CHAPTER TEN

KURDISH

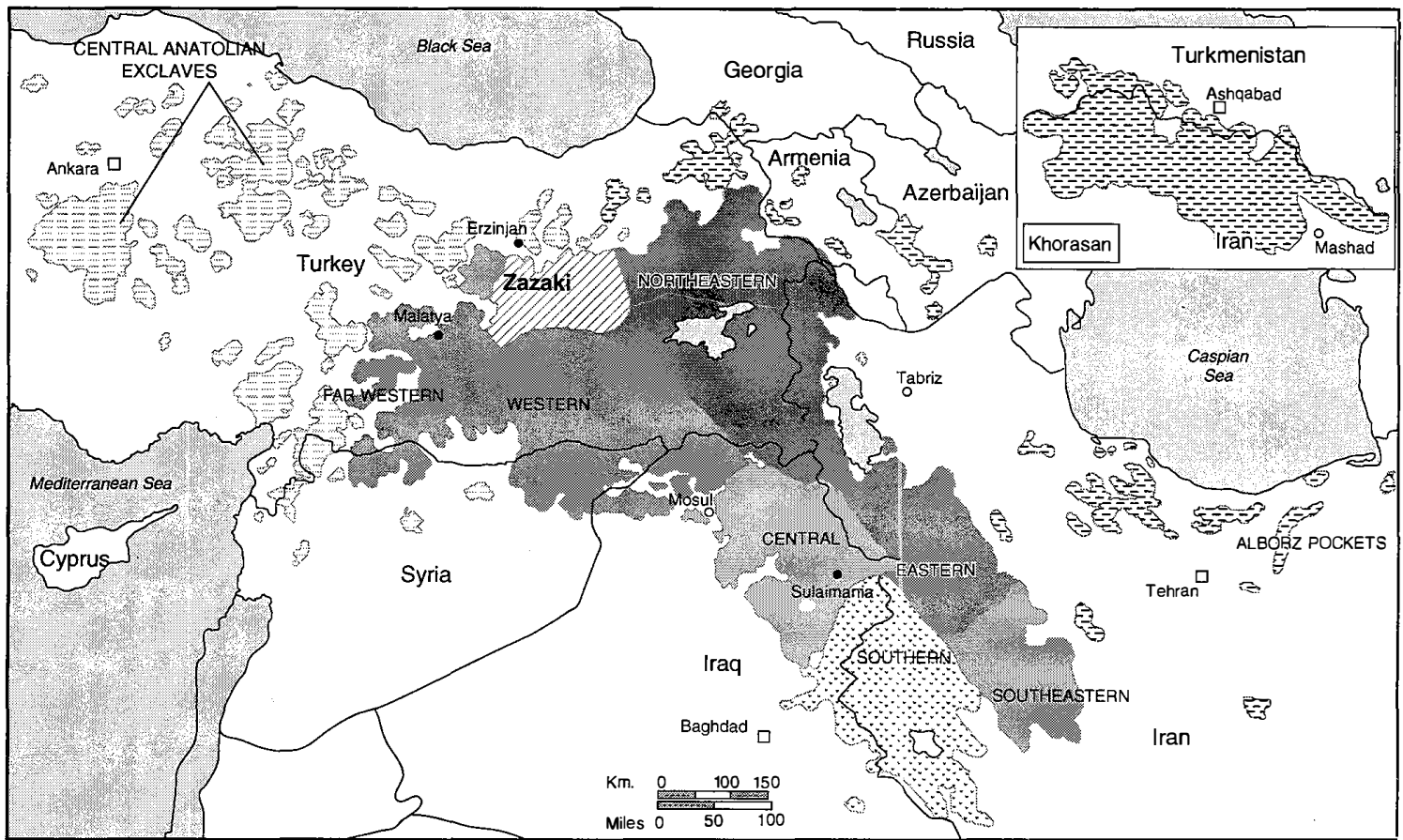*Ernest N. McCarus*

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Kurdish is a cover term for the largest group of closely-related Western Iranian dialects, spoken in a large contiguous area that extends from Turkey into Iraq, Iran, and Armenia, with smaller groups in other countries. This cover term also reflects the linguistic and ethnic unity perceived by the speakers in spite of considerable linguistic differences. There are three main sub-groups: (1) Northern Kurdish is the most widely spoken variety of Kurdish (ca. 20 million), also known as Kurmānjī, which is the autonym used by most speakers, besides Bahdīnān in north Iraq. This variety is roughly delimited in the west by the Turkish town of Malatya, in the south by the north-eastern tip of Syria and by Mosul in northern Iraq, and it reaches up to the Armenian capital of Yerevan in the north-east. Relatively large groups are also found in Syria and Lebanon, as well as in Azerbaijan and Georgia in the Caucasus (ca. 500,000 in the former Soviet republics). There are also considerable emigrant groups in urban centers in the Middle East (e.g. ca. 2 million or more in Istanbul) and in Western Europe (ca. 700,000, mostly Germany). (2) Central Kurdish (total ca. 5 million) has two main subgroups, Sōrānī in northern Iraq up to the Little Zab river, and Mukrī in adjacent Iranian province of Kordestan, with pockets (by earlier deportations) elsewhere in Iran, mostly the Caspian provinces and the north-eastern province of Khorasan. (3) Southern Kurdish (ca. 3 million) is found in the abutting areas of Iraq and Iran, from Khaneqin in Iraq over to Kermanshah in Iran and down to north of Al-Amara, Iraq, as well as in the Bijar region of Iran. Best known are the Laki tribes in the Pish-e Kuh region of the Zagros mountains between Kermanshah, Khorramabad, and Kangavar (cf. the monumental study by Fattah, 2000).

Linguistically, Kurdish as a whole occupies an intermediate position between North-Western and South-Western Iranian dialects. Internally, the three main groups of Kurdish are quite distinct from each other, and Northern Kurdish in particular is not mutually intelligible with the other groups (see section 7 Dialectology).

Earliest written documents date from the sixteenth and seventeenth century, prominently the epic poem *Mem ū Zīn* by Ahmadī Khānī (1650–1707). It is only in the early twentieth century that both Northern Kurdish and Sōrānī have developed written standards and alphabets, beginning with the Kurdish alphabet for Kurmānjī by Emir Djeladet Bedir Khan in the 1930s and 1940s and the newspaper *Zhīn* for Sōrānī from the 1920s in Sulaimania, Iraq.

In Iraq after the Second World War Kurdish scholars initiated a movement to establish a Modern Standard Kurdish (MSK; see Ahmad 1986). It is mainly based on the dialect

CENTRAL ANATOLIAN
EXCLAVES

Black Sea

Russia

Georgia

Turkmenistan

Ashqabad

Ankara □

Armenia

Azerbaijan

Khorasan

Iran

Mashad

Erzinjan

Turkey

Zazaki

NORTHEASTERN

Malatya

Caspian
Sea

Tabriz

FAR WESTERN

WESTERN

Mediterranean Sea

Mosul

CENTRAL

ALBORZ POCKETS

Cyprus

Syria

EASTERN

Sulaimania

Tehran □

SOUTHERN

Iraq

SOUTHEASTERN

Baghdad □

Iran

Km. 0   100 150

Miles 0   50   100

MAP 10.1 KURDISH (note that hatched areas = scattered settlements)

of Sulaimania which was considered by most Kurds to be the best literary model. MSK is now used in most Kurdish publications in Iraq and Iran. Accordingly, Sulaimani Kurdish is the focus of the following discussion.

Linguistic scholarship on Kurdish has a long tradition. More recently, in consequence of the massive emigration, paralleling the literary, journalistic, and other cultural activities by Kurds, scholarship has been flourishing in Europe, mainly on the Kurmānjī of Turkey, and prominently from the typological point of view, as have literary studies.

It should be noted that three other Iranian dialect groups which happen to be symbiotic or adjacent to Kurdish-speaking areas are sometimes considered varieties of Kurdish: Zāzākī/Dimilī found in central-eastern Turkey north-west of the present Kurdish area, Gōrānī found in the Awramān region of the middle Zagros in Iran (Hawramānī) and near Mosul in Iraq (mainly Bājilānī), and Lorī-Bakhtiārī in the southern Zagros. However, while these share, to various degrees, a common history and culture with the Kurds, and while there has been considerable convergence on all linguistic levels, in terms of Iranian historical dialectology, they are West Iranian language groups distinct from Kurdish.

1.2 Writing Systems

Kurmānjī Kurdish has been written in a variety of alphabets, from Armenian to Cyrillic to Latin. Today the Kurds of Turkey and Syria use a modified Turkish script, developed originally by Bedir Khan in the 1930s and 1940s, while those of the former Soviet Union use a modified Cyrillic.

Sōrānī Kurdish has always been written, like Persian, in a modified Arabic alphabet. The present-day Kurdish alphabet used in Iraq and Iran was developed mainly after the Second World War, with diacritic marks for Kurdish phonemes not found in either of the other two. It has no symbol for the vowel *i*, but is otherwise a phonemic script, achieved through the use of diacritic marks for non-Arabic consonants and vowels and by reassigning some letter values. The representation of Kurdish phonemes not represented by the Perso-Arabic alphabet, *ŋ v l ř* and *ē ō*, is as follows:

ŋ is written by the digraph <ng>; *v* is represented by three dots, instead of one, over <f>; *l* and *ř* are marked by a hachek above <l> and <r>. In addition, the glottal stop is written over the hook of <y> as a seat, except word-finally where it is written aloof, while gemination is represented by doubling the consonant letters.

The long mid-vowels *ō* and *ē* are both indicated by a hachek over <w> and <y>, respectively. *ū* is represented by double <ww>, and *u* by a single <w>; *ī* and *ι* are likewise represented by double <yy>, unless *ι* occurs in a word that retains its Arabic spelling. Long *ā* is represented by the letter *alif*, and short *a* by <h> in postconsonantal position.

TABLE 10.1: KURDISH ALPHABET

Position in Letter Group

last	mid	first	alone	Transcription	
—	—	ﺋ	ء	'	
ا	—	—	ا	ā	
ـب	ـبـ	بـ	ب	b	
ـپ	ـپـ	پـ	پ	p	Persian
ـت	ـتـ	تـ	ت	t	
ـث	ـثـ	ثـ	ث	θ	Arabic
ـج	ـجـ	جـ	ج	j	
ـچ	ـچـ	چـ	چ	č	Persian
ـح	ـحـ	حـ	ح	ḥ	
ـخ	ـخـ	خـ	خ	x	
ـد	—	—	د	d	
ـذ	—	—	ذ	δ	Arabic
ـر	—	—	ر	r	
ـڕ	—	—	ڕ	ř	Kurdish
ـز	—	—	ز	z	
ـژ	—	—	ژ	ž	Persian
ـس	ـسـ	سـ	س	s	
ـش	ـشـ	شـ	ش	š	
ـص	ـصـ	صـ	ص	ṣ	Arabic
ـض	ـضـ	ضـ	ض	ḍ	Arabic
ـط	ـطـ	طـ	ط	ṭ	Arabic
ـظ	ـظـ	ظـ	ظ	ẓ	Arabic
ـع	ـعـ	عـ	ع	ʿ	
ـغ	ـغـ	غـ	غ	γ	
ـف	ـفـ	فـ	ف	f	
ـڤ	ـڤـ	ڤـ	ڤ	v	Kurdish
ـق	ـقـ	قـ	ق	q	
ـک	ـکـ	کـ	ک	k	
ـگ	ـگـ	گـ	گ	g	Persian
ـل	ـلـ	لـ	ل	l	
ـڵ	ـڵـ	ڵـ	ڵ	ł	Kurdish
ـم	ـمـ	مـ	م	m	
ـن	ـنـ	نـ	ن	n	
ـنگ	ـنگـ	-	-	ŋ	
¹ـه	ـهـ	هـ	ه	h	
²ـه	—	—	ە	a	Kurdish
¹ـو	—	—	و	w	
²ـۆ	—	—	ۆ	ō	Kurdish
²ـو	—	—	و	u	Kurdish
²ـوو	—	—	وو	ū	Kurdish
¹ـی	ـیـ	یـ	ی	y	
²ـی	ـیـ	-	ی	ī	Kurdish
²ـێ	ـێـ	-	ێ	ē	Kurdish

1 = after vowel; 2 = after consonant.

Notes: There is no letter to represent phonemic short *i*.

'Persian' and 'Kurdish' refer to innovating language sound, 'Arabic' to letters used in Arabic names.

2 PHONOLOGY

A characteristic feature of Kurdish in comparison with other Iranian languages is the high degree of conditioned morphophonemic alternation that affects vowels and consonants alike, in particular the intervocalic lenition of -*d*- (the "Zagros-*d*").

2.1 Inventory

2.1.1 Vowels

Sulaimania Kurdish has nine vowels, five long, *ī ē ā ō ū*, and four short, contrasting in length, height and tenseness, *ɩ i u a.*

TABLE 10.2: VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
High close	*ī*		*ū*
open	*ɩ*	*i*	*u*
Mid close	*ē*		*ō*
open		*a*	
Low		*ā*	

There are two central vowels, both short, *a* and *i*. The open mid front vowel *a* has schwa [ə] as its principal allophone. It fluctuates over the area delineated by [ə], low front [æ] and mid front [ɛ]. The allophone [ə] is obligatory (1) before *w*, as in *aw* [əw] 'he', *awān* [əwaːn] 'they'; (2) before *y* in the same syllable, as in *aybīnim* [əy.bi.nɪm] 'I see him'. The allophone [ɛ] occurs before *y* in the following syllable, as in *haya* [hɛ.yə] 'there is'. The low central allophone [a] occurs adjacent to pharyngealized *ṣ* as in *šaṣt* [šaṣt] 'sixty'.

As shown in Table 10.2, there is a three-way contrast among high unrounded vowels: long front close *ī*, short front open *ɩ*, and central unrounded open *i*. *ɩ* occurs mostly in Arabic loans, as in *ɩmtɩḥān* 'examination', *mumkɩn* 'possible', or as an alternant of high front *ī* before consonant clusters (see section 2.3.1.5). It contrasts with *ī* and *i* as illustrated by *mumkɩn* 'possible' versus *ačīn* 'we go' and *ačin* 'you-2p go', in all of which the final vowels are stressed.

Natively, the high open short vowels *ɩ* and *u* occur only as reduced allophones of *ī* and *ū* (see section 2.3.1), but have attained phonemic status by virtue of their occurrence in the many Arabic loans.

2.1.2 Consonants

2.1.2.1 Overview .

Sulaimani Kurdish has 31 consonants as shown in the following table:

TABLE 10.3: CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Phar.	Palatal	Velar	Uv.	Phar.	Glottal
Stops/Affricates								
voiceless	*p*	*t*	—	*č*	*k*	*q*	—	ʼ
voiced	*b*	*d*	—	*j*	*g*	—	—	—
Fricatives								
voiceless	*f*	*s*	*ṣ*	*š*	*x*	—	*ḥ*	*h*
voiced	*(v)*	*.z*	—	*ž*	*γ*	—	ʻ	—
Glides	*w*	—	—	*y*	—	—	—	—
Nasals	*m*	*n*	—	—	*ŋ*	—	—	—
Flap/Lateral								
plain		*r l*						
trill/velarized		*ř l*						

Note that the non-pharyngeal glottal stop, particularly in word-initial position, will not usually be marked in this description.

