This study is a description of the Kurdish of the city of Sulaimaniya, Iraq. Kurdish dialects cover an area embracing parts of eastern Turkey, Soviet Armenia, northern Syria, western Iran, and Khorasan in Iran. The language is described in terms of (1) phonology, (2) morphology, (3) morphophonemics, (4) word formation, and (5) syntax. An appendix, a bibliography, and a glossary are included. (RL)
A KURDISH GRAMMAR

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE KURDISH
OF SULAIMANIYA, IRAQ

by

Ernest N. McCarus

Spoken Language Services, Inc.

American Council of Learned Societies
New York
1958
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his deep gratitude to those Kurds who acted as his informants and whose cooperation was indispensable to the preparation of this study. Their contribution is fully acknowledged in the Introduction, paragraph 1.1., where they are mentioned by name.

The author also wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the following persons for their interest in this work and for their many helpful suggestions: Carleton T. Hodge, of the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, Washington; John Kepke, of the Program in Oriental Languages, American Council of Learned Societies; and Professors George G. Cameron, Lawrence B. Kiddle, Albert H. Marckwardt, Herbert H. Paper, and Herbert Penzl, of the University of Michigan. Professor Cameron stimulated the author's initial interest in the area of Kurdish studies, and Professor Penzl has offered valuable help and continued support.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.0 The Kurdish Language

This study is a description of the Kurdish of the city of Sulaimaniya, Iraq. Kurdish is a member of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family of languages. Kurdish dialects cover an area embracing parts of eastern Turkey, Soviet Armenia, northern Syria, northern Iraq, and western Iran, as well as Khorasan in Iran. (See Figure 1.) It is difficult to obtain reliable figures on the total Kurdish population in the Near East, estimates ranging from 1.5\(^1\) to 9 million.\(^2\)

Further study remains to be done on the classification of Kurdish dialects. The most systematic study is Karl Hadank's Untersuchungen zum Westkurdischen: Böt1 und Ezädt\(^3\), in which a limited number of phonological, morphological, and lexical isoglosses are used to set up two major areas, West Kurdish and East Kurdish, with the boundary coinciding roughly with a line drawn from Lake Urmia to the junction of the Greater Zab with the Tigris. According to this classification, the Sulaimaniya and Mukri dialects are East Kurdish, and the Zaza, Hakari, and Bahldinan dialects are West Kurdish. The Kurdish of Sulaimaniya is mutually intelligible with Mukri Kurdish, as well as with dialects as far north as Ruwandiz in Iraq and Sujbulak in Iran and as far south as Sinna and Kermanshah in Iran.

Of all the Kurdish dialects in Iraq, that of Sulaimaniya seems to enjoy the greatest cultural prestige, as is acknowledged by speakers of other dialects. It is the Sulaimaniya dialect that the central government in Baghdad has chosen to be used in Kurdish textbooks for elementary schools throughout Iraqi Kurdistan, and for all Kurdish language broadcasts from Radio Baghdad. It is in this dialect too that the United States Information Service in Baghdad published (as of 1951) its weekly Kurdish language news bulletin.

1.1 The Data

The corpus of data for this description was gathered on the occasion of a University of Michigan expedition to Iraq and Iran in the spring and summer of 1951. In Baghdad I obtained, through the offices of Professor George Cameron, the director of the expedition, the services of Mr. Abdul Qadir Qazaz, then an official in the Department of Post and Telegraph.

\(^1\)Encyclopædia Britannica (Chicago, 1942) 13.520.
\(^3\)Karl Hadank, Untersuchungen zum Westkurdischen: Böt1 und Ezädt, Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Lautforschung an der Universität Berlin 6.1-6 (1938).
He was a native of Sulaimaniya and had completed secondary school there. His English and his Arabic, as well as his Kurdish, were excellent, and he proved ideal as an interpreter and informant. He had translated works into Kurdish from English and Arabic, and was considered by other literate Kurds as having an excellent command of the language. He was then approximately forty years of age. The expedition eventually established its field headquarters in the village of Ruwandiz, where I worked with Mr. Qazaz and some members of the local population. After about a month, Mr. Qazaz was obliged, because of personal reasons, to return to Baghdad, just as I had arranged to go to Sulaimaniya itself to continue field work there. I worked two months more in Sulaimaniya, where I was the sole foreigner in town. This town, the capital of the Liwa of Sulaimaniya, has a predominantly sedentary Kurdish population, with a few Assyrian and Armenian families, totaling about twenty thousand people.

In Sulaimaniya I received the wholehearted cooperation of the Director of Education and the excellent assistance of Mr. Fuad Rasheed and Mr. Majeed Saeed of the local school system. Both were natives of Sulaimaniya, and their command of English and Arabic, as well as of Kurdish, was impeccable. Mr. Rasheed was a senior teacher, a lecturer in arithmetic and English, and a director in the primary school system. He had translated works into Kurdish from other languages and at that time was compiling a Kurdish-English dictionary. Then about forty years of age, he had resided all his life in Sulaimaniya. Mr. Saeed was a teacher of English in the primary schools. He had been graduated from normal school in Baghdad; he was approximately thirty years of age and had lived all his life in his native town.

In addition to these excellent informants I was able to record the speech of many other townspeople as well—tradesmen, students, etc. In Ann Arbor I was able to fill in the data with the help of students who had come there from Sulaimaniya. Of these, Mr. Hassan R. Mahmoud, a native of Sulaimaniya and a graduate of the Engineering College in Baghdad, was particularly helpful. He was then approximately thirty years of age, and was studying advanced engineering at the University of Michigan. His English was good and his Arabic excellent, and he proved very cooperative and of valuable assistance. Finally, Mr. Mahdi M. Abdulla, also a native of Sulaimaniya but in recent years a resident of Baghdad, was most helpful to me in completing the analysis. A graduate of Commercial and Economic College in Baghdad and an accountant in the Ministry of Health, Mr. Abdulla, then about thirty-five years old, had come to Ann Arbor under the auspices of the Point Four Program to study vital statistics. He had made regular weekly radio broadcasts in Kurdish for Radio Baghdad.

The primary materials constituting the basis for the analysis described in the following chapters consist of texts recorded in phonetic notation from the sources mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. These filled three notebooks, totaling approximately three hundred and eighty pages. Supplementary materials (not utilized for the purposes of this study) include tape recordings made in the field and certain written materials. The tape recordings contain about two hours of stories and conversations in the Ruwandiz and Sulaimaniya dialects of Kurdish and about three hours of songs. The written materials include a copy of Mr. Rasheed's dictionary mentioned earlier, containing over three thousand items; a year's issues of the newspaper Žin published in Sulaimaniya; some elementary school readers; and a number of history books in Kurdish.

1.2 Previous Works on Kurdish

Kurdish studies are numerous and date back at least to Garzoni's Grammatica e vocabolario della lingua kurda of 1787. In the following discussion, however, only the major grammars and grammatical sketches of interest to this description will be annotated; for a complete list of all the titles I have been able to compile, the reader is referred to the Bibliography. The studies discussed here have not been used in arriving at the description of Kurdish presented in this work, but they have been used as a check on the analysis, and differences in fact or analysis have been noted throughout where appropriate. The following list is arranged in chronological order. Complete bibliographical data will be found in the Bibliography.

1. P. Maurizio Garzoni, Grammatica e vocabolario della lingua kurda, 1787. This work consists of a 79-page grammatical sketch and 200-odd pages of vocabulary of the Kurdish of Amadiya, Iraq. The book is the result of a stay of many years as a missionary in northern Iraq. The Kurdish is spelled in terms of Italian orthography.

2. A. Chodzko, Etudes philologiques sur la langue kurde, 1857 (60 pages). This grammatical sketch was made in Paris with a native of Sulaimaniya as informant, the author having previously been in Kurdistan. Citations are in Persian script, with a French transcription. The transcription is not always consistent, and the analysis is not very penetrating.

3. Peter Lerch, Forschungen über die Kurden und die iranischen Nordchaldäer, 1857-58. Part I contains 103 pages of Kurmanjji and Zaza texts, obtained from Kurdish prisoners of war in Smolensk, with German translation. Part II consists of an 80-page introduction in which the author interprets the transcription systems used in previous works on Kurdish, and a 30-page Kurdish-German glossary.
4. Ferdinand Justi, Kurdische Grammatik, 1880. This author's stated purpose is to convert all previous works on Kurdish into a basis for further investigation. Accordingly, he takes all previous works and compares the information they offer on phonology and morphology. Although he compares (i.e., juxtaposes) the various forms, he does not use the comparative method to set up any kind of Proto-Kurdish. For example, in the phonology section he lists 15 vowels, 3 diphthongs, and 29 consonants for Kurdish. These are patently not separate phonemes, but rather reflect the various notational systems of the several works consulted.

5. Samuel A. Rhea, Brief Grammar and Vocabulary of the Kurdish Language of the Hakari District, 1880. This sketch is based on more than eight years of contact with the Kurds of the mountain village of Memikan in southeastern Turkey. The Kurdish of Sulaimaniya and Sinna is reported to be quite different from that of Hakari. The author lists the vowels and consonants of Hakari Kurdish, with corresponding English words to indicate the equivalent pronunciation, and then gives a short description of the various parts of speech and a 20-page Kurdish-English vocabulary.

6. Albert Socin, Die Sprache der Kurden, 1898. This article includes a general section on the distribution of the Kurdish dialects and a discussion of the literature on Kurdish, with a bibliography. The other sections are devoted to phonology, the noun, the verb, and texts. Like Justi, Socin brings together comparable forms from the various dialects, but makes no attempt at historical reconstruction.

7. J. de Morgan, Etudes linguistiques: Dialectes kurdes, 1904. These studies are based on two years of field work in Persia, as well as on certain other published works. Eleven different dialects, including Sulaimaniya and Mukri, are compared (i.e., juxtaposed) with each other, as well as with Persian, Sanskrit, etc. The vowels and consonants of these dialects and inflections of the parts of speech are treated, and extensive lists of words with etymologies, arranged by subject, are included.

8. Oskar Mann, Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden, 1906. This volume of the Kurdisch-persische Forschungen series contains an excellent 74-page grammatical sketch of Mukri Kurdish, followed by 302 pages of text in Latin script and 58 pages in Persian script. The text is without transcription or notes. The sketch, based on research done in Sujbulak, Iran, in 1903, shows Mukri Kurdish to be remarkably similar to Sulaimaniya Kurdish.

9. E. B. Soane, Elementary Kurmanji Grammar, 1913. This abridgement of Major Soane's Kurdish Grammar deals specifically with the Sulaimaniya dialect and was intended primarily for the use of officers and others whose duties led them to southern Kurdistan. Though an unsophisticated work, it is valuable for its vocabulary lists and can be useful to one who already knows Kurdish.
10. L. O. Fassum, A Practical Kurdish Grammar, 1919. The author's design is "to discover the best Kurdish in the dialects of Central Kurdistan, particularly in the Somai-Soujbulak-Suleimania Groups, and to put it into as clear and simple a system as possible" (9). The description is well arranged, but suffers from the fact that it is oriented from the point of view of the Persian-Arabic script. On the one hand, the author is forced to devote considerable space to explaining the intricacies of the writing system, and, on the other, it misses such phonemic contrasts as are not indicated by the script, e.g., the /r/ contrast.

11. Abbé Paul Beidar, Grammaire kurde, 1926. This grammar of the Zakho-Gesirah western dialect (northern Iraq) also contains a contextual orientation to Kurdish culture. Each chapter is liberally interspersed with proverbs and comments and has a short Kurdish text, with more comments, at the end. There is a 14-page Kurdish-French vocabulary.

12. Sa'id Şidqi, Mukhtaşar şarî u naţî u kurdi (Sketch of Kurdish Grammar), 1928. This sketch of the Sulaimaniya dialect is intended to provide a system of writing Kurdish by using a modified form of the Persian-Arabic script. Arabic loans, however, are written in their original Arabic spelling. The principal emphasis is on describing the various parts of speech, using Arabic grammar as the model.

13. Tawfiq Wahby, Destur i zman i kurdi (Grammar of the Kurdish Language), 1929. This is an excellent description of Sulaimaniya Kurdish by a native speaker of that dialect. The grammar is prescriptive in nature, attempting to "purify" the language of its non-Kurdish elements. The author uses a modified Arabic script, with a special character or combination of characters for each phoneme, including the vowels. This is the only Arabic script adapted for Kurdish that I have seen which does this. The bulk of the work is devoted to the eight parts of speech (corresponding to the eight parts of speech of Latin grammar), with the inflections and formation of each part of speech. There are some notes on morphophonemic processes, but nothing, unfortunately, on prosodic features.

14. Tawfiq Wahby, Xöndewariy' baw (Reader's Style), 1933. This little work is intended for those Kurdish teachers who wish to improve their Kurdish and for non-Kurds wishing to learn the language. It presents a Latin alphabet for Kurdish, with explanations in an Arabic script. This Arabic script is not Wahby's own (cf. item 13, above), but the conventional—and inferior—one used in Iraq. The booklet has four parts: (1) presentation of the Latin symbols; (2) pronunciation and reading drills; (3) a series of grammatical and spelling rules; and (4) reading selections.
1.3 Correlation of Orthographic Systems

Kurdish in Iraq is generally written in a modified form of the Persian-Arabic script. This use of a form of Arabic script for Kurdish dates back at least to the eleventh century A.D., when Ali Hariri (1009–1079) wrote a collection of poems in his Hakari dialect. In the following century the Shaykh Ahmad Malā'ī Jizri wrote his famous Diwan in honor of the sister of Emir Umād al-Dīn, then prince of the Jazīra. The text of these verses was published in an excellent lithographed volume by Martin Hartmann in 1904.¹

A correlation of the native orthographies of Iraqi Kurdistan with that arrived at in the present work follows. Three native systems are included: first, that of Sa'id Șidqi (cf. item 12 under 1.2 above), a modified Arabic script and the system in general use in Iraq today; second, the Arabic script of Tawfiq Wahby (cf. item 13 above); and, third, Wahby's Latin script (cf. item 14 above). The second and third items are not mutually convertible, Wahby's Arabic script being the more accurate. Table 1 compares the vowel symbols in the four systems and Table 2 compares the consonants.

¹ Der kurdische Diwan des Schêch Ahmed von Ėzêret ibn 'Omar genannt Mala'ī Gizri (Berlin, 1904). For a description of the earliest known Kurdish texts, see Alexandre Jaba, Recueil de notices et récits kourdes (St. Petersburg, 1860) 8-11.
Table 1
Kurdish Orthographies: Vowels

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<th>Wahby-1929</th>
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\(^a\) C stands for any consonant; this use of y as equivalent to /i/ or /i/ obtains only in final position in the word.

\(^b\) Special characters — ی for /e/ and ی for /o/ — are listed by Şidqi in his listing of the letters of the alphabet, but these special diacritics are never used in the body of the work, nor in Kurdish publications in general.

\(^c\) Wahby lists these characters in his lists of vowels, but they are in reality either a sequence of phonemes /we/ or a vowel [ü] found not in Sulaimaniya but in a different dialect in Kurdish.
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l | ج | ج | ج
r | ر | ر | ر
r | ر | ر | ر
w | و | و | و
y | ی | ی | ی

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a) In addition to the consonant symbols listed in this chart, Şidqi includes five more in his alphabet. These occur in Arabic loans, and are as follows:

- (Arabic voiceless interdental fricative [θ]) becomes Kurdish /s/
- (Arabic voiced interdental fricative [ð]) becomes Kurdish /z/
- (Arabic voiced velarized dental stop [q]) becomes Kurdish /z/
- (Arabic voiced velarized fricative [ž]) becomes Kurdish /z/
- (Arabic voiceless velarized dental stop [t]) becomes Kurdish /l/.

b) In his Arabic script Wahby puts a dot under the dental stops, thus ی in those words where they may be omitted according to style of speech; see 2.323.

c) The phonemes /? ʈ ʈ/ are not represented in Wahby-1933, and the symbol ـ is made to represent both /h/ and /h/.

d) Possible confusion in Wahby-1933 between the digraphs ch, sh, gh, lh, and rh and c, s, g, l, and r followed immediately by ـ is avoided by the use of the hyphen in the latter case: e.g., /mec-hul/ ‘passive voice’.

e) Şidqi uses a special diacritic to indicate velar /l/, thus: ʃ; however, this is not used in the body of the text.
Şidqi, in writing Arabic loans, retains the original Arabic spelling. Since Arabic has the five consonants listed in footnote a, Table 2, he uses the symbols for these consonants even though they are not phonemes of Kurdish. Thus, in his system for writing Kurdish, there are four spellings for the phoneme /z/. When it comes to vowels, however, Arabic lacks certain vowel phonemes of Kurdish, so that certain vowels of Kurdish are not represented in Şidqi’s alphabet.

The Latin script for Kurdish has never gained currency in Iraq. The newspaper Žin (/Zin/), which is published in Sulaimaniya, and the magazine Hetaw (/hetâw/), published in Arbil, as well as official and private publications, are all in the modified Arabic script.

1.4 Style of Kurdish Described

The Kurmansh represented in this description is that of a male speaker using a normally informal colloquial style. When no indication of style is given, it is to be assumed that this style is meant; when special reference is necessary the symbol (N) preceding the citation will be used. The symbol (D) preceding a citation indicates a more deliberate, conscious, or formal style of spoken Kurdish, while (R) indicates a very informal style with more collapsing of forms.

Female speech seems to differ from male speech in this dialect primarily in the potential substitution of /x/ for /l/. Thus male or female /smēl/ ‘moustache’ is female /smēr/.

Normal informal style is characterized by certain of the unconditioned, i.e., optional, morphophonemic processes described in 2.3, such as excrescence and loss of consonant. Rapid style shows a greater degree of collapsing of forms, while deliberate style generally shows a zero functioning of these processes, the morphemes mostly occurring in their original uncombined shapes. For example, /bét/ ‘for you’ & /lē/ ‘from’ & /?ôtâm/ ‘I give’ (/lē ?ôtâm/ = ‘I hit’, ‘I play (music)’) combine to form the following styles of utterance translated ‘Shall I play it (phonograph record, musical instrument) for you?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deliberate</th>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Rapid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bot le ?ôtâm?</td>
<td>bot le ?ôtâm?</td>
<td>bot lêm?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bot le ?ağa?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those optional morphophonemic processes which, when they occur, serve to identify normal style (and also rapid style) are: syncope of /l/ (see (1) (b) under 2.312), excrescence (2.322), and loss of consonant (2.323). Assimilation of /d/ (2.321) is characteristic of rapid style. These processes do not obtain in deliberate style.

1 For comments on the development of Romanized Kurdish scripts in Iraq, see the articles listed under Edmonds and Minorsky in the Bibliography.
A further difference between normal and deliberate style is on the subphonemic level. Palatalization (see (3) under 2.12) regularly occurs in style N, but does not obtain in style D. Thus, /k6/ 'who' is pronounced [kYe:] in N but [ke:] in D.

Finally, D style is generally identifiable not only by the lack of the allophonic and morphophonemic processes mentioned above, but by certain differences in the lexicon as well. Kurdish contains a considerable number of Arabic loans which are the normal, everyday items heard in most situations. Many of these loans are so deeply rooted in the language that illiterate Kurds often cannot distinguish between words of Arabic origin and words of Kurdish origin. The literate Kurd, however, when conscious of his speech, may tend to choose words of Kurdish rather than Arabic origin, even if the former are not commonly used. Thus, Kurdish (D) /tkd ?akdm/ 'I beg (you), please' would be preferred to the synonymous (N) /fj? ?akdr/ which uses /fj/ of Arabic origin.

Use of the deliberate style may (1) present the effect of formal speech, as on a radio broadcast, or (2) provide emphasis, usually in combination with stress placement (see 2.22).

Within any of these styles of speech there may also occur an honorific style: special forms showing respect for the other person. These may take the form of plural forms for singular referents, as the plural verb in /t?/ cf. ??xwenin/ 'What are you (singular, polite) studying?'; or as the plural suffix /yan/ in the sentence /mol? bg ?ak?t? mat-i-x?yan/ 'He invites the mullah to his (polite) house.' Respect may be shown also by special lexical items, as /jn?/ 'you' (singular, polite) for the usual /t?/ 'you' (singular); or /og?rbe/ 'Where are you (singular, polite) going?' In this description, honorific forms will be indicated by (polite) after the corresponding item in the English gloss.
Table 3

Vowel Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>Close</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4

Consonant Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveopalatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Pharyngal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>(v)</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fric.:</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td></td>
<td>(ç)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velarized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-cons.</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(a()\) indicates consonants of limited distribution (2.122).

\(b\) Flaps and trills are classed as vibrants, and vibrants and laterals are classed as liquids.
CHAPTER II
PHONOLOGY

2.0. Introductory

This chapter presents linear phonemes (vowels and consonants and their principal allophonic types, and distribution of phonemes in the word) and syllable structure in 2.1; non-linear phonemes (including stress and intonation) in 2.2; and morphophonemics in 2.3. Such an extensive treatment precludes a detailed and exhaustive presentation of each of these features, and some sections, such as the one on intonation, attempt merely to suggest the general nature of the material.

2.1. Linear Phonemes

The linear phonemes include nine vowels: /i e ø a i u ø o/ and thirty-one consonants: /p b t d k g q c j f v s z s t x h m n n l r f w y/. The consonants /v s/ are of phonemic status but their occurrence in the lexicon is quite limited. They are accordingly called consonants of limited distribution (2.122). See Table 3, Vowel Phonemes, and Table 4, Consonant Phonemes.

The word has as many syllables as it has vowels (see 2.13). Stress is phonemic and is indicated by the acute accent (') over the stressed vowel (see 2.21).

2.11. Vowels

All vowels are voiced. Vowel length is not phonemic; close vowels /i e ø a/ and the vowel /a/ are longer in quantity than the other vowels, except in word final unstressed position, where they are short. Thus:

A word is defined as any free morpheme (see (1) in 3.0); it is indicated in this description by spaces before and after it.

