' : *kōgá* 'store' : *lōqá* 'trot'.

*pāč* 'pickaxe' : *bāĵ* 'tax' : *pāk* 'clean' : *lāq* 'leg'. *parč* 'curve' : *marĵ* 'bet' : *ark* 'work' : *ĵarg* 'liver' : *farq* 'difference'.

*k* : *g* : *x* : *γ* : *η*

*kā* 'straw', *kō* 'mass' : *gā* 'ox', *gō* 'ball' : *xō* 'self' : *γār* 'gallop'. *kař* 'deaf', *kaw* 'partridge' : *gař* 'mangy' : *xaw* 'sleep'. *kwā* 'where is?' : *gwārá* 'earring' : *xwā* 'God'.

*aká* 'does' : *agá* 'reaches' : *axá* 'throws'. *bēkár* 'bachelor' : *bēgár* 'corvée' : *xūxáw* 'pus' : *liγáw* 'bridle' : *haĵáw* 'pace'.

*bāk* 'fear' : *bāx* 'garden' : *sāγ* 'well' : *bāĵ* 'call'. *tūk* 'hair' : *dūg* 'sheep's fat tail' : *dūx* 'spindle'.

*x* : *γ* : *h* : ' : *h*

*xāl* 'mole' : *γār* 'gallop' : *hāl* 'condition'. *xafát* 'grief' : *hapá* 'barking' : *abá* 'Abdullah' : *hapá* 'peg'.

*axám* 'I throw' : *laγám* 'tunnel' : *řahatí* 'funnel' : *bahášt* 'heaven'.

*řōx* 'pretty' : *řōh* 'spirit', *lawh* 'tablet' : *naw* 'sort'. *nirx* 'price' : *bilh* 'lazy'.

*m* : *n* : *η* (but see §§ 12 (b), 24 (c))

*māl* 'house' : *nāl* 'horseshoe'. *málē* 'do not say!' : *nálē* 'he should not say'.

*māmá* 'the uncle' : *mānā* 'meaning' : *māĵá* 'cow'. *dāmá* 'draughts' : *dānā* 'grain'.

*tam* 'mist' : *tan* 'body' : *taĵ* 'tight'. *mām* 'uncle' : *mān* 'resentment' : *māĵ* 'moon'.

*l* : *l* : *r* : *ř*

*lē* 'from it' : *řē* 'road'. *lūt* 'nose' : *řūt* 'naked'.

*palá* 'haste' : *pałá* 'stain' : *pařá* 'increase' : *pařá* 'page'. *kōłán* 'street' : *gōřán* 'peasant' : *gōřán* 'to change'.



gil 'pain' : gīl 'clay', dīl 'heart' : dīr 'fierce'. kal 'chipped' : kaḥ 'ox' : kar 'donkey' : kaḥ 'deaf'.

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

s : z. zig ~ zik ~ sik 'stomach' (v. § 172 (d)). zij ~ sič 'tick'. wariz ~ waris 'angry'.

k : q. kīn ~ qīn 'hate'. lik ~ liq 'branch'. rik ~ riq 'anger'.

x : γ. xan ~ γam 'sorrow'. čōxá ~ čōγá 'homespun jacket'. čix ~ čixγ 'reed screen'.

' : '. (')amr 'life; order'. (')āsmán 'heaven'. (')amár 'granary' (v. § 31).

n : η. minál ~ miηál 'child'. ban ~ baη 'tied' (v. § 57 (a)).

## Vowels

§ 55. (a) *o* 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:

*ī* : *ē* : *o* : *ā* : *ō* : *ū*

īš 'work' : ēš 'pain' : āš 'mill' : ūč 'nib'. ēstá 'now' : ōstá 'master'.

pīr 'old', šīr 'clever' : šēr 'under' : zōr 'sad' : pār 'last year', zār 'a die' : zōr 'much, very' : pūr 'aunt', zūr 'rough'.

bī 'willow' : bē 'without', kē 'who?' : kō 'where?' : bā 'wind', kā 'straw' : bō 'for', kō 'mass' : bū 'was'.

*i* : *a* : *u*

piř 'full' : pař 'feather', kař 'deaf' : kuř 'boy'. kird 'did' : kart 'piece' : kurd 'Kurd', kurt 'short' (v. (b) below).

Long vowel : short (*ī* : *i*, &c.)

pīr 'old' : piř 'full'. dīl 'prisoner' : dil 'heart'. nāwī 'his name' : nāwi 'thy name'.

kērd 'knife' : kird 'did'.

āw 'water' : aw 'he'. bāš 'good' : baš 'portion'. malá 'mullah' : malá 'swimming'.<sup>1</sup>

qōz 'dandy' : quz 'vulva'.

dūr 'far' : duř 'pearl'. kūr 'declivity' : kuř 'boy'.

<sup>1</sup> A few words have alternative forms, ending in stressed *ā* or *a*, e.g. *ēstā* = *ēstā* 'now', *řēgā* = *řēgā* 'road'.

Long vowel : diphthong (*ē* : *ay*, *ō* : *aw*)

*tēr* '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.

*wirč* = *wurč* 'bear', *āwīn* = *āwūn* 'dew', *biřō* = [ʰburo·

'go!], *biwērē* = \**buwērē* [ʰbu:ɛ:ɛ·] (v. § 60)

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

*isrāhat* [ɪsrɑ:ʰat] = *īsrāhat* [i:srɑ: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*, *l̄*, *r*, or *r̄* as the second element, e.g.

*gilān* [gla:n]    *pilāw* [pla:u]    *girān* [gra:n]    *fiřē* [fre:]

and those with an initial sibilant or affricate, e.g.

*čilāw* [tʃla:u]    *simēl* [smɛ:l]    *šitīn* [ʃt'in]    *zimān* [zma:n]

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*, *ll̄*, *mm*, *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

$l+h, k, m, q$ ;  $l+b, f, k, m, p$ ;  $nʃ$ ;  $r+č, d, g, j, k,$   
 $m, s, š, t, x, z, ž$ ;  $ř+k, t$ ;  $s+k, m, p, q, t$ ;  $š+k,$   
 $m, n, t$ ;  $xt$ ;  $zm$ ;  $ž+d, m, n$ .

Some speakers, however, appear to be less able than others to realize even these groups in final position. Thus both [ʔaspʔ] and [ʔasʔpʔ] *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.

$xalq$  [ʔxalʔq]  
 $xalq$  *bānī akā* [ʔxalʔq ʔba:ŋʔi:ka], but  
 $xalqī$  *køy* [ʔxalqʔi:kʔœi]

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 āsik* [ba ʔa:ʔsikʔ]      *am āsikāna* [ʔam ʔa:ʔska:ʔna]  
*hamū šit* [haʔmu:ʔʃitʔ]      *hamū šitēk* [haʔmu:ʔtʔe:kʔ]

§ 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 *ŋ*, less frequently *nn*, e.g.

*ban, baŋ* : *band, diŋŋa* : *diŋinda, faŋ* : *fand*  
*māŋū* : *māndū, mināl, miŋāl* : *mindāl, škānin* : *škāndin,*

but *bannaxən* : *bandaxən*.

(b) The group *st* is normally stable in Sul.,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

*bist, bista, dōst, dāristān, &c.*

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

*qastam* < Ar. *qasam* 'oath', *maqast* < Ar. *miqašš* 'scissors'

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

*bīs(t), das(t), kōs(t), &c.*

<sup>1</sup> But note the reduction of the heavy secondary group in *hal stān* > *hal sān* or *hastān*.

The group normally loses the *t* when it is followed by another consonant and if this be voiced then the *s* is also voiced,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

*das(t) nākawē* [daz 'nɑ:k'awē·]

cf. *dasgā* [daz'gɑ:]      *dasgīrān* [dazgi:'rɑ:n]

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

*dīrust (kird, &c)* [dru:s ('k'ird)]

### Vowel groups

§ 58. A feature of the Sul. dialect is the frequency of uninterrupted vowel groups, usually of a secondary nature, e.g.

*āsāiš* [ɑ:sɑ:'iʃ] (v. § 41 (a))

*min ū aw* [minu·'au] (v. § 33 (a))

*wā akay* ['wɑ:ak'ej]

*law daštaā* [lau daʃ't'aɑ·]

With the presence of a semi-vowel longer groups of frictionless continuants may arise, e.g.

*lēy adā* ['lɛ:ja'ɑɑ:, 'lɛ:'jɑ'ɑ:]

*nērīnaṭ adātē* [nɛ:ri:n'ɑṭ aɑɑ:'tɛ:]

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

*ba nāw am šārāā* > . . . *am šārā*

§ 59. (a) In unstressed position the distinction between [jɛ] -*ya-*, -*īa-* and [jɛ:] -*ē-* appears to be lost. The former is generally perceived as the latter, e.g.

*kursiāká* [k'ursjɛ'k'a] > *kursēká* [k'urse:'k'a]

*ažnōyawa* [aʒ'nɔ:jɛwa] > *ažnōēwa* [aʒ'nɔ:ɛ:wa]

*intizārī akan* [int'i:'zɑ:re:k'an]

Note, *yawāš* [jɛ'wɑ:ʃ] > *hēwāš* [hɛ:'wɑ:ʃ].

But following *ā* the reverse is the case, e.g.

*nāēm* ['nɑ:'jɛ:m] > *nāyam* ['nɑ:jɛm]

*nadāē* ['nɑɑɑ:'jɛ·] > *n(ad)āya* ['nɑ:jɛ]

(b) The distinction between [wa] -*wa-*, [u:a] -*ūa-*, -*uwa-*, and [ɔ:] -*ō-* is frequently lost, even in stressed position. They are generally perceived as -*ō-*, e.g.

*ōrdūaká* [ɔ:rdwa'k'a] > *ōrdōká* [ɔ:rdɔ:'k'a]

*hātúwata* . . . [hɑ:t'u:ata] > *hātóta* . . . [hɑ:t'ɔ:ta]

<sup>1</sup> Note the phrase, *řāst akay* ['rɑ:zak'ei] 'You are right'.

Note, Ar. *muwaffāq* > *mōfāq*.

Conversely,

*xōyān* [ʰxɔːjɑːn] > *xwayān* [ʰxwejɑːn]

Note, *ōstā* ~ *wastā* '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-*, *-īy-*, (*-iyy-*) are realized as [i:], e.g.

*biygira* [ʰbiːgra]      *biyāngira* [ʰbiːɑːŋg<sup>1</sup>ra]

*čīyt* [tʃiːt]      *dīyān* [ʰdiːɑːn]

*pīrsīy* [pʰiːsiː]      *kursīyak* [kʰurʰsiːɛkʰ]

Ar. *nīyyat* > *nīyat* (*nīat*) [niːʔtʰ]

Similarly [u:] may represent, beside *ū*, the groups *-uw-* and *-ūw-* (*-uww-*), e.g.

*biwērē* > *\*buwērē* [ʰbuːeːrɛː] (v. § 55 (b))

*būwim* [ʰbuː<sup>u</sup>m]      *čūwīt-* [ʰtʃuːiːt]

Ar. *quwwat* > *qūwat* (*qūat*) [quːʔatʰ]

## WĀRMĀWA 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.

\**ʃwāb* [dʒwɑːu], \**qabrisān* [qɑːrɪsɑːn], \**aybam* [ɛjwam]

\**aybīnim* [ɛjɪːnim], \**āfrāsyāb* [ɑːfrɑːsjaːu]

\**taybāt* [tʰɛjwɑːtʰ] < Ar. *ṭabīʿat*, \**qubūlī* [quːliː]

§ 63 (§ 8). *d* has the same realizations in medial and final positions

as Sul. *d*, viz. [ɖ], &c., with the exception that it does not appear to be assimilated regularly by preceding *ī*, *y*, *m*, &c., e.g.

*sad* [saɖ], *badan* [baɖan], *hōda* [hɔ:ɖa]  
*aydam* [ejɖam], *bimdarē* [bimɖareː]

but [mejɭja:n] *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 [ɰ] with the lips in neutral position. This will be written [ḡ]. Following a vowel in a closed syllable the same sound forms a series of diphthongs [aḡ], &c., analogous to class (iii) (§ 50), e.g.

\**āgir* [a:ḡir], \**digān* [diḡa:n], \**sag* [saḡ]  
 \**aygirim* [ejḡrim], \**bagzāda* [baḡza:ɖa]  
 \**āsingar* [a:sinḡar], \**dargā* [darḡa:ː]  
 \**mērg* [me:ɾḡ], \**nizgara* [nizḡara]

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

\**lagal* [laḡal] > *lēl* [lɛ:l], *a(g)imā* [ejina]  
*miz(g)awt* [mizawtˈ]

§ 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, ɖ, ḡ] 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:

[aɤe: baɖali bɔ: bidam. qabu:lim ni:ɛ]  
 \**abē badali bō bidam. qabūlim nīa*

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

*wastī* (Sul. *bastī*) 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

*w* already exists it is only necessary to mark the variant realizations [ə, ɛ] as *ɔ* and [ǣ] as *ǧ*, e.g.

*ʃwāw*, *aywīnim*, *taywāt*, *qawrisān*, but *qūlt* (cf. § 62)

*baḏan*, *ayḏam*, *bimḏarē* (cf. § 63)

*āǧīr*, *baǧzāḏa*, *mērǧ*, but *aynā*, *mīzawt* (cf. § 64)

t

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

*hātīm* [hɑ:t'īm] but *hāt* [hɑ:ə], *kaḗat* [karaə] Ar. *karrat*

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

*kawtīm* [k'awt'īm] but *kawt* [k'aw], *hawt* [haw]

(c) As in § 65, these developments do not in themselves alter the phonemic system, since the spellings *hāt*, *kawt*, &c., would still indicate the realizations [hɑ:ə, k'aw], &c., but the irregular occurrence of Sul. dialect forms, such as [hɑ:t', k'awt'], requires that the proper War. forms be distinguished by writing *hāt*, *kaw(t)*, &c.

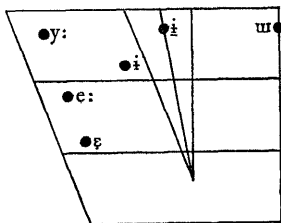
### Semi-vowels

§ 67 (§ 34). *w* is palatalized by a following *y* or front vowel, giving [ɥ], e.g.

*amawē biywīnim* [amaɥe: bi:ɥi:nim]

### Vowels

§ 68 (§ 39)



§ 69 (§ 41). *i*. Before *q*, *ğ* (v. § 65) and *t* (§ 7 (c)), *i* is more close than otherwise, i.e. it is a close, central vowel [i̠], e.g.

*hātiğim* [hɑ:t'ı̠ğim], *biṭkā* [biṭkɑ̠]

§ 70 (§ 43). *ē* is a half-close, front vowel [e̞:], 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'j̞e̞:i].

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

*haya* [hɛ̞jɛ̞], *ēmaya* [ɛ̞:mɛ̞jɛ̞]

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

*šōrdiğma* [ʃ(w)ɔ̞:rɔ̞:rdiğma], *pēō* [p'ɛ̞:ʷɔ̞:]

§ 73 (§ 49). *ū* is sometimes palatalized by a following *y* or front vowel. The diphthong *ūy* is then realized as [y̞:i], or simply [y̞:], e.g.

*aparmūytō* [ap'army̞:itō̞].

## Modifications

### Consonant groups

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

[mɑ̞:nı̠ğ]	<i>māniğ</i>	:	Sul. <i>māŋū</i>
[zi:nɑ̞:n]	<i>zīnān</i>	:	<i>zīŋān</i>
[tʃan]	<i>čan</i>	:	<i>čān, čaŋ</i>

(b) Corresponding to the medial and final *st* of other dialects the realization *s* is normal in War., e.g.



[dasak']	<i>dasak</i>	:	Sul. <i>dastak</i>
[zu:sɑ:n]	<i>zūsān</i>	:	<i>zistān</i>
[misafɑ:]	<i>Misafā</i>	:	<i>Mistafā</i>

Note the analogical back-formation in

*rōstgār* < NP. *rōzgār*

### Vowel groups

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

<i>awim</i>	[a'wum]	but	<i>biwim</i>	[bu:m]
<i>awiri</i>	[a'u'ri:]	but	<i>biwiri</i>	[ʼbu:ri:]

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

<i>awēt</i>	[a'ʔe:t]	but	<i>biwēt</i>	[ʼby:e:t]
<i>awīt</i>	[a'ʔi:t]	but	<i>biwīt</i>	[bu:ʔit, by:ʔit, by:t]

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

*hātiğz* [hɑ:'t'i:ʒi:], *wutiğya* [wʊ't'i:(j)ɛ]

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'  
*talfi* < Ar. *ʔifl* 'child' + -i

There is considerable confusion between *h* and ' , e.g.

*tamāh* < Ar. *ʔama'*, *ʔamā'* at 'desire'  
*mawqih* < Ar. *mawqi'* 'place'    *ma'b* < Ar. *maḥw* 'erasure'  
 even *ʔurhat* < Ar. *ʔur'* at 'courage'

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

*majmūr* < Ar. *maʔbūr* 'obliged'  
*mazmūt* < Ar. *maḏbūt* 'strong'  
*manmūn* < Ar. *mamnūn* 'thankful'

## BINGIRD AND PIŽDAR DIALECTS

## Phonemic System

§ 78. The Bin., Piž. dialects have the following phonemic system of twenty-eight consonants (including two semi-vowels) and nine vowels:

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č(č')</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>		
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ(j)</i>	<i>g</i>			
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i>	
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>γ</i>	<i>ʿ</i>		(')
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					
	<i>l</i>	<i>l̥</i>				
	<i>r</i>	<i>r̥</i>				
<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

---

<i>ī</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>
	<i>ē</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>ō</i>	
	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>		

The only systemic difference from the Sul. dialect lies in the absence of a phoneme *ŋ* (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 [ʈ].

§ 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 [ŋ]. This occurs only before a homorganic plosive and cannot be considered as a separate phoneme, e.g.

*xinkāndī* [xɪŋ'ka:ndi:], *dang* [daŋ]

Before a palatalized velar plosive (*v.* § 83) a voiced, palatal nasal [ɲ] occurs, e.g.

*datxinkēnim* [datxɪɲ'c'ɛ:nim], *dangī* ['dɑŋɲi]

### Palatal

§ 82 (§ 17). With some speakers *č*, *ǰ* are alveolo-palatal affricates [tʃ, dʒ]. For the same speakers the affricates [tʃ, dʒ] are palatalized allophones of *k*, *g* (*v.* § 83), there being no confusion between the two types.

The peculiarity is marked, as a mnemonic, by writing the phonemes *č*, *ǰ*.

### Velar

§ 83 (§ 25). *k*, *g* are strongly palatalized by a following front vowel or the semi-vowel *y*. With some speakers this is carried to the extent of realizing, not [c, ɟ], but the affricates [tʃ, dʒ]. There is, however, no confusion with the phonemes *č*, *ǰ* (*v.* § 82).

### Vowels

§ 84 (§ 43). *ē* is normally a half-close, front vowel [ɛ:], as in the War. dialect (*v.* § 70).

In final position following *ɪ*, *y* it is realized as a shorter and more open [ɛ·], i.e. approaching *a*, e.g.

*swārīē* [swɑ:r'jɛ·]

§ 85 (§ 44). *ø* is commonly the rising diphthong [ø'e]. With some speakers it is so close [ɥe] as to suggest an analysis as *wē*.

### Diphthongs

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

### Modifications

§ 87. There appears to be some neutralization of the opposition *ay* : *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.

*awē* < \**awa-y*      *aw barē* < \**bara-y*      *baw išē* < \**iša-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'aw<sup>i</sup>t'bu:]

### 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'    *hambāl* < Ar. *ḥammāl* 'porter'    *řimb* <  
Ar. *řimḥ* 'lance'    *mazanda* < Ar. *maẓannat* 'conjecture'  
*dōndim* < Tk. *dōnim* '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'

*yayānati* < Ar. *xiyānat* 'treachery' + -i

when they are not completely disguised by such malapropisms as

*ta'řil* for both Ar. *tařil* 'recording' and *tāřir* 'merchant'

*tarbiat* for Ar. *tartib* 'arrangement'

The phonemes *h* and ' are often confused, e.g.

*hātā* < Ar. 'aṭā 'gift'    *hāyla* < Ar. 'ā'ilat 'family'

*haziz*, *naḥmān* < Ar. 'Aziz, Nu'mān

'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.

## Consonants

§ 92. Mann states (Muk. § 2, end) that *l* and *l̄* 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 *r̄* 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 *ûê* must be for [ʉe, œe]. His manuscripts often show [ûâ] before normalization. Since either vowel may be stressed the group appears still to be comparable with the single phoneme Sul. *ø*, albeit alternating with *wē* (v. §§ 44, 85), e.g.

Muk.	cf. Mokri
7 <sup>30</sup> <i>nûêzh-</i> = <i>nwēž</i>	: 410 <i>nwēzh</i>
3 <sup>6</sup> <i>khîlên</i> = <i>xon</i>	: 428 <i>khwên</i> (Sul., <i>sic</i> )
13 <sup>21</sup> <i>khîlên</i> = <i>xwēn</i>	
7 <sup>37</sup> <i>gûê</i> = <i>gø</i>	: (354 <i>kwê</i> )

## Diphthongs

§ 95. The transcriptions [êî] (in manuscript) and *ôû* are but minor distortions of *ăi*, *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 *ăi*, *ăû*, &c., is a result of distortion of the sounds in slow dictation.

ARBIL DIALECT (Kd. *Hawlêr*)

## Phonemic System

§ 96. The dialect of Arbil, together with those of Koi Sanjaq (Kd. *Kōya*), the *Xōšnāw* and Rewandiz (Kd. *Rawāndiz*) areas, and probably the *Birādōst* area north of Rdz., has the following

phonemic system of twenty-seven consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels:

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>		
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>			
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>x</i>		<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>γ</i>		˙	(˙)
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					
	<i>l</i>					
	<i>r</i>	<i>ṛ</i>				
<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>				
—————						
	<i>ī</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	
		<i>ē</i>		<i>ō</i>		
		<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>			

The system is differentiated from that of the neighbouring Piž. and Muk. dialects by its lacking the phonemes *l* and *ø*, and by the form of the affricates *č*, *ǰ*.

### Consonants

§ 97. *č*, *ǰ* are regularly realized as the alveolo-palatal affricates [tʃ, dʒ], i.e. *č*, *ǰ* (*v.* § 82).

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

*dîr* 'heart' Sul. *dîl*      *darēm* 'I say' Sul. *alēm*

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

### Vowels

§ 99. The diphthongal phoneme *ø* does not occur. It is replaced by various other phonemes, e.g.

*n(i)wēž* 'prayer' Sul. *nəž*      *sūr* 'salty' Sul. *sør*  
*xundîn* 'to study' Sul. *xənin*      *gē* 'ear' Sul. *gø*  
*gîz* 'walnut' Sul. *gøz*

### Modifications

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

*harbî aw šawē* < \*šawa-y  
*bîrø nāw bîray* : *amînyān hāwîšta nāw bîrē*

§ 101. The phonemes *ħ* and ' are almost regularly interchanged by unlettered speakers, e.g.

*ħaft* > 'aft 'seven'    *ħājī* 'alī > 'ājī *ħalī* 'Haji Ali' (not an isolated spoonerism)

## SŪRČĪ 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, ɟ]. Before *ā* a fleeting [j] is heard, which does not, however, palatalize the consonant, e.g.

*kē* [c'e:] but *kā* [k<sup>h</sup>ja:], *gā* [g<sup>h</sup>ja:]

§ 104. *š*, *ž* are replaced by the alveolo-palatal fricatives [ʃ, ʒ], which for mnemonic purposes are represented phonemically as *ś*, *ź* (cf. § 82).

### Semi-vowels

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

*binīwīsim* [bin<sup>h</sup>wi:sim], but *dwīnē* [d̥wi:ne-] (cf. Sul. *donē*)

### Vowels

§ 106. *ā* is an open, front vowel of an exceptional length [a:], causing most Sur. speakers to give an unmistakable impression of 'bleating'.

### Modifications

§ 107. *ā*, *ē*, and *ī* are sometimes reduced in final position, to coincide with short vowel phonemes,

*ā* > *a*    *ē* > [e] > *a*    *ī* > *i*

e.g. *dē čāra dam* < *čārā*  
*dē jōta kayn* < *jōtē*  
*awi bird* < *awī*

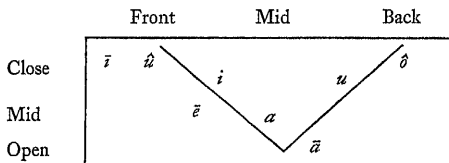
## B. DIALECTS OF GROUP II

AKRE DIALECT (Kd. *Ākrē*, Ar. 'Aqra)

## 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:

	Labial	Dental, Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop and Affricate	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>	<i>t</i> <i>ṭ</i> <i>d</i>	<i>č</i> <sup>x</sup> <i>ʃ</i>	<i>k</i> <i>g</i>	<i>q</i>		
Fricative	<i>f</i> <i>v</i>	<i>s</i> <i>ṣ</i> <i>z</i> <i>ẓ</i>	<i>š</i> <sup>x</sup> <i>ʒ</i> <sup>x</sup>	<i>x</i> <i>ɣ</i>		<i>ħ</i> '	<i>h</i> ( <sup>1</sup> )
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					
Lateral Vibrant		<i>l</i> <i>r</i> <i>ṛ</i>					
Semi-vowel	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>				



## Consonants

## Labial

§ 109. *p* is a voiceless bilabial plosive, aspirated [p<sup>h</sup>] 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 xo* [b̥xu:] (v. § 148).

<sup>1</sup> See § 137.



The secondary group [ḥh] is further reduced to [p'], e.g.

*bihāvēža* [b'ha:ve:za > 'p'a:ve:za]

§ 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 *Sūrčī*, and in the west that of an isolated group of *Gōrān* tribes, still speaking a Kd. dialect akin to *Sinaī*. 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 [t'] in all positions except in contact with a following consonant.

§ 115. *ṭ* is a voiceless, unaspirated, alveolar emphatic plosive [ṭ] 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. ط).

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

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

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

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

§ 120. *ž* is a voiced, alveolar emphatic fricative [ž], the voiced counterpart of *š* (§ 118). It is not identical with Ar. ذ [ð], though this letter, with ض, is often used to write the phoneme *ž*.

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

<i>nivist</i> [ni'vist']	<i>biniva</i> ['binɪva]
<i>bān</i> [ba:n]	<i>bāng</i> [ba:ŋg]

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

*yānza* [jā:'za] '11'

§ 122. *l* is a voiced, dental lateral non-fricative [l]. The velar [ɮ] is heard extremely rarely. In [tɪlpʰ] it may be caused by the preceding emphatic *ṭ*. [barhaḥa:] is a loan from Sul., &c., *barallā*. But [faḷa] 'Christian', Ar. *fallāḥ*, 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.

*har l min* [hal min]

§ 124. *ṛ* is a voiced dental roll (trill) [r̄].

### Palato-alveolar

§ 125. *č* is a voiceless, palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ]. In secondary contact with *t* it is reduced to [ʃ], e.g.

*nāčita* [ˈna:ʃtʰa]

§ 126. *ǰ* is a voiced, palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ].

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

§ 127. *š* is a voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ].

§ 128. *ž* is a voiced, palato-alveolar fricative [ʒ].

### Velar

§ 129. *k* is a voiceless, aspirated velar plosive [kʰ]. It is palatalized by a following front vowel (including *ɨ*, § 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. *ħ* is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative [ħ].

§ 135. ' is a voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ], identical with Ar. ع.

§ 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.

*āxivīt* [ʔa:xivi:tʰ], but *bāxivīt* [ba:xivi:tʰ]

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

*tāxivīt* [tʰa:xivi:tʰ] ~ *t-āxivīt* [tʰiʔa:xivi:tʰ]

*rōž-āvā* [ru:ʃpa:ʔva:] (cf. Sul. [rɔ:ʒa:ʔwə:])

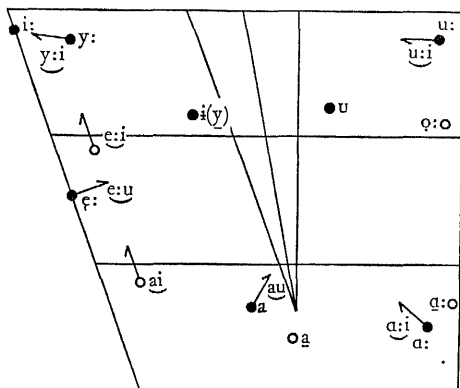
### Semi-vowels

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

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

§ 140

### Vowels



§ 141. *i* is invariably a very close, front vowel [i:].

§ 142. (a) *i* is normally a half-close, front-central vowel [i̠]. In proximity to [y:] (v. § 140) it is also realized with lip-rounding as [y̠], e.g.

*dirūn* [dy̠ry:n].

(b) In unstressed position between two consonants *i* may not be realized. Compare:

*bikam* [ʰbik'am] : *çi bikam* [tʃibk'am]  
*kirin* [k'irɪn] : *kirinawa* [k'irna'va]

and *i* < *ī* (v. § 283 (a)) in

*dā čit* [da: tʃi:t'] : *dā čita* . . . [da:ft'a ' . . .]

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

*birā* [bra:] 'brother', but [ʰbira:] '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. *ē* is a medium, front vowel [e:], except in the diphthong *ēy*, where it approaches a half-close, front [e:].

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

§ 145. *ā* [a:] is an open, back vowel, varying with different speakers between cardinals [a and ɔ]. Following an emphatic *s*, *t*, *z*, it is slightly more back [ɑ:].

§ 146. *u* is a half-close, back-central vowel [u].

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

§ 148. *o* is a close, back vowel [u:]. In contact with the emphatic consonants *s*, *t*, *z*, it is somewhat more open [ɔ:], e.g.

*dóst* [du:st']      *bóst* [bɔ:sɛ]

In the common phrase *bó xó* there is frequently a reduction, thus [bu:- > bu- > b̥-xu:], written *bu xó*, and so coincidence with *p xó*.

§ 149. *ú* is a close, front vowel with lip-rounding [y:]. 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 [i:], thus *mú* > *mī*. As a result of this, *ú* occasionally replaces etymological *ī* in common Ak., e.g.

'*úd* < Ar. '*īd*     *šanga]bú* < \**bī* 'weeping willow'

### Diphthongs

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

- (i) a close, front vowel, [e:i, əj, ɔ:i, u:i, y:i],
- (ii) a close, back vowel, [e:u, au].

They are phonemically identical with the corresponding Sul. diphthongs of the same classes (v. §§ 50-52) and for the same reasons may be written *ēy*, *ay*, *āy*, *ōy*, *ūy*, and *ēw*, *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 *s*, *t*, *ʒ*) occur individually in medial position. The question of final consonants requires further investigation (v. § 172).

*p* : *b* : *f* : *v* : *m* : *w*

*pān* 'broad' : *bān* 'roof' : *vān* 'these' : *mān* 'to remain' : *wān* 'those'. *pār* 'old' : *bār* 'memory' : *fil* 'elephant' : *vī* 'this' : *mīr* 'Emir' : *wī* 'that'.

*dapá* 'plank', *dabás* 'glue', *qafás* 'cage', *avá* 'this', *kamár* 'arch', *pāwān* 'grazing'.

*tóp* 'ball' : *tób* 'roll of cloth' : *tóv* 'seed'. *sēv* 'apple' : *dēm* 'unirrigated land' : *dēw* 'demon'.

*t* : *t̄* : *d* : *s* : *z* : *n*

*tā* 'fever' : *tā* 'branch' : *dā* 'in order to' : *zā* 'well!'. *tū* 'mulberry' : *dū* 'after' : *sū* 'breeze' : *zū* 'early' : *nū* 'new'.

*katî* 'sand-grouse' : *kudî* 'cub' : *kásî* 'person' : *hazî* 'plait' : *hanî* 'laughter'.

*mat* 'aunt', *şad* '100', *kas* 'person', *gaz* 'yard', *îân* 'fence'. *dóst* 'friend' : *bóşt* 'hand span'.

s : z : ş : ž : š : ź

*şár* 'salty' : *zár* 'hillock' : *şúr* 'rampart'. *zār* 'a die' : *şār* 'cold'. *şivānda* 'caves' : *şivān* 'shepherd' : *živānî* 'tryst'.

*xasî* 'mother-in-law' : *îazî* 'cold, numb' : *taşî* 'spindle' : *tažî* 'full'.

*bas* 'enough' : *baz* 'suet' : *paz* 'sheep'. *bôş* 'abundant' : *řôž* 'day'.

š : ź : č : ř (: y)

*šin* 'blue' : *žin* 'life' : *jin* 'to chew'. *šiv* 'gully' : *čiv* 'stick'. *čār* '4' : *jár* 'time' : *yār* 'friend'.

*pēšú* 'mosquito', *bīžî* 'bastard', *kúčik* 'puppy', *hajî* 'pilgrim'.

*šāš* 'mad', *řôž* 'day', *xāč* 'cross', *tā(n)j* 'crown'.

č : ř : k : g : q

*čār* '4' : *jár* 'time' : *kār* 'work; ornament', *kēr* 'knife' : *qēr* 'pitch'. *čā* 'tea' : *kā* 'where is?' : *gā* 'ox'.

*māčá* 'Club (cards)', *bāžán* 'aubergine', *nóká* 'now', *lagán* 'basin', *āqár* 'plain'.

*pūč* 'withered' : *gōj* 'club-footed' : *būk* 'bride'.

k : g : x : γ

*kir* 'silent' : *gir* 'rough' : *xir* 'spherical'. *kaw* 'partridge' : *xaw* 'sleep'. *gaš* 'bright' : *γaš* 'trick'.

*řikēb* 'stirrup', *řigārá* 'cigarette', *sixúr* 'porcupine', *qiyaqiy* 'croaking'.

*řik* 'crack', *řig* 'stomach', *xóx* 'peach', *řāγ* 'fringe'.

x : γ : ħ : ' : h

*xurî* 'wool', *γirî* 'glue', *harî* 'mud'. *ħafik* 'throat' : *afô* 'pardon'. *ħēštîr* 'camel' : *hēštîr* 'mule'.

*buxúr* 'incense', *āγá* 'Agha', *řiħán* 'basil', *dirāhá* 'yonder'.

*čix* 'reed-mat', *řuh* 'soul', *řah* 'root'.

m : n

*mú* 'hair' : *nú* 'new'. *māltn* 'to sweep' : *nālîk* 'mattress'.

*qaymáγ* 'cream' : *qúnáγ* 'stage'.

*tēm* 'I come' : *tēn* 'you, they come'. *šúm* 'unlucky' : *šún* 'place, trace'.

*l : r : ř*

*lā* 'side' : *řā* 'up'. *lūs* 'smooth' : *řūs* 'naked'.

*pālā* 'workman' : *pārā* 'money'. *gōřī* 'turn' : *gūřī* 'mangy'.

*pil* 'turn' : *pīř* 'bridge' : *pīř* 'full'. *čil* '40' : *čīř* 'tough'.

## Vowels

§ 152. The short vowels *i*, *u* rarely occur in initial or final position. *ú* occurs initially only in *úřđđn* < *wiřđđn* 'conscience'. Otherwise the vowel phonemes preserve their identity in most positions.

*ī : ē : ā : ó : ú*

*īř* 'work' : *ēř* 'pain' : *āř* 'mill'. *óda* 'room'.

*pīř* 'old' : *pēr* 'day before yesterday' : *pār* 'last year' : *pôr* 'hair' : *púc* 'withered'. *řār* 'cold' : *sôr* 'red' : *sūr* 'salty'.

*kī* 'who?' : *kē* 'whom?' : *kā* 'where is?' : *gā* 'ox' : *kô* 'that' : *gú* 'faeces'.

*i : a : u*

*kiř* 'silent' : *kař* 'deaf' : *kuř* 'boy'. *gah* 'joint' : *guh* 'ear'. *či* 'what?' : *ču* . . . *na* 'nothing'.

Long vowel : short (*ī : i*, &c.)

*pīř* 'old' : *pīř* 'bridge'. *kīř* 'penis' : *kir* 'did'.

*kēr* 'knife' : *kir* 'did'.

*āv* 'water' : *av* 'this'. *māř* 'curds' : *māř* 'drunk'. *tā* 'fever' : *ta* 'thee'.

*xôřī* 'rascal' : *xurī* 'wool'.

*kūr* 'deep' : *kuř* 'boy'.

Long vowel : diphthong (*ē : ay*)

*tēr* 'satiated' : *řayr* 'bird'. *vē mālē* 'this house' : *vī mālāy* '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*, *řy*; *sm*, *řp*, *řt*;<sup>1</sup> *řk*; *xw*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Xālidī*'s writing *řt*- for *Bitlisī*.

<sup>2</sup> Not normal (e.g. *xāřin*, *xāřa*: Sul. *xwāřdin*, *xwāřa*), but only in *xwā*, *xwē* < \**xô* 'salt' + -*ā*, -*ē*.

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

*lC, mC, nC, rC, sC, šC, vC, xC, zC, žC*

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, ʃ, k; r+č, ʃ, k, m, š, x, z; s+k, t; št*

and individual occurrences of *fs, ft, hm, hn, hr, hf, lg, lt, sl*

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 šalbē* [bira bar 'šalbē:]      *šalb kay* ['šalb̥ k'ai]

§ 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.

*tayr p xurtī* [təjɾp'xurt'i:]  
*kiřim p pēnʃ* [k'iřimp'p'e:ndʒ]  
*saħ tkatē* ['saħtk'at'e:]

A short, unstressed vowel [i] may, however, be realized, either before the final consonant of the group, thus *(C)CC<sup>v</sup>C*, e.g.

*az tšēm* [as t'ʃe:m]  
*saħ l āgiri* [saħ l i'ʔa:ɡiri:]  
*kaft l xānī* [k'aft l i'xa:ni:]

or, less commonly, before the penultimate consonant, thus *(C)C<sup>v</sup>CC*, e.g.

*dat p nān* [dat'ibna:n]  
*saħ tkatē* ['saħitk'at'e:]  
*hal stā* [halist'a:]

Owing to this variation *CCC : CC<sup>v</sup>C : C<sup>v</sup>CC* the vowel cannot be regarded as phonemic.



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.

*yē t-fikirīt* [ɟjɛ:tfik'ri:t'] but *tē t-fikirit-ē* [t'ɛ: t'ɪfk'ri:t'e:]  
*galak t-girīt* [ga'lakt'giri: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 *ō*, *ū* as the simple vowels [o:, u:], rather than [u:, y:], respectively.

**AMADIYE AND ZAKHO DIALECTS** (Kd. *Āmādī(ē)*, *Zāxō*;  
 Ar. *ʿAmādīya*)

**Phonemic System**

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

<i>ḫ</i>	<i>ṭ</i>		<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>			
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ṭ</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>		
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>ʃ</i>	<i>g</i>			
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>x</i>		<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>γ</i>			(')
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>						
	<i>l</i>						
	<i>r</i>	<i>ṛ</i>					
<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>				
	<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>ō</i>	
		<i>ē</i>					
			<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>			

The system differs from that of Ak. (v. § 108) in having two series of voiceless plosives, namely *ḫ*, *ṭ*, *k* aspirated and *p*, *t*, *k* unaspirated.

## Consonants

§ 157. The aspirated voiceless plosives *p̣*, *ṭ*, *ḳ* correspond phonetically in every particular to the Ak. phonemes *p*, *t*, *k* [*p'*, *t'*, *k'*]. The Am., Zx. series *p*, *t*, *k* 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 *p̣*, *ṭ*, *ḳ*. Examples:

<i>p̣ēšá</i> 'mosquito'	:	<i>pē</i> 'foot'
<i>p̣ah̄nī</i> 'heel'	:	<i>pah̄tin</i> 'to cook'
<i>ṭax̄ṭ</i> 'bench'	:	<i>tah̄tī</i> 'felt rug'
<i>kar</i> 'donkey'	:	<i>kar</i> 'piece'
<i>kur̄k̄</i> 'fur coat'	:	<i>kurk</i> 'broody (hen)'

## Vowels

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

*dúng* [dy:ŋg] > *dīng* [di:ŋg]

## 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.

*čē than ž hirīē* [tʃe:tkanʃʰiri:ē:]

or as *CC<sup>v</sup>C*, e.g.

*řašīd l baydā* [raʃi:d lʰbayʰda:]

or as *C<sup>v</sup>CC*, e.g.

*čôn p řēva* [tʃu:nʰpře:va]

(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<sup>v</sup>CC*. Similarly when two consonants in secondary contact follow a pause they are preceded by a short, unstressed [i], thus *<sup>v</sup>CC*. Examples:

Bar. *kat ž darva* [kʰatʰiʒʰdarva]

Zx. *dast p šólī* [dastʰipʰju:li:]

Gul. *ž zamān* [ʒzaʰma:n]

HAKARI AND BOHTAN DIALECTS (Kd. *Hakārî*, *Bôtân*)

§ 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 Alî 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 Alî 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 (û) 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 (û) 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 *wî*', i.e. [wi]. But Hadank gives no special description of this sound, cf. op. cit., p. 29, *gundekî Kurdistanê*, transcribed phonetically [gündäkî kurdîstânê].

(c) *Hawar*, No. 10, p. 5. 'De même certains Kurdes . . . prétend(ent) que dans la langue Kurde aussi existe(nt) deux (ك), comme en arabe le (س) et le (ص), le (ت) et le (ط) et ainsi de suite.' CABX, however, does not consider that the opposition  $k_1:k_2$  exists and makes no distinction in his alphabet. But the following note, *Hawar*, No. 25, p. 2 n., is revealing: '*Me "kher" yanî mirovê ko nabihîze, bi vî awayê nivîsand, da ko ji "kerê" heywan bête veqetan(d)in. Ji xwe ev "kh" ji ya din stîrtir 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 *karî* '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 (ë), comme dans les mots (pêz پێز) et (sêd سێد) . . . ; avec la dictée arabe, on pourrait peut-être rendre ces sons en durcissant les

consonnes et en écrivant (بظ، صد). 'Nous avons constaté, d'autre part, la même variante de prononciation dans des mots empruntés à l'arabe. ësquer, ëreb, ëlî.' (I.e. 'askar, 'arab, 'alî.) CABX is speaking of his own pronunciation 'en tant qu'originaire de Botan'. He attributes the difference in prononciation of these and like words to an insignificant variation in the vowel alone and, accordingly, no distinction of the consonant values *s* : *ş*, *t* : *ţ*, *z* : *z̄*, or indication of ' is made in his alphabet.

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

#### BITLIS DIALECT (Kd. *Bitlîs*)

§ 161. *Xalîdî*, writing in *Mûtkî*, 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 *Bitlîsî* dialect.

A distinction between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless plosives is not made, nor is *ř* specially marked. On this subject, however, see the note (op. cit., p. 208) s.v. كَر, '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', *kar̄* 'deaf', *kar* 'piece', but *qar* 'loan'.

The emphatics *ş*, *ţ*, *z̄* and ' all appear, described exactly as in the Ak., Am., &c., dialects.

It is justifiable to assume then that the *Bitlîsî* dialect has a phonetic system identical with the Am., Zx. dialects (v. § 156) with the reservation that *ô*, *û* are pronounced simply as [o:, u:] respectively.

#### EREVAN DIALECT (Kd. *Ārawān*)

§ 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:

<i>ɸ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>κ</i>				
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>			
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>				
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i>	
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>		<i>ɣ</i>	( <sup>ˈ</sup> )		
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>						
	<i>l</i>						
	<i>r</i>	<i>ř</i>					
<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>					
—————							
	<i>ī</i>		<i>i</i>	<i>ū</i>			
		<i>ē</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>ō</i>			
			<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>			

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 *s*, *t*, *z* (v. § 164);
- (ii) presence of a third affricate *č* (v. § 165).
- (iii) classification of *x*, *ɣ* as uvular, rather than velar,
- (iv) realization of <sup>ˈ</sup> (v. § 166),
- (v) replacement of *u* by *ö* (v. § 167),
- (vi) realization of *ō*, *ū*, [o:, u:] rather than [u:, y:].

### Consonants

§ 164. The emphatic consonants *s*, *t*, *z* are not marked in any way. In some words the emphasis of an initial *t*- in the Zx.

dialect appears to be reflected by the 'aynation' of the following vowel in Rwn. (v. § 166), e.g.

Zx. *tārī, tāv, tāžī* : Rwn. *tāri, tāv, tāži*

§ 165. The affricate phoneme written  $\epsilon$ , then  $\var�$ , in Rwn., and here as  $\hat{\epsilon}$ , is variously described. Sokolova (op. cit. (ii), p. 79) quotes Cukerman simply, ' $\hat{\epsilon}$  - pharyngalized'. Bakaev (op. cit., p. 513) is inconsistent. Misled apparently by the diacritic, he describes  $\var�$  first as an aspirate (with  $\pi'$ ,  $\tau'$ ,  $\kappa'$ ) and then as having 'a certain pharyngalization'. Adjarian<sup>1</sup> transcribed the sound  $\hat{\epsilon}$  (unaspirated) in opposition to  $\acute{\epsilon}$  (aspirated). This is borne out by Miller's (op. cit. (i), p. 72), Bakaev's, and Kurdoev's comparison with Armenian  $\alpha'$ , i.e. a voiceless, *ejective* affricate [tʃ'].<sup>2</sup>

§ 166. In place of a consonantal phoneme 'there appear various modifications of the vowel *a* by means of a diacritic ( $\acute{a}$ ,  $\hat{a}$ ). 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 Azerbaidjan replace  $\acute{a}$  by *h*, e.g. *árd* > *hárd* 'earth'.

Sokolova (op. cit. (i), p. 14) refers to the 'upper-pharyngeal articulation which is a characteristic of Armenian Kurdish and there apparently forms a pharyngalized *a* ( $a_{\epsilon}$ ) in place of an etymological  $\epsilon$ '. Bakaev (op. cit., p. 512) defines  $\hat{a}$  as 'pharyngalized  $\hat{a}$  . . . 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  $\epsilon$ ', approaching long  $\bar{a}$  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, ārab, jīmāāt, tāri, tāv, tāžī, &c.*

## Vowels

§ 167. For *u* there appears a vowel, written in Latin script as *y* (cf. *u* for  $\bar{u}$ ), but in Cyrillic as  $\ddot{o}$ . This Kurdoev describes as a 'palatalized labial front' vowel, with two variants, viz. pronounced

<sup>1</sup> 'Recueil de mots kurdes en dialecte de Novo-Bayazet', *M.S.L.* XVI of 1910.

<sup>2</sup> See W. S. Allen, 'Phonetics of an Eastern Armenian speaker', *T.P.S.* of 1950, pp. 188, 194.

as Turkish *ö* following *t*, *t*, *d*, and *x*, and acquiring a *w*-colouring following *k*, *k*, *g*, *γ*, and *q*. Bakaev defines it as a 'central (nearer to back) labialized vowel'. It may be transcribed as *ö* (contrast Sul. *ø*, § 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 Alî 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 (= *ā*), b, c (= *f*), ç (= *ç*), d, e (= *a*), ê, f, g, h, ħ (= *h*),  
 î, î, j (= *ž*), k, l, m, n, o (= *ō*), p, q, r, (rr = *r̄*), s, ş (= *š*), t,  
 u, û, v, w, x, x̄ (= *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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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.

KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

INDEX OF PHONEMES

	<i>Sul.</i>	<i>War.</i>	<i>Piž. &amp;c.</i>	<i>Arb. &amp;c.</i>	<i>Ak.</i>	<i>Am. &amp;c.</i>	<i>Rwn.</i>
<i>a</i>	45	71	= Sul.	=	144	=	=
<i>ā</i>	46	=	=	106	145	=	=
<i>b</i>	3	62	= Sul.	=	110	=	=
<i>ĉ</i>	17, 19	=	82 ĉ	97	125	=	=
<i>ĕ</i>							165
<i>d</i>	8, 9, 37	63	80	=	116	=	=
<i>e</i>	43	70	84	=	143	=	=
<i>f</i>	4	=	=	=	111	=	=
<i>g</i>	23, 25	64	= Sul.	103	130	=	=
<i>γ</i>	27	=	=	=	132	=	163
<i>h</i>	32	=	=	=	136	=	=
<i>ĥ</i>	29, 31	=	=	101	134	=	=
<i>i</i>	41-42	69	= Sul.	=	142	=	=
<i>ī</i>	40	=	=	=	141	=	=
<i>j</i>	18-19	=	82 j	97	126	=	=
<i>k</i>	22, 25	=	83	103	129	=	=
<i>k̄</i>						157	=
<i>l</i>	13	=	=	=	122	=	=
<i>l̄</i>	14	=	=	98			
<i>m</i>	6	=	=	=	113	=	=
<i>n</i>	12	=	81	=	121	=	=
<i>ŋ</i>	24-25	=	=	=			
<i>ō</i>	47	72	= Sul.	=	147-8 ō	=	163 ō
<i>ø</i>	44	=	85	99			(ø, see u)
<i>p</i>	2	=	=	=	109	=	=
<i>p̄</i>						157	=
<i>q</i>	28	=	=	=	133	=	=
<i>r</i>	15	=	=	=	123	=	=
<i>r̄</i>	16	=	=	=	124	=	=
<i>s</i>	10	=	=	=	117	=	=
<i>s̄</i>	(10 (b))				118	=	164
<i>t</i>	20	=	=	104 t	127	=	=
<i>t̄</i>	7, 37	66	79	=	114	=	=
<i>t̄̄</i>						157	=
<i>u</i>	48	=	=	=	115	=	164
<i>ū</i>	49	73	= Sul.	=	146	=	167 ō
					147, 149 ū	158 ū	163 ū
<i>v</i>	5	=	=	=	112	=	=
<i>w</i>	34	67	88	105	138	=	=
<i>x</i>	26	=	=	=	131	=	163
<i>y</i>	35	=	=	=	139	=	=
<i>z</i>	11	=	=	=	119	=	=
<i>z̄</i>					120	=	164
<i>z̄̄</i>	21	=	=	104 z̄	128	=	=
<i>z̄̄̄</i>	30-31	=	=	101	135	=	166
[ʔ]	33	=	=	=	137	=	=
Diphthongs	50-53	=	86	=	150	=	=
Distribution	54-55	=	=	=	151-2	=	=
Consonant groups	56-57	74	89	=	153-4	159	=
Vowel groups	36, 58-60	75-76					
Phonemic system	1	61	78	96	108	156	163



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) *i*, *ū*, following any other vowel are reduced to the corresponding semi-vowel, e.g.

*ē-*, *ka-*, *dā-*, *xō-*, *nū-* + \**-i* > *ēy*, *kay*, *dāy*, *xōy*, *nūy*

*dī-*, *dā-* + \**-ū* > *dīw*, *dāw*

*pē*, *gø*, *māma*, *gā*, *gō*, *gū* + \**-i* > *pēy*, *gøy*, *māmay*, *gāy*, *gōy*,  
*gūy*

The special cases of *-i/i* + \**-i* > *-i/iy* > *-i*, *-ū* + \**-ū* > *-ūw* > *-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)*, *nwē(t)*

War. *gaya-* + \**-ē(t)* > *gayē(t)*

Bin. *rē*, *qisa* + \**-ē* > *rēē*, *qisē*

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

*bida*, *nadā* + \**-ē* > Bin. *bidaya*, Sul. *n(ad)āya*

*kursi*, *dē*, *gø*, *ēwāra*, *kābrā*, *ǰō*, *xānū* + \**-ēk* > *kursiyak*,<sup>1</sup> *dēyak*,<sup>1</sup>  
*gøyak*,<sup>1</sup> *ēwārāyak*, *kābrāyak*, *ǰōyak*, *xānūyak*

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

*dē*, *gø*, *ēwāra*, *kābrā*, *ǰō* + \**-a* > *dēya*, *gøya*, *ēwāraya*,  
*kābrāya*, *ǰōya*

Bin. *dē*, *sa*, *āyā*, *čaqō* + \**-aka* > *dēyaka*, *sayaka*, *āyāyaka*,  
*čaqōyaka*

<sup>1</sup> See § 35 (b).

Alternatively, unstressed *-a* may be elided following *ē*, *a*, *ā*, *ō*, but not normally *ø*, in internal combination, e.g.

*dē*, *ēwāra*, *kābrā*, *ʃō*, (*gø*)+\**-aká* > *dēká*, *ēwāraká*, *kābrāká*,  
*ʃóká*, (*gøyaká*)  
*dənē*, *ēwāra*, *ēstā*, *nīwārō*, (*kø*)+\**-awa* > *dənēwa*, *ēwārāwa*,  
*ēstāwa*, *nīwārōwa*, (*kóyawwa*)

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

*kursī*, *ōrdū*+\**-aká* > *kursīaká*, *ōrdūaká* > *kursēká*, *ōrdōká*

(*d*) *ā* is joined to preceding *ē*, *ø*, *ā*, *ō* by the semi-vowel *y*, e.g.

*dē*, *gø*, *čirā*, *halō*+\**-ān* > *dēyān*,<sup>1</sup> *gøyān*,<sup>1</sup> *čirāyān*, *halōyān*

It coalesces with preceding *a*, e.g.

*ēwāra*+\**-ān* > *ēwārān*

It follows immediately on *ī*, *ū*, e.g.

*kursī*, *xānū*+\**-ān* > *kursīān*, *xānūān*

(*e*) Summary.

	ī-	ē-	ø-	a-	ā-	ō-	ū-
-ī	<i>īy</i> > <i>ī</i>	<i>ēy</i>	<i>øy</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>āy</i>	<i>ōy</i>	<i>ūy</i>
-ē	<i>īē</i> , <i>yē</i>	<i>ēē</i> , <i>ē</i>		<i>ē</i>	<i>āē</i>		<i>ūē</i> , <i>wē</i>
<sup>L</sup> ē	<i>īya</i>	<i>ēya</i>	<i>øya</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>āya</i>	<i>ōya</i>	<i>ūya</i>
-a	<i>īa</i> (> <i>ē</i> )	<i>ēya</i> , <i>ē</i>	<i>øya</i>	<i>aya</i> , <i>a</i>	<i>āya</i> , <i>ā</i>	<i>ōya</i> , <i>ō</i>	<i>ūa</i> (> <i>ō</i> )
-ā	<i>īā</i>	<i>ēyā</i>	<i>øyā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>āyā</i>	<i>ōyā</i>	<i>ūā</i>
-ū	<i>īw</i>				<i>āw</i>		<i>ūw</i> > <i>ū</i>

## 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.

<sup>1</sup> See § 35 (*b*).

- Sul. *la bar kird*, [k'irt]                      *gurj̄ hamām* [gurtʃ ħ . . .]  
*sarī barz kird* [bars k' . . .]              *sad pōlīs* [sat p' . . .]  
*wakū sag sar* [sak sar]
- Ak. *az xulām* [Pas x . . .]                      *xō hižānd*. [hiʒa:nt]  
*tō čituv hākimi* [t'ʊf ħ . . .]              *ō watuv*. [wat'ʊf]

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]                      *čōv lālī* [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. *pāšāyak abē* [pā:ʃā:jeg a'be:]              *amanjaj hōš bū* [hɔ:ʒ 'bu:]  
*agar šēt nīt* [ʃe:d 'ni:t]
- Bin. *awīš dē* [awi:ʒ de:]                      *bas malikšā* [baz m . . .]  
*bē-kayf nīm* [be:k'ejv ni:m]
- Ak. *dast dā* [daz da:]                      *ammā p wī* [amma: bwi:]<sup>1</sup>
- Am. *gōšt žē* [gu:ʒ<sup>d</sup> ʒe:]

(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. *kāsibī* [kɑ:s'p'i:] (cf. *aspāb* < Ar. *asbāb*)  
 War. *tōskē* < \**tōsikē*  
 Ak., &c. *či bikayn* [tʃipk'aj̄n]                      *bēžūtav xō* [be:ʃt'af xu:]

There are, however, exceptions, e.g.

- Sul. *řāv ū řāvžgār* < \**řāv-ū-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. *kutī* < *gutī*

<sup>1</sup> 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 laz* [p'<sup>i</sup> laz]                      *az tniwisim* [ast'<sup>i</sup>n'vi:sim]  
*t dilē xōdā* [t'<sup>i</sup> dil]                      *azē tniwisim* [aze:tni'vi:sim]  
*tēni tbim* [t'e:'ni:tbim]

## PART II

# SULEIMANIYE, WĀRMĀWA, BINGIRD, PIŽDAR, MUKRĪ, ARBIL, REWANDIZ, AND XŌŠNAW 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 *řny kirda šāx ū kēw*: he set out for the mountains  
10 *kuř . . . řōřřtin*: the lads went  
48 *sarī biniādam*: men's heads  
War. 118 *lagal řāfiqim*: 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 *taľayān bō dirust dakāt*: he makes traps for them  
Piž. — *dastitān bišōn*: wash your hands  
Muk. 83<sup>37</sup> *šēx nārdyān*: the sheikhs sent . . .  
§ 12 *šērī dabē bikūžin*: 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 *šitaka 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, řawaka*: 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. — *gəyaka*: 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*, *ʃōka*: the village, barley

Muk. § 9 *angustilaka*, *āyāka*: the ring, Agha

but as *-yaká* in Bin., Piž., Arb., e.g.

Bin. — *dēyaka*, *sayaka*, *āyāyaka*: the village, dog, Agha

With preceding *ī*, *ū* the suffix commonly coalesces, e.g.

Sul. — *xānūaka* > *xānwaka* > *xānōka*: the house

12 *qāpīaka* > *qāpēka*: the gate

Muk. § 9 *ʃūānū<sup>w</sup>aka*, *ʃūānwaka*: the foal

§ 175. (a) In Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. the suffix *-á*<sup>1</sup> also defines a noun.

In Sul. it is used in narrative with known characters or things, e.g.

Sul. 30 *gurzēkī 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. 10<sup>6</sup> *ʃūa*: the Jew

(b) The main function of the suffix *-á* 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 *-á*, e.g.

Sul. 9 *aw dašta*: that plain

32 *am kiča*: this girl

37 *am qūwat ū harakata*: this power and vigour

In War. *-á* occasionally does not appear after a noun so qualified, e.g.

War. 218 *am šōrat ū nāw-ī bīst*: he heard of this fame

See also § 199.

<sup>1</sup> The suffix *-ē*, taken by *Wahbi* 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)).

In Bin., Piž., Muk. a noun takes the suffix *-á* 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., Xoš. a noun qualified by the demonstrative adjective *aw* only takes the suffix *-á* when the sense is 'proximate' (v. § 192 (b)), e.g.

Arb. 417 *aw kārwoāna*: this caravan

Rdz. 475 *aw sē birāyāna*: these three brothers

The examples in the texts of *-aká* 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, ø, a, ā, ō* it generally appears as *-yá*, e.g.

Sul. — *aw amustīlaya*: that ring

1 *am pāšāya*: this king

Bin. 300 *am qisaya*: this talk

Muk. § 10 *aw xulāya*: that God

Arb. 421 *aw cākaya*: this good deed

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

Muk. 9<sup>o</sup> *aw angustīla*: that ring

Xoš. 443 *aw bīša*: this thicket

§ 176. (a) The suffixes Sul., War., Bin., Piž., *‘ē(k)*, Muk. *‘ēk*, Rdz. *‘ēk*, *‘ak*, Arb., Xoš. *‘ak*, give a noun indefinite sense, or one of unity, e.g.

Sul. 1 *mamlakátēk*: a country

2 *šartēk akayn*: we shall make a bond

5 *yakēk*: someone

Muk. 5<sup>33</sup> *wúrčēk*: a bear

Arb. 414 *řóžak . . . xáwnakī dīt*: one day (he) saw a dream

The forms *-ē, -ēk* alternate freely except (with E.) when followed immediately by a personal pronoun suffix, the *Izafe*, the conjunc-

tion *ū* 'and' or the enclitic present tense of the substantive verb, when *-ēk* normally occurs. Exceptions to this rule, such as

Sul. 82 *šartē-ṭ lagaḷ*: a bond with thee

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

(b) In Sul., Bin., Piž. the suffix appears regularly as *-yak*<sup>1</sup> following a vowel (v. § 171 (b)), e.g.

Sul. 30 *xānūyak*: a house

49 *qarawēlayak*: a bedstead

98 *malāyak ū 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 *pārčayē kāyax*: a piece of paper

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

War. 195 *haftayē*: a week

213 *yakānaya*: a boar

224 *dav'ayē*: one time

233 *tōya*: someone like thee

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

Muk. § 11 *yalabáyēk, pādīšāēk*: a victory, king

*mēšá+-ēk > mēšēk*: a thicket

The latter may be a mistaken hearing of *-áyak* (cf. Muk. 11<sup>6</sup> *hēnānawa* 'they brought back', for *hēnāyānawa*), but Mokri, Song 383, also has Muk. *fōgēk* 'a stream' < *fōga*. Mann has tacitly normalized for publication in some places, e.g.

Muk. 2<sup>35</sup> *lā dē'ēk*, for MS. *lā dēāk*: in a village, cf. Bin. 307 *dēyak*.

<sup>1</sup> E., and some Kd. writers, normalize by writing *-ēk* كِ, and *-yēk* يِك following a vowel, e.g.

E. *brayēk, kundeyēk*: a brother, water-skin

The Arb., Rdz., Xoš. form *ak* may either be linked to a preceding vowel by *y*, e.g.

- Arb. 414 *pāšāyak*: 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 *grāmīak* > *grānēk*: a famine

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

- Sul. 8 *či kičēk . . . či kičē*: whichever girl  
18 *čay 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. — *yakēkyān*, but War. 252 *yēkyān*: one of them  
Sul. — *har yakē*, but Bin. 308, Arb. 436 *har yaka*: each one

§ 177. (a) The morpheme *-ān* indicates plurality.<sup>1</sup> 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*,<sup>2</sup> and in all Sor. and Muk. normally does so, e.g.

<sup>1</sup> A few nouns have plurals in *-āt*, *-hāt*, *-jāt*, derived ultimately from the Ar. fem. pl. in *-āt*, but here calques from NP., e.g.

*bāx*, *bāyāt* 'garden(s)', NP. *bāy*, *-āt*  
*bahārāt* 'spices', NP. do.  
*dē*, *-hāt* 'village(s)', NP. *dih*, *-āt*  
*mīwa*, *-hāt*, *-jāt* 'fruit(s)', NP. *mīve*, *-jāt*

The morpheme *-gal*, which (with its derivatives *-al*, *-ayl*) is the regular plural ending of the dialects of *Sina*, *Kirmānšāh*, &c. (v. Barr, Mokri, opp. citt.), appears in Sul. with the names of animals as a 'collective' morpheme only, e.g.

*gā* 'ox', *gāgal* 'herd of cattle'  
*mē* 'sheep', *mēgal* 'flock of sheep'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 239 (a).



Sul. — *pašimānān šaxyān lē birwāya*: if horns were to grow on those with regrets

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

Piž. 409 *la binyādamān*: 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 *šay kasānēk*: some persons

War. 209 *bāzē xalqān*: some people

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

Sul. 107 *wulāxakāntān*: your steeds

Muk. § 25 *aspakān*: the horses

Xoš. 446 *āyākānī tir*: the other Aghas

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

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

Sul. — *am birāyāna*: these brothers

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

but coalesces with preceding *a*, e.g.

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

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

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 rōž āya sē rōž*: two or three days

21 *lam ḥawt kuḥay sē kuḥyān*: three of these seven sons of his

44 *sē čwār šaw*: three or four nights

War. 194 *dū sē ḥaywān*: two or three animals

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

- Bin. 340 *bīst ū čwār sa'ātān*: twenty-four hours  
 352 *aw sē darkāna*: those three doors (*darka*)  
 Piž. 385 *sē rōžān*: three days  
 402 *dagal da nafarān*: with ten men  
 Muk. § 48 *čwār kuřān*: four boys

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

- Rdz. 491 *sē rōžā*: three days  
 493 *sē saḥātā*: three hours

§ 178. Of the nominal suffixes:

- A. *-aká* (§ 174)      B. *-ān* (§ 177)  
 C. *ʿēk, ʿak* (§ 176)      D. *-á* (§ 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 *arzakā*: the ground  
 AB Piž. 382 *šitilakān*: the plants  
 Xoš. 451 *law wazīrakān*: of those viziers (v. § 175 (b))  
 B War. 209 *bāzē xalqān*: some people  
 Rdz. 504 *la wurāyān*: on horses  
 BC Sul. 4 *čay kasānēk*: some persons  
 BD Sul. 78 *am kičāna*: these girls  
 Piž. 382 *aw šitilāna*: these plants  
 C Sul. 2 *sēwēk*: an apple  
 Xoš. 445 *dākak*: a mother  
 D Sul. 59 *dāpīra*: the old woman  
 Piž. 390 *aw āsina*: this iron

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

### Gender and Case

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

<sup>1</sup> 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*))<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> The distinction was demonstrated for Muk. in *BSOAS*, xvi. 539 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The examples at Muk. § 18 fall rather under category (iii). But cf. § 240 (*a*).

the morphemes, Masculine *-î*, Feminine *-ê*. Plural nouns in *-ân* have no separate Oblique form. Thus:

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
Dir.	-î	-ê	} <i>-ân</i>
Obl.	-î	-ê	

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

Bin. 315 *šarāy bikā*: (who) might do battle

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

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

Bin. — *bō qalādixê*: for Qala Diza

308 *ba qisētān*: according to what you say (*qisa*)

but not with preceding *ê*, thus

Bin. 300 *la rēē*: on the road

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

Piž. 398 *wālīy baydāya*: the governor of Baghdad

Muk. 1<sup>28</sup> *bō qal'āya*, 2<sup>14</sup> *la qal'āyê*, in MS. both *qalāyā*

When a noun is followed by any of the suffixes of definition *-akā* (§ 174), *-ā* (§ 175), *'ēk*, *'ak* (§ 176) the Oblique case ending is *-î/-y* for both genders. Thus:

	Sg. M. & F.		
Dir.	<i>-akā</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>'ēk/'ak</i>
Obl.	<i>-akáy</i>	<i>-áy</i>	<i>'ēkî/'akî</i>

(c) Examples of the Oblique case:

(i) as Direct Object,

Bin. — *fūti* (M.) *dakayn*: we plough

— *nwēžê* (F.) *dakan*: they pray

— *hakāyatēkî* (? F.) *dagērimawa*: I shall tell a story

316 *mamlakatî* (M.) *tēk bidā*: (he may) destroy the country

Muk. 4<sup>8</sup> *āwê* (F.) *nafrōšê*: should not sell water

(ii) as Agent (v. § 224),

Bin. 319 *šinakay* (F.) *pēy gut*: the woman said to him

320 *pēy gut*, *patrūsyāy* (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 *qisa kird* . . . *naḥmānī* (M.): Naaman said

(iii) governed by a preposition,

Bin. 319 *ba dim āwē* (F.): at the water's edge

349 *ba sūfānawē*: (began) to drive (all infinitives F.)

353 *la ci rōžēkīdā* (F.): on whatever day

Piž. 398 *bō xātirī šinakay* (F.): for the woman

Muk. 597 *ba kāka mamī* (M.): to brother Mem

621 *ba arzēdā*: to the earth } ('arʒ M./F.)

Bin. 312 *la 'arzi*: from the earth

Muk. 718 *la rēā* } on the road (rē F.)

Bin. 300 *la rēē* }

(iv) following the Izafe or Demonstrative Izafe,

Bin. — *lapī dastī* (M.): palm of the hand

— *zīnī aspī* (M.): saddle of the horse

— *zīnī māīnē* (F.): saddle of the mare

304 *ī bāxawānakay* (M.): the gardener's

346 *'ašqī aw kičay* (F.): in love with that girl

357 *bargī qāwacētīē*: clothes of the coffee-sellers' calling (all abstract nouns in -ī (v. § 255 (a)) F.)

Muk. 115 *mīwānī darwēšēkī* (M.): guest of a dervish

14714 *āwī daznōžē* (F.): ablution water

Arb. 425 *la panāy dārakī* (F.): under a tree

(v) with adverbial sense,

Muk. 34 *nīwašawē* (F.): at midnight

329 *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. — *btrā*: brother!

16 *āmōzā*: cousin!

35 *māl'ūn*: accursed one!

120 *āfrat*: wife!

120 *pyāwaka*: husband!

Muk. 15111 *xātūn astī*: Lady Asti!

A vocative preceded by a particle, such as *ay*, *yā*, is generally uninflected, e.g.

- Sul. 3 *ay āfrat*: O wife!  
 21 *áy kuř*: O lads!  
 53 *yā xidrī ziya*: O immortal Khidr!

Similarly a noun qualified by any determinant, or by a personal pronoun suffix (v. § 197), is otherwise uninflected in the vocative,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

- Sul. — *kíçim, lagal tōma*: daughter, my (business) is with thee  
 4 *birākānim*: my brothers!  
 21 *kuřim*: my lads!  
 89 *kuřī xōm*: my son!

In Muk. an uninflected plural vocative is formed with the word *galī* (\**gal* 'group' + Izafe *-ī*?, cf. § 262 (b)), e.g.

- Muk. 24<sup>3</sup> (MS.) *gālī jūān mērān*: O (group of) youths!

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

- Sg. M. & F. *ˌ-a*      F. *ˌ-ē<sup>2</sup>*      Pl. M. & F. *ˌ-īna<sup>3</sup>*

Examples:

Masculine

- Sul. — *kuřa, matirsa*: don't be afraid, lad!  
 — *kōra, çit awē*: blind man, what dost thou want?  
 52 *áy xwāya*: O God!  
 Muk. 20<sup>9</sup> *ābdālbaga*: Abdal Beg!

Feminine

- Sul. — *pūra šukrī*: 'Auntie' Shukri!  
 12 *dāya gyān*: mother dear!  
 — *kīçē, malarza*: don't tremble, lass!  
 — *būkē, got lē bē*: daughter-in-law, pay thou heed!  
 Piž. 409, Muk. 100<sup>31</sup> *xuškē*: sister!

<sup>1</sup> The *-y* in War. 230 *kuři lālay* 'cousin!' (literally, 'maternal uncle's son', but addressed to a girl, perhaps for politeness) is unexplained.

<sup>2</sup> These Sg. endings also appear forming hypocoristic names (cf. § 262 (a)), e.g. Masc. *miča* 'Mustafa', *qāla* 'Qadir', *xula* 'Mahmud', *řaša* 'Rashid', Fem. *fāta*, *fātē* 'Fatima', *piřa* 'Piroz', *xajē* 'Khadija'.

<sup>3</sup> Muk. generally *--īna*.

## Plural

- Sul. — *ž'lnīna*: women!  
 — *kūrīna* (Muk. 188<sup>28</sup> *kurfna*): lads!  
 Bin. 326 *áy wazīrayna* [*sic*]: O viziers!  
 Muk. 97<sup>28</sup> *xixmīna*: kinsmen!  
 150<sup>29</sup> *faqēná* [*sic*]: students! (*faqī*)

## 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;<sup>1</sup>

Bin., Piž., Muk.<sup>2</sup>

general (following M. & F., Sg. & Pl. nouns) -ī;  
 Sg. F. only -ē, e.g.

Muk. 30<sup>4</sup> *xāttūnē nawjwāna*: fair young lady!

31<sup>1</sup> (MS.) *xuškē mīr zēndīnim*: I am Mir Zending's sister

There is a tendency for the general form -ī to supplant the F. -ē, e.g.

Bin. — *bō mālē ma*: to our house (*māl* F.)

— *la māli 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. -ī/-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

<sup>1</sup> There is a trace of a former wider distribution of the F. Izafe form -ē in the following isolated, but regular, form:

Sul. 56 *pīrēšīn*: old woman (but *pīramērd*: old man)

<sup>2</sup> Despite Muk. § 20, fn. 1.

(b) The general form *-ī* appears as *-y* following a vowel, e.g.

Sul. 2 *kābrāy řišspī*: the grey-bearded fellow

Bin. 327 *la xōšīy awa*: for joy of that (v. § 60)

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

Bin. 337 *tōlē bābī xōm*: 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 *kursī(y)a min*: my seat

(c) In Bin., Piž., Muk., with an antecedent formally singular but with plural sense, or with two or more singular nouns joined by the conjunction *ū*, *w* 'and', the Izafe form *-ī* may be followed by a particle *da*, thus *-ī da*,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

Bin. 314 *waxīrī da min*: my viziers

319 *pyāwī da pāšā . . . cūn*: the king's men went

349 *dāk ū bābī da tō*: thy mother and father

Piž. 404 *la tirsī da S.*: from fear of S. (cf. § 239 (a))

411 *řarg ū sīy daw kuřaya*: that boy's liver and lights  
(v. § 236 (c) fn.)

Muk. 50<sup>12</sup> *ama řarībīn, lawānī da bēgāna*: we are strangers,  
of those who are foreign

63<sup>15</sup> *dan'kī da hanārē*: pomegranate seeds

63<sup>25</sup> *gulī da sōsinē*: lily flowers

107<sup>8</sup> *gōřay da maydānē*: corners [*sic*] of the field

136<sup>22</sup> *la hartik čāwī 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,<sup>2</sup> e.g.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ak., &c., *-ē(t) < -ē dī*, § 264 (a).

<sup>2</sup> In War. the Izafe is occasionally omitted, even before an attribute, e.g.

War. 237 *dargāy māl( ) bēřīn*: the door of the widow's house

This is perhaps influenced by the compound prepositions with *māl*, e.g.

War. 246 *čūyna māt řāřīr bag*: we went to the house of J.

246 *la māt hāři . . būyn*: we were in the house of Haji

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

War. 200 *la řōnē( ) tīr*: in another place

206 *ħatā baynē( ) da . . řaw*: for a period of some ten days



## (i) Attribute,

- Sul. 5 *kābrāyaki řišspī*: a grey-bearded fellow  
 7 *māmay řišspī*: the grey-bearded 'uncle'  
 69 *tütikēki pičkōla*: a little dog

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

- Sul. 43 *xānūy ēma*: our house  
 49 *sarī binādam*: men's heads  
 55 *xīzmakārī wulāxakat*: thy horse's servant  
 69 *mālī kiči islāmšāy pariān*: the house of the daughter  
 of Islam Shah of the Peris  
 War. 188 *kāsibīy mālī xōmān*: the work of our own house  
 Bin. 318 *šinē malikšāy*: Malikshah's wife  
 Piž. 384 *čaqāndinē šitilakān*: the planting of the seedlings  
 394 *kafilīē aḥmadī*: bail for Ahmed

## (iii) Appositional noun,

- Sul. 9 *tawqēki āltūn*: a collar of gold  
 86 *hayāsī birāt*: thy brother Heyas  
 War. 188 *minālī řafiqim*: the children, my friends  
 199 *zalāmī sahēwī řutakān*: 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. — *kičeki řwānī čwārda-sāl*: a beautiful, fourteen-year-old girl (i.e. 'sweet sixteen')  
 — *minālēki pīs ū pōxil*: a filthy, dirty child  
 Bin. 306 *řēēki kay wā*: such another place  
 354 *arsalānī je-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 řār*: sometimes (a few times)  
 P *naxtē|kamē pāqla*: some, a few beans  
 29 *yak hagba pāra*: a bag of money  
 35 *tōžek binēšt*: a little mastic  
 57 *yak mist āltūn*: a handful of gold

- War. 230 *čil tanaka nawt*: forty (4-gallon) cans of paraffin  
 265 *čwār fawj 'askar*: four battalions of soldiers  
 Bin. 303 *sē kūpa āltūn*: three crocks of gold  
 Muk. 97<sup>33</sup> *pārwek nān ū čōrēk āw*: a morsel of bread and a sip of water

but, exceptionally,

- Bin. 326 *čand 'adadēkī 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 *ē*, *ø*, *a*, *ā*, *ō*, however, no compound vowel is realized (v. § 171 (c)).

Examples:

- Sul. 25 *kuṛa pāšā*: the king's son  
 42 *birā gawra*: eldest brother  
 56 *ḡūta swār*: a pair of riders  
 War. 190 *kuṛa muxtār*: the headman's son  
 204 *birā gawraka*: the elder brother  
 Muk. 24 *kāka mam*: Brother Mem  
 6<sup>6</sup> *nīwa lašī*: 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 *bāla gardānī sari* } the wing circling about thy head  
 13 *bālī gardānī sari* } (i.e. 'thy protector')

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

- Sul. 13 *am naw'a šitāná*: these sorts of thing  
 25 *am hamū štūmaka ḡwāná*: all this fine stuff  
 39 *aw xēwata sawzá*: that green tent  
 40 *xēwata sawzaka*: the green tent  
 181 *dāyk ū bāwka pīra faqīrakay*: his poor old mother and father  
 Piž. 390 *sara astūraka*: the thick end

- Muk. 6<sup>15</sup> *bēčūa wurčaka*: the wolf cub  
 25<sup>13</sup> *aw dinyā xōšá*: this pleasant world  
 Xoš. 461 *pišta wurāyaka*: the horse's back

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

- Sul. E *čašna āwēnayak*: a kind of mirror  
 E *kilka karēk*: a donkey's tail  
 Muk. 174<sup>24</sup> *gaza jāwēk*: an ell of cotton cloth

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

- Sul. 44 *birā pičūk . . . 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 *pīšānī ēmat dā<sup>1</sup>*: you showed (*pīšān dān*) us  
 23 *pēškašī kuṛay bikay*: you present (*pēškaš kirdin*)  
 it to his son  
 66 *swārī ṛaxš bū*: he mounted (*swār būn*) his steed  
 67 *tūšī am darda*: afflicted (*tūš*) by this trouble  
 Piž. 396 *taslīmī . . . maḥmūdī kird<sup>1</sup>*: he surrendered (*taslīm*  
*kirdin*) him to Mahmud  
 Muk. 3<sup>25</sup> *xarīkī bazmī dabūn*: they would be engaged  
 (*xarīk būn*) in feasting

§ 187. In conjunction with the series of suffixes

- A. *-aká*, B. *-án*, C. *ˀēk*, *ˀak*, D. *-á* (*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 tō dīt*: the garden you saw  
 ABF Sul. E *šarakānī xōyān*: their own towns  
 BF Sul. — *pālawānānī kurd*: Kurdish champions  
 BDF Sul. — *aw šitānay tō dīt*: those things you saw

<sup>1</sup> Agential construction, *v.* § 223.

CE	Muk.	3 <sup>29</sup>	<i>qadirēki</i> : for a while
CF	Sul.	2	<i>kābrāyaki rīšpī</i> : a white-bearded fellow
DE	Piž.	384	<i>aw šaway</i> : that night
DF	Arb.	414	<i>aw xawmay . . . gēřātawa</i> : that dream which you related
E	Bin.	349	<i>la pāpōrē</i> : in a steamboat
F	Bin.	356	<i>nēwī xōm</i> : my name

### 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)):

Sul.	<i>hī</i>
War.	<i>hī(n)</i>
Muk., Arb., Xoš.	<i>ī</i>
Bin., Piž.	<i>ī, ( ? ē), ī da</i> (cf. § 183 (c))
Rdz.	<i>ī/ē</i>

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.	—	<i>hī birāy min</i> : that of my brother, my brother's
	—	<i>hī kē</i> : whose?
	—	<i>hī ēma</i> : ours
War.	—	<i>hīn māṅā</i> : the cow's
	199	<i>hī bāwbāpīra gawramāna</i> : it is our ancestors'
	200	<i>hī kasēki wakū F.</i> : that of someone like F.
Bin.	333	<i>*tarbiatī swārīē w ī pālawānīē</i> : the learning of horsemanship and that of wrestling
	379	<i>dastī rā takānd, ī amīršangī</i> : he jerked his hand, that of Amirsheng
Muk.	242 <sup>29</sup>	<i>ī xōm la ī tū pitira</i> : mine is bigger than thine
Rdz.	501	<i>mārē minīš . . . ē birāē minīš</i> : my house . . . my brother's too

(ii)

Sul.	—	<i>hī gawra</i> : the big one
	—	<i>hī šīn</i> : the blue one

- Piž. — *ī da dīšin han*<sup>1</sup>: we have other ones too  
 Muk. 212<sup>15</sup> *ī gawra . . . ī čikōla*: the elder . . . the younger  
 Rdz. — *ī dī bīna, ī nū*: bring another, a new 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. — *bāyakī tuṅ*: a fierce wind  
 36 *tuṅ mačakī girt*: he seized his wrist firmly

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

- Sul. — *nāwī 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  
 — *pyāwēkī 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 barxtir*: a higher mountain  
 predicatively: 30 *ama . . . fwanțira*: this one is more beautiful  
 adverbially: 47 *zūtir ačē*: goes quicker  
 substantively: 45 *la min fwanțir*: one more beautiful than me

The only irregularity in the formation of a comparative adjective attested is in Sor., Muk. § 32 *čātir* 'better', from *čāk* 'good'.

<sup>1</sup> A shibboleth phrase containing three particularly Piž. forms. See also §§ 197 (*-in*), 218 (*han*).

(b) The morpheme *-în* 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 *bō āzātirîn sarbāz*: 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 jwānaka*: the finest tomb (*qisn*: 'dry stone wall')

### Certain adjectives

§ 191. (a) Adjectives of the following categories immediately precede 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 *-în*,
- (iv) the following interrogative and indefinite adjectives (cf. §§ 176 (c), 177 (a)),

War. *bāzē* 'some' (Ar. *ba'd*)

*či* 'what(ever), whichever'

War. *čan*, Sul. *čan/η*, Sor. & Muk. *čand* 'how(ever) much, some' (as an adverb 'how . . .')

*filān(a)*, Arb., &c., *firān* 'such and such'

*gišt* 'all'

Sul., War. *hūč*, Sor. & Muk. also *či* 'any'

*hamū*, Arb. also *hamī* 'all, each, every'

*har*, *harčī*, *harč*, *hač* 'any, whatever'

*kām* 'which(ever)'

but not

*ka*, *tir*, *dī(ka)*, *dika* 'other'

*wā*, *wahā*, *awhā*, *wa*, *awa* 'such'

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

<sup>1</sup> Muk. *či* 'any' is probably a mishearing of *či*, e.g.

Muk. 4<sup>14</sup> *či jēm nīa*, but 3<sup>14</sup> *či jēm nīa*: 'I have no place'.

## (b) Examples of interrogative and indefinite adjectives.

- War. 209 *bāzē xalqān*: some people  
 Sul. 2 *ba čī dardē giriftārī*: with what ill art thou troubled?  
 17 *la čī šonēkā*: in whichever place  
 War. 208 *čan řišpīyak*: some elders  
 Sul. 4 *čaŋ . . .*, 8 *čan muddatēk*: some time  
 Bin. 326 *čand 'adadēki ĥaskar*: some soldiers (cf. § 184 (c))  
 Sul. P *čan řaš bū*: how black it was!  
 Sul. 16 *la filāna mawqi'ā* } in such and such place  
 Bin. 303 *la filān šondā* }  
 Sul. P *gišt mindālakān*: all the children  
 Sul. 58 *hīč kasēk 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 kasēk* } whoever  
 Sul. 11 *hač kasēk* }  
 Bin. 318 *hač mawqīhēk*: wherever  
 Sul. P *kām astēray gaš*: which bright star

but,

- Sul. — *šitī wā nīa*: there is no such thing  
 — *yakēki ka* } another one  
 Arb. 426 *yakakī dika* }  
 Sul. — *zōr fār* } many times, often  
 War. — *fira fār* }

but,

- Sul. P *pāray 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 išanay*: from these works

(b) In Bin., Piž. 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 *-á*, e.g.

Piž. 399, Muk. 4<sup>1</sup> *law qisāná*: from these words (*qisa*)

but,

Bin. 378 *lawān qisāndā*: in these words

330 *bō awān swārān*: for those horsemen

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

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

but,

Piž. — *awē kičē wāy kird*<sup>2</sup>: that girl did thus

— *čū bō aw mālay* } went to that house

— *čū bō awē mālē* }

Muk. 99<sup>18</sup> *bawē birīnē*: from this wound

*passim*, *awē šawē*: (on) that night

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

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

Arb. — *aw kuřa*: this boy

Rdz. 475 *sē birā lagarim haya*, *aw sē birāyāna*: there are three brothers with me, these three brothers . . .

(ii) takes the suffix *-ēhē*<sup>3</sup> when it indicates something physically remote, e.g.

Arb. — *aw kuřēhē*: that boy yonder

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

Arb. — *aw kuř*: that boy

435 *aw birāyānī min*: those brothers of mine

<sup>1</sup> The resulting *awē* is not, therefore, with Mann, Muk. § 38, the general oblique case form of the adjective but a specifically Feminine oblique.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 180 (c) (ii).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sur. *awēhē* § 277, there alone analysable as *\*awa + -ē + hē*.



## Numerals

## Cardinal

## § 193

	Sul., War.	Bin., Piž.	Muk. § 48	Rdz., Xoš.	Arb.
1	<i>yak</i>	<i>yak, êk</i>	<i>yak, yêk</i>	<i>êk</i>	<i>yak, êk</i>
2	<i>dû, dûân, dwân</i>	= <sup>1</sup>	=		=
3	<i>sê, syân</i>	=	<i>sê, sêân</i>		=
4	<i>čwâr</i>	=	<i>čûâr</i>		<i>čâr</i>
5	<i>pênj</i>	=	<i>p<sup>i</sup>ênj</i>		<i>pênj</i>
6	<i>šaš</i>	=	=		=
7	<i>hawt</i> (v. § 31)	=	=		<i>h 'aft</i>
8	<i>hašt</i>	=	=		=
9	<i>nō</i>	=	=		=
10	<i>da</i>	=	=		=
11	<i>yāηza</i> (§ 24 (b))	<i>yāzda</i>	<i>yāz(d)a</i>	<i>yāzda</i>	=
12	<i>dw ūāηza</i>	<i>dwāzda</i>	<i>dūāzda</i>		=
13	<i>syāηza</i>	<i>sēzda</i>	=		=
14	<i>čwārda</i>	=	<i>čūārda</i>		<i>čārda</i>
15	<i>pāηza</i>	<i>pāzda</i>	=		=
16	<i>šāηza</i>	<i>šāzda</i>	=		=
17	<i>hawda</i> (§ 5)	=	<i>hawda</i>		<i>h 'awda</i>
18	<i>hažda</i>	=	=		=
19	<i>nōzda</i>	=	=		=
20	<i>bist</i>	=	=		=
21	<i>bist ū yak</i>	=	=		=
30	<i>sī</i>		=		=
40	<i>čil</i>		=		<i>čil</i>
50	<i>panjā</i>		<i>p<sup>i</sup>ênjā</i>		<i>pa ênjā</i>
60	<i>šast</i> (§ 10 (b))		<i>šest</i>		=
70	<i>haftā</i>		<i>haftā</i>	<i>haftā</i>	<i>h 'aftē</i>
80	<i>haštā</i>		<i>haštā ē</i>		<i>haštē</i>
90	<i>nawad</i>		<i>nowat</i>		<i>nōhat</i>
100	<i>sad</i> (§ 10 (b))		<i>sat</i>		=
200	<i>dūsad</i>		<i>dū sat</i>		
300	<i>sēsad</i>				
400	<i>čwārsad</i>				
500	<i>pēnsad</i>		<i>pēnsat</i>		
600	<i>šašsad</i>				
700	<i>hawsad</i>				
800	<i>hašsad</i>				
900	<i>nōsad</i>				
1,000	<i>hazār</i>				
1 m.	<i>milyōn</i> (§ 36)				

<sup>1</sup> = 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 *-ân* (§ 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 bû, çwār bû*: (whether) it was three or four  
237 *sālê, dûān*: a year or two

Muk. § 48 *çûārān, dûāzdān*: 4, 12

(b) With certain numbers (generally round numbers—tens, hundreds, &c.) the qualified noun may take an ending *-î*, giving the sense of 'about . . .',<sup>1</sup> e.g.

Bin. 311 *tamanî hawt hašt sālî*: the age of about seven or eight years

Xoš. 459 *ba qadar bist wurāyî*: 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 *hamû yaka yaka w dwān dwān û çwār çwār açin*: 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', *pēnjam* 'fifth', *bīstam* 'twentieth'

Following *ê*, *a*, *ā*, *ō* an *h* is realized before the ending *-am*, e.g.

Sul. — *sêham* (also *sēyam*) 'third'

*naham* (also *nayam*), *nōham* 'ninth'

*daham* (also *dayam*) 'tenth', *yānzaham* 'eleventh'

*panjāham* 'fiftieth'

These ordinals follow the qualified noun with the *Izafe*, e.g.

Sul. 47 *rêgāy sêham*: the third road

(b) The ordinal adjective in *-am* may further take the ending *-în* (cf. § 190 (b)), e.g.

Sul. — *yakamîn* 'first', *pēnjamîn* 'fifth'

also *awwalamîn* 'first' (Ar. *awwal*)

With cardinals ending in *a*, *ā* this ending normally takes the form *-mîn*, not *\*-hamîn*, e.g.

Sul. — *šānzaham*: *šānzamîn* 'sixteenth'

*haftāham*: *haftāmîn* 'seventieth'

<sup>1</sup> Contrast the adverbial *-î*, § 240 (b).

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

Sul. — *yakamīn fār*: the first time

In Rdz., corresponding to general *-amīn*, 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:

	Sul., War.	Bin., Piž.	Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš.
Direct			
Sg. 1	<i>min</i>	<i>amīn</i>	<i>amīn</i>
2	<i>tō</i>	<i>atō/ū</i>	<i>atō/ū</i> , <sup>(1)</sup> Arb. <i>atū</i>
3	<i>aw</i> <sup>(2)</sup>	<i>(h)aw</i>	<i>aw</i> <sup>(3)</sup>
Pl. 1	<i>(h)ēma</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>ama</i>
2	<i>ēwa</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>angō</i>
3	<i>awān</i>	<i>awān</i>	<i>awān</i>
Oblique			
Sg. 1		<i>(a)mīn</i>	<i>(a)mīn</i> <sup>(5)</sup>
2		<i>(a)tō/ū</i>	<i>(a)tō/ū</i> , Arb. <i>(a)tū</i>
3 M.		<i>(a)wī</i>	<i>(a)wī</i>
3 F.		<i>(a)wē</i> <sup>(4)</sup>	
Pl. 1		<i>(a)ma</i>	<i>(a)ma</i>
2		<i>(a)wa</i>	<i>(a)ngō</i> <sup>(6)</sup>
3		<i>(a)wān</i>	<i>(a)wān</i>

#### 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. 136<sup>19</sup> ff. *dūa* : *atua* : *řūa* : *tua*.

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

Bin. 315 *šařay lagāl tō bikā*: (who) might fight with thee  
 321 *tō lēy dagařēy*: (whom) thou art seeking  
 325 *atū bō . . . hātīawa*: why hast thou returned?  
 325 *γabarim bō tū hēnāwatawa*: I have brought news  
 for thee

Muk. 1<sup>23</sup> *atu xalqī koy*: of where art thou a native?  
 6<sup>29</sup> *atōš . . . dabam*: I shall take thee  
 7<sup>2</sup> *atōš wara*: come thou too!  
 30<sup>7</sup> *čāwī tū [sic]*: thine eyes

(2) The 3rd Sg. independent pronoun is identical in form with the remote demonstrative adjective *aw* (v. § 192 (*a*)). In Sul., War. the proximate demonstrative adjective form *am* may also appear as a 3rd Sg. personal pronoun. Both forms may also function as 3rd Pl. personal pronouns with the ending *-ān*, thus:

Sg. 3 *aw*, (*am*) 'he, she, it', Pl. 3 *awān*, (*amān*) 'they', e.g.  
 Sul. 31 *aw gāwira*: he is an infidel  
 9 *awānīš*, 76 *amānīš*: they too

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

Muk. § 37, 3rd Sg. direct *awī* is perhaps best explained as an encroachment of the oblique form. Alternatively *-ī* may be an *Izafe*.

(4) The 3rd Sg. masculine oblique form (*a*)*wī* may replace the feminine oblique (*a*)*wē* even in Bin., Piž., e.g.

Bin. 344 *nīšānī wī biday wakū amin bō wī sūtāwim*: show her that I am burning for her

(5) The doubly oblique forms *aminī*, *atōī*, &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 *-ī* (q.v. § 197). But note

Xoš. 448 *aminī dakušin*: 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, *amin*, &c., appear mainly in the functions of the Direct Object and (in Bin., Piž. 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 wāy kird*: she (Agent) did thus  
 325 *nawakū řa sar tōš bidā*, *atōš bikūžē*: lest he fall on  
           thee too, kill thee too  
 Muk. 6<sup>2</sup> *darxwārdī wī dadā*: he would feed her  
       58<sup>29</sup> *dagał awī*: with her  
 Xoš. 465 *dasgīrānī wī dētīn*: 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,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

- Sul. — *minīt dīwa = dīwitīm<sup>2</sup>*: thou hast seen me  
 — *ēmat dīwa = dīwitīn<sup>2</sup>*: thou hast seen us  
 20 *minī bō čīa*: 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 *wīstīn* (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 *ēma haftā w awana pālawānī kuštīn*: he has killed  
           us seventy or so champions

<sup>1</sup> See also § 242 (d) and Muk. § 92.

<sup>2</sup> See § 228.

## Suffix

§ 197. (a) The personal pronoun suffixes have the following forms:

	General	Additional
Sg. 1	-im (-m) <sup>(1)</sup>	
2	-it (-t) <sup>(2)</sup>	Sul., War. -u (-w)
3	-î (-y)	
Pl. 1	-mān	Piž., Muk., and -in (-n) <sup>(3)</sup>
2	-tān	remaining Sor. -ū (-w)
3	-yān	

## 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 î, see § 60.

(2) See § 7 (c). In Sul., War. the 2nd Sg. form frequently appears as -t̄ 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 Piž., &c., 2nd Pl. form -ū, -w).<sup>1</sup> 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 *kuştin* is noteworthy.

## Examples:

Sul. — *dasu bişō*: wash thy hands!

13 *čāwu pē bikawē*: that thy eye may behold

51 *nāwkužim, alqayak akama got, aḵkam ba 'abdī xōm*:

I shall not kill thee, I shall put a ring in thy ear,  
make thee my slave

War. 218 *pēt̄ bizānē palpalit akā*: if he finds out about thee  
he will chop thee up

273 *bō nāwkušt̄*: why hast thou not killed it?

284 *awwā*: will take thee

290 *hakāyatī xōmu bō akam*: I shall tell thee my  
story

<sup>1</sup> The similar form -o, given for the *Sināi* dialect in Mokri,

Songs 232 *haft peshto*: seven generations of thy forebears

247 *dino namāga*: thy faith has gone

may only be a representation of [i, i̯]. Cf. 323 *bowkâr-* for \*[baḡka:r] *baḡkâr*.