2.1.2.2 Pharyngeals

There are three, all fricatives: (1) the pharyngealized alveolar sibilant *ṣ*; (2) the voiceless faucalized pharyngeal *ḥ;* and (3) the voiced faucalized fricative approximant ʻ. These three, together with *γ*, occur in Arabic loans, but also in a number of words of Kurdish origin: (1) *ṣāliḥ* 'Salih' (masc. name); in high-frequency Kurdish words such as *ṣag* 'dog', *ṣad* 'hundred', *ṣāl* 'year'; (2) *ḥāl* 'condition, state', *ḥaywān* 'animal', *siftaḥ* 'first sale of the day'; Kurdish *ḥawt* 'seven', *aḥēlēnē* 'it neighs'; (3) *ʻādat* 'custom, tradition', *ʻamr* 'age (years)', *saʻāt* 'hour; clock', *maʻnā* 'meaning'; Kurdish *āsmān* ~ *ʻāsmān* 'sky'; (4) *pōya* 'bull calf'.

2.1.2.3 Labio-dental *v*

This voiced labio-dental fricative is a marginal phoneme (indicated by the parenthesis in the table). It occurs: (1) in onomatopoeias: *gīvagīv* (sound of bullets); or (2) in loans from other Kurdish dialects, such as *mirōv* 'man' and *gōvār* 'magazine', and in (3) *ḥavda* ~ *ḥavva* 'seventeen'.

2.1.2.4 *l* and *l*

These are voiced, and distinguish a plain dental and a velarized alveolar lateral, articulated by the retraction of the tongue body and the tensing of the tongue dorsum. *l* does not occur word-initially: (1) *lāzim* 'necessary', *salāmat* 'safety', *kalla* 'skull', *gul* 'leper'; (2) *gul* 'rose', *baralla* 'loose', *māl* 'house' (mostly, *l* < *rd*,* *rz*, and spontaneous in loans).

2.1.2.5 *r* and *ř*

These distinguish a voiced single alveolar/apico-laminal flap and an alveolar trill. Geminate flaps equal the trill: (1) *birīn* 'wound', *anērē* 'he will send', *anerrē* [əneːře] 'it will be sent', *kar-a* [kərə] 'it is a donkey', *har* 'only'; (2) *kař-a* [kəřə] 'he is deaf', *nař-a-nař* 'bawling', *a-bř-ē* [əbře] 'he cuts', *abiř-rē* [əbıřeː] 'it will be cut', *tař* 'wet', *řāst* 'correct' (mostly, *ř* < *rn*, *rr*, in loans, and initial *r-*) covered in 2.1.2.9.

2.1.2.6 Nasals

These are voiced and show a three-way contrast, *m, n, ŋ*: *mām* '(paternal) uncle', *ama* 'this', *sammūn* 'bread rolls', *kām* 'which?'; *nān* 'bread', *zānīn* 'know', *dānsāz* 'dentist', *ganmasāmī* 'maize'; and *māŋ* 'month', *daŋūbās* 'information, data', *baŋ kirdin* 'call, invite'.

2.1.2.7 Gemination

All consonants except affricates may occur geminate. These are phonetically long and occur only word-medially. Gemination by contact is frequent: *a-yān-nās-im* 'I know them', where *-yān* is the 3p suffix.

2.1.2.8 Diphthongs and glides

The glides *w* and *y* combine to form diphthongs freely with all vowels, e.g. *nīw* 'half', *sēw* 'apple', *āw* 'water', *baraw* 'below'; *kay* 'when?'.

They are often the regular result of the contraction of final vowels with following unstressed long high vowels: *V* + 2s *-ī> -Vy* in *a-lē̠-y* 'you say', *čū-y* 'you went', *a-r̆o̠-y* 'you go', *āzā̠-y* 'you are brave'; *-ō* + *ū* 'and' > *-ōw* in *nō-w yak̠* 'nine and one' (see also section 2.3.1.1 Glide insertion).

y tends to be inserted before initial *ē* when preceded by an affix: *ēš* 'pain, ache', but *a-m-y-e̠š-ēt* 'it hurts me'.

2.1.2.9 Distribution

The following continuants do not occur word-initially: the single flap *r*, the velarized lateral *l*, and the velar nasal *ŋ*. The short high vowels, *i i u* do not occur in word-final position (but see discussion of *d > i* below). Vowel sequences do not occur (see section 2.3.1.1).

2.1.3 Syllable structure and consonant clusters

Syllable division precedes an intervocalic consonant: *gē.r̆ā.na.wa* 'narrate'. In syllable division two-consonant clusters are generally divided, as in *sar.gar.dān* 'confused'.

The minimum syllable is consonant plus vowel, CV, as in *ta.la.ba* 'student'. Given certain morphophonemic rules (see section 2.3), any two consonants may cluster word-initially, i.e. CCV, except that a stop can only follow another stop or an affricate, glides cannot be first in the cluster, and stops are not followed by nasals: *ktēb* 'book', *t̯faŋ* 'rifle', *sfūr* 'unveiled' (woman), *xrāp* 'bad'. Morphophonemically, however, there are no word-initial consonant clusters. Thus, in the examples above the clusters result from the elision of the non-tense central vowel. Note that in the present description a morphophonemic writing is generally followed.

Phonemic three-consonant clusters CCC do not occur initially but may occur word-medially, in which case they must contain at least one continuant: *qarz-dār* 'debtor', or word-finally, in which case they consist of glide-continuant-stop: *r̆ōyšt* 'he went'.

2.2 Non-segmental features

Word stress falls on the last vowel of the word unless otherwise marked. The following generalizations, however, can be made: inflectional suffixes, including the suffixed pronouns and the suffixed copula, are not stressed; thus, word stress falls on stem-final vowels.

The secondary noun plural marker *-ān* and the noun marker of definiteness *-aka̱*, however, are exceptions to this rule. Thus, the stem of the verb *gēr̠ā-m-awa* 'I told, related (a story)' is *gēr̠ā-* whereas the stem of the noun is *gēr̠ā-n-awa̱* 'relating, telling'.

Vocatives take word stress on the first vowel of the word: *bir̠ā ~ br̠ā* 'brother', but vocative *bir̠ā* 'Brother!'.

On the *phrase or clause level* some words are uttered more loudly than others, whose word stress is then reduced to secondary stress (indicated here by small undercircle) or is suppressed, as in *tāza̱ya* 'it is new', but *zōr̠ tāzàya* 'it is very new'. Nouns are generally stressed:

> *r̠ōžēk la r̠ōžān čūyn bō sayr̠ān* 'one day we went on a picnic';

so are interrogatives and negatives:

> *bō a-čīta awē*   'why are you going there?'.
> but *bō nāčīta awē* 'why aren't you going there?'

In a *noun phrase* stress is as follows:

(1)   Dependent attribute. In *izāfa* phrases (those containing the liaison morpheme *-ī*) the final word is stressed: *r̠ōžēkī bāš* 'a *nice* day'.

(2)   Pre-head modifiers tend to attract stress:

    (a)   interrogatives, like *čī* 'which?, what?', *kām* 'which?', *čaŋ* 'how many?', and the bracket *či- . . . (ēk)* 'what, which?':

> *či-pyāw(ēk) hāt? kām pyāw hāt?*
> 'which man came? what man came?';
> *čaŋ pyāw(ēk) hāt?* 'how many men came?';

    (b)   numerals and quantifiers: *dū pyāw* 'two men'; *hamū . . . . ēk* 'each, every'; and *zōr* 'much, many, very':

> *zōr pyāw hāt* 'many men came'.

(3)   Prepositions are generally unstressed, although the preposition *bō* 'for, to' usually does receive sentence stress:

> *ḥaz akam bičim bō bāzār* 'I'd like to go to the marketplace'.

On the *sentence level*, the following classes of words attract sentence stress:

- demonstratives: *aw darsa saxt bū* '**that** lesson was hard';
- adverbials: *ımr̠ō zū haḷ stām* 'I got up **early** today';
- preverbals: *kay haḷ stāy?* 'when did you get **up**?';
- interrogatives: *kay hātī bō ēra?* '**when** did you come here?';
       aw kiča kēya? '**who** is that girl?';
- negatives: *min azānim, baḷām aw nāzānē* 'I know, but he **doesn't**';
       na', zōr bāš nı-ya 'no, it's **not** very good'.

2.3 Conditioned and morphophonemic changes

In this section stress will be marked when it plays a significant role in the process; inherently-stressed affixes will also be so marked. The hyphen denotes a morphological boundary and the period marks syllable division.

2.3.1   Vowels

In the following rules it will be noted that the lower a vowel is the more morphophonologically powerful it is. That is, in contact between low and mid vowels, the low vowel is stable and the mid vowel undergoes change, while mid vowels overpower high vowels. Further, long vowels are stronger than short ones, and stressed long high vowels are more stable than unstressed high ones. That is, there is a hierarchy of susceptibility to conditioned change. It is defined by three parameters: (1) articulatory highness; that is, of two vowels in adjacent syllables or in contact, the low vowel is more stable than the mid vowel, and the mid vowel is more stable than the high vowel; (2) relative length; and (3) relative stress. Overall, the vowels of Sul. Kurdish fall into six sets of stability priority, with $\bar{a}$ being the highest, and the short high vowels the lowest:

TABLE 10.4: HIERARCHY OF VOCALIC SETS

1. long low	/ā/
2. long mid	/ē ō/
3. stressed long high	/ī ū/
4. short low-mid	/a/
5. unstressed high	/ī ū/
6. short high	/i i u/

Two behaviors are evinced when identical vowels come together: identical high vowels merge whereas identical non-high vowels are separated by glides. The behavior of short a is exceptional here in that it behaves like the high rather than the non-high vowels. Phonologically, all long vowels are shortened when unstressed, and high and mid long vowels are shortened and lowered before consonant clusters or before homorganic glides.

2.3.1.1 Glide insertion, *V-G-V*

Two adjacent vowels are connected by an unstable glide (for exceptions see below): *ču̯rā-y-ān* 'lamp-s', *drō-y-ān* 'lie-s', *āzā-y-ī* 'brave-ry', *xwē-y-a* 'it is salt', *zū̯-w-a* 'it is early'.

2.3.1.2 Conditioned shortening

All long vowels, *ī ē ō ū ā*, are phonologically shortened and lowered when unstressed: *ī > i* [ɪ]: *šāyī* [ša:yɪ:] 'ceremony', but *hāt-ī* [ha:tɪ] 'you-2s came'; *ē > e*: *a-č-ē* [ače:] 'he goes', but *jār-ē* [ja:re] 'one time, once'; *ō > o* [ɔ]: *nō* [no:] 'nine', but *bābō* [ba:bɔ] 'father!' (initial vocative stress); *ā > a* [ɑ]: *bābā* [ba:ba:] 'Qalandar dervish', but *bābā* [ba:bɑ] 'indeed, to be sure'.

2.3.1.3 Contraction

Sequences of high vowels and glides contract, (1) to semivowels, *y/w*, when unstressed, and (2) to single long vowel when homorganic:

(1)   *kānī-y-ān* > *kāny-ān* '(water) springs'; *nō-w-ū* > *nō̲-w* 'nine and . . .', *čū̲-y-ī(t)* > *čū̲-y(t)* 'you-2s went', *a-l̲ē-y-ī(t)* > *al̲ē-y(t)* 'you say', *āzā̲-y-ī(t)* > *āzā̲-y(t)* 'you are brave';

(2)   *dī-y-ī(t)* > *dī̲-(t)* 'you saw', *amarakī-y-īt* > *amarakī̲-t* 'you are an American'; *čū-w-ū̲* > *čū̲* 'has gone'.

Exceptions are (1) definite *-ak̲a*; (2) present stems in *-a(h)*; (3) central vowel *i*:

(1)   The definite suffix *-ak̲a* contracts with word-final *-a*, *-ā*, and with the plural ending *-ān*: *talaba* + *-ak̲a* > *talaba-k̲a* 'the student', *čirā-k̲a* 'the lamp', *čirā-k-ā̲n* 'the lamps';

(2)   The 3s ending *-at* contracts to *-ā-t* when attached to the following sets of stems:

   (a)   stems in *Ca-*: *a-da* + *at* > *a-dā-t* 'gives'; *a-ka* + *-at* > *a-kā-t* 'does'; *a-ba* + *-at* > *a-bā-t* 'takes, carries';

   (b)   the stems *xwa-* and *řaw-*: *a-xwa-* + *-at* > *a-xwā-t* 'eats'; *a-řaw-* + *-at* > *a-řwā-t* 'goes'; however, *xwa-*, *řaw-* > *xō-*, *řō-* before the other personal endings or pause, e.g. *a-xō-yn* 'we eat', *a-řō-y(t)* '2s go', *bi-xō* 'eat!', *bi-řō* 'go!'.

(3)   Central short *i* is (a) rounded in contact with *w*, and is (b) elided after vowel: *nā̲w-im* > *nā̲-w-um* 'my name'; *čū̲-* + *-im* > *čū̲-m* 'I went', *a-xō̲-in* > *a-xō̲-n* 'they eat'; *farmū̲-i bū* > *farmū̲ bū* 'had ordered' (but *xwā̲rd-i bū* 'had eaten').

2.3.1.4 Unstressed *i*

Short central vowel *i* is elided in unstressed syllables, except in deliberate speech: *žin-ān* (deliberate register) ~ *žn-ā̲n* (normal register) 'women', *a̲-č-im-a* > *a̲-č-m-a* 'I go to', *dir̲ik-ū-dāl* > *dirk-ū-dāl* 'thorns and weeds', *bir̲ā* 'brother' in vocative, but elsewhere *brā*.

2.3.1.5 Clusters and homorganic glides

The high and mid vowels *ī ō ū*, but not *ē*, are shortened and lowered (1) before consonant clusters and (2) before homorganic glides. Pre-cluster shortening is most notable in present and past stems:

(1)   *dā̲ a-nīš-im/dā nı̆št-im* 'I sit/sat down', *a-frō̲š-im/ frō̲št-im* [frɔšt-im] 'I sell/sold', *a-nū̲-m/nu̲st-im* 'I sleep/slept';

(2)   *čī̲-y-a* > *čı̆-y-a* 'what is it?', *nī̲-y-a* > *nı̆-y-a* 'is not', *zū̲-w-a* > *zu̲-w-a* 'is early'.

2.3.2 Consonants

Conditioned variation increases from deliberate to normal to rapid speech. Consonants may undergo assimilation, occur intrusively, or be elided, depending on the environment.

2.3.2.1 Voice assimilation

Stops are fully released in word-final position. Voiced stops and fricatives may be partially or fully unvoiced in final position; *sag* [sǝg ~ sǝk] 'dog', *sig ~ sik* 'stomach', *xālūz ~ xālūs* 'charcoal'.

Voiced and voiceless stops (but not *q*) and sibilants undergo partial regressive assimilation in any position: stop, *bičūk* > *p-čūk* 'little'; *čī bi-ka-m* ~ *čī p-ka-m* 'what shall I do?'; sibilant, *xōš bū* > *xōž bū* 'it was fine'; *pāš nīw-a-řō* > *pāž nīw-a-řō* 'after noon'.