2 The best grammar of Sulaimaniya Kurdish I have seen is the excellent Destur i roman i kurdi of Tawfiq Wahby (see 1.2, item 13); his is the only script, whether Latin or Arabic, that has, with a few minor exceptions, a one-to-one correspondence of symbol with linear phoneme. He has a single character for each of the seven vowels /i e ø a i u ø o/ and digraphs for the vowels /i u/ (see Table 1). In addition, he has a digraph for the phoneme sequence /we/. In his Latin script Wahby uses the symbol ø for this sequence, probably influenced by the fact that in German orthography ø is equivalent to oe. Finally, in his list of vowels he has a digraph for a high front rounded vowel [ø], but notes that this vowel occurs not in Sulaimaniya Kurdish but in other parts of Kurdistan. In listing the alphabet Wahby merely names the phonemes without describing their phonetic value.

The other excellent description of Kurdish of special interest here
is Oskar Mann’s Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden (see 1.2, item 8). Although the dialect he describes is Mukri Kurdish (found in Iran), it is close enough to Sulaimaniya Kurdish to merit comparison.

Mann’s transcription is in Latin orthography, and is provided with some description of allophones. He lists six long vowels $\hat{a}$, $\hat{e}$, $\hat{i}$, $\hat{o}$, $\hat{u}$, and seven short ones $a$, $\check{a}$, $\check{e}$, $\check{i}$, $\check{o}$, $\check{u}$. The first five long vowels correspond to my /a, e, i, o, u/ respectively. His $\hat{a}$ corresponds to the allophone $[\check{a}]$ of my phoneme /w/ (see 2.121). Mann’s $\hat{a}$ is a cover symbol for his $a$ and $\check{a}$, which together with his $\hat{e}$ correspond to my vowel phoneme /e/. Mann says that $\check{i}$ fluctuates in its vocalic timbre, at times even approaching Slavic $\check{y}$; this is my /i/. Mann’s $\check{o}$ is quite rare, corresponding, when it does occur, to my /o/ occurring before /w/. The following table compares the vowels of Mann, Wahby (1929), and this work:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mann</th>
<th>Wahby</th>
<th>This Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\hat{a}$</td>
<td>س</td>
<td>ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\hat{e}$</td>
<td>ی</td>
<td>ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\check{a}$</td>
<td>ی</td>
<td>ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\check{e}$</td>
<td>ی</td>
<td>ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\hat{a}$</td>
<td>ی</td>
<td>ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\check{a}$</td>
<td>ی</td>
<td>ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\check{e}$</td>
<td>ی</td>
<td>ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\check{a}$</td>
<td>ی</td>
<td>ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\check{e}$</td>
<td>ی</td>
<td>ı</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

W. Ivanow, in Notes on Khorasani Kurdish, Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series 23.167-236 (1927), comes to a rather similar statement on the vowels. His symbol $\check{a}$ corresponds to my /a/.

None of the other works on Sulaimaniya Kurdish merits particular note here; Sidqi’s listing of the Arabic alphabet is not very revealing of the phonemes or their phonetic nature. Soane is inaccurate and incomplete. Chodzko, although inconsistent in his transcription, does show one point of special interest: he uses sometimes the symbol $\check{y}$ where I have $\check{i}$. Although he gives no explanation of his symbol, this cannot be an instance of the traditional use of $\check{y}$ for the Slavic high central vowel.
/azal/ [a:za:i:] 'freedom' but /dostı/ [ıdostı] 'his hand'. The phonemes listed below occur in all positions of the word unless otherwise noted. Square brackets [ ] enclose phonetic notations.

/i/ [i:] High close front unrounded long vowel; does not occur in unstressed word-final position. Examples: /tsecın/ 'we go'; /Mrs/ 'work'; /bır/ 'mind'; /śın/ 'life'; /śı/ 'thirty'; /śaf/ 'ceremony'; /azaf/ 'freedom'.

[i] High close front unrounded short vowel; occurs only in unstressed word-final position. Examples: /dostı/ 'his hand'; /nawi/ 'his name'; /sazani/ 'you know'.

/i/ [i] High open front unrounded short vowel; does not occur final in the word. Examples: /mənka:n/ 'possible'; /əmti:n/ 'examination'; /əftə:n/ 'first sale of the day'.

/e/ [eː] Mid very close front unrounded long vowel; does not occur in unstressed word-final position. Examples: /əs/ 'ache'; /əs/ 'three'; /bə/ 'without'; /əcə/ 'goes'; /əsw/ 'evening meal'; /əwarə/ 'evening'; /helkə/ 'egg'; /tər/ 'full'; /tər/ 'under'.

[eː] Mid very close front unrounded short vowel; occurs only in unstressed word final position. Example: /d웨nə/ 'yesterday'.

/o/ This phoneme has three principal allophonic types:

[ɛ] mid open front unrounded short vowel
[œ] mid central unrounded short vowel
[æ] low front unrounded short vowel

These three allophonic types demarcate the area of fluctuation of this phoneme; that is, an area ranging from mid open front to mid central to low front. In general, there is free fluctuation within the area, with the front allophones tending to appear in stressed syllables and the central allophones in unstressed ones: /gɔrm/ = [gɔrm ~ ɡɔrm ~ ɡərm] 'hot'; also: /bər/ 'front'; /sər/ 'head'; /bə/ 'with'; /tərə/ 'dung'; /əsp/ 'horse'. The allophones are in complementary distribution in the following environments:

only [ɛ]: before /y/ or /i/ but not in the same syllable:
/həyə/ 'there is, are'; /gəwrəyə/ 'is big'; /asudəf/ 'comfort'.

only [œ]: before /y/ and in the same syllable:
/əyəbnım/ 'I see him'; /həybu/ 'he had'; /qsəy kərd/ 'he spoke'.

only [ə]: before /w/ (with lip rounding when in utterance medial position):
/əw/ 'he'; /əwən/ 'they'; /əw/ 'night'; /əwən/ 'nights'.
Finally, the phoneme /a/ has the allophone [a] in the two words /sɪd/ 'one hundred' and /sɪst/ 'sixty', where it is lowered and backed adjacent to velarized /q/.

/a/ [a:] Low central unrounded long vowel; does not occur in unstressed word-final position. Examples: /ʌw/ 'water'; /ʃæn/ 'pain'; /æsmɑn/ 'sky'; /mɑr/ 'snake'; /səwɑ/ 'haggling'.

[a] Low central unrounded short vowel; occurs only in unstressed word-final position. Example: /kaka/ (title of respect in addressing elder brother).

/i/ [i] High back unrounded short vowel; occurs only before velar consonants, or in word-final position or adjacent to another vowel as the result of the dropping of a dental stop (see 2.323); never occurs in word-initial position. Examples: /dəstʃ/ 'your hand'; /ɡɪʃ/ 'soil'; /sɪg/ 'stomach'; /dɪʃ/ 'heart'.

[ɪ] High central unrounded short vowel; does not occur before velar consonants, or in word-initial or word-final position. Examples: /kɪʃn/ 'woman'; /dəstʃt/ 'your hand'; /tʃɪn/ 'they go'; /tɪʃ/ 'fear'; /kɪʃk/ 'tail'; /cɪʃ/ 'forty'.

/u/ [u:] High close back rounded long vowel. Examples: /kʊɪr/ 'hunchback'; /utɪl/ 'hotel'; /pʊl/ 'money'; /tʊr/ 'radish'; /dʊr/ 'distant'; /xɑnd/ 'house'.

/o/ [o] High open back rounded short vowel; does not occur in word-final position. Examples: /kɔr/ 'boy'; /ɡʊl/ 'leprosy'; /kɑk/ 'hen ready to lay eggs'; /kɑk/ 'scratch'; /ɑstɑs/ 'professor'.

/o/ [o:] Mid open back rounded short vowel. Examples: /kɔr/ 'party' (of people); /tɔξ/ 'fishing net'; /ɡɔl/ 'lake'; /kɔk/ 'target'; /ɑstɑ/ 'master'; /bʊ tɑ/ 'for you' (sing).

2.12. Consonants

Subsections (1)-(8) describe consonantal coarticulation processes. Section 2.121 is a listing of consonants with description and distribution of allophones (for distribution of phonemes see 2.14). Since a listing of all the allophones for each phoneme is not practicable, only principal allophonic types are given. Section 2.122 describes the two consonants of limited distribution.

(1) Voicing. Voiced consonants remain fully voiced after voiceless consonants or after silence, as /l ɾ z/ in /piæ/ 'rung' (of a ladder).
/trozı/ 'wild cucumber', and /zewli/ 'ground' (as contrasted with /sëwli/ 'his apple'). Stops and fricatives undergo partial regressive assimilation as to voicing before other stops or fricatives, e.g., /bës/ 'good' and /bëzëbu/ 'it was good'. These assimilation processes are described in morphophonemics, 2.3. Before silence, voiced stops and fricatives may become partially or fully unvoiced, as [sëg ~ sëgk ~ sëk] 'dog'. Those final phonemes which vary in the degree of their voicing are regularly represented in this analysis by the symbols of the voiced phonemes, as /sëg/.

(2) Release and Aspiration. All stops are fully released in all positions of the utterance. Voiceless stops (except uvular and glottal) are slightly aspirated in word-initial position, and may or may not be aspirated in word-final position. This aspiration in word-initial position occurs both with single consonants (as in /käkä/) and with consonant clusters (as in /ktëb/ 'book', /tëg/ 'rifle').

(3) Palatalization. In normal style, the stops /p k g/ and the fricative /f/ are usually palatalized before higher front vowels and semi-consonants, that is, before the front vowels /i ı e/, the semi-consonant /y/, and the allophone [مواد] of the semi-consonant /w/. In the case of the velar stops, it is not so much a matter of palatalized stops as it is of palatal affricates. That is, these are not sequences of stop plus /y/, but palatal affricates which, to the uninitiated, sound more like [tës] and [dëz]. /p/ and /f/ are co-articulated simultaneously with a palatal off-glide (that is, the middle of the tongue approaches the palate to produce the off-glide); these can be represented phonetically by [p'y] and [f'y]. Palatalization ordinarily does not occur in deliberate style.

(4) Affricates. The phonetic sequences [tës] and [dëz] have been interpreted as compound unit phonemes /c/ and /j/ rather than as sequences of two single phonemes for the following reasons:

d agree with the analysis in this work for the following consonants: /p b t d k g q f s z š z x g h c j m n l r w y/. In addition to these 27 consonants, Wahby and this work show the consonants /v/ and /f/. This work, alone of the three, shows /η/ as well as /θ/. Wahby has two special symbols and for and respectively, merely to show in which positions /t/ and /d/ may be dropped (see 2.323)

Wahby uses single letters for all consonants except /ŋ/, for which the digraph (= ng) is used. All three works distinguish between dental /l/ and velarized /l/, but only Wahby and this work distinguish between flap /r/ and trill /ɾ/. /v/, like /θ/, is limited in its distribution, occurring in a dozen words at most. Mukri Kurdish shows no v at all. On the other hand, Chodzko, writing in 1857, recorded no w at all, showing v where Sulaimaniya has /w/ today. While it is possible that the dialect has seen a change in phoneme in the past hundred years, it seems more likely that this inconsistency is due to a difference in dialect or idiolect.

17
(a) Interpretation as a series of two consonants would create a word-initial cluster of three consonants. Since three-consonant clusters do not otherwise exist in word-initial position\(^1\), only an interpretation as unit phonemes avoids violating the basic structure of Kurdish words (see 2.132).

(b) The combinations /\textipa{št}/ and /\textipa{zd}/ do not occur in word-initial position; this strengthens the interpretation as unit phonemes.\(^2\)

(c) In every instance where the sequences /\textipa{tš}/ and /\textipa{dz}/ occur in Sulaimaniya Kurdish, the closely-related dialects of Ruwandiz and Batas show /\textipa{ts}/ and /\textipa{dz}/ respectively. On the other hand, the sequences /\textipa{ts}/ and /\textipa{dz}/ do not occur in the corpus. Thus, these two sequences each function as integral units when compared with other dialects.

(d) Native orthographies treat these as two unit phonemes (see 1.3). Thus, the reaction of the literate native speaker favors this interpretation, although it must be noted that in every case the native orthographies are based on other orthographies which themselves have special characters for the affricates /\textipa{c}/ and /\textipa{j}/.

An argument against the interpretation of /\textipa{tš}/ and /\textipa{dz}/ as compound unit phonemes is the fact that affricates alone of all types of consonants do not occur as the first member of two-consonant clusters (including geminate clusters) (see 2.143).

(5) Lateral. Kurdish distinguishes phonemically between a "clear" and a "dark" lateral, as /\textipa{c\textipa{š}}l/ 'leprosy' and /\textipa{f\textipa{š}}l/ 'rose'. The clear lateral /\textipa{š}/ is articulated with the tongue tip making contact behind the teeth and the tongue back neutral as to vocalic quality. The dark lateral /\textipa{̂\textipa{š}}/ is alveolar and is articulated with the tongue dorsum raised in the oral cavity, giving velar resonance. This velar resonance appreciably colors the quality of the preceding vowel /\textipa{i}/, which is realized in this environment as its back allophone [i], as opposed to [\textipa{ɪ}] before clear /\textipa{š}/.

(6) Velarization. In addition to the velarized lateral of the preceding subsection, there is a velarized voiceless alveolar sibilant /\textipa{q}/, a phoneme of limited distribution (see 2.122). The velarization colors the adjacent vowel: in the words /\textipa{s\textipa{kd}}/ 'one hundred' and /\textipa{b\textipa{št}/ 'sixty' the vowels are actualized as lowered mid open, slightly backed (*\textipa{ɪ})*.

\(^1\) Except /\textipa{t\textipa{xw}\textipa{d}/, an interjection of surprise. I reject this as establishing a pattern because (1) it is unique in the language (excepting, of course, the clusters in /\textipa{tš}/ and /\textipa{dz}/ which are themselves under analysis), and (2) interjections very often contain extra-systematic sounds or arrangements of sounds; cf. the alveolar click, which denotes commiseration for English speakers and 'no' for Arabic speakers, although the click is not a phoneme in either language; and (3) this form exists alongside of /\textipa{t\textipa{xw}\textipa{d}/ with the same meaning and is obviously a contraction of it.

\(^2\) See Kenneth L. Pike, Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing (Ann Arbor, 1947) 132.
Gemination. All types of consonants except affricates occur geminate; for a listing of these consonants see 2.14. Geminate consonants are phonetically long, and occur only intervocalically in the word.

Vibrants. There is a phonemic contrast between the flap /r/ and the trill /l/. The flap is articulated by striking the tip of the tongue once against the alveolar ridge; the trill is a rapid succession of flaps. The distinction is not a heavily marked one; it is especially difficult to detect the difference in word-final position. The contrast is neutralized at the beginning of the word, only the trill occurring there. Only the flap occurs intervocally as a rule; the trill occurs there only as the result of word formation (see 4.22). There are two possible interpretations of the trill; as a single phoneme or as a series of separate phonemes. The latter interpretation is supported by the fact that of the vowels /a/ and /u/, only /a/, which tends to occur only before consonant clusters (see 2.141), occurs before /r/ while /u/, which tends not to occur before consonant clusters, does not occur before /l/. However, the trill is interpreted here as a single phoneme because (1) it contrasts in identical environment with the flap: /brin/ 'to wound' and /bdrin/ 'to cut'; (2) if interpreted as a geminate cluster it would be the only geminate cluster occurring in an environment other than intervocalic; and (3) clusters as /rr/ and /lr/ occur, as /herarb/ 'it has been sent' and /?okilr/ 'it will be sold'; if interpreted as a geminate cluster then the existence of clusters of three identical consonants would have to be assumed.

The Consonant Phonemes. This subsection treats of the structure of the individual phoneme; phoneme distribution, both in clusters and as single phonemes, is described in 2.14. In the following listing, it is to be understood that, unless otherwise noted, a phoneme occurs initially, intervocally, or finally in the word. Numbers in parentheses refer to respective paragraphs in the preceding subsection.

Stops (2, 3, 7)

/p/ [p] Voiceless bilabial stop (2); does not occur before /e/.
Examples: /pind/ 'pun, trick'; /psil/ 'cat'; /bapir/ 'grandfather'; /dap/ 'horse'.

[p] Palatalized voiceless bilabial stop (3); occurs only before /e/.
Example: /penj/ 'five'.


/t/ [t] Voiceless dental stop (2). Examples: /to/ 'you' (sing); /kort/ 'short'; /ftog/ 'rifle'; /xotan/ 'yourselves'; /jut/ 'a pair' (rugs, dice).
Voiced dental stop. Examples: /dd/ (a fermented milk drink); /kárd/ 'Kurd'; /dáñ/ 'tooth'; /náñadé/ 'prince, princess'; /bérd/ 'rock'.

Voiceless velar stop (2) (3); does not occur before mid close front or high front vowels or semiconsonants. Examples: /kwd/ 'where?'; /kóy/ 'when?'; /kés/ 'person'; /kón/ 'old'; /náko/ 'if he does not do'; /káñ/ 'boy'; /ktéb/ 'book'; /gálek/ 'a little'.

Palatalized voiceless velar stop; occurs only before mid close front or high front vowels or semiconsonants (i.e., /i e y/ and [ɨ]); see (3)). Examples: /kwd/ 'where?'; /ké/ 'who?'; /mémkén/ 'possible'; /kwér/ 'blind'.

Voiceless velar stop; does not occur before close mid front or high front vowels or semiconsonants (3). Examples: /gá/ 'bite'; /ágá/ 'care'; /gd/ 'excrement'; /gést/ 'meat'; /ség/ 'dog'.

Palatalized voiceless velar stop; occurs only before close mid front or high front vowels or semiconsonants (3). Examples: /gwé/ 'eye'; /glán/ 'soul'; /?égérnowe/ 'they relate'.

Voiceless uvular stop (2). Examples: /qáy nák/ 'it doesn't matter'; /qurbán/ 'you' (polite); /bérqiyd/ 'telegram'; /láq/ 'leg'; /fárq/ 'difference'.

Glottal stop. Examples: /nó/ what/ 'he wasn't coming'; /?ó/ awsét/ 'it swells up'; /?qy/ oégéwim/ 'I'll shoot him'; /nó/ 'no'.

Affricates (4)

Voiceless alveopalatal affricate. Examples: /cám/ 'my tea'; /có/ 'go'; /cón/ 'how?'; /cénd/ 'how much?'; /kícék/ 'a girl'; /mac/ 'kiss'.

Voiced alveopalatal affricate. Examples: /jám/ 'bowl'; /jó/ 'barley'; /jú/ 'jew'; /hénjir/ 'figs'; /táj/ 'crown'.

Frictatives (3)

Voiceless labiodental fricative; does not occur before /e/. Examples: /lérs/ 'rug'; /laniló/ 'undershirt'; /háftz/ 'Protector'; /zaříf/ 'weak'.

Palatalized voiceless labiodental fricative; occurs only before /e/. Examples: /senık/ 'cool'; /sér büm/ 'learning' (verbal noun).

Voiced labiodental fricative; see 2.122.
/s/ [s] Voiceless dental sibilant. Examples: /sin/ 'tray'; /tʃɪs/ 'fear'; /kɒs/ 'person'; /pɑːst/ 'chorus'; /spɪ/ 'white'; /sʌs/ 'glass' (material); /sɜːr/ 'strange'.

/z/ [z] Voiced dental sibilant. Examples: /zɪn/ 'saddle'; /gɛz/ (unit of measure for cloth); /hɔːz/ 'cheap'.

/ʃ/ [ʃ] Velarized voiceless alveolar sibilant; see 2.12. (6) and 2.122.

/ʒ/ [ʒ] Voiceless alveopalatal sibilant. Examples: /ʃɪn/ 'blue'; /tʃɪs/ 'sour'; /bæs/ 'good'; /meʃuʃ/ 'mosquito'; /stʃən/ 'my things'.

/z/ [z] Voiced alveopalatal sibilant. Examples: /zɪn/ 'life'; /zaʃən/ 'Japan'; /zaːʃən/ 'queen'; /drɛz/ 'long'.

/x/ [x] Voiceless velar fricative. Examples: /kʌx/ 'god'; /kʌx/ 'pleasant'; /kʌw/ 'dream'; /dæks/ 'sorrow'; /sɪrəkɒ/ 'infant'.


/θ/ [θ] Voiceless faucalized pharyngal fricative. Examples: /θiζən/ 'animal'; /θəmət/ 'trouble, bother'; /θəw/ 'seven'; /θəzəm/ 'prayer beads'.

/θ/ [θ] Voiced faucalized pharyngal fricative; no word-final occurrence noted. Examples: /θəjb/ 'shame'; /θəbe/ (woman's black cloak); /θət/ 'time, watch, clock, hour'; /θən/ 'meaning'.

/h/ [h] Voiceless glottal fricative. Examples: /θɔw/ (corridor bordering courtyard of house); /θəd/ 'ice'; /θən/ 'crime'.

Nasals

/m/ [m] Voiced bilabial nasal. Examples: /mɑːm/ 'uncle'; /mɛs/ 'fly'; /mæʃ/ 'fish'; /məmæʃ/ 'leather'; /məkən/ 'I do'.

/n/ [n] Voiced dental nasal; does not occur before velar stops or in the environment /a...z/. Examples: /nɑːn/ 'bread'; /nɒn/ 'roof, plateau'; /nɒn/ 'fifty'; /nəkən/ 'they do'.

[?] Nasalization of preceding vowel; occurs only in environment /a...z/. Examples: /pɑːn/ [pənə] 'fifteen'; /tæn/ 'eleven'; /tæn/ 'gasoline'.

/o/ [ɔ] Voiced velar nasal; does not occur initial in the word. Examples: /baŋ/ 'call, invitation'; /mæŋ/ 'tired'; /θən/ 'honey'; /dɛŋ/ 'voice'.

2.121
Laterals (1) (5)


/l/ [l^] Voiced dark alveolar lateral (with tongue dorsum raised); does not occur initially in the word. Examples: /gɔt/ 'rose'; /gɔlɔw/ 'rose water'; /plɔ/ 'rung' (of ladder); /ɡɪt/ 'scill'.