(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 bariawa dā ništuwin*: they are seated in front of him  
           1     *waǰāxī kor abē*: he has no offspring (lit. 'his hearth is blind')  
           9     *aw āsikayān*: that gazelle of them  
           69    *la ǰyātī dāyktān*: instead of your mother  
 Piž. 393    *kayfi xōwa*: it is your own pleasure  
 Muk. 103<sup>22</sup> *sabrū bibē*: let patience be yours

(ii) Direct Object,

- Sul. 10     *hayfa biykušīn*: it is a pity, that we should kill it  
           10    *wīstī . . . biygirē*: he wanted to catch-it  
           20    *ħax akā ka bitbīnē*: he would like to see thee  
 Piž. 402    *datbam*: I shall take thee

(iii) Agent,

- Sul. 2     *dastī birda bāxalī, sēwēkī dar hēnā, dāya das pāšā*:  
                   he put his hand into his bosom, took out an  
                   apple, put it in the king's hand  
 Piž. 380    *mālīn bār kirdin*: we loaded up (our) homes

(iv) Governed by a preposition,

- Sul. 17     *bōy bēna*: bring . . . for him  
 Bin. 351    *lēt numbāarak bē*: may it be fortunate for thee  
 Muk. 1<sup>26</sup>    *zōrit čāka dagał dakam*: I shall do much good  
                   for thee  
           63<sup>22</sup> *nanbē nēwān*: let there not be between us . . .  
           167<sup>32</sup> *lēn*: against us

(v) Dative,

- Sul. E *am pārayat čōn čin kawtuwa*: how has this money fallen into thy hands?  
 P *wēnay čāw pē kawt<sup>1</sup>*: he caught sight of the picture  
 P *malāyān pišān adā*: he points the mullah out to them  
 10 *hatā mumkīnmān abē* (cf. 10 *hatā bōmān mumkīn bibē*): as far as it may be possible for us  
 101 *haqī fili akawē*: the price of the clothes is due (falls) to him

§ 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:<sup>2</sup>

- (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).

<sup>1</sup> This construction often appears, deceptively, to have *čāw* 'eye' qualified by a possessive (genitive) suffix, e.g.

Sul 27 *čāwim pē akawē*: I shall see her

34 *ka . . . čāwyān bam nawfwāna kawt*: when they beheld this youth

but 20 *min bāy akā, čāwim pē bikawē*: he summons me that he may see me

<sup>2</sup> E. has a different exposition at *BSOAS*, xvii. 490 ff.



Examples:

(i. β) Sul. E *am pārayat cōn cīṅ kawtuwa*: how has this money fallen into thy hands?

(i. β) Bin. 343 *šiklēkī zōr jwānī lē casp kirābū*: a very beautiful picture was stuck to it

[but, despite the presence of (i. β),

(iii) Sul. — *aw kuṛa zōr lēm nācē*: that boy does not look much like me]

(i. α) — *ēwa ba pēy qānūn am zawīatān la ēma war nagirt*: you did not obtain this land from us legally

(ii)	—	<i>ba pēy qānūn la ēmatān war nagirt</i>	} you did not obtain it from us legally
(iii)		<i>lēmāntān war nagirt</i>	
(iii)		<i>lētān war nagirtīn</i>	

(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) — *ṛām 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) — *kirduṛma*: 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. 1<sup>26</sup> *zōrit cāka dagal dakam*: I shall do thee much good  
§ 199. In conjunction with the affixes already listed (§§ 178, 187)

A. -aká, B. -án, C. 'ēk, 'ak, D. -á, E. -ī, -ē Obl.

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.

Examples: Sul., &c.

AG	Sul.	3	<i>māīnakay</i> : his mare
AGH	Sul.	25	<i>xuškakatānim dāwa</i> : I have given your sister
ABG	ul.	4	<i>birākānim</i> : my brothers!
ABH	ul.	12	<i>rafīqakānim ba jē hēštuwa</i> : I have left my friends behind
CGH	Sul.	74	<i>čāwēkitim bidarē</i> : give me one of your eyes
CH	Sul.	155	<i>kičēkyān nadāynē</i> : they did not give us a girl
DE	Bin.	—	aw <i>barday bēna</i> : bring that stone
DH	Bin.	—	aw <i>bardam bidaya</i> : give me that stone
DG	Sul.	25	am <i>čwār kuřay</i> : these four sons of his
EG	Bin.	—	<i>xuškī dākēm</i> : my mother's sister
G	Sul.	27	<i>čāwim</i> : my eye
H	Sul.	74	<i>pyālay āwim bidarē</i> : give me a glass of water

*Wārmāwa*

AH	War.	—	<i>kalawarakam kirdō</i> : I opened the door
BGD		249	am <i>gōrēžānima</i> : these donkeys of mine
GD		224	am <i>kuřima</i> : this son of mine
[DH		214	am <i>harakatay kird</i> : he exerted this power]
HD		274	am <i>palpita lē nagirtāyam</i> : would you had not got this pretext from me
GH		189	<i>řūtī māī xōmānim akird</i> : I used to do the ploughing for our own home

Cf. *Sinaī*, in Mokri, Songs,

GD		232, 286	law <i>dam'ta</i> : from that mouth of thine
HD	Mann, MS.		am <i>xawaria řinaft</i> : 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 *-ā* (§§ 174, 175).

(a) The defining suffix is generally present when a sense of actual possession or personal connexion is intended, e.g.

Sul.	3	<i>māīnakay</i> : his mare
	14	<i>qisakay</i> : his words
	42	<i>kirāsakař</i> : thy shirt

- 45 *gyānakam*: my soul, beloved  
 55 *wulāwakat*: thy horse  
 War. 219 *bārgīrakam*: my packhorse  
 Bin. — *nūsīnakam*: my writing  
 Muk. § 9 *jēgākan*: our home  
           *āyākatān*: your agha

Note the fixed phrase

- Sul. 2 *ay pāšāhām*: O my king  
 but

War. 209 *ay šāhim*: 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 *šīnakay*: his wife  
 21 *kuřakānī*: his sons  
 25 *xuškakatān*: your sister  
 War. 204 *birā gawrakam*: my elder brother  
 Muk. § 9 *kičakam*: 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 *řāwim*: my quarry  
 16 *āmōzām*: my cousin!  
 21 *kuřim*: my lads!  
 27 *dasgīrānim*: my fiancée  
 27 *čāwim*: my eye  
 28 *řōhī šīrinim*: my sweet soul, beloved  
 80 *qāčim*: my leg

Note *bāwkim* 'my father', but *bāwkim*, *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

is generally further defined by a personal suffix, thus *xō-m* 'myself', *xō-t* 'thy-self', &c., e.g.

Sul. 8 *kuřī xōm*: my (own) son

69 *lagāl xōy*: with him(self)

Arb. 446 *ba xōyān cūnawa*: they themselves went back

It may then refer to any person in the sentence, e.g.

Sul. 11 *ba sar sarī xōtā bāxī dā*: 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),<sup>1</sup> which may here lose its stress. The plural forms incorporate the morpheme *-ān* (§ 177).

Sul., War. have then a system of two, remote and proximate, pronouns, while Bin., Piž., 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', *awēhē*<sup>2</sup> 'that yonder', *aw* 'that (absent)'. Only *awa* is considered here, *awēhē* 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 *-ī* (-y) and is then frequently reduced to *way*, &c. Thus:

Sul., War.      Bin., Piž.      Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš.

Direct

this	<i>ama</i> }	<i>awa</i> ( <i>awha</i> ,	
that	<i>awa</i> }	<i>ahwa</i> , <i>ahō</i> )	<i>awa</i>
these	<i>amāna</i> }	<i>awāna</i>	
those	<i>awāna</i> }	( <i>awhāna</i> , &c.)	<i>awāna</i>

<sup>1</sup> In War. the demonstrative pronoun may be disrupted by a personal pronoun suffix (§ 197), or the adverbial suffix *-iř* (v. § 240 (c)), appearing before the defining suffix *-d* (cf. § 199), e.g.

War. 190 *amam akird*: I used to do this

but 267 *awiřa*: that too

268 *awima awē*: that (is what) I want

280 *amīta kird*: thou didst this

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sur. *awēhē*, § 277.

## Oblique

Sg.	<i>away</i> ( <i>awhay</i> , &c.)	<i>awa</i> , ( <i>a</i> ) <i>way</i>
Pl.	<i>awānay</i> ( <i>awhānay</i> , &c.)	<i>awāna</i> , ( <i>a</i> ) <i>wānay</i>

## Examples:

Sul.	9	<i>áwayān</i> : that one of them
	9	<i>awānay ka</i> : those others
	62	<i>amāna hamīy</i> : all these
Bin.	347	<i>awham lāxīma</i> : I need that
	367	<i>lahway cātīr</i> : better than that
Muk.	8 <sup>30</sup>	<i>hāta way bimīrē</i> : (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	<i>awīš</i> : <i>that</i> (not he) too (but cf. § 175 (b))
Arb.	414	<i>tīkrārī lō way kirdawa</i> : he repeated it for <i>him</i>
	426	<i>'umrī wāna</i> : <i>their</i> ages

## Interrogative

§ 203. (a) The following inflexible interrogative pronouns, and related adverbs, occur:

Sul., War.	<i>čī</i> , Sor., Muk.	<i>čī</i> ( <i>čī</i> only in pause and in <i>bō čī</i> , Arb., &c., <i>lō čī</i> 'why?' <sup>1</sup> ) 'what?'	
Sul., War., Bin., Piž.	<i>čōn</i> , Muk.	<i>čilōn</i> , <sup>2</sup> Arb.	<i>kū</i> 'how?'
War.	<i>čan</i> , Sul.	<i>čan/ŋ</i> , Sor. & Muk.	<i>čand</i> 'how much, many?'
	<i>kē</i> <sup>3</sup> (Muk. § 43 <i>k'ē(hā)</i> )		'who?'
Sul., War.	<i>kay</i> , Piž., Muk.	<i>kangē</i> , Arb.	<i>kangī</i> 'when?'
	<i>kām(a)</i>		'which?'

<sup>1</sup> Often reduced to *bōč*, *lōč*, and even *bō*, *lō* 'why?'

<sup>2</sup> The form *čū* appears in an isolated phrase with *xānin*, e.g.

Sul. 131 *čū xānin*: how should we know?

Muk. § 43 *čū xānim*: how should I know?

<sup>3</sup> 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 cí cūn*: what did you go for?  
 368 *atū dalēy cí*: what dost thou say?  
 Muk. 4<sup>5</sup> *ēi dakay*: what art thou doing?  
 24<sup>25</sup> \**čiya (čīa)*: what is it?  
 Sul. — *ama ba čaŋa*: how much is this?  
 — *kē awa*: who (is) that (at the door)?  
 P *ŷegāy xālid kāmaya*: which is Khalid's place?

(b) The following forms contain the sense of a verb:

Sul. *kwā, kāmatađ*, Muk. *kwānē*, Arb. *kānī* 'where is, are?'

For example:

Sul. 117 *kāmatađ hanārakāntān*: where are your pomegranates?

Muk. 21<sup>1</sup> *kwānē swārī da nāzanīn*: where are the splendid riders?

Arb. 431 *kānī birātān*: where is your brother?

Sul. *kø* 'where?' requires a limiting preposition, thus:

Sul. *la kø* 'where?', cf. Arb., &c., *kēndarē* (v. § 278 (b))  
*bō kø* 'whither?', cf. Arb., &c., *kēwa*

For example:

Sul. — *wāy la kø? 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.

## Stems

§ 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.

<i>čün</i> 'go'	:	<i>čū-</i>
<i>hātin</i> 'come'	:	<i>hāt-</i>
<i>kirdin</i> 'do'	:	<i>kird-</i> , &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 *-ī*, 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.

Intransitive	<i>fiṛī-</i> <sup>1</sup>	:	<i>fiṛ-</i>	'fly'
	<i>larzī-</i>	:	<i>larz-</i>	'tremble'
	<i>pižmī-</i>	:	<i>pižm-</i>	'sneeze'
Transitive	<i>biṛī-</i>	:	<i>biṛ-</i>	'cut'
	<i>kiṛī-</i>	:	<i>kiṛ-</i>	'buy'
	<i>mālī-</i>	:	<i>māl-</i>	'sweep'
	<i>pīrsī-</i>	:	<i>pīrs-</i>	'ask'
	<i>hēnā-</i>	:	<i>(h)ēn-</i>	'bring'
	<i>kētā-</i>	:	<i>kēt-</i>	'plough'
	<i>pēčā-</i>	:	<i>pēč-</i>	'fold'

(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.

Intransitive	<i>āwsā-</i>	:	<i>āwsē-</i>	'swell'
	<i>biržā-</i>	:	<i>biržē-</i>	'roast'
	<i>dīṛā-</i>	:	<i>dīṛē-</i>	'tear'
	<i>tikā-</i>	:	<i>tikē-</i>	'drip'

<sup>1</sup> All forms are Sul. unless otherwise stated.

(but note,	<i>s(t)ā-</i>	: <i>s(t)-</i>	'rise'
	<i>tirsā-</i>	: <i>tirs-</i> , Muk. <i>tirsē-</i>	'be afraid'
	<i>žīā-</i>	: <i>žī-</i>	'live')
Transitive	<i>gā-</i>	: <i>gē-</i>	'copulate with'
	<i>nā-</i>	: <i>nē-</i>	'put'

(iii) When the past stem ends in *-ū* the present stem is normally identical with it, e.g.

Transitive	<i>dirū-</i>	: <i>dirū-</i>	'sew'
	<i>farmū-</i>	: <i>farmū-</i>	'order'
	<i>gurū-</i>	: <i>gurū-</i>	'flay'
	<i>ǰū-</i>	: <i>ǰū-</i>	'chew'
(but note,			
Intransitive	<i>bū-</i>	: <i>b-</i>	'be'
	<i>čū-</i>	: <i>č-</i>	'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	<i>būrd-</i>	: <i>būr-</i>	'pass'
	<i>bizūt-</i>	: <i>bizū-</i>	'move'
	<i>gilōft-</i>	: <i>gilōf-</i>	'rub'
	<i>kawt-</i>	: <i>kaw-</i>	'fall'
	<i>mird-</i>	: <i>mīr-</i>	'die'
Transitive	<i>girt-</i>	: <i>gir-</i>	'hold'
	<i>xənd-</i>	: <i>xən-</i>	'study'
(but note,	<i>bast-</i>	: <i>bast-</i>	'tie'
	<i>bīst-</i>	: <i>bīst-</i> , Muk. <i>byē-</i>	'hear'
	<i>past-</i>	: <i>past-</i>	'tread')

(v) 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 normally *-ē-*, e.g.

Transitive	<i>bwārd-</i>	: <i>bwēr-</i> > <i>bēr-</i>	'pass'
	<i>bižārd-</i>	: <i>bižēr-</i>	'pick'
	<i>(ha)nārd-</i>	: <i>nēr-</i>	'send'
	<i>pālāwt-</i>	: <i>pālēw-</i>	'strain'
	<i>sūtān(d)-</i>	: <i>sūtēn-</i>	'burn'

(vi) When the past stem ends in *-st*, *-št*, the present stem frequently ends in *-z*, *-ž* respectively, e.g.



Transitive	<i>gast-</i>	: <i>gax-</i>	'bite'
	<i>gwāst-</i>	: <i>gəz-</i>	'remove'
	<i>pārāst-</i>	: <i>pārēz-</i>	'protect'
	<i>xwāst-</i>	: <i>xwāz-</i>	'demand'
	<i>čēšt-</i>	: <i>čēž-</i>	'taste'
	<i>kušt-</i>	: <i>kuž-</i>	'kill'
	<i>nāšt-</i>	: <i>nēž-</i>	'bury'
(but note,	<i>firō(š)t-</i>	: <i>firōš-</i>	'sell', and
Intransitive	<i>nīšt-</i>	: <i>nīš-</i>	'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, *-awa*. 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-*,<sup>1</sup> Sor., Muk. *da-*, Rdz. *a-/da-*, prefixed to:  
 the simple present give the Present Indicative,  
 the simple past give the (Past) Imperfect.

<sup>1</sup> In War. a modal affix *t-* occurs with two verbal stems only, forming the Present Indicative, viz.

War. — *tēm/tiēm*, &c.: I, &c., come  
 — *tērim*, &c.: I, &c., bring

Cf. <i>Kirmānšāhi</i>	(Mokri, Songs, 33)	<i>tiyam</i>	
	(Mann, MS.)	<i>ti'ām</i>	
<i>Sinai</i>	(Mokri, Songs, 231)	<i>tēm</i>	<i>tērim</i>
	(Mann, MS.)	<i>tēm</i>	<i>tērim</i>

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. — *tērimī*: I am bringing it  
 — *bērinī*: bring ye it!  
 294 *āw bērēti*: the water should bring him

Cf. *Sinai* (Mann, MS.) *tērētaw*: he brings it back.

But note, influenced by Sul. *ay(h)ēnim*,

War. — *ayērim*: I am bringing it

*b(i)-*, 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(i)-* 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 *h-*, e.g.

Sul. — *ēm*, Bin. — *dēm*: I come (*ē-*)  
— *ēšē*, Bin. — *dēšē*: it hurts (*ēš-*)

but, 187 *aēnē*: he brings ((*h*)*ēn-*)

War. — *ēšim*: I say (*ēš-*)

Muk. § 53 *dēlim*: I leave (*ēl-*)

but, *da<sup>y</sup>ēnim*: I bring ((*h*)*ēn-*)

It is realized before the initial stem vowel *ā-*, e.g.

Sul. — *xarika aāwsē*: it is swelling (*āwsē-*)

Arb. — *tēk daārēn*: they will become embroiled (*ārē-*)

and before *past* stems with initial *ē-*, e.g.

Sul. 180 *sarim 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(i)-* is not realized before any initial stem vowel, thus

Sul. — *bēm*: should I come? (*ē-*)

War. — *bēšim*: should I say? (*ēš-*)

### (b) Negative affixes

*nā-*, prefixed to the simple present,<sup>1</sup> gives the negative of the Present Indicative.

*nā-*, prefixed to all other tense forms (replacing the positive

<sup>1</sup> When, as rarely, the negative is separated from the verb then this takes the positive affix *a-*, e.g.

Sul. P *agirim bōt bō estā 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 *ná-*, *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 *i* 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:

	Sul., War.	Bin., Piž., Muk.	Arb., Rdz., Xoš.
Sg. 1	- <i>im</i> <sup>(1)</sup>	- <i>im</i>	- <i>im</i>
2	- <i>i(t)</i> <sup>(2)</sup>	- <i>i</i>	- <i>i</i>
3	- <i>ē(t)</i>	- <i>ē(t)</i> / <i>-i(t)</i> <sup>(3)</sup>	- <i>i(tin)</i> , - <i>it-</i> <sup>(4)</sup>
Pl. 1	- <i>in</i>	- <i>in</i>	- <i>in</i>
2, 3	- <i>in</i> <sup>(1)</sup>	- <i>in</i>	- <i>in</i>

#### NOTES:

(1) Before an enclitic the (unstressed) vowel of *-im*, *-in* is often not realized (*v.* § 41 (c)).

(2) Regarding the bracketed forms see (c) below.

(3) The alternative form *-î(t)* (cf. Arb., &c., *-î*) 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'

	Sul.	War.	Bin., &c.	Arb., &c.
Sg. 1	<i>abîm</i>	<i>awîm</i>	<i>dabîm</i>	<i>dabîm</i>
2	<i>abî(t)</i>	<i>awî(t)</i>	<i>dabî</i>	<i>dabî</i>
3	<i>abê(t)</i>	<i>awê(t)</i>	<i>dabê(t)</i>	<i>dabî(tin)</i> , <i>dabit-</i>
Pl. 1	<i>abîn</i>	<i>awîn</i>	<i>dabîn</i>	<i>dabîn</i>
2, 3	<i>abîn</i>	<i>awîn</i>	<i>dabîn</i>	<i>dabîn</i>

Note the corresponding Present Subjunctive in

Sg. 1	<i>(bî)bîm</i>	<i>bîwîm</i> [bu:m] ( <i>v.</i> §§ 73, 75)
2	<i>(bî)bî(t)</i>	<i>bîwî(t)</i> [bu:i(t), by:i(t), by:(t)]
3	<i>(bî)bê(t)</i>	<i>bîwê(t)</i> [bu:e(t), by:e(t)]
Pl. 1	<i>(bî)bîn</i>	<i>bîwîn</i> [bu:in, by:in, by:n]
2, 3	<i>(bî)bîn</i>	<i>bîwîn</i> [bu:n]

(ii) *-ê-*, e.g. *-lê-*, &c., 'say'

Sg. 1	<i>alêm</i>	<i>dalêm</i>	<i>darêm</i>
2	<i>alêy(t)</i>	<i>dalêy</i>	<i>darêy</i>
3	<i>alê(t)</i>	<i>dalê(t)</i>	<i>darê(tin)</i> , <i>darêt-</i>
Pl. 1	<i>alêyn</i>	<i>dalêyn</i>	<i>darêyn</i>
2, 3	<i>alên</i>	<i>dalên</i>	<i>darên</i>

(iii) *-û-*, e.g. *nû-* 'sleep'

Sg. 1	<i>anûm</i>	<i>danûm</i>	<i>danûm</i>
2	<i>anûy(t)</i>	<i>danûy</i>	<i>danûy</i>
3	<i>anwê(t)</i> , <i>anø(t)</i>	<i>danwê(t)</i>	<i>danwî(tin)</i> , <i>danwît-</i>
Pl. 1	<i>anûyn</i>	<i>danûyn</i>	<i>danûyn</i>
2, 3	<i>anûn</i>	<i>danûn</i>	<i>danûn</i>

(iv) *-a-*, e.g. *ka-* 'do'

Sg. 1	<i>akám</i>	<i>dakám</i>	<i>dakám</i>
2	<i>akáy(t)</i>	<i>dakáy</i>	<i>dakáy</i>
3	<i>akā(t)</i>	<i>dakā(t)</i>	<i>dakā(tin)</i> , <i>dakāt-</i>
Pl. 1	<i>akayn</i>	<i>dakayn</i>	<i>dakayn</i>
2, 3	<i>akan</i>	<i>dakan</i>	<i>dakan</i>

(v) -ō-, e.g. *xō-* 'eat'

Sg. 1	<i>axōm</i>	<i>daxōm</i>	<i>daxōm</i>
2	<i>axōy(t)</i>	<i>daxōy</i>	<i>daxōy</i>
3	<i>axwā(t)</i>	<i>daxwā(t)</i>	<i>daxwā(tin)</i> , <i>daxwāt-</i>
Pl. 1	<i>axōyn</i>	<i>daxōyn</i>	<i>daxōyn</i>
2, 3	<i>axōn</i>	<i>daxōn</i>	<i>daxōn</i>

(vi) -ī-, e.g. *girī-* 'weep', Sor., Muk. *rī-* 'defecate'

Sg. 1	<i>agirīm</i>	<i>darīm</i>	<i>darīm</i>
2	} <i>agirī(t)</i>	} <i>darī</i>	<i>darī</i>
3			<i>darī(t)</i>
Pl. 1, 2, 3	<i>agirīn</i>	<i>darīn</i>	<i>darīn</i>

(vii) -ya-, e.g. War. *gaya-* 'reach', Muk. \**girya-* 'weep'

Sg. 1	<i>agayám</i>	<i>dagiryám</i> (Sor. <i>dagiryēm</i> , &c.,
2	<i>agáy(t)</i>	<i>dagirī</i> regular stem in -ē-)
3	<i>agayē(t)</i>	<i>dagiryē(t)</i>
Pl. 1	<i>agáyyn</i>	<i>dagiryáyyn</i>
2, 3	<i>agayán</i>	<i>dagiryán</i>

(c) 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,<sup>1</sup> and may be so in pause. It is seldom realized before another consonant, however.

Examples:

- Sul. 28 *amdōzītawa*: thou wilt find me  
62 *abayta dar*: thou carriest out

[contrast

- Bin. 344 *bikay-awa*: if thou makest . . .  
350 *dačī-awa*: thou wilt go back  
Muk. 9<sup>23</sup> *agar bimday-ē*: if thou givest it to me]  
Piž. 399 *hatā S. bimēnīt*: while S. remains (alive)  
Muk. 14<sup>25</sup> *bēt la wurmī*: comes from Urmiye  
Xoš. 460 *bō yazaŷy bičīt*: he should go to war

In Arb., &c., the 3rd Sg. -*tin* is an optional form, occurring most commonly in pause.

<sup>1</sup> Mainly the enclitic 'preverb' -*awa* (v. § 235 (a)) or the preposition -*a*, -*ē* (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:

	Sul., War. <sup>1</sup>	Bin., Piž., Muk.	Arb., Rdz., Xoš.
Sg. 1	-im/-m	-im/-m	-im/-ma
2	-î(t)/-y(t)	-î/-y	-î/-y
3 Sul.	-a(t)/-(y)a(t)	-a(t)/-(y)a(t)	-a/-y)a, -t-
War.	-a(s)/-(y)a(s)		
Pl. 1	-în/-yn	-în/-yn	-în/-yna
2, 3	-in/-n	-in/-n	-in/-na

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 *î*, *û*.

Examples: (v. also § 214):

- Sul. 2 *min pāšā-m*: I am a king  
 73 *hāzir-im*: I am ready  
 — *wā-y la kə*: where art thou?  
 107 *îši ĉi-a*: what is thy business?  
 167 *āltūnī tyā-ya*: there is gold in it  
 181 *ba xwā kar-in ēwa*: by God, you are asses
- War. 292 *xarîk-î amkušî*: art thou about to kill me?
- Muk. 97<sup>15</sup> *hamû pālawān û ba-nāw-în*: we are all champions and famous
- Arb. 435 *mindār-im, sabî-ma*: I am a child, a boy  
 442 *gurg-a, dēw-a, ĉi-ya*: is it wolf, demon, or what?  
 436 *la tū-na*: they are from thee
- Rdz. 474 *amin-im, amin nēĉirî tū-ma*: I am (she), I am thy quarry  
 489 *pyāw-ma*: I am a man  
 475 *kuřî kîsrāy-na*: they are the sons of Chosroes

<sup>1</sup> In War. the enclitic verb precedes the defining suffix -*á* (cf. § 199), e.g.

War. 281 *'āidi aw 'arab-im-á*: I belong to that Arab

(cf. Sul. — *'āidi aw 'arabá-m*)

(b) The negative of this form is independent, not enclitic.

	Sul., War	Bin., &c.	Arb., &c.
Sg. 1	<i>nīm</i>	<i>nīm</i>	<i>nīma</i>
2	<i>nī(t) &lt; *nīy(t)</i>	<i>nī &lt; *nīy</i>	<i>nī &lt; *nīy</i>
3 Sul.	<i>nīa(t)</i>	<i>nīa(t)</i>	<i>nīa, nīt-</i>
War.	<i>nīa(s)</i>		
Pl. 1	} <i>nīn &lt; *nīyn</i>	} <i>nīn &lt; *nīyn</i>	} <i>nīna &lt; *nīyna</i>
2, 3			

(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 šafawa*: what art thou that thou hast come to do battle?

59 *agar šēt nīt, ěm*: if thou art not mad I shall come

### Imperative

§ 210. (a) The Imperative is formed from the present stem, and normally the prefix *b(t)-* (negative *má-*), with the following endings:

Sg. 2 -*a*, Pl. 2 -*in*, when the stem ends in a consonant,  
 - $\text{Q}$     -*n*,                    ,,                    ,,                    vowel.

Thus, for example, when the stem ends in:

(i) a consonant or semi-vowel,

Sul. — *bēna*: bring! ((*h*)*ēn-*)

5 *bičín*: go ye! (*č-*)

77 *bikawa*: fall! (*kaw-*)

War. — *biyğirin*: hold ye it! (*gir-*)

Arb. — *bīna*: bring! ((*h*)*īn-*)

(ii) -*ē-*,

Sul. — *bilē<sup>1</sup>*: say! (-*lē-*)

47 *bilēn*: say ye!

<sup>1</sup> Mann, Muk. § 69, has *bēlā* 'say!' but his informant wrote regularly  $\text{ل}$   
 Cf., however, the variation in

War. 285 *dām na* } put me down! (*nē-*)  
 294 *dām nē* }

Bin. 318 *magirya*: do not weep! (*giryē-*)

(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. — *biřō*: go! (*řō-*)  
 — *biyxōn*: eat ye it! (*xō-*)

(vi) *-ī-*,

- 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. — *biygōřarawa*: exchange it! (*gōř-*)

but

- Bin. — *biyxōna-wa*: read it! (*xōn-*)

(ii) *-ē-* stem,

- Sul. — *biylērawa*: repeat it! (*-lē-*)  
 War. 297 *bēra lāy xōm*: come to my side (*ē-*)

but

- Bin. — *biylē-wa*: repeat it! (*-lē-*)

(iii) *-a-* stem,

- Sul. 58 *bimdarē*: give it to me! (*da-*)  
 12 *řāwim bidarawa*: give back my quarry!  
 War. — *biykarō*: open it! (*ka-*)

but

- Bin. — *-im bidaya* < *bida-ē*: give me . . .! (*da-*)  
 Arb. — *biyka-wa*: open it! (*ka-*)



(c) The following Imperative forms from irregular stems occur:

Sul. 78 *bičō*: go!

Bin. 373 *bičōn*: go yel

[Sul. — *bičin*: go yel (*č*-) is regular]

Sul., Muk. — *wara, warin*: come! come yel!

Rdz. — *mē*: do not come!

[War. — *bē, bēn*: come! come yel (*ē*-)]

Sul. — *maya* < \**maē*: do not come!, are regular]

Bin., Muk. § 69 *hařō*: go!

Note the varying irregular position of the personal pronoun suffix (*v.* § 198 (iv.  $\beta$ )) in the following War. Imperative forms:

War. — *bērin-ī*: bring ye it! (*v.* § 206 (a) fn.)

— *bēr-ī-a*<sup>1</sup>: bring it!

— *bēř-ī*<sup>1</sup>: say it! (*ēř*-)

but

— *bi-y-ēřarō*: 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:

	Sul., War.	Sor., Muk.
Sg. 1	- <i>im</i>	- <i>im</i>
2	- <i>ī(t)</i>	- <i>ī</i>
3	- <i>Ū</i>	- <i>Ū</i>
Pl. 1	- <i>in</i>	- <i>in</i>
2, 3	- <i>in</i>	- <i>in</i>

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. *hāt*- 'come'

	Sul., War.	Sor., Muk.
Sg. 1	<i>hātīm</i>	<i>hātīm</i>
2	<i>hātī(t)</i>	<i>hātī</i>
3	<i>hāt</i> ( <i>v.</i> § 66)	<i>hāt</i>
Pl. 1	<i>hātīn</i>	<i>hātīn</i>
2, 3	<i>hātīn</i>	<i>hātīn</i>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. order -*i-a*, § 199, loss of -*a*, § 175 (b).

(ii) *-ū-*, e.g. *bū-*, &c., 'be'

	Sul.	War.	
Sg. 1	<i>būm</i>	<i>wim</i>	<i>būm</i>
2	<i>būy(t)</i>	<i>wī(t)</i>	<i>būy</i>
3	<i>bū</i>	<i>ū, -w</i>	<i>bū</i>
Pl. 1	<i>būyn</i>	<i>wīn</i>	<i>būyn</i>
2, 3	<i>būn</i>	<i>wīn</i>	<i>būn</i>

(iii) *-ā-*, e.g. *mā-* 'stay'

Sg. 1	<i>mām</i>	<i>mām</i>
2	<i>māy(t)</i>	<i>māy</i>
3	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā</i>
Pl. 1	<i>māyn</i>	<i>māyn</i>
2, 3	<i>mān</i>	<i>mān</i>

(iv) *-ī-*, e.g. *gai-* 'reach'

Sg. 1	<i>gāim</i>	<i>gāim</i>
2	<i>gāi(t)</i>	} <i>gāi</i>
3	<i>gāi</i>	
Pl. 1, 2, 3	<i>gāin</i>	<i>gāin</i>

(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,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

Sul. 15 *gaḥāytawa*: thou returnedst  
(cf. Sor. — *gaḥāyawa*)

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,<sup>2</sup> e.g.

Sul. 2, Bin. 304 *gaḥāyawa*: he returned  
(cf. Muk. 2<sup>20</sup> *gaḥāwa*)

Bin. 321 *nadītrāyawa*: (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., *ahātīm*, *ahātī(t)*, *ahāt*, *ahātīn*, *ahātīn*

Sor., &c., *dahātīm*, *dahātī*, *dahāt*, *dahātīn*, *dahātīn*, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Mainly the enclitic 'preverb' *-awa* (v. § 235 (a)), the preposition *-a*, *-ē* (v. §§ 236 (d), 237 (b)) or the conditional suffix *-āya* (v. § 212).

<sup>2</sup> The form War. 217 *gaḥāyaō* seems to be a compromise between Sul. *aḥāyawa* and War. *\*gaḥāō*.

(b) The Past Conditional tense<sup>1</sup> is formed from the Past by the addition of the prefix *b(t)-* 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	<i>bihātīmāya</i>	or, War.,	<i>bīhātāyam</i>
2	<i>bihātītāya</i> , Sor., &c.,	<i>bihātīāya</i>	<i>bihātāyay</i>
3	<i>bihātāya</i> <sup>2</sup>		
Pl. 1	<i>bihātīnāya</i>	but not	* <i>bihātāyayn</i>
2, 3	<i>bihātīnāya</i>		* <i>bihātāyan</i>

§ 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. \**-ū*, *ʔw*; War. *-(i)ğ* (v. § 76);<sup>3</sup> Arb., Rdz., Xoš. *-ī*, *ʔy*.

The behaviour of Sul., &c., \**-ū* 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:i:*].<sup>4</sup> A personal pronoun suffix, or the adverbial suffix *-īš* (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*, *gaīw*  
 War. *hātīğ*, *čūğ* (N.B. *wiğ*: Sul. *būw*), *māğ*, *gaīğ*  
 Arb., &c., *hātī*, *būy*, *māy*, *gaī* (< \**gaīy*)

<sup>1</sup> Mann, Muk. § 72, has 'Optat.: *bāmāya* . . . ; 3. sing. *bāyāya*', but, § 83, 'In der Bedeutung eines Optativus perf. . . . *béhātīnāya* . . .'.

<sup>2</sup> The 3rd Sg. Past Conditional of the verb *būn* 'be' appears in various irregular forms, viz. Sul., Bin. (*bi*)*bwāya*, Muk. *būyāya*, Piž., Sor. *bāya*, War. *wāya*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Sināi* (Barr, op. cit., p. 224) *-(i)ğ*.

<sup>4</sup> Note, in corroboration, the metre of the following lines by *Šēx Rāzā Tālābāni*, viz. -o--/-o--/-o--/-o--:

*maslaḥat wāya hatā nayxwārduwim biynēr-mawa*: It is best that I send it back before it eats me!

*min azānim kē la xištay birduwī, ammā ʔī sūd*: I know who has led thee astray, but to what advantage?

## Compound Tenses

§ 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'

	Sul., &c.	War.	Arb., &c.
Sg. 1	<i>hātúwim</i>	<i>hātíğim</i>	<i>hātīma</i>
2	<i>hātuwī(t)</i>	<i>hātíğī(t)</i> (§ 76)	<i>hātī</i> (< * <i>hātī-y</i> ) <sup>1</sup>
3	<i>hātúwa,</i> <i>hātôt-</i> (§ 59 (b))	<i>hātíğ(a)s</i>	<i>hātīa,</i> <i>hātīt-</i>
Pl. 1	<i>hātúwīn</i>	<i>hātíğīn</i>	} <i>hātīna</i> (< * <i>hātī-yna</i> ) <i>hātīna</i>
2, 3	<i>hātúwin</i>	<i>hātíğīn</i>	

(ii) *-ū-*, e.g. *bū-*, &c., 'be'

Sg. 1	<i>búwim</i>	<i>búğim/wiğim</i>	<i>búyma</i>
2	<i>būwī(t)</i>	* <i>būğī(t)/wiğī(t)</i>	<i>būy</i> (< * <i>būy-ī</i> )
3	<i>būwa,</i> <i>bôt-</i>	<i>būğ(a)s/wiğ(a)s</i>	<i>būya,</i> <i>būyt-</i>
Pl. 1	<i>būwīn</i>	* <i>būğīn/wiğīn</i>	} <i>būyna</i> (< * <i>būy-īna</i> ) <i>būyna</i>
2, 3	<i>būwin</i>	<i>būğīn/wiğīn</i>	

(iii) *-ā-*, e.g. *mā-* 'stay'

Sg. 1	<i>māwim</i>	<i>māğim</i>	<i>māyma</i>
2	<i>māwī(t)</i>	* <i>māğī(t)</i>	<i>māy</i> (< * <i>māy-ī</i> )
3	<i>māwa(t)</i>	<i>māğ(a)s</i>	<i>māya,</i> <i>māyt-</i>
Pl. 1	<i>māwīn</i>	* <i>māğīn</i>	} <i>māyna</i> (< * <i>māy-īna</i> ) <i>māyna</i>
2, 3	<i>māwin</i>	<i>māğīn</i>	

(iv) *-ī-*, e.g. *gaī-* 'reach'

Sg. 1	<i>gaīwim</i>	<i>gaīğim</i>	<i>gaīma</i>
2	<i>gaīwī(t)</i>	<i>gaīğī(t)</i>	<i>gaī</i> (< * <i>gaī-y</i> )
3	<i>gaīwa(t)</i>	<i>gaīğ(a)s</i>	<i>gaīa,</i> <i>gaīt-</i>
Pl. 1	<i>gaīwīn</i>	<i>gaīğīn</i>	} <i>gaīna</i> (< * <i>gaī-yna</i> ) <i>gaīna</i>
2, 3	<i>gaīwin</i>	<i>gaīğīn</i>	

<sup>1</sup> 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. — *čōt bō fūtī*: 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, hātōtawā*: 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:

Sg. 1	<i>gařāwimatawa</i>	<i>hātuwimatawa</i>
2	<i>gařāwītawā</i>	<i>hātuwītawā</i>
3	<i>gařāwatawa</i>	<i>hātōtawā</i>
Pl. 1	<i>gařāwīnatawa</i>	<i>hātuwīnatawa</i>
2, 3	<i>gařāwinatawa</i>	<i>hātuwinatawa</i>

Examples:

- Sul. E *hīčyān nadāwimatē*: they have given me nothing  
(v. §§ 229 (b) (ii), 237 (b))  
E *hīčtān bō nagēřāwimatawa*: you have not related anything to me

but,

- Bin. 325 *gařāwimawā*: I have returned  
359 *hātuwimawā*: I have come back  
Muk. § 78 *hātūinawā*: 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.<sup>1</sup>

In all dialects except Bin., Piž. a stressed *-t-* is added to a stem ending in a consonant before the auxiliary.

<sup>1</sup> In War. these two tenses would thus be identical in form in all but the 3rd Sg., e.g.

Perf. Subj. \**hātūwim, -wī(t), -wē(t), -wīn, -wīn*  
Pluperf. *hātūwim, -wī(t), -ū, -wīn, -wīn*

No examples of War. Perfect Subjunctive were, however, recorded. Mann, Muk. § 80, notes the contracted *Sināi* Pluperfect *hātūm* (v. § 75).

(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt-* 'come'

Sul., &c.

Bin., Piž.

Perfect Subjunctive

Sg. 1	<i>hāt<b>t</b>īm</i>		<i>hāt<b>t</b>īm</i>
2	<i>hāt<b>t</b>ī<b>(t)</b></i> , Sor. <i>-bī</i>		<i>hāt<b>t</b>ī</i>
3	<i>hāt<b>t</b>ī<b>ē(t)</b></i> , <i>-bī(tin)</i>		<i>hāt<b>t</b>ī<b>ē(t)</b></i>
Pl. 1	<i>hāt<b>t</b>ī<b>īn</b></i>		<i>hāt<b>t</b>ī<b>īn</b></i>
2, 3	<i>hāt<b>t</b>ī<b>īn</b></i>		<i>hāt<b>t</b>ī<b>īn</b></i>

Pluperfect

Sg. 1	<i>hāt<b>t</b>ī<b>ūm</b></i> , &c.		<i>hāt<b>t</b>ī<b>ūm</b></i> , &c.
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(ii) a vowel,<sup>1</sup> e.g. *čū-* 'go'

All dialects

Perfect Subjunctive

Sg. 1	<i>čū<b>t</b>īm</i>		
2	<i>čū<b>t</b>ī<b>(t)</b></i> , Sor. <i>-bī</i>		
3	<i>čū<b>t</b>ī<b>ē(t)</b></i> , <i>-bī(tin)</i>		
Pl. 1	<i>čū<b>t</b>ī<b>īn</b></i>		
2, 3	<i>čū<b>t</b>ī<b>īn</b></i>		

Pluperfect

Sg. 1	<i>čū<b>t</b>ī<b>ūm</b></i> , &c.
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§ 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)).<sup>2</sup> 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).

<sup>1</sup> In Bin., Piž., Muk. § 72, the past stem of the verb *būn* is reduced to *bī-* in the Pluperfect tense, thus *bībūm*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Not, with Mann, Muk. § 72, an alternative present stem *bā-* directly comparable with NP. *bāš-*. Muk. 116<sup>25</sup> *bām* 'would I had been', Rdz. 487 *nabāy* 'hadst thou not been', &c., are reduced forms of the Perfect Conditional \**bībām*, &c., due presumably to confusion of the stem *bī-* (cf. previous fn.) with the identical modal prefix.

Thus:

	Sor., Muk.
Sg. 1	( <i>bi</i> ) <i>hāt(i)</i> bām
2	( <i>bi</i> ) <i>hāt(i)</i> bāy
3	( <i>bi</i> ) <i>hāt(i)</i> bā
Pl. 1	( <i>bi</i> ) <i>hāt(i)</i> bāyn
2, 3	( <i>bi</i> ) <i>hāt(i)</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*)*hāt(i)*bāmāya, &c.

In Bin., Piž. the 'conditional' *-ā-* may, in addition, be infixed between stem and auxiliary, giving a Perfect Conditional III tense, thus:

Sg. 1 (*bi*)*hātābāmāya*, &c.

For examples, see § 249 (*c*).

### Summary

§ 217. The tense and mood system may be summarized as follows:

Present Indicative (§ 208)      Present Subjunctive (§ 208)

*a-kāw-im*, &c.

*bi-kaw-im*, &c.

Imperative (§ 210)

*bi-kaw-a*, &c.

Past (§ 211)

*kāwt-im*, &c.

Imperfect (§ 212 (*a*))

*a-kāwt-im*, &c.

Past Conditional (§ 212 (*b*))

*bi-kawt-im-āya*, &c.

Past Participle (§ 213)

*kawt-ū*

Perfect Indicative (§ 214)

*kawtūw-im*, &c.

Pluperfect (§ 215)

*kawt(i)būm*, &c.

Perfect Subjunctive (§ 215)

*kawt(i)bim*, &c.

Perfect Conditional I (§ 216 (a))

*(b)kawt(i)bām, &c.*

Perfect Conditional II (§ 216 (b))

*(b)kawt(i)bām-āya, &c.*

Perfect Conditional III (§ 216 (b))

*(b)kawt-ā-bām-āya, &c.*

### Certain Verbs

§ 218. (a) The morpheme *ha-* with the verb *būn* yields the verb *habūn* '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:

	Sul., &c.	War.	Arb.
Present Indicative			
Sg. 1	<i>ham</i>		
2	<i>hay(t)</i>		
3 'there is'	<i>haya</i>	<i>has</i>	<i>haya, hayt-</i>
Pl. 1	<i>hayn</i>		
2, 3 'there are'	<i>han</i>		
'I have'	<i>ha-m-a,</i> <i>-m haya</i>	<i>has-im,</i> <i>-m has</i>	<i>hayt-im,</i> <i>-m haya</i>
'thou hast'	<i>ha-t-a,</i> <i>-t haya</i>	<i>has-i(t),</i> <i>-t has</i>	<i>hayt-it,</i> <i>-t haya</i>
'he has'	<i>hayat-ī,<sup>1</sup></i> <i>-ī haya</i>	<i>has-ī,</i> <i>-ī has</i>	<i>hayt-ī,</i> <i>-ī haya</i>
'we have'	<i>ha-mān-a,</i> <i>-mān haya</i>	<i>has-mān,</i> <i>-mān has</i>	<i>hayt-mān,</i> <i>-mān haya</i>
'you have'	<i>ha-tān-a,</i> <i>-tān haya</i>	<i>has-tān,</i> <i>-tān has</i>	<i>hayt-ū,</i> <i>-ū haya</i>
'they have'	<i>ha-yān-a,</i> <i>-yān haya</i>	<i>has-yān,</i> <i>-yān has</i>	<i>hayt-yān,</i> <i>-yān haya</i>
'I have (Pl.)'	(Sor., Muk. only)	<i>han-im,</i> <i>-m han, &amp;c.</i>	

<sup>1</sup> See § 219.



## Present Subjunctive

'if there be'	<i>habē(t)</i>	<i>habī(tin)</i>
'if I have'	<i>ha-m-bē(t),</i> <i>-m habē(t), &amp;c.</i>	<i>ha-m-bū(tin),</i> <i>-m habū(tin), &amp;c.</i>

## Past, Imperfect

'there was, used to be'	<i>habū</i>
'I had, used to have'	<i>ha-m-bū, -m habū, &amp;c.</i>

## Past Conditional

'if I (had) had'	<i>ha-m-bwāya,</i> <i>-m habwāya, &amp;c.</i>	<i>ha-m-bāya,</i> <i>-m habāya, &amp;c.</i>
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## Perfect Indicative

'I have had'	<i>ha-m-būwa,</i> <i>-m habūwa, &amp;c.</i>	<i>ha-m-būya,</i> <i>-m habūya, &amp;c.</i>
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## Examples:

- Sul. P *našārazāy galē rēgāy žērzawī hay: thou art un-*  
aware of many underground passages
- War. — *čitēkī tir has: there is another thing*
- Piž. — *malān haya, faqēšin han: we have a mullah and*  
some students too
- Muk. 197<sup>19</sup> *hanim hudūdi: I have some noble horses*
- Sul. 69 *tūtikēkī pičkōlay habū: she had a little puppy*
- Bin. 310 *hamānbū: we were well off (lit. 'we had')*
- Arb. — *agar išin habāya nadahātīm: 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. — *tīnū-m-a: I am thirsty ('j'ai soif')*  
— *bīrsī-at-ī<sup>1</sup>: he is hungry ('il a faim')*  
16 *čī-at-ī<sup>1</sup>: what is the matter with him ('qu'est-ce qu'il a')*?

The morpheme *ha-* does not appear with negative forms, thus:

'(there) is not'	<i>nīa, &amp;c. (v. § 209 (b))</i>
'I have not' Sul., &c.	<i>nī-m-a, Arb. nīt-im,</i> <i>-m nīa -m nīa</i>
'we have not'	<i>nī-mān-a, nīt-mān,</i> <i>-mān nīa, &amp;c. -mān nīa, &amp;c.</i>

<sup>1</sup> See § 219.