Voiceless stops (but not *q*) are slightly aspirated in word-initial position: *pān* [pʰaːn] 'wide', *talaba* [tʰələbə] 'student', *kitēb* [kʰteːb] 'book', and optionally so in word-final position.

2.3.2.2 Palatalization and fronting

In informal speech, the velar stops and the labials except *b* and *m* are fronted before front vowels and *y*.

(1) *k g* become the dorso-palatal affricates [tɕ] [dʑ] in contrast with the lamino-postalveolar affricates *č* [ʧ] and *j* [ʤ]. To the uninitiated ear the palatalized stops are easily confused with their corresponding affricates: *kē* [kʲēː] 'who?', *gīyān* [gʲːyaːn] 'soul', *agī na* [agʲiːna] 'otherwise', *čāk-ī* [ʧaːkʲiː] 'are you well?', *mumkın* [mumkʲın] 'possible';

(2) *p, w, f*: *pēnj* [pʲeːnʤ] 'five', *fēnik* [fʲeːnık] 'cool'.

2.3.2.3 Fronting of *w*

wērān [ɥeːraːn] 'ruin'; *āw-ī* [aːɥi] 'his water', *kwē* [kʲɥeː] 'where?'; *kwer* [kʲɥeːr] 'blind', *gwē* [gʲɥeː] 'eye'.

2.3.2.4 Dentals

Before pause the final -*t* of the personal endings 2s -*ī(t)*, 3s -*at*, -*ēt* and the personal enclitic 2s -*it* may be elided: *a-č-īt* > *a-č-ī* 'you go', but *a-č-īt-awa* 'you go back'; *dast-it* - *dast-i* 'your hand'; *b-ē(t)* 'may 3s be', but *a-b-ēt-awa* 'becomes', *hāt-ū-w-a* 'has come', but *hāt-ū-w-at-awa* 'has come back'.

2.3.2.5 The "Zagros *d*"

As a widespread regional feature, termed the "Zagros *d*" (Windfuhr), postvocalic *d* is softened to glide-like -*i*-, or -*w*-, and contracts with adjacent high vowels: *a-da-m ~ a-ia-m* 'I give'; *nādir ~ nāir* 'Nadir' (masc. proper name); *bad ~ bai* 'bad'; *xwā ~ xuwā* 'God' < **xudā*. Note that all vocalic past stems originate in -*Vd*: *farmī- < **farmūd-* 'ordered' (see section 3.2.1 Stem formation).

2.3.2.6 Nasal assimilation

Elsewhere, *d* assimilates to a preceding nasal: *qalam-dān ~ qalam-mān* 'pencil box'; *lē-m dā-yt ~ lē-m mā-yt* 'I hit you' (past tense); * řasm-aka-y pīšān dā-m ~ řasm-aka-y pīšān nā-m* 'he showed me the picture'.

The sequence *nd* may alternate with contracted *n*, or with contracted *ŋ*: *afandī ~ afanī* 'gentleman'; *māndū ~ māŋū* 'tired', *čand ~ čan ~ čaŋ* 'how many; several', *band-a-xwēn ~ banaxwēn ~ baŋaxwēn* 'belt-cord'.

The dental may be lost before *z* and the vowel nasalized, most prominently in the number terms for teens: *bānzīn* [bãzīn] 'benzine, gasoline', *yānza* [yãzə] 'eleven', *dwānza* [dwãzə] 'twelve', *sēyānza* [seyãzə] 'thirteen', *pānza* [pʰãzə] 'fifteen', *šānza* [šãzə] 'sixteen'.

2.3.2.7 Intrusive *d*

d is often intrusive in sequences of -*nr*-: the passive perfect participles *čēn-rā-w ~ čēn-d-rā-w* 'sown'; *diřēn-rā-w ~ diřēn-d-rā-w* 'torn'.

2.3.2.8 Deletion of *h*

h may be lost in non-initial position: *řōž-hal-hāt* ~ *řōž-al-āt* 'sunrise; east'; *na̱-hāt* ~ *na̱-āt* 'he didn't come'; *bi̱-hēn-a* ~ *b-e̱n-a* 'bring!'.

3 MORPHOLOGY

Kurdish has the morphologically defined word classes nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, and particles. Particles, which are indeclinable, are subclassed syntactically into inter-jections, interrogatives, conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, and preverbals; a closed class, all particles except interjections and conjunctions may receive suffixed pronouns. Particles are found in Syntax in conjunction with the syntactically relevant feature.

3.1 Nominal morphology

In Sulaimania Kurdish grammatical gender has been lost. So have the case distinctions in nouns and pronouns, except for a few remnant traces, and have been replaced by a complex system of person marking. In turn, definiteness has evolved as a major category.

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1 Gender, number, and definiteness

Gender of animate nouns may be shown lexically in male/female pairs: *gā* 'ox' and *māŋ-gā* 'cow' *(< *mādiyān* 'female').

Nouns may be inflected for number and definiteness; some nouns also may show vocative case or relic locative case endings. The bare stem may signify indefinite non-specific singular or a generic plural; *-ēk* signals indefinite specific singular, and *-aka̱* marks definiteness; *-ān* denotes plural, and follows the definite suffix, if any. The deictic envelopes *am/aw . . . a* 'this/that', inherently definite, may cover a noun with or without the plural suffix. These are all illustrated with *pyāw* 'man' in the following synoptic table (arrangement suggested by Windfuhr):

TABLE 10.5: SPECIFICITY AND DEFINITENESS

	Indefinite	Indefinite Specific	Definite	Near/Far Deictic
Singular	*pyāw* 'man'	*pyāw-ēk* 'a man'	*pyāw-aka̱* 'the man'	*am/aw-pyāw-a̱* 'this/that man'
Plural	*pyāw* 'some men'	*pyāw-ān* 'men'	*pyāw-ak-ān* 'the men'	*am/aw pyāw-ān-a̱* 'these/those men'

3.1.1.2 Vocative

Singular names may receive the unstressed vocative suffix *-a* (*-wa* after vowels) and, after plural nouns, *-īn-a*, in direct address; polysyllables, especially those of Iranian origin, take word-initial stress: *hēro-w-a*, *wa̱ř-a bō ēra!* 'Hero (fem.), come here!' *xa̱lk-īn-a!* 'People! Everybody!'

3.1.1.3 Locative

The relic locative suffix *-ē* is found on a few nouns of place or time: *šār-ē* 'in the city', *šaw-ē* 'in the evening', with the form *-n-ē* after a vowel: *sibay-n-ē* 'tomorrow' (cf. *sibay* 'morrow', *dū-sbay* 'day after tomorrow').

3.1.2 Adjectives and degree

Adjectives, like nouns, can receive the definite suffix, the indefinite suffix and the plural suffix and, additionally, can be made comparative or superlative: *čāk* 'good'; *čāk-ēk* 'a good one'; *čāk-aka* 'the good one'; *čāk-ak-ān* 'the good ones'.

Degree is indicated by the comparative suffix *-tir*, with *la* 'from, than' introducing the compared item; the superlative form in *-trīn* precedes the noun head:

> *ahmad zīrak-tir-a la kāwā; la hamū-yān zīrak-trīn talaba-y-a.*
> 'Ahmad is smarter than Kawa; he is the smartest student of *(la)* all of them.'

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.1 Personal and demonstrative pronouns

In addition to the personal pronoun, which may be (1) independent, or (2) clitic, there are also reflexive pronouns; for interrogative pronouns see section 3.1.3.4. Independent and clitic suffixed pronouns show distinction of person and number, but are otherwise invariable. Suffixes lose *-i* and *-ī > y* in postvocalic contractions.

TABLE 10.6: INDEPENDENT AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers.	'that'	'this'
Indep. sg.	*min*	*tō*	*aw*	*aw-a*	*am-a*
Indep. pl.	*ēma*	*ēwa*	*aw-ān*	*aw-ān-a*	*am-ān-a*
Enclitic sg.	*-im/-m*	*-it/-t*	*-ī-y*		
Enclitic pl.	*-mān*	*-tān*	*-yān*		

The 2s may receive the nominal emphatic vocative clitic: *ma-ka*, *tō-w-a* 'don't do (that), you!'.

(1) The independent pronouns are mostly used for emphasis or contrastive focus. They occur as:

(a) subjects; (b) objects of prepositions; and (c) possessors in *izāfa* noun phrases.

(2) The clitic pronouns may be suffixed to nouns to denote possessor: *nāw-im* 'my name'. They may be infixed between predicate and copula as experiencer or beneficiary:

[bō čī]-t-a? 'what is that for you?' = 'what do you want with that?';
[bas]-t-a? 'is (that) enough for you?'.

They also serve as pronoun objects of transitive verbs in the present tense, as in *a-yān-nās-im* 'I know them' (*-yān*); and as the subject markers of past tense transitive verbs (see section 4.4.4 Past agent suffixes).

(3) The *demonstrative pronouns* manifest a one-level contrast, proximal *am-a̱* 'this, this one' and distil *aw-a̱* 'that, that one'. The separability of *-a̱* appears in their attributive functions, when they become the discontinuous envelopes *am . . . a̱* 'this' and *aw . . . a̱* 'that':

[am-a̱] ba̱š-a-w [aw-ān-a] bāš nī-n
'this one is good and those are not good',
but *[am] qałam-[a̱] bāš-a-w aw-qałam-ān-a̱ zōr bāš nī-n*
'this pen (*qałam*) is okay; those pens are not very good.'

3.1.3.2 Possessive forms

Independent pronominal possession is expressed by the *izāfa*-construction *hī* + the personal enclitics, or possessor: *hī min* 'mine', *hī dāyk-im* 'my mother's', etc. (see 4.2.2.1).

3.1.3.3 Reflexive-emphatic pronouns

Reflexive-emphatic pronouns consist of *xō* 'self' plus a clitic pronoun: *xō-m* 'myself', *xō-t* 'yourself', etc.: reflexive, *xō̱-tān āmāda ka-n* 'get yourselves ready!'; emphatic: *xō̱-t a-zān-ī* '*you* know'. – *yak-ṭir* 'each other' serves as a *reciprocal pronoun*.

3.1.3.4 Interrogatives and related adverbials

Interrogatives: *kē* 'who?', *čī* 'what?', *kām* 'which?', *čand* 'how many?', *kwē* 'where?', *kay* 'when?', *čōn* 'how?', *bō̱ čī ~ bō*? 'for what, why?', *kwā* 'where is . . .' typically receives a copula suffix as subject, as in *kwā-n*? 'where are they?', *kwā kuř-aka̱-m*? 'where is my son?' (see also sections 3.1.5 Adverbs and 3.1.6.3 Quantifiers).

3.1.4 Adpositions

3.1.4.1 Pre- and postpositions

The basic adpositions include:

(1) Two prepositions:

   (a) the multivalent *ba* 'in, at; by; to'; and
   (b) the bipolar *la* 'in' or 'from': *ba kurdī* 'in Kurdish', *la karkūk* 'in Kirkuk', *la čāk-ak-ā̱n* 'from the good ones'.

(2) The postverbal allative clitic *-a* 'to': *a-č-ī̱n-a karkūk* 'we are going to Kirkuk';
(3) Two postpositions:

   (a) *-dā* 'in', and
   (b) *-awa* 'from', only combined with prepositions.

(4) Other adpositions include:

   (a) *bō* 'for', also indirect object; goal, *bō min ~ bō-m* 'for me': *a-č-im bō bayā* 'I'm going to Baghdad', *a-y-da-m bō tō* 'I'm giving it to you';
   (b) *tā, hatā̱, hatā̱kū* 'till, as far as': *ga̱yšt-in hatā karkūk* 'they arrived as far as Kirkuk';

(c) *bē, ba-bē . . . (-awa)* 'without': *bē īš* 'without work, unemployed';

(d) *la gal . . . (-dā)* 'together with', with *d-* often elided or assimilated, e.g. *kē hāt lagat-t-ā* 'who came with you';

(e) *la-bar* 'on; because of';

(f) *bar-awa* 'towards';

(g) *wak, wa̱kū* 'like': *wa̱kū min* 'like me'.

3.1.4.2 Absolute forms

The first four adpositions listed above, *ba, la, -a, dā*, have absolute forms marked by *-ē* and devoicing: *pē, lē, -ē ~ -r-ē* (postvocalic), *tē*. While *ba* and *la* occur with following nouns, independent pronouns or with other prepositions, *pē* and *lē* occur elsewhere, and may take the personal enclitics, thus *ba min > pē-m, la awān > lē-yān*, e.g. *lē-t a-d-ā* 'he hits (at) you'. It also occurs in infinitives, e.g. *pē kan-īn* 'to laugh'.

  bō 'for, to' corresponds to *-a* + noun, and postverbal *-(r)ē*:

> *kay a-č-īṯ-a bayā/bō baɣā?* 'when are you going to Baghdad?';
> *bō min bi-da* 'give me (some)!' vs.
> *bi̱-m-da-r-ē-n* 'give them (*-in*) to (*-r-ē*) me!' (*-im*);
> *dinā̱r-ēk-it a-da-m-ē* 'I'll give to (*-ē*) you (*-it*) a dinar'.

3.1.4.3 Circumpositions

ba and *la* form circumpositions with *-dā* and *-awa*. Note that *ba/la* lose their vowel before the initial vowel of the demonstratives pronouns, *aw-/am-*, and some adverbs, *awē* 'there', *ēra* 'here', e.g. *l-ēra* 'in this place, here'. Similarly *-dā > -ā* after consonants:

(1) *ba* and *la*:

(a) *ba . . . awa* 'with (instrument)': *ba xwē-y-awa* 'with salt'; *ba qalam-awa b-ī-nūs-a* 'write it with a pen (*qalam*)!';

(b) *la . . . dā* 'in': *la karkūk-(d)ā* 'in Kirkuk';

(c) *la . . . awa* 'from', *la karkūk-awa bō baɣā* 'from Kirkuk to Baghdad', *l-aw-lā, awa* 'on ("from") that (*aw*) side (*lā*)'.

(2) Other circumpositions include:

(a) *ba . . . dā* 'through': *ba bāzār-ā čū-yn* 'we went by way of the bazaar';

(b) *la-gal . . . (dā)* 'together with';

(c) *bō . . . awa* 'through'.

  These circumpositions thus also serve to disambiguate the bipolar *la* 'in' and 'from': *la karkūk* 'in/from Kirkuk', but *la karkūk-ā* 'in Kirkuk' (< *-dā*) vs. *la karkūk-awa* 'from Kirkuk'.

  Note that *la . . . dā* may function to express *sensations*, with or without temporal-locative *-ān: la tīnū-dā* 'from thirst', *la tirs-ān-ā* 'from, with fear'.

3.1.4.4 Compound absolute forms

While *-ē* (< *-a*) is always enclitic to the verb, there are compound absolute forms with *-awa* and *-dā*; thus: *ba-awa > pēwa* 'in, at'; *ba-dā > pēdā > pyā: pyā-m-ā* 'at, on me'; *dā-awa > tēwa; dā-dā > tēdā > tyā* 'inside'.

Combined with *-ēk*, there are: *pēk*, *pēkawa* 'together'; *lēk* 'from each other'; *tēk* 'together'.

These, in turn, may be attributive, like *tyā* in *naxša-y-ēk-ī-kurdustān[-ī-tyā]-y-a* 'there's a map *(naxša)* of Kurdistan in it'.