Vibrants (1) (8)

/r/ [r] Voiced alveolar flap; does not occur initially in the word. Examples: /brin/ 'to wound'; /krin/ 'to buy'; /?onerré/ 'it will be sent'; /sirin/ 'sweet'; /kɛt/ 'donkey'; /bɛfr/ 'snow'.

/f/ [f] Voiced alveolar trill; occurs intervocalically only as result of word formation: see 4.22. Examples: /brin/ 'to cut'; /křin/ 'to rub'; /ʃɛ/ 'sun, day'; /kɛt/ 'deaf'; /snoqɛʃɛkó/ 'the black box'; /tʃ/ 'away'.

Semiconsonants

/y/ [y] Voiced palatal glide. Examples: /yax/ 'game, play'; /?øyowé/ 'he wants'; /?øynásim/ 'I know him'; /c∧y/ 'tea'.

/w/ [w] Voiced labiovelar rounded glide; does not occur before close front vowels. Examples: /wà/ 'thus'; /wutucf/ 'laundryman'; /sɔwʌ/ 'haggling'; /kwɔrdn/ 'to eat'; /ɔw/ 'water'.

[w] Voiced high front rounded glide; occurs only before close front vowels. Examples: /werán/ 'ruin, ruination'; /ɔw/ 'his water'; /hɔywɛn/ 'honey'; /gwɛz/ 'nuts'.

Consonants of Limited Distribution. There are two consonants which are greatly restricted in their incidence in the lexicon, one consonant occurring mostly in onomatopoeic words and the other occurring in only two words. These are listed below with a complete accounting of their occurrences.

/v/ [v] Voiced labiodental fricative; occurs in any position of the word; limited to the following words: /vʃɛ/ 'snow'; /vʃɛʁ/ (onomatopoeic sound of machines); /gɛvɪ / (onomatopoeic sound of bullets); /hɔvɛ / 'seventeen'; /govɛr/ 'magazine'; /vʃɛʁvɛʁ/ (onomatopoeic sound of buzzing of bees).

/ʃ/ [ʃ] Voiceless velarized alveolar sibilant (see 2.12(6)); occurs in two words: /ʃd/ 'one hundred'; /ʃɔt/ 'sixty'.

22
2.13. The Syllable

Every word contains at least one syllable. The structure of the syllable was arrived at by having informants say certain words, giving each word in segments. Thus the syllable is defined as the smallest division of a word as pronounced in isolation by speakers of this dialect. The results obtained were uniform, and are summarized as follows:

1. A word has as many syllables as it has vowels. Thus /bāfr/ 'snow' has one syllable; /nīdž/ 'intention' has two syllables; and /azāf/ 'freedom' has three syllables.

2. A single consonant between two vowels forms a syllable with the following vowel, as /nāzānīm/ 'I don’t know' = [nā.za.nīm].

3. In clusters of two or more consonants, syllable division comes between the last two consonants; however, if the last consonant of the cluster is a vibrant or a semiconsonant the division comes before the last two consonants. In the following, V represents any vowel; C represents any consonant; S, any stop, affricate, or fricative; N, any nasal, liquid, or semiconsonant; R, any vibrant or semiconsonant; and the period . indicates syllable division:

-CCC.C- təs.pl hov.wô dér.pé
-CC.C- mówq.na.tîs fəsm.gîr rôyš.tîn
-CCC.C- gôyšt.mô.wô

However,

-.CR- ka.brô bô.no.xwén
-C.CR- ūas.trô yôk.trî mâx.myan
-CC.CR- none

2.131. Syllable Structure. Every syllable must contain one vowel, which may be preceded and/or followed by one or two consonants; two patterns show V preceded or followed by three consonants:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
V & afrôt 'woman' \\
VC & aw.săn 'to swell up' \\
VCC & ašt 'peace' \\
CV & ša 'king' \\
CVC & fën.jān 'cup' \\
CVCC & fôrš 'rug'
\end{array}
\]

1 Wahby mentions syllables in his Xöndewarîy' baw. He states on page 4 that there are as many syllables as there are vowels, but does not formulate rules for dividing the word into syllables. In his examples, a consonant occurring between vowels forms a syllable with the following vowel, as məmîzeke = mə mî ze ke ['the fox': my /mamîzeke/]. The sole illustration with a consonant cluster is Xurmâlah which he divides thus: Xur mâlah.
Any combination of these syllable patterns is possible, if no cluster of more than four consonants results, as /fdylitim/ 'he went' - /fdylitmos/ 'I went back'.

2.14. Distribution of Phonemes

Sections 2.11 and 2.12 list the vowels and consonants respectively, giving the distribution of the principal allophonic types of each phoneme. This section gives the distribution of phonemes in both the syllable and the word, without reference to allophonic variations. For the phonemes of limited distribution /v ə/, see 2.122.

2.141. Vowels. Although it is necessary to set up two sets of phonemes /i 떪(48x198))/ and /u (48x187)/ because of such contrasts as /ʔəcin/ 'they go': /mumnikin/ 'possible' and /pul/ 'money': /gə/ 'leprosy', the contrasts are, in effect, neutralized in the environment VCC, where only the open varieties tend to occur, e.g., /də nstin/ 'they sat down' and /nstitn/ 'they slept'. The present stems of these verbs show the close varieties, as /də ʔenstn/ 'they sit down' and /ʔenûn/ 'they sleep'. In case of forms like /nstitn/, (D) /nstitn/ may also occur as a careful pronunciation, without difference in meaning.

The formulas at the left refer to syllable types found in 2.131.

(1) One vowel

\[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{V-} \\
\text{(a) Initial. All vowels except /i/ occur initially in the syllable or word.} \\
\text{.V.} \\
\text{(b) Medial. All except high vowels occur as a complete syllable.} \\
\text{-V-} \\
\text{(c) Final. All vowels occur finally in the syllable. All vowels CV} \\
\text{except /i/ and /e/ occur finally in the word. /i/ occurs finally in words only as the result of the dropping of a dental stop: see 2.323.} \\
\end{array} \]

(2) More than one vowel

\[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{-V.V-} \\
\text{Two vowels may occur continguously in a word, forming separate syllables, as /ni.az/ 'intention' and /nə.t/ 'ceremony'; however high open vowels do not occur continguous to other vowels. /i/ provides exceptions to these rules: as the result of the dropping of dental stop (2.323) /i/ occurs contiguous to another vowel} \\
\end{array} \]
and does not form a separate syllable when it occurs finally in the word and after another vowel. For vowel morphophonemics, see 2.31. Sequences of more than two vowels have not been recorded.

2.142. Consonants. In 2.122 the full occurrence of the phonemes of limited distribution /v 走势图 is given. From observation it is evident that there are other consonants, all of back articulation (from velum to glottis) and occurring for the most part in loan words, which are also of comparatively low incidence in the corpus, although not so low as to merit a complete listing of the items in which they occur. These are /g h j k/. In the following, all consonants except /v 走势图 are considered.

(1) One consonant

C-

(a) Initial. All consonants except /0 r t/ occur initially in the syllable and the word; /ŋ r t/ may occur initially in the syllable, however, only if that syllable is not initial in the word: /kirtm/ ‘worm’; /xahdz/ ‘charcoal’; /dʒəl/ ‘his voice’. Thus, loan words which begin with /r/ in the lending language, e.g. Arabic ramadān ‘Ramazan’, regularly show /r/ in Kurdish: /ramazān/.

-C-

(b) Medial. No consonant occurs medially in the syllable, but all consonants occur medially within the word.

-C-

(c) Final. All consonants occur finally in the syllable. /c j g k/, however, occur finally in the syllable only when that syllable itself is final in the word: /kic/ ‘girl’; /dəsəj/ ‘degree’; /qatəbəlog/ ‘crowd’; /nə?/ ‘no’. /k/ occurs finally in the syllable but not in the word: /məŋnə/ ‘meaning’; /k/ is the only consonant for which no word-final occurrence was noted in the corpus.

(2) Two consonants

.CR-

(a) Initial. When in word-medial position, the syllable may begin with a stop plus /r/ or with any consonant plus a semi-consonant. Formulas at the left refer to the cluster types of 2.13 (3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant + Vibrant or Semi-consonant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zir.brd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bane.xwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məl.myan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(cf. (1) under 5.41)

CC-

The word, or, when it is in word-initial position, the syllable, may begin with the following combinations:

(D) tk tkə  ‘thanks’

stop + stop

kt ktəb  ‘book’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pc</td>
<td>pcuk</td>
<td>'little'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pš</td>
<td>pšlš</td>
<td>'cat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tf</td>
<td>tfšq</td>
<td>'rifle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>plá</td>
<td>'rung' (of ladder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bl</td>
<td>blé</td>
<td>'say!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr</td>
<td>propélants</td>
<td>'propaganda'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>br</td>
<td>brayet</td>
<td>'brotherhood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bř</td>
<td>břín</td>
<td>'to cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>trožl</td>
<td>'wild cucumber'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>py</td>
<td>pydw</td>
<td>'man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tw</td>
<td>twé</td>
<td>'slice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jn</td>
<td>jnábtan</td>
<td>'you' (polite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cw</td>
<td>cwár</td>
<td>'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sp</td>
<td>spí</td>
<td>'white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sk</td>
<td>skút</td>
<td>'silence'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sf</td>
<td>sfür</td>
<td>'without /kaba/'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sn</td>
<td>snóq</td>
<td>'box'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zm</td>
<td>zrán</td>
<td>'language'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fl</td>
<td>flán</td>
<td>'So and So'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fr</td>
<td>frosýar</td>
<td>'customer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xr</td>
<td>xrap</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xw</td>
<td>xward</td>
<td>'south'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nw</td>
<td>nwé</td>
<td>'new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>řj</td>
<td>řja</td>
<td>'hope'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stop + Affricate**

- 'little'

**Stop + Fricative**

- 'speech'

**Stop + Liquid**

- 'late'

**Stop + Semiconsonant**

- 'obviously, of course'

**Affricate + Nasal**

- 'blind'

**Affricate + Semiconsonant**

- 'beautiful'

**Fricative + Stop**

- 'is broken'

**Fricative + Fricative**

- (said of women)

**Fricative + Nasal**

- 'to count'

**Fricative + Liquid**

- (sound of machines)

**Fricative + Semiconsonant**

- (sound of tinkling object)

**Nasal + Semiconsonant**

- 'new'

**Liquid + Affricate**

- 'hope'
###液态 + 联音

`fw` **fwan** 'to grow'  
(intransitive)

(b) **Medial.** The syllable never contains consonants in medial position. The word may contain the following two-consonant clusters in medial position:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-C.C-</th>
<th>stop + stop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pq</td>
<td>stop + fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaqaq</td>
<td>(sound of wooden shoes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qq</td>
<td>(a measure of weight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bb</td>
<td>stop + affricate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrebba</td>
<td>'jam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tt</td>
<td>'perfume shop, notions shop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bt</td>
<td>'you' (polite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tk</td>
<td>'thanks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bk</td>
<td>(a kind of flower)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kg</td>
<td>'united'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gb</td>
<td>'dog fancier'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pc</td>
<td>stop + fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qopc</td>
<td>'button'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ks</td>
<td>stop + nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeskér</td>
<td>'directly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qx</td>
<td>'a heavy drinker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bn</td>
<td>stop + liquid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libnâna</td>
<td>'Lebanon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tn</td>
<td>'they taught'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.CR-</td>
<td>stop + liquid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr</td>
<td>'stuffed cabbage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaprâx</td>
<td>'I sew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>br</td>
<td>'fellow, old man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kibrâ</td>
<td>'I buy' (subjunctive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>'chess'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣatrînj</td>
<td>'intelligence'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ty</td>
<td>stop + semiconsonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭeyesê</td>
<td>'it pains you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qy</td>
<td>'Kurdish long-sleeved shirt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ft</td>
<td>frcative + stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haftè</td>
<td>'week'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šb</td>
<td>'Liverpool'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šk</td>
<td>'wash-rag'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lišké</td>
<td>'to wash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd</td>
<td>'seventeen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hovdò</td>
<td>'a fabulous animal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sb</td>
<td>'comparison'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mkbé</td>
<td>'a little bit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>st</td>
<td>'now'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>está</td>
<td>'vacation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zb</td>
<td>'prayer beads'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tәzbiḥa</td>
<td>'respect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zg</td>
<td>'mosque'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mizgâwî</td>
<td>'possible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šp</td>
<td>'wooden dish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṿv</td>
<td>frcative + frcative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>̣hovṿ</td>
<td>'seventeen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xš</td>
<td>'to forgive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šh</td>
<td>'sunrise, east'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roźhàiđt</td>
<td>'sunrise, east'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fricative + nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūm ?oemérīm</td>
<td>'I count'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣn meğnē</td>
<td>'meaning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fr siṣrē</td>
<td>'zero'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sr nesarīn</td>
<td>(girl's name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šy huṣyār</td>
<td>'sober'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xw bndexwēn</td>
<td>'belt-cord'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb boinbāx</td>
<td>'necktie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt Ḳantikū</td>
<td>'funny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj ṣenjān</td>
<td>'cup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mš ˈsomšomkʷər</td>
<td>'bat' (animal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns insánēk</td>
<td>'a person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm ˈsommᵻn</td>
<td>'French bread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mn memnᵻn</td>
<td>'thanks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mř koṁfᵻy</td>
<td>'light' (in color)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my ?omythe</td>
<td>'it pains me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lb pulbāz</td>
<td>'stamp collector'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lt diṭtēp</td>
<td>'sad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĸk cawilkē</td>
<td>'eyeglasses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lt gaitē</td>
<td>'joke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĸk bóliku</td>
<td>'perhaps'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rp dørpē</td>
<td>'undershorts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rb ogitrbe</td>
<td>'Where are you going?' (polite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rc ˈsartarci</td>
<td>'perfumer, notions shopkeeper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūf jītā</td>
<td>'slang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix xe₂x₂lokō</td>
<td>'top' (which spine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rī girfān</td>
<td>'pocket'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28
Gemination. All types of consonants except affricates occur in geminate clusters.

(c) Final. The syllable in word-final position may end in a two-consonant cluster provided that the following syllable begins with any consonant other than a liquid or semiconsonant: /fəsn.ɡir/ 'photographer'. The following types of clusters occur in syllable-final position when the syllable itself is not word-final:

-CC.C-  
continuant + stop  
semiconsonant and stop: məwq.natifs 'magnetism'

29
The following types of clusters occur finally in words and in syllables which are final in the word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>continuant + continuant fricative and nasal</td>
<td>فَسَمَتْ جَرَّا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuant + continuant fricative</td>
<td>يَطَرَقَ دَعْر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuant + continuant fricative</td>
<td>كَرَزَ دَر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuant + continuant fricative</td>
<td>خَيْرَتُ مَدْرَم</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stop + fricative**

- -CC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qf sqf</td>
<td>'ceiling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>st masts</td>
<td>'yoghurt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šk zīršk</td>
<td>'step-sister'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fricative + stop**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sm ṭāsm</td>
<td>'picture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zm nīzm</td>
<td>'low'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋl nāl</td>
<td>'leather slippers'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fricative + nasal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nīzm nīzm</td>
<td>'low (Muslim holiday)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭet jōn</td>
<td>'mercy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fricative + liquid**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭet nāt</td>
<td>'leather slippers'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Nasal + stop**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nt kānt</td>
<td>'straight' (in poker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj qazānj</td>
<td>'profit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Nasal + affricate**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mr gēmr</td>
<td>'age (years)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lk kēlk</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lq ṭēlq</td>
<td>'people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šk kēšk</td>
<td>'use' (noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rt šērt</td>
<td>'condition, proviso'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Liquid + stop**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rc nēqārc</td>
<td>'a pinch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rf sērī</td>
<td>'spending' (noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rs qērs</td>
<td>'difficult'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Liquid + affricate**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rm gērm</td>
<td>'hot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Liquid + fricative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rs qērs</td>
<td>'difficult'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Liquid + nasal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clusters</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rm gērm</td>
<td>'hot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Semiconsonants do not occur as the final member of word-final clusters. Geminate clusters do not occur finally in the word.

(3) Three consonants
(a) Initial. No occurrence noted in either syllable or word (see footnote, page 18).
(b) Medial. No occurrence noted in syllable; in the word, the following types of word-medial three-consonant clusters occur:

- C.CR Third member a vibrant or a semiconsonant: the first two members may be either continuants or stops; syllable division is between the first two members:
  yak.trī 'each other'
  yas.trī 'is more correct'

- R.C.C. Third member is any consonant but a vibrant or a semiconsonant: the first two consonants are continuants (the first being a liquid or semiconsonant and the second being a fricative); syllable division is between the second and third consonants:
  ḍoyṣ.tīn 'to go'
  qerz.dār 'debtor'

- CCC (c) Final. Syllable, word: here occur clusters of two continuants and a stop, with the first continuant a semiconsonant:
  ḍoyṣṭ 'he went'

- CCC.C This same combination may occur finally in any syllable which is followed by another syllable beginning with any consonant other than a vibrant or semiconsonant:
  gūṣṭ.mēwe 'I arrived back'

(4) Four consonants
Syllable: no occurrence. Word: only the word-medial cluster of the type continuant-continuant-stop-continuant occurs:

- CCCC- gūṣṭmēwe 'I arrived back'

(5) No occurrences of clusters with more than four consonants have been noted.
2.143. Summary. (1) Vowels. Any vowel may occur in any position
in the word, with the following two exceptions: that /i/ never occurs
initially in the word, and that no high open vowel except /i/ occurs
finally in the word. Any vowel except /æ, i/ may constitute an entire
syllable. Clusters of two vowels occur in word-medial or word-final
position; they may contain any combination of vowels, except that
no high open vowel except /i/ occurs contiguous to other vowels.
It is evident that the high open vowels /æ, i/ are different from the
other vowels in their distribution and occurrence. These three vowels
alone of all the vowels do not form entire syllables and do not occur
contiguous to other vowels or in final position in the word, except that
/i/ does occur in these two latter positions when dental stops are dropped
(for which see 2.323).¹

(2) Consonants. (a) One consonant: any consonant may occur in
any position in the word, except that /ð, r, l/ do not occur initially in the
word, and no word-final occurrence of /s/ has been found. /z/ is rare
intervocally, resulting only from word formation, and /c, j, s, ?/
occur syllable-final only when the syllable is final in the word.
(b) Two consonants: initially, any type of consonant may be either
the first or second member of a word-initial two-consonant cluster,
except that 1) semiconsonants are never the first member of the
cluster; 2) stops are not followed by nasals; 3) only stops and affricates
take a stop as second member; and 4) clusters of stop + stop
are the only clusters with two consonants of the same category.
Medially, all thirty-six of the theoretically possible combinations of
categories occur except those beginning with affricates. By the same
token, consonants of every category except affricates occur in geminate
clusters. In final position in the word, at least one of the two conso-
nants must be a continuant, except that no affricate or semiconsonant
occurs as the second member and that no cluster contains both mem-
bbers of the same category.
(c) Three-consonant clusters do not occur initially in words.
Medially, they must have at least one continuant, and may contain as
many as three. If there is one stop or affricate, it occupies the second

¹This would imply that these vowels may be in a transitional stage.
This is further substantiated in the case of /æ/ and /æ/ by the fact that
while /i/ is of very high incidence in the lexicon the vowels /æ/ and /æ/
are greatly restricted in their occurrence. Further investigation shows
that (1), /i/ occurs generally in words of Iranian origin; and (2) most
instances of /s/ and /æ/ are in loans from Arabic, although even words
which are of Iranian origin historically now show /æ/ and /æ/ rather than
/i/ and /æ/ before two-consonant clusters, as /ænja/ 'then, in that case'
and /ærda/ 'Kurd'. Before a single consonant, either may occur, as
/mænkan/ and /?æcin/; /gs/ and /ps/.
Thus, it would appear that /i/, although a normal development in
K is in transition as a result of the patterning of the dental
referred to above.
or third place. If there are two stops or affricates, the third member of the cluster is a vibrant. Three-consonant clusters in word-final position contain a semiconsonant and continuant and stop.

(d) The only four-consonant clusters occurring are of the type semiconsonant-continuant-stop-continuant in word-medial position.

It is possible, in a general way, to rephrase this clustering using numbers, in which the higher the number the greater the degree of sonority indicated and the greater the proximity of the consonant to the vowel, as

- 6 semiconsonants
- 5 liquids
- 4 nasals
- 3 fricatives
- 2 affricates
- 1 stops

The occurrence of consonants in clusters can be charted as follows, with the first member of the cluster in the horizontal row and the second member in the vertical column:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CC-</th>
<th>6 5 4 3 2 1</th>
<th>-CC-</th>
<th>6 5 4 3 2 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>56 46 36 26 16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>66 56 46 36 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>45 35 15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>65 55 45 35 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>34 24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>64 54 44 34 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>33 13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>63 53 43 33 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>32 12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>62 52 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>31 11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>61 51 41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-CC</th>
<th>6 5 4 3 2 1</th>
<th>-CC-</th>
<th>614- 416- 315-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-631- 531- 431- 341- 115-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-631-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-CCC- 631-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-CCCC- 6314-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>52 42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>61 51 41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated above, the greater the sonority of a consonant the greater its relative proximity to the syllabic (vowel). Thus, the consonants in a word-initial cluster show increasing sonority, word-final clusters show a decrease in sonority, while medial clusters may show a decrease or increase or first an increase and then a decrease in sonority. Exceptions to this general trend do occur, as /spI/ 'white' = 31-, a decrease in sonority even though the second consonant is closer to the syllabic.

With initial clusters limited to two consonants, final clusters limited to three, and medial clusters limited to four, a given cluster will for
the most part contain any combination or categories of consonants in
the same relative sequence as they appear in the following formula
(solid line indicates relative amount of sonority):

123456-V-654321123456-V-654321

2.2. Non-linear Phonemes

Non-linear phonemes are lexical stress, primary stress, and
intonation. They will be presented in that order.