§ 219. When the 3rd Sg. personal pronoun suffix *-ī* 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))  
*čī-a* 'what is it?' : \**čī+y+a* 'qu'est-ce qu'il a ?'  
*birsī-a* 'he is hungry' : \**birsī+y+a* 'il a faim'  
 (*birsī*, (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-ī*: he has  
*čī(y)at-ī*: what is the matter with him?  
*birsī(y)at-ī*: he is hungry  
*tīnūyat-ī*: he is thirsty  
 Arb. *tēnīt-ī*: he is thirsty

The resulting groups Sul., Muk. *-iatī*, *-yatī* > *-ētī*, War. *-yasī*, Arb. *-itī*, then commonly replace *-ia*, *-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 *xənuwyatī*<sup>1</sup> < \**-y-a*: she has studied  
 16 *či dardēkētī* < \**-ī-a*: what pain he has  
 War. 210 *xālōyasī* < \**-y-a*: it is his uncle  
 224 *kuštiğyasī*<sup>1</sup> < \**-y-a*: he has killed him  
 Muk. MS. *gostuwyatīawa*<sup>1</sup> < \**-y-at-awa*: he has moved  
 (house)  
 Arb. — *awa pištītī* < \**-ī-a*: that is his back

and, where *-y-* is merely euphonic,

- Sul. 112 *ba žēr sarēwayatī* < \**sar-ī-awa-ya*: is under his head  
 178 *la bariāyatī* < \**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)*wē-*, taking the normal modal affixes (§ 206) and present verbal endings (§ 208),

<sup>1</sup> See § 227.

appears with the personal pronoun suffixes with dative sense (§ 197 (b) (v)).<sup>1</sup>

The full stem *awē-* occurs after a personal pronoun suffix attached to the modal or negative affix. Otherwise the shorter stem *wē-* appears connected immediately with the affix. Thus:

- Sul. — *a-m-awē(t)*, *-m a-wē(t)*: I want  
 — *a-t-awē(t)*, *-t a-wē(t)*: thou wantest  
 — *a-y-awē(t)*, *-ī a-wē(t)*: he wants, &c.  
 — *a-y-awēm*: he wants me  
 — *xōš-im a-wēyt*: I love thee (*xōš wīstin*)  
 P *azānī min tōm čand xōš awēt*: thou knowest how  
 much I love thee (v. § 196 (c))  
 — *bi-t-awē(t)*, *-t bi-wē(t)*: if thou want, &c.  
 P *čōnī biwēt*: however he may want (it)  
 — *nā-t-awē(t)*, *-t nā-wē(t)*: thou dost not want, &c.  
 — *na-t-awē(t)*, *-t na-wē(t)*: if thou do not want, &c.  
 Bin., &c. *da-m-awē(t)*, *-m da-wē(t)*: I want, &c.  
 394 *dayawētawa*: (he) wants (him) again  
 Arb., &c. *da-m-awē(tin)*, *-m da-wē(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 . . .)  
 231 *min tō-m nağarak-a*: I do not want thee

With Sul., &c., *xōš wīstin* 'to love' compare

- War. 223 *xōš-ī garak būn*: (he) loved them

§ 221. (a) The following forms of a defective auxiliary verb with the sense 'must, ought to' are attested:

- |         |                                   |                              |
|---------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Present | Sul. <i>abē</i> , War. <i>awē</i> | Bin., Piž., Muk. <i>dabē</i> |
| Past    | Sul. <i>abwāya</i>                | Bin., Piž., Muk. <i>dabū</i> |

<sup>1</sup> 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.

## Examples:

- Sul. — abē *kuř bē*: it must be a boy  
 — abwāya *kuř bwāya*: she should have been a boy  
 — abē *xēwēkī dībē*: he must have seen a ghost  
 10 abē . . . *biygirīn*: we must catch it  
 41 abē *bēy lagalmānā*: thou must come with us  
 War. 196 awē *bičīn*: we must go  
 Bin. 299 dabē *bičīm*: I must go  
 Piž. 404 dabū *zūtīr . . . hātbāy*: thou shouldst have come  
 sooner  
 Muk. 25<sup>36</sup> 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 biřōynawa*: let us go back  
 26 *bā aw āzāya bē*: let that hero come  
 45 *nabā . . . nagařēmawa*: 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  
 Xoř. 445 *bā bičīna řāwē*: let us go hunting  
 Muk. 25<sup>6</sup> *bilā bičīm*: let me go  
 27<sup>9</sup> *bilā . . . mamī hal girīn*: let us take up Mem.

## Verbal Constructions

§ 222. In the present tenses of Intransitive and Transitive verbs alike a Subject (A)<sup>1</sup> is always expressed in the personal ending of the verb and possibly by an independent nominal form, e.g.

Sul. [(A)*min*] *ařōm*(=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)*pyāwaka*] (B)*sagaka akužē*(=A): [the man] kills the dog

<sup>1</sup> See fn. 3 opposite.

[(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-kužē(=A): he kills it

a-(C)y-dāt(=A)-ē: he gives (it) to him<sup>1</sup>

{ a-(B)m-dāt(=A)-ē: he gives me to (him)<sup>1</sup>

{ a-(C)m-dāt(=A)-ē: he gives (it) to me<sup>1</sup>

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] rōištīm(=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.<sup>2</sup>

§ 223. (a) With the past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs an Agent (1)<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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*,<sup>4</sup> may be represented. If not expressed by a nominal form it may appear in either of two alternative suffix forms (v. § 229 (b)).

<sup>1</sup> -ē, v. § 237 (b). A 3rd Sg. pronominal Direct Object cannot be expressed in this short form.

<sup>2</sup> With the following §§ 223-30 cf. E.'s somewhat different presentation, with examples, in *BSOAS*, xvii. 490, 499 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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 kušt*(=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

*kušt*(=2)-(4)*ī*: he killed it

*dā*(=2)-(4)*y*-(3)*m-ē*: he gave it to me<sup>1</sup>

(b) A sub-class of Transitive verbs is formed by those denominative 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. — *abōrēnē*(=A): it (cow) is lowing

— *bōrān*(=Q)-(4)*ī*: it lowed

— *a*-(4)*y-bōrān*(=Q): it was lowing

— *aḥilēnin*(=A): they (horses) neigh

— *ḥilān*(=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)*tīrēk*-(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)<sup>2</sup>: he struck (at) it

Examples:

War. 219 (1)*muxtār* . . . *pē*-(4)*y zānī*(=Q)-*n*(=3)<sup>2</sup>: the headman found out about them

Bin. 356 (1)*hač kasē lē*-(4)*y pirsī*(=Q)-*m*(=3)<sup>2</sup>: whoever might ask (from) me

<sup>1</sup> -ē, v. § 237 (b).

<sup>2</sup> 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)*gamīawānī pēy gut*: the boatman said to him

Piž. — (1)*awē kičē wāy kird*: that girl did thus

Arb. 422 (1)*kuřakay, yisif, gōtī*: the boy, Joseph, said . . .

and, reiterated,

Bin. 320 *pēy gut*, (1)*patrūsyāy*: 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)*dast-(4)ī birda bāxaī*: he put his hand into his bosom

2 (2)*sēwēk-(4)ī dar hēnā*: he took out an apple

War. 204 (2)*awiš-(4)yān bāη kird*: they called him too

Its complement,

Sul. 67 *tūšī am darda-(4)ḡ kirdim*: thou hast inflicted this pain on me

68 *bō čī šēt-(4)tān kirdim*: why did you make me (out to be) mad?

War. 190 *bāη-(4)yān kirdim*: they called me

(ii) Indirect Affectee (3),

Sul. 5 *yakēk la (3)dargā-(4)y dā*: someone knocked at the door

(iii) an absolute preposition (*v.* § 237),

Sul. — *lē-(4)y dā*: he set off (lit. 'beat it')

(iv. α) a preverb,

Sul. 67 *řā-(4)y kēšān*: he dragged them

(iv. β) a negative or modal affix,

Sul. 36 *kuř na-(4)y-hēšt*: the boy did not allow

— *a-(4)mān-xwārdawa*: we used to drink

(iv.  $\gamma$ ) the verbal stem,

- Sul. 2 *dā-(4)y-a das pāšā*: he gave it into the king's hand  
 2 *xist-(4)ī-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 xōr (1)xwāy dāwa*: God has given great wealth  
 335 (1)*awīš cand hadadēkī haskar ū hasākīr řagal xist*:  
 he took some soldiers with him  
 342 *āwī (1)awī dībū*: that which he had seen  
 370 (1)*patrūsyāy 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 Q, 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:

Sul., War., Bin., Piž., Muk.                      Arb., Rdz., Xoš.

Past (cf. § 211)

Sg. 1	Agent <i>xónim</i>	/xwéndim, &c.	<i>xíndim</i>
2	<i>xóni(t)</i>	/xwéndit	<i>xíndit</i>
3	<i>xóni</i>	/xwéndī	<i>xíndī</i>
Pl. 1	<i>xónmān</i>	/xwéndin, &c.	<i>xíndmān</i>
2	<i>xóntān</i>	/xwéndū	<i>xíndtān</i>
3	<i>xónyān</i>	/xwēndyān	<i>xíndyān</i>

Imperfect (cf. § 212 (a))

Sg. 1	<i>amxón</i>	/damxwénd, &c.	<i>damxínd, &amp;c.</i>
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Past Conditional (cf. § 212 (b))

Sg. 1	<i>bímxónāya</i>	/bímxwéndāya, &c.
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Perfect (cf. § 214 (a))

	Sul., &c.	War.	Arb., &c.
Sg. 1	<i>xónuxma<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>xwandiğma</i>	<i>xínditim</i>
2	<i>xónuxwa</i>	<i>xwandiğta</i>	<i>xínditit</i>
3	<i>xónuxwa(tī)<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>xwandiğya(sī)<sup>2, 3</sup></i>	<i>xínditī</i>
Pl. 1	<i>xónuxmāna</i>	<i>xwandiğmāna</i>	<i>xínditmān</i>
2	<i>xónuxwātāna</i>	<i>xwandiğtāna</i>	<i>xínditān</i>
3	<i>xónuxwyāna</i>	<i>xwandiğyāna</i>	<i>xíndityān</i>

Cf. negative,

Sg. 1	<i>námxónuxwa</i>	<i>námxwandiğa, &amp;c.</i>	<i>námxíndia, &amp;c.</i>
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Perfect Subjunctive (cf. § 215)

Sg. 1	<i>xónibētīm</i>	/xwéndbētīm, &c.
2	<i>xónibēti(t)</i>	/xwéndbētīt, &c.

Pluperfect (cf. § 215)

Sg. 1	<i>xónibūm</i>	/xwéndbūm	<i>xíndibūm</i>
2	<i>xónibūt</i>	/xwéndbūt, &c.	<i>xíndibūt, &amp;c.</i>

Perfect Conditional (cf. § 216 (a))

Sg. 1		<i>bímxwéndbā</i>	<i>bímxíndibā</i>
2		<i>bitxwéndbā, &amp;c.</i>	<i>bitxíndibā, &amp;c.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Realized [-l:u:ma], &c., v. §§ 60, 213.

<sup>2</sup> See § 219.

<sup>3</sup> Realized [-li:ɟ], v. § 76.

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 *-ī* 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 *dīmī(t)* 'I saw thee' is always realized, to avoid confusion with the form *dīmī* 'he saw me'.

(2) In Piž., Muk. the group *-im-in* '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. *kuštīmi(t)*, *kuštīni(t)*, *kuštīni(t)*. The grouping may then be extended to other verbs, e.g. *dītīmi(t)*.

(4) In Sul., following a past stem ending in a consonant and the past participle in *-w* (*v.* § 213), the first vowel of the groups *-itī-*, *-ity-*, *-inī-*, *-iny-* is usually reduced, thus:

- xwārdītī* > [xwɑ:rdti·]: he ate thee  
 (Bin. 311) *nārdīnī* > [nɑ:rdni·]: he sent us  
*nārduwītī* > [nɑ:r'du:ti·]: he has sent thee

Certain forms then coincide, e.g.

[nɑ:rdni·]: he sent us, you, them

demanding, in turn, a consistent spelling as *-itī*, *-ity-*, *-inī*, *-iny-* (*v.* §§ 41 (*c*), 208 (*a*) 1), e.g.

*xwārditī*, *nārdinī*, *nārduwitī*, &c.

TABLE I

		-im 'me'	-i(t) 'thee'	-in 'us'	-in 'you, them'
A-ims g 'I'	[Past] [Perfect]		nārānī† nārduomī†		dimin diuomin
n-it t 'thou'	dim diuoin	nārđim† <sup>(3)</sup> nārduoin		nārđim† <sup>(3)</sup> nārduoin	nārđim† <sup>(2)</sup> nārduomin
-i 'he'	dim, Arb. đitimi diuomi	nārđim nārduomi	điti đitimi† <sup>(4)</sup>	dim, Arb. đitimi diuomi† <sup>(4)</sup>	điti đitimi
-nān 'we'			nārđim† <sup>(4)</sup> nārduomi† <sup>(4)</sup>	nārđim† <sup>(4)</sup> nārduomi† <sup>(4)</sup>	nārđim nārduomin
-lān 'you'	đilānim diuolānim	nārđilānim nārduolānim	nārđilāni†(t) nārduolāni†(t)		đilānim diuolānim
-yān 'they'	điyānim diuyān, Arb. đitriyān diuyānim diuoyān	nārđiyānim } <sup>(5)</sup> nārđiuyān } nārđiuyānim } nārđiuyān }	nārđiyāni†(t) } <sup>(5)</sup> nārđiuyāni†(t) } nārđiuyāni†(t) } nārđiuyāni†(t) }	nārđiyān } <sup>(5)</sup> nārđiuyān } nārđiuyān } nārđiuyān }	nārđiyān } <sup>(5)</sup> nārđiuyān } nārđiuyān } nārđiuyān }

† din 'see', nārđin 'send'; thus 'I saw thee, I have seen thee, I sent thee, I have sent thee, &c.'

## Examples:

Sul. P *kē nārditī*: who sent thee?

P *girtinī*: he seized us

P *wahīma girtuwitī*: fear has seized thee

Note the same reduction in the following, irregular, example,

Sul. P *min nārduwitim* (: *nārduwmīt*): I have sent thee

(5) The 3rd Pl. Agential suffix *-yān* 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)*ēma*-(4)*y sandin*(=2) } he took them  
           (2)*awān*-(4)*ī la* (3)*ēma sand*(=2)<sup>1</sup> } from us  
 — *dān*(=2)-(4)*ī ba* (3)*ēma* } he gave them to us  
           (2)*awān*-(4)*ī dā*(=2)<sup>1</sup> *ba* (3)*ēma* }  
 — *dām*(=2)-(4)*ī ba* (3)*gurgān-xwārdū*: he ruined me  
           (lit. 'gave me into (the state of being) wolf-eaten')  
 158 (2)*xaw*-(4)*im ba* (3)*tōwa dīwa*(=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. — *lē*-(3)*mān*-(4)*ī sandin*(=2) } he took them from us  
           *sandin*(=2)-(4)*ī lē*-(3)*mān* }  
 — *pē*-(3)*mān*-(4)*ī dān*(=2) } he gave them to us  
           *dān*(=2)-(4)*ī pē*-(3)*mān* }  
 E *lē*-(3)*tān*-(4)*im war nagirt*(=2) } I did not receive it  
           *war*-(4)*im nagirt*(=2) *lē*-(3)*tān* } from you

(ii) as a verbal personal ending, if it is attached to the verb form, thus:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 196 (c), 242 (d).

- Sul. — (2)*awān*-(4)*ī lē sand*(=2)*in*(=3) } he took them from  
*lē*-(4)*y sandin*(=2)*in*(=3) } us  
 — (2)*awān*-(4)*ī 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 (P<sub>2</sub>) qualifying the Direct Affectee (2) may, when the Agent is suffixed (4) to that Affectee, in fact be represented, not by a personal *pronoun* suffix, but by a corresponding *verbal* personal ending attached to the verbal form, e.g.

- Sul. 127 (2)*bačkakān*-(4)*ī axwārd*(=2)*im*(=P<sub>2</sub>): it used to  
 eat my children  
 E *šētaka* (2)*das*-(4)*ī gazī*(=2)*m*(=P<sub>2</sub>): the madman  
 bit my hand  
 War. 204 (2)*fasm*-(4)*yān girt*(=2)*in*(=P<sub>2</sub>): they took photos  
 of us  
 Bin. 331 (2)*sar*-(4)*im la qalbē jø dakird*(=2)*ī*(=P<sub>2</sub>)-*awa*:  
 I would have separated thy head from thy body  
 Piž. 412 (2)*balak*-(4)*yān dagirt*(=2)*im*(=P<sub>2</sub>): they would  
 seize my shank  
 Muk. 174<sup>30</sup> (2)*fūānwāla*-(4)*y . . . bird*(=2)*im*(=P<sub>2</sub>): he took  
 my foal

A rare extension of this to the complement (P<sub>3</sub>) of the Indirect Affectee is seen in

- Bin. 326 *ba* (3)*qisa*-(4)*y kird*(=2)*in*(=P<sub>3</sub>): he did accord-  
 ing 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. 215<sup>16</sup> *hič farzandū nabūn* is explicable simply as a 3. Pl. verb 'you had no sons' (cf. § 242 (b, c)).

§ 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. — *lē*-(4)*y sandin*(=2)*in*(=3): he took them from us  
 — *pē*-(4)*y dān*(=2)*in*(=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. — *dā*-(4)*m-īt*(=2)*in*(=3)-*ē*: I gave thee to them  
 — *xwā dām*(=2)-(4)*ī-n*(=3)-*ē*: 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. — *dāw*-(4)*it-īn*(=2)-*ē-n*(=3): Thou hast given us to them (-*ē* 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 -*Q*, the form is quite common, e.g.

- Sul. — *dāmītē* (*dā*-(4)*m-īt*(=2)-*Q*(=3)-*ē*): I gave thee to him  
 — *dāmītē* (*dā*-(4)*m-Q*(=2)-*īt*(=3)-*ē*): I gave him to thee  
 — *lē*-(4)*y sandin*(=2)-*Q*(=3): he took them from her  
 E *lē*-(4)*m war nagirt-Q*(=2)-*in*(=3): I did not receive it from you/them  
 P *dā-Q*(=2)-(4)*y-m*(=3)-*ē*: he gave it to me  
 P *dā-Q*(=2)-(4)*y-n*(=3)-*ē*: he gave it to them  
 Muk. 42<sup>9</sup> *xulā dā-Q*(=2)-*m*(=3)-(4)*ī-ē*: God gave (him) to me

(c) In most cases, however, the Direct Affectee is represented by a nominal form, to which the Agential suffix is commonly attached, and hence also by a 3rd Sg. verbal ending (*v.* § 226 (c)), viz.  $\text{Q}$  in the past tense, e.g.

- Sul. 7 (2)*səŋ*-(4)*ī dā-Q(=2)-m(=3)*: he administered an oath to me  
 10 *pē*-(4)*y wut-Q(=2)-in(=3)*: he said to them . . .  
 14 *tā* . . . (2)*čĕšt*-(4)*ī bō kird-Q(=2)-in(=3)*: by the time that she had made a meal for them  
 80 (2)*harsēkyān*-(4)*im bō hāzir kird-Q(=2)-ī(=3)*: I have brought all three of them for thee  
 Muk. 4<sup>25</sup> (2)*xō*-(4)*y lē kird-Q(=2)-in(=3)-a dārōya*: he made himself policeman towards them  
 111<sup>5</sup> --(4)*im pēškēš kird-Q(=2)-ī(=3)*: I gave (it) to thee  
 163<sup>19</sup> --(4)*m dā-Q(=2)-n(=3)-ē*: I gave (it) to you  
 163<sup>29</sup> --(4)*ī dā-Q(=2)-yn(=3)-ē*: (God) gave (it) to us  
 176<sup>33</sup> (2)*tīrēk*-(4)*ī lē dā-Q(=2)-m(=3)*: he shot me with an arrow  
 232<sup>6</sup> *wā*-(4)*y lē kird-Q(=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. — *dāw*-(4)*it-in(=2)-Q(=3)-ē*: Thou hast given us to him  
 E (2)*kāyazaka*-(4)*yān dīrīw-Q(=2)-im(=P2)*: they have torn my letter  
 52 *agar* (2)*aʃal*-(4)*ī hēnāw-Q(=2)-im(=P2)*: if Thou hast brought (the hour of) my death  
 Hal. — (2)*nāmākān*-(4)*yān dīrānuw-Q(=2)-ī(=P2)*: have they torn thy letters?  
 Piž. 409 (2)*ʃimāh*-(4)*yān* . . . } they have had  
 . . . *lagal kirduw-Q(=2)-ī(=3)*, } intercourse  
 . . . *kirduw-a(=2) lagal (3)tō* } with thee  
 Bin. 327 (2)*dū kārakar*-(4)*ī bō rā girtuwinata aw mindāla*: he appointed two maids for her to that child (*girtuw-in(=2)-Q(=3)-at* (by extension, as § 214 (c))-*a*)

### Passive Conjugation

§ 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) (ii)) the past stem of the Passive has then the form of the present stem of the active verb plus the morpheme *-rā-*, thus:

Sul. *kuştin*, *kuş-* 'kill' > *kuşrē-*, *kuşrā-*, *kuşrān* 'be killed'  
*nūsīn*, *nūs-* 'write' > *nūsre-*, *nūsra-*, *nūsran* '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' > *nūsre-*, *nūsyā-*, *nūsyān* 'be written'  
 or the compromise form *-ryā-*, thus:

War. *kuştin*, *kuş-* 'kill' > *kuşre-*, *kuş(r)yā-*, *kuş(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 *nadītrāyawa*: could not be found (*dītinawa*)

335 *hangāwtrābū*: had been surrounded (*hangāwtin*)

Muk. § 100, fn.1. \**gutrē-*, *gutrā-*, *gutrān* 'be said' (*gutin*) (cf. § 232 (ii), s.v. *wutin*)

Rdz. — *kurāndrāya*<sup>1</sup>: has been boiled (*kurāndīn*)

— *sōtāndrā*<sup>1</sup>: was burnt (*sōtāndīn*)

Cf. Sul. *gā(i)n*, *gē-* 'copulate with' > *gāyrē-*, *gāyrā-*, *gāyrān*.

§ 232. The formation of the passive stems of certain verbs is irregular:

(i) Reduction of stem final *-a-* to *-i-*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 232 (iv).



Sul. *kirdin*, *ka-* 'do' > *kirē-*, *kirā-*, *kirān* 'be done'  
*birdin*, *ba-* 'carry' > *birē-*, *birā-*, *birān* '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 *-lre-* (more commonly *wutrē-*) 'be said'

(iii) Assimilation of *-r-*,

Sul. *gōrīn*, *gōr-* 'change' > *gōr-rē* > *gōrē-*, *gōrā-* 'be changed'  
*birīn*, *bir-* 'cut' > *bir-rē-* > *birē-*, *birā-* 'be cut'

Cf. War. *biryān* 'be cut'.

(iv) Euphonic *-d-*. The groups *-n(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'

*zānīn*, *zān-* 'know' > *zāndrē-*, *zāndrā-*, *zāndrān*  
'be known'

(v) Various,

Sul. *girtin*, *gir-* 'hold' : *girē-*, *girā-*, *girān* 'be held',  
also *girsē-*, *girsā-*, *girsān*; cf. War. *gir(s)yān*

*xwārdin*, *xō-* 'eat' : *xurē-*, *xurā-*, *xurān* 'be eaten'

*šitīn*, *šō-* 'wash' : *šōrē-*, *šōrā-*, *šōrān* 'be washed'

Arb. *šūštin*, *šō-* '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. *-īn-* 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 *-ē-* this is displaced by the causative morpheme.

The addition to the Intransitive present stem of the morphemes Sul., War., *-ān-*, Sor., Muk. *-ānd-* yields the past stem of the Causative. Thus:

Sul., War.	<i>dirān, dirē-</i> 'tear'	>	<i>dirēn-, dirān-, dirānin</i> 'tear'
Bin., Piž., Muk., Arb.			<i>dirēn-, dirānd-, dirāndin</i>
Rdz., Xoš.			<i>dirīn-, dirānd-, dirāndin</i>
Sul., &c.	<i>sūtān, sūtē-</i> 'burn'	>	<i>sūtēn-, sūtān-, sūtānin</i> 'burn'.
Bin., &c.			<i>sūtēn-, sūtānd-, sūtāndin</i>
Rdz., Xoš.	<i>sōtān, sōt-</i>	>	<i>sōtīn-, sōtānd-, sōtāndin</i>
Sul.	<i>fīrīn, fīr-</i> 'fly'	>	<i>fīrēn-, fīrān-, fīrānin</i> , also <i>fīfēn-, fīfān-, fīfānin</i> 'snatch'
	<i>rižān, rižē-</i> 'flow'	>	<i>rižēn-, rižān-, rižānin</i> 'pour'
Note,	<i>gai(štī)n, ga-</i> 'arrive'	>	<i>gayēn-, gayān-, gayānin</i> 'send'
	<i>nūstin, nū-</i> 'sleep'	>	<i>nwēn-, nwān-, nwānin</i> '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 lēra dā nišē*: let the boy sit here (*dā ništīn*)

56 *fām gira*: take me up! (*fā girtīn*)

80 *qāčī māč kā*: in order to kiss his foot (*māč kirdīn*)

but, with *b(i)-*,

Sul. 11 *ēwa dā binīšin*: sit ye down!

## PARTICLES

### Preverbs

§ 235. There are two types of preverbs:

(a) The adverbs *dar, dā, hal* (Arb., &c., *har*), *fā, fō* (Sor., Muk.), *war* and the 'postverb' suffix *-(a)wa* (War. *-ō*). This latter may appear, but rarely, in the form of a preverb *wa*, e.g.

- War. 191 *wa dān* : *dān-ō*  
 Bin. 345 *wa pařēna* : *pařāndin-awa*  
 Muk. § 61 *wa bařin* : *bařin-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  
*gařān* : *gařān-awa* — wander : turn back

or modify the meaning of the simple verb unpredictably, as do the other preverbs, e.g.

- kirdin* : *kirdin-awa* : *řā 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'<sup>1</sup>  
*la* (Sor., Muk. also *da*, *řa*) 'at'  
*a* 'to'  
*bō* (Arb., Rdz., Xoš. also *la bō*, *lō*) 'for'  
*tā*, *hatā* 'till'  
*bē*, more commonly *ba bē* 'without'<sup>2</sup>  
*laḡal* (War. also *laḡal*, *lēl*, Sor., Muk. also *dagał*, *řagał*, Arb., &c., *lagał*) 'with'<sup>3</sup>  
*baraw* 'towards'  
*wak*, *wakū* (Sor., Muk. *wakī*) 'like'

<sup>1</sup> English equivalents of the prepositions are given only as approximate labels. See § 239.

<sup>2</sup> Mann, Muk. § 112 end, is mistaken in considering *bē-āyāi*, &c., as an abstract noun. The *-i* is here the Obl. case ending. Cf.

Sul. — *ba bē tifay řōiřt*: he went without a gun

War. 254 *wa bē pāšā*: without a king

An abstract is to be found, however, in

War. 271 *ba bē-čāwī mōō*: it was left eyeless

<sup>3</sup> *laḡal* also occurs as a relative adverb 'when', 'as soon as', e.g.

Sul. 10 *ama laḡal ġirtmān*: when we have caught this

65 *laḡal dinyā řūnāk bū*: as soon as it was light

(b) In conjunction with the simple prepositions the following enclitic 'postpositions' occur:

- awa* (War. -*ō*, Arb., &c., -*wa*)
- dā* (Sul., War. also -*ā*,<sup>1</sup> Sor., Muk. also -*ḫā*)
- aw-dwā* (cf. § 252 (b))

The commonest combinations are:

- ba* . . . -*dā* 'through', *la* . . . -*dā* 'in', *lagal* . . . -*dā* 'with'
- ba* . . . -*awa* 'with', *la* . . . -*awa* 'from', *a* . . . -*awa* 'into'
- bō* . . . -*awa* 'towards', *la* . . . -*awdwā* 'after'

and their variant dialect forms.

(c) The final vowel of *ba*, *la*, *da*<sup>2</sup> 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 *duktūr farmānī bēra čīa*: what has a doctor to do here?

9 *law daštaā*: in that plain

Piž. 410 *daw kuḫa čūkala*: 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*, *ō* (v. § 171 (c)), e.g.

Sul. — *la ēstāwa*: from now (on)

— *la donēwa*: from yesterday

The War. form -*ō* may coalesce with preceding *a* or not, e.g.

War. 226 *law dēw qāḫākō*: 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 daštaā*: in that plain

56 *la bar qāḫy aw māḫā*: before the door of that house

<sup>1</sup> 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 *Sinai* 'Gulistān' text under discussion, by the appearance of the -*ā* suffix after a personal pronoun suffix, viz. 100<sup>6</sup> *la xātir-im-ā* 'in my mind' (v. § 199).

<sup>2</sup> Also of the 'Plural Izafe' 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 xēwatēkawa*: went into a tent  
 27 *agařēm-a dwāwa*: I shall go back  
 61 *šā ismā'il-a dwāy xōy xist*: she put Shah Ismail  
 behind her  
 62 *abayt-a dar*: 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 *gaišta qarāxī šār ū a dam darwāzaka*: reached the  
 edge of the town and (came) before the gate  
 246 *hātina pāriyāwla, a dēy šēx*: 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:<sup>1</sup> *pē, wē; lē, tē; ē*,<sup>2</sup> 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 dīwīt* } thee

The correspondence is not, however, always regular, e.g.

- Sul. 130 *tē-y hal dan*: thrash him!  
       *-yān law hal dā*: they thrashed him  
 — *aydam ba filān*: I give it to so-and-so  
       *aydam-ē*: I give it to him  
 Muk. 35<sup>11</sup> *āwirim bar bū la badanē*: a fire has ignited in my  
       body  
       42<sup>3</sup> *āwirēkim tē bar bū<sup>w</sup>a*: 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

<sup>1</sup> See §§ 198, 229 (b), 235 (b).

<sup>2</sup> The recognition of *ē* as the absolute form of *a* is E.'s, 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)).

*ē*, like *a* (§ 236 (d)), is always enclitic following a verb, e.g.

Sul. 2 *xwā awlāyākī nērīnat adāt-ē*: God will give thee male offspring

(c) The independent absolute prepositions unite with the postpositions *-awa*, *-dā*, &c., yielding:

*pēwa* (War. *pēō*), *pēdā* (Sul., War. *pyā*)

*lēwa* (War. *lēō*)

*tēwa* (War. *tēō*), *tēdā* (Sul., War. *tyā*)

*lagaldā* (Sul. *lagalā*, War. *lālā*, &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. — *awānāy ka tyāyān*: those who are inside it

P *bazāim pyātā hātuwa*: I have taken pity on thee

Hal. — *sirēšakam haḥ swī 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*

*pēkawa* (War. *pēkō*, Arb. *pēkwa*) } together

Sul. — *kā w dānakay la yak ſyā* } he separates the chaff

*akātawa* } and the grain of it

Bin. 313 *kā w dānakay lēk ſudā dakā-* } from one another

*tawa*

(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 (*ba/pē pē kanīn*)  
 — *ba kuřaka pē akanī*: he was laughing at the boy

The derivatives are generally inseparable, e.g.

- Sul. — *iřakay 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 dāraķa*: behind the tree  
 11 *ba sar sarī kuřā*: over the boy's head  
 56 *la bar qāpīy aw mālā*: 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 čil šaw*: after forty nights  
 Bin. 323 *ba dim baħrēdā*: by the sea  
 325 *fa sar malikšāy*: upon Melikshah  
 355 *wa dast ma kawē*: falls into our hands

Noun + Izafe

- Sul. — *la (mā)baynī dū panjaradā*: between two windows  
 — *la bardamī xānūaka*: before the house  
 War. 195 *la pāšī awa*: after that  
 204 *la pēšī awā*: before him

Adjective

- Muk. 7<sup>10</sup> *nizik mirdīnita*: 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.

(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 řiqāndā*: in anger  
 62 *la xōšīānā*: for joy  
 74 *la tīnūā*: with thirst  
 87 *la tirsānā*: from fear  
 Muk. 2<sup>26</sup> *la birsān*: of hunger  
 6<sup>31</sup> *la tirsān*: from fear  
 10<sup>32</sup> *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. 1<sup>5</sup> *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 zistānān pīna w pařō, ba hāwīnān wurd wurd*  
*bīřō*: in winter (it is) patches and rags, in summer  
 go slowly (to show off your finery)  
 123 *la řārān 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 *hatā mumkīnmān 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 *yāriayān 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* (*-ī*) occurs. It is identical in form with the Obl. case ending *-ē* (*-ī*) (§ 180), e.g.

- Piž. 380 *pār bahārē*: last spring  
 384 *aw šaway*: that night  
 397 *hamū waxtēkī*: at all times  
 Piž. 399, Muk. 10<sup>10</sup> *rōžēkī*: one day  
 Muk. 4<sup>36</sup> *awē šawē*: that night

and, with a preposition,

- Bin. 320 *hāta xwārē*: came down  
 Muk. 10<sup>12</sup> *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 mātē*: towards home  
 32 *šawē*: at night

With prepositions, however, the normal Sul. formation is with the suffix *-awa*, e.g.

- Sul. 12 *hāta darawa*: came outside  
 15 *bō mālawā*: towards home

(b) A suffix *-ī* 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 řasmyān girtīn*: they took three photos of each one of us  
 257 *yakī dasē barǧī bō dīrus kird*: he made a suit of clothes for each one  
 Muk. 24<sup>17</sup> *yakī kuřēkyān dabē*: each one will have a son  
 War. 193 *rōži dū haywān, sē haywān akušīn*: each day we kill two or three animals  
 234 *agar rōži . . . gōštī lē biwīrī*: if each day thou cuttest flesh from him  
 269 *sālī kařatē*: once each year

(c)  $-(\tilde{z})\check{s}$  'also, even'<sup>1</sup> may be suffixed to either a nominal or a verbal form. The form  $-\check{s}$  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.,  $-y\check{s}$  appears in postvocalic position, e.g.

- Sul. 74 *bō xōyšī*: for himself  
War. 197 *xwāyš*: God also

In order of suffixation  $-i\check{s}$  always precedes a personal pronoun suffix. Thus when suffixed to a nominal form it has the position  $\check{y}$  in the order Sul., &c., A B C D (E)  $\check{y}$  G H,  
War. A B C  $\check{y}$  G H D (v. § 199).

Examples: Sul., &c.

- AJ Muk. 99<sup>33</sup> *kostānakaš*: the highlands too  
BJG Muk. 89<sup>28</sup> *žinānīšū*: your women too  
CJ Sul. P *la lāyakawa . . . la lāyakišawa . . .*: on the one hand . . . on the other hand also . . .  
CJG Sul. — *kuṛēkīšim la karkūka*: one of my sons also is in Kirkuk  
DJ Sul. 76 *am dū kičayš*: these two girls also  
EJ Muk. 87<sup>26</sup> *xānzādaxānēš . . . dēnim*: I shall bring Kh. too  
JG Sul. — *xōšī*: he himself  
JH Sul. 52 *agar ajalīši nahēnāwim*: if on the other hand Thou hast not brought (the hour of) my death

#### *Wārmāwa*

- JD War. 200 *aw bağzādayša*: that begzade too  
267 *awīša*: 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. — *lēšī būrd*: he forgave him also  
— *tēkīšim dā*: I have spoilt it too

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sinat*  $-i\check{c}$ ,  $-y\check{c}$ , e.g. Mokri, Songs 231, *xwayčim* 'I too'.

- (β) Sul. P *ašināsīm*: I know him too  
 P *agar našhātīmawa*: and if I do not come back  
 Muk. 33<sup>17</sup> *dašībaynawa*: even if we take her back  
 (γ) Sul. P *agar hātīšimawa*: and if I do come back  
 P *kawtīšawa bīrī*: 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. — *pašimānān, šaxyān lē birwāya*: those with regrets,  
 if horns were to grow on them . . .  
 10 *ama, zōr hayfa biykužin*: this, it is a great pity that  
 we should kill it  
 26 *pāšā, čawī dar ē*: the king, may his eyes come out  
 War. 188 *min, nāwim nāmīqa*: 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 kāwusī, najūmī habū*: Khwaja Kawus, he had  
 a horoscope  
 Piž. 385 *tūtinakay, nēwkōlī hāt*: the tobacco, its weeds came  
 398 *šinēkī 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 sixa/sixin*: this boy's teeth are close together  
 E *lēra šēr xōra*: there are many lions here  
 9 *āsik . . . alawaṛān*: gazelles were grazing  
 Muk. 87<sup>2</sup> *žin dayalīn*: women are treacherous  
 178<sup>37</sup> *ṛāwkar būgīrīn*: may hunters catch you

(c) Two or more singular nouns joined by the conjunction *ū*, *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 istiḡbālēkī ḡwānawa . . . čūn*: the king, with a fine reception committee, (they) went  
 63 *kuṛ lagal pīrēžīn hātīn*: the boy, with the old woman, (they) came  
 Muk. 24<sup>9</sup> *dagaḡ waxīrī xōy haḡ stān, ṛōīn*: he, with his viziers, (they) set off and went  
 138<sup>24</sup> *hātūn . . . qarawāš ū māmāncī*: 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 *aw bit ū salamāna*: those idols (*bit*, *salam*)  
 369 *ḡwēy law ḡisa w bāsānaya*: he hears these sayings (*ḡisa*, *bās*)  
 Muk. 66<sup>4</sup> *bāzīn ū ḡwārān bistēnē*: takes bracelets and earrings (*bāzīn*, *ḡwāra*)  
 112<sup>36</sup> *la tirsī šīr ū xanḡarān*: from fear of swords and daggers (*šīr*, *xanḡar*)

or the plural Izafe *-ī 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. — *minālakānī nwān*: she put the children to bed

— *sagakānī kušt*: 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 *mālin bār kirdin*: we loaded up (our) property

380 *faršmān lē rā xistin*: we spread carpets in it

382 *šitilakānim dāštin*: I watered the seedlings

Muk. 2<sup>32</sup> *hamūyān qatlū-‘āmm kirdin*: they massacred everybody

Rdz. 478 *harsēkī girtin*: he captured all three

There appears to be a distinction between animate and inanimate in

Bin. 332 *čand wulāxī čākī bō kirīn*: he bought him some fine horses

*čand širī čākī bō kirī*: 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 *salāhadīn, ka dinyāy girt*: Saladin, who conquered the world, . . .

9 *am āsikāna, ka wā alawarēn*: these gazelles, which are grazing thus, . . .

or restrictive, e.g.

Sul. 9 *aw āsikayān ka wā tawqēkī 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.,<sup>1</sup> *har ka* in Arb., *agar* in Muk., e.g.

- Bin. 327 *žin . . . wakū malīkay faxrūtānja*: (his) wife, who is Queen Fakhrutaj, . . .  
 Arb. 418 *pāšāy mīsr, har ka 'azīzī mīsrē bū*: the king of Egypt, who was Aziz of Egypt, . . .  
 Muk. § 44 *xulā, agar amin ū 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.,<sup>2</sup> Piž., Muk. (Muk. § 44), *har ka, wakī* in Arb., *(wa)kū* in Muk., Rdz., Xoš., e.g.

- Bin. 323 *aw mawqīhay<sup>3</sup> agar . . . lēy lā dā būn*: that place at which they had landed  
 336 *agar xwēndiāwa . . . dazānē agar kuṛī N. nīa*: when he read it he knew that he was not the son of N.  
 348 *tēy gāi mazbūt agar qisakay kirdibū* (for \**qisaka(y)*<sup>3</sup> *agar kirdibūy*): she understood perfectly what he had said  
 Muk. 2<sup>12</sup> *bō xātir awukū* (for \**awa kū*) . . . *bizānin*: so that they should think . . .  
 Arb. 424 *wīstī har ka qisay lagar bikā*: he wanted to speak with her  
 429 *wakī ganimī . . . tē dakan*: when you are pouring in wheat  
 Xoš. 459 *ci wurāyak nīa . . . 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<sup>4</sup> gīra,*

<sup>1</sup> In Sul. this is probably restricted to 'story-tellers' style, e.g.

Sul. 47 *kuṛ, wakū šā ismā'il bē*: the boy, who is Shah Ismail . . .

<sup>2</sup> *kē* once in Bin., v. p. 83, fn. 3.

<sup>3</sup> -y Izafe, v. (b) below.

<sup>4</sup> 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 mīwānakay hātibū*: 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 *awānay ka wā alawafēn ba jya*: 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 conjunctive phrases as

- Sul. 31 *la sar ama ka kuř . . . dāwāy minī 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. — *mizgawt bē malā nābē*: there is no mosque without a mullah (no rose without a thorn)  
 — *xalqī kāyazī sipī axonētawa*: people read (evil into) white (i.e. blank) paper  
 — *āsini sārd akutē*: he is striking cold iron  
 — *har nān axōm*: I am just eating  
 2 *tō čī akay lēra*: what art thou doing here?

(b) The adverb *wā* 'thus' gives a sense of a state or action in progress,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

<sup>1</sup> In War. the forms *wā* and (*h*)*ā* give a similar sense in the absence of the normal substantive verb, e.g.

- War. — *čāwim wā tēō*: I see it (my eye is on it)  
 199 *wā wa dasmānō*: it (is) in our possession  
 269 *hā la xurānā*: (they are) on the point of being eaten  
 271 *bardī hā wa sar šānō*  
 273 *bardē ā wa sar šānō* } (there is) a rock on her shoulder

Sul. — *wā-y la kə*: where art thou?

— *wā-m lēra*: here I am

9 *am āsikāna ka wā alawafēn*: these gazelles which are grazing

9 *aw āsikayān ka wā tawqēkī āltūnī la milāya*: 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 aygirin*: we shall take it by hand

16 *či talab akay atdamē*: whatever thou seekest I shall give thee

58 *amkužē*: she will kill me

(d) In narrative it may alternate with the simple Past tense, e.g.

Sul. 1 *pāšāyak abē . . . nož akā . . . alē . . . la bar kird . . . rüy kirda šax*: there is a king . . . he prays . . . he says . . . he put on (clothes) . . . he turned towards the mountains

16 *kuř amōzāyākī . . . abē . . . wutī . . . čū*: the boy has a cousin . . . she said . . . she went . . .

27 *lēy dā, rōi, kuř — wā kuř ařwā*: the boy set off and went — lo, he is going —

Bin. 378 *agar wa žūr kawt tamāšā dakā*: 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 řwāna nāwēkī bixayna sar*: it is good that we should give him a name

7 *seņi dām . . . ka nāwī zāyir nakam*: he made me swear that I would not disclose his name

80 *dā nawī, qāčī māč kā*: he bent down to kiss his foot

(b) with injunctive force, e.g.

Sul. — *būkē, got lē bē*: daughter-in-law, pay thou heed

10 *ba girtin biygirin*: let us catch it by hand

11 *ēwa lēra dā binišin*: 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 . . . nāwī binēm*: I cannot name him (*twānīn*)  
 27 *amawē . . . sarēk . . . bidam*: I want to visit . . . (*wīstin*)  
 35 *nayānwērā bēn*: they durst not come (*wērān*)  
 55 *nāelim . . . biḥōy*: 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 kirdawa*: 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 pāš away ka minālakānī nwān*: after she had put the children to bed  
 22 *šexul'arabim 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 bātī insān mirīškēkyān swār kirduwa*: instead of a man they mounted a hen (in Montgolfier's balloon)  
 13 *la mamlakatī xōy tōrāwa, hātōta ēra*: she has tired of her own country and come here

Pluperfect

- Sul. — *ka čūma lāy minālakānī nwānibū*: when I went to (see) her she had put the children to bed  
 Muk. 25<sup>10</sup> *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 isrāḥat kirdin wa mawqīh-ēkmān bō aw dyārī kirdiḡa*: 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,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

- Sul. 9 *tamāšāy aw daštay* akird, *čāwī kawt ba āsik la nāw*  
*bāxēkā* alawaḥān: he was scanning that plain  
 (when) he saw some gazelles grazing in a garden  
 15 *duxtūryān* abirda *sar*: they kept on taking doctors  
 to him  
 38 *donē ba mintān* awut: yesterday you kept on saying  
 to me . . .  
 179 *ḥādyō nabū, gomān la grāmafōn* 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 amdī, 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 ū tō bizānī*: if it should happen and thou  
 shouldst discover . . .  
 65 *kuḥ xabar* bikaytawa: if thou wakest the boy  
 72 *am sē kiča māra* nakam: if I do not marry these  
 three girls  
 Bin. 324 *lēra baw lāwa* biḥōy: if thou goest hence in that  
 direction  
 361 *nēwī xōt ba min* naḥēy: if thou dost not tell me thy  
 name

generally followed, in the apodosis, by the Present Indicative, e.g.

<sup>1</sup> In Arb. the Imperfect appears exceptionally as the narrative past tense, e.g.

Arb. 430 *awān* daḥōyštīn, *hatā niwaḥē* dagaḥānawa: they set off and went  
 half of the way back

431 *awāna* čāwryān ḥōn dabōwa: their eyes regained sight

- Sul. — *min bim la j̄yātī tō nān nāxōm*: if I were you I would not eat anything  
 — *agar bič̄i 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 *haḷ asī . . . aḡbasim, haḷ nāsī . . . awkužim*: 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 p̄y bilē*: if thou seest him tell him  
 28 *agar hātī la dwāmā . . . amdōxītawa*: if thou comest after me thou wilt find me  
 58 *agar hāt ū mirdī . . . atnēžim*: if it should happen and thou shouldst die I shall bury thee  
 War. — *aḡar hāt̄ p̄y bēža*: if he comes tell him  
 — *aḡar č̄y bō silēmānī*: if thou goest to Suleimaniye (please do something for me)  
*ka nayšč̄y awā hīč̄*: if thou dost not go, no matter  
 266 *tēy gayānim nāykužim*: if I make him understand then I shall not kill him  
 Bin. 350 *agar hātimawa cāka*: 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 azānī min p̄āšām*: since thou knowest I am king  
 58 *ka mādam wāya hāxirim*: 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 ēra xānit adī*: if thou hadst come here last night thou wouldst have seen Khan  
 — *agar la j̄gāy tō būmāya am iṣam bāštir akird*: had I been in thy place I would have done this job better  
 — *am iṣat wahā bikirdāya čāktir abū*: it would have been better hadst thou done this job thus

- War. — *ağar tãpirim pē wāya lēm* akuştin: had I had a shot-gun with me I would have killed some of them  
 234 *tō agar aqil* bũytāya naakawtita *ayraō*: hadst thou had any sense thou wouldst not have got here  
 Bin. 331 *agar atũ dāk* nabũyāya . . . *mistēkim* . . . *dadā*: hadst thou not been my mother I would have punched (thee)  
 377 *agar amin* bitirsāmāya . . . *nadahātım*: 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 ū çakım* abũ *ba lāō*: 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 xũt pē* bigutābāmāya: if thou hadst told me sooner  
 Piž. — *agar pēt* bigutbāmāya } if thou hadst told me  
 391 *agar ba minit* bigutbā }  
 Muk. § 84 *agar aw waxta* nahātibām: if I had not come then  
 Arb. — *nahātibān intixārım dakirdin*: 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 hātuwa xabarım bidarē*: if (you know) he has come tell me  
 — *agar hātibē wara, pēm bilē*: if he should have come, come and tell me  
 — *agar dirānibēti çawı dar ahēnim*: if he should have torn it I'll have his eyes out!  
 52 *agar açalı hēnawım*: if Thou hast brought my death-hour

In War., however, only the Perfect Indicative is attested (v. § 215 (a) fn.), e.g.

- War. — *ağar dirıwiati çawı dar tērim*: if he has torn it I'll have his eyes out!

— *ağar ağıraka* kuzyāgatō *naxtē dārī 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 xānū fūxābū xuškītim bō sar biṛa*: if the house has been destroyed decapitate thy sister for me

§ 251. The particles *xōzga* (Muk. § 83 *xōzīā*), *biryā*, *kāškī* 'would that . . . '.

(a) When these particles introduce a wish still possible of realization they are normally followed by the Imperfect tense, e.g.

Sul. — *xōzga ahāt* } I wish he would come  
 Muk. § 83 *biryā dahāt* }  
 Sul. — *kāškī amdī*: 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. — *xōzga amtwānī bičūmāya mālawa*: I wish I could go home

(cf. § 221 (a), *abwāya kuṛ bwāya*)

(b) When the wish is impossible of realization the Past Conditional tense is used (in Muk. also the Perfect Conditional), e.g.

Sul. — *xōzga am kābrāyam nadiāya*: I wish I had never seen this fellow

— *kāškī donē bimdiāya*: I wish I had seen him yesterday

— *sad biryā bimtwānīāya bičīma mālawa*: would a hundred times that it had been possible for me to go home

[cf. — *hazim akird amat bō bikirdimāya*: I wish you had done this for me (would have liked you to do this)

P *xōr ārazūmān akird . . . bihātītāyawa . . . balām nahātītawa*: we very much wanted you to come back, but you did not]

Muk. 116<sup>25</sup> *biryā amin sēwēk bām . . . kawtibām . . . bihāti-nāyawa, aminyān haī 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 *ū, w* 'and' into a syntactical whole, e.g.