Both simple and derived absolute forms may also function as preverbs (see section 3.2.1.3).

3.1.5 Adverbs

3.1.5.1 Lexical adverbs

Adverbs as a word class are essentially lexical items, without general marking patterns. Some adverbs have opaque deictic markers: *ēra* 'here', *awē* 'there', *ēstā* 'now', with appositional forms such as *l-ēra* 'in this place, here', *l-ēra-wa* 'from here, hence', *bō ēra* 'hither', *l-awē* 'in that place, there'.

Some are derived, such as *dwā-y-ī* 'later'. Others are compounds with or without adpositions, often Persian in origin, such as *yak-sar* 'immediately'; *damdam* 'from time to time', *dar-ḥāl* 'immediately', or Arabic loans such as *xāsat-an* 'especially'. Others include: *unjā* 'then; in that case', *hēštā* 'still, yet' (with negative verb), *tanhā* 'only, alone', *zōr* 'very'.

A specific subset is terms of time relations, such as *un-řō* 'today', *un-šaw* 'this evening', *pār* 'last year', *pāš-a-řōž* 'in the future', *sibhay-n-ē* 'tomorrow'.

har 'just, only' is selective-restrictive: *har l-awē* 'only over there'; *har ēstā* 'right now'; *har kabāb a-xō-m* 'I eat only kabob' and *min kabāb har a-xō-m* 'I do nothing but eat kabob'.

wā 'thus, like this', (< OIr. **awa-θā*) functions as the manner adverb, with regular adverbial stress: *wā hāt-im* 'I came like this', *wā a-xō-m* 'I eat thus, this is how I eat'. It is distinct from the unstressed locative-temporal verbal particle *wā* 'here, now' (< OIr. **awa-dā*): *wā hāt-im* 'I'm coming, I'm on my way', *wā a-xō-m* 'I am now eating', *wā-n la ērān-dā* 'they are (*-in*) now *(wā)* in Iran'.

3.1.5.2 Adverbial phrases

Prepositional phrases and nouns with inherent adverbial meaning, with or without adpositions, may function adverbially:

(1) Prepositional phrases:

> *pēš sa'āt dū* 'before 2:00'; *la pēš nān xwārd-in* 'before eating'; *pāš nīw-a-řō* 'after noon', and *la pāš awa* '(from) after that', *dwāy* 'after (time)': *dwāy awa čū-n bō bāzār* 'after that they went to the market'.

(2) Nouns:

> *ba sar... dā* 'over' (*sar* 'head, top'); *la nāw... (dā)* 'within, inside of' (*nāw* 'inside'); *la nāw... (awa)* 'from out of'; *la bābat... (awa)* 'about, concerning' (*bābat* 'item, topic'): *witār-ēk la [bābat šïïr-ī-kurdī-y]-awa* 'a talk on Kurdish poetry'.

3.1.5.3 *Izāfa* construction

While such phrases precede their dependent directly, they themselves may follow nouns or adverbials, in which case the dependent is attached by regular *izāfa* (see Section 4.2

Noun phrase structure): *la-bar dam-ī X* 'in front of X' (*dam* 'mouth'); *la mā beyn-ī* 'in between'.

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

TABLE 10.7: CARDINAL NUMBERS

1–9	11–19	10–90	100–900	10^n
yak, *-ēk*	*yānza*	*da*	*ṣad*	*hazār* 'thousand'
dī	*dwānzda*	*bīst*	*dū-ṣad*	*milyōn* 'million'
sē	*syānzda*	*sī*	*sē-ṣad*	
čwār	*čwārda*	*čil*	*čwār-ṣad*	
pēnj	*pānza*	*panjā*	*pēnj-ṣad*	
šaš	*šānza*	*šaṣt*	*šaš-ṣad*	
ḥawt	*ḥavda*	*ḥaftā*	*ḥaw-ṣad*	
ḥašt	*ḥažda*	*ḥaštā*	*ḥaš-ṣad*	
nō	*nōzda*	*nawad*	*nō-ṣad*	

Numbers higher than '1' are followed by the singular nominal; however, the plural is marked in the verb, e.g. with interrogative-indefinite *čand ~ čaŋ: čaŋ pyāw (-ēk) hāt-in?* 'how many men came?' and *dī pyāw hāt-in* 'two men came'.

In time telling, the noun *sa'āt* 'hour; clock, watch' precedes the number without connective: *sa'āt dū* 'two o'clock' vs. *dū sa'āt* 'two hours' or 'two watches', etc.

Numbers may be nominalized by *-ān*, e.g. *dū-y-ān hāt-in* 'two (of them) came', *sē-y-ān* 'three of them'.

3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are marked by stressed *-am: yak-am* 'first', *čwār-am* 'fourth'. The selective ordinal adds *-īn: yak-am-īn* 'the very first', *čwār-am-īn* 'the fourth', and precedes the head: *am-a sē-y-am(-īn) kōŋra-y-a* 'this is the third congress'.

3.1.6.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are uninflected nominals that signify amount or number, and may function independently or as pre-head noun modifiers. They typically are followed by a singular noun which has the indefinite suffix *-ē(k)*; they receive phrasal stress, with the following noun receiving secondary stress. They include *hamū . . . -ē(k)* 'each, every': *hamū řōž-ēk* 'every day'; *čand ~ čaŋ ~ čan . . . -ē(k)* 'some, a few': *čaŋ pyāw-ēk* 'a few men'; *gal-ē(k)* 'a great number of', e.g. *gal-ē jār* 'many times, often'; *har . . . -ē(k)* 'each, any': *har yēk-ēk* 'each one, any one'; *hīč* 'any', with negative verb 'no': *hīč kas na-hāt* 'nobody came'. *l-am čand-ān-à-dā* 'in the past few days, recently' illustrates independent usage.

The quantifier *zōr* 'many' may be linked to a preceding noun head by *izāfa* but is usually preposed without *izāfa*, e.g. *zōr pyāw ~ pyāw-ī zōr* 'many men'.

There is a miscellaneous group of nouns that function as numerals or with numerals.

(1)   The classifier *sar* 'head' is used in a numeral phrase as a pre-head nominal modifier: *panjā sar mař* 'fifty head of sheep'.

(2)   *dāna* 'item, thing' (cf. *dān* 'grain') functions with *yak* 'one' as a pronoun: *čand-yān hāt-in*? 'how many (of them) came? – *yak dāna* 'one.'

(3)   *tā* 'one of a pair; half' functions as a noun: *tā-ī dargā* 'leaf of a double door'.

3.2 Verb morphology

Verbs are inflected for aspect, mood, tense, person and number, and show distinctions of transitivity and voice. All verbs may be made negative, and transitive verbs may receive an enclitic pronominal object, while intransitive verbs may be made causative.

3.2.1 Stem formation and modifiers

3.2.1.1 Present and past stems

Verbs are based on two stems, present and past. Past stems are distinguished typically by the dental stop: *frōš-/frōšt-* 'sell', *mir-/mird-* 'die', sometimes accompanied by difference in voicing: *kuž-* /*kušt-* 'kill'; or additional segments: *řō-/řōyšt-* 'go', *awē-/ʰwɪst-* 'want'; or ablaut: *bižēr-/bižārd-* 'choose'. Others may show no overt distinction, such as *past-/past-* 'press'; or are suppletive, such as *lē-/ʰwɪt-* 'say', *ē-/hāt-* 'come'.

Typical for Kurdish are also vocalic past stems in *-ī, -ū, -ā* (< *-*īd, *-*ūd, *-*ād), where the inherent dental *-d* is obscured by postvocalic softening and contraction ("Zagros-*d*"): *larz-/larzī-* 'tremble', *farmū-/farmū-* 'command', *tirs-/tirsā-* 'fear'. "Regular" verbs have *-ē-/-ā-*: *gař-ē-/gař-ā-* 'stroll'.

3.2.1.2 Morphological passive and causative

(1) Passive stems are derived from present stems by *-r-ē/r-ā* (< *-r-ād): *kuž-rē-/kuž-rā-* 'be killed'. They are inflected with intransitive subject markers: *a-kuž-r-ē-m* 'I am, will be killed'; *kuž-r-ā̲-w-im* 'I have been killed'; *agar bi-kuž-r-ē-m* 'if I am killed'; *agar bi-kuž-r-ā̲-m-ā-y-a* 'if I had been killed'.

Stems in *Ca-* > *Ci-r/Cu-r*; thus: *ka-* 'do' > *ki-r-ē-/kir-ā-* 'be done', *xwa-/xō-* 'eat' > *xu-r-ē- /xu-r-ā-* 'be eaten', *da-* 'give; to hit' > *di-r-ē-/di-r-ā-* 'be given; be hit'.

(2) Causative stems are derived by *-ēn/-ān(d)-*: *tirs-* 'be afraid' > *tirs-ēn-/tirs-ānd-* 'make fear, frighten', *ga-* 'arrive' > *ga-y-ēn-/ga-y-ānd-* 'make arrive, bring to'; *žī-* 'live' > *ži-ēn-/ži-y-ānd-* 'bring to life, give birth'. Adpositions are attached regularly: *ži-y-ānd-in-awa* 'revive'.

3.2.1.3 Preverbs and postverbs

Preverbs modify verbal meanings or create new lexical items. They include two main sets: inherited prefixes and absolute prepositional forms (see section 3.1.4 Adpositions). They form a closed class, numbering a dozen or so at most. In the following listing, illustrative combinations are mostly given with the verbs *ču-n* 'go', *hāt-in* 'come', *hēnā-n* 'bring':

TABLE 10.8: PREVERBS AND PREFIXES

Preverb		*čū-n* 'go'	*hāt-in* 'come'	*hēnā-n* 'bring'
hal	'up'	'boil over'; 'jump over'	'rise (sun)'; 'run away'	'produce'; 'hatch (egg)'
dā	'down'	'sag'; 'lose prestige'	'come down'; 'be new'	'bring down'; 'invent'
řō	'down'	'go down'; 'sink down'		
řā	'forth, away'	'go down'; 'leak'	'become used to'	'train, tame'
dar	'out'	'go out, appear'	'come out, emerge'	'bring out, produce'
war	'from' + *girt-in*	'get from, receive'		

TABLE 10.9: PREVERBS: EXTENDED PREPOSITIONS

Preposition		*čū-n* 'go'	*hāt-in* 'come'	*hēnā-n* 'bring'
pēdā/pyā	'across'	'penetrate into'	'come through, traverse'	'rub on'
pēwa	'in, on, with'	'fit into'	'bring luck to'	
pēk	'together'	'quarrel with each other'	'come together, agree, be formed'	'bring together, unite, create'
tē	'in, into, on'	'enter, pierce'		
tēk	'together'	'fall together'; 'lose composure'		

Both subsets may combine: *[tē hal] dā-n* 'kick (someone)', *[tēk war] dā-n* 'stir' (lit. 'hit together', cf. Persian *be ham zadan*).

3.2.1.4 Adpositions

Prepositions as well as postpositions may similarly modify verbal meanings; note that with infinitives the absolute form is used:

lallē: *lē dā-n* 'hit (at), play (instrument)'; *lē girt-in* 'receive, get from'; *lē sand-in* 'take from'; *balpē*: *pē dā-n* 'give to'; *pē kanī-n* 'laugh at'; *pē wit-in* 'say to, tell'; *bū-n ba* 'become, come to be';

-al-ē postvocalic *-r-ē*: *čū-n-a* 'go to'; *dā-n-ē* 'give to';

-awa, postvocalic *-r-awa*: *dā-n-awa* 'give back, return (s.th.)'; *xwārd-in-awa* 'drink' vs. *xwārd-in* 'eat'; *kird-in-awa* 'do again; to open'; *čū-n-awa* 'return, go back';

hāt-in-awa 'come back/again'; *bū-n-awa* 'become, happen to'.

Note that *ba, la, -a* > *pē, lē-, -ē* occur with personal enclitics (see section 3.1.4 Adpositions).

There is correspondence between the prepositions *bō* and *-a*: *-a* is found on verbs of movement: *bō/ba* + *čū-n* 'go to' vs. postverbal *čū-n bō* ~ *čū-n-a* as in *kay a-č-ī [bō bayā]?* ~ *kay a-č-īt[-a bayā]?* 'when will you go to Baghdad?'; cf. *hāt-in[-a dī]* 'come into view, be realized'.

The absolute form of *-(r)-ē* (< *-a*) is found with verbs of giving such as *dā-n* 'give': *bō min bi-da-[r-ē] ~ bi-m-da-[r-ē]* 'give it to me!'

3.2.1.5 Compound verbs

A large number of verbs are compound, consisting of a nominal with a small subset of function verbs, mostly *kird-in* 'do, make' and *bū-n* 'become': *čāk kird-in* 'make good, improve'.

Object complements may be introduced by: (1) Correlated prepositional phrases, such as *gwē la X girt-in* 'take ear to X, listen to'; or (2) *izāfa* constructions: *bās-ī X kird-in* 'make discussion of, discuss X'; *čāwaře-ī X kird-in* 'make expectation of, wait for X'.

Lexical intransitive vs. transitive function is found with certain pairs of verbs, such as *hāt-in/hēnā-n* 'come'/'bring': *hāt-in-a dī* 'come into being, be realized' and *hēnā-n-a dī* 'bring into being, create'.

3.2.2 Nominal forms

The two most prominent nominal forms are the infinitive ("verbal noun") and the past participle ("verbal adjective"), both of which are derived from the past stem. Morphologically, they are nouns or adjectives respectively, and syntactically they have the force of verbs as well as that of nouns or adjectives. Semantically, infinitives name the notion of the verb from which they are derived and serve as the citation form of the verb. Participles denote the resultant state on the completion of the action of the verb.

3.2.2.1 Infinitive

Infinitives are marked by *-in: kird-in* 'make, do', or *-n* after postvocalic contraction: *gaṟā-n* 'stroll' (< *gaṟ-ād-in*).

3.2.2.2 Past participles

Past participles are marked by *-ū*, which forms diphthongs or contracts with preceding vowels: *xwārd-ū* '(having) eaten', *kawt-ū* '(having) fallen', *bīnī-w* 'having seen' (< *bīn-īd-ū*), *bū* '(having) been' (< *būd-ū*).

3.2.3 Person marking and 'to be, become'

The following is an overview of person marking. It combines the existential verb and the copula, with the personal endings and agent markers, and the verb 'to be, become' in the various tenses. Note that the markers of the 2p and 3p have merged except in the transitive past tenses, where the agent markers are in fact the personal enclitics.

TABLE 10.10: PERSON MARKING AND 'TO BE, BECOME'

	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
Existential	*ha-m*	*ha-y(t)*	*ha-y-a*	*ha-yn*	*ha-n*	*ha-n*
Copula	*-im*	*-ī(t)*	*-a(t)/-ētī*	*-īn*	*-in*	*-in*
Present, Subjunctive	*-im*	*-ī(t)*	*-ē(t)/-ā(t)*	*-īn*	*-in*	*-in*
Imperative		*-a*			*-in*	

	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
Past intrans.	-im	-ī(t)	-ø	-īn	-in	-in
Past trans.	-im	-it	-ī	-mān	-tān	-yān
	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
'be, become'						
Subjunctive	b-im	b-ī(t)	bē(t)	b-īn	b-in	b-in
Preterite	bū-m	bū-y(t)	bū	bū-yn	bū-n	bū-n

Regarding *(t)* in the 2s, 3s endings, it appears before vocalic clitic in 2s *-ī(t)* and in 3s - *a(t)*, *-ē(t)*, *-ā(t)*.