2.21. Lexical Stress

Stress is phonemic in Kurdish, as evidenced by the pairs /mor6/
'dice' and /mór6/'it is purple', and /le pášew6/'afterwards' and /le
pás ew6/'after that'. Phonetically, there are three degrees of stress,
or loudness of pronunciation: loud, medium, and weak. These are
indicated by the acute accent (') for loud stress, the grave accent (\)
for medium stress, and no mark for weak stress. The placement of
loud stress is not predictable, although in general it falls on the ultima
unless the ultima is an inflectional suffix. The placement of both medi-
um and weak is determined by the position of loud stress: a word has
only one loud stress; all other syllables receive weak stress, except
that the pre-pretonic or the post-posttonic, if any, receives medium
stress, as

\[ \text{golob} = \text{qlob} \text{Slot} \quad \text{göy} \text{st} \text{mow} = \text{göy} \text{st} \text{mow} \quad \text{'crowd'} \]

Thus, there are two stress phonemes, phonemic loud, consisting of
phonetic loud, and phonemic quiet, consisting of phonetic medium and
phonetic weak. The latter are mutually exclusive in their placement,
which is determined by the placement of loud stress. Only loud stress,
therefore, is marked on words cited in this description.

2.22. Primary Stress

In the previous section, lexical or word stress is described as that
particular fixed stress that every word pronounced as an entire utter-
ance must have, as /náwít/ 'your name', /penjorokšé/ 'the window'. A
word and its meaning are identified by the placement of this stress;
compare /hómanšé/ 'leather' and /hómanše/ 'we have'. However, most
utterances consist of more than one word, and usually not all of the
words in the utterance are stressed fully. Any given word in an utter-

\[ \text{Stress is not described in most works on Kurdish, and intonation is}
\text{not described in any. When it is treated (Mann, Socin, Barr) stress}
\text{seems to be similar in all the dialects — phonemic stress usually occurs}
\text{on the ultima, except that inflectional suffixes are generally unstressed.} \]
ance may be pronounced louder than the rest, thereby receiving the primary emphasis or focus of attention in that utterance; the lexical stress of all the other words in the utterance is then suppressed. This type of stress is called primary stress and is symbolized in this section by ° before the word bearing it. The other words, with suppressed stress, are said to have secondary stress. Thus, every word has a fixed lexical stress, while it may have either primary or secondary stress in a given utterance. Thus,

lêrê °gonîm hêyê 'There is wheat here.'
°to gonîm °nârweni, gonîm °ocêni 'You don’t plant wheat, you sow it.'

In the first sentence above, the syllable /nim/ has loud stress and the other syllables all bear weak stress. In both the following sentences /wa/ means ‘thus’ and /ôxîm/ means ‘I (will) eat’:

ôwa ?ôxîm 'I eat like this.'
wa °ôxîm 'I’m going to eat right now.'

It must be pointed out that lexical meaning is not affected by the presence or absence of primary stress; in the first sentence /wa/ (manner) is emphasized over the verb (action), whereas in the second sentence the action is so strongly emphasized as to make it seem immediate or even in the act of beginning.

As a rule, negative forms (as /náxoyt/ ‘you don’t eat’), interrogatives (as /bôci/ ‘why?’), and preverbs (as /dâ/ ‘down’) receive primary stress:

ôbôci nanêkût ônáxoyt 'Why don’t you eat (your bread)’?
heò to ônêyet mîn ônáxom 'I won’t eat until you come’
(literally, until you don’t come I don’t eat)
ôstôkânîm ôda na 'I put my things down.’ ôda niûê 'Sit down.’
The subjunctive prefix /ôç/- is usually not stressed, as ôcond bîhêniêm 'How much shall I bring?’

However, it may be stressed for special emphasis:
ôgêr ôbîzâni, pem ôble 'If you do know, tell me.’
da ôbîniêm 'Shall I sit down?’

A sentence has at least one primary stress; the maximum is limited only by the length of the utterance. After this section, lexical stress as such will not be indicated. Primary stress will be indicated by and secondary stress by the absence of any such mark.

2.23. Intonation

Kurdish intonation will be analyzed on two levels; first, the pitch phonemes will be presented, and then a sketch of pitch morphemes will be given.

2.231. Pitch phonemes. Kurdish intonation can be described in terms of three phonemic levels of pitch or pitch phonemes, /1 2 3/. The higher the number, the higher the level of pitch it represents.
2.231

Acoustically, these pitch phonemes do not represent absolute frequencies of pitch, but rather constitute a structure of three ranges of pitch relative to each other. Pitch /2/ may be lower on an absolute scale at certain times than at other times, but it is always higher than /1/ and lower than /3/ in any given utterance. Further, if pitch /2/ occurs a number of times within a single utterance, it may well never hit the same absolute frequency twice, but will fall within a range of pitch, which can be characterized as pitch phoneme /2/. The relative distances between pitches, too, vary according to the style of speech; quiet style versus loud style, etc.; but such variations are not within the scope of this treatment.

Three separate pitch phonemes have been set up on the basis of the following types of contrast, in which the final pitches in the utterances contrast with each other:

- /cycan/ /cycan/ 'Neither of them?' (question)
- /cycan/ /cycan/ 'Neither of them.' (affirmation)
- /cycan/ /cycan/ 'Neither of them (did you say)?' (repeated question)

In the examples above, numbers are phonemic representation and the solid lines are an approximate phonetic transcription. The acute accent over a number indicates a stressed syllable. The phonetic transcription is graphic and is not intended to show the exact pitch of each phoneme. In the utterance /cycan/, the pitch falls from level /3/ to level /1/. This is a gradual fall occurring over the length of both syllables. The exact shape of this fall is not significant; it is the beginning point and the ending point that determine the meaning of the intonation pattern. Such curves or changes in pitch may occur over a series of syllables, as above, or over a single vowel, as in /o'ykm/.

This often happens when the last syllable of an utterance is a stressed one. In the utterances cited in the preceding paragraph, the pitch sequences such as /3- -1/ and /2- -3/, which begin with stressed pitches, are called contours. The sequence /2- 3- -1/ contains a contour, /3- -1/, and a precontour, /2/, which is an unstressed pitch occurring before a contour.

Three phonemic levels of pitch have been posited for Kurdish in this analysis. However, experience with two languages as widely separated as English and Turkish, both of which have four pitch phonemes, would make it seem reasonable to expect four levels in Kurdish as well. Kurdish does not, however, have the extra-high pitch that the other two languages have. This may be purely fortuitous in that no extra-high pitch occurred in any situation recorded in the
corpus, and it is theoretically possible that further research would reveal an additional higher level or two for Kurdish.

2.232. Pitch Morphemes. Pitch morphemes may be simple, consisting of a single pitch phoneme, or compound, consisting of a sequence of pitch phonemes. These pitch morphemes never affect lexical meaning (as do pitches in a tone language), but rather betray the attitude of the speaker during the utterance: question versus affirmation; anger, sarcasm, surprise, etc. This meaning is spread over the entire length of the pitch morpheme sequence, whether it be over a monosyllable, as \( \frac{2}{3} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \) 'How?', or over an utterance of a number of syllables; e.g.:

\[ \text{i} \cdot \text{ar} \cdot \text{ri} \cdot \text{ke} \cdot \text{Vekt} \cdot \text{Im} \cdot \text{la} \cdot \text{hen} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{w} \cdot \text{g} \]

'I hadn’t taken my camera.'

(1) Simple pitch morphemes. There are three simple pitch morphemes, as follows:

a. \( \{.\} \) consisting of pitch phoneme /1/ (stressed or unstressed) and signifying completion.

b. \( \{,\} \) consisting of pitch phonemes /3/ (stressed), /3/ (unstressed), or /2/ (unstressed) and signifying lack of completion in utterance-medial position and question in utterance-final position.

c. \( \{-\} \) consisting of pitch phoneme /2/, and signifying emphasis.

These pitch morphemes occur only in pitch contours (see (2) below), and may be compared to bound morphemes on a lexico-morphological level, as the -ish in English boyish.

(2) Pitch Morpheme Contours. There are three basic pitch morpheme contours, rising ('), falling ('), and level (\{\}). In describing these contours, a two-component symbol will be used in which the upper component indicates the type of contour ('n') and the lower component indicates the final pitch morpheme of the contour (.,-). Thus, \( \{.\} \) means a falling contour terminating on the simple pitch morpheme \( \{.\} \), i.e. /2- -1/. The symbols ' and ' denote a change of one level only; if the rise or fall is over two levels, the accent is doubled: \( \{\!\} \) means a fall of two levels to \( \{.\} \), i.e., /3- -1/.

(a) Falling contours have the general meaning of completion.

The following types occur in the corpus:

1) Falling to \( \{.\} \): \( \{\} \) (i.e., completion + completion) = affirmation:

\[ \text{\( \frac{2}{3} \cdot \frac{3}{3} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \) = \( \frac{2}{3} \cdot \frac{3}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \)} \]

'I'm going home.'

If this sentence contains an interrogative (see 3.453) it is a question:

\[ \text{\( \frac{2}{3} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \) n\text{aw} \cdot \text{ci} \cdot \text{y} \cdot \text{a} \) = \( \frac{2}{3} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \)} \]

'What is his name?'
2) Falling to {,}{;} (completion + lack of completion) = question:

\[ \frac{2}{2} \rightarrow \frac{\text{έςαςόρ}}{\text{έςαςόρ}} \]

'Are you employed?'

(έςαςόρ = 'salary-eater')

If this utterance contains an interrogative, then it is a double question—that is, it may be

a) a repeated question asking for clarification of a previous utterance, as

\[ \frac{2}{2} \rightarrow \frac{\text{ή-}}{\text{naw cίβυ}} \]

'What was the name?' ('What did you say the name was?')

b) a question expressing surprise or incredulity, as

\[ \frac{2}{2} \rightarrow \frac{\text{ή-}}{\text{naw cτέ}} \]

'What is your name?'

(Surely not that!)

The meanings given under a) and b) obtain in utterance-final position; in utterance-medial position this contour means lack of completion, as

\[ \frac{\text{ή-}}{\text{nαπι ςάκι ςκέρ}} \rightarrow \frac{\text{ή-}}{\text{βάλε ςαβύ}} \]

'How are you—well, I hope?'

'Yes, it was like that.'

The more usual contour for expressing lack of completion in utterance-medial position is {,} (see (b) 1) below); the use of {;} here for lack of completion implies a greater division between the two segments of the utterance than does {;}.

(b) Rising contours have the meaning of lack of completion.

1) Rising to {,}{;} (lack of completion + lack of completion) = emphatic question:

\[ \frac{2}{2} \rightarrow \frac{\text{γάτα}}{\text{γάτα}} \]

'No kidding?'

This contour is regularly used on monosyllabic words to denote question, as

\[ \frac{\text{ή}}{\text{wά}} \]

'Like this?'

If the monosyllable is an interrogative, this is a repeated question (see 2) a) above):

\[ \frac{2}{2} \rightarrow \frac{\text{ή}}{\text{cόν}} \]

'How (did you say it was)?'

The use of this contour on non-interrogative words with stress on the final syllable, as in the case of \( \text{wά} \) immediately above, is complementary with the use of {;} ((a) 2) above) also meaning question but occurring in utterances where the final syllable is not stressed as in

\[ \frac{\text{ή}}{\text{wά}} \]

'Like this?' compared with \( \frac{3}{\text{wά}} \rightarrow \frac{2}{\text{wά}} \) 'Was it like this?'
In utterance-medial position a rising intonation means lack of completion:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nawit ciye} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft What is your name?\textquoteright} \\
\text{\textquoteright Yes, yes...\textquoteright} & \quad (\text{Go on -- I'm listening}) \\
\text{\textquoteright Indeed?\textquoteright} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft Indeed!\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

2) Rising to \(\{.,\}\) \(\{\cdot\}\) may embrace not only the contour \(//_{-2} -_{-3}/\) but also the contour \(//_{-1} -_{-2}/\); this contour also combines lack of completion with lack of completion but the fact that it begins from \(\{.,\}\) gives it an affirmative element as well. This contour is restricted to that situation where-in the speaker wishes to affirm that he is attentive to the conversation, and wishes the other person to continue—rather, complete his say:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textquoteleft Don't do that, you!\textquoteright} & \quad (\text{make = \textquoteleft don't do!\textquoteright})
\end{align*}
\]

3) Rising to \(\{.,\}\) \(\{\cdot\}\) (lack of completion + lack of completion); this is a two-level rise from \(//_{-1}/\) to \(//_{-3}/\); the additional level adds the element of emphasis, making this an incredulous question:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textquoteleft Sit down!\textquoteright} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft Sit down (I say)!\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

(c) Level contours denote intensity. Compare

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textquoteleft Sit down!\textquoteright} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft Sit down (I say)!\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

This level contour may potentially occur at any pitch morpheme level.

(3) Combinations of contours. In a series of utterances there will of course be found instances of more than one contour within a single utterance; each contour will contribute to the overall meaning of the utterance. For example, in the following illustration, the first contour, which is level, intensifies the injunction and the second one (lack of completion) leaves unsaid, as it were, what may well happen to the person addressed if he does not obey; the sum effect of these two contours is to produce a threat:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textquoteleft Don't do that, you!\textquoteright} & \quad (\text{make = \textquoteleft don't do!\textquoteright})
\end{align*}
\]

2.233. Summary. Kurdish intonation can be described in terms of at least three pitch phonemes, three simple pitch morphemes, and three basic pitch morpheme contours, the latter structuring into an undetermined number of combinations of contours. Also significant are position in the utterance (medial as opposed to final) and the number of levels involved in rising and falling contours (one-level change as opposed to a two-level change).

These last two rising contours would imply a contrast between pitch allomorphs \(/3/\) and \(/2/\) of the morpheme \(\{.,\}\) which would necessitate a different analysis from the one presented here. It seems preferable to interpret the difference in number of levels involved in the rising contours as the significant element rather than the different allomorphs.
2.3. Morphophonemics.

When vowels come into contact with vowels and consonants come into contact with consonants as the result of morphological processes, certain regular and predictable modifications of the phonemes involved take place. These morphophonemic changes are discussed first for vowels and then for consonants. It should be pointed out here that the transcription used outside of this section is regularly phonemic only and not morphophonemic. The immediate utility of this section is to clarify what might otherwise seem irregular changes in the phonemic writings. Thus, the morpheme (y) '3rd sing.' has the allomorph /i/ after consonants, as in /náwi/ 'his name', and the allomorph /y/ after a vowel, as in /bráy/ 'his brother'. Such morphemic alternations are indicated by the distributional formula Ci/Vy, which means that the allomorph /i/ is found after any consonant and the allomorph /y/ is found after any vowel. The style of speech described herein is normal informal (N); processes which are characteristic of deliberate style (D) or rapid style (R) are so marked.

2.31. Vowels

The morphophonemics of vowels must take into consideration stress and height, in which

- high vowels are /i u /
- mid vowels are /e o /
- low vowels are /a /

No instances have been noted in which the vowels /i u/ occur contiguous to other vowels, even as the result of a morphological process. /i/ occurs contiguous to other vowels only as the result of the dropping of dental stops (2.323); when this takes place the regular morphophonemic processes described below do not obtain. Since /i/ is unique in its behavior, it is described separately in 2.312.

2.311. Vocalic Processes. The vowels in the chart in 2.31 do occur contiguous to other vowels, but not as the result of morphological processes, as /sáf/ 'ceremony', /bóinbáx/ 'necktie'. In general, when two vowels are juxtaposed, unstressed high vowels alternate with their semiconsonant counterparts and non-high vowels are separated by /y/.

These processes are presented in relation to height of vowel and stress.

(1) Both vowels of the same height:

(a) High: the unstressed vowel alternates with its corresponding semiconsonant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i + i &gt; dy; ?éndy - + -it &gt; ?éndyt 'you sleep'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u + i &gt; wí; ?édrú - + wtewo &gt; 'édrúwtewo 'you reap'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i + u } no occurrence noted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i + d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i + i &gt; i; di- 'saw' + -i '3rd sing.' &gt; di 'he saw'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) **Mid:** \( V + V > \overline{V}V \)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o} + \text{o} & \Rightarrow \text{o} \text{yo}; \text{e} \text{ster} \ '\text{star}' + -\text{o} '\text{is}' & \Rightarrow \text{esteroye} '\text{It is a star}.' \\
\text{o} + \text{e} & \Rightarrow \text{oye}; \text{dr} \text{o} '\text{lie}' + -\text{e} '\text{is}' & \Rightarrow \text{droye} '\text{It's a lie}.' \\
\text{e} + \text{e} & : (1) \Rightarrow \text{xye}: \text{xwe} '\text{salt}' + -\text{e} & \Rightarrow \text{xweyoe} '\text{It's salt}.' \\
& & (2) \Rightarrow \text{xe}: \text{xwe} + \text{owe} > \text{xweowe} '\text{with salt}.' \\
\end{align*}
\]
It is not predictable whether (1) or (2) will obtain for a given suffix.

(c) **Low:** \( a + a > \text{aya}; \text{c} \text{ir} \ '\text{light}' + -\text{an} (\text{plural}) \text{c} \text{iray} \text{an} '\text{lights}'

### (2) Vowels of different heights:

(a) **High unstressed + mid or low:** the high vowel is replaced by the corresponding semi-consonant.
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mid} + \text{high}: & \Rightarrow \phi \text{o} + \text{i} - \text{ko} - -\text{it} > \phi \text{oyko} \text{yt} '\text{you make it}.' \\
& \Rightarrow \phi \text{ox} - ' -\text{in} > \phi \text{oxyn} '\text{we eat}.' \\
\text{pe} - -\text{i} & \Rightarrow \text{pey} '\text{to him}.' \\
\text{high} + \text{low}: & \Rightarrow \text{kanl} '\text{spring}' + -\text{an} > \text{kanyan} (\text{for *kani} \text{an}) '\text{springs}.' \\
\text{low} + \text{high}: & \Rightarrow \text{bra} '\text{brother}' + -\text{i} > \text{bray} '\text{his brother}.'
\end{align*}
\]

(b) **High stressed + mid or low:** \( V + V > \overline{V}V, \text{as} \)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i} + \text{e} & \Rightarrow \text{iye}; \text{ni} '\text{not}' + -\text{e} '\text{is}' > \text{nlya} '\text{is not}.' \\
\text{u} + \text{e} & \Rightarrow \text{uwe}; \text{zu} '\text{early}' + -\text{e} > \text{zuwe} '\text{is early}.' (\text{contrast} \text{zu} + -\text{e} '3\text{rd sing}.' + -\text{e} > \text{zuwe} '\text{it is early for him}.)
\end{align*}
\]

(c) **Mid + Low:** In general, \( V + V > \overline{V}V, \text{as} \)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e} + \text{a} & \Rightarrow \text{eya}; \text{herm} '\text{pear}' + -\text{an} > \text{hermeyan} '\text{pears}.' \\
\text{o} + \text{a} & \Rightarrow \text{oya}; \text{he} \text{lo} '\text{eagle}' + -\text{an} > \text{heloyan} '\text{eagles}.' \\
\text{However}, \text{o} + \text{a} & > \text{a}, \text{as} \text{ktebe} '\text{the book}' + -\text{an} > \text{ktebekan} '\text{the books}.' \\
& \text{and the present stem vowel o} + -\text{at} '3\text{rd sing}.' > -\text{wat}, \text{as} \text{?exo} - '\text{eat}' + -\text{at} > \text{?exw} \text{at} '\text{he eats}.'
\end{align*}
\]

(d) **Low + Mid:** \( a + \text{e} > \text{aya}; \text{em}... \phi '\text{this}' + -\text{e} '\text{side}' \text{emlaye} '\text{this side}'

### 2.312

The vowel /\text{i}/ \text{is syncopated under certain conditions and is assimilated to /i/ under other conditions. The processes described here do not obtain when /i/ comes into contact with another vowel as the result of the dropping of a dental (see 2.323).}

#### (1) Syncopation

(a) /\text{i}/ \text{is always syncopated when it occurs adjacent to another vowel:}
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bi} - -\text{i} - -\text{xo} & \Rightarrow *\text{bijixo} > \text{bixo} '\text{Eat it!}.' (\text{bixo} = '\text{Eat!} \text{')}
\equiv\text{?onu} '\text{sleep}.' + -\text{im} '1\text{st sing}.' > ?\text{onu} '\text{I sleep}.'
\end{align*}
\]

(b) /\text{i}/ \text{is usually syncopated in normal style when it is unstressed and is followed by a single consonant and a vowel, provided that the resultant consonant cluster is a permissible one (as defined in 2.131). That is, CiCV ~ CCV}

\]
2.312

zi'n 'woman' + -an > (D) zi[nan ~ (N) zi'nan 'women'
bawkit 'your father' + -im di > bawkt'im di 'I saw your father'
?6cim 'I go' + -e 'to' > ?6cme 'I go to'
However, a stressed /i/ is not syncopated, as
hi 'the one of' + min '1' + -e > hi min 'It's mine.'
This syncopation does not occur in deliberate style.

(2) Assimilation: /i/ is assimilated to /i/ before /y/: ñ ñ > iy:
bj- + -yan 'them' + -xo > biyanxo 'Eat them!'

2.313. Elision. Monosyllabic words in -e, as ba 'to,' le 'in, from,'
elide their vowel before words beginning in a vowel, as
be + ow 'him' > biw 'to him'
le + ira 'here' > lero 'here, in this place'
The transcription in this analysis, being phonemic rather than
morphophonemic, shows the elision of vowels just described.

2.314. Summary. When two vowels are juxtaposed as the result of
a morphological process, the following changes occur: typically, the
two vowels are separated by /y/. Unstressed high vowels, however,
alternate with the corresponding front or back semiconsonant, while
stressed high vowels show no such alternation. /i/ is unique in its
behavior, usually being lost when it comes in contact with another
vowel or syncopated when followed by a single consonant and a vowel.

2.32. Consonants

Consonants may undergo assimilation, may occur intrusively, or
may be lost completely, depending on position in the utterance.