<i>bažn-ū-bālā</i>	'stature'
<i>dam-ū-čāw</i>	'face' (mouth and eye)
<i>daŋ-ū-bās</i>	'news' (noise and talk)
<i>dirō-w-dalasa</i>	'deception' (lies and deception)
<i>das-ū-pil</i>	'hand and fingers'
<i>hāt-ū-čū</i>	'traffic' (coming and going)
<i>hāt-ū-nahāt</i>	'luck' (coming and not-coming)
<i>narm-ū-šil</i>	'soft and flabby'
<i>řēgā-w-bān</i>	'highroad' (road and plateau)
<i>taŋ-ū-čalama</i>	'trouble' (tight and collar-bone [ <i>sic</i> ])

Less commonly one member is merely a rhyme of the other, e.g.

<i>ēsk-ū-prūsk</i>	'body' (bone, skeleton and spark)
<i>čāw-ū-řāw</i>	'deception' (eye and hunting)
<i>řē-w-řē</i>	'accommodation' (place and way)
<i>řēk-ū-pēk</i>	'regular, tidy' (tidy and together)
<i>šil-ū-mil</i>	'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-dwā*, § 236 (b))

<i>dam-aw-nuxūn</i>	'inverted' (face towards inverted)
<i>dast-aw-ažnō</i>	'depressed' (hand towards knee)
<i>pāš-aw-pāš</i>	'backwards'

-āw-

<i>čašn-āw-čašn</i>	'various' (kind to kind)
<i>gōš-āw-gōš</i>	'from ear to ear' (NP. <i>gōš</i> 'ear')
<i>pēč-āw-pēč</i>	'winding' (turn to turn)
<i>řaŋ-āw-řaŋ</i>	'various' (colour to colour)

ba

<i>das-ba-řē</i>	'immediately' (hand to place)
<i>haprūn-ba-haprūn</i>	'in pieces' (piece to piece)
<i>řē-ba-řē</i>	'in place, in effect' (place to place)

*baraw* (i.e. *bar-aw-* 'front towards . . .')

<i>sar-baraw-xwāra</i>	'declivity' (head towards downwards)
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(c) Two repeated parts, particularly verbal stems, may form a compound, either noun, adjective or adverb, e.g.

<i>anřin-anřin</i>	'chopped fine' (chop chop)
<i>pičir-pičir</i>	'separately' (bit bit)
<i>tik-tik</i>	'drip by drip'

An important subsection of this type is formed by morphemes of 'noise', e.g.

<i>řiriwa-řiriw</i>	'chirping'
<i>qāšpa-qāšp</i>	'clucking (of partridge)'
<i>xirta-xirt</i>	'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. *řiriwa*, *qāšpa*, &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.

<i>ōstā-žin</i>	'craftsman's wife'
<i>birā-žin</i>	'brother's wife, sister-in-law'
<i>čēšt-aṅāw</i>	'(mid-morning) mealtime'
<i>dēw-žāma</i>	'hunter's patchwork camouflage shield' (demon-dress)
<i>maraza-žār</i>	'rice patch'

and, with the compound vowel,

<i>būm-a-larza</i>	'earthquake'
<i>hawr-a-birūska, -tirīšqa</i>	'lightning' (cloud-lightning)
<i>nargis-a-žār</i>	'field of narcissi'

Inverted,

<i>čāl-āw</i>	'well' (pit of water)
<i>hīza-žōn</i>	'skin bag' (bag for clarified butter)
<i>kilāfa-dazū</i>	'skein of cotton'
<i>kūra-haṅ</i>	'beehive' (hive for bees)

and, with the compound vowel,

<i>čapik-a-gul</i>	'bouquet of flowers'
<i>čarm-a-gā</i>	'oxhide'
<i>danik-a-žō</i>	'barleycorn'
<i>gul-a-bāx</i>	'rose' (flower of garden)
<i>gul-a-ganim</i>	'ear of wheat'
<i>kilk-a-bēl</i>	'spade handle' (tail of spade)
<i>kun-a-lūt</i>	'nostril' (hole of nose)

(ii) A verbal stem, present or past, restricted by a preceding object, or complement, e.g.

Present: <i>bā-wašēn</i>	'fan' (wind-waver)
<i>bag-dirū</i>	'tailor' (clothes-sewer)
<i>bizin-miž</i>	'"goat-sucker" lizard'
<i>dār-firōš</i>	'wood-seller'
<i>mōr-halkan</i>	'seal-engraver'
<i>pyāw-kuž</i>	'murderer' (man-killer)
<i>sar-tāš</i>	'barber' (head-shaver)
<i>xon-žēž</i>	'bloodthirsty' (blood-spiller)
<i>žōr-žān</i>	'shrewd' (much-knower)



*Note.* With the defective present stem *-lē-* the modal affix *bi-* is also present in *zōr-bilē* 'talkative' (much-talker).

Past:	<i>dast-kird</i>	'hand-made'
	<i>dast-kawt</i>	'income' (hand-fallen)
	<i>sūraw(a)-kirāw</i>	'baked' (red-made) <sup>1</sup>

(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.

<i>čilk-āw</i>	'foul water' (dirt-water)
<i>šā-řag</i>	'jugular (king-) vein'
<i>šā-haṇ</i>	'queen bee'

and, with the compound vowel *-a-*,

<i>sāl-a-waxt</i>	'a year's time'
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Commonly, however, it follows the qualified noun, e.g.

<i>dār-hanār, -xurmā</i>	'pomegranate, date tree'
<i>galā-mēw, -tūtīn</i>	'vine-, tobacco-leaf'

and, with the compound vowel,

<i>būk-a-šūša</i>	'doll' (bride—glass)
<i>dār-a-ban</i>	'terebinth tree'

When the qualifier is an adjective the compound is also normally inverted and of the 'open' type, e.g.

<i>bizin-a-kēwī</i>	'mountain goat'
<i>qārčik-a-mārāna</i>	'toadstool' (mushroom—snaky)

&c., *ad infinitum* (v. § 185). A few uninverted compounds do occur, e.g.

<i>farik-a-nōk</i>	'unripe chick-pea'
<i>kawn-a-fāhīša</i>	'old whore' (abuse; otherwise <i>kōn</i> 'old')
<i>mizir-a-sēw</i>	'tart apple'
<i>narm-a-zīn</i>	'saddle-cloth' (soft-saddle)

Cf. Muk. § 31,

<i>garm-a-šin</i>	'bitter (hot) lamentation'
<i>nāsk-a-tīr</i>	'fine arrow'

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<i>bad-kār</i>	'evil-doer' (bad-work)
<i>dū-rū</i>	'two-faced, hypocritical'
<i>gardin-bilūr</i>	'with a throat (translucent as) crystal'
<i>girān-bā</i>	'expensive' (dear-price)
<i>kawa-rōž</i>	'overclouded' (grey-day)

and, with the compound vowel,

<i>kurt-a-bālā</i>	'short' (short-stature)
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They are more commonly inverted, without compound vowel, e.g.

<i>ēsik-sūk, -qurs</i>	'handsome, ugly' (bone-light, -heavy)
<i>bālā-barz</i>	'tall' (stature-tall)
<i>čāw-šîn</i>	'blue-eyed'
<i>dil-taṅ</i>	'sad' (heart-tight)
<i>dil-tař</i>	'sentimental' (heart-damp)
<i>dāwēn-pīs</i>	'licentious' (skirt, hem-dirty)
<i>hanāsa-sārd</i>	'despairing' (breath-cold)
<i>kayf-xōš</i>	'happy' (spirits-pleasant)
<i>sar-garm</i>	'eager' (head-hot)

(b) The prepositions *ba*, *bē* form an infinite number of adjectival compounds, e.g.

<i>ba ba-gø</i>	'obedient' (with ear)
<i>ba-jē</i>	'fitting' (in place)
<i>ba-kār</i>	'useful' (with work)
<i>ba-wanawz</i>	'drowsy' (with sleep)
<i>bē bē-gø</i>	'disobedient' (without ear)
<i>bē-hōš</i>	'unconscious'
<i>bē-qazā</i>	'unharméd' (without accident)

### Suffixes

§ 255. The following suffixes form nouns:

(a) Abstract

-ī forms abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g.

*āgūdārī* 'care', *āsānī* 'ease', *āškirāī* 'obviousness', *bōšī* 'emptiness', *čōlī* 'desertedness', *gawraī* 'greatness', *kurtī* 'shortness', *xōšī* 'pleasure'.

With adjectives of measure, &c., it alternates with

-āī, (-āyatī), e.g.

*astūrī*, *astūrāī* 'thickness', *barsī*, -āī 'height', -*dirēšī*, -āī 'length',  
*garmī*, -āī 'warmth', *qūlī*, -āī 'depth', *bilindī*, *bilindāyatī*  
'height'.

With other adjectives it frequently alternates with

-yatī > -ētī, e.g.

*āzāī*, *āzāyatī* 'bravery', *bandāī*, *bandāyatī* 'slavery', *kamī*,  
*kamētī* 'shortcoming', *pānī*, -āī, -ētī 'breadth'.

-atī, -iatī > -yatī > -ētī, -āyatī form abstract nouns from nouns,  
pronouns, or adjectives, e.g.

*āyāyatī* 'agha-ship', *birāyatī* 'brotherhood', *dōstāyatī* 'friend-  
ship', *dušmināyatī* 'enmity', *ḥākimētī* 'judge-, governor-  
ship', *pyāwatī* 'manhood, service', *šāristānētī* 'civilization',  
*xizmāyatī* 'kinship';

*čōniatī* 'how-ness', *kēyatī* 'who-ness';

*birsētī* 'hunger', *čākīatī* 'goodness', *tīnūētī* 'thirst', *yakīatī*,  
*yakētī* 'oneness, unity'.

-ēnī, more rarely, forms abstract nouns, e.g.

*būkēnī* 'bride-ship', *čāwēnī* 'evil-eye', *kičēnī* 'maidenhood',  
*kuvēnī* 'youth, boyhood'.

### (b) Diminutive

-č-, -k-, -l-, -l-, in various combinations, form derived nouns, and  
occasionally adjectives, which may be classed generally as 'diminu-  
tive'. Thus:

-ča *bāxča* 'small garden', *nāwča* 'district'

-čka *řēčka* 'string, file', *xānūčka* 'little house'

-ak *dastak* 'pole, beam', *řānak* 'trousers'

-ik *dastik* 'bunch, handle', *řūčik* 'chick'

-ka *dōlka* 'bucket', *lūtka* 'mountain peak', *miwānka* 'necklace'

-aka *pūlaka* 'fish scale, spangle', *tūraka* 'small bag'

-ōk *tīrōk* 'rolling pin'

-ōka *bāřōka* 'pullet', *řīřīřōka* 'whirligig', *řinōka* 'jinnee'

-kala *xiřkala* 'short and stout'

-la *mērūla* 'ant', *piřila* 'cat', *qutīla* 'little lamp'

-laka *řūlaka* 'Jew'

- ila* *amustila* 'finger ring', *gurčila* 'kidney', *kārila* 'kid'  
 -*ūla* *dānūla* 'porridge', *jāšūla* 'baby ass', *mēšūla* 'mosquito'  
 -*ūlka* *dāsūlka* 'small sickle', *pāčūlka* 'small pick'  
 -*la* *gōzala* 'small pitcher', *jujāla* 'chick'  
 -*ala* *girdala* 'hillock', *sawzala* 'little fresh one'  
 -*ōla* *kičōla* 'little girl', *pičkōla* 'small, tiny'  
 -*ōlka* *dizōlka* 'small saucepan', *girdōlka*, *tapōlka* 'hillock'

## (c) Concrete

-*gā*, forms nouns of place, e.g.

*hōrdūgā* (War. *hōrdūā*) 'army camp', *kōgā* 'store', *řēgā* 'road',  
*sayrāngā* 'beauty-spot', *tāvga* 'waterfall'.

-*alān*, (Bin., Piž. -*alēn*), forms nouns with the meaning 'tract, expanse of . . .', e.g.

*bardalān* 'stony tract, wilderness', *narmalān* 'soft land',  
*qāmīšalān* (Bin. *qāmīšalēn*) 'reed-bed', *sawzalān* 'green, verdant tract', *zīalān* (Piž. *zīalēn*) 'thorny tract', *zīxalān* 'stretch of gravel'.

-(*i*)*stān* forms nouns with the meaning 'place, country of . . .', e.g.

*dāristān* 'wood(land)', *jañlistān* 'jungle', *kurdistān* 'land of the Kurds', *kostān* 'highlands, uplands', *qabristān* 'graveyard', *šāristān* 'city'.

-*awān*, -*čī*, -*gar* form nouns of trades or skills, e.g.

*āšawān* 'miller', *bāxawān* 'gardener', *kaštīawān* 'boatman',  
*malawān* 'swimmer', *pāsawān* 'watchman', *šāxawān* 'mountaineer',  
*tōřawān* 'fisherman' (net-man);  
*bōyāxčī* 'shoeblick', *čāyčī* 'teashop-keeper', *qāčāxčī* 'smuggler',  
*řāwčī* 'hunter', *tanakačī* 'tinsmith';  
*āsingar* 'blacksmith', *čaqōgar* 'cutler', *misgar* 'coppersmith'.

-*dān* forms nouns with the meaning '. . . -holder', e.g.

*čirādān* 'lamp-holder', *darzīdān* 'needle-holder', *fīšakdān* 'bandolier',  
*řizdān* 'wallet', *mōmdān* 'candlestick', *mināldān* 'womb',  
*mīzīldān* 'bladder'.

-*dār* forms nouns and adjectives with the meaning 'possessor of . . .', e.g.

*amīndār* 'steward', *baydāxdār* 'flagbearer', *bašdār* 'partner',  
*dukāndār* 'shopkeeper', *dīldār* 'lover', *dardadār* 'invalid',  
*mīwāndār* 'host';

*āgādār* 'careful', *astēradār* 'starry', *bāldār* 'winged', *dāndār*  
 'toothed, cogged', *zyāndār* 'damaged'.

*-kar*, *-kār*, less commonly *-gār*, *-yār*, form nouns and adjectives with the meaning 'doer, maker of . . .', e.g.

*čēšt-*, *nān-kar* 'cook', *kāra<sup>1</sup>kar* 'maidservant', *kāwēžkar* 'ruminant',  
*swālkar* 'beggar', *šar<sup>1</sup>kar* 'fighter';

*ārazūkar* 'desirous', *iškar* 'industrious', *nožkar* 'devout';

*harzakār* 'lusty youth', *kirēkār* 'hired labourer';

*pārēzgār* 'abstemious';

*ju<sup>1</sup>tyār* 'ploughman', *ki<sup>1</sup>ri(y)ār* 'buyer, customer'.

*-bāz* forms nouns with the meaning 'addicted to . . .', e.g.

*hatīwbāz* 'pederast' (*hatīw* 'orphan'), *qumārbāz* 'gambler'.

*-ēn* (Arb., &c., *-ānē*) forms the names of games, e.g.

*halūkēn* 'tip-cat', *halmātēn*, *mūšēn* (Arb. *kallāyānē*) 'marbles',  
*fitbōlēn* 'football', *sartrinjēn* 'chess', *tōpēn* (Arb. *tōpānē*) 'ball  
 game', but *zōrān* (Arb. *zōrānē*) 'wrestling'.

#### (d) Verbal

*-ōk*, *-nōk* form nouns or adjectives with the sense 'habitual doer of . . .' from verbal stems, e.g.

*ga<sup>1</sup>rōk* 'wandering, nomad';

*gir<sup>1</sup>nōk* 'whining, cry-baby', *tirs<sup>1</sup>nōk* 'coward'.

*-ar<sup>1</sup>* forms agent nouns from verbal stems, e.g.

*ku<sup>1</sup>žar* 'killer', *nūsar* 'writer'.

*-amanī* forms nouns of materials from verbal past stems, e.g.

*sūtamanī* 'fuel', *xwārdamanī* 'food'.

*-a* forms nouns of 'noise'. From the suffix-free morpheme denominative transitive verbs are formed by the addition of the causative morphemes (§ 233).

*bōla* : *bōlānin* 'murmur', *bāfa* : *bāfānin* 'bleat', *fika* : *fikānin*  
 'whistle', *hīla* : *hīlānin* 'neigh'.

<sup>1</sup> A neologism, formed on the analogy of nouns in *-kar* (v. (c) above): *kirān*, *ka-*, *-dar* (v. § 256): *dān*, *da-*, *-bar*: *birdān*, *ba-*, e.g. *bārbar* 'load-carrier, porter', *fanjbar* 'labourer'.

Such nouns also form copulative compounds (§ 252 (c)), e.g.

*giva-giv* 'rumble', *qirča-qirč* 'crackle, splutter', *qîžā-qîž* 'scream'.

§ 256. The following suffixes form adjectives:

-*î* forms adjectives of kind, or origin, e.g.

*bāzārî* 'common, of the market', *kostānî* 'mountaineer', *lādēî* 'rustic', *miškî* 'musk-coloured, black', *qāzawî* 'coffee-coloured, brown';

*hawlēî* 'of Arbil', *hawrāmî* 'of Avroman'.

-*în*, -*awî* form adjectives from nouns, chiefly of materials, e.g.

*āgivîn* 'fiery', *āsînîn* 'iron', *ṛaṇîn* 'colourful';

*ārdāwî* 'floury', *bafrāwî* 'made of snow', *quṛāwî* 'muddy',  
*xōlāwî* 'dusty', *xonāwî* 'bloody'.

-*in* forms adjectives of quality from nouns, e.g.

*aspēwin* 'lousy', *čilkin* 'filthy', *gōštîn* 'fleshy', *kulkin* 'furry',  
*kirmin* 'wormy', *likin* 'dribbly', *qîžîn*, *tūkin* 'hairy', *wurgin*  
'big-bellied'.

-*man/η*, (-*mand*) forms adjectives with the sense 'possessed of . . .', e.g.

'*aqlman* 'wise', *ārazūmaṇ* 'desirous', *dādmaṇ* 'just', *dawla-*  
*man/η* 'rich', *dardman* 'ill', *hunarmaṇ* 'skilled'.

-*dar* forms adjectives meaning 'giver of . . .', e.g.

*āgādar* 'aware', *farmādar* 'commanding'.

-*kār*, -*bāw* modify adjectives of colour, e.g.

*ṛaškār* 'blackish', *sipikār* 'whitish', *sūrbāw* 'reddish', *šinkār*,  
-*bāw* 'bluish'.

-*āna* forms adjectives and, more commonly, adverbs, e.g.

*mārāna* 'snaky', *māṇāna* 'monthly', *sālāna* 'annual';  
*āyāyāna* 'gha-like', *āzāyāna* 'bravely', *birāyāna* 'brotherly',  
*pyāwāna* 'manly', *šērāna* 'like a lion'.

§ 257. In Sul., Sor., and Muk. the 'regular' Intransitive verb is characterized by the past stem ending -*ā-*, infinitive -*ān*, e.g.

*biržān* 'be roasted', *kulān* 'boil', *sūtān* 'burn', *škān* 'break'.

With a few verbs this may alternate with a past stem in *-ī-*, e.g.

*qawmā/īn* 'happen', *řimā/īn* 'collapse', *řixā/īn* 'rot', *tōqā/īn* 'burst', *xurā/īn* 'itch'.

The corresponding Transitive verb is a Causative formation (§ 233) from the Intransitive, e.g.

*biržānin* 'roast', *kułānin* 'boil', *sūtānin* 'burn', *škānin* 'break', *tōqānin* 'terrify', *xurānin* 'scratch'.

In War. the 'regular' Intransitive verb form is marked by the past stem ending *-yā-*, infinitive *-yān*, e.g.

*biržyān*, *kulyān*, *sūtyān*, *škyān* (< \**škyān*, v. § 56 (a), end).

## PART III

# SŪRČĪ, AKRE, AMADIYE, BARWARĪ-ŽŌR, 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. — *kavr*: rock, the rock, rocks, the rocks

— *bičāk*: 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 *mirōwaka gōta zinakē*<sup>1</sup>: the man said to the woman

Ak. 534 *mirōvaka čōva*: the man returned

555 *māraka kušt*: the snake was killed

682 *das hāvēta kičakē*<sup>1</sup>: 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 māra*: this snake

591 *av šiftā*: this watermelon.

Zx. 775 *av pira*: this bridge

It is not realized after a noun ending in *a*, e.g.

Ak. 564 *av sa*: this dog (*sa*)

<sup>1</sup> See § 261 (b).



*Note.* The same 'proximate' suffix is present in

Ak. 597 *či l hinda ganimay kam*: what shall I do with this much wheat? (v. § 261 (b))

contrast

— *či l hinda ganimī kam*: what would I do with that (so) much wheat?

Cf. also Ak. *hutuwa* 'in this way': *watuw* '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,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

Sur. 508 *šinak ā mirōwak habūn*: there was once a woman and a man

Ak. 531 *mirōwak habō*: once there was a man

534 *kāyazak nivīsī*: he wrote a letter

551 *yē hanē fīvīak-a*: yonder is a fox

Zx. 790 *muškilak*: 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 *birāyak*: a brother

709A *bāyak*: a wind

718 *qazāyak*: 723 *qazāyak*: a district

In all dialects, Ak.-Zx., the suffix may appear following *a* as *-k* only, e.g.

Ak. 536 *dabānyak*: a pistol

563 *qisak*: a saying

587 *fiḡārak*: a cigarette

Am. 705 *qabilak*: a tribe

719 *fāmihak*: a mosque

<sup>1</sup> 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, *dangē haspinān* 'the sound of horses', it is elsewhere only attested with the Secondary Izafe, q.v. §§ 263 (c), 264 (c).

The group *-iak* may be reduced to *-ēk* (cf. § 59 (a)), e.g.

Ak. 531 *pištēkē dārā*: a load of sticks (*pištī*)

653 *hēvārēkē*: one evening (*hēvārī*)

Bar. 737 *āvāhēk*: a building (*āvāhī*)

(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 *hamī kasak*: each person

A noun qualified by indefinite number may have the suffix *-ak*, commonly in conjunction with the Plural oblique morpheme *-ā(n)* (§ 261 (b)) when oblique, e.g.

Ak. 592 *čār pēnj daf' akā<sup>1</sup>*: four or five times (*daf'a*)

611 *gāxi čār pēnj bičūkakā kir*: called four or five children

613 *tgal sē čār nānakā*: with three or four loaves

Am. 707 *hašt nah řóžakā<sup>1</sup>*: eight or nine days

711A *p čand řóžakā*: by some days

Bar. 731 *sē čarak dī*: some three or four others

Zx. 773 *dah daqīqayakā<sup>1</sup>*: some ten minutes

*Note.* In conjunction with the numeral *yak*, &c. (§ 272), and certain indefinite pronouns an 'indefinite' suffix *-ē* (also *?-ī*) appears, e.g.

Ak. 563 *har yēkē qisak gôt*: each one said something

617 *hačīē dītbitava*: whoever has seen it

618 *hačīē bīnitava*: whoever brings it back

629 *kasē . . . nāškinīt*: nobody breaks . . .

Am. 706A *har ēkē kētikak dāē*: gave each one a cat

Gul. 765 *kasē . . . nagóta min*: nobody told me . . .

Zx. 774 *lāzima ēkē am bikušīn*: we must kill someone

Cf. also Ak. 585 *ču ēkī . . . nanivistīn*: 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.

<sup>1</sup> Adverbial 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).<sup>1</sup> 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:

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
All dialects Sur., Ak.- Zx., Shn., BX	-ī	-ē	-ā(n)
KK § 75 ff.	-Ō <sup>2</sup>	-ē	-ā

These are added to the simple noun directly, or after the defining suffix *-aka* (§ 258 (b)) when present. Examples, *v.* (d) below.

<sup>1</sup> The paradigm given in *BSOAS*, xvi. 530, is wrong, and a misinterpretation of K. A. Bedir-Xan's 'Langue Kurde', in that the Plural morpheme *-ā(n)* occurs only in the Oblique case.

<sup>2</sup> Alternatively in KK, BX the internal vowels *a*, *ā* of Masculine nouns may be modified to *ē* in the Sg. Obl., e.g. KK § 89 *šivān* 'shepherd' > *šivēn*, *dari* 'door' > *dēri*.

Following *a*, *ā* the M. Sg. Obl. ending *-ī* appears as *-y*, e.g.

- Ak. 531 *a čyāy*: to the mountain  
 534 *mālā kābrāy*: the fellow's house  
 556 *a qurbašay*: to the badger  
 544 *mirôvakay gôtî*: the man said (*mirôv*, *-aka*)

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

- Ak. 533 *l filān jaḏē*: in such-and-such street (*jaḏa*)  
 536 *darikē qišlē*: the door of the town hall (*qišla*)  
 533 *gôta žinakē*: said to the woman (*žin*, *-aka*)  
 682 *das hāvêta kičakē*: reached for the girl (*kič*, *-aka*)

An *ē* preceding the Pl. Obl. ending *-ā(n)* may be modified to *î*, e.g.

- Ak. 555 *p har dô piā*: with both feet (*pē*)  
 Zx. 785 *piā hât*: he came on foot

contrast,

- Ak. 565 *sēā*: 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 *kuṛē darwēšān-ī*: thou art the son of (one of) some dervishes  
 679 *šexē 'arabān-a*: he is the Sheikh of the Arabs  
 Am. 720 *na šibati kārē hamitān-a*: is not like everybody's dress  
 Zx. 777 *yē l sar vān gir-ô-mirān-in*: they are on these hills and humps

(c) When the noun has the indefinite suffix *-ak* (§ 259)<sup>2</sup> then the Oblique case morphemes take the following, Secondary, forms (in all dialects Sur.-Bar. identical with the Primary morphemes, v. (b) above)<sup>3</sup>:

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
All dialects, Sur.-Bar.	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ā(n)</i>
Gul.	<i>-ī</i> (? <i>-ē</i> )	<i>-ē</i>	
Zx.	<i>-ē</i> M. & F.		
KK § 92 ff., BX. 19	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ē</i>	

<sup>1</sup> Agent oblique, v. § 296 (b).

<sup>2</sup> In KK §§ 95, 96 also when qualified by a demonstrative adjective *avā*, *awā*.

<sup>3</sup> The distinction of such Primary and Secondary morphemes, though largely disguised here, is common in neighbouring dialects. Cf. the Izafe forms, § 264.

## Examples:

- Ak. 531 *dikānā mirōvakī*: a man's shop (*mirōv* M.)  
 540 *har biskakē*: on each curl (*bisk* F.)  
 592 *čār pēnʹ daf' akā*: four or five times (v. § 259 (c))  
 Am. 704A *nik najārakī*: to a carpenter (*najār* M.)  
 Bar. 729 *šinakē bīna*: take a wife (*šin* F.)  
 Gul. 750 *l bistānakī*: in an orchard (*bistān* M.)  
 Gul., Zx. — *nānakē bīna*: bring a loaf of bread (*nān* M.)  
 Zx. — *kalaxē tayrakē*: the carcass of a bird (*tayr* M.)  
 — *ṭarmē šinakē*: the body of a woman  
 771 *š 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 kēšin, quṛī*: they will take it, mud (*quṛ* M.)  
 Ak. 531 *vī tayray nākīrī*: won't you buy this bird? (*tayr*  
 M., -a, v. § 270 (a))  
 532 *šikāyatē bika*: make a complaint (*šikāyat* F.)  
 539 *kāyazā tniṣīṣit*: is writing letters (*kāyaz* F.)  
 542 *ču dangā naka*: make no noises (*dang* M.)  
 Am. 703A *šivē lē nīn*: we shall cook supper (*šiv* F.)  
 720 *dō darsōkā thāvēt*: puts two kerchiefs (*darsōk* F.)  
 Bar. 730 *dā kayfē kan*: in order to make merry (*kayf* F.)

## (ii) as Agent (v. also § 296 (b)),

- Ak. 544 *mirōvakay gōtī*: the man said (*mirōv*, -aka)  
 533 *šinakē gōtē*: the woman said to him (*šin*, -aka)  
 Am. 704A *tījārā gōtē*: the merchants said to him (*tījār* M.)

## (iii) with 'oblique' 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 *tgāl qurbašayakī*: with a badger (*qurbaša* M.)  
 540 *wakō dizā*: like thieves (*diz* M.)  
 532 *p hašt dīnārā*: for eight dinars (*dīnār* M.)  
 Am. 703 *a āšī*: to the mill (*āš* M.)  
 703 *p sē tivangā*: for three guns (*tivang* F.)  
 704 *š jūakī*: from a Jew (*jū*, -ak M.)  
 Zx. 790 *tgāl makṭablā*: with the pupils (*makṭablī* M.)

and when not so governed (*v.* also § 301 (*d*)),

Ak. 540 *har biskakē*: on each curl (*bisk*, -*ak* F.)

Am. 705 *dā nā 'ardakī*: camped in a place ('*ard*, -*ak* M.)

(iv) following the Izafe,

Ak. 532 *xudānē tayrī*: owner of the bird (*tayr* M.)

534 *mālā kābrāy*: the fellow's house (*kābrā* M.)

531 *xudānē dikānē*: owner of the shop (*dikān* F.)

536 *ḡē garmē*: place of warmth (*garm* F.)

Am. 705 *qabilakā 'arabā*: a tribe of Arabs ('*arab* M.)

Bar. 730 *ḡākīmēt bāžērī*: governors of the city (*bāžēr* M.)

Gul. 750 *pištī sa'ātakē*: after an hour (*sa'āt* F.)

(v) with adverbial sense (*v.* also § 305 (*a*)),

Ak. 531 *hamō ḡōžē*: daily (*ḡōž* F.)

531 *ḡōžakē*: one day

553 *hinda ḡōžā*: for some days

548 *hāvīnē*: in summer (*hāvīn* F.)

545 *sē čār qūnāyā*: for three or four stages (*qūnāy* F.)

Am. 703 *naqlakē*: 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:

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
Sur.	ː- <i>a</i>	ː- <i>ē</i>	*ː- <i>īna</i>
Ak.	ː- <i>ō</i> <sup>1</sup>	ː- <i>ē</i>	ː- <i>īna</i>
Am.-Zx.	ː- <i>ō</i>	ː- <i>ē</i>	ː- <i>īnō</i>
KK § 49 ff., BX. 20	-- <i>ō</i>	-- <i>ē</i>	--( <i>i</i> ) <i>nō</i>

Examples: M. Sg.

Sur. 510 *bāba*: fellow!

Ak. 545 *mārō*: snake!

Ak. 561, Bar. 730 *bābō*: father!

Am. — *kuḡō*: son!

Bar. 742 *kāfirō*: monster!

<sup>1</sup> This ending also appears forming hypocoristic names (cf. § 181 (*b*)), e.g. *mičō* 'Mustafa', *ḡamō* 'Ramazan', *simkō* 'Ismail'. Cf. Nikitine's text, *BSOS*, III. 85.

\**tatō w tamō . . . ēōna nik ḡayō*: Tetu and Temu went up to Hayu

## F. Sg.

Sur. 510 *zīnē*: woman!Ak. — *xuškē*: sister!647 *dāykē*: mother!

(but note, *xučō* 'sister! sis!', perhaps with 'honorific' M. ending, cf. § 181 (a) fn.),

Am. — *kičē*: daughter!

## Plural

Ak. — *qāḥbayna*: ye whores! (a girl to her young playmates)Am. — *kūrīnō*, *kičīnō*: 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! (*bīrā*)691 *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 qīzē*, *lō kōrō*: O girl! O son!

A noun qualified by any determinant takes no vocative ending, e.g.

Ak. 545 *ḥaywānē 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 kuṛā*: 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 *-îs* (§ 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

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
Sur.	-ê	-â	-ê
All dialects, Ak.-Zx.	-ê	-â	-ê(t) <sup>1</sup> (Ak. [-e:t'], Am., &c. [-e:t])
KK §§ 98, 99	-ê	-â	-ê(d)
BX 1	-ê	-â	-ê(n) <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In literary texts from this area the Pl. forms *-ê di*, *-ê ti* occur, i.e. with a separate 'plural' particle (cf. § 183 (c)), e.g. *Aḥmadê Xānî*, 'Nūbār' (dated A.H. 1094 = A.D. 1682), line 5.

کو بونه پیروی دی

\**kô bôna payrawê di wî*: who became his followers

Cl. Huart, 'Prière canonique musulmane', *Jl. As.* 1895, xciii, dated c. A.D. 1780, metre *ramal-i maqṣūr*

[contd. p. 159]



The M. Sg. and Pl. Izafe forms *-ē*, *-ēt* normally coalesce with preceding *a*, *ē*, e.g.

- Sur. 511 *kōsē dīka*: the other swindler (*kōsa*)  
 Ak. 537 *albīsē xō*: his own clothes (*albīsa*)  
 545 *ǰē garmē*: place of warmth (*ǰē*)  
 542 *daraǰēt 'usmānī*: the stairs of heaven (*daraǰa*)  
 Gul. 750 *pē xwa, pē wī*: his foot (*pē*)

but contrast,

- Ak. 690 *ǰayē wī*: his dog (*ǰa*)

Note also

- Am. 711A *birē min*: my brother (*birā*)

The F. Sg. Izafe *-ā* coalesces with preceding *a*, *ā*, e.g.

- Ak. — *ōdā hanē*: yonder room (*ōda*)  
 588 *čā xō*: his own tea (*čā*)  
 Am. 709A *qahwā xō*: his own coffee (*qahwa*)

Note also

- Ak. 565 *xwā wī*: his salt (*xwē*)

(b) Examples of the Primary Izafe with:

(i) a qualifying adjective,

- Sur. 514 *karē dēxa*: the grey ass (*kar* M.)  
 514 *har dū gāē dī*: both the other oxen (*gā* M.)

— — — — — / — — — — — / — — — — —

verse 3.

گر ڤچه دى اينى تو فرضى تىخو

\**gar vi ǰih dē ini tō fargē ti xō*: if thou wilt carry out thy duties

cf. verse 4.

دا به بيزم كينه فرضيت واجبه

\**dā bibēǰim kina fargēt wāǰiba*: let me say which are the obligatory duties

In all dialects the form *-ē*, with no trace of the particle, may appear occasionally in the Plural.

<sup>2</sup> *Malāē ǰizri* ('*Diwān*', ed. Hartmann, Berlin, 1904) has, beside *\*-ēn*, the form *\*-ēn dī*, e.g. p. 217, metre *hazaj-i axrab-i makǰūf-i maǰsūr*

— — — — — / — — — — — / — — — — — / — — — — —

چشمين د سیه را د کړن فتنه و خونان

\**čāsmēn di siyah rā dikirin fitna u xūnān*: black eyes caused riot and bloodshed

نادم بشمالين بشپالين د بهشتى

\**nādam bi šamālēn, bi šapālēn di bihišti*: I shall not give (up your beauties, &c.) for the paradisiac lights and beauties

See Kurdoev, KK § 100, note 2.

- Ak. 533 *birāē māxtirē*: the eldest brother (*birā* M.)  
 548 *tāē hanē*: yonder bough (*tā* M.)  
 537 *xanjarā pişik-xēr*: gold-studded dagger (*xanjar* F.)  
 Am. 716 *haywānēt kīvī*: wild animals (*haywān* M.)

(ii) a noun or pronoun in genitive relation,

- Ak. 539 *kuṛē min*: my son (*kuṛ* M.)  
 531 *dāykā xō*: his own mother (*dāyk* F.)  
 537 *xanjarēt xō*: your own daggers (*xanjar* F.)  
 Am. 703 *karē wā*: their ass (*kar* M.)  
 712A *šinā hārōnaṛašīdī*: Harun al-Rashid's wife (*šin* F.)  
 704 *tījārēt baydā*: the merchants of Baghdad (*tījār* M.)  
 Bar. 727 *kuṛēt xwa*: his own sons  
 736 *kuṛē kēma*: whose son am I?  
 Zx. 779 *jiłkēt xō*: my own clothes (*jiłk* Pl.)

(c) Secondary

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
Sur.	-ī	-ā	
Ak., Am.	-ē	-ā (= Primary, v. (a) above)	
Bar.	-ī	-ā	
Gul.	-ī	-a/-Ø	
Zx.	-ī/-Ø	-ī/-a/-Ø	
KK § 100 ff., BX 20	-ī	-a	-a

Examples:

- Sur. 525 *mirōwakī faqīrim*: I am a poor man (*mirōw* M.)  
 512 *šīwakā xōš*: a nice soup (*šīw* F.)  
 517 *mirōwakay xwārē*: the lower man (*-aka*)  
 519 *tanakašī dōšāwē*: the tin of syrup also (*tanaka* M.,  
 -(ī)š)  
 Ak. 531 *tayrakē xēr*: a gold bird (*tayr* M.)  
 548 *dārakā māzin*: a big tree (*dār* F.)  
 Am. 722 *'ardakē hūn*: a cool place (*'ard* M.)  
 718 *qazāyakā kavn*: an ancient district (*qazā* F.)  
 Bar. 728 *ētimakī wān*: an orphan from among them (*ētim* M.)  
 Gul. — *xāxō jīhakī xwaša*: Zakho is a pleasant place (*jīh* M.)  
 767 *t kutilikaka maḡindā*: in a big rissole (*kutilik* F.)  
 Zx. — *mirōwakī maḡin*: a big man (*mirōv* M.)  
 — *mēzaka bičūk*: a small table (*mēz* F.)

- 774 *ĵārak( ) dī* } again, another time (*ĵār* F.)  
 781 *ĵārakī dī* }  
 773 *ĵīrakī bilind*: a high bridge (*ĵīr* F.)  
 775 *kičīkakī dalāl*: a beautiful girl (*kičīk* 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 *nēzīkī ḥākīmī bō*: was near the judge (*nēzīk*)  
 603 *taslīmī . . . wazīrī bika*: give it to the vizier (*taslīm kirin*)  
 Am. *passim*, *pišfī hingī*: after that, afterwards (*pišf* F.)  
 714 *šibatī gurg*: such as wolves (*šibat*)

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 *tažī zēf*: full of gold (*tažī*)  
 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 zibil*: a little of that dung

Contrast the following forms with the (? Secondary) Izafe (cf. § 184 (c)),<sup>1</sup>

- Ak. 531 *pištēkē dārā*: a load of sticks (*pištī* M.)  
 533 *dastakē ĵilkēt žinā*: a suit of women's clothes (*dasta* M.)

## § 265. The nominal suffixes<sup>2</sup>

A. -aká (§ 258 (b)), C. ′ak (§ 259), and D. -á (§ 258 (c)) are mutually exclusive. This is equally the case with the endings

- E. oblique case -ī, -ē, -ā (§ 261),  
 and F. Izafe -ē, -ā, -ēt; -ī, -a (§ 264).

<sup>1</sup> See now Kurdoev, *Numerativnye slova*, p. 34, where a distinction is made between the numerative use of certain words, e.g. *ravōkah hasp* 'a (one) herd of horses', and the attributive use with the Izafe, e.g. *ravōkā haspā* 'a herd of horses, a horse-herd'.

<sup>2</sup> 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 -āni.

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	<i>mirōwaka</i> : the man
AE	Ak. 533	<i>gōta žinakē</i> : said to the woman
AF	Sur. 517	<i>mirōwakay xwārē</i> : the lower man
C	Sur. 508	<i>žinak ū mirōwak</i> : a woman and a man
CE	Ak. 540	<i>har biskakē</i> : on each curl
	Ak. 592	<i>čār pēnĵ daf'akā</i> : four or five times
CF	Am. 718	<i>qazāyakā kavn</i> : an ancient district
D	Zx. 775	av <i>pira</i> : this bridge
DE	Ak. 531	vī <i>tayray nākiṛi</i> : won't you buy this bird?
E	Sur. 507	<i>āxē dē kōrin</i> : they will dig up earth
F	Ak. 531	<i>dāykā xō</i> : his own mother
	Am. 716	<i>haywānēt kivi</i> : wild animals

### Demonstrative Izafe

§ 266. (a) The Demonstrative Izafe has the following main functions. It appears:

- (i) before a noun or pronoun, giving the group a possessive sense,
- (ii) before an adjective, to which it gives substantive sense (often, however, untranslatable),
- (iii) 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:

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M. & F.
Sur.	<i>y/wē</i>	<i>y/wā</i>	<i>y/wē</i>
All dialects, Ak.-Gul.	<i>y/wē</i>	<i>y/wā</i>	<i>y/wēt</i>
Zx.	<i>y/wē</i>	<i>y/wē, y/wā</i>	<i>y/wēt</i>
KK § 126	<i>yē</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>yēd</i>
BX 4	<i>yē</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>yēn</i>

With the forms *yē*, &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 minin*: these books are mine

— *yā hāšimī māxtira*: 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 xōšin, yēt naxōš dē l dū 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 xirāb bin*: their wives are bad ones

622 *gōta yē fala*: said to the Christian fellow

Am. 722 *hačika yē dīa*: as for the other one

705 *mišk t miša 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 *wakilē xō yē 'ām*: his own general agent

697 *kuwē wē awwil (\*wē yē awwil)*: her first son

Gul. 751 *birāēt wī yēt dīka*: his other brothers

752 *mi kičā xō yā dāē, yā mazin*: I have given him my eldest daughter

[contrast,

Zx. — *min kičā xō yā mazin yē dāē*: ditto]

Zx. — *birāyak min yē maštir š vī*: 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 *-ē*. Reliable examples are, however, rare.

- Am. — *mēšā hingvīnē*: honey bee [contrast  
 Ak. — *mēšā hingvīnī*: honey bee (*hingvīn* M.)]  
 Am. 719 *dargahē zēbārē*: the Zebār Gate  
 Zx. — *ṭarmē niḥē*: the Great Bear (lit. 'Noah's body')  
 776 *dārakī banōkē*: a terebinth tree (*banōkē*)  
 777 *jōā ḥāzim bagē*: the Hazim Beg channel [contrast  
 — *jōā bagī*: the Beg's channel (*bag* M.)]  
 787 *liwā silēmānīē*: in Suleimaniye province

### Comparison

§ 268. (a) The morpheme Sur., Ak. *-tir*, Am., &c., *-tir* (i.e. all dialects [-t'ir]) added to the simple adjectival form yields the comparative adjective. This behaves exactly as a positive adjective.

The following irregular comparatives occur:

- Ak. — *māx|stir* 'bigger' < *māzin* 'big'  
 Zx., &c. *maštir* < *māzin*  
 Ak. — *čētir* 'better' : *bāš* 'good'

(b) The morpheme *-ē* 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 māxtirē*: the eldest brother  
 598 *birāē gičkatirē*: 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 dēmōkrātī*: the most democratic state  
 — *zār . . . ē harī ḡulāt*: the most daring child

### Certain adjectives

§ 269. (a) Adjectives of the following categories immediately precede the noun they qualify:

- (i) the demonstrative adjectives *av*, *aw* (§ 270),  
 (ii) cardinal numbers (§ 273),  
 (iii) the following interrogative and indefinite adjectives,

*či*, Sur. *ci* 'what, whatever'

Ak. *ču*, Am. *či* (KK *tō*, BX 52 *tu*) 'any'

*čand* 'some, how much'

*filān* 'such-and-such'

*galak* 'many'

*hamō*, *hamī*, Sur. *hama*, *hamū* 'all'

(*av*)*hinda* 'so much'

*har* 'whatever'

Ak. *kī*, Am., &c., *kī* 'what, which' (Obl. also *kē*, perhaps influenced by the equivalent pronoun, § 278 (a))

but not

*dī(ka)* 'other'

Ak. *wa(tuv)*, Zx. *wašū* 'such'

(b) Examples. Interrogative and indefinite adjectives:

Sur. 510 *aš hama rōžē . . . akīrim*: every day I buy . . .

512 *či šiw lē nāya*: what supper has been cooked

Ak. 542 *ču dangā naka*: make no noises

596 *čand daf'ā šinā min čō*: how many times did my wife go ?

589 *kuřē filān kasī*: the son of such-and-such person

— *galak mīrōv hātin*: many men came

550 *hamō sālē*: every year

597 *l hinda ganimay*: with so much wheat (v. § 258 (c))

578 *har kasakē xāin bīt*: whatever person is be treacherous

607 *aw kī faqīra*: which poor man is that ?

593 *l kī mamlakatī*: in what country

596 *t zamānē kī hākīmīdā* } in the time of what ruler

582 *l zamānē kē hākīmī* }

583 *l kē maḥalē*: in which quarter ?

Am. 719 *či mināra . . . nīnin*: there are no minarets

710 *či tišt nāvda nabōn*: there was nothing inside them

711A *čand xalkē baydā*: so many people of Baghdad

706A *hamī mišk řavīn*: all the mice fled

725 *har kas . . . našetīn*: whatever person cannot . . .

711 *š kī dirkē*: from what place ?

but,

- Ak. 532 *ēkī dīka*: another one  
 — *tīštakē watuv min dīt*: I saw such a thing  
 Zx. 781 *mirōvakī wašā*: such a man

### Demonstrative adjectives

§ 270. (a) All dialects Ak.-Zx. have two inflecting demonstrative adjectives which precede the noun they qualify, viz. *aw* 'this', *aw* 'that'.<sup>1</sup> Sur. has the one form *aw* 'this, that' (cf. § 192 (a)).

A noun qualified by Ak., &c., *aw*, but not *aw*, is normally followed by the defining suffix *-a* (§ 258 (c)).<sup>2</sup> In Sur. there is some evidence of the distinction between *aw* . . . *-a* 'this' and *aw* . . . 'that', e.g.

- Sur. 506 *aw ganīm-īn kēšā*: we took that wheat  
 526 *aw fēra*: this trick

The occurrence of the suffix *-a* with nouns qualified by *aw* in the Oblique cases varies according to the dialect. Thus the following combinations are attested:

	Sur.	Ak.	Am., Bar.
'this'			
Dir. Sg. & Pl.	<i>aw</i> . . . <i>-a</i>	<i>aw</i> . . . <i>-a</i>	<i>aw</i> . . . <i>-a</i>
Obl. Sg. M.	<i>aw</i> <sup>3</sup> . . . <i>-a</i> [ <i>y</i> ]	<i>vī</i> . . . <i>-a</i> [ <i>y</i> ]	( <i>a</i> ) <i>vī</i> . . . [ <i>ī</i> ]
Sg. F.	<i>awē</i> . . . [ <i>ē</i> ]	( <i>a</i> ) <i>vē</i> . . . [ <i>ē</i> ]	<i>vē</i> . . . <i>-a</i> Am. } . . . [ <i>ē</i> ] Bar. }
Pl. M. & F.		<i>vā</i> ( <i>n</i> ) . . . [ <i>ā</i> ]	<i>vā</i> . . . [ <i>ā</i> ]
'that'		All dialects	
Dir. Sg. & Pl.		<i>aw</i> . . .	
Obl. Sg. M.		( <i>a</i> ) <i>wī</i> . . . [ <i>ī</i> ]	
Sg. F.		<i>wē</i> . . . [ <i>ē</i> ]	
Pl. M. & F.		( <i>a</i> ) <i>wā</i> ( <i>n</i> ) . . . [ <i>ā</i> ]	

<sup>1</sup> Cf. KK §§ 95 ff. 'definite article' *avā*, *awā*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> A Direct Plural ending *-ana* in conjunction with *aw* was said to exist in Ak., Am., but not generally heard, e.g.