In the 3s, the copula *-a(t)* 'is' and a preceding 3s suffix *-ī* combine to *-ētī*: *pyāw-ī + a (-ī* as possessor) > *pyāw-y-ētī* 'he is his (-ī) man'.

Similarly, in present perfect forms the 3s copula *-a(t)* appears as *-a* when in final position: *xwārd-ū-y[-a]* 'he has eaten', but *-t* appears when followed by a postposition: *hātu-w-im[-at]-awa* 'I have returned', *xwārdū-y-[ēt]-ī* 'he has eaten it' (*y* < 3s agent *-ī*).

The 3s ending *-ā(t)* occurs after present stems in *-a*: *ka-at* > *k-āt* 'does', *xwa-at* > *xw-āt* 'eats' (see section 2.3.1.3 Contractions).

The imperative 2s *-a* is absorbed by the stem vowel: *bēn-a* 'bring!', but *bi-řō* 'go!'. The verb *ē-/hāt-in* 'come' has a suppletive stem in the positive, *war-a!*, but prohibitive *ma-y-ē* 'don't come!'.

The change-of-state forms of *b-* 'be, become' regularly take the imperfective prefix *a-* and the subjunctive-imperative *bi-*:

(1)   'exist, be there':

   ēmā-š ha-yn! 'we also exist' (don't forget us!); but
   gal-ē kas ha-bū,   balam ēstā hīč kas nī-y-a
   'there was a lot of people, but now there is no one';

(2)   'be, become':

   bāš a-b-ē '(that) will be fine';
   čī a-b-ēt-awa?
   'what will become of it?' (lit. 'what will it become').

The forms of the present perfect of *b-* 'be, become' are identical with the preterite forms due to contraction: *bū-* 'was/were' and 'has/have been' (< pret. **būd*, < perf. **būd-ū*); the past perfect has *bū-bū-* 'had been' (< **būd-i būd*).

3.2.4 Aspectual-modal and negative prefixes

There are two aspectual-modal prefixes, as well as a negative and a prohibitive prefix:

a-, *nā-*   imperfective (< *na-a-*):   *a-řō-y* 'you go'   – *nā-řō-y* 'you don't go';
bi-, *na-*   subjunctive, conditional: *bi-řō-y* '(if) you go'   – *na-řō-y* '(if) you don't go';
bi-, *ma-*   imperative, prohibitive: *bi-řō* 'go!'   – *ma-řō* 'don't go!'

In the present indicative of 'to come', the imperfective marker and the stem *ē-* merge to 'to *yē-*: *yē-m* 'I come'.

bi- may be omitted, particularly with nominal preverbs: *lā čō* 'go away!' for *lā bi-čō*, and tends to show vocalic contraction: *b-ē-t* 'that he come' < *bi-ē-ēt*; but bi- marks the

distinction between state and process with 'be'; thus, *b-ēt* '(if) 3s be' vs. *bi-b-ēt* '(if) 3s become'; *pyāw-a čāk b-a* 'be a good fellow!'

The copula is negated by *nī-* with the post-vowel endings: *nī-y-a* 'is not'. *gal-ī kas ha-bū balām ēstā hīč kas nī-y-a* 'there were a lot of people, but now there is no one'.

The personal enclitics are inserted between these prefixes and the verb stem to denote the direct object: *a-y-bīn-im* 'I see him (-*i*)'; *bi-yān-xō* 'eat them!'; *nā-yān-nās-īt* 'you don't know them'.

3.2.5 System of aspect, mood, and tense

Kurdish has two basic *aspects*, imperfective and perfective. Indicative verbs are perfective in aspect unless marked by the imperfective aspect prefix *a-*. *Perfective* forms depict a single completed event or series of events in a narrative, whereas *imperfective* verbs depict anything else. Specifically, the imperfective aspect encompasses progressive, habitual, predictive ("future"), generic and, in a narrational context, narrative Aktionsarten; these sub-aspects are generally distinguished by accompanying adverbials such as *hamū řōž-ēk* 'every day', *wā* (unstressed) 'right now', *sibay-nē* 'tomorrow', etc.

There are four moods, the *indicative* and non-indicative *imperative, subjunctive*, and *counterfactual*. They show the attitude of the speaker toward the truth-value of the utterance: The *indicative* denotes propositions uttered as true or factual; the *subjunctive* denotes potentiality; the *counterfactual* denotes abstractions that are hypothetical or unrealized ("irrealis"); and the *imperative* issues a direct command. The indicative is the default mood, the subjunctive and the imperative being triggered by specified preceding expressions or contexts, such as indefinite antecedents which require a subjunctive verb.

There are two basic *tenses*, present and past, the latter with four forms, preterite, imperfect, present perfect, and past perfect.

3.2.6 Transitivity and ergativity

Transitivity is marked distinctly in past forms in a tense-split ergative pattern. With intransitive verbs, the subject is marked by the personal endings in all tenses and moods. With transitive verbs, the subject/agent is marked by the personal endings in the present, but by the personal enclitics in the past. These suffixes are mobile, attaching to the leftmost component of the clause after the subject position: the direct object/patient noun or noun phrase, the nominal parts of the verb phrase and in the absence of any other component to the verb form itself (see also section 4.4.3 Subject and object marking in Syntax).

This applies also to compound verbs with transitive verbs, such as *kird-in* 'to do', even though semantically they may be intransitive: *imřō bayānī zū pyāsa [-m kird]* 'I went for a walk early this morning' ('did a walk'); *ēmā xōš [-mān řā b-wārd] tā ēwār-a* 'we had a good time until evening' ('spent [time]').

3.2.7 Individual verb forms

Altogether there are five indicative morphological tenses: (1) the present, which depicts activities (progressive, habitual, predictive ["future"], generic) or states in present time, that is, as of the moment of speaking; (2) the imperfect, which depicts the same in past time prior to the moment of speaking; (3) the preterite, which denotes a completed event

or series of events in a narrative; (4) the present perfect, which denotes a completed event with present time relevance; and (5) the past perfect, which recounts an event completed in the past prior to the completion of a subsequent event also in the past.

Regarding subject and object marking, with intransitive verbs the subject is marked by the personal endings in all tenses and moods. With transitive verbs, while the subject/agent is marked by the personal endings in the present tense, it is marked by the personal enclitics in the four past forms. These suffixes are mobile, attaching to the leftmost component of the clause after the subject position: (1) the direct object/patient noun or noun phrase, (2) the nominal parts of the verb phrase, and (3) in the absence of any other component to the verb form itself (see also section 4.4.3 Subject and object marking under Syntax).

3.2.7.1 Present tense

Transitive and intransitive verbs take the same subject markers in the present tense:

TABLE 10.11: PRESENT-FUTURE

	'I come', etc.	'I eat', etc.
1s	*yē-m*	*a-xō-m*
2s	*yē-yt*	*a-xō-yt*
3s	*yē-t*	*a-xwā-t*
1p	*yē-yn*	*a-xō-yn*
2p	*yē-n*	*a-xō-n*
3p	*yē-n*	*a-xō-n*

3.2.7.2 Preterite

The preterite ("simple past") consists of the plain past stem and the intransitive subject/transitive agent markers. Stress is placed on the stem vowel:

TABLE 10.12: PRETERITE

	'I came', etc.	'I ate', etc.
1s	*hāt-im*	*xwārd-im*
2s	*hāt-ī(t)*	*xwārd-it*
3s	*hāt*	*xwārd-ī*
1p	*hāt-īn*	*xwārd-mān*
2p	*hāt-in*	*xwārd-tān*
3p	*hāt-in*	*xwārd-yān.*

The preterite is a neutral perfective in aspect; it denotes a single event completed before the time of the utterance. It may denote more than one occurrence in a narrative but does not denote progressive or habitual action: *kay hāt-ī bō ēra?* 'when did you come here?'; *sē jār hāt-im bō ēra* 'I came here three times'.

3.2.7.2a "Aorist" function

The preterite is also used to denote the certainty of fulfillment of an action, as well as anticipated certainty: *daŋ-it ču bō amērīkā* 'your voice went ('has already gone') to America' (said to someone whose voice had just been tape-recorded). That is, the "preterite" is not confined to past contexts; hence it may be called an "aorist" in the same sense that the term is applied to similar phenomena in Persian and other Iranian languages (cf. Windfuhr 1986).

3.2.7.3 Imperfect

The imperfect denotes past progressive and habitual action ("was doing, used to do, would do"), and past future ("he said *he would go* and tell her the next day"):

a-hāt	'3s was coming'	*a-y-xwārd*	'3s was eating'
a-hāt-in	'they were coming'	*a-yān-xwārd*	'they were eating'.

The distinction between the preterite and the imperfect is best shown with inherently past forms of the stative verbs such as 'I knew'. Here, the preterite denotes a change of state or entering upon a state, while the imperfect denotes a continuous state or repeated action; thus preterite *zānī-m* 'I knew' in the sense 'found out, learned, recognized then and there' vs. imperfect *a-m-zānī* 'I knew' (all along).

3.2.7.4 Present perfect

The present perfect is based on the perfect participle in *-ū/-w*, the person marker, and with transitives the copula *-a*:

hāt-u-w-a	'he has come'	*xwārd-ū-y-a*	'he has eaten'
hāt-ū-n	'they have come'	*xwārd-ū-yān-a*	'they have eaten'.

The present perfect denotes an event completed prior to the moment of speaking but with present time relevance. It can often be translated into English as a present state or condition resulting from a completed event; it thus contrasts with the present in that it denotes a completed event in present time whereas the present denotes an action which is repeated or in the process of happening:

hāt-ū-m	'I have come, I'm here now';
hāt-im	'I came', 'here I am';
yē-m	'I come, I'm coming, I'll come'.

wastā-w-im	'I have (now) stood up, I am standing';
a-wastā-im	'I was getting up' or 'I always stood (there)';
a-wast-im	'I am getting up/will stand up' or 'I always stand here'.

3.2.7.5 Past perfect

The past perfect is formed of the reduced perfect participle in *-i* + the past of 'be', and the appropriate person markers, which attach to the entire complex verb form:

hāt-i bū	'3s had come'	*xwārd-i bū-y*	'3s had eaten'
hāt-i bū-n	'they had come'	*xwārd-i bū-yān*	'they had eaten'.

The past perfect denotes an event completed before the completion of a subsequent event in past time, or simply a remote event.

3.2.7.6 Imperative

The imperative is based on the present stem, with the elidible prefix *bi̱-* and the endings 2s *-ø*, *-a* after consonants, and 2p *-in*. Verbal pronoun objects are inserted before the stem: *bi̱-řō̱* 'go!', *bi̱-yān-frōš-in* 'sell them!'; *wař-* imperative stem of 'come': *wař-in-a ēra!* 'come-2p here!'; *wař-a*, *bā̱ bi̱-č-īn bō ēra* 'come, let's go over here'; *da ... (-day)* asseverative, invoking attention: *da bi̱-řō̱*, *da bi̱-řō̱ day!* 'go ahead!, go on!'; *da wař-a* 'come here!'.

3.2.7.7–8 Present and perfect subjunctives

The present subjunctive is based on the present stem, and the perfect subjunctive on the past stem + *-i* followed by the subjunctive of the copula. They express imperfective and perfective potential action or state, respectively:

(1) Present, hortative, *bā̱š-a*, *čī bi̱-ka-m?* 'OK, what shall I do?'; *bā̱š-a*, *bā̱ bi̱č-īn* 'good, let's go'; in dependent clause, *bi̱-č-ē(t)* '(that) 3s go'; *bi̱-xw-āt* '(that) 3s eat';

(2) Perfect, *hāt-i b-ē(t)* '3s may/might have come'; *xwārd-i b-ē(t)* '3s may/might have eaten'; *řaŋ ha-y-a halparkē-š [krā b-ēt]* 'perhaps there was folk-dancing, too' (lit. 'may have been done').

3.2.7.9–10 Imperfective and perfective counterfactual

There are two counterfactual forms marked by the modal prefix *bi̱-* and the enclitic *-ā* + 3s copula *-a*, attached to the past and the reduced perfect stems. They are restricted in use, occurring mostly in conditional clauses, and express imperfective and perfective hypothetical or irreal action or state (see section 5.5.2 Conditional clauses):

(1) *bi̱-hā̱t-ā-y-a* 'had 3s come' *bi̱-xwārd-ā-y-a* 'had 3s eaten'
(2) *bi̱-hā̱t-i bw-ā-y-a* '3s would have come' *bi̱-xwā̱rd-i bw-ā-y-a* '3s would have eaten'.

3.2.7.11 Overview of system of aspect, tense, and mood

The basic pattern of the system of tense, aspect, and mood may be shown as follows, using traditional terms for the individual paradigmatic forms in the 1s except for the 2s imperative (following suggestions by Windfuhr):

TABLE 10.13: SYSTEM OF ASPECT, MOOD, AND TENSE

PR = present stem; PT = past stem, intransitive

Imperfective	Indicative	Non-Indicative	
		bi-PR-a	Imperative
Present	*a-PR-im*	*bi-PR-im*	Present Subjunctive
Imperfect	*a-PT-im*	*bi-PT-im-ā-y-a*	Past Conditional
Perfective			
Aorist "Preterite"	*PT-im*		
Resultative			
Present perfect	*PT-ū-m*	*PT-i b-im*	Perfect Subjunctive
Past perfect	*PT-i bū-m-a*	*bi-PT-i b-ū-m-ā-y-a*	Perfect Conditional

4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

4.1 Coordinating conjunctions and clitics

The two basic coordinating conjunctions are *wa* ~ *-ū/-w* 'and', which usually cliticizes, and *yān* 'or'. Paired coordinators include *wa . . . wa* 'both . . . and', *yān . . . (wa) yān* 'either . . . or', *na . . . (-ū, -w) na* 'neither . . . nor', and others.

In addition, there is the enclitic *-īš* 'also, too' which attaches to the first component of the clause, even inside the first main component before other clitics:

> *min-[īš] yē-m* 'I'm coming, too'; *xō-[š]-ī wā wit* 'he himself (*xō*) also said (*-ī wit*) so (*wā*)'; *lē- [š]-it dā-m* 'you (*-it*) also hit me' (*lē dā-n* 'hit'); combined in: *nā̆-xō-m-awa-w nā̆-[š]-kē̆š-im* 'I don't drink nor do I smoke' (*-w < -ū* 'and').

4.2 Noun phrase structure

4.2.1 Post-head modifiers

Post-head nominal modifiers are linked by either of two liaison morphemes depending on whether the noun is definite or indefinite, where definite is defined as having the definite suffix *-aka* 'the' or a demonstrative envelope, such as *am . . . -a* 'this', whereas the indefinite noun has neither of these.

4.2.2 Dependent nominals

Dependent nominals, including adjectives, nouns, and nominal phrases, follow the head noun, and are linked by either of two liaison morphemes, *-ī* or *-a*.

4.2.2.1 Definite nominal phrases

The definite markers *-aka* 'the' and the deictic envelope *am/aw . . . -a* 'this/that' require the liaison morpheme *-a-*. In all other cases, including non-specific *-ēk* 'a', *-ī-* occurs: *kič-ēk-ī-jwān* 'a pretty girl' and *kič-a-jwān-aka* 'the pretty girl'.