2.321. Assimilation. Stops (except uvular and glottal) and sibilants
undergo partial regressive assimilation as to voicing in any position
in the utterance.

(1) Utterance-initial: (D) bicitk ~ bcuk > (N) pcuk 'little' (b ~ p)
(2) Utterance-medial: (D) ci biksm ~ (N) ci pkem 'What shall I do?'
(b ~ p)
xoz 'nice' + -bu 'was' > xozbu 'It was nice'
(z ~ z)
paz 'after' + niwero 'noon' > paz niwero 'after noon' (z ~ z)

(3) Utterance-final: sigim ?ac' 'I have diarrhoea' (lit., 'my stomach
goes'), but sig 'stomach' (k ~ g)
In rapid style, voiced dental stop /d/ undergoes complete progressive assimilation after the nasals /m/ and /n/, as

(N) 1ém dyat ~ (R) lém mayt 'I hit you'
(N) qešémDán ~ (R) qešémMán 'pencil box'
(N) űsMókóy pišán da ~ (R) na 'He showed the picture'

2.322. Excrescence. The cluster /nť/ fluctuates freely with the cluster /ndť/, which is the more usual pronunciation in normal style.

(D) cenřáw ~ (N) cendřáw 'sown'
(D) dřenřáw ~ (N) dřendřáw 'torn'

2.323. Loss of Consonant. /h/ and the dental stops /t/ and /d/ are lost under certain conditions of normal (or rapid) style, although retained in deliberate style, as follows:

(1) /h/ may be lost in utterance-medial position before a vowel:
(D) fošelát ~ (N) fošelát 'sunrise; east'
(N) nšhat ~ (R) nāt 'he didn’t come'
(D) břéhōe ~ (N) bēhōe 'bring!'

(2) In informal conversational style, dental stops /t/ and /d/ are dropped in certain environments, as follows:

(a) /t/ may be dropped only in word-final position after vowels.
(N) děstři ~ (R) děři 'your hand'
(D) ?ocět ~ (N) ?ocě 'he goes'

(b) /d/ may be dropped in several environments, with various results:

1) When intervocalic and contiguous to /i/, /d/ is dropped without other changes:
(N) qaďřr ~ (R) qařř 'Qadir' (proper name)
(N) naďřr ~ (R) nařř 'Nadir' (proper name)

2) When intervocalic and not contiguous to /i/, or when utterance-final and not following /n/, /d/ is dropped and /i/ occurs; this /i/ is a high back unrounded vowel:
(N) řěděm ~ (N) řěšm 'I give'
(N) bđě ~ (R) bě 'bad'

3) When /d/ is in the cluster /nd/:
   a) If that cluster is word-final or word-medial, the cluster alternates with velar nasal /ŋ/:
   pěnd ~ pěŋ 'pun, trick'
   cěndòt řőě ~ cěňt řőě 'How much do you want?'
   mandů ~ maŋů 'tired'
b) If that cluster is in word-medial position the /d/ may be dropped without other change:¹
  cândjit ¿ewé ~ cândjt ¿ewé 'How much do you want?'
  banaxwén ~ banaxwén 'belt-cord'
  afandí ~ afandí 'gentleman'

¹There seems to be a connection between the following facts: (1) that the vowel /i/ which alternates with /d/ is a high back (or velar) vowel and (2) that, on the dropping of /d/ from the cluster /nd/, the /n/ may alternate with velar nasal /ŋ/. Indeed alternation between a consonant and a vowel as in (b) 2) above is unusual in itself. These interesting phenomena are worthy of further research.
CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY: FORM CLASSES AND THEIR INFLECTION

3.0 Introductory

In this analysis, morphology is defined as the structure of the word (see (1) below) and syntax is defined as the structure of the sentence (see 5.0). Inflections provide formal criteria for setting up form classes, although syntactic criteria are adduced at times as secondary considerations. Accordingly, Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to morphology, Chapter 3 presenting the form classes and their inflections and Chapter 4 presenting word formation. These two deal with the word, while Chapter 5, Syntax, deals with utterances of more than one word.

(1) The Morpheme. The morpheme is a phonemically defined segment of speech or set of segments of speech with a constant range of meaning. A morpheme which can be preceded and followed by silence on the part of the speaker is a free morpheme (or word), as /pyaw/ 'man'; a morpheme which cannot so occur is a bound morpheme, as the /-eti/ in /pyaweti/ 'humanity'. Thus, a word can consist of a single free morpheme, as /cwdr/ 'four', /dd/ 'ten'; it can be a compound of two or more free morphemes, as /cward't/ 'fourteen'; it can be a morpheme complex of free and bound morphemes, as /nawim/ 'my name' (/naw/ 'name' and -im '1st sing.'); or, finally, it can be a compound or a complex plus a bound morpheme, as /ditxosim/ 'I am happy' (ditl/ 'heart' and xo's/ 'pleasant'). A stem is that form of a word bare of affixes: the stem of /nawim/ is /naw/ and of /neyan/, /dit/. Hyphenated forms are bound forms: a form preceded by a hyphen is a suffix, a

The following symbols are used in this description: the vertical bar | separates allomorphs of a single morpheme which are in complementary distribution; thus, their occurrence is predictable. For example, /Cim|Vm/ means that the suffix allomorph /-im/ occurs after any consonant and the suffix /-m/ occurs after any vowel.

The symbol ~ means "varies with" and separates items which are not predictable in their occurrence; thus, /hənu ~ həmu/ 'each, every' means that either form may occur in a given context. As far as possible the more frequent form is given first.

The hyphen - identifies a bound morpheme; it never has reference to juncture.

The colon : occurring between items without intervening spaces separates the two stems of a verb, as /xward-xo-/; the past stem and the present stem respectively of the verb 'to eat'.

Suspension points ... separate the constituent parts of a discontinuous morpheme, as

19...-da + zistán 'winter' > 16 zistánda 'in winter'.
form preceded and followed by a hyphen is an infixed form, and a form
followed by a hyphen is a prefix. No words consist solely of bound
forms; every word is based on a free morpheme.

(2) Form Classes. Common features of form permit a grouping of
words into five parts of speech or form classes. Each form class has
specific characteristic formal features which define it, all of which
are borne by every member of that class. Within classes there may
be subclasses, also based on formal features. Thus, nouns are words
which take definition and number suffixes (but not comparative suffixes,
as can adjectives). A subclass of nouns is composed of those nouns
which can take the vocative suffix /-a/. The five form classes are
nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, and particles.

(3) Pronominal Suffixes. Bound forms can be grouped also into
affix classes, according to the form class to which they convert. That
is to say, a nominal suffix is a bound form which might be appended
to any of certain form classes, but the resultant form is always a noun.
Affix classes are presented in Chapter 4.

There is, however, a set of suffixes, the pronominal suffixes, which
may occur with any form class and which do not convert the stem word
to a different form class. Their basic meaning remains constant, but
the resultant forms acquire various additional meanings according to
the form class of the stem word and sometimes according to the posi-
tion of the pronominal suffix in the word (that is, whether they are
infixed or suffixed). Consequently, since any word may receive a
pronominal suffix when preceded and followed by silence, the pronom-
inal suffixes are presented at this point so that the special meanings
obtaining with the various form classes can be indicated as that form
class is discussed.

The pronominal suffixes express both person and number; they are
listed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per</td>
<td>Ci</td>
<td>m|Vm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per</td>
<td>Ci(t)</td>
<td>Vt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per</td>
<td>Ci</td>
<td>Vy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They are composed of the elements \(/m/ (1st person), /t/ (2nd person),
/y/ (3rd person), and /-\(\alpha/ (plural). Parenthesis in the 2nd person
singular signifies that this /t/ may or may not be pronounced. The
special meanings obtaining through affixation are given under the
respective form classes. In honorific style, /-tan/ and /-yan/ may be
used with singular referent (see 1.4).

(4) The Form Classes. The form classes are presented in the
following order: nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, and particles.
Under each heading is given the following information in addition to a
definition of the form class in terms of its distinctive formal features:
(1) description of each of the distinctive features; (2) subclasses, if
any; (3) patterning and meaning of the pronominal suffixes for this
form class; and (4) a structural diagram.

The distinctive features which every word of a given form class
must invariably show constitute its inflection. Thus, the pronominal
suffixes are inflectional forms when added to preterite stems of verbs
—a feature which every transitive verb must show in the preterite
tense when the verb alone constitutes the entire utterance. The fea-
tures found under (3) above, however, are in each case optional and as
such are not part of the inflection of the word. Pronominal suffixes,
when infixed before the stems of verbs in the present tense, accord-
ingly, are not inflectional forms, since verbs in this tense may or may
not occur with this feature (direct object of verb).

3.1. The Noun

The noun is a word which may be inflected for (1) definition and (2)
number. There are two subclasses of nouns, those which can receive
the locative suffix /-el/, and those which can receive the vocative suf-
fix /Ca|Vwo/. There is a special class of verbal nouns or infinitives
which does not show these inflections; they are subsumed under nouns
because their distribution patterns that of nouns. For the formation of
infinitives, see 4.314.

3.11. Noun Inflection

3.111. Definition. The noun shows inflections for definition or lack
of definition.

(1) The usual definite suffix is /Ce|$V_{k6}/ affixed directly to the
noun stem; it precedes all other suffixes in order of suffixation. This
suffix has the alternate forms /Ce|$V_{k-}/ before the plural suffix.
Rarely, and in a more formal style, the definite article suffix /-s/ may
occur. The definite article suffixes indicate that the referent of the
noun is a specific one to which reference has already been made or to
which specific reference is now being made.

Wahby says in his Destur i Zman i Kurdi, section 114, page 35,
that nouns have gender also, corresponding to the sex of the referent.
For formal criteria, he reports that sometimes the definite article
suffix is /-e/ on masculine nouns and /-e/ on feminine nouns instead of
the usual /-ok6/; these, however, are "used very little." He further
states that /-e/ sometimes occurs on feminine nouns in place of the
regular vocative suffix /Ca|Vwo/. Hadank and Mackenzie also refer
to gender in Northern Kurdish.
3.111

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kíc</th>
<th>'girl'</th>
<th>kíccope</th>
<th>'the girl'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cirá</td>
<td>'light'</td>
<td>cirakó</td>
<td>'the light'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ktebit</td>
<td>'your book'</td>
<td>ktebokét</td>
<td>'your book'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=a book of yours</td>
<td>=that book of yours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kór</td>
<td>'donkey'</td>
<td>(D) kór</td>
<td>'the donkey'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) The indefinite suffix is (D)(N) /Cěk/Vyek/, (N)/Ce/Vye/: for a morphophonemic statement of the alternation see 2.311. Like the definite suffix, this suffix precedes all others in order of suffixation. It signifies that the referent is singular and that the referent is not a specific one.

pyáw  'man' | pyáwek ~ pyáwe  'a man'
hermé  'pear' | hermeyek  'a pear'

3.112. Number. Nouns show two numbers, singular and plural. In form, the bare noun stem is singular; the plural is formed for the great majority of nouns by the suffixation of /Cán/Výán/, where V = /a/ or /e/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>žín</th>
<th>žán</th>
<th>'women'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaní</td>
<td>kanyán</td>
<td>'springs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bard</td>
<td>berwán</td>
<td>'oak trees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cirá</td>
<td>círayán</td>
<td>'lights'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>texté</td>
<td>textán</td>
<td>'boards'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hermé</td>
<td>hermeyán</td>
<td>'pears'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following words form their plural in /-hát-/wát-/át/:

dé  :  dehát  'villages'
sawzé : sawzowát  'greens'
bág : bagát  'gardens'

The following noun shows reduplication plus addition of extra element:
gá  :  gagól  'oxen'

The plural suffix is second in order of suffixation; that is, it follows the suffix of definition, if any (note: before /-án/ the suffix of definition is /Cěk/-Věk/-).

máf  'house' : málán  'houses'
maloksé 'the house' : malokán  'the houses'

The uninflected singular noun may be used in a generic sense, as píllé góst ōsxwá 'Cats eat meat.'

3.12. Noun Subclasses

3.121. Locative. The locative suffix /-é/ appears on the following words with the meaning of 'in' or 'at':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>šów</th>
<th>'night' : šowé  'in the night, last night'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šár</td>
<td>'city' : šaré  'in the city'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.122. Vocative. Singular nouns may receive the vocative suffix /Ce/Vwe/ for single referent and /-ino/ for plural referent, indicating ḫ-ct address.

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3.13. Noun with Pronominal Suffixes

The pronominal suffix added to nouns has the meaning of possessor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Pronominal Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náw</td>
<td>'name'</td>
<td>brá</td>
<td>'brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náwím</td>
<td>'my name'</td>
<td>brám</td>
<td>'my brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náwít</td>
<td>'your name'</td>
<td>brát</td>
<td>'your brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náwí</td>
<td>'his name'</td>
<td>bráy</td>
<td>'his brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náwman</td>
<td>'our name'</td>
<td>bráman</td>
<td>'our brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náwtan</td>
<td>'your name'</td>
<td>brátan</td>
<td>'your brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náwyán</td>
<td>'their name'</td>
<td>bráyan</td>
<td>'their brother'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronominal suffixes added to the infinitive (or verbal noun) mean either (1) actor or (2) goal of action, as

(1) actor:

paš hátním bó ére — 'after my coming here'

(2) goal:

miwánek hát bó biníním — 'A guest came to see me.'


All possible noun-word structures (except for infinitives) are included in the following diagram:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Pron. Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>málí</td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td>-án</td>
<td>-ím</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td></td>
<td>(-ím)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, every noun is based on a stem, as /máli/ 'house.' It may include as well any combination of affixes which are on the same horizontal level and always in the same relative relationship to the stem. Thus, definition always precedes any other suffix, plural always precedes the pronominal suffix, if any, etc. The possible word types are accordingly, /máli málik málikáni málikáni málik maliáni málik málik málik/. For /málikim/ see 5.41.

3.2. The Adjective

Adjectives share some of the features characteristic of nouns, and in addition possess a feature peculiar to adjectives. The former include definition and number; the form and function are the same as for nouns. The special adjective feature is comparison. The participle is a special form of adjective derived from verbs; this derivation is described in 3.4.14 (6).
3.21. Adjective Inflection

3.211. Definition. There are two article suffixes, the definite /Csks|Vks/ and the indefinite /Cek|Vek/.

   cd: 'good'  
   caksk 'the good one'
   cak 'a good one'

3.212. Number. The plural suffix /-dn/ is attached to the adjective to signify that more than one item of the quality or state named by the adjective is indicated (/skös/ has the alternate form /sk-1/ before the plural suffix):

   cakan 'good ones'  
   caksk  'the good one'
   cakskan 'the good ones'

3.213. Comparison. Degrees of comparison are two: comparative and superlative.

(1) Comparative. The comparative is formed by suffixing /-tir/ to the adjective stem. It signifies a greater degree of the quality named than one or more other items.

   ba 'good'  
   basrir 'better'
   gawr 'big'
   gawrotir 'bigger'

(2) Superlative. The superlative degree is formed by suffixing /-trin/ (that is, the allomorph /-tr/- of the comparative plus /-In/) to the adjective stem. It signifies the greatest degree of the quality named by the adjective.

   ba 'good'  
   basrin 'best'
   gawr 'big'
   gawrotrin 'biggest'

3.22. Adjective plus Pronominal Suffix

The pronominal suffix when appended to this adjective may mean (1) possessor or (2) item of reference.

(1) Possessor: cakskânim 'my good ones'

(2) Person or object to which item is oriented:

   zuwe 'it is early for him' (zu 'early + y '3rd sing.' +e 'is').
   Compare zuwe 'It's early'
   bas 'it's enough for you' (bas 'enough' + t '2nd sing.' +e 'is').

3.23. Adjective Diagram

The following diagram shows the possible word structures for adjectives:
3.3. The Pronoun

Pronouns show distinction of person and number. Syntactically, they differ from nouns in that nouns occur in agreement with verbs only in the third person, whereas pronouns occur in agreement with verbs in the first and second persons as well.

3.31. Pronoun Inflection

3.311. Person. Pronouns show first, second, and third persons. These forms are all suppletive, and are listed below.

3.312. Number. Pronouns show two numbers, singular and plural. The plurals in the first and second persons are suppletive; only in the third person is the plural derived from the singular by the suffixation of /-án/ (compare the plurals of nouns and adjectives). The pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>mën 'I, me'</td>
<td>ño 'we, us'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>tō 'you'</td>
<td>ñwe 'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>ñw 'he, him, she, her'</td>
<td>ñwâñ 'they, them'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.32. Pronoun Subclasses

3.321. Vocative. Second person pronouns may receive the vocative suffix /e/ VN, which gives the pronoun added force in direct address. mën tō 'Don't do that, you!' (mën = 'don't do!')

3.33. Pronouns with Pronominal Suffixes

Pronominal suffixes may be added to pronouns, but only within larger utterances, such as clauses. This construction is described in 5.4, Displaced Suffixes.

3.34. Pronoun Diagram

The following diagram shows the possible word structures for pronouns:
3.4. The Verb

Verbs, when they constitute the entire utterance, must show the following categories by means of formal features: (1) person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) and number (singular or plural); (2) aspect (completive or incompletive); (3) transitivity (transitive or intransitive); (4) tense (present, preterite, imperfect, present perfect, past perfect); (5) mood (indicative, subjunctive, imperative); and (6) voice (active or passive). Verbs have two principal parts, with the past tenses based on the past stem and the present tense and the imperative mood based on the present stem; this is described under (4) Tenses.

3.4.1. Verb Inflection

3.4.1.1. Person and Number. Person and number are indicated by means of suffixation in all tenses except the imperfect, where infixation obtains. Two sets of suffixes are used, one for transitive verbs in the past tenses, and another for all other verbs.

Transitive verbs in the past tenses indicate person and number by the pronominal suffixes of 3.0 (3). Intransitive verbs in the past tenses and all verbs, both transitive and intransitive, in the present tenses indicate person and number by the Verbal Suffixes below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>-we</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here are the suffixes for indicative mood:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>Cin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>Cit(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-e(t)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The (/t/) of the 2nd and 3rd singular is omissible: it may or may not be pronounced in usual discourse, without difference in meaning. For the /-e(t)/-a(t)/ alternation in the 3rd singular, see 3.4.1.4 (2), the Present Tense. Note that verbal suffixes are identical in the 2nd and 3rd persons in the plural, and that the first person singular of the verbal suffixes and of the pronominal suffixes also are identical.

Intransitive verbs in the past tenses (as well as suffixes for pronominal goal in the past tenses) have a zero suffix in the 3rd singular.

3.4.1.2. Aspect. Each tense characteristically includes or omits the incompletive aspect prefix /-e-/; this prefix occurs only in the indicative mood and never occurs in any other mood. Those tenses which receive it (the present and the imperfect) signal an action of

1The prefix /-e-/ is peculiar to the dialect of Sulaimaniya itself; in all other dialects of Kurdish, even those of nearby communities, the prefix /do-/ regularly occurs, as /doxóm/ 'I eat'.

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incompletive aspect; that is, the action is one that is in progress
(‘oxdım/ I’m eating’), one that has not yet begun (‘oxdım/ I’ll eat, I’m
going to eat’), or is a customary or habitually repeated action (hemd
fozek oxdım/ ‘I eat every day.’). The other tenses are of completive
aspect; that is, they describe a single completed action, as preterite
/xwardım/ ‘I ate’. 1

3.413. Transitivity. All verbs can be classified on a formal basis
as to their transitivity (transitive or intransitive); this distinction is
manifested in (1) the person-number suffixes in the past tenses; (2)
in the fact that only transitive verbs are inflected for passive voice
(for which see 3.416); and (3) in the fact that only transitive verbs may
show pronominal goal (for which see 3.421). In the past tenses, trans-
itive verbs take the pronominal suffixes of 3.0 (3), and intransitive
verbs take the verbal suffixes of 2.411 with a zero suffix in the 3rd
singular. In the present tense this feature is neutralized, all verbs
taking the verbal suffixes of 3.411.

The meaning of transitivity is a syntactic one: a transitive verb
can take a direct object and an intransitive verb cannot (see 5.311).

3.414. Tense. The verb has five tenses based on two related tense
stems. On the present stem is based the present tense (as well as
the imperative mood); on the past stem are based the preterite, the
imperfect, the past participle in /-u/ on which is based in turn the
present perfect tense, and the past perfect. Tense stems are de-
scribed first, with a description of each tense following. The following
outline gives the first person singular of the various tenses of /ward-:
xo-/ ‘to eat’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Stem: xo- ‘eat’</th>
<th>Present Tense:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Imperative Mood: bı-xo)</td>
<td>‘Eat!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Stem: xward- ‘ate’</td>
<td>Preterite Tense: xward-ım ‘I ate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect Tense:</td>
<td>‘I was eating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Past Participle: xward-u)</td>
<td>Present Perfect: xward-üh-u-m ‘I have eaten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Perfect:</td>
<td>xward-üh-u-m ‘I had eaten’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Since each tense occurs in only one aspect, an alternative analysis
is to set up not two separate categories of aspect and tense but a
single category of aspect-tense, as incompletive-present, completive-
preterite, incompletive-imperfect, completive-present perfect, and
completive-past perfect.
Verb Stems.¹ Verb stems are divided primarily into two types: vowel stems (those ending in a vowel) and consonant stems (those ending in a consonant). This division permits generalizations describing the alternations between past and present forms. Numbers in parentheses indicate the total number of items recorded for a given pattern when that number is small.