Ak. — *av kitēbana*: these books

Am. — *av tīšfana*: these things

Cf. Bar. 728 *av halwayna*: these Helweis (people of Helwe)

<sup>3</sup> 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. 751 *aw xaxālē bikkūšit*: to kill that gazelle

750 *bō mālā aw kāfirī*: for the house of that monster

but 750 *l wī milē wī*: 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:

	'this'	'that'
Dir. Sg. & Pl.	<i>av . . . -a</i>	<i>aw</i>
Obl. Sg. M.	<i>(a)vī . . . -a</i>	<i>(a)wī</i>
Sg. F.	<i>(a)vē . . . -a</i>	<i>(a)wē</i>
Pl. M. & F.	<i>(a)vā(n) . . . -a</i>	<i>(a)wā(n)</i>

The fuller Obl. forms *avī*, &c., appear mainly following a pause.

(b) Examples:

(i) *av*, &c.

- Ak. 547 *av māra*: this snake (*mār* M.)  
 612 *av māsia čī than*: what are these fishes doing?  
 (*māsi* M.)  
 596 *l vī šiftīay zyatir*: other than this watermelon  
 (*šiftī* M.)  
 531 *vī tayray nākiri*: won't you buy this bird? (*tayr* M.)  
 — *l vē ódē*: in this room (*óda* F.)  
 573 *vē hālē*: in this case (*hāl* F.)  
 622 *mawjódā vā pāra*: what is present of these monies  
 (*pāra* Pl.)  
 622 *vān pāra . . . bibava*: take these monies back  
 Am. 703 *av kara*: this ass (*kār* M.)  
 706 *dē vī haywānī firóši*: wilt thou sell this animal?  
 (*haywān* M.)  
 706A *š vē dirka*: from this place (*dirk* F.)  
 717 *vē fāra*: this time (*fār* F.)  
 706 *dē vā miškā dar ēxim*: I shall drive out these mice  
 (*mišk* M.)  
 Bar. 730 *av bāžēra*: this town (*bāžēr* M.)  
 726 *l vī gundī*: in this village (*gund* M.)  
 726 *sarē vē škaftē*: above this cave (*škaft* F.)  
 Zx. 775 *av pira*: this bridge (*pīr* F.)

(ii) *aw*, &c.

- Sur. 510 *aw kōsay gōtē*: that swindler said to her (*kōsa* M.)  
 515 *tabī aw karay law mirōway har bistīnī*: thou must  
 certainly take *this* ass from *this* man

- Ak. — *kā aw kitēb*: where are those books?  
 571 *aw širikē ma*: that partner of ours (*širik* M./F.)  
 539 *hākimē wī jēy*: ruler of that place (*jē* M.)  
 544 *awī mirōvī čī kir*: what did that man do? (*mirōv* M.)  
 587 *čō bō wē maḥalē*: went to that quarter (*maḥala* F.)  
 561 *wān dizā ma'yan kir*: those thieves decided (*diz* M.)  
 618 *l wā sī hizār rūpiēt harām*: than those thirty  
 thousand illicit rupees
- Am. 706 *aw mirōv*: those men  
 706 *xalkē wī gundī*: people of that village (*gund* M.)  
 706A *wē dirkē*: in that place (*dirk* F.)  
 709 *awā tijārā dīt*: those merchants saw (*tijār* M.)  
 710 *gāxī kira wā mirōvā*: he called to those men

§ 271. (a) All dialects have a further, inflexible, demonstrative adjective, Sur. *hē*, Ak.-Zx. *ha(nē)*, Bar. *hana* (KK § 120 *hān*, BX 45 *hā*, *Xālidī*, s.v. *awēhā*, *hā(nē)*) '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 ódā hanē*: in that room (yonder) (*óda* F.)  
 546 *a lālī binadārā hanē*: to that tree-trunk (*binadār* F.)  
 572 *qurbānī faqīrē hanē*: the sacrifice of that beggar  
 (*faqīr* M.)  
 549 *yā hanē čēlaka*: yonder (thing) is a cow (*čēl* F.)  
 551 *yē' hanē řivīaka<sup>1</sup>*: see! yonder is a fox (*řivī* M.)

It frequently appears in conjunction with either of the inflecting demonstrative adjectives (§ 270), e.g.

- Ak. 548 *av t̄āē hanē*: this (here) bough (*t̄ā* M.)  
 Bar. 726 *sarē wē škaftā hana*: above that cave yonder (*škaft* F.)  
 Zx. 773 *av p̄irā hanē*: this (here) bridge (*p̄ir* F.)

(b) With this adjective the forms *wē*, *wā*, *wēt* of the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266 (b)) commonly occur, forming in effect a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

- Ak., Am. — *wē hanē čiya*: what is yonder thing?  
 — *wēt hanē čina*: what are those?  
 Am. 719 *nīvakā wē hanē jādana*: in the middle of that (place)  
 there are roads  
 Gul. — *wēt ha yēt minin*: those are mine

<sup>1</sup> *yē'* [je:'] with 'emphatic' lengthening of the vowel and glottal stop.

## Cardinal

## Numerals

## § 272

	Sur. <sup>1</sup>	Ak.	Am., Bar.	Zx., Gul.	Shn.
1	<i>yēk</i>	<i>yak, (y)ēk</i>	<i>ēk</i>	= <sup>2</sup>	=
2	<i>dū</i>	<i>dō</i>	=	=	<i>dū</i>
3	<i>sē</i>	<i>sē</i>	=	=	=
4	<i>čār</i>	<i>čār</i>	=	=	=
5	<i>pēnj</i>	<i>pēnj</i>	=	=	=
6	<i>šaš</i>	<i>šaš</i>	=	=	=
7	<i>haft</i>	<i>haft</i>	<i>haft</i>	<i>haft</i>	<i>haft</i> [sic]
8	<i>hašt</i>	<i>hašt</i>	<i>hašt</i>	<i>hašt</i>	<i>hašt</i>
9	<i>nō</i>	<i>na(h)</i>	<i>nah</i>	<i>nah</i>	<i>na</i>
10	<i>da</i>	<i>da(h)</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dah</i>	<i>da</i>
11	<i>yāzda</i>	<i>yānzda</i>	<i>yānzda</i>	<i>yāzda</i>	<i>yānzda</i>
12	<i>dwāzda</i>	<i>dwānzda</i>	<i>dānzda</i>	<i>dwāzda</i>	<i>dwānzda</i>
13	<i>sēzda</i>	<i>sēzda</i>	=	=	=
14	<i>čārda</i>	<i>čārda</i>	=	=	=
15	<i>pāzda</i>	<i>pānzda</i>	<i>pānzda</i>	<i>pāzda</i>	<i>pānzda</i>
16	<i>šāzda</i>	<i>šānzda</i>	<i>šānzda</i>	<i>šāzda</i>	<i>šānzda</i>
17	<i>havda</i>	<i>havda</i>	<i>havda</i> [sic]	<i>havda</i>	<i>havda</i> [sic]
18	<i>hažda</i>	<i>hažda</i>	=	=	=
19	<i>nōzda</i>	<i>nōzda</i>	<i>nānzda</i>	<i>nōzda</i>	<i>nōzda</i>
20	<i>bist</i>	<i>bist</i>	<i>bist</i>	<i>bist</i>	<i>bist</i>
30	<i>si</i>	<i>si(h)</i>	<i>sih</i>	<i>sih</i>	<i>si</i>
40	<i>čil</i>	<i>čil</i>	=	=	=
50	<i>pēnja</i>	<i>pēnja</i>	<i>pēnja</i> Bar. <i>pēnjah</i>	<i>pēnji</i> Gul. <i>pēnjih</i>	<i>pēnji</i>
60	<i>šēst</i>	<i>šēst</i>	<i>šēst</i>	<i>šēst</i>	<i>šēst</i>
70	<i>haftē</i>	<i>haftē</i>	<i>haftē</i>	<i>haftē</i>	<i>haftē</i>
80	<i>haštē</i>	<i>haštē</i>	<i>haštē</i>	<i>haštē</i>	<i>haštē</i>
90	<i>nōt</i>	<i>nōt</i>	=	=	<i>nōt</i>
100	<i>sad</i>	<i>šad</i>	=	=	=
1,000		<i>hisār</i>	=	=	<i>hasār</i>
1 m.		<i>malyōn</i>			

<sup>1</sup> 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:].<sup>2</sup> = 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 *-ā(n)* (§ 261 (b)) when appropriate, e.g.

Direct

Ak. 545 *ava sē čār řōž-a*: this is three or four days

598 *sē čār dirham habin*: if there be three or four dirhams

Am. 705 *sē mirōv řā wastyān*: three men were standing

## Oblique

Sur. 510 *ax dē dūā dama tū*: I shall give thee two

Ak. 565 *sēā pišīēt xō dā girtin*: three put down their loads  
(*v.* § 296 (*b*))

545 *sē čār qúnāyā*: for three or four stages

592 *čār pēnj daf' akā*: for four or five times (*v.* § 259 (*c*))

Am. 704 *šaš šindôqā čē ka*: make six chests!

(*b*) With certain numbers (generally 'round' numbers—tens, hundreds, &c.) the qualified noun may take the ending *-ī*, giving the sense of 'about . . .',<sup>1</sup> e.g.

Ak. 583 *amrē wī gaštīa šad ô čil sālī*: 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', *pēnjē* 'fifth', *nôzē* 'ninetieth'

The final *a* of the numbers 11-19 is absorbed by the ending *-ē*, thus:

*sēzdē* 'thirteenth', *haždē* 'eighteenth'

Note the following irregular forms:

	Sur.	Ak.	Am., Bar.	Zx., Gul.	Shn.
1st	<i>hawwil</i>	<i>awwil(ī)</i>	<i>awwil</i>	<i>awwili</i>	' <i>awil</i>
2nd	<i>dwē</i>	<i>dwē</i>	<i>dōē</i>	<i>dōē</i>	<i>dūē</i>
3rd	<i>sēyē</i>	<i>sēyē</i>	<i>sēē</i>	<i>siē</i>	<i>sēē</i>
30th	<i>siē</i>	<i>sihē</i>	<i>sihē</i>	<i>sihē</i>	
50th		<i>pēnjahē</i>	<i>pēnjahē</i>	<i>pēnjīē</i>	
				Gul. <i>pēnjihē</i>	
70th		<i>haftēyē</i>		<i>haftīē</i>	<i>hāftīē</i>
				Gul. <i>haftē</i>	

(*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 *sālā hizār ô nahşad ô pēnjī ô dōē*: in 1952 (lit. 'in the 1950-and-second year')

<sup>1</sup> See Cukerman, *op. cit.* (i), p. 114, where many Rwn. examples.

## PRONOUNS

## Personal

§ 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, -ī*; Pl. *-in* [sic], *-ū, -yān* (cf. § 197 (a))

The independent forms are:

	Sur. <sup>(1)</sup>	Ak.	Am., Bar.	Zx., Gul. <sup>(2)</sup>	Shn.
Direct					
Sg. 1	<i>az</i>	<i>az</i> <sup>(3)</sup>	<i>az</i> <sup>(3)</sup>	<i>az</i>	<i>az</i>
2	<i>atū</i>	<i>(a)tō</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>tū</i>
3	<i>aw</i>				
Pl. 1	<i>amā</i> <sup>(4)</sup>	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>
2	<i>angō</i>	<i>hu/ing</i>	<i>hing</i>	<i>hūn</i>	<i>hūn</i>
3	<i>aw(ān)</i>				
Oblique					
Sg. 1	<i>(a)min</i>	<i>(a)min</i>	<i>mī(n)</i>	<i>mī(n)</i>	<i>min</i>
2	<i>(a)tū</i>	<i>(a)ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>
3	<i>(a)wī</i>				
Pl. 1	<i>(a)ma</i>	<i>(a)ma</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>
2	<i>(a)ngō</i>	<i>(hu/i)ngō</i>	<i>(hi)nga,</i> Bar. <i>hawa</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>wā</i> [sic]
3	<i>(a)wān</i>				

## NOTES:

(1) See § 272, fn. 1, on the realization of *t* and *ō*, *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. *-š*, and Am., &c., *šī* (§ 305 (b)) the 1st Sg. Direct pronoun appears as Ak. *ayš*, Am., &c., *ašī*, e.g.

Ak. 542 *ayš dē . . . kam*: I too shall do . . .

561 *ayš dixim*: I too am a thief

- Ak. 697 aži dē hēm [sic] } I too shall come  
 Am. 704 aži dē . . . hēm }  
 Gul. 756 aži čôm: I too went  
 Zx. 779 aži dē xō avēžim: I too shall throw myself in

(4) Sur. *ā* being [a:] (v. § 106), and not [ā:], the example Sur. 508 *amā rūsīn* 'we are naked' may be \**ama a rūsīn* (v. fn. 1, p. 206). But Sur. — *amā dē čīna ākrē* '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 atīrsēy: why art thou afraid?  
 522 amay kuštīn<sup>1</sup>: he has killed us  
 518 angō nābīnin: do you not see?  
 Ak. 534 az aḥmadē pīrikēma: I am Ahmed (son) of the old  
           woman  
 539 atō kīy: who art thou?  
 545 min tō . . . īnāy<sup>1</sup>: I brought thee  
 561 am dixīn: we are thieves  
 559 hung bō nāhēn: why do you not come?  
 560 hung kīna: who are you?  
 Am. 703 am dē bayn: we shall take . . .  
 707 hing žī harīn: go ye also!  
 Bar. 736 az kuřē kēma: whose son am I?  
 Zx. 781 aw hūn čī tkīn: what is that you are doing?

(ii) Suffix

- Sur. 506 hinārdīm<sup>1</sup>: I sent (him)  
 529 kapī lē girt ū lēy biřī<sup>1</sup>: he seized his nose and cut  
           it off  
 506 kārīnakīn čē kir<sup>1</sup>: we built a straw-store

<sup>1</sup> Agent oblique (in Sur., suffix), v. passive construction, § 296.

## (iii) Oblique

- Sur. 509 *nēriē* tū: thy goat  
 516 *bifirōša* ma: sell it to us  
 519 *la bō-ngō*: for you
- Ak. 533 *mālā* min: my house  
 547 amin . . . *hal girt*<sup>1</sup>: I picked (it) up  
 533 *mālā* ta: thy house  
 554 ata . . . *dirō kir*<sup>1</sup>: thou liedst  
 556 *dē* ma *xōt*: it will eat us  
 630 ama *sūnd* . . . *xār*<sup>1</sup>: we swore an oath  
 534 *birāē* hungō: your brother  
 546 *bāpīrē-ngō*: your ancestor
- Am. 710 *daynē* mi *bidanava*: repay my loan  
 710 *muqāwilā* min *ō* hinga: the bond between me and  
 you  
 703 *kēr* ma *nāhēt*: it is no good to us  
 704A *mā-nga šōla*: is it any affair of yours?
- Bar. 735 mi *šad dīnār* . . . *dā*<sup>1</sup>: I gave 100 dinars  
 727 min *ēšarat dā* hawa: I gave you the signal
- Gul. 768 *nižda hāt sar* ma: a raiding party has come upon us  
 749 *wasīa* 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 *jū 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 *dastniwēžā xwa šūšt*: he performed his ablutions

(b) The pronoun *xō*, &c., appears in conjunction with the

<sup>1</sup> Agent oblique, *v.* passive construction, § 296.

preposition *p*<sup>1</sup> (BX 32 also *bi xwa*, but KK § 122 has *xwa-xwa*) with the intensive sense 'my-, him-, &c., -self', e.g.

Ak. 531 *p xô dâçitaçyây*: he would himself go to the mountains

Am. 725 *haçika xalkê wâ gundâ p xôya*: as for the people of those villages themselves

Zx. 771 *t nafsê zâxô p xôdâ*: 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., *awa*, 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 *hê* (§ 271), *awêhê* 'that yonder'.

The forms attested are:

	Sur.	Ak., &c.	Cf. KK §§ 120, 134	BX 45	
Direct					
Sg.	<i>awa</i>	} <i>awa</i>	<i>av(â)</i>	} <i>av</i>	'this'
Pl.	?		( <i>a</i> ) <i>vânâ</i>		
Oblique					
Sg. M.	<i>way</i>	( <i>a</i> ) <i>vî</i>	( <i>a</i> ) <i>vî</i>	<i>vî</i>	
F.	?	<i>vê</i>	( <i>a</i> ) <i>vê</i>	<i>vê</i>	
Pl.	?	<i>vâ(na)</i>	( <i>a</i> ) <i>vânâ</i>	<i>vân</i>	
Direct					
Sg.	<i>aw(êhê)</i>	} <i>aw</i>	<i>aw(â)</i>	} <i>aw</i>	'that' 'he'
Pl.	?		( <i>a</i> ) <i>wânâ</i>		
Oblique					
Sg. M.		( <i>a</i> ) <i>wî</i>	( <i>a</i> ) <i>wî</i>	<i>wî</i>	
F.		<i>wê</i>	( <i>a</i> ) <i>wê</i>	<i>wê</i>	
Pl.		( <i>a</i> ) <i>wâ(n)</i> , Zx. <i>wânâ</i>	( <i>a</i> ) <i>wânâ</i>	<i>wân</i>	

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arb. *ba xô*, with the same sense. The Ak., &c., form is often indistinguishable from *bô xô* > *bu xô* 'for himself', &c., v. § 148.



The fuller Oblique forms, *avī*, &c., appear principally as agent in the Passive construction (§ 296) and generally after a pause.

## (b) Examples:

## (i) Direct

- Sur. — *awēhē čiya*: what is that?  
 524 *awa čiya*: what is this?  
 Ak. 591 *ava yē xirāba*: this one is bad  
 541 *aw kīa*: who is that?  
 591 *aw birava*<sup>1</sup>: that one was taken back  
 535 *aw taḥayir mān*: they were amazed  
 Am. 710 *ava ma čī kir*<sup>1</sup>: what is this we have done?  
 703 *aw řā bōn*: they got up  
 710 *aw nīna*: is it not that?  
 Bar. 726 *aw řī*: he too

## (ii) Oblique

- Sur. — *xatāē way bū*: it was this one's fault  
 Ak. 591 *vī bibava*: take this one back  
 558 *ax . . . vāna nāxóm*: I shall not eat these  
 565 *awī čī kir*<sup>1</sup>: what did he do?  
 534 *birāēt wī*: his brothers  
 549 *lālī wē*: next to her  
 535 *birāē wā*: their brother  
 536 *gōta wān*<sup>1</sup>: said to them  
 537 *awān gōtē*<sup>1</sup>: they said to him  
 537 *awā čī kir*<sup>1</sup>: what did they do?  
 Am. 709 *hing dē . . . awī danav min*: you will give me that back  
 703 *karē wā*: their donkey  
 706 *awā gōtē*<sup>1</sup>: they said to him . . .  
 Bar. 743 *awī řīrak girī*<sup>1</sup>: he seized a sword  
 726 *bō wān*: for them  
 Gul. 760 *birāē wē hāf*: her brother came  
 749 *bābē wān mir*: their father died  
 Zx. 772 *šólē wānā avaya*: this is their work

## Interrogative

§ 278. (a) The following interrogative pronouns, and related adverbs, occur (cf. adjectives, § 269 (a) (iii)):

<sup>1</sup> Passive construction, v. § 296.

- çi* (*čī* only in pause, and in the fixed adverb *bó čī* 'why?'), Oblique (rare) *čē*; Sur. *č(i)* 'what?'<sup>1</sup>  
*čand*, Obl. Sur. *čandī/i*, Ak., &c., *čandē* 'how much?'  
*čituv* (Sur. *kū*, Gul. ? *ku*, Am., &c., *čāvā*, KK § 367 *čitō*, *čāvā*) 'how?'  
*kī*, Obl. *kē* (Am., &c., *kī*, *kē*) 'who?'  
*kangī* (KK § 367 *kangē*) 'when?'  
 Am. *kīšk* (KK § 141 *kīžān*, BX 51 *kīžik*) 'which?'

## Examples:

- Sur. — *čū xwārd*<sup>2</sup>: what did you eat?  
 520 *kū bū*: how was it?  
 Ak. 537 *awā čī kir*<sup>2</sup>: what did they do?  
 560 *hung čina*: what are you?  
 561 *atō čī tsānī*: 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 kuřē kēya*: who is son of whom?  
 546 *lālī kē*: to whom?  
 — *kangī dē hēt*: when will he come?  
 Am. 711 *ma čī kir*<sup>2</sup>: what have we done?  
 706A *čiya*: what is it?  
 — *kīna*: who are we/you/they?  
 — *ava kē dā nā*<sup>2</sup>: who put this down?  
 712 *čāvā fū . . . bibat*: how can the Jew take . . . ?  
 Bar. 736 *az kuřē kēma*: whose son am I?  
 Gul. 756 *ku lē hātīn*: how have they fared?  
 Zx. 774 *kē kužīn*: whom should we kill?

(b) The form *kā(nē)*, Am., &c., *kā(nē)*<sup>3</sup> contains the sense of a verb, 'where is, are . . .?', e.g.

<sup>1</sup> As an indefinite pronoun *či* has an obl. pl. form *čyā*,

Ak. 636 *čyā az bēšima ta*: whatever (things) I may say to you

<sup>2</sup> Passive construction, v. § 296.

<sup>3</sup> The same form has another, seemingly untranslatable, use, e.g.

Ak. 639 *kā bizānin čī haya, čī nīa*: let us go and see what there is and what there is not

Am. 717 *kānē dē tō čī l ma kay am t hāzirīn*: (well), whatever thou wilt do to us we are ready

- Ak. 613 *kānē aw māsi*: where are those fish?  
 Bar. 747 *kā qōdīk*: where is the box?  
 Gul. 764 *kā xālē 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. *kīrē* (: *kī dirkē*) 'where?'  
 Ak. *kēva*, Zx. *kūva* 'whither?'

Examples:

- Ak. 645 *dē kēva čī*: whither art thou going?  
 Am. 711A *ž kīrē*: from where, whence?  
 Zx. 77I *sāxō tkāvita 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.

<i>čón</i> 'go'	: <i>čō-</i>
<i>hātīn</i> 'come'	: <i>hāt-</i>
<i>kirīn</i> 'do'	: <i>kir-</i> , &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 *-î*, 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.

Intransitive	<i>larizî-<sup>1</sup></i>	: <i>lariz-</i>	'tremble'
	<i>qawmî-</i>	: <i>qawm-</i>	'happen'
	<i>zivîrî-</i>	: <i>zivîr-</i>	'return'
(but note,	<i>gîrî-</i>	: <i>gîrî-</i>	'weep')
Transitive	<i>birî-</i>	: <i>bir-</i>	'cut'
	<i>kirî-</i>	: <i>kir-</i>	'buy'
	<i>nāsî-</i>	: <i>nās-</i>	'know, recognize'
	<i>pirsî-</i>	: <i>pirs-</i>	'ask'
	<i>înā-</i>	: <i>în-</i>	'bring'
	<i>kōlā-</i>	: <i>kōl-</i>	'carve'
	<i>şelā-</i>	: <i>şel-</i>	'knead'

(ii) When the past stem ends in *-ā* and the verb is either intransitive, or transitive and monosyllabic, the present stem normally ends in *-ē*, e.g.

Intransitive	<i>čēryā-</i>	: <i>čēryē-</i>	'graze'
	<i>diryā-</i>	: <i>diryē-</i>	'tear'
	<i>gaŕyā-</i>	: <i>gaŕyē-</i>	'go about'
	<i>rişyā-</i>	: <i>rişyē-</i>	'pour'
	<i>zā-</i>	: <i>zē-</i>	'give birth'
(but note,	<i>čamyā-</i>	: <i>čam-</i>	'bend'
	<i>halyā-</i>	: <i>hal-</i>	'melt'
	<i>tirsyā-</i>	: <i>tirs-</i>	'be afraid'
	<i>wērā-</i>	: <i>wēr-</i>	'dare', &c.)
Transitive	<i>nā-</i>	: <i>nē-</i> , Am. <i>n-</i>	'put'
	<i>şyā-</i>	: <i>şē-</i>	'be able'

(iii) When the past stem ends in *-ô*, *-û* the present stem is normally identical with it, e.g.

Transitive	<i>gurô-</i>	: <i>gurô-</i>	'flay'
	<i>dirû-</i>	: <i>dirû-</i>	'sew; reap'
	<i>husû-</i>	: <i>husû-</i>	'whet'
	<i>şû-</i>	: <i>şû-</i>	'chew'

<sup>1</sup> All forms are Ak. unless otherwise stated.

(but note,

Intransitive	<i>bó-</i>	: <i>b-</i>	'be'
	<i>čó-</i>	: <i>č-</i>	'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	<i>hajimt-</i>	: <i>hajim-</i>	'be still'
	<i>warimt-</i>	: <i>warim-</i>	'swell'
Transitive	<i>girt-</i>	: <i>gir-</i>	'hold'
	<i>simt-</i>	: <i>sim-</i>	'bore, pierce'
(note,	<i>xund-</i>	: <i>xún-</i>	'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	<i>āxift-</i>	: <i>āxiv-</i>	'speak'
	<i>buhušt-</i>	: <i>buhuš-</i>	'dissolve'
	<i>bizift-</i>	: <i>biziv-</i>	'move, budge'
	<i>guhust-</i>	: <i>guhuz-</i>	'move house'
	<i>kaft-</i> ,	: <i>kav-</i> ,	'fall'
	<i>Zx. kaft-</i>	: <i>kav-</i>	
(but note,	<i>harift-</i>	: <i>harif-</i>	'be ruined'
	<i>kališt-</i>	: <i>kališ-</i>	'split')
Transitive	<i>gast-</i>	: <i>gaz-</i>	'bite'
	<i>kurôšt-</i>	: <i>kurôž-</i>	'crunch'
	<i>kušt-</i>	: <i>kuž-</i>	'kill'
	<i>xāst-</i>	: <i>xāz-</i>	'demand'
(but note,	<i>ālist-</i>	: <i>ālīs-</i>	'lick'
	<i>bast-</i>	: <i>bast-</i>	'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	<i>birāšt-</i>	: <i>birēš-</i>	'roast'
	<i>bizāft-</i>	: <i>bizēv-</i>	'move'
	<i>bižārt-</i>	: <i>bižēr-</i>	'choose; roast'
	<i>čānd-</i>	: <i>čēn-</i>	'sow'
	<i>hinārt-</i>	: <i>hinēr-</i>	'send'
	<i>kalāšt-</i>	: <i>kalēš-</i>	'split'

Causative verbs in *-āndin*, however, form the present stem in *-in* (*v.* § 298). Note also:

<i>stānd-</i>	: <i>stīn-</i>	'take'
<i>škānd-</i>	: <i>škīn-</i> ,	'break'
	Am. <i>škēn-</i>	

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 *dī-*),<sup>1</sup> prefixed to:

the simple present give the Present Indicative,  
the simple past give the Past Imperfect tense.

*b(i)-* in all dialects (but *v.* § 299) prefixed to the simple present gives the Present Subjunctive. *b(i)-* may also be prefixed to the Imperative.

#### (b) Modal particles

*dē*<sup>2</sup> in all dialects Sur., Ak.-Zx., Shn., employed with the simple present, forms the Future tense. (In KK § 290-1 *ē* (*wē*), BX 149 *dē* with the Present Subjunctive form the Future.)

*dā*<sup>2,3</sup> in all dialects, employed with the simple present, forms the Present Imperfect.

<sup>1</sup> Traditionally the affix is written *d(i)-* in general, *t-* only prevocally. A solitary exception is the text of Huart, op. cit. (p. 158 above), where *t(i)-* occurs throughout, e.g. تیبینی تزانى تیبینی \**tibīni, tizāni, tibēžin*, &c. (cf. fn. 3, p. 197). Concerning the realization of *t-*, see §§ 154, 159. With *ēdn* 'go' particularly the affix is frequently inaudible.

<sup>2</sup> In Gul., Zx. *dē, dā* may be reduced to enclitic *ē, ā* respectively after the personal pronouns 1st Sg. *az*, 1st Pl. *am*, e.g.

Gul. 749 *azē čim*: I shall go

759 *amē . . . kin*: we shall make . . .

— *amā vērā gahin*: we would have caught up with him (cf. §§ 311 (c), 315)

Zx. 774 *amē girin*: we shall seize

779 *azē xō hāvēžim*: I shall throw myself

<sup>3</sup> *dā* 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**

*nā*<sup>-1</sup> in all dialects, prefixed to the simple present, forms the negative of the Present Indicative and Future tenses (i.e. the particle *dē*, *v.* (b) above, does not occur in the negative).<sup>2</sup>

*nā*- in all dialects, prefixed to all the remaining tense forms<sup>2</sup> (replacing *b(i)*- in the Present Subjunctive), gives the negative of these forms.

*nā*- prefixed to the Imperative (replacing *b(i)*- 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 *b(i)*- (§ 281 (a)), negative *nā*- and *nā* (§ 281 (c)) respectively,

the Future and Present Imperfect, with the modal particles *dē* and *dā* respectively (§ 281 (b)).

All these tenses have essentially the following

<sup>1</sup> The irregular form *nī*- is employed in this function with the verb *zānīn* 'know' (in Sur. also ? with *twānīn* 'be able'). The verbs *nāsīn* 'know', *šyān*, Shn. *qārīn* 'be able', *vyān* 'be necessary' and *wērān* 'dare' take the general negative affix *na*- in these tenses, not *nā*-.

<sup>2</sup> There are no recorded examples of a negative of the Present Imperfect tense.

## PRESENT PERSONAL ENDINGS:

	Sur.	Ak., Am.	Zx., Shn.	Gul.	Cf. KK, BX
Sg. 1	-im	-im	-im	-im	-im
2	-î	-î	-î	-ê	-î
3	-î(t), -î(tin)	-ît(in), <sup>1</sup> -it- <sup>2</sup>	-it(in)	-it	-a
Pl. 1	-în	-în	-în	-în	} -in
2, 3	-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', *ç-* 'go'

	Sur.	Ak., Am.	Zx., Shn.	Gul.	Cf. KK, BX
Sg. 1	<i>abîm</i>	<i>tbîm</i>	<i>tbîm</i>	<i>tbîm</i>	<i>dibîm</i>
2	<i>abî</i>	<i>tbî</i>	<i>tbî</i>	<i>tbê</i>	<i>dibî</i>
3	<i>abî(t),</i> <i>abî(tin)</i>	<i>tbît(in),</i> Ak. <i>tçît-</i>	<i>tbit</i>	<i>tbit</i>	<i>diba</i>
Pl. 1	<i>abîn</i>	<i>tbîn</i>	<i>tbîn</i>	<i>tbîn</i>	} <i>dibîn</i>
2, 3	<i>abîn</i>	<i>tbîn</i>	<i>tbîn</i>	<i>tbîn</i>	

*Note.* The verb *bôn* does not normally take the prefix *b(i)-* in the Present Subjunctive, which appears as *bîm*, *bî*, *bît(in)*, &c.

(ii) *-ê-*, e.g. (*h*)*ê-* 'come', Sur. *nê-* 'put'

Sg. 1	<i>anê̄m, tēm</i>	<i>tēm</i> <sup>3, 4</sup>	<i>tēm</i>	<i>tēm</i>	
2	<i>anēy</i>	<i>tēy</i>	<i>tēy</i>	<i>tē</i>	
3	<i>anē(t)</i>	<i>tēt(in)</i>	<i>tēt</i>	<i>tēt</i>	
Pl. 1	<i>anēyn</i>	<i>tēyn</i>	<i>tēyn</i>	} <i>tēn</i> [sic]	
2, 3	<i>anēn</i>	<i>tēn</i>	<i>tēn</i>		} <i>tēn</i>

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Ak. [-i:t'], Am., Bar. [-i:t].

<sup>2</sup> The form *-it-* occurs, in Ak. only, in unstressed position before the vowel of an enclitic. When the verb is monosyllabic, and with the verb *bôn* 'be' generally, the final ending *-it* is preserved, e.g.

Ak. 531 *dâ çita çyzy* (v. § 142 (b)): he would go to the mountain  
but 616 *çita maktabê*: (when) he goes to school

<sup>3</sup> Note the reduction before an enclitic in:

Ak. 533 *dâ nima māl*: I (must) put . . . down at home (*nân, nê-*, Am. *n-*),  
but 685 *řû nêma xârê*: I (shall) sit down (*niřtin, nê-*, Am. *n-*)

<sup>4</sup> In Am. an intrusive *-h-*, common in noun forms (e.g. Am. *bêhn*: Ak. *bên* 'breath') may occur in verbal forms also, e.g.

Am. 706 *bêhna darva*: (they) should come out

(cf. Nikitine, *BSOS*, III, 89, \**bihêta êra*: he should come hither)



(iii) -a-, e.g. *ka-* 'do' (but Zx., &c., *k-*, as (i) above)

Sg. 1	<i>akám</i>	<i>tkam</i>	<i>tkim</i>
2	<i>akay</i>	<i>tkay</i>	&c.
3	<i>akat</i>	<i>tkat(in)</i>	
Pl. 1	<i>akayn</i>	<i>tkayn</i>	
2, 3	<i>akan</i>	<i>tkan</i>	

(iv) -ō-, -ô-, -u-, e.g. *xō-*, *xô-*, *xu-* 'eat'

Sg. 1	<i>axóm</i>	<i>txóm</i>	<i>txum</i>	<i>txum</i>
2	<i>axōy</i>	<i>txōy</i>	<i>txwī</i>	<i>txwē</i>
3	<i>axōt</i>	<i>txōt</i>	<i>txut</i>	<i>txut</i>
Pl. 1	<i>axōyn</i>	<i>txōyn</i>	<i>txwīn</i>	<i>txwīn</i>
2, 3	<i>axōn</i>	<i>txōn</i>	<i>txun</i>	<i>txun</i>

(v) -ī-, e.g. *girī-* 'weep', *rī-* 'defecate'

Sg. 1	<i>ařīm</i>	<i>tgirīm</i>	<i>tgirīm</i>
2	<i>ařī</i>	<i>tgirī</i>	<i>tgirīē</i>
3	<i>ařī(t)</i>	<i>tgirīt</i>	<i>tgirīt</i>
Pl. 1, 2, 3	<i>ařīn</i>	<i>tgirīn</i>	<i>tgirīn</i>

## Substantive Verb

§ 284. (a) Beside the normal tense forms (§ 283 (b) (i)) the substantive verb has an enclitic present tense,

	Sur.	Ak., &c.	Gul.	Zx.	Cf. KK, BX
Sg. 1	<i>-im</i>	<i>-im/-ma</i>	=	<i>-im/-ma</i>	<i>-im/-ma</i>
2	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ī/-y</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ī/?</i>	<i>-ī/-yī</i>
3	<i>-a, -t-</i>	<i>-a/-y)a</i>	=	<i>-a/-ya, ? -na</i>	<i>-a/-ya</i>
Pl. 1	<i>-īn</i>	<i>-īn/-yna</i>	=	<i>-īn/? -na</i>	} <i>-in/-na</i>
2, 3	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in/-na</i>	=	<i>-in/-nin</i>	

where the second forms in each case appear in postvocalic position. The *-(y)-* of the 3rd Sg. forms is realized after all vowels except *ī, ū*.

Examples:

Ak. 589	<i>az-im</i> : I am, it is I
586	<i>az mēvānē ta-ma</i> : I am thy guest
544	<i>dinyā hatāv-a</i> : the weather (lit. 'world') is sunny
549	<i>kayfā ta-ya</i> : it is thy pleasure
560	<i>hung kī-na</i> : who are you?
561	<i>am dix-īn</i> : we are thieves
658	<i>am sē-yna</i> : we are three

- Am. 705A *t rā wasfyāy-na*: they are standing  
 720 *hačika xalkē amēdiē-na hamī Kurd-in*: as for the  
 people of Amadiye, they are all Kurds  
 Bar. 736 *az kuřē kē-ma*: whose son am I?  
 Zx. — *am sē čār . . . ž kullīā ma-na*: we are three or four  
 from our college  
 771 *zāxō . . . sar mūsildā-na*: Zakho is above Mosul  
 783 *sih t̄ā yē tēdā-nin*: there are thirty branches in it

(b) The negative of this form is independent, not enclitic.

	Sur., Ak.	Am.-Zx.	Cf. KK
Sg. 1	<i>nīma</i>	<i>nīnim</i>	<i>nīnim</i>
2	<i>nī &lt; *nīy</i>	<i>nīnī</i>	<i>nīnī</i>
3	<i>nīa</i>	<i>nīna</i>	<i>nīna</i>
Pl. 1	<i>nīna &lt; *nīyna</i>	<i>nīnin</i>	} <i>nīnin</i>
2, 3	<i>nīna</i>	<i>nīnin</i>	

Examples:

- Ak. 535 *dyār nīa*: it is not visible  
 596 *ma nīna*: we have none (*v.* § 293 (a))  
 656 *tāgatā madā nī*: thou art not within our power  
 Am. 710 *mā . . . aw nīna*: is it not that?  
 719 *či mināra wakī wē nīnin*: there are no minarets like it  
 Gul. 770 *ta šól . . . nīna*: it is no affair of thine  
 Zx. 786 *masalā dizīā . . . nīna*: there is no question of theft

### Imperative

§ 285. (a) The Imperative is formed from the present stem by the addition, normally, of the prefix *b(t)-* (negative *ná-*) and the following endings:

Sg. 2 *-a*, Pl. 2 *-in*, when the stem ends in a consonant,  
 -Ń      -n,                    „                    „                    vowel.

Thus, for example, when the stem ends in:

(i) a consonant,

- Ak. 531 *bīna*: bring! (*in-*)  
 558 *bīnin*: bring ye!  
 Am. — *řū na*: sit down! (*n-*)  
 706 *řū nin*: sit ye down!

(ii) *-ē-*,

- Ak. 558 *ṛū nē*: sit down! (*nē-*)  
 537 *dā nēn*: put ye down! (*nē-*)  
 565 *dā ninava*<sup>1</sup>: put ye down again!

(iii) *-a-*,

- Ak. 532, Am. 711A *bika*: make! (*ka-*)  
 Ak. 531 *bidava*: give back! (*da-*, *-va*)

(iv) *-ō-*, *-ô-*, *-u-*,

- Ak. — *bixô*: eat! (*xô-*)  
 Gul. — *bixwa*, Zx. — *bixô*: eat! (*xu-*)

(v) *-ī-*,

- 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*, *način*: do not go! (*č-*) are regular]  
     *wara*, *warin*: come! come ye!  
     [*nahē*, Zx. *na-ē*: do not come! (*(h)ē*) are regular]  
 Gul. *nawa*, *nawin*: do not come!  
 Am., Gul. 752 *hilô*: 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:

	Sur., Ak.-Zx.,	Gul.	Cf. KK,
	Shn.		BX
Sg. 1	<i>-im</i>	<i>-im</i>	<i>-im</i>
2	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ī</i>
3	<i>-Ō</i>	<i>-Ō</i>	<i>-Ō</i>
Pl. 1	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	} <i>-in</i>
2, 3	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	

<sup>1</sup> From *nē-*, cf. fn. 3, p. 182.

(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt/t-* 'come'

	Sur.	Ak.	Zx.	Gul.	Cf. KK, BX
Sg. 1		<i>hātīm</i>		<i>hātīm</i>	<i>hātīm</i>
2		<i>hātī</i>		<i>hātē</i>	<i>hātī</i>
3	= Ak.	<i>hāt</i>	= Ak.	<i>hāt</i>	<i>hāt</i>
Pl. 1		<i>hātīn</i>		<i>hātīn</i>	} <i>hātīn</i>
2, 3		<i>hātīn</i>		<i>hātīn</i>	

(ii) *-ū-, -ô-*, e.g. Sur. *bū-*, Ak. *bô-* 'be', Zx. *čô-* 'go'

Sg. 1	<i>būm</i>	<i>bôm</i>	<i>čôm</i>	<i>čôm</i>
2	<i>būy</i>	<i>bôy</i>	<i>čôy</i>	<i>čôē</i>
3	<i>bū</i>	<i>bô</i>	<i>čô</i>	<i>čô</i>
Pl. 1	<i>būyn</i>	<i>bôyn</i>	<i>čôyn</i>	<i>čôyn</i>
2, 3	<i>būn</i>	<i>bôn</i>	<i>čôn</i>	<i>čôn</i>

(iii) *-ā-*, e.g. *mā-* 'stay'

Sg. 1		<i>mām</i>		<i>mām</i>
2		<i>māy</i>		<i>māē</i>
3	= Ak.	<i>mā</i>	= Ak.	<i>mā</i>
Pl. 1		<i>māyn</i>		<i>māyn</i>
2, 3		<i>mān</i>		<i>mān</i>

(iv) *-ī-*, e.g. *girī-* 'weep', Zx., Gul. *bī-* 'be'

Sg. 1		<i>girīm</i>	<i>bīm</i>	<i>bīm</i>
2	= Ak.	} <i>girī</i>	<i>bī</i>	{ <i>bīē</i>
3				
Pl. 1, 2, 3		<i>girīn</i>	<i>bīn</i>	<i>bīn</i>

§ 287. (a) The Past Imperfect tense is formed from the Past tense by the addition of the prefix *t-*, &c. (§ 281 (a)), e.g.

Ak., &c., Sg. *tbôm*, *tbôy*, *tbô*; Pl. *tbôyn*, *tbôn*

Zx. Sg. 1 *tbīm*, 2, 3 *tbī*; Pl. 1, 2, 3 *tbīn*

Ak. *thātīm*, &c., is frequently reduced to *tātīm*, &c.

(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	<i>-(ā)m(ā)</i>
2	<i>-āyī</i>
3	<i>-ā</i>
Pl. 1, 2, 3	<i>-(ā)n(ā)</i>

Examples:

	KK §§ 285, 299	Celadet BX <sup>1</sup>
Sg. 1	<i>būmā</i>	<i>bikatāmā bikatām</i>
2	<i>būyāyī</i>	<i>bikatāyī bikatāyī</i>
3	<i>būyā</i>	<i>bikatā bikatā</i>
Pl. 1, 2, 3	<i>būnā</i>	<i>bikatānā bikatān</i>

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., *hātī*, *čōy*, *māy*, *girī* (<\**girīy*)

Ak., Am. *bōn* '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 gahištin* 'understand')

Zx. 777 *awā čē-kirī*: the artificial one (*čē 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.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Hawar (v. § 160), no. 26, p. 15; (Kamuran) BX 142 differs.

<sup>2</sup> In Gul. the only Perfect I forms attested are formed from the past stem and the auxiliary, viz.

Gul. — *min dīnyā nadiṭa*: I have not seen the world

753 *ta bō čī* . . . *kušta*: why hast thou killed . . . ?

765 *kasē* . . . *nagōta min*: nobody has said to me (questionably Perfect)

Perfect II forms (v. (c) below) are, however, regularly formed.

(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt/f-* 'come'

		Sur., Ak.-Zx.	Cf. KK, BX
Sg. 1		<i>hātīma</i>	<i>hātīma</i>
2		<i>hātī</i> (< * <i>hātī-y</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	<i>hātī(y)ī</i>
3		<i>hātīa</i>	<i>hātī(y)a</i>
Pl. 1	}	<i>hātīna</i> (< * <i>hātī-yna</i> )	<i>hātīna</i>
2, 3			

(ii) *-ū-*, *-ô-*, e.g. *čū-*, *čô-* 'go'

Sg.	<i>čôyma</i> , <i>čôy</i> , <i>čôya</i>
Pl.	<i>čôyna</i>

(iii) *-ā-*, e.g. *mā-* 'stay'

Sg.	<i>māyma</i> , <i>māy</i> , <i>māya</i>
Pl.	<i>māyna</i>

(iv) *-ī-*, e.g. *girī-* 'weep', *bī-* 'be'

Sg.	<i>girīma</i> , <i>girī</i> , <i>girīa</i>	Zx. <i>bīma</i> , <i>bī</i> , <i>bīa</i>
Pl.	<i>girīna</i>	<i>bīna</i>

(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.<sup>2</sup> Thus (cf. (b) (i) above),

		Ak.-Zx.	
Sg. 1		<i>hātīm</i>	
2	}	<i>hātī</i>	Sur. also <i>hātī</i>
3			
Pl. 1, 2, 3		<i>hātīn</i>	but <i>hātīna</i>

§ 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. *bôn*, Zx. *bīn* (§§ 283 (b), 286 (b)).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> The appearance of the 1st Sg. and 1st, 2nd, 3rd Pl. forms with 'post-consonantal' 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)).

<sup>3</sup> The verb *bôn*, &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. *hāt/ṭ-* 'come'

Perfect Subjunctive

Sg. *hātḅim, hātḅī, hātḅīt*

Pl. *hātḅīn, hātḅin*

Pluperfect

Ak., &c., *hātḅóm, &c.* Zx. *hātḅīm, &c.*

(ii) a vowel, e.g. *čó-* 'go'

Perfect Subjunctive

Sg. *čóbim, čóbī, čóbīt*

Pl. *čóbīn, čóbin*

Pluperfect

Ak., &c., *čóbóm, &c.* Zx. *čóbīm, &c.*

§ 291. A Perfect Conditional tense is formed from the Past stem and a particular form of the auxiliary verb Ak. *bón*, Zx. *bīn*,<sup>1</sup> with the 'conditional' infix *-ā-*, sometimes repeated, and past endings (§ 286 (a)). In Zx., Gul. the *-ī-* of the 1st Pl., and occasionally of the 2nd Sg., ending is lost. Thus:

	Ak., Am.	Zx.	Gul.
Sg. 1	<i>čó-, &amp;c., -bāmā</i>	<i>-bām</i>	<i>-bāmā</i>
2	<i>-bāyā</i>	<i>-bā(y)</i>	<i>-bāē</i>
3	<i>-bā</i>	<i>-bā</i>	<i>-bā</i>
Pl. 1	<i>-bāynā</i>	} <i>-bān</i>	<i>-bān(ā)</i>
2, 3	<i>-bānā</i>		

For examples, see § 309.

### Summary

§ 292. The tense and mood system may be summarized as follows:

<sup>1</sup> The substantive verb has the irregular stem *bi-* in this tense also (cf. previous fn.). The form may then be further reduced, thus Perfect Conditional 3rd Sg. *bibā* > *bā*, giving the appearance of a Past Conditional tense (formed without an auxiliary verb from the past stem), but see § 287 (b).

Present Indicative (§ 283) <i>t-káv-im</i> , &c.	Present Subjunctive (§ 283) <i>bí-kav-im</i> , &c.
Future (§ 283) <i>dē káv-im</i> , &c.	Imperative (§ 285) <i>bí-kav-a</i> , &c.
Present Imperfect (§ 283) <i>dā káv-im</i> , &c.	
<hr/>	
Past (§ 286) <i>ká(f)t-im</i> , &c.	
Past Imperfect (§ 287 (a)) <i>t-ká(f)t-im</i> , &c.	[Past Conditional (§ 287 (b)) <i>bí-kat-ām(ā)</i> , &c.]
<hr/>	
Past Participle (§ 288) <i>ka(f)t-î</i>	
Perfect Indicative I (§ 289) <i>ka(f)tî-ma</i> , &c.	
Perfect Indicative II (§ 289 (c)) <i>ka(f)tî-m</i> , &c.	
<hr/>	
Pluperfect (§ 290) <i>ká(f)t-bóm</i> , &c.	Perfect Subjunctive (§ 290) <i>ká(f)t-bim</i> , &c.
	Perfect Conditional (§ 291) <i>ká(f)t-bām(ā)</i> , &c.