Note that *nouns of inalienable possession* (some kinship and body-part names and the noun *nāw* 'name') are implicitly definite and do not receive the definite suffix: *dāyk-im* 'my mother'; *nāw-im* 'my name'.

4.2.2.2 Indefinite nominal phrases

The simple nominal phrase consists minimally of an unmarked indefinite noun or other nominal head with optional pre- or, most commonly, post-head modifiers. Numbers and quantifiers precede the head and take phasal stress: *dū pyāw* 'two men', *galē jār* 'many times, *čand šāl?* 'how many years?'

4.2.3 Izāfa construction

The *izāfa* construction with *-ī* is the unmarked type of subordination. The dependent nominal may be qualifying or limiting (with adjectives, nouns, particles as modifiers), possessive (with nouns, pronouns, interrogatives), appositive (nouns), naming (proper nouns), or infinitival phrases.

While the *izāfa* treats the head and the dependent nominal as separate semantic units, the construction with -*a* essentially treats the two components as forming a closer semantic and syntactic relationship. In schematic form the two types are as follows:

Type 1   Type 2
[N]-*ī* X   [N-*a* X] (compounds)
[N-*ēk*]-*ī* X
[N-*akā*]-*ī* X   [N-*a* X]-*akā*
[*am*/*aw* N-*ā*]-*ī* X   *am*/*aw* [N-*a* X]-*ā*.

Type 1

[N]-*ī* X: *hēlka-ī tāza* 'fresh eggs'; *pyāw-ī zōr* 'many men'; *dū pyāw-ī čāk* 'two good men';
jāsūs-ī ṣad ṣāł 'a spy of a hundred years'; *šaqām-ī wā* 'streets like this';
[N-*ēk*]-*ī* X: *[pyāw-ēk]-ī čāk* 'a good man';
[(*aw*) N-*akā*]-*ī* X: *[aw šaw-akā] -ī sarjō* 'that night in Serjo';
[*am*/*aw* N-*ā*]-*ī* X: *[am īš-ä]-ī tō* 'this/that deed of yours'.

Type 2

[N-*a* X], compounds: *kilk-a miška* 'rat-tail';
[N-*a* X]-*akā*: *[kič-a jwān]-akā* 'the pretty girl'; *[pyāw-a čāk]-akā* 'the good man';
aw [N-*a* X]-*ā*: *aw[(pyāw-a-čāk)-ak-ān]-ā* 'those good men'.

4.2.4 Specific dependents

kitēb-ī kē? 'whose book?'; *nāw-ī min* 'my name';
ganj-ī am-šār-ā 'the young (people) of this city';
sa'āt dū-ī pāš nīwař ō 'two o'clock in the afternoon';
nāw-ī mudīr-ī [ma'ārif] 'the name of the director of education';
bās-ī mēžū-ī [kurdustān] 'discussion of the history of Kurdistan'.

4.2.5 Naming, apposition

šār-ī silāmānī 'Sulaimania City, the city of Sulaimania'; *māŋ-ī galāwēž* 'the month of Gelawezh' (July–August); *Aḥmad-ī-birā-m* 'my brother Ahmad'.

4.2.6 Infinitival head or dependent

kišt-in-ī [kāwā] 'the killing of Kawa, Kawa's murder'; *xarīk-ī [dars-xwēnd-in]* 'busy at studying, about to study'.

4.3 Clause structure

4.3.1 Word order

In a declarative sentence the basic sequence of the clause is SUBJECT – OBJECT – VERB. Modifying adverbial phrases are inserted variously: clause-initially, after the subject, and before or after the verb. The clause as a whole may be introduced by one or more

introductory expressions, such as interjections and coordinating connectors. The minimal clause consists of an inflected verb. The full sequence is:

(I) (C) (S) (M1) (DO) (M2) (P) V (M3)

General rules include the following:

(1)   Introductory expressions (I) are typically interjections, conventional expressions of emotions:

> *ay* 'well, now; as for' (signaling a change of topic in conversation); *ay tō čōn-ī?* 'and you, how are you?'; – 'O'; *ay adīb-ak-ān-ī kurdustān!* 'O Writers of Kurdistan!'; *hā!* and *xō!* 'aha!'; *xō* 'I say!' (accosting); *tūxwā – txwā* 'indeed!' (incredulity, < *tō ū xudā* 'thou and God'); *marḥaba* 'hello';
> *āfērīm ~ āfērīn* 'bravo! well done!'; *nōš* 'cheers!' (a toast); *amān* 'alas; woe', *ōxay* 'ah' (delight);
> *balē, ā, bū, ay* (informal); *arē, arē-walla* (polite) 'yes'; *na, na-xēr* (polite) 'no'.

(2)   Connectors (C) include conjunctions such as *čuŋka* '(that is) because', *balām* 'but' (see section 5 Complex Sentences).

(3)   Direct object phrases (DO) as a rule follow subjects (S), but are not differentially marked.

(4)   Modifying adverbial phrases (M), when they co-occur in the same position, usually follow the sequence: Time – Location – Manner/Instrument:

> *dwēnē   la māl-awa ba dast   mār-ēk-ī   kušt*
> yesterday   at home   by hand snake-a-he killed
> 'he killed a snake by hand at home yesterday'.

(5)   In a sequence of two time adverbials the more specific follows; thus: *bayān-ī zū* 'early (zū) tomorrow'; *dwēnē šaw* 'yesterday evening'.

4.3.2   Verbal modifiers

Modifiers of the verb are typically indirect objects or expressions of manner:

> *kitēb-aka [ba dārā] a-frōš-im* 'I'll sell the book [to Dara]';
> *tō kurdī [bāš] a-zān-ī* 'you know Kurdish [well]';
> *řašōl [wā] dars a-xwēn-ē* '[that's how] Rashol studies (reads lesson)'.

Modifiers are often are placed postverbally. This includes typically allative expressions:

> *ēstā a-č-īn [bō māl-awa]* 'we're going to go [home] now';
> *čapōk a-kēš-in [ba sar-ī]* 'they slap him [on his head] (in disapproval)'.

Other parts of speech may occupy this position, such as subject clauses and post-copula locative expressions. Otherwise, the postverbal position marks special focus:

> *bāš bū hāt-ī [la-gal-m-ā]* 'it's good that you came [with me'] (lit. 'it was good');
> *am-a tāza-tir-īn šaqām-a [l-am-šār-a]* 'this is the newest street [in this city'];
> *a-lē-m [bō tō] . . .* '[to you] I say'.

4.3.3 Questions

Questions do not change word order. The question words appear where the parts of speech they represent are normally located: *imŕō saṛ-ī kwē a-da-yn?* 'what place are we visiting today?', *ču-n bo kwē?* 'where did they go?'.

Yes-no questions, mostly in literary Kurdish, are introduced by *āyā* 'whether', i.e. 'is it the case that': *āyā witāṛ-ēk-ī dirēž-ī xwēnd-awa?* 'did he deliver a long speech?'.

Questions are marked by a terminal interrogative intonation contour, e.g. *tō kurdī a-zān-ī?* 'do you know Kurdish?'. Briefly, it is a contour that is falling but does not fall as far as the level of a terminal statement contour.

4.3.4 Topicalization

In topic – comment constructions, the topic is extraposed before its clause and a reference to it, typically a resumptive pronoun or verbal agreement, is contained in the clause; thus:

nā-zān-im   [tō]   īš[-it]   čī-y-a
I don't know you   work-your   what-is
'I don't know what *your* work is'.

4.4 Syntax and use of nominal forms

4.4.1 Pronouns

The independent pronouns are mostly used for emphasis or contrastive focus. They occur as: (1) subjects; (2) objects of prepositions; and (3) possessors in *izāfa* noun phrases.

4.4.2 Personal enclitics

The enclitic pronouns serve as: (1) direct object in the present tense; (2) subject markers on transitive verbs in the past tenses and objects of past tense verbs; (3) objects of prepositions and of present tense verbs; (4) possessor in noun phrases; (5) experiencer or beneficiary after adjectives.

As a general rule, the direct object suffixes in the transitive present tense verb phrases (as opposed to single-word verbs), on the one hand, and those of the subject/agent suffixes in transitive past tenses, on the other hand, follow the rule of leftmost attachment. The hierarchy in both present and past is as follows: (1) the nominal parts of the verb phrase; (2) the preverbs; (3) the prefixes. In their absence they are attached to the verb form itself. All of these are superseded in the transitive past by the direct object/patient noun or noun phrase.

The past intransitive person markers (see Table 10.10) are suffixed to the past tense transitive verbs to indicate pronominal direct objects.

4.4.3 Subject and object marking

(1)   Nominal components, present tense object:

(a)   Adjective: *kay pān[-yān] a-ka-n?* 'when will they widen them?' *(pān* 'wide');

(b)   Noun: *bō bās[-ī] a-ka-n?* 'why are you-2p discussing it?' ('doing its discussion');

tašakkur [-it] a-ka-m 'I thank you very much' ('make gratitude of/to you');

(2)   Preverb: *bā war[-yān] bi-gr-īn* 'let's (*bā*) take them' (*war-* 'up');

(3)   Prefix: *bɩ[-yān]-xō* 'eat them!'.

4.4.4 Past agent suffixes

Examples of leftmost attachment (3s patients = zero ending, DO = direct object/patient phrase; AG = agent suffix):

(1)   DO + [AG] + VB:

tanhā yak kitēb [-im] kiřī '[I] bought only one book';
čī[-tān] kird l-awē? 'what did [you-2p] do there?';
ustāz-ak-ān-yān aw-řōž-a bās-ī mēžū-ī kurdustān[-yān] na-kird.
'on that day their professors ([they]) did not discuss the history of Kurdistan', lit. 'did not make the discussion of K.'.

(2)   DO + [AG] + Locative + VB:

bō čī am-wiša-y-a-[t] la-sar taxta-ka nūsī? 'why did [you] write this word on the blackboard?';

(3)   DO + [AG] + Nominal + VB:

māł-aka[-mān] čāk kird/a-kird/kird-ū-wa
'[we] improved/were improving/have improved our house'.

(4)   DO + [AG] + Preverb + VB:

āw[-ī] tēk war dāla-dāldā-w-a '[he] stirred/was stirring/has stirred the water'.

4.4.5 Particles *čōn* and *wā*

Exceptionally, the suffixes may be attached to the pair of manner adverbs *čōn* 'how?', *wā*, 'thus': *čōn[-it] zān-ī?* 'how did you come to know that?'; *wā[-m] zānī* 'I came to know it thus' = 'as far as I know, I believe'; *wā[-yān₁] nāw-yān₂ nūsī* 'they (*-yān₁*) wrote their (*-yān₂*, 'the others') names like this'.

4.4.6 Verb-only phrases

There are specific rules for sequencing past agent suffixes and patient endings after simple verb forms. The basic rule requires that the agent suffixes be attached directly to the verb form, followed by the personal ending marking the patient: VB + agent suffix + patient ending:

TABLE 10.14: PRETERITE AGENT AND PATIENT

Agent/Enclitic		Patient/Ending
1s Stem	-*im*	-*im*
2s	-*it*	-*īt*
3s	-*ī*	-*ø*
1p	-*mān*	-*īn*
2p	-*tān*	-*in*
3p	-*yān*	-*in*

Examples:

bīnī̠-m-īt	'I saw you-2s';	*bīnī̠-t-im*	'you-2s saw me';
bīnī̠-mān-in	'we saw you-2p';	*bīnī̠-tān-īn*	'you-2p saw us';
bīnī̠-tān-in	'you-2p saw them';	*bīnī̠-yān-in*	'they saw you-2p'.

However, there are two exceptions to the basic rule: (1) the 3s agent suffix -*ī* is always second; (2) the 1s -*im*. whether agent suffix or patient ending, precedes any *plural* subject or object:

3s agent second	1s before plural patient and agent
bīnī-m-ī 'he saw me';	*bīnī-m-in* 'I saw you-2p';
bīnī-t-ī 'he saw you-2s (-*ī(t)*)';	*bīnī-m-in* 'I saw them';
bīnī-n-ī 'he saw us/you-2p/them';	*bīnī-m-tān* 'you-2p saw me';
(*bīnī-n* < *bīnī-īn, -in, -in*);	*bīnī-m-yān* 'they saw me'.

The rule of 1s + plural agents may not apply to all varieties of Kurdish, as other varieties have different rules.

In all other combinations, the agent comes before patient.

4.4.7 Preposing of adpositional suffixes

When an adpositional phrase follows a direct object, the personal enclitic precedes its adposition and is directly attached to the object, and the adposition assumes its absolute form; thus, *bō min* 'to, for me' > -*im bō, ba min* 'to me' > -*im pē, la tō* 'of, from you' > -*it lē*, e.g.:

čā[-m bō] b-ēn-a! 'bring me some tea!';
ūd[-it bō] lē a-da-m 'I'll play the lute for you';
a-m-awē čaŋ su'āl-ēk[-it lē] bi-ka-m 'I want to ask you some questions';
gwē [-y lē] a-gr-im 'I'll listen to him';
ērā [-m pē] xōš-a 'I like it here' ('here is nice to me').

In sequences of two adpositional phrases the attachment of the suffixes may result in complex intertwined patterns: with *gwē lē girt-in* 'listen ('take ear') to':

gwē [-t]-ī [bō] [lē] a-gr-im
'I'll listen to him (-*ī . . . lē*) for you (-*t . . . bō*)'.

However, in transitive past tenses, the agent suffixes precede the adpositional phrase, and block the inversion:

su'āl-ēk-im [lē-y] kird
'I (*-im*) asked him (*-y*) a question' (*su'āl la N kird-in* 'ask something of a person').

4.4.8 Past tense object and possessor raising

In the absence of direct object phrases, the beneficiary expressed by indirect objects or objects of adpositions may behave similarly to direct objects in past tenses. That is, as an alternative to the regular ergative construction, they may be syntactically "raised" and marked by the personal endings. Similarly, the possessor of a direct object/patient phrase may be "raised":

(1) Beneficiary:

salām-yān [lē] kird [-īn]
'they (*-yān*) greeted us (*lē -īn*)', lit. 'made greeting to us';
[pē]-m wit [-in]
'I (*-im*) said to you-2s' (*pē -in*).

(2) Possessor:

[bačkak-ān]-ī a-xwārd-im
'it (*-ī*) used to eat my (*-im*) children' (MacKenzie 1961: 115).

4.4.9 Three-place verb 'to give to'

This verb typically has double valence, the direct and the indirect object, which is expressed in Kurdish by the postposition *-a*, absolute form *-ē*. The latter follows the inflected verb forms (preceded by *-r-* after vocalic ending), but its object suffix is attached according to the leftmost rule (MK = MacKenzie 1961):

(1) Present:

dīnār-ēk[-it] a-da[-m]-ē   *a[-y]-d-[āt]-ē*
dinar-one you-2s IMPF-give-I-to   IMPF-him-he gives-to
'I'll give you (*-it -ē*) a dinar';   'he gives it (*-ø*) to him (*-ī -ē*)';

(2) Preterite and perfect, indirect object raised:

kič-ēk[-yān] na-dā[-yn]-ē   *hīč[-yān] na-dā-w[-im] -at-ē*
girl-one-they-Ag-not-gave-we are-to   any-they-AG-not given-PF-I am-PF-to
'they did not give us (*-īn -ē*) a girl' MK 80;   'they have given nothing to me'
                                                                    MK 116.