(a) Past Stems in Vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. -i ~ ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boxši-</td>
<td>boxš-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əeli-</td>
<td>əel-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binĩ ~ diĩ-</td>
<td>bin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gozi-</td>
<td>goz-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zanĩ-</td>
<td>zan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djĩz-</td>
<td>djĩz-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nusi-</td>
<td>nus-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tophi-</td>
<td>tophi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kri-</td>
<td>kri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a. -a ~ ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>westd-</td>
<td>west-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirdĩ-</td>
<td>tirdĩ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hẽnĩ-</td>
<td>hẽn-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əĩd-</td>
<td>əĩ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əa-</td>
<td>əa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b. -a ~ -e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gořĩ-</td>
<td>goř-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gerã-</td>
<td>gera-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bra-</td>
<td>bra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?awsdã-</td>
<td>?awsẽ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. -a ~ -en</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōeka-</td>
<td>ōken-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>men-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. -a ~ -ø</td>
<td>(1 item)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-</td>
<td>da-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Verbs are listed by their two stems separated by a colon, with the past stem given first. If there is a vertical bar between two alternate present stems, the form to the right of the bar is the stem for the third singular only, and the stem to the left of the bar is for the other forms of the present tense.
3a. -u~u (3 items)

formu- : fîrmu- 'to honor' (polite)
dru- : dru-|drw- 'to sew'
jd- : ju-|jw- 'to chew'

b. -u~Ø (2 items)

cu- : c- 'to go'
bu- : b- 'to become'

4. Irregular stems (2 items)

hó...bu : hó...Ce|Vye|yeti 'to have'
-bu- : Cîm|Vm; hó-; b- 'to be'

The verb for 'to have' is inflected for person and number by
infixing the pronominal suffixes of 3.0, as /hêmũ/ 'I had';
/hêmã/ 'I have'; 3rd sing. is /hôyeti/ 'he has'. See 5.4 for
object of this verb.

The verb for 'to be' will be referred to as the copula. It is a
suffixed form in past tenses and suffixed or free in present;
suffixed forms draw the stress to the previous syllable.

Past tense: /-bu-/ takes verbal suffixes (with 3rd sing. zero), as
génjbum 'I was young'
trumpélbu 'It was an automobile.'

Present tense: the suffixed forms have present meaning; inflect-
ed by verbal suffixes of 3.411 except for 3rd sing.:

Cîm|Vm  Cîm|Vyn
Ci(t)|Vy(t)  Cîn|Vn
Ce|yeti|Vye|dwe  Cîn|Vn

In the 3rd sing., the suffix is /-e/ after all consonants except the
morpheme /y/ '3rd sing. possessor', where the suffix is /-eti/;
the suffix is /-ye/ after all vowels except /u/, where the suffix
is /-we/.

sorbizim 'I am a soldier.'
tó kýyt 'Who are you?' (ké = 'who?)
bášo 'It's good.'
țiñyeti 'She is his wife.' (-y = 'his')
dróye 'It's a lie.' (drö = 'lie')
zówe 'It's early.' (zû = 'early')

Present stem /ho-/ takes verbal suffixes, with /-ye/ in the 3rd
sing.; means 'be, exist':
émôš hón 'We also are (exist)' (-ô = 'also')
/b-/ takes verbal suffixes, has future meaning:
satek-i-tër ls bêãs ?etîm 'Next year I'll be in Baghdad.'

Summary for vowel stems: the great majority of verb stems in
vowels end in /i/ or /a/, with a few in /u/ or /o/. In general, the /i/

55
and /a/ of past stems alternate with zero in the present stem, and the vowels /u/ and /e/ occur on both past and present stems of the verb.

(b) Past Stems in Consonants: with the exception of the verb /kužán...owe:kužén...owe/ 'to extinguish', all past stems show the past tenses morphemes /d/ or /t/. The voiced dental stop /d/ regularly occurs only after voiced consonants; voiceless /t/ occurs elsewhere, but in one case occurs after the voiced flap /r/: /girt:-gr-/ 'to take'. The past tense morphemes generally alternate with zero in the present stem. This alternation between dental stop and zero is sometimes accompanied by a vocalic alternation, most often one between /a/ in the past stems and /e/ in the present stems.

Past stems ending in one consonant are presented first, followed by those in two consonants and then by those in three consonants. The symbol C stands for any consonant; D, for /d/ or /t/; S for /s/ or /θ/; Z, for /z/ or /l/; and t, for /t/. The alternate present stem to the right of the vertical bar occurs only in the 3rd person singular. Thus, /No-INw-\bar{}/ = /No/ in /POndm\ wásh' and /Nw/ in /POnwit/ the washes'. Numbers in parentheses indicate the total number of items recorded for a given pattern when that pattern is small.

### Past : Present

1. Stems in one consonant
   a. -an ~ -en (1)
      kužán...owe : kužén...owe 'to extinguish'
   b. Past stem in /-th Suppletion (2)
      hat:-ye-ly- 'to come'
      wat:-ie-\bar{-} 'to say'

2. Stems in two consonants
   a. CD ~ C (Major pattern)
      1) Without accompanying vocalic alternation
         end ~ en : xwend-:xwen- 'to read' (1)
         end ~ en : kend-:ken- 'to take off' (1)
         est ~ es : fest-:fes- 'to spin' (1)
         owt ~ ow : kowt-:kow- 'to fall' (1)
         ošt ~ oš : frošt-:froš- 'to sell' (1)
         urd ~ ur : burd-:bur- 'to forgive' (1)
      2) With accompanying vocalic alternation
         and ~ en : cand-:cen- 'to sow' (4)
         ard ~ er : nard-:ner- 'to send' (3)
         awt ~ ew : pälawt-:pälew- 'to filter' (3)
         end ~ en : sënd-:sen- 'to take' (1)
         ľšt ~ ľš : ništ-:niš- 'to sit' (1)
         ľrd ~ r : mjlrd-:mr- 'to die' (1)
         ľrt ~ r : ľirt-:gr 'to take, grasp' (1)
b. CD ~ Ø (entire cluster alternates with zero)

1) With accompanying vocalic alternation

ard ~ o : xward-ːxo-ːkw- ‘to eat’ (1)
|rd ~ o : k|rd-ːke-ːk- ‘to do, make’ (1)
|st ~ ye : blist-ːbyo-ːby- ‘to hear’ (1)
|st ~ o : x|st-ːxo-ːx- ‘to pull’ (1)
|ust ~ u : nust-ːnu-ːnw- ‘to sleep’ (1)
|ust ~ o : ːu|st-ːзо-ːzw- ‘to wash’ (1)

2.414

3.414

b. CD ~ Ø (entire cluster alternates with zero)

1) With accompanying vocalic alternation

ard ~ o : xward-ːxo-ːkw- ‘to eat’ (1)
|rd ~ o : k|rd-ːke-ːk- ‘to do, make’ (1)
|st ~ ye : blist-ːbyo-ːby- ‘to hear’ (1)
|st ~ o : x|st-ːxo-ːx- ‘to pull’ (1)
|ust ~ u : nust-ːnu-ːnw- ‘to sleep’ (1)
|ust ~ o : ːu|st-ːзо-ːzw- ‘to wash’ (1)

c. St ~ St

1) Without accompanying vocalic alternation

est ~ est : post-ːpost- ‘to press’ (2)

d. St ~ Z (voiceless sibilant and dental stop alternate with voiced sibilant)

1) With vocalic alternation

|arst ~ uz : ku|arst-ːku年内- ‘to kill’ (1)
|ast ~ ez : parast-ːparez- ‘to protect’ (7)
|jst ~ ež : xjst-ːxež- ‘to sprinkle’ (1)
|jst ~ ež : hawi|st-ːhawež- ‘to throw’ (1)

e. St ~ 1 (entire cluster alternates with /l/)

1) Without vocalic alternation

|est ~ el : hest-ːhel- ‘to permit’ (1)

f. Suppletion

wist- : ːowé(t) ‘to want’ (1)

3. Stems in three consonants

a. 3St ~ Ø (entire cluster alternates with zero)

1) Without accompanying vocalic alternation

|oyst ~ o : ːoyo|st-ːyo-ːkw- ‘to go’ (1)
|oyst ~ o : ːgyo|st-ːgo-ːg- ‘to arrive’ (1)

Summary for consonant stems: most consonant stems end in a dental stop; this stop may be preceded by one, two, or no consonants. In general, the dental stop alternates with zero in the present stem. If the preceding consonant is a sibilant, the entire cluster alternates with zero in the present stem in many instances. These alternations are often accompanied by vocalic alternations, the most usual being between /a/ in past stems and /e/ in present stems.

(2) The Present Tense. The present tense of the verb is formed of the incomplete aspect prefix /POS/ plus the present stem plus the person-number suffix; for the latter, the verbal suffixes of 3.411 are used for all verbs except the verbs /wist-ːowé(t)/ ‘to want’ and /hé...bu:hé...Co|Ye|yeti/ ‘to have’. The former verb is irregular in that it expresses person and number by the pronominal suffixes on both
3.414

stems, infixing them between /?o-/ and the stem in the present tense: /wistim/ 'I wanted' and /?omowat/ 'I want'. For the latter verb, see 4 on page 55.

In this and the subsequent sections of the verb, /xwardo-xo-xw-/ 'to eat' and /hat-ide-y-/ 'to come' will illustrate transitive and intransitive verbs respectively. The present tense of these verbs follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{xwardo-xo-xw-} & \text{hat-ide-y-} & \text{to eat} & \text{to come} \\
\text{I eat} & \text{you eat} & \text{he eats} & \text{we eat} & \text{you eat} & \text{he eats} & \text{we eat} & \text{you eat} & \text{he eats} & \text{you eat} \\
\text{yem} & \text{yeyt} & \text{yet} & \text{yen} & \text{yeyn} & \text{yen} & \text{yeyn} & \text{yen} & \text{yeyn} & \text{yen} \\
\text{I come} & \text{you come} & \text{he comes} & \text{we come} & \text{you come} & \text{he comes} & \text{we come} & \text{you come} & \text{he comes} & \text{you come} \\
\end{array}
\]

The verb /hat-ide-y-/ is irregular in the present tense in that the indicative mood does not prefix the aspect prefix /?o-/. In the 3rd singular, all verbs take the suffix /-e(t)/ except those verbs whose present stems end in /-o/ or /-a/, which take /-at/. The alternation between two present stems, as /?o-xw-, can be stated morphophonemically as /a + a > a/, /o + a > wa/, and /e + e > e/ (see 2.311). Thus,

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{zani-:zan-} & \text{tokan} & \text{he knows} \\
\text{toyg-:to-} & \text{tewat} & \text{he goes} \\
\text{kird-:ko-} & \text{kokat} & \text{he does} \\
\text{hat-ide-} & \text{yet} & \text{he comes} \\
\end{array}
\]

The /t/ of the 2nd and 3rd singular is omissible; it is generally indicated in written Kurdish, but is usually omitted in speech, except that it is always pronounced when the form receives a suffix, as kerd /ozdni, lomodi "Do you know Kurdish?"

The present tense describes any time other than past; the action is of incompletive aspect (see 3.412). A second person plural verb may be used with singular referent to show respect.

The present tense is diagrammed as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
?o & \text{present stem} & \text{pers.-num. suffix} \\
\end{array}
\]

(3) The Preterite Tense. The preterite tense is formed of the past stem plus the person-number suffixes as described in 3.411; transitive verbs take the pronominal suffixes and intransitive verbs take the verbal suffixes with zero suffix in the 3rd singular. The transitive is of completive aspect, never taking the aspect prefix /?o-/. It names a single completed action in past time; it cannot signify a progressive or habitually repeated action. It sometimes names an action in future
time, one that is considered by the speaker to be certain to happen, as /dɔŋt cʊ bo emérke/ 'Your voice will go [lit., 'went'] to America.'

The following paradigms are in the active indicative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>(xw̥rd)m</th>
<th>'I ate'</th>
<th>(h̥t)m</th>
<th>'I came'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(xw̥rd)1(t)</td>
<td>'you ate'</td>
<td>(h̥t)1(t)</td>
<td>'you came'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xw̥rd)</td>
<td>'he ate'</td>
<td>(h̥t)</td>
<td>'he came'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xw̥rd)m</td>
<td>'we ate'</td>
<td>(h̥t)1n</td>
<td>'we came'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xw̥rd)m</td>
<td>'you ate'</td>
<td>(h̥t)1n</td>
<td>'you came'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xw̥rd)y</td>
<td>'they ate'</td>
<td>(h̥t)1n</td>
<td>'they came'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The formation of the preterite tense is diagrammed as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{past} & \text{stem} & \text{pers.-num. suffix} \\
\end{array}
\]

(4) The Imperfect Tense. The imperfect always takes the aspect prefix /?e-/ placed before the stem. It occurs only in the indicative mood, but may occur in either voice. It formally shows transitivity in two ways: the person-number suffixes are different for transitive and intransitive verbs, and the arrangement of elements is different. Transitive verbs have the pronominal suffixes inserted before the stem; intransitives take the verbal suffixes (with zero in the 3rd sing.) after the stem.

The imperfect names a past progressive action, or rarely a past habitual action. In a contrary-to-fact situation it has conditional meaning, as /šgınə ?ex̥nkʌ/ 'otherwise you would have drowned.'

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
?əx̥wr\d & 'I was eating' & ?əh̥t\d & 'I was coming' \\
?ətx̥wr\d & 'you were eating' & ?əh̥t\d1(t) & 'you were coming' \\
?əyx̥wr\d & 'he was eating' & ?əh̥t & 'he was coming' \\
?əmənx̥wr\d & 'we were eating' & ?əh̥t\d1n & 'we were coming' \\
?ətnx̥wr\d & 'you were eating' & ?əh̥t\d1n & 'you were coming' \\
?əyənx̥wr\d & 'they were eating' & ?əh̥t\d1n & 'they were coming' \\
\end{array}
\]

The imperfect tense is diagrammed as follows:

Transitive verbs:  Intransitive verbs:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
?ə & \text{person number} & \text{past stem} & ?ə & \text{past stem} & \text{person number} \\
\end{array}
\]

(5) The Past Participle. The past participle is an adjective derived from the past stem of the verb by the suffixation of /Cdu\d/w/; it does not receive inflection for degrees of comparison. It is of course not a tense, but has been included here because its formation is based on the past stem of the verb and because the present perfect tense is in turn based on it. The past participle can be formed from a stem which is either active or passive in voice. The examples presented here are

59
in the active voice; for passive forms, see 3.416.

The past participle signifies that the underlying notion of the verb has taken place, but without reference to time or subject or object. Some illustrations follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Past participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xward-</td>
<td>xwardd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hát-</td>
<td>hatúd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?awsd-</td>
<td>?awsdw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>westá-</td>
<td>westáw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kírd-</td>
<td>kírdú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kušt-</td>
<td>kuštú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The past participle is diagrammed as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{past stem} & \text{Cd|Ww} \\
\end{array}
\]

(6) Present Perfect Tense. The present perfect consists of the past stem plus the past participle suffix /Cd|Ww/ plus the person-number suffix; transitive verbs show also the suffix /-e/ after the person-number suffix. The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is manifested further in the person-number suffixes, the former taking pronominal suffixes and the latter taking the verbal suffixes (with /-e/ in the third singular). This tense shows two moods, indicative and subjunctive (3.415) and both voices (3.416).

The present perfect names not so much an action as a state or condition resulting from a completed action. The preterite names a single action completed in past time: /westám/ 'I stood up'; the present describes an action not yet completed: /?owestálm/ 'I (will) stand up'; and the present perfect names a condition in present time resulting from a completed action: /westáwim/ 'I am in the condition of having stood up' (= 'I am standing, I am afoot'. Other examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dá nistím</td>
<td>'I sat down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nust</td>
<td>'he slept'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hát</td>
<td>'he came'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sošá dób</td>
<td>'it was ten o'clock'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paradigms of the present perfect tense follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xwardúme</td>
<td>'I have eaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwardúte</td>
<td>'you have eaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwardúye</td>
<td>'he has eaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwardúmane</td>
<td>'we have eaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwardútane</td>
<td>'you have eaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwardúyané</td>
<td>'they have eaten'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The present perfect tense is diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive verbs:</th>
<th>Intransitive verbs:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past stem</td>
<td>-u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past stem</td>
<td>-o-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) The Past Perfect Tense. The past perfect is formed of the past stem plus the past perfect characteristic /-ibu-/ plus the person-number suffixes. It is of completive aspect, and distinguishes between indicative and subjunctive moods (3.415) and between active and passive voice (3.416). Person and number are indicated by the pronominal suffixes on transitive verbs and by the verbal suffixes on intransitive verbs.

Like the preterite, the past perfect names a single action completed in past time, but it characteristically implies a subsequent action also in past time. Paradigms follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>xwärđibum</th>
<th>'I had eaten'</th>
<th>hätibum</th>
<th>'I had come'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xwärđibut</td>
<td>'you had eaten'</td>
<td>hätibuvt</td>
<td>'you had come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwärđibuy</td>
<td>'he had eaten'</td>
<td>hätibu</td>
<td>'he had come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwärđibuman</td>
<td>'we had eaten'</td>
<td>hätibuyn</td>
<td>'we had come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwärđibutan</td>
<td>'you had eaten'</td>
<td>hätibun</td>
<td>'you had come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwärđibuyan</td>
<td>'they had eaten'</td>
<td>hätibun</td>
<td>'they had come'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The past perfect tense is diagrammed as follows:

| past stem | -ibu- | person number |

3.415. Mood. The Kurdish verb has three moods: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. The subjunctive and imperative are identified in the positive by the prefix /bicbV/; in the negative the subjunctive takes only /m6-/ and the imperative takes only /m6-/ (see 3.422 for negation). The indicative is characterized by the aspect prefix /?o-/ in the present and imperfect tenses and by the absence of any of these prefixes in the preterite, present perfect, and past perfect tenses. The imperative is formed from the present stem, and the indicative and subjunctive are formed from both stems.

The moods reflect, as it were, the relationship of the action or state expressed by the verb to reality as conceived by the speaker: "real" versus "unreal". The indicative names an action conceived of by the speaker as "real": for example, a statement such as /?6cjm/ 'I('11) go'. Subjunctive names an "unreal" type of action; specifically, it may be deliberative, as /bicjm/ 'shall I go?', or factitive (indirect command), as /bic6/ 'make him go!'. The imperative expresses a direct command, as /bic6/ 'go!'. The meanings and uses are described more fully under the various moods.
(1) The Indicative Mood. Verbs in the indicative mood are identified by the aspect prefix /³o-³/ in the present and imperfect tenses and by the absence of this prefix as well as the absence of /b[t]/ in the other three tenses. In the case of negative verbs, the indicative is identified by /³a-/ in the present tense and by /³a-/ in the other tenses. The indicative occurs in all tenses; all citations of verbs so far have been, except where otherwise noted, in the indicative.

A verb in the indicative makes what the speaker offers as a statement of fact; or it may pose a question, as indicated by intonation (2.32) or the presence in the utterance of an interrogative (3.453).

A listing of the 1st singular indicative of /xward-ixo-xw-/ 'to eat' and /hat-ye-y-/ 'to come' follows. The full conjugations given under the various tenses above illustrate the indicative forms of the other persons and numbers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>³oxóm</td>
<td>yém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
<td>xwárdìm</td>
<td>hátìm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>³oxwárd</td>
<td>³èhátìm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Perf.</td>
<td>xwardìmo</td>
<td>hátìm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Perf.</td>
<td>xwardìbùm</td>
<td>hátìbùm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) The Subjunctive Mood. The subjunctive is identified by the prefix /bi[t]/ (with the special alternant /bi-/ before /y/) in positive forms and by /³a-/ in negative forms. It is further identified by /-aye -bayø/ in the preterite and past perfect subjunctive. This mood occurs in all tenses except the imperfect, and shows distinction in voice and transitivity. The order of affixation is different for transitive and intransitive verbs in the preterite and past perfect subjunctive; for transitive verbs in both these tenses the person-number suffixes are inserted immediately before the stem, while for intransitive verbs they are inserted after the stem and before the /-aye -bayø/.

The subjunctive names, in general, an "unreal" type of action (cf. supra). It may occur either as an element in a larger utterance or alone, the verb constituting the entire utterance. In the latter case, that is, when the verb in the present subjunctive constitutes the entire utterance, it may have a deliberative or a factitive meaning (cf. supra). In the present perfect, the subjunctive expresses a theoretical possibility, as /³òyìṣìbet/ 'he might have gone'.

In the larger utterance, the subjunctive regularly occurs after certain conjunctions, which are listed in 3.452, or in a /ko/ clause with indefinite antecedent, as described in 5.4. In other contexts, it may indicate a wish or hope, as /bé qozèbìt/ 'God protect you' (lit., 'may you be without misfortune'), or a condition contrary to fact, as in /ewberdè bé tôyàne bìmalìyaye ?èbìyèt bé cwarpè/ 'If they had thrown
that rock at you, you would have become a quadruped.' (-yan bïmatïyayo = 'had they thrown', preterite subjunctive of /malt-:malt-/).

Following are the paradigms of the subjunctive in the four tenses in which it occurs, preceded in each case by a formation diagram. Note that, of the four tenses, the present and the present perfect show no formal distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. The verb /hatsye-|y-/ has the irregular subjunctive stem /e-/ in the present tense.

### Present Subjunctive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bïC</th>
<th>present stem</th>
<th>person number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>bïxóm 'Shall I eat?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>bèm 'Shall I come?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bïxóm</td>
<td>bïxôyt</td>
<td>bïxwât</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bïxôyn</td>
<td>bïxôn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Preterite Subjunctive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Verbs</th>
<th>Intransitive Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bï-</td>
<td>past stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-bayo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- bïmíxwârdaye = 'had I eaten'
- bïtxwârdaye
- bïtxwârdaye 1
- bïmanxwârdaye
- bïtanxwârdaye
- bïyanxwârdaye

### Present Perfect Subjunctive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>past stem</th>
<th>-tï-</th>
<th>person number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1For a morphophonemic statement of the assimilation of /l/ to /l/ and the syncope of /l/ in these and subsequent forms, see 2.312.
Past Perfect Subjunctive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Verbs</th>
<th>Intransitive Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xward-</td>
<td>-xb-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat-</td>
<td>-xb-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past Perfect Subjunctive:

Transitive Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bi-</th>
<th>pers. num.</th>
<th>past stem</th>
<th>-ibu-aye</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Intransitive Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hat-</th>
<th>-ibu-</th>
<th>pers. num.</th>
<th>-aye</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The copula forms the subjunctive in the present tense on the stem /b1-/, in the preterite on /bu...aye/, and in the past perfect on /bub-. The subjunctive prefix /bi-/ is usually omitted, as
dger lewéibim 'if I am there'
bélku bùbe 'he might have been'

(3) Imperative Mood. The imperative is formed on the present stem, which receives the prefix /bi-C/bV/ and a suffix for number: /Cέ|V̄/ for the singular and /Cín|V̄n/ for the plural. The /i/ of /bi-/- is often omitted, as (D)/bi-té~ (N)bi/ 'say'!; see 2.312.