### Certain Verbs

§ 293. (a) The morpheme *ha-* with the verb *bôn*, &c., yields the defective verb *habôn*, &c., 'exist'. Commonly only 3rd person forms are met (KK § 275 has all persons, *hama*, *hayî*, *haya*, *hana*, &c., but without examples). The negative is provided by the simple forms *nîa*, &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'	<i>haya</i>	Sur. <i>haya</i>
'there are'	<i>hana</i>	<i>hana</i>



'I have'	<i>min haya, hana</i>	
'we have'	<i>ma haya, hana, &amp;c.</i>	
Present Subjunctive		
'if there be'	<i>habīt, habīn</i>	
Past, Past Imperfect		
'there was, were, used to be'	<i>habō, habōn</i>	Zx. <i>habī, habīn</i>
Perfect I		
'there has been'	<i>habīa, habīna</i>	
Perfect Conditional		
'if there has been'	<i>habā</i> (cf. fn. 1, p. 189)	

## Examples:

- Ak. — *ta qalam haya*: hast thou a pen?  
 — *min šól 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 kuř habōn*: a ruler had three sons  
 Bar. 727 *haft kuř wī habōn*: he had seven sons  
 Gul. 749 *sē kuř habīn gal kičak*: (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'	<i>y/wē, &amp;c., hay</i>	Sur. also <i>hay</i>
'there are'	<i>y/wēt hayn</i>	but <i>hayna</i>

## Examples:

- Sur. — *šūr-in wā hay*: we have work (to do) (*šūr* F.)  
 — *sē kuř-im wē hayna*: I have three sons  
 Ak. 580 *awī ēxyāy ma'lām šólakā hay*: that serpent certainly has some business (*šól* F.)  
 583 *mirōvakē hay*: there is a man (*mirōv* M.)  
 586 *min birāyakē dīka yē hay*: I have another brother (*birā* M.)

- Am. 709 *bālilī āgirē* hay: Bahlul has a fire (*āgir* M.)  
 718 *yēt lē* hayn *sē dargah*: there are three gates in it  
 Bar. 740 *žinkak wā* hay: there is (such) a woman (*žink* F.)  
 Zx. 771 *filahēt* hayn *ô bisirmān žī yēt* hayn<sup>1</sup>: there are  
 Christians and there are Moslems also  
 772 *dihī l zāxô wēt* hayn<sup>1</sup>: there are Dihis (Armenian  
 refugees from Dihé) in Zakho

The Demonstrative Izafe is omitted, the Present II appearing alone, in the following construction:

- Ak. 638 *čand . . . zēřēt wē* hayn: as many gold ornaments as  
 she has  
 673 *čand nivinkēt hungô* hayn *bīnin*: bring as many bed-  
 clothes as you have

§ 294. The verb *vyān* 'be necessary', Sur. *wīstin*, is passive throughout.<sup>2</sup> 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 navēt*<sup>3</sup>: I do not want  
*min tvyā*: I wanted

Examples:

- Ak. — *min tvēt az bičimava*: I want to go back  
 575 *ta čī 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 xôš vyāy*: I took a liking to thee  
 Am. 712 *awī tvyā . . . bibat*: he wanted to take . . .  
 711A *mi ž hinga tvētīn*: I want from you . . .

<sup>1</sup> These two examples at least suggest that the choice between the forms *yē* and *wē* of the Demonstrative Izafe may be determined in part by the nature of the preceding sounds.

<sup>2</sup> No distinction in meaning between Ak. *vyān* and Sul., &c., *wīstin* 'want' (§ 220) is intended, but such forms as Ak. *navēm* ≡ *has lē nākam* 'I do not like it', Zx. *wān 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, *vyān* 'like, want'.

<sup>3</sup> See fn. 1, p. 181.

§ 295. (a) The forms *tbīt*<sup>1</sup> (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 bēžim tvyā tō rāst bikay*: thou must do whatever I say  
 — *tvyā nōka bičim*: I must go now  
 — *ān tbīt xū bičim ān har 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).

### 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<sup>2</sup>, e.g.

- Ak. 546 *bāpīrē ma . . . l baḥaštē hāvēta darē*: our ancestor was thrown out of Paradise (*hāvētīn* 'throw')  
 567 *sindōqā škāndī*: the Treasury has been broken (into) (*škāndīn* 'break')  
 572 *aw har sē dix birina lālī*: all three of these thieves were taken before him (*birīn* 'take')  
 632 *az darmān kirim*: I was treated with medicine  
 Am. 703 *sē paž kuštīn*: three sheep were killed (*kuštīn* 'kill')  
 705 *gād inā*: food was brought (*inān* 'bring')  
 Zx. 787 *az ta'in kirim*: I was appointed  
 781 *az ō aw āšf kirīn*: he and I were reconciled

<sup>1</sup> Sur. *tabi . . . bistīni* 'thou must take . . .', apparently for \**abi* under the influence of Ak. *tbīt*. Cf. the Sur. prepositions, § 301 (a).

<sup>2</sup> 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 kuštīn*: they seized the girl and killed her

Frequently the Agent, though not expressed, is obvious from the context, e.g.

- Ak. 531 *rôşakê çö çyāy, tayrakê zêf* girt: one day he went to the mountains (and by him) a gold bird was caught  
 532 *aw . . . harsêk birāēt yêk bôn, gôta xudānê tayrî*: they were all three brothers (and by them) it was said to the owner of the bird  
 533 *gašta birāē māxtirē, milē xô l milē wî dā*: 'she' reached the eldest brother (and by 'her') her shoulder was struck against his shoulder  
 Am. 706 *aw rā bô, kēlikak inā darva*: he got up (and by him) a cat was brought out  
 Zx. 774 *aw hustāē kô av firā hanē āvā kirî . . .*: 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 niwîsî* } have you written the letter?  
           *angô kāyaz niwîsî* }  
 509 *zinakê gā bird*: the woman took the ox  
 509 *wakî gā-y bird*: when she took the ox  
 Ak. 533 *žinakê gôtê<sup>1</sup>*: the woman said to him  
 536 *aḥmadî sānî*: Ahmed knew  
 538 *min ašyāē hungô bir*: I have taken your things  
 539 *ḥākimî . . . gôtî<sup>2</sup>*: the governor said . . .  
 539 *min tō 'afô kirî*: I have forgiven thee  
 542 *aḥmadî ḥākim t sindôqē nā*: Ahmed put the governor into the chest  
 Am. 705 *bālilî kēlikak kir t barikā xôdā*: Bahlul put a cat into his pocket  
 709 *awā gôtê<sup>1</sup>, bilā*: they said to him, 'So be it'

The Oblique case endings may, however, be omitted (§ 261 (a)), e.g.

- Sur. 508 *mirōwaka gôta žinakê*: the man said to the woman  
 Ak. 534 *kābrā das hāvêta žinakê*: the fellow reached for the woman  
 535 *kas jābā wā nadā*: nobody answered them  
 537 *aḥmad gôtê<sup>1</sup>* . . . : Ahmed said to him . . .  
 Am. 707 *bālil sē tanîrvān girtin*: Bahlul took three bakers

<sup>1</sup> -ē, cf. § 302 (b).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. fn. 1, p. 212.

## Passive Periphrasis

§ 297. (a) There is no secondary passive conjugation.<sup>1</sup> 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 *hātīn* 'come' and the preposition -a (§ 301 (c)) governing the infinitive of the Transitive verb, e.g.

- Ak. — *watuv dē hēta kuštīn*: that way he will be killed  
 — *sēvēt xirāb tēna istī'māl kirin bō 'alafē haywānā*: the bad apples are used for animal fodder  
 569 *čand dixiē . . . hātīna kirin*: as many thefts as have been committed  
 569 *sindōq . . . yā hātīa škāndīn*: the Treasury has been broken (into) (cf. § 296 (a))  
 Zx. 773 *wē hātī* (? for *hātīa*) *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 -*īn*- 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)*ē*- (§ 322 (a)) this is displaced by the causative morpheme.

The causative past stem is formed by the substitution of the morpheme -*ānd*- for the -*īn*- of the present stem, thus:

- Ak. *kalīn, kal-* 'boil' > *kalīn-*, *kalānd-*, *kalāndīn* 'boil'  
*diṛyān, diṛyē-* 'tear' > *diṛīn-*, *diṛānd-*, *diṛāndīn* 'tear'  
*girīn, girī-* 'weep' > *girīn<sup>2</sup>*, *giryānd-*, *giryāndīn* '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

<sup>1</sup> The solitary -*rē*- passive (cf. § 231) *kirē-* 'be done' appears in Ak., e.g.

Ak. — *watuviš talafuz tkirēt*: it is pronounced so also  
 569 *ma ču pē nākīrēt*: nothing can be done by us

<sup>2</sup> *girīn*- < \**girī-īn*-.

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 *ṛū nē*: sit down! (*ṛū ništīn*)

Am. 704 *šaš šindôqā 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*), *ṛā*, *ṛū*, *va* (Sur. *wa*), *war* and the suffix *-(a)va* (Sur. *-(a)wa*, Zx., Gul., *-va*). These preverbs, including *va*, generally modify the meaning of the simple verb unpredictably, e.g.

Ak. *kirīn* : *va kirīn* : *ṛā 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 *ḥatā zivīṛīnava saḥ tkaṇē . . .*: by the time they returned they saw (that . . .)

581 *yē vēk hāṭīava*: it has come together again

Am. 703 *karē xō diṭava l bin qēličkak*: they saw their donkey again under a nut-shell

Gul. 769, Zx. 775 *zivīṛīnva*: 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 gaṛyāva*: he returned

534 *darik bō va kirava*: opened the door for him

562 *dē va binava*: (doors) will open

605 *waxtē . . . va xundava gāz 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 čōv žōr*: the serpent went back inside  
 582 *ava mārī dānav min*: the snake gave me these  
 665 *hātīnav mazalkā kuřakaydā*: they came back into  
 the boy's room  
 666 *čōnav bar dikan*: they went back to the shop  
 Am. 708 *dā bēhnav baydā*: in order to return to Baghdad  
 709 *dē . . . awī 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:

- l*<sup>1</sup> (Sur. *la* (cf. § 236), KK, BX *li*) 'at, from'<sup>2</sup>  
*p*<sup>3</sup> (Sur. *pa*, KK, BX *bi*) 'to'  
*t*<sup>3</sup> (Sur. *ta*, KK, BX *di*) 'at'  
*v* 'to'  
*ž* Am.-Zx. only (KK, BX *ži*) 'from'  
*a* 'to'  
*bō* (Sur. *la bō*, KK, BX *bōnā*) 'for' (*v.* also §§ 148, 276 (b))  
*hatā* (Am., &c., *hatā*) 'till'  
*bē* 'without'  
*gal*, *tgāl*, *lgāl* (Sur. *tagar*, BX *digāl*) 'with'  
*wakō*, *hakō* (Am., &c., *wakī*) '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*)

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the realization of these minimal forms, see §§ 154, 159.

<sup>2</sup> English equivalents of the prepositions are given only as approximate labels.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Ak. [p', t'], Am., &c. [p', t']. The only dialects with *t*, *di*, with KK, BX. Huart's text (op. cit., p. 158 above), however, agrees with these our dialects, having ت پ \*p(i), t(i) throughout (cf. fn. 1, p. 180).

Thus, in combination,

*p* . . . -*va* 'with', *t* . . . -*dā* 'in', *t* . . . -*ṛā* 'into', &c.

Note Ak. *l bar-va-ṛā* '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 *hāt-a garmīānē*: came to the low country

549 *čōn-a lūlī čēlē*: they went to the cow

Am. 713 *čōyn-a čyāy*: we went to the mountain(s)

Following a verbal form ending in *a*, *ā*, *ō* the preposition *a* is not realized, e.g.

Ak. 545 *čō barakā kābrāy*: it went in front of the fellow

(cf. 547 *ziviṛi-a barakā min*: it went back in front of me)

581 *čō šōr ō hāt-a darē*: went inside and came out

Am. 704 *čō nik naḡārī*: went to a carpenter

(cf. 709 *aw čōn-a nik*: they went to (him))

*a* may also be followed by *t* . . . -*dā* with the sense 'into', e.g.

Ak. 544 *kira t ḡandikēdā*: he put it into the bag

695 *xō hāvēta t bīvēdā*: she threw herself into the well

Am. 704 *kirina t šindōqādā*: he put them into the boxes

Zx. 773 *waxlē kō tēta t zāxōdā*: when it comes into Zakho

779 *xō bāvēma t āvēdā*: (if) I throw myself into the water

but is not, apparently, realized after a final *ī* in this context, e.g.

Zx. 779 *tō tšēy xō bāvēšī t āvēdā*: can you throw yourself into the water?

781 *min xō āvēlī t āvēdā*: 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 biskakē zangilak pēva kir*: attached a bell to each curl

550 *az gōlīk bōm mālā xudānē xō*: I was a calf in my master's house

565 *hindak davē xō nā*: he put some into his mouth

Am. 705 *dā nā 'ardakī*: they camped at a place

718 *amēt . . . tāxivīn amēdiē*: we are talking in Amadiye

Zx. 784 *čōbīn makahē*: they had been to Mecca



§ 302. (a) Corresponding to the simple prepositions *l*, *p*, *t*, *v*, *ž*; *a* there are the following 'absolute' forms: *lē*, *pē*, *tē*, *vē*, *žē*<sup>1</sup>; *ē*.

The correspondence is not always regular, e.g.

Am., Zx. — *dā* p *miřā gahī*: thou wouldst have met me  
*dā vēřā gahīn*: we would have met him

*bō* and *tgāl*, &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 xō pē āzā 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 tgāl čō*: the fellow went with him

Am. 703 *gōšt žē řā bō*: the meat rose out of it

714 *am . . . žē tirsyāyn*: we were afraid of them

*ē*, like *a* (§ 301 (c)), is always enclitic following a verb, e.g.

Ak. 536 *saḥ tkat-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 řū dā-ē*: gave the Jew's loan back to him

(c) With the postpositions *-dā*, *-řā*, *-va* the absolute forms *pēdā*, *pēva*, *tēdā*, *tēřā*, &c., are formed.

The absolute forms *lēk*, *pēk*, *tēk*, *vēk*, ? *žēk* appear with the meaning of '. . . one another' and the appropriate preposition (cf. § 237 (c)), e.g.

Ak. 553 *lēk řā nābirin*: they do not pass by one another

559 *am . . . pēk hātīn*: we have come together

549 *vēkřā*: 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 *l dargāy dā*: he knocked at the door (*l/lē dān*)

<sup>1</sup> Although *ž* hardly occurs as a preposition in Ak., *žē* appears as a preverb, e.g. *žē kirin* 'pluck (fruit)'.

The derivatives are generally 'inseparable', e.g.

Ak. 540 *har biskakē zangilak pēva kir*: attached a bell to each curl (*pēva kirin*)

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 švē nālēnim*: I shall not cook supper

— *bilēna*: cook (it)! (*lēnān*: Ak. *lē nān*)

Gul., Zx. *daynān*: to put down (: Ak. *dā nān*)

Zx. 774 *nācēbūt hōsā*: it will not be built thus (*čēbīn*: Ak. *čē bōn*)

§ 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 *harū maz mař*: go to (lit. 'before') the sheep

517 *la bō maz yē xwārē cō*: he went in front of the lower one

Ak. — *l bin sivānday*: under the eaves

548 *dē hēt-a bin sēbarā min*: will come under my shade

570 *dē . . . nik ta řā birim*: I shall pass by near thee

571 *harsēk inān-a bar řalbē*: all three were brought before the gallows

572 *sar taxtē xō řū ništ*: sat on his throne

626 *pēš darwēši kaft*: he went ahead of the dervish

690 *hāvēt-a pišt xō*: put her behind himself

Noun + Izafe

Ak. 688 *birin-a barī bābē xō*: he took them before his father

*passim, pāši hingī* } after that, afterwards

Am. *passim, pištī hingī* }

Adjective

Ak. 647 *nēzikī dah pānzda řōžā*: for approximately (near to) ten or fifteen days

Am. 714 *šibaři gurg*: like (= such as) wolves

Zx. 785 *řatā nēzik řazā*: till near the gardens

## Adverb

Ak. — *darva-y māl*: outside the houseZx. 773 *ž darvay zāxó*: outside Zakho

§ 304. Various pre- and postpositions appear with formally plural nouns with the connotation of 'manner', e.g.

Ak. — *mīr tīrsēt xóđā*: he died of fright (lit. 'in his own fears')— *mīr tīrsādā*: he died of frightGul. — *dīlē mīn tēšit ž bīrsā*: my stomach aches with hungerZx. — *davē mīn hīšk bī ž tēhnā*: my mouth is dry from thirst784 *ž tēhnā katbīn 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 *hamó řóžē*: every day, daily553 *hinda řóžā*: for some days545 *sē čār qúnāyā hāt*: he came for three or four stages548 *hāvīnē, waxtē garmē*: in summer, in the time of heat573 *vē halē*: at this time, then631 *čóma bilādā mi'āmilē*: I went to (many) countries tradingAm. 703 *naqlakē*: once (upon a time)705 *qónāyakē čón*: they went for one stageGul. 749 *načīn nēčīrē*: do not go hunting!

(b) The suffix *-(ī)š/š* 'also, even' occurs in Ak. and Sur. only, e.g.

Sur. 506 *šiwānīšim girt*: I took a shepherd alsoAk. 555 *ta davīš lē dirábó*: hadst thou sewn the mouth of it too?561 *awīš diza*: he too is a thief569 *wānīš gótē*: they too said to him . . .

The form *-š* appears following a vowel, e.g.

Sur. 506 *hingīšīn har āwēt*: then too we winnowed it514 *hindak pārāy māšawa*<sup>1</sup>: he had a little money left tooAk. 545 *avaš*: this also550 *nókaš*: now also657 *wē řóžēš*: that day alsoAk. 700 *malāyš* 'the mullah too', is exceptional.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 240 (c), end.

In other dialects the independent forms Am. *šī*, Gul., Zx. *šī/i* occur with the same meaning, e.g.

- Am. 703A *hākīmī žī karak habō*: the governor had an ass too  
 Gul. 752 *aw žī kir t xānīva*: put him in the house too  
 Zx. 782 *gundī žī dē čin*: the villagers also will go  
 790 *mi žī zahmatī . . . dīt*: I had trouble too

With the 1st person pronoun *aš* the following contractions occur, Ak. *ayš*, Am., Zx. *ašī* (v. § 275 (a), Note 3).

Preceding *šī* the adjective *dī* 'other' appears as *di*, e.g.

- Am. 706A *galakēt di žī*: many others also  
 719 *dargahē di žī*: the other gate too  
 Zx. 785 *hinda trumḫēlēt di žī*: some other cars also

Contrast *dī* used substantively in

- Bar. 732 *šad dī šī*: a hundred others also

(c) The suffix *-ānī* with nouns has the sense 'in the manner of . . .', e.g.

- Sur. 529 *xōšxōšānī cōē*: he went to it gently  
 Ak. — *'arabkānī swār bō*: he rode (the donkey) side-saddle  
 (lit. 'Arab-wise')  
 543 *šānī řawī*: he barked like a dog (*ša*)  
 543 *karānī širī*: 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. — *mirōv čō/čōn*: the man/men went  
 611 *aw bičūk čōn*: 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 *\*bibēžin*): say (ye)!  
 562 *aš 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 pištīēt xō dā girtin*: three put down their loads  
 566 *harsēkā pištīēt xō xālī kirinava*: all three emptied  
 their loads again

but, 566 *ma pištīēt xō yēt dirust kirī*: we have made up our loads

(c) Two or more nouns joined by the conjunction *ō*, *w* 'and', or the preposition *tgāl*, &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 *rīvōāk tgāl qurbašayakī bōna širik*: a fox and (lit.  
 'with') a badger became companions

Am. 709 *bāyak ō bārān hāfin*: a wind and rain came

Gul. 751 *šir ō matalet xwa girē dān*: he girt on his sword and  
 shield

Zx. 781 *ax ō 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 *sah thanē kō tištē wān yē birī*: they see that their  
 things have been taken

548 *dē rā bīt kō dē čit*: he will get up to go

587 *dīt kō sa'idē rā ništīa*: he saw that Said was sitting

Am. 708A *rā bōn kō bārēt xō bār kirin*: they got up (so that)  
 they loaded up their loads

Zx. 787 *mi natzānī . . . kō tadrīsāt . . . p kurdīa*: 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 xān bīt*: whatever person be treacherous

579 *har kasakē māramak habā<sup>1</sup>*: whatever person might  
 have (had) a desire . . .

606 *aw pārēt . . . ta dāna min*: those monies which thou  
 gavest me

Am. 710 *tištē min dāyav hinga*: the thing which I gave you

Zx. 774 *aw kasē awwili bēt*: that person who first comes

<sup>1</sup> 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 *aw hākīmē t sindôqēdā şānī řawī*: that governor  
(who is) in the chest barked like a dog  
Am. 707A *aw tiştēt binē bahrēdā*: 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 *azē<sup>1</sup> hātīma wē dasrôkâ zēřā, yā şubay zû filān kasī  
ināy*: I have come for that kerchief (full) of gold  
which so-and-so brought early this morning  
Gul. 757 *aw azīm yē birāē ta az kuştīm*: 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,<sup>2</sup> e.g.

- Ak. — *sar āvā kô tçit l dirēşāiā galī*: over the river which  
goes along the valley (*āv* F.)  
535 *kāyazak dīt kô yā nivisī<sup>1</sup> . . .*: (they) saw a letter (in)  
which was written . . . (*kāyaz* F.)  
593 *aw masalā kô az bô hātīm<sup>1</sup>*: that question about  
which I have come (*masala* F.)  
Zx. 774 *aw hustāē kô av řirā hanē āvā kirī*: the mason who  
built this (here) bridge (*hustā* M.)

### Use of Tenses

§ 308. (a) The Present Indicative has aorist sense, e.g.

- Ak. 561 *atô çi tzānī*: what dost thou know?  
562 (*akar şa biřawit*) *az tē tgahim aw çi tbēžit*: (if a dog  
barks) I understand what it says  
Am. 719 *tbēna dargahakī dargahē zēbārē*: they call one gate  
the Zebār Gate

The sense of continuity, of a state or action in progress, is given by a construction described in detail at § 309.

<sup>1</sup> See § 313.

<sup>2</sup> The particle *kô* may even intrude in the normal Izafe construction (§ 263 (b)), e.g.

Ak. 622 *awē kô xudānē pāra*: 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 kičā xó damē*: I shall give him my daughter  
 541 *dē ta kama sindóqēdā*: I shall put thee into the chest  
 545 *dē tō p min va* day: wilt thou strike me?

Am. 704 *aži dē gal hinga hēm*: I too shall come with you  
 706 *tō dē vī haywānī firōši*: wilt thou sell this animal?  
 717 *dē tō čī 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))<sup>1</sup> 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  
 — *xawīn wā tē*: we are sleepy (lit. 'our sleep is coming')  
 (*xaw F.*)

Ak. — *maryamā txôt, azē nāxôm*: Miriam is eating, I am not  
 — *dastē minē tēšit*: my hand is aching (*dast M.*)  
 — *xawā minā tēt*: I am sleepy

539 *hākīmē mūsilē yē kāyazā* tñivīsīt: the governor of  
 Mosul is (constantly) writing letters (*hākīm M.*)

557 *amē ččīkēt xó nanāsīnava*<sup>2</sup>: (now) we do not recog-  
 nize our own cubs

633 *azā tbīnim*: I (female) can see

Am. 707 *čand řóža azē nānī dama hinga*: how many days is  
 it that I have (continuously) given you bread?

718 *amēt . . . tāxivīn*: we are talking

Gul. — *azē nānī txum*: I am eating

Zx. — *xawā minē tēt*: I am sleepy

777 *šólē xó yē tkin*: they are doing their work

777 *amē tbīnīn*: we can see

781 *ava . . . wē p min kánitin*: he is laughing at me

Shn. — *xawā mi wā tēt*: I am sleepy

<sup>1</sup> In the following example the Demonstrative Izafe appears to be replaced by the Secondary Izafe,

Bar. 742 *ava kāfirakī tētin*: here is a monster coming (cf. (c) fn. below)

<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>1,2</sup> e.g.

Ak. 533 *axē musāfir-im*: I am (temporarily) a traveller  
contrast,

Ak. 561 *ayš dix-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 haq-a*: the snake is in the right  
568 *čand malyōn t kēm-in*: how many millions are short?  
616 *dikān yā qapāt-kirī-a<sup>3</sup>*: the shop is shut  
Am. 717 *am t hāxir-īn*: we are ready

The Demonstrative Izafe may, however, merely give the adjective 'substantive' force (v. § 266 (a) (ii)), e.g.

<sup>1</sup> The following examples have unexplained forms, possibly Secondary Izafe out of normal context:

Sur. 508 *amā rūsin ū a birsi-yna*: we are naked and hungry (v. § 275 (a), Note 4)  
520 *hatā azī sāx-im*: as long as I am well (alive)  
— *azī mašbūr-im*: I am obliged (to go now)  
Shn. — *awī nivisti-a*: he is asleep  
but — *aw yā nivisti-a*: she is asleep, regularly

<sup>2</sup> 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

*azī xarib-im*: I am a stranger  
*sōsika wastyāy-a*: (the mare) Sosik is tired

Substantivized

*wardaka zafa āqil bū*: Wardak was a very clever woman  
*qasra badaw bū*: the palace was beautiful

Prepositional

*miri na l māl*: the Mir is not at home

<sup>3</sup> 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 *dīt kō sa'idē rû-ništi-a l sar taxti*: he saw that Said was seated on a chair

contrast,

543 *dīt hākimē ākrē yē rû ništi l sar taxtē xō*: he saw the governor of Akre (was) sitting on his throne



- Ak. — *hakô mārī yē xār-a*: he is as crooked as a snake  
 548 *av t̄āē hanē yē bāš-a bô hinjār*: this (here) branch is  
 a good one for a plough-arm  
 589 *řidīnā wī yā řaš-a*: his beard is a black one  
 Am. 718 *āmēdiē . . . yā řisār-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 Demonstrative Izafe,<sup>1</sup> 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 řādē*: my house (is) in such-and-such street  
 538 *kāyazakā l wē darē*: (there is) a letter there  
 544 *mārak yē t nāv bařrēdā*: (there is) a snake in the snow  
 568 *sē mirōvēt lē*: (there are) three men in it  
 572 *awēt wē āxiftinēdā*: they (are) engaged in this talk  
 616 *řantak yā l barē dikānakē*: (there is) a bag (lying) in front of a shop  
 Am. 718 *galak bināyatēt kavnēt lē*: (there are) many old buildings in it  
 718 *āmēdiē yā l sarē girakī*: Amadiye (is) on a hill  
 Gul. 768 *kutilik . . . yā t sēnikā wīdā*: (there is) a rissole in his tray  
 Zx. — *azē l vē ôdē(-ma)*: I (am) in this room  
 — *amē(t) l vē ôdē(-yna)*: we (are) in this room  
 777 *řlahēt lē-na*: there are Christians in it

When the sentence contains a main verb the Izafe in this construction may also be considered as joining a relative clause (without a verb) to its antecedent (cf. §§ 307 (b), 313 (b)), e.g.

- Ak. 543 *av řākīmē t řindôqēdā řānī řawī*: that governor (who was) in the chest barked like a dog

<sup>1</sup> In the following example the Demonstrative Izafe appears to be replaced by the Secondary Izafe (cf. fn. 1, p. 205).

Bar. 734 *ava řirakī dastē dalālakīdā*: (here is) a sword in the hands of a broker.

The construction is not affected when the relative clause has a different subject to that of the main sentence, e.g.

Zx. — *bāžērē kičikā 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 irāq 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 bika dā . . . xilās bibin*: make some ruse that we may be saved

557 *dē šarī kayn hatā gurg bibēžita ma . . .*: we shall fight so that the wolf says to us . . .

561 *min nākana širikē xō, gal hungō bēm*: won't you make me your companion, that I may come with you?

Am. 703A *rā bōn dā čina āšī*: they got up to go to the mill

708 *kārē xō kir dā bēhnaw 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, řarikē 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 bičina māl*: let us go home

(c) following *toyā*, &c., 'must, ought' and *bilā* 'let . . .' (v. § 295 (b), with examples).

(d) following certain verbs, e.g.

Ak. 684 *ax našēm bēm*: I cannot come (*šyān*)

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 *šinā wī har jivīn tdānē, aḥmad 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 *aw dā bičūkēt xalkī kužītin*: he used to beat people's children  
 Zx. 774 *hindī . . . āvā tkir . . . dā pīr jārak 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 mārā t nāv bafrēdā bō, dā mirīt l sarmā*: this snake was in the snow, dying of cold  
 682 *dā rā bītin, . . . šōlā xirāb . . . bikatīn*: he was going to get up and do something evil  
 Zx. 780 *azā qufim . . . av šī dā mi qufit*: 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 dūtā, dā tōlā xō 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 şandikēdā . . . davē şandikē min dirû ô şandik min hāvēta piştā xô*: I picked it up, put it in the bag, sewed the mouth of the bag and put it over my shoulder

Am. 704 *bālil çô, kētik girtin, kirina t şindôqādā*: 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 xô min hamô bîr kirinava*: I have (just) forgotten all my tricks again

559 *am . . . pêk hâtin*: we have come together

A long completed action, &c., is expressed by the Perfect or Pluperfect tense, e.g.

Ak. 567 *ta zānîa çi qawmîa*: hast thou learnt what has happened?

582 *wa dyāra aw l min 'adālattir bîa*: evidently he was more just than I

595 *atô bîa mēvānē aħmadî*: wast thou Ahmed's guest?

579 *awî çi kirbô, . . . awî şangilak . . . dirist kirbô, şinjîrak vê existbô*: 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 û kasbim ē . . . hînāy*: I have brought some bread and comestibles

512 *--im gōşt . . . wê hînāy*: I have brought meat

520 *hind xēfî wê fîtîna*: it has voided so much gold

Ak. — *aw mēxa kē çê kirîa? min çê nakirîa, naşarî yā çê kirî*: who has made this table? Not I, the carpenter has made it (*mēx* F.)

535 *kāyazak dît kô yā nivîsî . . .*: they saw a letter (in) which was written . . . (*kāyaz* F.)

- 543 *dīt ḥākimē ākrē yē rū ništī l sar taxtē xó:* he saw the governor of Akre was sitting on his throne
- 550 *azā pīr bīm:* I (a cow) have grown old (*čēl* F.)
- 550 *galak čēl ó gā yē l min xēda bīn:* many cows and oxen have sprung from me
- 550 *min galak xēr yā l vē čēlē dītī:* I have seen much good from this cow (*xēr* F.)
- 553 *min tó yē l pištā xó kirī:* I have put thee (a snake) on my back (*mār* M.)
- 557 *ma čēčik vēkřā yēt kirīn:* we have whelped together
- Am. 710A *minē dāynav hinga tótik:* I have given you dung fuel-cakes
- 717 *wājīb ma yā ḥal kirī, balē hamī ma na ḥal kirīa:* we have done (lit. 'solved') our homework, but we have not done all of it (*wājīb* F.)
- Bar. 732 *azē dayndār bīm:* I have become indebted
- Gul. — *min šřvā lēnāy:* I have prepared supper (*šřv* F.)
- Zx. 773 *pīraka . . . wē hātī āvā kirīn:* (there) is a bridge (which) has been built . . . (*pīr* F.)
- 776 *aw dārā banókē . . . wē māy:* that terebinth tree still remains (lit. 'has remained') (*dār* F.)
- 777 *jó . . . yē . . . šaq kirī:* the canal has been split off (from the river) (*jó* 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 . . . *dasrók . . . yā filān kasī ināy:* the kerchief which so-and-so brought
- 593 *aw masalā kó az bó hātīm:* that question about which I have come

[contrast,

- Ak. 588 *azē hātīm bó 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 hustāē kó av pīrā hanē āvā kirī:* the mason who has built this (here) bridge

Likewise in clauses introduced by *waxtê*, &c., 'when' and similar temporal adverbs the Perfect II form appears without the Demonstrative Izafe (cf. § 309 (c)), e.g.

Am. 703A *waxtê çöyna ašî*: when they went to the mill

Bar. 731 *waxtê sê çarak kuştî*: when he had beaten three or four

Gul. — *waxtê az çöym sükê*: when I went to the market

Zx. 776 *piştî kô pîr avā kiri*: after the bridge was built

Occasionally the Demonstrative Izafe is omitted in other contexts,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

Ak. 580 *sarê xô (yê) hāvētîa kalābā zinjîrê*: it has put its head in the hook of the chain

583 *'amrê wî gaštîa 140 sālî*: 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 xudê nadat, nādat*: if God does not give (a thing) He does not (and there is an end)

546 *duşmîn bigata duşmînî*: if one enemy meet the other

562 *akar şa biřawît*: 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. — *haķar xalîl bêt*: if Khalil should come

Zx. — *haķar min pāra habin*: if I were to have (any) money

#### Future

Ak. 569 *akar dē ma şalbîş kay*: even if thou wilt hang us

573 *dē tōba kan*: if you will repent

<sup>1</sup> The Ak. form *gōti* 'he said', in contrast to *gōt-ê* '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 tgōti* 'I used to say', however, suggests a secondary past stem \**gōti-*. The same example, having a 1st Sg. agent (Ak. 618 *min gōti* 'I said' also), rules out any immediate connexion with the Sor. construction *gōt-î* 'he said' (cf. § 225 (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 jilkēt bāš min dītin dē bō ta kirim*: if I see any good clothes I shall buy them for thee  
 553 *akar dušmin gašta dušminī lēk rā nābirin*: if one enemy meet the other they do not pass one another by  
 Gul. — *hakar xalil hāt bēža wī*: 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 xūtir čōbāmā . . . dā bīnim*: if I had gone earlier I would have seen (him)  
 — *hakar min tivīng vē bā<sup>1</sup> . . . dā kužim*: if I had had a gun with me I would have killed it  
 — *hakar ta nakuštā ta fīlār natkir*: hadst thou not killed him thou wouldst not have fled  
 Am. — *haka tō dirangtir hātbāyā . . . dā p miṛā gahī*: if thou hadst come later thou wouldst have met me  
 Zx. — *hakar am nahātbān awī am natdīfīn*: if we had not come he would not have seen us

§ 316. The particle Ak., Am. *xōxī*, Gul. *xwaxī*, Zx. *xuxī* '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. — *xōxī aw šubay hātbā*: would he were coming to-morrow  
 — *xōxī nōka hātbā*: would that he would come now  
 — *xōxī min tō dītbāyava*: would that I could see thee again  
 — *xōxī min tō dītbāyā*: would that I had seen thee  
 Am. — *xōxī am hātbāynā*: would that we had come  
 Gul. — *xwaxī tō čōbāē*: would that thou wouldst go  
 Zx. — *xuxī hūn čōbān*: would that you had gone

<sup>1</sup> 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 *ô*, &c., 'and' are not common, but do occur, e.g.

<i>kār-ô-bār</i>	'affairs' (work and ? load)
<i>sar-ô-čāv</i>	'face' (head and eyes)
<i>tayr-ô-tawāl</i>	'birds' (birds and ?)
<i>êk-u-dô</i>	'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.

<i>biq-a-biq</i>	'bubbling'
<i>huš-a-huš</i>	'rustling'
<i>kus-a-kus</i>	'whispering'
<i>xiř-a-xiř</i>	'snoring'

Nouns or morphemes occur reduplicated and with the 'diminutive' suffix *-ôk* (§ 320), e.g.

<i>viřviřôk</i>	'whirligig' ( <i>viř</i> 'whirr')
<i>xālxālôk</i>	'lady-bird' ( <i>xāl</i> 'spot')
<i>xāzxāzôk</i>	'mumper, cadger' ( <i>xāz-</i> 'beg')

§ 318. Determinative compounds may be dependent or descriptive. However formed, such compounds frequently take a 'diminutive' suffix *-ik*, *-ôk*, &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.

<i>gil-kan</i>	'clay-pit'
<i>ma-čētir</i>	'ghost' (us-better, cf. NP <i>az-mā-behtarān</i> )
<i>řôž-āvā</i>	'sun-set' ( <i>āvā bôn</i> 'set')

Inverted,

<i>birā-zāvā</i>	'best man' (brother of bridegroom)
<i>gul-buhār</i>	'marigold' (flower of spring)



<i>kuř-xāl</i>	'cousin' (son of maternal uncle)
<i>kúra-gěč</i>	'lime-burning-pit' (pit for lime)
<i>žin-bāb</i>	'stepmother' (wife of father)

and, with the compound vowel,

<i>āv-a-māst</i>	'curds and water mixed' (water of curds)
<i>bar-a-āš</i>	'millstone' (stone of mill)
<i>fālk-a-púnk</i>	'mint sweetmeat' (lump of mint)
<i>žān-a-sar</i>	'headache' (ache of head)

(ii) A verbal stem, or past participle, restricted by a preceding object, e.g.

Stem:

<i>dīdān-kěš</i>	'dentist' (tooth-puller)
<i>das-giv</i>	'fiancé(e)' (hand-holder)
<i>mēr-kuž</i>	'murderer' (man-killer)
<i>māsī-giv(ik)</i>	'kingfisher' (fish-catcher)
<i>sar-šō</i>	'bath-attendant' (head-washer)

[cf. *sar-šōk* 'bath-house']

Participle:

<i>das-bardāy</i>	'spendthrift' (hand-opened)
<i>kār-kirī</i>	'adorned' (adornment-made)
<i>tīl-dāy</i>	'bulging' (bulge-given)
<i>xūn-girtī</i>	'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.

<i>mē-kaw</i>	'she-partridge'
<i>řaš-māl</i>	'black tent'
<i>zīř-bāb</i>	'stepfather' (barren-father)

or follow it. e.g.

<i>dahla-řaš-ik</i>	'blackberry bush' (thorn—black)
<i>kunamērū-sūār</i>	'long-legged ant' (ant—mounted)
<i>māsī-xīř-ik</i>	'tadpole' (fish—spherical)
<i>paz-kūvī</i>	'moufflon' (sheep—mountain, wild)
<i>tū-mirī</i>	'inedible mulberry' (mulberry—dead)

and, with a compound vowel,

Am. <i>kirm-a-sôr-ik</i>	'caterpillar' (worm—red)
<i>kêx-a-řaş</i>	'cockchafer' (beetle—black)

There is a small group of descriptive compounds formed with the negative prefix *na-*, e.g.

<i>na-hiř</i>	'un-conscious'
<i>na-xôř</i>	'un-well'

§ 319. Secondary Adjectival compounds may be possessive or prepositional.

(a) The Possessive compounds are generally descriptive compounds with possessive meaning, e.g.

<i>du-řú</i>	'two-faced'
<i>girân-bâ</i>	'one who sells dearly'
<i>xila-qûn-k</i>	'dragonfly' (straw—tail)

and, inverted,

<i>bên-tang</i>	'impatient, depressed' (breath—tight)
<i>çirik-dirêř</i>	'boring, garrulous' (story—long)
<i>dû-maqas-ik</i>	'earwig; swallow' (tail—scissors)
Zx. <i>hasî-sivik</i>	'handsome' (bone—light)
<i>xûn-řirin</i>	'handsome' (blood—sweet)
<i>nāvçāv-řin</i>	'glum' (forehead—blue)
<i>sar-řût</i>	'bald' (head—bare)
Am. <i>sar-tařî</i>	'dragonfly' (head—spindle)
<i>pirç-zar</i>	'blond(e)' (hair—yellow)

(b) The preposition *p* forms an infinite number of adjectival compounds, e.g.

<i>p-çak</i>	'armed'	<i>p-řânâi</i>	'easy'
<i>p-hîvî</i>	'hopeful'	<i>p-řyârî</i>	'attentive(ly)'
<i>p-hawas</i>	'happy'	<i>p-tiřt</i>	'pregnant'
<i>p-laz</i>	'in a hurry'	<i>p-xabar</i>	'faithful'

Other examples of prepositional compounds are:

<i>bê-xwê</i>	'tasteless' (without salt)
<i>bar-dast</i>	'available' (before hand)
<i>bar-pirs</i>	'responsible' (before questioning)
<i>pêř-çāv</i>	'famous' (before eye)
Am. <i>t-xaw</i>	'asleep' (in sleep)

## Suffixes

§ 320. The following suffixes form nouns:

## (a) Abstract

-ī, forms abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g.

'ējixī 'anger', girānī 'famine', kōrai 'blindness', lāyiqī 'suitability', sivikī 'ease', šārī 'coldness', šyārī 'attention', tūrai 'peevishness', xūndārī 'feud'.

-āī, -ātī, -yātī, likewise form abstract nouns of measure or quality, e.g.

dirēžāī 'length', pānāī, pānātī 'breadth';  
dušminātī 'enmity', kičikātī 'smallness', kavnātī 'age',  
māzinātī 'bigness', Bar. māzinātī 'rulership';  
sōryātī 'redness', sivikyātī 'flippancy'.

-īnī, -ānī, form abstract nouns of state, e.g.

dōstīnī, dōstānī 'friendship', havālīnī '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,

Am. āxūrik 'sandfly', bālīfik (-ik) 'pillow', barik 'pebble, fruit stone', bērik 'shovel', bařik (-ik) 'rug', Am. barxik 'lambkin', dōrik (-ik) 'round loaf', guhārik (-ik) 'ear-ring', hirmī, Am. hirmīk 'pear', jōlān, Am. jōlānk 'hammock', lihēfik (-ik) 'quilt'.

-ōk, Am., &c., -ōk,

binafšōk 'violet', Am. banōk 'terebinth tree', banīštōk 'chewing gum', bāzinōk 'armlet', bizmārōk 'corn, callus', dudavōk 'pickaxe', kangir(ōk) 'edible thistle', Zx. liyāvōk 'bridle', qalafłōk 'nose-stud' (qalafil 'clove'), tayrōk 'butterfly', zimānōk 'uvula'.

-lik, -lka, (rare)

sipīlik 'egg-white'; pēšūlka 'mosquito', \*pišīlik or \*pišīlka 'kitten' in pišīlkā mīrā 'thistledown'.

-*ôšik*, (rare)

*baqmārôšik* 'type of lizard', *dāpîrôšik* 'spider'.

(c) Concrete

-(a)*vân*, -*čî*, form nouns of trades or skills, e.g.

*āšavân* 'miller', *barxavân* 'lambherd', *kāravân* 'kidherd',  
*řazavân* 'gardener'; *nēčîrvân* 'hunter', Am. *tanûrvân*  
'baker';

*čāčî* 'teashop-keeper', *laγmačî* 'sapper'.

-*kar*, -*kār*, form nouns and adjectives meaning 'doer, maker of . . .',  
e.g. *šařkar* 'aggressive, fighter';

*hārîkār* 'helper, assistant'.

-*ân*, -*āna*, -*ānē*, form names of games, e.g.

*hōlân* 'polo'; *čamkāna* 'hockey';

*dāmānē* 'draughts', *gōlānē* 'football', *katîkānē* 'five-stones',  
*lukmānē* 'boxing', *muhr-ô-xatānē* 'heads or tails', *mātānē*  
'marbles', *sartirinjān(ē)* 'chess', *xô-lêk-dānānē* 'wrestling'.

§ 321. The following suffixes form adjectives:

-*î*, forms adjectives from nouns, e.g.

*binî* 'underneath', *gundî* 'village, rural', *pîvāxî* 'pink, onion-  
coloured', *qahwaî*, Shn. *qahwāy* 'brown, coffee-coloured',  
*qîrēžî* 'dirty, filthy'.

-*ôk*, Zx. -*ô*, rare, forms adjectives of quality from nouns, e.g.

*tîrsôk* 'cowardly';

Zx. *gîlîxô* 'dribbling, slobbery', *kîlmîšô* 'snotty'.

-*dār*, forms adjectives meaning 'possessed of . . .', e.g.

*birîndār* 'wounded', *dayndār* 'indebted', *kôvāndār* 'injured',  
*xûndār* 'at feud'.

§ 322. (a) The 'regular' Intransitive verb is characterized by the  
past stem Ak., &c., -*yā*-, Gul., Zx. -*hā*-, infinitive -*yān*-, -*hān*-,  
present stem -(*y*)*ē*-, -*hē*- respectively, e.g.

Ak. *birîyān*, *birîyē*-, Zx. *birhān*, *birhē*- 'cease'

Ak. *gařîyān*, *gař(y)ē*-, Gul. *gařhān*, *gařhē*- 'wander'

Ak. *řîžîyān*, *řîžîyē*-, Zx. *řîžhān*, *řîžhē*- 'pour'

The corresponding Transitive verb is a Causative formation from the same stem (*v.* § 298).

(b) The same morphemes, Intransitive *-yā-*, *-yē-* (Gul., Zx. *-hā-*, *-hē-*), Transitive *-ānd-*, *-īn-*, also form verbs from 'loan-morphemes' of Arabic origin, e.g.

Ak. *'alamāndin*, *'alamīn-* 'teach' (Ar. *'alima*)  
*ḥabāndin*, *ḥabīn-* 'love' (Ar. *ḥabba*)  
*ḥalyān*, Zx. *ḥalhān* 'melt' (Ar. *ḥalla*), *ḥalāndin* 'melt'  
*qatyān*, Gul. *qathān* 'finish, come to an end' (Ar. *qaṭa'a*),  
*qatāndin* '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'  
*nivīsi-*, *nivīs-* 'write' : *nivīsāndin* F. 'writing'

## PART IV

## DIALECT GROUPING

§ 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.

	Ak., &c.	Sul., &c.	
Av. <i>gāman-</i>	> <i>gāv</i>	: <i>han]gāv</i>	'pace'
<i>hāmīna-</i>	> <i>hāvīn</i>	: <i>hāvīn</i>	'summer'
<i>nāman-</i>	> <i>nāv</i>	: <i>nāv</i>	'name'
Av. <i>āp-</i>	> <i>āv</i>	: <i>āv</i>	'water'
<i>xšap-</i>	> <i>šav</i>	: <i>šav</i>	'night'
<i>*fšu.pāna-</i>	> <i>šivān</i>	: <i>šwān</i>	'shepherd'

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 Nlr. period, appears to be War. *-iğ* (*Sinaī*, &c., *-iğ*), Sul., Bin., Piž., Muk. *-uw*, *-ū*, Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur., Ak., &c., *-ī*, e.g.

	War., &c.	Sul., &c.	Arb., Ak., &c.	
<i>Sinaī</i>	<i>dazig</i> :	<i>dazū</i> :	<i>dazī</i>	'thread'
	<i>hařig</i> :		<i>hařī</i>	'mud'
	<i>māzig</i> :	<i>māzū</i> :	<i>māzī</i>	'gall-apple'
	<i>řōzig</i> :	<i>řōzū</i> :	<i>řōzī</i>	'fasting'
	<i>tīnig</i> :	<i>tīnū</i> :	<i>tēnī</i>	'thirsty'
War.	<i>xāniġ</i> :	<i>xānū</i> :	<i>xānī</i>	'house'
	<i>zīniġ</i> :	<i>zīnū</i> :	<i>zīndī</i>	'alive'

This development is most regularly seen, however, in the past participle of all verbs (§§ 213, 288) < OIr. \*-ta-ka-, e.g. Wār. *hātiġ*: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 ġ, 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 *-ū-* (§ 75), and of *st* to *s* (§ 74 (b)).

(ii) War. and Sul. are marked off from all other dialects by the phoneme *ŋ* (§ 24), the diphthongs of class (iii) (§§ 50, 53), and by the reduction of *nd* to *n* or *ŋ* (§§ 57 (a), 74 (a)) with its bearing on the causative conjugation, *-āndin* > *-ānin* (§ 233).

(iii) War., Sul., Bin., Piž., ? Muk. alone have *ø* (§§ 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 *č*, *f* for common *č*, *f* (§ 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 *š*, *š*, *ž*.

(vii) The dialects of Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., Rwn. present two groups of consonant phonemes, aspirate and unaspirate *k*, *t*, *p*: *k*, *t*, *p*. (§ 157), in opposition to Sul.-Ak. (and possibly Shn., BX, &c.) which have only one, aspirate, series *k*, *t*, *p*.

(viii) Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., with Hak. and Bot., form a

unique group with the modified realization of  $\delta$ ,  $\acute{u}$  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., Piž. 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 *-ek* or *-ak* (§§ 176, 259) a corresponding definite suffix *-aka* 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 *-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 *-ā(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 *-ēt*, &c., of the N. dialects (§ 264) are found also in Bin., Piž., Muk. *-ī 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-* < *dī-* (§ 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 *dē*, &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.