In the absence of a preceding noun phrase, there may be a *triple* sequence, such that the indirect object is expressed by a second personal ending. The relative order is essentially that of transitive verbs:

(1) Present: (2) Preterite:
a[-t]-da[-m]-ē[-n]   *dā[-m] [-īt] [-in]-ē*
IMP-you-2s-give-1s-to-they are   gave-1s Ag-you-2s are-they are-to
'I'll give them to you';   'I gave you to them' MK 116.

4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms

4.5.1 Possession

Possession is expressed by the 3s of the existential verb, *ha̱-y-a* 'there is, exists' and the personal enclitics in their function as indirect object/beneficiary. They are attached to the object possessed: *-m ha-y-a* 'to me is' = 'I have', exceptionally to *ha-* in the absence of an object: *da dīnār [-im ha-bŭ], balām ēstā hĭč pāra[-m nī-y-a]* 'I had ten dinars, but now I don't have any money at all'.

4.5.2 Aspectual constructions

4.5.2.1 Virtual accomplishment

Virtual accomplishment or completion of an action is expressed by the locative particle *wā* 'here, now' and the preterite ("aorist"): *wā ha̱t-im* 'I'm coming! I'm on my way!'; cf. *wā-n la ērā̱n-dā* 'they are (*-in*) now (*wā*) in Iran (*la . . . dā*)'.

4.5.2.2 Progressive action

Progressive action may be highlighted by the locative infinitival construction: *la* + [infinitive] + *-(d)ā* + copula:

> *la [r̃ōyšt-i̱n]-ā-yn*   'we are going' vs. simple present:
> *a-r̃ō-yn*   'we go, are going'.

4.5.2.3 Continued intensive action

Continued intensive action may be expressed by an infinitival *izāfa* construction depending on semantically fitting nominals such as *xarīk* 'busy' + infinitive:

> *mā̱ŋ-a*   *xarīk-ī* *[īš kird-in]-in*
> (it) month is (that) busy-IZ [work-doing] they are.
> 'for months they (*-in*) have been hard at work'

4.5.3 Modal constructions

The modal verbs in Sōrānī expressing ability, desire, etc., are realized mostly as canonical verbs triggering a subjunctive verb; necessity is typically expressed by verb or adjective plus subjunctive.

4.5.3.1 Ability

Ability is expressed by the transitive verb *twān-/twānī-* 'be able, can'; it may take a direct object:

> *nā̱-twān-im bi-r̃ō-m*   'I can't go';
> *a-t-twān-im*   'I can manage you (*-t*)!'

4.5.3.2 Desire, necessity, and assumption

Desire, necessity, and assumption are expressed by the modals (1) *awē(t)-/wıst-* 'want', (2) *a-b-ē* '(it) must (be)', and (3) *pē wıst-a* 'is necessary'. These are impersonal constructions; with *awē-/wıst* 'want' the experiencer must be expressed by personal enclitic ('to me is desire'):

(1) 'want':

ama[-m] a-wē	.	'I (-*m*) want this one';
hīč-yān [-mān] nā-wē		'we (-*mān*) don't want any of them (-*yān*)';
a[-m]-awē	*bi-zān-ī*	'I want you to know';
a[-mān]-awē	*bi-řō-yn*	'we want to go';
a[-mān]-a-wist	*bi-řō-yn*	'we wanted to go';

(2) 'must':

a-b-ē	*bi-řō-yn*	'we must go, we have to go';
nā-b-ē	*bi-řō-yn*	'we mustn't go';
assumption,		
a-b-ē	*řōyšt-i b-ēt*	'he must have gone' (perfect subjunctive);

(3) 'necessary':

pē wist-a	*bi-řō-yn*	'it is necessary that we go, we have to go';
pē wist-a	*zū b-ī-kay*	'you must do it (-*ī*) right away' ('it is necessary that').

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

5.1 Coordinate clauses

The canonical simple sentence consists of a single independent clause; it may also consist of an interjection or, through ellipsis, a single word or phrase.

Statements are signaled by a sentence-final intonation contour. In written Kurdish they are signaled by Western punctuation marks and practices.

Compound sentences may be coordinated or subordinated, with or without overt connectors, and may be quite complex.

The connectors may be simple conjunctions or complex phrases.

Coordination conjunctions include *wa ~ -ū/w* 'and', *yā* 'or'; *balām* 'but', *balkū* 'but': *wa la-pāš aw-a, čī-t kird?* 'and after that, what did you do?' (see also the coordinating conjunctions and clitics discussed in section 4.1).

5.2 Subordinate clauses

Matrix verbs and other expressions that govern assertions are followed by verbs in the indicative, whereas verbs and expressions that require action or a change of state by the embedded subject or express doubt or other such emotions are followed by embedded subjunctive verbs.

Subordinating conjunctions include: *ka* 'that; when'; *agar* 'if'; *agī na* 'otherwise'; *magar* 'unless, if not'; *hatā ~ tā* 'until', 'in order that': temporal, purpose, and conditional clauses; *čūŋka* 'because'; *wak, wakū* 'as'.

In addition, there are complex conjunctive phrases with prepositions of varying syntactic complexity, both coordinating and subordinating. They are marked by adpositions, often based on the neutral demonstrative *awa* 'that' which may be followed by the relative connector *-ī*, with or without the conjunction *ka* 'that'. These phrases mostly originate in adverbial constructions, and are particularly frequent in literary registers.

Clauses introduced by conjunctive phrases such as 'before, without, instead of' also trigger the subjunctive:

> *har gwē a-gr-in bē aw-a-ī hawbašī bi-ka-n la qiṣa kird-in-ā*
> 'they only listen **without** taking part in the discussion'
> (lit., 'without (that) they may take part in the discussion').

5.3 Relative clauses

As a rule, relative clauses are introduced by: (1) the conjunction *ka* 'who' if definite and specific; (2) *-ī* if definite, restrictive; (3) no overt connector, or *-ēk*.

Clause-internally, the head (antecedent) is resumed by the personal ending if subject, but by the personal enclitic in all other functions.

The degree of definiteness also determines the mood of the verb in the relative clause. It is: (1) indicative if the antecedent is definite, whether specific or not; (2) subjunctive if the antecedent is indefinite:

5.3.1 Subject

(1) Definite antecedent:

> *aw pyāw-a ka   hāt la-gal-t-ā*
> 'the **('that') man who** came with you';

> *am-a   sē-y-am koŋgra-y-a ka   l-am bābat-a-wa a-gīr-ē*
> **this** is **the third congress that**   on this topic   will be held';

> *aw-a-ī ka   hāt   la-gal-t-ā*
> '**the one that** came with you'.

(2) Indefinite antecedent:

> *awa-ī bi-č-ēt-a šār-ī kwēr-ān,   a-bē dast ba čāw-awa bi-gr-ēt*
> '**he who** goes to the city of the blind   must cover his eyes with his hand'
> ("when in Rome do as the Romans do", proverb);

> *kas ha-y-a l-awē   kurdī bi-zān-ē?*
> 'is there **anyone** there   (that) knows Kurdish?'.

5.3.2 Pronoun other than subject

(1) Specific:

> *aw pyāw-a ka l-awē a-y-bīnī*
> '**the** man   **that** you see him there';

(2)   Indefinite, -*ēk*:

duktōr-ēk a-nās-im,   *a-č-īn-a lā-y*   *a-mān-awē* **kas-ēk**   *bi-zān-ē kurdī*
'I know a doctor   (that) we can go to him';   'we want **someone**   (that) he
                                                                        knows Kurdish';

hīč tīp-ēk nī-y-a,   *bi-twān-ē ba sar tīp-aka-mān sar kaw-ē*
'there is no (any one) team   (that) can beat (fall ahead of) our team'.

5.4 Subject and object clauses

Subject and object clauses as a rule follow the verb phrase, and may be introduced by the
conjunction *ka*.

5.4.1 Subject clauses

bāš-bū   *hāt-ī*   *la-gal-m-ā*
'it's good (that) you came with me'.

5.4.2 Object clauses

(1)   No *ka*:

kē a-zān-ē   *ma'nā-y am-wiša-y-a či-y-a?*
'who knows   **what** the meaning of this word is?';

(2)   with *ka* 'that':

bıst-im   **ka**   *la saratā-ī māŋ-ēk-ī tir sarōk jamhūriyat-ī amarīkā a-č-ē bō faransa*
'I heard **that** at the beginning of next month the American President will go to
France';

(3)   Sequential clauses:

wā bi-zān-im   *hamū kas-ēk a-zān-ē*
'I believe   everybody knows

ka *xanjar-ī-kurdustān la hamū xanjar-ēk bāš-tir-a*
that the daggers of Kurdistan are better than any other daggers';

(4)   Asyndetic:

bīnī-m-īt   *a-hāt-ī* 'I saw you coming' ('I saw you, you were coming').

5.4.3 Quotations

Quotations are in direct speech:

ba tō a-lē-m   *nā-zān-im* 'to you I say,   "I don't know" ';

pē-y wit-im   *nā-m-a-wē bi-č-im la-gal-tān*
'he told me   he didn't want to go with us' (lit. 'I don't want to go with **you-2p**)'.

5.4.4 Predicative clauses

awa 'that' occupies the predicate position; the appositive predicate clause follows the copula:

> *čāk-tir-īn šit   l-am-kitēb-a   awa-y-a   naxšay-ēk-ī kurdustān-ī tyā-y-a*
> 'the best thing about this book **is this   (that)** there is a map of Kurdistan in it';

> *yak-ēk l-awāna   awa bū*
> 'one of them [news items] **was this**
> *māmwastā-yān-ī kurd . . . la baɣā bās-ī zimān-ī kurdī a-ka-n*
> (that) the Kurdish teachers will discuss the Kurdish language in Baghdad'.

5.4.5 Appositive complement clauses

In constructions like *la birwā-dā bū-n* 'be of opinion, believe', the appositive clauses are in apposition with *aw-birwā-y-a* 'that opinion':

> *min l-aw-birwā-y-a-dā-m,*
> 'I am of that opinion
> *kobūn-awa-ī sarōkwazīr-ān-a wilāt-a-gawra-k-ān šitēk-ī zōr ba kalk-a*
> '(that) meetings of the prime ministers of the major powers are a very beneficial thing'.

Note that in this and similar constructions the appositive clause occurs without the conjunction *ka* 'that'.

5.5 Adverbial clauses

5.5.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are introduced by conjunction *ka* 'when', and as a rule precede the main clause. A particular use of tense is that of the preterite verb form in its function of indicating completed action or condition, in either past or present time ("aorist"). Anticipated action before another, *pēš awa-ī* 'before', requires the subjunctive:

> *ka bū ba sa'āt dwānza,   nān-mān xwārd*
> '**when** it was (became) twelve o'clock we ate';

> *ka gayšt-in-a awē,   kāɣaz-ēk-im bō bi-nūs-in*
> '**when** you-2p get ('got') there   send me a letter';

> *pēš awa-ī b-ē-yn bō sinif* '**before** we come to class'.

5.5.2 Conditional clauses

5.5.2.1 Real, possible, and irreal conditions

Conditional clauses precede the main clause, and are normally, but not necessarily, introduced by *agar* 'if'.

Real conditions, or conditions presumed as fact, are in the indicative; potential or probable conditions are in the subjunctive; and counterfactual or irreal conditions are in the "conditional" mood.

There are various patterns of the tense-mood sequences in protasis and apodosis, which will be indicated in the examples below.

(1) Factual conditions:

    (a) present + present:

> *agar a-zān-ī ımřō-š har bē tāqat-ī,   duktōr-ēk a-nās-im a-č-īn-a lā-y*
> 'if **you think** you are still indisposed, **I know** a doctor   to whom we will go';

    (b) present + imperative:

> *ḥaz a-ka-yt,   tō-š wař-a pyāsa bi-ka-yn*
> '(if) **you feel** like (it), you too come for a stroll' ('**that we stroll**').

(2) Possible conditions:
Subjunctive + present,

agar dā nīš-im,   diraŋ a-b-ē
'if **I sit down**   **I will be** late';

wā bi-zān-im,   min-īš kabāb bi-xō-m bāš-a

'thus I should think, "(if) I too should eat some kabob, it's fine" ', i.e.
'I think I should have some kabob too'.

(3) Counterfactual conditions:

The basic pattern in counterfactual conditional clauses is that the condition in the protasis is marked by the conditional forms in *-ā-y-a*, followed in the apodosis by either the imperfect or the past perfect in their counterfactual function:

	Protasis	Apodosis
Imperfect:	*bi-kird- . . . ā-y-a*	*a- . . . kird*
Past perfect:	*bi-kird-i bw- . . . ā-y-a*	*kird-i bū . . .*

Of these, the imperfect form may refer to both present and past contexts, but the past perfect form only to anterior contexts. Occasionally, the imperfect and past perfect may occur in the protasis as well:

imperfect + imperfect
agar xanjar-aka-t-mān na-dā-yt-ā-y-awa,   čī-t   a-kird?
if dagger- you-2s (-*īt*)-**we-**AG had not given-it-COND what-you-AG would do-IMPF
'if we hadn't given you back your dagger, what would you have done?'.

Here the verb is *dā-n-awa* 'give back', whose positive conditional form would be *bi-dā[-ā-y-a]-awa*.

5.5.2.2 _agīna_ 'if not, otherwise'

This explicit apodosis conjunction is regularly followed by the imperfect in its modal function:

> _na-m-zānī na-xōš bū-y, agīna na-a-čū-m_
> 'I didn't know you were sick, otherwise I wouldn't have gone':

> _agīna dwēne har sar-**im** a-**dā**-y la ūtēl-aka._
> 'Otherwise **I would** certainly **have** visited you at the hotel yesterday'
> (_sar dā-n la_ 'to drop in on, visit').

5.5.2.3 Wishes

Wishes are introduced by the particle _xōzga_ 'would that' (< *_xwaz ka_ 'wish that') and parallel conditional clauses. Fulfillable wishes are in the subjunctive, unfulfillable ones in the imperfect:

> _xōzga_   _lē-m **bi-tirs-in**_ 'I hope **they will (may)** be afraid of me':

> _xōzga jār-ēk-ī tir-īš **a-hāt-īt**-awa nāw-mān_
> 'I wish **you-2s would come** again (and live) among us'.

5.5.3 _Causal clauses_

Causal clauses that imply a reason or condition precede the main clause, and are introduced by demonstrative relative phrases such as _la-bar awa-ī_ 'on that' + _ka_. Those that are explanatory follow the main clause, usually introduced by _čūŋ-ka_:

> _**la-bar awa-y-ka** a-č-in   bō bayā bi-xwēn-in,_
> '**since** you are going   to Baghdad to study ('that you study'),

> _kāyaz-ēk a-nūs-im bō řašōl_
> I'll write a letter to Rashol';

> _ba řāstī,   ḥaz nā-ka-m dā nīš-im-_SUBJ,
> 'to tell the ruth, I don't want to sit down,
>   _**čūŋ-ka** a-m-awē   tōž-ēk pyāsa bi-ka-m-_SUBJ
>   **because** I want   to take a little stroll'.