The imperative expresses a direct command. The illustrations are of vowel stems and of consonant stems, with plural forms given in parentheses.

xward-ixo-xw- 'to eat' bixð (bixdn) 'eat!'
férmu:-férμu- 'to honor' férμu (férμun) 'Please!' (polite request, usually without bi-)

---

The present perfect subjunctive can be alternatively analyzed as Past Stem plus /-i-/ plus the present subjunctive of /bu:-b-/ 'to become.'

In the past perfect subjunctive too the form of intransitive verbs can be analyzed as Past Stem plus /-i-/ plus the past indicative of /bu:-b-/ plus /aye/.
wete-że | t- 'to say' ḅje (ḅjen) 'say'
kiřd-ike | k- 'to do, make' ḅḳe (ḅken) 'do'
žia-ži | ž- 'to live' ḅži (ḅžen) '(long) live'
da-ide | d- 'to give' ḅḍe (ḅden) 'give'
hena-hen- 'to bring' ḅḥene (ḅḥenən) 'bring!' (contracted to ḅne(n); see 2.323 and 2.312)
girt-gr- 'to take' ḅgṛe (ḅgṛen) 'take!' 

The following verbs have irregular imperative stems:
hat-ye-y- 'to come' ẉer- : ẉere (ẉren) 'come'
cu-ic- 'to go' co- : ḅc̣o (ḅc̣on) 'go'
-bu-Cjmihe-; b- 'to be' b- : ḅḅ (ḅḅn) 'be'
hec...buc...Ce|Vye 'to have' : hec...buc...ḅn - in the imperative of this verb, the pronominal suffixes, here expressing person and number of the possessor, are infixed after /he-/; the suffixed forms /-be/ and /ḅn/ of this imperative form indicate that that which is possessed is 3rd singular or 3rd plural respectively, as
ḥṭbe 'Have (sg) it!'
ḥtānbe 'Have (pl) it!'
ḥṭḅn 'Have (sg) them!'
ḥṭānḅn 'Have (pl) them!'

The prefix /ḅC̣/ is usually omitted in speech, especially before voiceless consonants, as
ḷa co 'Go away!'
p̣fịke 'Fill it up!' (p̣fị = 'full')
pyaw-i-cakbe 'Be a good man!' (pyaw-i-cak = 'good man')

3.416. Voice. All forms cited so far are in the active voice. Transitive verbs show also a passive voice in all tenses and all moods. The passive infinitive occurs only in the written language. Passive forms are derived from the present stem of the verb: to this are affixed, in the following sequence, the passive characteristic /r/, the thematic vowel (/a/ for past tenses and /e/ for the present stem), and the verbal suffixes of 3.411. In the following diagram of passive forms, parentheses indicate features which may or may not occur, depending on the particular tense and mood:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>pers.</th>
<th>(tense signs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(?e-)</td>
<td>(ḅ-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While only transitive verbs receive passive inflections, these inflections themselves are exclusively those that intransitive verbs regularly take. And while passive forms are regularly based on the present stem of the verb in question, the passive form itself may
show a past stem (with thematic vowel /a/) or a present stem (with thematic vowel /e/). Thus:

kušt-kež- 'to kill' — Passive stem: kužr-

Present Passive: kužré- 'I am killed'
Past Passive: kužrá- 'I was killed'

The following passive forms are irregular:

1. Passive based on past rather than present stem of verb, as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Passive Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wet-ile-</td>
<td>wetr-</td>
<td>'it is said'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bist-ibye-</td>
<td>bist-</td>
<td>'it has been heard'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. The vowel of the present stem varies with zero of the passive stem, as

brd-ibe- 'to carry'  br-
krd-ikd- 'to do, make'  kr-
da-id- 'to give'  dr-

3. There is a vocalic alternation between the present and the passive stems, as

xward-mo- 'to eat'  xur-

dr

4. Zero vowel of the present stem varies with vowel of the passive stem, as

girt-gr- 'to take'  gir-

Voice denotes the relationship between the subject (for which see 5.21) and the action of the verb: the verb in the active voice has as the goal (or direct object of the verb, for which see 5.22) something other than the subject; a passive verb, on the other hand, is one whose subject is also the goal of its action, as

?oženim 'I bring' : ?oženrém 'I am brought'

In some cases the passive has a potential meaning, as

?okjenfê 'it is rubbed off' or 'it can be rubbed off'
twan-:twan- 'to be able' : ?etwanrê 'it is possible'

On the basis of the present passive stem in /re-/ and the past passive stem in /ra/ there can be formed all five tenses in the indicative, the present and the preterite in the subjunctive, and the imperative. These all receive the verbal suffixes of 3.411.

Following is the passive of /xward-:xo-|kw-/ 'to eat':

66
Present Tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?exuré \n 'I am eaten,'</td>
<td>bixuré \n 'that I be eaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?exuréyt</td>
<td>bixuréyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?exuréd \n to death'</td>
<td>bixuréd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?exuréyn</td>
<td>bixuréyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?exurén</td>
<td>bixurén</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Preterite Tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>xurám</th>
<th>'I was eaten'</th>
<th>bixurám</th>
<th>'had I been eaten'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xuráyt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xurád</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuráyn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xurán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xurán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present Perfect Indicative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>xuráwm</th>
<th>'I have been eaten'</th>
<th>xurábum</th>
<th>'I had been eaten'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xuráwit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuráwô</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuráwín</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuráwín</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuráwín</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperfect Indicative:

| ?exurá \n 'I was being eaten' | bixuré | 'be eaten!' (sg) |
| ?exuráyt |             |         |                   |
| ?exurá   |             |         |                   |
| ?exuráyn |             |         |                   |
| ?exurán  |             |         |                   |
| ?exurán  |             |         |                   |

(Infinitive: xurán 'to be eaten')

Past Participle:

xuráw 'having been eaten'

Imperative:

bixuré 'be eaten!' (sg)

Past Perfect Indicative:

xurábum 'I had been eaten'

xurábu

xurábuyn

xurábun

xurábun

3.42. Non-inflectional Processes.

Verbs constituting an entire utterance can indicate goal and negation by means of affixes. While these are not matters of inflection, they are closely related to the inflections of verbs, and are described in this section.

3.421. Pronominal Goal. Any transitive verb except /twani-;twan-/'to be able' can indicate pronominal goal, i.e., the person and number
3.421.

of the direct object of the verb, in any tense and mood. The affixes expressing pronominal goal in the present tense are different from those of the other tenses: in the present tense, the pronominal suffixes of 3.0 (3) are inserted immediately before the stem. The following illustrations are based on the form /næsə(t)/ 'he knows, is acquainted with', from /næt-:næs-/ 'to know':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative Mood:</th>
<th>Subjunctive Mood:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?əmnəse</td>
<td>bɪmnəse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he knows me'</td>
<td>'let him know me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ətnəse</td>
<td>bɪtnəse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he knows you'</td>
<td>'let him know you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?əynəse</td>
<td>bɪnəse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he knows him'</td>
<td>'let him know him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?əmnənəse</td>
<td>bɪmnənəse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he knows us'</td>
<td>'let him know us'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ətnənəse</td>
<td>bɪtnənəse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he knows you'</td>
<td>'let him know you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?əynənəse</td>
<td>bɪynənəse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he knows them'</td>
<td>'let him know them'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative Mood:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bɪmnəse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'become (sg) acquainted with me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɪmnɑsən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'become (pl) acquainted with me'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All other tenses use the pronominal suffixes of 3.0 (3) for subject and the verbal suffixes of 3.41 for object, with zero suffix in the 3rd singular. The order of suffixation is different in the imperfect tense from the other tenses: in the imperfect, the subject affix immediately precedes the stem (as it does when there is no suffix for goal) and the object suffix follows the stem, as in

?əyəkət 'he was killing':
?əyəkətim 'he was killing me'
?əyəkəttim 'he was killing you (sg)'
?əyəkətɪn 'he was killing us'

?əmankət 'we were killing (him)'
?əmankəttim 'we were killing you (sg)'
?ətankətɨn 'you (pl) were killing them'

In the preterite, present perfect, and past perfect tenses, the subject and object suffixes are both suffixed. In the following, all examples are from the preterite tense of /binr-:bɛn-/ 'to see':

(1) In general, the subject suffix precedes the object suffix:
binfɪnɪt 'I saw you (sg)'
binfɪti 'he saw me'
binfɪtɪm 'you (sg) saw me'
binfɪtɪn 'he saw you (sg)'
binfɪmanɪn 'we saw you (pl)'
binfɪtanɪn 'you (pl) saw us'

(2) The 3rd singular subject suffix always follows the other suffix:
binfɪmɪ 'he saw me'
binfɪt 'he saw you (sg)'

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3.422

binini¹ "he saw us; he saw you (pl); he saw them"

(3) The 1st singular always precedes a plural suffix, regardless of which is subject and which is object:

- binintel ‘you (pl) saw me’
- binimyan ‘they saw me’
- binimín ‘I saw them’

These same rules obtain for the present perfect and past perfect tenses; a few examples are given for each of these tenses:

**Present Perfect:**

- xwardúme ‘I have eaten’ : xwardúmín ‘I have eaten you (pl)’
- xwardútané ‘you (pl) have eaten’ : xwardútanín ‘you (pl) have eaten us’

**Past Perfect:**

- xwardíbum ‘I had eaten’ : xwardíbumín ‘he had eaten me’
- xwardíbuné ‘you (pl) had eaten’ : xwardíbunín ‘you (pl) had eaten us’

3.422. Negation. The negative prefixes are /ná-/ , /nó-/ , /mó-/ , and /mí-/ . In addition to their basic meaning of denying of the realization of the action or state denoted by the verb, these various prefixes also signal tense and mood.

In the present tense, /ná-/ is in opposition to the /nó-/ of the indicative mood and /nó-/ is in opposition to the /bí-/ of the subjunctive; and in the imperative, /mó-/ is in opposition to /bí-/ . Thus:

**Present Tense:**

**Indicative:**

- ʔexóm ‘I eat’
- náxom ‘I do not eat’

**Subjunctive:**

- bixóm ‘shall I eat?’
- něxom ‘shall I not eat?’

**Imperative:**

- bixo ‘eat!’
- máxo ‘do not eat!’

The negative imperative of /hát-uye-]/y-] is irregular in that it is based on the present stem /ye-/ rather than on the imperative stem /wer-/

The prefix /ni-/ occurs only in the present tense and with two verbs: (1) the present negative of /-bu-:/Cím [Vm;hó-b-/ ‘to be’ is /ni-/ plus the verbal suffixes with /-o/ in the 3rd singular, as /nim/ ‘am not’; /nýo/ 

¹Through regular morphophonemic processes, /i + i > i/ (see 2.311) and /i + i > i/ (see 2.312).

²That is, ‘I have pestered you to death,’ etc.
'is not'; and (2) the present negative of /n/,...bu:,...Co|3|Ve:/ 'to have' is /n/-/ plus the verbal suffixes with /-yeti/ in the 3rd singular plus the suffix /-e/ (except that /-e/ does not occur in the 3rd singular), as /nimo/ 'I do not have', /nmyeti/ 'he does not have'.

In all tenses other than the present, the negative prefix is exclusively /n-/ /n-/ is in opposition to the /b/ of the subjunctive, but not to /o/ which it precedes. Transitive verbs in the negative in the past all take the regular pronominal suffixes immediately after the negative suffix (in the positive the person-number suffixes follow the stem); intransitive verbs in the past are of the same formation in the negative as in the positive except for the addition of the negative prefix. These formations are summarized in the following charts:

### Transitive Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>nè-</th>
<th>pers. num.</th>
<th>qè-</th>
<th>past stem</th>
<th>-ùbu-</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>-ó</th>
<th>Illustrations 1st sing. ind.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pret.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>némxward 'I didn't eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impf.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>némqoxward 'I wasn't eating'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres.pf.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>némxwardwe 'I haven't eaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastpf.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>némxwardùbu 'I hadn't eaten'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Intransitive Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>nè-</th>
<th>qè-</th>
<th>past stem</th>
<th>-ùbu-</th>
<th>-u-</th>
<th>Pers. num.</th>
<th>Illustrations 1st sing. ind.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pret.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>nèhatim 'I didn't come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impf.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>nèqhatim 'I wasn't coming'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres.pf.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>nèhatum 'I haven't come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastpf.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>nèhatùbum 'I hadn't come'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.43. Summary of Verbal Features

Those verbal features for which the various tenses are inflected are summarized in Figure 2 on the following page.
3.51. Interjections

Interjections are particles which never receive either inflections or pronominal suffixes. They are generally initial in the utterance and usually constitute the entire utterance. They are conventional verbalizations of emotions: surprise, delight, etc.
3.52. Conjunctions

Conjunctions, like interjections, never receive affixes, not even pronominal suffixes. However, while interjections tend to be complete utterances in themselves, conjunctions characteristically introduce a clause, certain of them even governing the mood of the verb in the following clause. Listed below are the conjunctions occurring in the corpus with meanings and illustrative utterances. Those in the first group may be followed by verbs in either indicative or subjunctive mood, and those in the second group are followed only by verbs in the subjunctive.

1) Conjunctions followed by either indicative or subjunctive;

bdIam 'but':

bdIam názaním kéyt 'But I don’t know who you are.'
báku (a) with present tense and especially with the preterite

this means future possibility: 'might':
báku 4mšów barf 'It might rain tonight' (barf = 'it rained')
(b) 'but' (in contradiction to previous statement):
áme spí nše, báku tásó 'This is not white, but black.'
cúpke ~ cúpki 'because':
cúpke hícím náwe 'Because I don’t want anything.'
gína 'otherwise':
gína 4éxíńkáy 'Otherwise you would have drowned.'
kd (a) 'when':
kd gónjumbum cúme bégá 'When I was young I went to Baghdad.'
(b) 'if' (with preterite tense in same clause):
kó kícímbu násrín pè ?ełém 'If I have a daughter, I’ll call her Nasrín.'
(c) 'that':

'está ko šım zóre... 'Now that I have a lot of work...'
tenánt 'well, then' (to resume topic after interruption):
tenánt ?elén bo əwš-1-paş mîrdîniš xôk pêy pê bîkenîn, pêy spardû ko... 'Well, then, they say that, in order for people to laugh at him even after his death, he requested that...'

wê ~ Cu[WW 'and' (wê occurs in a more formal form of speech):
xôy amadê ?êka wê jUl-1-paš løbêr ?êka 'He gets himself ready and puts on clean clothes.'

zînî hîyew zanî hîye 'There is also woman and there is also pain.' (Proverb) i.e., women can be a pain.
wêk 'as'
wêk ?elén, kurd zîrêkîn 'As they say, the Kurds are clever.'

(2) Conjunctions followed only by verb in subjunctive:
bê 'let, have' (indirect command):
bê bîroy 'Let's go!'
bê bet 'Have him come.'
bâskîn 'maybe (so), probably'
bâskîm bîkrîm '[I think that] maybe I'll buy it.'
êgor 'if'
edgor nôtwanîm, çî pkêm 'If I'm not able to, what shall I do?'

hêta ~ tâ ~ hêtaku
(a) 'until';

hêta bêmrîm 'until I die'
(b) 'the more...the more':
gôm hêta qîlbe molîy xôse bô insan 'The deeper a lake is the better swimming it is.' (lit., 'lake as-far-as it-be-deep its-swimming is-good for man')

mêgor 'unless, if not' (after negative verb):

ëswân-i-蛳, lepaž nó, kôz nàbînt le ñêrêwe - mêgor sinemâ
nêbet 'On other nights, after nine, you won't see anybody outdoors - unless it's at the movies.'

rêpe 'maybe' (uncertain possibility):
kêpe bîkrîm 'Maybe I'll buy it [and maybe not].'
xôzê 'would that':
xôzê homî šew ŏmamî 'Would that every night were Ramazan!'

3.53. Interrogatives

Interrogatives are usually initial in the utterance, but occur medially in utterances when they introduce bound clauses (see 5.41). A feature peculiar to interrogatives is that they have a syntactic as well as a lexical meaning: signalling questions (see 2.232).

A special member within this class of particles is (D) /âye/, which
3.53

is rare in colloquial Kurdish, occurring mostly in writing. It is always initial in the utterance; it has no lexical meaning but serves only to signal an interrogative utterance.

Interrogatives differ further from interjections and conjunctions in that they may receive, for the most part, pronominal suffixes, and may be the subject or object of the verb. The first group of interrogatives below are those which occur as subject or object of verb.

(1) Those occurring as subject or object of verb:
- ci 'what?'
- cind ~ cęp ~ cân 'how much? how many?'
- kám 'which?'
- ké 'who? whom?'
- kwé ~ kwá 'where?'

(2) Those never occurring as subject or object:
- (D) dyö (interrogative particle)
- boci ~ bö; bocf- 'why?' (see below for bocf-)
- cân 'how?'
- kdy 'when?'

The interrogatives /kwé ~ kwá/, /kám/, and /boci ~ bö; bocf-/ occur with the pronominal suffixes, /bocf-/ taking the copula suffix /-e/ as well. The resultant meanings vary with the particles, as follows: /kám/ or /kwé/ plus pronominal suffixes receives partitive meaning, as

kwé òyeşé 'What part of you hurts? Where are you hurting?'

ekamyan hát 'Which of them came?'

The pronominal suffix added to /bocf-/ has the meaning of referent; this construction can be (1) a request for meaning or (2) a rhetorical question, as

bocifö (1) 'Why do you want it?' or
(2) 'Why should you want it?'

3.54. Numerals

While only thirty-one discrete forms occur in the corpus, these thirty-one forms may be combined according to fixed patterns to permit an infinite number of combinations. These forms and the formulas for composing numeral compounds follow.

A numeral specifies quantity of discrete units. The cardinal are:

- yëk '1'
- dëf '2'
- së '3'
- cwarç '4'
- pënj '5'
- bëst '6'
- howt '7'
- bëst '8'
- nö '9'
- dë '10'
- yanzę ~ yanzę '11'
- dwanzę '12'
- seanzę '13'
- cwarzę '14'
- panzę '15'
While the numbers 11 – 19 seem in general to be composed of the unit plus /d/, only /cwardd/ shows this origin without modification. /hovved/ and /hezd/ show morphophonemic changes, /no-z-do/ shows the addition of an analogical element, and the others show the insertion of /an-z-/ between the unit and /-(d)o/. Thus, except for /cward/, it is simpler to treat these as discrete forms.

3.541. Compound Numerals. Compound numerals are formed according to the following rules of composition:

1. Cardinals over /blot/ ‘twenty’ are formed by listing the desired numerals in descending order and suffixing /CulVw/ ‘and’ after each numeral except the last, as
   sédü bistu dů ‘122’

2. If /CulV/ is omitted, the product of the two numerals is indicated, as
   bist hezár ‘20,000’
   dwanzé pênjá ‘twelve 50’s’

Some examples of compound numerals are:
   siw sé ‘33’
   cľu pênj ‘45’
   šé šéšu yčk ‘191’
   šé šéšu dēst ‘360’
   hezár on sédü pênjáw cwan ‘1954’

3.542. Numerals plus Pronominal Suffixes. Pronominal suffixes appended to numerals indicate a partitive relationship; only the plural suffixes occur.
   dúyan ‘two of them’
   bistyan ‘twenty of them’

3.55. Prepositions

Prepositions are particles which occur only in nominal phrases, preceding the head of the phrase (for which see 5.11). The head of the phrase may be not only a free form (noun, pronoun, etc.) but also a pronominal suffix of 3.0 (3). Only two prepositions show morphemic alternants: /le/ ‘in, at, from’ and /pe/ ‘to’; see simple prepositions below. The allomorphs /le/ and /pe/ occur with pronominal suffixes and /lo/ and /bo/ occur before nouns: e.g., /bo báwkim/ ‘to my father’ and /péy/ ‘to him’. Included among prepositions too is the postposition /CulWro…(swa)/, a discontinuous form (see below).
The preposition indicates the relationship between the head of the nominal phrase and the rest of the utterance.

Prepositions may be simple (consisting of a single morpheme) or compound (consisting of a simple preposition and a noun or another preposition). Some prepositions may take /-owe/ or /-da ~ -ta ~ -a/ appended to the object of the preposition to form a discontinuous preposition. Suffixation of /-owe/ or the locative /-da ~ -ta ~ -a/ does not create a new meaning for the resultant discontinuous preposition, but merely fixes one of the several meanings of the original simple preposition.

3.351. Simple Prepositions. A list of simple and discontinuous forms, if any, follows; suffixes in parenthesis may or may not occur with the simple preposition to form a discontinuous preposition, as /le...da/ ‘in’ (as opposed to /lë/ ‘in, at, from’).

\[ \text{ba} \] ‘against, in opposition to’;
- hawlerî ba mrîcîk nâwere ‘An Erbilite doesn’t dare against a chicken’ (Proverb) (i.e., he’s very cowardly)
- bây ‘for the price of’;
- ñe mo bay çondo ‘How much does this cost?’
- be ñaw ‘without’
- be ñaqî ‘without intelligence, stupid’

\[ \text{bejpe} \]
1. ‘to’ after expressions of discourse, giving, etc.:
- be qadîr ñaw ‘I say to Qadir, “How are you?”’
- (2) ‘with’ (means) (-owe)
- be aw-î-sard ñaw ‘Shave with cold water!’
- (3) ‘in’ (with name of language):
- be kurdî ‘in Kurdish’
- (4) ‘during’
- be ñaw ‘at night, by night’
- (5) (adjectival expression):
- be quwwêt ‘strong’
- (6) (oaths)
- be xwâl ‘By God! Indeed!’
- (7) (purpose)

\[ \text{hât} \]
- hât ba krîn ‘He came to buy it’ (krîn = to buy)

\[ \text{bo} \]
1. (indirect object): ‘to, for’:
- ñawëm bo tô ‘I’ll give it to you.’
- (2) ‘intended for, as’:
- bo jwani ‘as an ornament’
- (3) ‘to’ (owe):
- ñecîm bo bazâr(owe) ‘I’m going to the market.’

\[ \text{dway} \]
‘after’ (time)
- dway du ñusât ‘after two hours’
3.552

**Compound Prepositions.** Compound prepositions are composed of /le/ or /be/ plus a noun, usually monosyllabic, or another particle, as /le náw/ (noun) ‘inside,’ /le pës/ (preposition) ‘after.’ These too may optionally form discontinuous compound prepositions in /-ewe/ and /-da a/ without acquiring new meanings. There is one compound preposition in /be/, which is listed first; then follows a listing of compound prepositions in /le/.