324 (vii)	NIL				Unaspirated stops
324 (vi)	NIL				Emphatic consonants
325 (iv)	-aka			[ ]	NIL
323 (a)	am : aw	aw	Demonstratives		aw : aw
323 (a)	-awa (wa)		Preverbs		wa (-wa)
325 (i)	Suffix Pronouns				NIL
325 (ii)	Agential Construction				Passive Construction
325 (iv)	Open Compound				NIL
326 (i)	Izafe i	i : ē [ ]			Izafe ē : ā
326 (iii)	NIL	i da			Plural Izafe ēt, &c.
326 (ii)	-ān General Plural				-ā(n) Oblique Plural
326 (iii)	Secondary Passive				Periphrastic Passive
327 (ii)	NIL				Modal particles and Izafe with verb
325 (iv)	-d General Demonstrative				-d Proximate Demonstrative
323 (b)	-ig	-uwo	Past Participle		-i
326 (i)	NIL	Gender manifest	in Case endings		
327 (i)	a-	da-	Modal prefix		t-

## APPENDIX

### LIST OF VERBS<sup>1</sup>

#### 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.

*ālōzān (ālōskān), ālōzē-*, vi. tangle. [Arb. *ārōz būn*.]

*aḡūtīn, aḡū-*; Piž., Muk. *angūtīn*, vi. impinge.

*aḡāwtīn, aḡēw-*; Piž., Muk. *angāwtīn*, vt. hit a mark.

*(an)jinīn, (an)jin-*; Muk. *anjinīn*; War. *jinīn*, vt. mince.

*aspārdīn*, see *sipārdīn*.

*astāndīn*, see *stānīn*.

*astīrīn*, see *sīrīn*.

*ēšān, ēšē-*, = Sor., Muk., vi. ache, hurt.

*āwsān, āwsē-*, = Muk., vi. swell.

*āwasīn*, see *wāsīn*.

*āwī(š)tin*, see *hāwīštīn*.

War. *āwzyān, ?*, vt. grow up.

*āxinīn, āxin-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. stuff, fill.

*ēxistin*, see *xistin*.

*ažmārdīn*, see *žimārdīn*.

*āšinīn, āšin-*, vt. prick, pierce.

Muk. *āšwān, āšō-*; Arb. *hāšō(š)tin*, vt. drive flocks.

*bičīrīn*, = *pičīrīn*.

*bōlānīn, bōlēn-*; Sor. *-āndīn*, vt. murmur, mumble.

\**būn, b-*, = Sor., Muk., vi. be.

*binīn*, see *đīn*.

\**bīrdīn, ba(r)-*, = Sor., Muk.; War. *wa-*, vt. take, carry.

*būrdīn, būr-*, vi. pass.

*bārīn, bār-*, = Sor., Muk.; War. *wārīn, wār-*, vi. rain.

*biržān, biržē-*, = Muk.; Piž. *biržīn*, vi. be roasted.

<sup>1</sup> In alphabetical order of consonants, as in § 169. Vowels (and short diphthongs, in the order: *a, ā, ē, ay, i, ī, ō, o, aw, u, ū*) 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

- bīrān, bīrē-*, vi. cease.  
*bīrīn, bīr-*, = Sor., Muk.; War. *wīr-*, vt. cut.  
*bārānin, bārēn-*; Sor. -*āndin*, vt. bleat.  
*bōrānin, bōrēn-*; Sor. -*āndin*, vt. low, moo.  
 \**bastin, bast-*, = Sor., Muk.; War. *was-*; Sur. *bēn-*, vt. tie.  
 \**bīstin, bis(t)-*; Muk. *byē-*, vt. hear. [Arb. *gē lē būn.*]  
*bwārdin, bwēr-* (*bēr-*), = Sor., Muk., vt. pass.  
*baxšīn, baxš-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. forgive.  
*bazīn, baz-*, = Muk., vi. run.  
*bizūtin* (*bizwān*), *bizū-*, = Muk.; Arb. *bixiftin* (*bizwīn*), *bizū-*, vi. move, stir.  
*bēžīn, bēž-*, ~*awa*; Arb. *bēštin* (*bēžīn*), vt. sift.  
*būžān, būžē-*, ~*awa*, vi. recover, convalesce.  
*bižārdin, bižēr-*, = Muk., vt. pick, select.  
 [Piž. *bižārtin*, roast, see list II, s.v.]
- čilakīn, čīlak-*; *dā* ~, vi. start, shy.  
*čamān, čamē-*, = Muk.; Rdz. *čōmān, čōm-*, vi. bend.  
 \**čūn, č-*, = Sor., Muk.; Sur. *čōn, č-*, vi. go.  
*čānin, čēn-*; Sor., Muk. *čāndin*, vt. sow.  
*činīn, čin-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. 1 knit, 2 pluck.  
*čaḡīn, čaḡē-*, vi. stick, be inserted.  
*čīrikānin, čīrikēn-*; Sor. -*āndin*, vt. shriek.  
*čīrpānin, čīrpēn-*; Sor. -*āndin*, vt. whisper  
*čōrān, čōrē-*, = Muk., vi. drip.  
*časpān, časpē-*, = Sor., vi. stick, adhere.  
*čēštin* (*čēžīn*), *čēž-*, = Muk., vt. taste.
- damānin, damēn-*; Sor. -*āndin*, vt. blow.  
 \**dān, da-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. give.  
 \**dīn* (*bīnīn*), *bīn-*; Sor., Muk. *dītin*; War. *wīn-*, vt. see.  
*dirkānin, dirkēn-*, vt. utter, blurt out.  
*dirūn, dirū-*, = Muk.; War. *dūrīn, dūr-*, vt. sew [*sic*]; ~*awa*, reap.  
*dirān, dirē-*, = Muk.; War. *diryān*, vi. tear, be torn.  
*dirīn, dir-*, = Muk., vt. tear.  
*dōrānin, dōrēn-*; Sor. -*āndin*, vt. lose a game, stake.  
*dōšīn, dōš-*, = Sor., vt. milk.  
 \*Muk. *dāštin, dēr-*, vt. irrigate.  
*dītin*, see *dīn*.  
*dwān, dwē-*, = Muk., vi. speak.  
*dizīn, diz-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. steal.  
*dōzīn, dōz-*; War. ? *waz-*; ~*awa*, vt. discover.
- fīkānin, fīkēn-*; Sor. -*āndin*, vt. whistle.  
*farmūn, farmū-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. order, deign.

KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

\*firō(š)tin, firōš-, = Sor., Muk., vt. sell.

fīrīn, fīr-, = Muk., vi. fly.

fīrān(d)in, = rīfān(d)in.

fīrānin, fīrēn-, vt. pass liquid stool.

fawtān, fawtē-, = Sor., vi. perish.

gilān, gilē-, = Muk.; War. gilyān, vi. tumble.

gilōftin, gilōf-, vt. rub, squeeze.

gān, gē-, = Sor., Muk.; War. gāin, vt. copulate with.

gunjān, gunjē-, vi. be possible, occur.

ganīn, gan-, vi. rot.

girān, girē-, = Muk., vi. be caught, held.

gurūn, gurū-, = Muk., vt. flay in one piece.

gārānin, gārēn-, vt. cluck.

gīrsān, gīrsē-; Sor. gīrsān; War. gīrsyān; dā ~, vi. light, be kindled.

gīrsān, gīrsē-; War. gīrsyān; = girān.

girtin, gir-, = Sor., Muk., vt. take, hold.

\*giryān, girī-; Sor. giryē-; Muk. ? girya-, vi. weep.

gāfān, gāfē-, = Muk.; War. gāryān, vi. wander.

gērān, gēr-, = Muk., vt. turn; ~awa, relate.

gōfān, gōfē-, = Muk., vi. change.

gōfīn, gōf-, = Muk., vt. change.

gastin (gaxīn), gaz-, = Muk., vt. bite.

gašān, gašē-, vi. 1 bloom, 2 glow.

gušīn, guš-; Sor., Muk. kušīn, kuš-, vt. press, squeeze.

gōtin, gutin, see wutin.

gwāstin (gozān), goz-; Muk. gōstin (gōztin); Arb. gōstin, gōz-; ~awa, vt. move house, home.

\*gāin (gāštīn, gayštīn), ga-, = Sor., Muk.; War. ga(ya)-, vi. arrive.

gayānin, gayēn-; Sor. -āndīn, vt. cause to arrive.

gazīn, see gastin.

gozān, see gwāstin.

gawzīn, gawz-, vi. roll in the dust.

habūn, haya, = Muk.; Arb. haya, hayt-; War. has, vi. exist.

hēlān, see hēštīn.

hēnān, (h)ēn-, = Muk.; Arb. hīnān, (h)īn-, vt. bring.

hōnīn, hōn-; Muk. hōndīn; Arb. hunīn, hun-; ~awa, vt. plait.

hanārdīn, see nārdīn.

hārīn, hār-, = Arb.; Piž. hēfīn, hēf-, vt. grind.

\*hēštīn (hēlān), (h)ēl-, = Muk.; Arb. hēl-; Rdz. (h)ēr-, vt. leave.

\*hātīn, ē-, = Sor., Muk., vi. come.

\*War. hāwurdīn, ēr-, vt. bring.

APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS

\*(h)āwī(š)tin, (h)āwē(š)-, = Muk.; Arb. *hāwīštin* (*hāwē(š)tin*), *hāwē-*;  
Bin. *hāw-*, vt. throw.  
*hāšō(š)tin*, see *āšwān*.

*hajimīn*, ? *hajim-*, vi. be still.  
*hīlānin*, *hīlēn-*; Sor. -*āndin*, vt. neigh.  
*hapasān*, ? *hapasē-*, = Muk., vi. be bewildered.  
*hasān*, *hasē-*, = Muk.; ~*awa*, vi. rest.  
*hawān*, *hawē-*, = Muk., vi. stay, dwell.

*jūlān*, *jūlē-*, = Muk.; Arb. *jūrān*, vi. move.  
*jinīn*, *jin-*, vi. move.  
*jūn*, *jū-*, = Muk., vt. chew.  
*jinīn*, see *anjinīn*.

*kaftin*, see *kawtin*.  
*kōkīn*, = *kōxīn*.  
*kēlān*, *kēl-*, = Muk., vt. plough.  
*kōlīn* (*kōlān*), *kōl-*, = Muk.; Arb. *kōrīn*, vt. dig out.  
*kulān* (*kulīn*), *kulē-*, = Muk.; Arb. *kurān*; Sur. *kōrīn*, *kōr-*, vi. boil.  
*kanīn* (*kaṇīn*), *kan-*; Muk. *kandin*, vt. dig.  
*kanīn*, *kan-*, = Muk., Arb.; *pē* ~, vi. laugh.  
*kirmānin*, *kirmēn-*; Sor. -*āndin*, vt. crunch.  
\**kirdīn*, *ka-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. do, make.  
*kirō(š)tin*, *kirōš-*, vt. crunch.  
*kirtānin*, = *kirmānin*.  
*kirūzān*, ? *kirūzē-*; ~*awa*, vi. complain of poverty.  
*kiṛīn*, *kiṛ-*, = Muk., vt. buy.  
*kiṛānin*, *kiṛēn-*; Sor. -*āndin*, vt. scratch.  
*kōṛānin*, *kōṛēn-*; Sor. -*āndin*, vt. neigh.  
*kēšān*, *kēš-*, = Muk., vt. pull.  
*kišān*, *kišē-*, = Muk., vi. crawl.  
*kōšīn*, *kōš-*, = Muk.; *tē* ~, vt. strive.  
*kušin*, see *gušin*.  
*kuštin*, *kuš-*, = Muk., Arb.; Piž. *kūš-*, vt. kill.  
*kawtin*, *kaw-*, = Muk.; Arb. *ka(f)tin*, *kaw-*, vi. fall.  
*kutān*, *kut-*, = Muk., vt. strike.  
*kutin*, see *wutin*.  
*kōxīn*, *kōx-*, = Muk., vi. cough.  
*kizānin*, *kizēn-*, vt. scorch, singe.  
*kušān*, *kušē-*, = Muk.; War. *kušyān*; ~*awa*, vi. die down.

*likān*, *likē-*, = Muk., vi. adhere.  
*lālān*, *lālē-*, = Muk.; ~*awa*, vi. implore.

KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

*laqîn, laq-*, = Muk., vi. move, shake.  
*lûrânin, lûrên-*; Sor. *-ândin*, vt. howl.  
*larân (larîn), larê-*; *~awa*, vi. shake, tremble.  
*larzîn, larz-*, = Muk., vi. shiver, tremble.  
 \**lîstin, lês-*, = Muk.; Arb. *lêstin*; *~awa*, vt. lick.  
*lwân, lwê-*, vi. be suitable.  
*lâwânin, lâwên-*; Sor. *-ândin*; *~awa*, vt. 1 soothe, 2 lament.  
*lawarân (lawarîn), lawarê-*, = Muk., vi. graze.

*mâlîn, mâl-*; Muk. *mâlîn (mâştin)*; Arb. *mârîn, mâr-*, vt. sweep.  
 \**mân, mên-*, = Muk.; Arb. *mînê-*; Rdz. *mîn-*, vi. remain.  
*mîrdîn, mîr-*, = Muk., vi. die.  
*mîrânin, mîrên-*; Sor. *-ândin*, vt. growl.  
 Muk. *mûsân, mûsê-*; *fâ ~*, vi. kiss.  
 Muk. *mîstin, mîz-*, vi. urinate.  
*mâştin*, see *mâlîn*.  
*maîn, ? mayê-*, vi. coagulate.  
*maxrân, maxrê-*, = Muk.; *dâ ~*, vi. be established.  
*mižîn, miž-*, = Muk., vt. suck.

*nik/qânin, nik/qên-*, vt. moan.  
*nûkânin, nûkên-*, vt. moan.  
 \**nân, nê-*, = Muk., Arb.; War. *nân, nê-*, vt. put.  
*nûqân, nûqê-*, vi. close, clench.  
*nârdîn (hanârdîn), nêr-*, = Muk., Arb., vt. send.  
*nôrîn*, see *nwârîn*.  
*nâsîn, nâs-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. know, recognize.  
*nûsân, nûsê-*, = Muk., vi. adhere.  
*nûsîn, nûs-*, = Muk.; Piž., Sur. *nîwîsîn, nîwîs-*, vt. write.  
 \**nûstin, nû-*, = Sor., Muk.; Sur. *nîwîstin, nîw-*, vi. sleep.  
*nâştin, nêž-*, = Muk., vt. bury.  
*nîştin, nîš-*, = Sor., Muk., vi. sit, settle.  
*nûštân, nûštê-*, = Muk., vi. fold, bend.  
*nwânin, nøn-*; Sor. *-ândin*, vt. show, (also caus. of *nûstin*).  
 Muk. *nwârîn, nwâr-*; Arb. *nôrîn, nôr-*, = *fwânîn*.  
*nâzîn, nâz-*, vi. be proud.

*pâçîn, pâč-*, vt. chop, clip.  
*pêçân, pêč-*, = Muk., vt. fold.  
*piçîrân, piçîrê-*, = Muk., vi. break, snap.  
*piçîrîn, piçîr-*, = Muk., vt. break, cut, sever.  
*pêkân, pêk-*, vt. hit a mark.  
*pilôsîn, pilôs-*; Arb. *parôsîn, parôs-*; *dâ ~*, vt. maul.



APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS

- pālāwtin, pālēw-*, = Muk.; Arb. *pārāftin, pārēw-*, vt. filter, strain.  
*paqīn, paq-*, vi. split, burst.  
*parmūn, parmū-*, vi. trust.  
*pīrsīn, pīrs-*, = Muk., vt. ask.  
*parīstin, parīst-*, = Muk., vt. worship.  
*pārāstin, pārēx-*, = Muk., vt. protect.  
*pirwānin, pirwēn-*, vt. crumble.  
*paržān, paržē-*, = Muk.; War. *paržyān*, vi. be idle, have leisure.  
*piržānin, piržēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. sprinkle.  
*paṛīn, paṛ-*, = Muk., vi. leap.  
*pārān, pārē-*, = Muk., vi. beg, beseech.  
*piṛūzān (piṛūskān), piṛūzē-*, vi. be singed, scorched.  
*pisān, pišē-*, = Muk., vi. be torn, shredded.  
*pasārdīn*, see *sipārdīn*.  
*pastin, past-*, = Muk., vt. tread, crush.  
*pašōkān, pašōkē-*, = Muk., vi. be confused.  
*piškinīn, piškin-*, = Muk., vt. examine, inspect.  
*piškūtīn, piškū-*, = Muk.; Arb. *piškiftīn*, vi. bloom.  
*pišmīn*, see *pižmīn*.  
*pišān, pišē-*, vi. be baked.  
*pōšīn, pōš-*, = Muk., vt. cover.  
 Muk. *pišāwtin, pišēw-*; Arb. *pišāftin*; *haḷ* ~, vt. rub, squeeze.  
*pēwān, pēw-*, = Muk.; Arb. *pīwān, pīw-*, vt. measure.  
*pižmīn, pižm-*; Muk., Arb. *pišmīn, pišm-*, vi. sneeze.  
*pižān, pižē-*, vi. spurt.
- qablānin, qablēn-*, vt. evaluate, assess.  
*qūčānin, qūčēn-*, vt. clench.  
*qilīšān, qilīšē-*; Muk. *qalīšīn, qalīš-*; Arb. *qaraštīn, qaraš-*, vi. split, crack.  
 Muk. *qalāštīn, qalēš-*, vt. split.  
*qawmān (qawmīn), qawmē-*, = Muk., vi. happen.  
*qupān, qupē-*, vi. be dented.  
*qirčān, qirčē-*; *haḷ* ~, vi. 1 be scorched, 2 curl (*lip*).  
*qīrānin, qīrēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. imprecate.  
*qīrānin, qīrēn-*, vt. croak, caw.  
*qižānin, qižēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. scream.
- ṛifānin, ṛifēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. snatch.  
*ṛimān (ṛimīn), ṛimē-*, vi. collapse.  
*ṛīn (ṛīān), ṛī-*, = Muk.; Arb. *ṛītīn*, vi(t), stool, (defecate).  
*ṛanjān, ṛanjē-*, = Muk., vi. be vexed.  
*ṛīnīn, ṛīn-*, = Muk., vt. scratch.  
 \**ṛīstin, ṛēs-*, = Muk.; Arb. *ṛēstīn*, vt. spin.  
*ṛīšān, ṛīšē-*, = Muk.; ~*awa*, vi. vomit.

KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

*řušān, řušē-*, = Muk., vi. be abraded.

*řaštīn, řaš-*, = War., vt. apply kohl to the eyes.

\**řišīn, řēš-*, = Muk.; Arb. *řēšīn*, vt. pour.

*řītin*, see *řīn*.

*řūtān, řūtē-*, ~*awa*, vi. become bare.

\**řwān, ? řwa-*, = Muk., vi. grow, sprout.

*řawīn, řaw-*, = Muk.; ~*awa*, vi. shy, flee.

*řwānīn, řwān-*, = Muk. (see *nwārīn*), vt. look at.

*řūxān, řūxē-*, = Arb.; Muk. *řuxān, řuxē-*, vi. collapse.

*řōīn (řōīštīn, řōyn, řōyštīn), řō-*, = Muk., vi. go.

*řāzān, řāzē-*, = Muk.; ~*awa*, vi. be adorned.

*řizīn (řizān), řizē-*, = Muk., vi. decay.

*řižān, řižē-*, = Muk., vi. pour, spill.

*řīlamīn, ? řīlamē-*, ~*awa*, vi. shy, flinch.

*řīmīn, řīm-*, = Muk., vt. bore, pierce.

*řān*, see *řān*.

*řūn, řū-*, = Muk.; War. *řwīn*; Arb. *řwāndīn, řwēn-*, vt. rub.

\**řan(d)īn (řānīn), řēn-*; Muk. *řāndīn, -řēn-*; Arb. *řāndīn, řān-*, vt. take, War. buy.

*řīpārdīn, řīpēr-*; Muk. *řpārdīn, -řpēr-*; Arb. *řasārdīn, řasēr-*, vt. commit, entrust.

*řīrpānīn*, = *řīrpānīn*.

*řīrawīn (řīrawīn), řīraw-*; Muk. *řīrawān, řīrawē-*, vi. rest, relax.

*řīřīn, řīř-*; Arb. *řīřīn, řīř-*; Muk. *řīřīn*, vt. wipe.

*řūrān, řūrē-*, = Muk.; Sur. *řīwīřīn, řīwīř-*, vi. revolve, circulate.

\**ř(t)ān, ř(t)-*, = Muk.; *hal* ~ (*hastān*), vi. rise.

Muk. *řōtīn, řōš-*; Rdz. *řōt-*, vi. burn.

*řūtān, řūtē-*, = Muk., Arb., vi. burn.

*řānīn*, see *řānīn*.

*řūtānīn, řūtēn-*; Sor. *-āndīn*; Rdz. *řōtāndīn, řōtīn-*, vt. burn.

*řāsān, řāsē-*, = Muk., vi. be reconciled.

*řkān, řkē-*, = Muk.; War. *řkīyān*, vi. break.

*řakān, řakē-*, = Muk., vi. shake, tremble.

*řālīn, řāl-*, = Muk., vi. limp.

*řēlān, řēl-*, = Muk., vt. tread, knead.

*řīlaqān, řīlaqē-*; Arb. *řīlōqān, řīlōqē-*, vi. shake.

*řīnīn, řīn-*, vi. quiver, glitter.

\**řārdīn, řār-*, = Arb.; Muk. *řēr-*; ~*awa*, vt. hide.

*řīrīxānīn*, = *řīrīkānīn*.

\**řītīn, řō-*; Muk. *řūštīn*; Arb. *řūštīn*; War. *řōrdīn, řōr-*, vt. wash.

*řēwān, řēwē-*, = Muk., vi. be disturbed.

APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS

- takān, takē-*, vi. shake.  
*tikān, tikē-*, = Muk., vi. drip.  
*tilān, tilē-*, vi. roll.  
*tanīn, 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.  
*tirūkānin, tirūkēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. blink.  
*tōrān, tōrē-*; War. *tōryān*, vi. be annoyed.  
*tirinjān, tirinjē-*, vi. be crammed, stuffed *into something*.  
*\*tirsān, tirs-*; Muk., Arb. *tirsē-*, vi. be afraid.  
*tiršān, tiršē-*, vi. ferment.  
*tirāzān, tirāzē-*, vi. come apart.  
*tirīn, tir-*, vi. break wind.  
*tāsān, tāsē-*, = Muk. vi. choke.  
*tāšīn, tāš-*, = Muk., vt. cut, shave.  
*tūtān, tūtē-*; *hal* ~, vi. crouch.  
*twān, tō-*, = Muk.; Arb. *tāwān, tāwē-*; ~*awa*, vi. melt.  
*twānīn, twān-*, = Muk.; Arb. *tānīn, tān-*, vt. be able.  
*taxīn, taz-*, = Muk., vi. be numbed.  
  
*wāqānin, wāqēn-*, vt. cry (*newborn baby*).  
*warīn, war-*, = Muk. vi. drop off.  
*wērān, wēr-*, = Muk., vt. dare.  
*wařīn, wař-*, = Muk., vi. bark (*dog*).  
*wāsīn, wās-*; Muk. *āwasīn, āwas-*; *hal* ~, vt. hang up.  
*\*wastān, wast-*, = Muk.; War. *wēsān, wēs-*, vi. stand, stop.  
*\*wīstīn, (a)wē-*, = Muk., vt. impers. want.  
*wašān, wašē-*, = Muk., vi. sway, fall.  
*\*wutin, -lē-*; Muk. *g/kutin*; Arb. *gōtin, -rē-*; War. *wutin, ēž-*, vt. say.  
  
*xulān, xulē-*, = Muk.; ~*awa*, vi. spin, revolve.  
*xiliskān, xiliskē-*, = Muk., vi. slip.  
*xilāfānin, xilāfēn-*, vt. deceive.  
*xalatān, xalatē-*, = Muk., vi. be deceived.  
*xōnin (xōjīn), xōn-*; Piž., Muk. *xōndin*; Arb. *xīndin, xīn-*; Rdz. *xwīn-*;  
 Kōya, *xundin, xūn-*; Sur. *xōndin, xwīn-*, vt. study; ~*awa*, read.  
*xinkān, xinkē-*, = Muk., vi. choke.  
*xurīn (xurān), xurē-*, = Muk., vi. itch.  
*xurpān, xurpē-*, = Muk., vi. start, flutter.  
*xirōšān, xirōšē-*, = Muk., vi. be in commotion.

## KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

- xūsān, xūsē-*, = Muk., vi. soak.  
*xuřīn, xuř-*, = Muk.; *lē* ~, vt. goad.  
*xasānin, xasēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. castrate.  
*\*xistin, xa-*, = Muk.; Arb. *ēxistin, ēx-*, vt. throw down.  
*xišān, xišē-*, vi. slide, glide.  
 War. *xawtin, xaw-*, vi. sleep.  
*xāwānin, xāwēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. deceive.  
*\*xwārdin, xō-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. eat.  
*xwāstin, xwāz-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. demand.  
*xizān, xizē-*, = Muk., vi. slide.  
  
*\*zān (zāin), zē-*, = Sor., Muk., vi. give birth.  
*zānin, zān-*, = Muk., vt. know.  
*ziriyān, ziriyē-*, vi. jingle.  
*zafīn, zaf-*, = Muk., vi. bray (*donkey*).  
  
*žākān, žākē-*, = Muk., vi. be creased, crumpled.  
*žimārdin, žimēr-*, = Sor.; Muk. *ažmārdin, -žmēr-*, vt. count.  
*žanīn, žan-*, = Muk.; Muk. also *žāndin, žēn-*, vt. beat, churn.  
*\*žīān, žī-*, = 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.

- ālīstin, ālīs-*; Zx. *-tīn*, vt. lick.  
*angiftin, angiv-*; *hal* ~, vi. trip, stumble (cf. *hingāftin*).  
*inān, in-*; Zx. *inādin* [sic], vt. bring.  
*ūrān, ūr-*; *dā* ~, vt. swallow.  
*ēšān, ēš-*, vi. hurt.  
 Zx. *āwīstin, āwīs-*; *hil* ~, vt. hang up.  
*āxiftin, āxiv-*; Zx. *-tīn*, vi. talk.  
*\*ēxistin, ēx-*, vt. throw down, drop.  
  
*'alamāndin, 'alamīn-*, vt. teach.  
*'aziqīn, 'aziq-*, vi. be blocked.

*bēhnižīn*, see *pēkižīn*.

*bihīstin*, see *bīstin*.

*buhuštīn (buhužīn), buhuž-*, vi. melt, dissolve.

\* See § 280, end.

APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS

- bahitīn*, *bahit-*, vi. blanch.  
*bīn-*, see *đītin*.  
*bōn* (*bīn*), *b-*; Zx. *bīn*, vi. be.  
 \**birin*, *ba-*; Zx. *b-*, vt. take, carry.  
*birīn*, *bir-*; Zx. *bōrīn*, *bōr-*; *ṛā ~*, vi. pass, go past.  
*birāštīn*, *birēš-*, = *bižārtīn* 2.  
*bārtīn* (*bārdīn*), *bēr-*; *ṛā ~*, vt. pass *time*.  
*biryān*, *biryē-*; Zx. *birhān*, *birhē-*, vi. cease.  
*bārīn*, *bār-*, vi. bleat.  
*birīn*, *bir-*, vt. cut.  
*bōrīn*, *bōr-*, vi. low, moo.  
*bastīn*, *bast-*, vt. freeze.  
*bīstīn*, ? *bīs-*; Zx. *bihīstīn*, *bihīs-*, vt. hear.  
*biškiftīn*, *biškiv-*; Zx. *-tīn*, vi. blossom.  
 Am. *bāwišīn*, *bāwiš-*, vi. yawn.  
*bizdyān*, *bizd-*, vi. 1 snap, 2 be afraid.  
*biziftīn*, *biziv-*, vi. move, budge.  
*bizāftīn*, *bizēv-*, vt. move.  
*bēš-*, see *gōtin*.  
*bižārtīn*, *bižēr-*, vt. 1 choose, 2 roast (cf. *birāštīn*)
- čamyān*, *čamē-*, vi. bend.  
*čōn*, *č-*; Sur. *čōn*; Shn. *čōn*, vi. go.  
*čīnīn*, *čīn-*, vt. 1 knit, 2 pluck.  
*čērāndīn*, *čērīn-*, vt. graze.  
*čēryān*, *čēryē-*, vi. graze.  
*čīrāndīn*, *čīrīn-*, vt. tear.  
*čīryān*, *čīryē-*, vi. tear.
- \**dān*, *da-*; Zx. *d-*, vt. give.  
*dirūn*, *dirū-*, vt. 1 sew [*sic*], 2 reap.  
 Zx. *dērāndīn*, *dērīn-*, vt. 1 sweat, 2 winnow.  
*daristīn*, *dariz-*, vi. split.  
*dirāndīn*, *dirīn-*, vt. tear.  
*dōrāndīn*, *dōrīn-*, vt. lose *game*.  
*dirīyān*, *dirīyē-*, vi. tear.  
*dōšīn*, *dōš-*, vt. milk.  
 \**đītin*, *bīn-*; Zx. *-tīn*, vt. see.  
 Zx. *dawisāndīn*, *dawisīn-*, vt. press.  
*dixīn*, *dix-*, vt. steal.
- fīkirīn*, *fīkir-*, vt. think.  
 \**fīrōtīn*, *fīrōš-*, vt. sell.

KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

*gahāndin, gahîn-*, vt. cause to attain.

*guhārtin*, see *gōrān*.

*guhustin, guhuz-*, vi. move house.

Zx. *guhāstin, guhēz-*, vt. take home bride.

\**gihaştin (gaştin, gahîn), giha- (ga-)*; Zx. *gahiştin, gah-*, vi. reach, ripen.

*gilviçāndin, gilviçîn-*, vt. crumple.

*gērān, gēr-*, vt. roll flat.

*girîn, girî-*, vi. weep.

*gōrān (gōrîn), gōr-*; Zx. *guhārtin, guhōr-*, vt. change.

*gurōn, gurō-*; Zx. *gurān [sic], gurō-*, vt. flay.

*gērāndin, gērîn-*, vt. take about.

*girtin, gir-*, vt. take, hold, contain.

*giryān, giryē-*, vi. be blocked.

*gaŕyān, gaŕyē-*; Zx. *gaŕhān, gaŕhē-*, vi. go about, wander.

*gastin, gaz-*, vt. bite.

*gaştin*, see *gihaştin*.

\**gōtin, bēš-*; Am. *gōtin, bē(š)-*, vt. say.

*giviştin, giviš-*; Zx. *givāştin, givēš-*, vt. squeeze, press.

*habōn, haya*; Zx. *habîn*, vi. exist.

*hēlān, hēl-*, vt. leave, allow.

*hingāştin, hingēv-*, vt. strike (cf. *angiftin*).

*hunîn, hun-*, vt. smoothe.

*hinārtin, hinēr-*; Am. *-tin*, vt. send.

*hariftin, harif-*; Am. *-tin*, vi. be ruined, collapse.

*harīştin, harīš-*, vi. be crushed.

*husûn, husû-*; Zx. *hasûn, hasû-*, vt. rub.

*hisyān, hisyē-*; *va ~*, vi. be at ease, relax.

\**hātin, (h)ē-*; Am. *-tin*, vi. come.

*hāvētîn, (h)āvē(š)-*; Zx. *-tin*, vt. throw.

*hişmārtin, hişmēr-*; Am. *-tin*, vt. count.

*hişāndin, hişîn-*, vt. brandish.

*hāşōtin, (h)āşō-*, vt. drive.

*habāndin, habîn-*, vt. love.

*haşimtin, haşim-*, vi. be still.

*hîlîn, hîl-*, vi. neigh.

*halıyān, hal-*; Zx. *halhān, halhē-*, vi. melt, dissolve.

*harimîn, harim-*, vi. be defiled.

*hasyān, hasyē-*, vi. be aware.

*haşāndin, haşîn-*, vt. stuff.

*hawıyān, hawıyē-*, vi. dwell, lodge.

APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS

- ǰân, ǰû-*, vt. chew.  
*ǰaribândin, ǰaribîn-*, vt. try, attempt.  
*kaftin, kav-*; Am. *kaftin, Zx. kaftin, kav-*, vi. fall.  
*kālîn, kâl-*, vi. bleat.  
*kólân (kólin), kól-*, vt. carve.  
*kalištin, kališ-*, vi. split.  
*kalāštin, kalēš-*, vt. split.  
*kalyān (kalîn), kal-*, vi. boil, be agitated.  
*kanîn, kan-*, vi. laugh.  
*kārin*, see *qārin*.  
*kirin, ka-*; *Zx. k-*, vt. do, make.  
*kuróštin, kuróš-*, vt. crunch.  
*kiryān, kirē-*, vi. be done.  
*kiřin, kiř-*; Am., *Zx. kiřin, kiř-*, vt. buy.  
*kēšān, kēš-*, vt. attract.  
*kuštin, kuš-*; *Zx. kuštin*, vt. kill.  
*kuxîn, kux-*, vi. cough.  
*kuziryān, kuzirē-*, vi. be singed.  
  
*larixîn, larix-*, vi. tremble.  
*lavaryān, lavaryē-*, vi. graze.  
  
*mahîn, mah-*, vi. coagulate.  
*mālîn (māštin), māl-*, vt. sweep.  
*\*mān, mîn-*, vi. remain.  
*mîrin, mîr-*, vi. die.  
*mîryān, mîr-*; *va ~*, vi. die down, out (fire).  
*mîstin, mîs-*, vi. urinate.  
*māštin*, see *mālîn*.  
*mē(š)tin, mēš-*, vt. suck.  
  
*nālîn, nāl-*, vi. groan, lament.  
*nān, nē-*; Am., *Zx. n-*, vt. put.  
*naqišândin, naqišîn-*, vt. decorate.  
*nērān, nēr-*, vi. look.  
*nāsîn, nās-*; Am. *nyāsîn, nyās-*, vt. know, recognize.  
*núsyān, núsyē-*, vi. adhere, stick.  
*niškinîn, niškin-*, vi. break in.  
*\*ništin, nē-*; Am. *n-*; *řû ~*, vi. sit down.  
*núštin, ? núš-*; *řā ~*, vt. fold.  
*núšyān, núšyē-*, vi. alight (bird).  
*nivîsîn, nivîs-*, = *Zx.*; Gul. *nivēsîn, nivēs-*, vt. write.  
*\*nivîstin, niv-*, vi. sleep.  
*nixāftin, nixēv-*, vt. dress, wrap up warmly.

KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

*pēkižîn, pēkiž-*; Zx. *bēhnižîn, bēhniž-*, vi. sneeze.  
 Am. *palaxîn, palax-*, vi. be shattered.  
*pandifyân, pandifyê-*, vi. swell.  
*pangyân, pangyê-*, vi. be stopped up, held back.  
*paqîn, paq-*, vi. 1 split, 2 die (*animal*).  
*paqižîn, paqiž-*; *hal* ~, vi. fly off (*sparks, wood chips, &c.*).  
*pirçiqîn, pirçiq-*, vi. be squashed.  
*pirçyân, pirçyê-*, vi. snap.  
*pirsîn, pirs-*, vt. ask.  
*pārâstin, pārêx-*, vt. preserve.  
*parxândin, parxîn-*, vt. massage.  
*pařin, pař-*; *tê* ~, vi. pass over, cross *a river*.  
*pāryân, pāryê-*; *va* ~, vi. beg, beseech.  
*pisârtin, pisêr-*; *hal* ~, vt. lean (*something*) against.  
*pôşin, pôş-*; *dâ* ~, vt. cover.  
*paştin, paşt-*, vt. twist.  
*pâtin, pêş-*; Am., Zx. *pahtin*, vt. cook, bake.  
*pîwân, pîw-*, vt. measure.

Zx. *qadân, qad-*, vi. pass, suffice.  
*qahirîn, qahir-*, vi. be angry.  
*qalyân, qal-*, vi. fry.  
*qawmîn, qawm-*, vi. happen, occur.  
 Am. *qaramtin*, ? *qaram-*, vi. freeze, be numb.  
 Shn. *qârin, qâr-*; (Rwn. *kârin, kâr-*), vt. be able.  
*qîrândin, qîrîn-*, vt. shout.  
*qarisîn, qaris-*, vi. be clenched (*teeth*).  
*qusândin, qusîn-*, vt. cut.  
*qawşîn, qawş-*, vi. crowd around.  
*qutân, qut-*; Zx. *qutân, qut-*, hit, knock.  
*qatyân, qatyê-*; Zx. *qathân, qathê-*, vi. finish.  
*qîşândin, qîşîn-*, vt. shout, yell.

Zx. *řabisândin, řabisîn-*, vt. water (*land*).

\**řistin, řêš-*; Am. *-tin*, vt. spin.

*řaşândin, řaşîn-*, vt. sprinkle.

*řê(ş)tin, řêş-*; Zx. *-tin*, vt. pour.

*řîştin*, see *řîşyân*.

*řaşyân, řaşyê-*; *va* ~, vi. vomit.

*řîtin, řî-*, vi(t), stool, (defecate).

*řatqisîn, řatqis-* [sic], vi. dance.

*řawîn, řaw-*, vi. flee, elope.

*řivân, řivê-*, vt. abduct.

*řawîn, řaw-*, vi. bark.



APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS

*řixîn, řix-*, = Zx., vi. rot, decompose.

*řižyān, řižyē-*; Zx. *řižhān, řižhē-*; Gul. *řištîn, řištē-*, vi. pour, spill.

*safyān, safyē-*, vi. be filtered, strained.

*simirîn, simir-*, vi. be numb, freeze.

*simtin, sim-*; Am. *-tin*, vt. bore.

*stāndîn, stān-*; Zx. *štāndîn, štān-*, vt. take.

*stirîn, stir-*, vt. wipe.

*sivirîn*, see *zivirîn*.

*şawlāndîn, şawlān-*, vt. wash rice.

\**şôtîn, şôš-*, vi/t. burn.

*štāndîn*, see *stāndîn*.

*şkāndîn, şkin-*; Am. *şkēn-*, vt. break.

\**şkastîn, şkē-*; Am. *-tin*, vi. break.

*şēlān, şēl-*, vt. knead.

*şārtîn, şēr-*; *va* ~, hide, bury.

\**şuštîn, şô-*; Gul. *şuštîn*, vt. wash.

*şawitîn, şawit-*, vi. be spoiled.

*şyān, şē-*, vt. be able.

Zx. *taḥisîn, taḥis-*, vi. slip.

*talifāndîn, talifān-*, vt. destroy.

*tapisāndîn, tapisān-*, vt. dent, ram.

*tirikîn, tirik-*; Am., Zx. *tirikîn, tirik-*, vi. whelp.

*tirsyān, tirs-*, = Am., vi. fear, be afraid.

*tirāşîn, tirāş-*, vt. carve.

Zx. *ṭamirāndîn, ṭamirān-*, vt. put out (*fire, light*).

*ṭaysîn, ṭays-*, vi. shine.

*ṭaxîn, ṭax-*, = Am., Zx., vi. freeze, be numb.

\**vyān, vē-*, vt. want, wish.

*warimtîn, warim-*, vi. swell.

*wērān, wēr-*, vt. dare.

*warāndîn, warān-*, vt. envelop.

*waryān, waryē-*; *hal* ~, disintegrate.

\**wastān, wast-*; *řā* ~, vi. stop, stand.

*waşāndîn, waşān-*; *dā* ~, vt. shake.

*waşyān, waşyē-*; *hal* ~, vi. collapse.

*xičyān, xičyē-*, vi. be caught, deceived.

*xalyān, xalyē-*, vi. be dislocated (*wrist, &c.*).

*xamilāndîn, xamilān-*, vt. adorn.

KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

\**xundin*, *xûn-*; Zx. *xāndin*; Gul., Shn. *xwandin*; vt. study, read.  
*xandiqāndin*, *xandiqîn-*; Shn. *xaniqāndin*, *xaniqîn-*, vt. strangle.  
 \**xārin*, *xô-*; Zx. *xu-*; Gul. *xwārin*, *xu-*; Shn. *xwārin*, *xô-*, vt. eat.  
*xurāndin*, *xurîn-*, vt. scratch.

*xuryān*, *xuryē-*, vi. itch.

*xurîn*, *xur-*; *tē* ~, vi. challenge.

*xasāndin*, *xasîn-*, vt. castrate.

*xāstin*, *xāz-*; Zx. *-tîn*; Gul. *xwāstin*, *xwāz-*, vt. demand.

*xišāndin*, *xišîn-*, vt. drag.

*xwandin*, see *xundin*.

*xwārin*, see *xārin*.

*xwāstin*, see *xāstin*.

*zān*, *zē-*, = Zx., vi. give birth (*animal*).

*zānîn*, *zān-*, vt. know.

*ziryān*, *ziryē-*, vi. tear, split.

*zirîn*, *zir-*, vi. bray (*donkey*).

*ziwirîn*, *ziwir-*; Sur. *siwirîn*, *siwir-*, vi. move, revolve.

*zîn*, *zî-*, vi. live.

'-, see before *b-*.

# CONSPECTUS

PART I. PHONOLOGY	§§
A. DIALECTS OF GROUP I	
SULEIMANIYE	
Phonemic system	I
Consonants	
Labial	2
Dental and alveolar	7
Palatal	17
Velar	22
Post-velar	28
Semi-vowels	34
Vowels	38
Diphthongs	50
Distribution of phonemes	
Consonants	54
Vowels	55
Consonant groups	56
Vowel groups	58
WARMAWA	
Phonemic system	61
Consonants	
<i>b, d, g</i>	62
<i>t</i>	66
Semi-vowels	67
Vowels	68
Modifications	
Consonant groups	74
Vowel groups	75
Treatment of loanwords	77
BINGIRD AND PIŽDAR	
Phonemic system	78
Consonants	
Dental	79
Palatal	82
Velar	83
Vowels	84
Diphthongs	86
Modifications	87
Consonant groups	89
Treatment of loanwords	90

## KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

<i>MUKRI</i>	§§
Phonemic system	91
Consonants	92
Vowels	94
Diphthongs	95
<i>ARBIL</i>	
Phonemic system	96
Consonants	97
Vowels	99
Modifications	100
<i>SÜRÇI</i>	
Phonemic system	102
Consonants	103
Semi-vowels	105
Vowels	106
Modifications	107
<b>B. DIALECTS OF GROUP II</b>	
<i>AKRE</i>	
Phonemic system	108
Consonants	
Labial	109
Dental and alveolar	114
Palato-alveolar	125
Velar	129
Post-velar	133
Semi-vowels	138
Vowels	140
Diphthongs	150
Distribution of phonemes	
Consonants	151
Vowels	152
Consonant groups	153
<i>SHEIKHAN AND DOHUK</i>	155
<i>AMADIYE AND ZAKHO</i>	
Phonemic system	156
Consonants	157
Vowels	158
Consonant groups	159
<i>HAKARI AND BOHTAN</i>	160
<i>BITLIS</i>	161

## CONSPECTUS

	§§
EREVAN	162
Phonemic system	163
Consonants	164
Vowels	167
OTHER NORTHERN KURDISH DIALECTS	168
Index of phonemes	169
C. GENERAL	
Stress, intonation, and juncture	170
Vowel combination	171
Secondary contact of consonants	172
PART II. GROUP I DIALECTS	
(Sul., War., Bin., Piž., Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš.)	
A. MORPHOLOGY	
NOUNS	
Definition and number	173
-aká	174
-á	175
-ēk, -ak	176
-ān	177
Order of suffixation (i)	178
Gender and case	179
Cases	180
Vocative	181
Izafe	182
'Open' compound	185
Order of suffixation (ii)	187
Demonstrative Izafe	188
ADJECTIVES	189
Comparison	190
Certain adjectives	191
Demonstrative adjectives	192
Numerals	
Cardinal	193
Ordinal	195
PRONOUNS	
Personal	
Independent	196
Suffix	197
Order of suffixation (iii)	199
Suffix as genitive	200

## KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

	§§
Reflexive	201
Demonstrative	202
Interrogative	203
<b>VERBS</b>	<b>204</b>
Stems	205
Affixes, modal and negative	206
Personal endings	207
Present tenses	208
Substantive verb	209
Imperative	210
Past tenses	211
Past participle	213
Compound tenses	214
Summary	217
Certain verbs	
<i>habûn</i>	218
<i>-iatî</i>	219
<i>wîstin</i>	220
Auxiliaries	221
Verbal constructions	222
Agential construction	223
Agent	224
Agential suffix	225
Direct Affectee	226
Agent paradigms	227
Indirect Affectee	229
Two verbal endings	230
Passive conjugation	231
Causative conjugation	233
Compound verbs	234
<b>PARTICLES</b>	
Preverbs	235
Pre- and postpositions	236
Absolute prepositions	237
Compound prepositions	238
Special features	239
Adverbial suffixes	240
<b>B. SYNTAX</b>	
Emphasis	241
Concord	242
Relative and subordinate clauses	243
Use of tenses	
Present indicative	244
Present subjunctive	245

## CONSPECTUS

	§§
Past and compound tenses	246
Imperfect	247
Conditions	
Present, possible conditions	248
Past, impossible conditions	249
<i>xōzga</i> , &c.	251
<b>C. WORD FORMATION</b>	
Compounds	
Copulative	252
Determinative	253
Secondary Adjectival	254
Suffixes	255
Verbs	257
<b>PART III. GROUP II DIALECTS</b>	
(Sur., Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., Shn.)	
<b>A. MORPHOLOGY</b>	
<b>NOUNS</b>	
Definition, <i>-aká</i> , <i>-á</i>	258
<i>-ak</i>	259
Declension	260
Vocative	262
Izafe	263
Order of suffixation (iv)	265
Demonstrative Izafe	266
<b>ADJECTIVES</b>	267
Comparison	268
Certain adjectives	269
Demonstrative adjectives	270
<b>Numerals</b>	
Cardinal	272
Ordinal	274
<b>PRONOUNS</b>	
Personal	275
Reflexive	276
Demonstrative	277
Interrogative	278
<b>VERBS</b>	279
Stems	280
Affixes and Particles	281
Personal endings	282

## KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES

	§§
Present tenses	283
Substantive verb	284
Imperative	285
Past tenses	286
Past participle	288
Compound tenses	289
Summary	292
Certain verbs	
<i>habên, &amp;c.</i>	293
<i>vyân</i>	294
Auxiliaries	295
Passive construction	296
Passive periphrasis	297
Causative conjugation	298
Compound verbs	299
PARTICLES	
Preverbs	300
Pre- and postpositions	301
Absolute prepositions	302
Compound prepositions	303
Special features	304
Adverbs	305
B. SYNTAX	
Concord	306
Relative and subordinate clauses	307
Use of tenses	
Present indicative, Future	308
Present continuous	309
Present subjunctive	310
Present and Past Imperfect	311
Past and compound tenses	312
Perfect II, affirmative	313
Conditions	
Present and future, possible conditions	314
Past, impossible conditions	315
<i>xêzî, &amp;c.</i>	316
C. WORD FORMATION	
Compounds	
Copulative	317
Determinative	318
Secondary Adjectival	319
Suffixes	320
Verbs	322



## CONSPECTUS

<b>PART IV. DIALECT GROUPING</b>	<b>§§</b>
Historical sound-changes	323
Phonemic systems	324
Northern and Central groups	325
Nominal systems	326
Verbal systems	327
Diagram	328
<b>APPENDIX. LIST OF VERBS</b>	<b>pp.</b>
I. Dialects of Group I	226
II. Dialects of Group II	234

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