5.5.4 _Purpose clauses_

Clauses expressing purpose generally follow the main clause, with the verb properly in the subjunctive. They may be introduced by the adverbial phrase _bō awa-ī_ 'in order that', or _hatā, tā_ 'so that', but often occur without overt conjunctive. The latter is also the typical pattern for potential action after verbs and phrases implying purpose:

5.5.4.1 Potential action

> _dā nīš-a,   tōz-ēk qiṣa bi-ka-yn_
> 'sit down (_dā_), (so) we can talk a bit';

kāyaz-ēk a-nūs-im bō bawk-im
'I'll write my father a letter,
    bō awa-ī *yārmatī-tān bi-d-ā ka gayšt-in-a awē*
    so that he will help you   ·   when you get there';

hatā sar bi-kaw-in **'that** you-2p fall ahead', i.e.
'in order for you to succeed'.

5.5.4.2 Non-factive phrases

zōr ḥaz a-ka-m   ṣāl-ēk-ī tir bi-č-im bō amarīka bi-xwēn-im
'I very much want to go to America next year to study' ('that I study');

hīwadār-im   la xōšī-w baxtɪyārī-dā b-in
'I hope   (that) you-2p will live ('be') in happiness and prosperity';

biryār-mān dā   bi-č-īn bō sayrān
'we decided   to go on a picnic' ('that we go');

min āmāda-m   bō-t yārmatī bi-ka-m
'I am ready   to help you' ('that I do help');

řaŋ ha-y-a halparkē-š krā b-ēt
'perhaps   there was folk-dancing, too' (lit. 'may have been done').

5.5.4.3 Suggestions

Independent subjunctive clauses express proposed actions and questions about actions:

bō kām lā bi-č-īn? 'which way shall we go?' (*lā* 'side').

Usually there is an introductory hortative *bā* 'let' (< *b-ā-d 'may it be') for suggestions:

bā bi-č-īn! 'let's go!'; *bā b-ēt!* 'have him come!';
bā har qṣa na-k-am 'I'd just better not say anything.'

6 LEXIS

6.1 Word formation

6.1.1 Derivation

6.1.1.1 Nouns

-čī, occupation: *bōyāčī* 'bootblack' (*bōyā* 'shoe shine');
-ōka, diminutive: *minālōka* '(dear) little child' (*mināl* 'child').

6.1.1.2 Nouns or adjectives

-ī, abstractions, quality or state, '-ness, -hood': *dāykī* 'motherhood'; *jwānī* 'beauty';
-ā-y-at-ī, abstractions: *sarōkāyatī* 'leadership' (*sarōk* 'leader');
-ī, gentilic, origin: *īsāyī* 'Christian';

-gā, place: *kārgā* 'workplace' (*kār* 'work');

-xāna, building, room: *čāyxāna* 'tea-house' (*čāy* 'tea');

-ą̄, quality or condition: *sārdā* 'coldness'.

6.1.1.3 Adjectives

-ā-w-ī, covered with: *qōrāwī* 'muddy';

-bą̄w, of the shade of: *sūrbāw* 'reddish'.

6.1.1.4 Negation

na-, nā-, unstressed; *nā-* seems to be used more than *na-* for figurative meanings; with nouns, adjectives, verb stems:

(1) *xōš* 'good, fine': *naxōš* 'ill, sick'; *nāxōš* 'unpleasant'; *fām* 'comprehension': *nafām* 'innocent (child)'; *nāfām* 'ignorant';

(2) others: *nākas* 'baseborn' (nobody); *nabū* 'non-existent'; *namir* 'undying, immortal'.

6.1.2 Compounding

6.1.2.1 With or without a composition vowel:

čwārpē 'quadruped' ('four-foot'); *mārmāsī* 'eel' (snake-fish'); *gīyānlabar* 'animal' ('soul-upon'), *čāwaṙē* 'expecting, in wait' ('eye-to-road'); *qiṣaxōš* 'witty' ('speech-pleasant'); *dūrūdrēž* 'prolonged, in detail' ('far-and-long').

6.1.2.2 Verbal component

noun + verb: *ṙasmgīr* 'photographer' ('picture-taker'), *dilgīr* 'sad' ('heart-taken'), *maặšxōr* 'employee' ('salary-eater', cf. Persian *-xor*); *ṙōžhālhāt* 'sunrise; east' ('sun-up-coming'); adjective + verb: *dūrbīn* 'telescope' ('far-seeing').

6.1.2.3 Reduplication

Reduplicated nominals are most frequently nouns and adjectives, with either distributive meaning, like *damdam* 'from time to time', from *dam* 'period of time, a while', or intensified meaning, like *palapal* 'great haste' from *pala* 'haste'. The latter example illustrates the elison of word-final *-a*.

6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects

6.2.1 Registers

Modern Standard Kurdish constitutes the literary register of Sulaimani Kurdish. It is characterized by primarily literary expressions, e.g. *tanānat* 'then', and by none of the consonantal morphophonemic changes discussed under Phonology. The imperfective aspect marker in MSK is *da-* rather than *a-*; it is the prefix found in most Sōrānī outside of Sulaimania. There is also a spoken Formal register, a deliberate variation in which, for example, the palatalization of *k* and g may be blocked.

6.2.2 Modes of address

Polite forms consist of second person plural verb forms or pronouns used in addressing an individual, and in the use of specialized honorific lexical items. Illustrations of the latter are the verb *farmū-n* 'to order, command' which in the imperative means "please (do the honor of) . . ." as in *farmū dā nīš-a* 'please sit down' and in the indicative means "speak, talk' as in *wakū a-farmū-y* 'as you say [polite]'.

The expression *ōyir* 'blessed goings and comings' occurs in the polite expression *ōyir-bē* 'where are you going?' and its response *ōyir-tān xēr-bē* 'may your goings be blessed' (*bē* < *b-ēt* 'may it be'), and in the verbal phrase *ōyir kird-in* 'to depart'. *kāk-a* 'sir!', vocative of *kāk* 'older brother', is commonly used as a term of respect for older men.

7 DIALECTOLOGY

The major work on comparative Kurdish dialectology remains MacKenzie (1961), together with his other comparative publications. More recently numerous scholars have contributed both comprehensive studies, particularly Fattah (2000) for Southern Kurdish, and typologically oriented studies. A notable recent contribution is the succinct overview of Kurmānjī by Haig and Paul (2001). The following highlights the major features in dialectal variation.

The major break, defined by convergent bundles of isoglossic lines, is that between Northern Kurdish and Sōrānī. Northern Kurdish itself shows a western and eastern division (not discussed here).

7.1 Phonology

The basic differences in the phonological systems between Northern and non-Northern Kurdish are shown in the following synoptic tables. In the vocalic system, typical for the latter is the retention of *ō*, and the phonemic status of *ι* in Sulaimania. A feature that is common to all dialects of Kurdish is that the most common allophone of *a* is [ə].

In the consonantal system, the most salient Northern feature is the phonemic opposition between aspirated and non-aspirated stops, undoubtedly due to contact with Armenian in Eastern Anatolia. In turn, non-Northern are the lenization of intervocalic *-d-* to a glide (Zagros-*d*), and the phonemic status of velar *ŋ* and of velarized *l*, as found in Sulaimania.

TABLE 10.15: COMBINED KURDISH VOWEL PHONEMES

[ ] = only Sul.; ( ) = only North.; *a* mostly /ə/

	Front	Central	Back
High long	*ī* (*ü*)		*ū*
short	[*ι*]	*i*	*u*
Mid long	*ē*		[*ō*]
short		*a*	
Low		*ā*	

TABLE 10.16: COMBINED KURDISH CONSONANT PHONEMES

[ ] = only Sul., [ə̣] = Zagros-*d*; ( ) = only North

	Labial	Dental	Phar.	Palatal	Velar	Uv.	Phar.	Glottal
Stops/Affricates								
aspirate	*(pʰ)*	*(tʰ)*			*(kʰ)*			
voiceless	*p*	*t*	*(ṭ)*	*č*	*k*	*q*		*ʾ*
voiced	*b*	*d*		*j*	*g*			
Fricatives								
voiceless	*f*	*s*	*ṣ*	*š*	*x*		*ḥ*	*h*
voiced	*v*	*z*	*(ẓ)*	*ž*	*γ*		*ʿ*	
Glides	*w*	*[ə̣]*		*y*				
Nasals	*m*	*n*			*[ŋ]*			
Flap/Lateral								
plain		*r l*						
trill/velarized		*ř [l]*						

7.2 Nominal inflection

The typical system of nominal inflection in northern Kurdish has binary distinction in number, case, as well as gender, but confined to the singular. Number and gender are also marked in the Kurdish *izāfa* construction. The direct plural is typically zero vs. the oblique -*ān*. The following examples show the pattern in the northern variety of Cizre-Botan (Jizre-Bohtān) spoken south of Lake Van (adapted from Haig and Paul 2001).

TABLE 10.17: PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN CIZRE-BOTAN

	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
DIR	*ez*	*tu*	*ew*	*em*	*hūn*	*ew*
OBL	*min*	*te*	m. *wī* f. *wē*	*me*	*we*	*w-ān*

TABLE 10.18: NOMINAL INFLECTION IN CIZRE-BOTAN

	'man'	plural	'woman'	plural
Definite				
DIR	*mēr*	*mēr*	*jin*	*jin*
OBL	*mēr-ī*	*mēr-ān*	*jin-ē*	*jin-ān*
Indef.				
DIR	*mēr-ek*	*mēr-in*	*jin-ek*	*jin-in?*
OBL	*mēr-ek-ī*	*mēr-in-ān*	*jin-ek-e*	*jin-in-ān?*
Izāfa				
Def.	*mēr-ē*	*mēr-ēn*	*jin-a*	*jin-ēn*
Indef.	*mēr-ek-ī*	*mēr-in-e*	*jin-ek-e*	*jin-in-e?*

This table includes indefinite plural forms in -*in*, which are cited in certain grammatical descriptions, but may be doubtful (here marked by '?'; cf. Standard Persian indefinite plurals such as *mard-hā-ī* 'certain men' in specific contexts).

Sulaimani Kurdish and the Wārmāwa variety to its south represent a distinct island within the Kurdish expanse. They have lost nominal inflection (except for the reflexes in the vocative and a few locative/temporal forms mentioned above), and have generalized the oblique plural ending -*ān* as plural marker, and the indefinite masculine marker of the *izāfa*, -*ī*.

The northern dialects lack the definite marker -*aka*, while -*a* with preceding demonstratives is confined to the proximate in a subset of those dialects.

The retention of gender and case distinction in Northern Kurdish may well be due to the Zāzākī dialects where an even more complex system is found, particularly in the *izāfa* construction, both adjectival and nominal, and in combination (see also section 4.2.1 *Ezāfe* constructions in the Zāzākī Chapter 9 in this volume). The northern pattern is shown in the following examples (adapted from Schroeder 2002):

adjectival: *šav-ā čū-y-ī* = night-EZ-F gone' = 'last night',
indefinite: *gund-ak-ī xwašik* = village-EZ-INDEF-EZ-M nice = 'a nice village';
nominal: *dast-ē kačik-ē* = hand-EZ-M girl-OBL-F = 'the hand of the girl', 'the girl's hand'.

When combined, the adjective qualifying the head noun is postponed after the inserted possessor, e.g.:

| *hawš-ā* | *w-ān-ā* | *marmarī* |
| courtyard-EZ-F | they-OBL-3p-EZ | of-marble = 'their marble courtyard'. |

Northern Kurdish also shares with Zāzākī the loss of the personal enclitics. These dialects therefore differ remarkably from the others where particularly in transitive past tenses one finds complex patterns of postverbal sequencing of personal agent and patient marking, as shown above for Sulaimanī.

7.3 Verb system

Northern Kurdish has a modal particle for future, *(d)ē*, followed by the present tense (cf. Zāzākī). It has a periphrastic passive construction, and lacks the morphologically derived passives. In turn, it has retained the ergative construction with past transitive verbs, where the agent is in the oblique, and the patient in the direct case and marked by the verbal ending: *min* (DIR) *tō* (DIR) *'afō kir-ī* = I thou forgiveness made-2s = 'I have forgiven you' (Akre variety). This contrasts with the agential construction, where the agent is marked by the personal enclitic, as described for Sulaimanī above.

8 SAMPLE SŌRĀNĪ TEXT

This excerpt is from a short story "Kwā kuř-aka-m?" by Mistifā Sāłih Karīm about a man who is in the hospital after having saved a boy from a raging flood, thinking that he was saving his own son who has in fact perished in the flood. Here he is talking to his wife Galawezh (Abdulla and McCarus 1967: 49).

kwā *kur̆-aka-m?*
where-is son-the-my
'Where is my son?'

. . . .

ma-gir-ī, *galawēž,* *ma-gir-ī.*
not-cry-2s Galawezh not-cry-2s
'Don't cry, Galawezh, don't cry.'

to pē-m *bi-lē* *sizā* *la kwē-y-a?* *la māl-awa-y-a.*
you to-me IMPV-say Siza in where-is in house-is
'Now, tell me where Siza is.'   'He's at home.'

ay, *bō* *na-t-hēnā*   *la-gal xō-t?*
hey why not-you-brought with self-your?
'Well, why didn't you bring him with you?'

r̆āstē-ka-y *dil-im*   *na-a-hāt*   (< *r̆āstī-aka-ī*)
truth-the-its heart-to me not was-coming
'The truth of the matter is that I didn't have the heart

pē-y *bi-lē-m* *tō* *la* *naxōš-xāna-y.* (-*y* < -*ī(t)*)
to-him SUBJ-say-I you in hospital-are
to tell him that you are in the hospital.'

āxir *nā-bē,* *min a-m-awē* *b-ī-bīn-im.* (3s *nā-bē* < *na-a-b-ē(t)*)
after all! not-will-be I IMPF-me-want SUBJ-him-see-I
'Come, now, that won't do. I want to see him.'

la dwāyī-y-ā *ka* *čāk* *a-b-īt-awa* (*a-b-īt* < *a-ba-ī(t)*)
in later-in when good IMPF-be-you-again
'Later, when you are well again,

d-ē-t-a *dar-ē* *a-y-bīn-ī.* (*d-* < *dā,* dial. var. of *a-*)
come-you-to outside-at IMPF-him-see-you
you will come out and see him.'

galawēž *min mināl* *nī-m,* *a-zān-im*
Galawezh, I child not-am I IMPF-know-I
'Galawezh, I'm not a child; I know

ka *l-ēra* *ba-zīndūwī* *nā-y-ē-m-a* *dar-awa.*
that from-here with-being alive not-come-I-to outside
that I will not get out of here alive.'

a-mir-im. *tū-xwā agar wā* *bi-lē-y!**
IMPF-die-I by God if thus SUBJ-say-you
'I am dying.' 'Please, don't talk like that!'

da *bāš-a* *am jār-a* *b-ī-hēn-a* *la-gal xō-t*
EMPH good-is this-time IMPV-him-bring-! with self-you
'That's enough! Next time bring him with you.'

tū-xwā, agar wā bi-lē-y! implies: 'if you should talk like that, beware of God' (*tū-xwā* < *tō ū xudā* '(between) you and God'.

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