- **besér** (oaths) (sér = ‘head’):
  - besér caw ‘At your service!’ (lit., ‘by [my] eyes’, a formal response to a request)

- **lëbër** (băr = ‘front’)
  - (1) ‘because of’:
    - lëbër òme ‘because of this, therefore’
  - (2) ‘on one’s person’
    - lëbëri pëks ‘He puts it on, wears it’
  - (3) ‘within oneself’ (ewe)
    - lëbër xóyëwe wëti ‘He said to himself’

- **lëbn** ‘beneath’ (bin = ‘bottom’)
  - lëbn trumpëleks ‘beneath the car’

- **leğëål** ‘with’ (accompaniment) (da ~ a)
  - mën leğëål tó yëm ‘I’ll come with you.’

This preposition may receive two pronoun objects, in which case it means ‘to be talking with, addressing’, as in

- leğëål yim ‘I’m talking to him’ (lit., ‘I with him’)
- leğëål mënyeti ‘He’s talking to me’ (lit., ‘he with me’)

The object always precedes the subject. The object is expressed by the independent pronouns of 3.3 for the 1st and
2nd persons and by the pronominal suffixes of 3.0 for the 3rd person. The subject is expressed by the pronominal suffixes with /-yeti/ occurring in the 3rd singular.

lokin.: owo 'beside' (k{n = 'side'}
lokinmewe d{e nixo 'sit next to me'
loid...owe 'beside'
lelatowe 'at your side, next to you'
lenaw 'inside' (-da)
lenaw emb'reda 'inside of this well' (bfr = 'well')
lepaw 'after' (da)
lepa{z n{o 'after 9 o'clock'
lepew 'before' (-da)
lepeg n{o 'before 9 o'clock'
lezer 'on top of'
lezer maisek 'on the house'
lezer 'under'
lezer utesek 'under the hotel'
woku 'like'
woku ome wayo 'it's just like this.'

3.56. Adverbs

Adverbs are particles which may occur in verbal phrases as well as in nominal phrases or initially in the utterance. Lexically, they can be classified as adverbs of time, place, manner, or quantity. Syntactically, adverbs group together as follows: adverbs of time and manner generally occur initially in the utterance, as /dwa{z du pyaw hattin bo ma{i-dmo/ 'Later, two men came to our house'. Adverbs of place can, like nouns, be the subject of the verb, as /drem pe x{es/ 'I like it here' (lit., 'here is pleasant to me'), or the object of a preposition, as /key hatit bo ere/ 'When did you come [to] here?' Adverbs of quantity can be pre-head modifiers in nominal phrases (for which see 5.112), as /gale kes/ 'a lot of people', or can modify the verb, as /zor ?ogoro/ 'he walks around very much'. And there is a special set of adverbs, the preverbs, which are modifiers in verbal phrases (for which see 5.12), as /tek cu-c/ 'to disagree'. On the morphological level, there is a special class of two adverbs which occur only as unstressed suffixes on verbs: these are postverbs. One of them may occur on any verb, and the other occurs on only the verb /da-:de-|d- 'to give'.

Adverbs are a closed class, and all adverbs recorded in the corpus are listed below.

(1) Adverbs of time and manner.
Time:

- domdóm 'from time to time'
- dorhdl 'immediately'
- dusboy 'day after tomorrow'
- dwaf 'later'
- dwéne 'yesterday'
- está 'now'
- hésta 'still, yet'
- ẹmọ́ 'today'
- ọmsal 'this year'
- ọmsow 'tonight'
- ọr 'last year'
- ọrär 'year before last'
- ọsọrọ́ 'in the future'
- ọbọ́y ~ ọbọ́yne 'tomorrow'
- ọyẹs 'straight, immediately'

Manners:

- ọkọ́wọ́ 'together'
- wá 'thus, like this'
- xásẹ́tn 'especially'
- fńja 'then, in that case'

(2) Place:

- érọ 'here'
- ọwé 'there'

(3) Quantity:

- cánd ~ cún 'a few'
- góle(k) 'a great deal of'
- hómú ~ hómú 'each, every'
- hónde(k) 'a little of'
- hőr 'only'
- hic 'no'
- nóxte(k) 'a little of'
- zór 'very'

(4) Preverbs: Table 5, on the following page, lists the thirteen preverbs with five common verbs, showing the resultant meanings. Note: it is the preverb rather than the verb that receives primary stress; see 2.22.

(5) Postverbs:

Ce | Vre 'to' (indirect object)

This postverb occurs only with /da-ide-/ 'to give' where the indirect object is a pronominal suffix, as ọdóm 'I give' and ọdôme 'I give to'. The object of the phrase may also be expressed
3.56

on the verb by pronominal suffixes in the present tense, as

 três 'I give to you' (from *tētēsēme)
and by the verbal suffixes (with zero in the 3rd sing.) in past, as

dam 'I gave'
and démite 'I gave [it] to you'

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>da:-do-</th>
<th>hat:-ye-</th>
<th>cu:-c-</th>
<th>k:-rd:-ko-</th>
<th>na:-ne-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'down'</td>
<td>'to give'</td>
<td>'put in 1st appearance'</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
<td>'to do'</td>
<td>'to put'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'out'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>'come out, emerge'</td>
<td>'pass, escape'</td>
<td>'remove, take out'</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'up'</td>
<td>'throw (a thing) up'</td>
<td>'rise, shine'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'from'</td>
<td>'hit, touch play (music)'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>'to do to, do with'</td>
<td>'cook, prepare food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'on'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>'put on, wear'</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to'</td>
<td>'give to'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'together'</td>
<td>'collide'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with'</td>
<td>'bite, sting'</td>
<td>'bring good luck'</td>
<td>'to go through'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'away'</td>
<td>'wash away (trans.)'</td>
<td>'get used to'</td>
<td>'go away'</td>
<td>'run away'</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'down'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>'pour in (to vessel)'</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'into'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>'put into, insert'</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dis-'</td>
<td>'spoil, stir'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>'disagree'</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'from'</td>
<td>'shake' (water)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.57. Demonstratives

The demonstrative may be subject or object of the verb, as /ēmē sētēcīye/ 'What is this?'; or it may be a pre-head modifier in a nominal phrase (see 5.112), in which case it is a discontinuous particle, as /ēmpyawē/ 'this man'.

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3.58 Relatives

There is one relative particle, which is always initial in the clause (see 5.4) and may be the subject or object of the verb.

κέ 'who, which, that, that which, etc.'
CHAPTER IV
WORD FORMATION

4.0. Introductory

Chapter 3 presents word inflections — those affixation processes which identify the various form classes. In this chapter, which treats of word formation, inflections as such are ignored and the structure of the word in its stem form is examined.\(^1\) In Kurdish, words are derived through reduplication, compounding, and affixation. Reduplication and compounding deal with free forms, while affixation deals with both free forms and bound forms.

Verb stems deserve special mention here. Verb stems are bound forms to which various affixes are appended to derive either verbs (finite forms) or nouns (infinitives). When verb stems are compounded, they result in nouns, just as nominal free forms do. Thus, verb stems are nominal forms.

Although finite verbs are formed from verb stems through affixation (present, preterite, imperfect, and present perfect indicative) or compounding (past perfect and past perfect subjunctive, from past stem compounded with /bu-:b-/ 'to be'), this formation is described in section 3.414 in conjunction with verb inflection, since verb formation and inflection are closely tied to each other. Formation of infinitives is described in 4.31, and the compounding of verbal stems to form nouns other than infinitives is described below in section 4.2.

In the present chapter, the period (.) indicates morphological boundaries and not necessarily syllable boundaries or juncture.

4.1. Reduplication

Reduplication is the repetition of a complete word stem, thereby deriving a new word stem. The underlying word stems are nouns. The derivative word may have a distributive meaning, as in /dəmdəm/ 'from time to time' from /dəm/ 'period of time, while,' or it may strengthen the meaning of the underlying word, as in /polepəl/ 'great haste' from /pələ/ 'haste'. Reduplicated forms based on words of the pattern /CVO/ show loss of the second /-ə/, as in /gizəgiz/ from /gizə/.

- dəmdəm 'from time to time' < dəm 'period of time, while'
- pecpəc 'zigzag' < pəc 'curve'
- xibxibəkə 'top' (that spins) < xib 'a spinning' (/-okə/ = diminutive suffix)
- polepəl 'great haste' < pələ 'haste'
- gizəgiz kirdin 'to complain' < gizə (the buzzing of a bullet)

\(^1\)Inflection shows grammatical meaning — defined by Bloch and Trager in their Outline of Linguistic Analysis as the "element of meaning which
4.21

4.2. Compounding

Compounding is the joining together of two words to form a new (i.e., derivative) word. This may be effected either with or without a composition vowel (/ə-/ or /u-/). If the composition vowel /u-/ occurs, the derivative word is a coordinate compound (see 4.23). In the other two cases there is usually a modification (i.e., a describing) of one term by the other. The modified term is called the head.

There is a special class of compounds which includes not only free forms but bound forms as well: those containing verb stems (see 4.0). Verb stems are compounded in some instances to form certain verb tenses (see 3.414 and in other instances to form noun compounds (see illustrations below). It must be pointed out that the verb stem is classified in the form class of nouns, as those derivative words which have verb stems as head are of the form class of nouns.

Compounds formed without composition vowel are called descriptive compounds. Of those formed with a composition vowel, those with /ə-/ are called emphatic compounds and those with /u-/ are called coordinate compounds.

4.21. Descriptive Compounds

Descriptive compounds are formed of two words without composition vowel: verb stems, although not free forms, also enter into the formation of these compounds. The ordering of the members of the compound may be semisyntactic (SS), or roughly paralleling the order these items would have as free forms in a larger utterance such as a clause; or it may be asyntactic (AS), or contrary to the syntactic arrangement of words in larger utterances. The groups of descriptive compounds below are marked SS or AS as the case may be.

The second member of the descriptive compound is the head, being modified by the first member. All form classes except pronouns occur as the head. All descriptive compounds are nouns, except that those descriptive compounds which have adjective heads are adjectives.

Word stress is always on the final syllable. The period (.), as mentioned above, indicates morphological boundaries and not necessarily syllable boundaries or juncture.

differs from one member of a paradigm to another" (page 68); it never changes a word from one form class to another. Derivation through affixation, on the other hand, is the creating of a new word stem from a given underlying word stem, and so involves a potential change in form class. The past stem of /xward-ixo-xw-/ 'to eat' is inflected when it receives the first singular suffix /-im/ giving /xwardim/ 'I ate' (as opposed to 'you', 'he', or anyone else), but word derivation is illustrated when the past stem receives the suffix /fn/ to derive the noun (infinitive) /xwardfn/ 'to eat'.

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4.211. Noun Compounds

(1) Noun + Noun (AS):
- tir.birän 'beautiful person' ('lit., 'arrow eyelashes')
- mar.masi 'eel' ('snake fish')
- niweño.xəw 'noon nap' ('noon dream')
- zir.brä 'step-brother' ('tree-stump brother')
- gelot.yarä 'a bad move or play' ('mistake play', in backgammon)
- ser.bän 'roof' ('head plateau')
- la.dě 'countryside,country' ('side village')
- kor.froštn 'donkey selling' (this compound is SS)

(2) Particle + Noun (SS):
- cwar-pə 'quadruped; donkey' ('four leg')
- du.zmän 'a deceitful person' ('two tongue')

(3) Noun + Particle (AS):
- gian.labdr 'animal' ('soul on' = 'soul possessing')

(4) Noun + Verb Stem (SS):
If the verb stem is of a transitive verb, the noun member is the direct object of that stem and the verb stem has the meaning of actor; if the stem is of an intransitive verb, the noun is its subject. Both present and past stems of verbs occur, as well as the passive (of one verb). Verb stems which end in a vowel receive the agent suffix /-r/.

(a) present stem:
- Fəsm.gə 'photographer' ('picture take')
- kagcz.nis 'letter-writer' ('letter write')
- taj.baxə (proper name) ('crown give')
- kław.fën 'shoe thief' ('shoe steal')
- kałek.frəs 'melon vendor' ('melon sell')
- kor.frəs 'donkey seller' ('donkey sell')

Vowel stem with agent suffix -r:
- sog.ədr 'dog washer' ('dog wash-er')
  (professional) (əo- = 'wash')
- meqəš.xər 'employee' ('salary eat-er')
  (xo- = 'eat')
- forəš.faxər 'one who spreads carpets' (as profession) ('to spread out')

With vowel change and agent suffix -r: (see 4.31(4))
- cəkmə.bör 'soldier' (boots wear-er)
  (bər-d-;əə-|b- = 'to carry, wear')
(b) present passive stem:
- dil.gir 'sad, grieved' ('heart taken')
- la.gir 'supporter, follower, -ite'

(c) past stem:
- fož.helát 'sunrise, east' ('sun arose': hel hat = 'he, it arose, came up')
  (pro fož.helát)

(d) past stem less dental stop:
- nan.kfr 'baker' ('bread make')

(5) Adjective + Verb Stem (SS):
- dur.bin- 'far seeing' in durbiní 'farsightedness'
  (-i = nominal suffix with meaning of quality or state: see 4.313)

4.212. Adjective Compounds

Noun + Adjective (SS):
- dil.to8 'grieved' ('heart tight')
- ser.spí 'hoary' ('head white')
- dil.âkáw 'heartbroken'
- qso.xôs 'witty' ('speech pleasant')

4.22. Emphatic Compounds

Emphatic compounds are formed of two members joined by the composition vowel /-ø-/; nouns, adjectives, verb stems, and particles occur as members of emphatic compounds. The combinations of these which actually occur are listed below. Note that the combinations noun + /-ø/ + adjective and adjective + /-ø/ + noun both occur. The outstanding feature of this type of compound is the fact that the first member, regardless of its form class, receives the primary focus of attention. Thus, while the phrase /merd-ı-pir/ (two words joined by izafa: see Syntax, 5.11) is the usual way of expressing 'the old man', the word /piremdrd/ implies that oldness is a characteristic of the man. Another feature of the emphatic compound is seen when this type of word is compared with descriptive compounds. The latter are quite well-established conventional forms, while emphatic compounds seem readily capable of spontaneous formation. For example, a boy employed at the hotel where I stayed was impressed by my tape recorder, which has a black case. He consistently called it /snoquxòské/ 'the black-box', rather than referring to it in the more usual way as /snoq-ı-uxòské/ 'the black box'. Some emphatic compounds, however, like /țuóbd/ 'black wind' (referring to a type of dust storm typical of that area of the country) are quite conventional and fixed in the language.

Inflections are attached to the second member of emphatic compounds, as /əwfoxoxoñandë/ 'those Good (old) Days also'.

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All emphatic compounds are nouns. The direction of modification varies, according to the form classes involved: adjectives and particles always modify nouns, and nouns always modify verb stems. In case two nouns are members of a given compound, the second noun modifies the first. The composition vowel /-e-/ seems to have a genitive meaning, roughly equivalent to the izafa of 5.11. Compare also the pre-eminent item suffix /-e/ in 4.31 (6). Word stress regularly falls on the ultima.

(1) Noun + Noun (SS):

- niw.o.kód 'noon'
- tul.o.ség 'puppy'
- bond.o.xwén 'belt cord'
- xöl.o.méš 'ash'
- doq.k.o.zix 'piece of gravel'
- žán.o.sér 'headache'
- kař.o.zá 'grandson'

(2) Noun + Adjective (SS):

- bizin.o.kéwé 'mountain goat'
- snoq.o.šešoko 'the black box'
- xošk.o.şawrō 'elder sister'
- qul.o.šeš 'Negro'

(3) Adjective + Noun (AS):

- šeš.o.bá 'black wind'
- pir.o.mérč 'old man'
- pir.o.žín 'old woman'

(4) Noun + Verb Stem (SS):

- šir.o.xór 'infant'

(5) Particle + Noun (SS):

- paš.o.kóž 'future'

4.23. Coordinate Compounds

Coordinate compounds consist of two words (including verb stems) joined together by /-u-/ 'and'. The two members are usually of the same form class, and the resultant compound is of the same form class as its members. If the compound is composed of an adjective and a particle, the derivative is an adjective. The meaning of the coordinate compound is usually the sum of the meaning of its constituent parts, but occasionally the compound has a figurative meaning as well. There is no head and no modification. Stress is on the ultima.

(1) Noun + Noun (= Noun):

- cep.u.část 'left hand and right hand'

- cepčást-i.xoý názane 'He doesn’t know his left hand and his right hand' = ‘He’s quite stupid.’
The meaning of the following two items is not the sum of the meanings of their constituent parts:

xal.u.zā ‘cousin’ ('uncle and offspring')

xal.u.zīn ‘aunt’ ('uncle and wife')

(2) Adjective + Adjective (= Adjective):

fast.u.cōwt ‘dishonest’ ('straight and crooked')

(3) Adjective + Particle (= Adjective):

rek.u.pēk ‘in order, in tip-top shape’ ('arranged and together')

(4) Verb Stem + Verb Stem (= Noun):

hat.u.cō ‘coming and going, loitering’ ('come and go')

hatucō nābe ‘No Loitering’

xward.u.bird ‘eating and plucking’ ('eat and carry')

(flowers, vegetables)

xwardubird mīyē ‘No eating or plucking’

(5) Verb Stem + Negation + Verb Stem (= Noun):

xo.nē.xor ‘One who does not eat’ ('eat-not-eater')

This is the unique occurrence of this type of compound.

4.3. Suffixation

In this section are treated those bound forms (all are suffixes except for two prefixes) which, when affixed to an underlying word, result in new word stems. Affixes are classified according to the form class to which they convert. Thus, affixing a nominal suffix results in a noun, and so on.

4.3.1. Nominal Suffixes

Nominal suffixes, that is, those which convert to the form class of nouns, occur suffixed to nouns, adjectives, verb stems, and particles, and, in the case of one suffix, to phrases. Most suffixes occur exclusively with a single form class, but a few are appended to more than one form class.

(1) Nominal suffixes occurring with nouns:

1) -ayati (abstraction: state or condition):

xizmayatt ‘relationship’ < xizīm ‘relative’

2) -bāz ‘one who is fond of’

segbāz ‘dog fancier’ < sēg ‘dog’
4.31

3) -ct ‘one who works with’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wutucí</td>
<td>‘launderer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boyagctí</td>
<td>‘bootblack’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4) -dán ‘receptacle’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>țeșkirđán</td>
<td>‘sugar bowl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwedăn</td>
<td>‘salt shaker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>țgțrdăn</td>
<td>‘fireplace’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5) -dând (quality or state):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agadând</td>
<td>‘alertness’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6) -țwăn ‘one related to’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>țaxewăn</td>
<td>‘mountaineer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qazăwăn</td>
<td>‘goose tender’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>țoștyewăn</td>
<td>‘sailor’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7) -țwari ‘people, nation’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kărđowari</td>
<td>‘the Kurdish people’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8) -gă ‘place’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kargă</td>
<td>‘workshop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadgă</td>
<td>‘cour’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9) -jêtăn ‘place’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kărđițăn</td>
<td>‘Kurdistan’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10) -xănă ‘room, building’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>căyxnăș</td>
<td>‘tea shop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>țzerxnăș</td>
<td>‘basement’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11) -ză ‘child of’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brață</td>
<td>‘brother’s child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purță</td>
<td>‘aunt’s child’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12-18) -le; -ulă; -țolă; -okă; -oceă; -țeckă; -lokă (diminutive suffixes)

These indicate smallness, and, in some instances, endearment.
Choice of suffix is not predictable. -lokă is composed of -le and -okă, expressing greater degree of smallness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-le : țeșpilă</td>
<td>‘small wooden dish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ulă : meșulă</td>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-țolă : karțolă</td>
<td>‘small ewe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-okă : mînățokă</td>
<td>‘(dear) little child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oceă : mațockă</td>
<td>‘little house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-țeckă : cawțeckă</td>
<td>‘eyeglasses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lokă : țeșpilokă</td>
<td>‘very small wooden dish’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Nominal suffixes occurring with adjectives:

1) -ă (quality or condition):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sardă</td>
<td>‘(the) cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>țeșrmă</td>
<td>‘heat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88
(3) Nominal suffixes occurring with nouns and adjectives:

1) -t (quality or state):
   Nouns:
   daykt 'motherhood' < dáyk 'mother'
   mňali 'childhood' < mňali 'child'
   Adjectives:
   jwaní 'beauty' < jwaní 'beautiful'
   pirí 'oldness' < pirí 'old'
   caki 'goodness' < caki 'good'

2) Cettil/Yyetí (state or quality):
   pyaweti 'humanity' < pyaweti 'man'
   brayeti 'brotherhood' < braí 'brother'
   pireti 'oldness' < pirí 'old'

(4) Nominal suffixes occurring with verb stems:

1) -gár (agent):
   kirdgár 'Creator' < kird-:ko-:k- 'to do, make'

2) CinVin (underlying notion of verb stem) this occurs on past stem to form the infinitive, or verbal noun:
   kirdín 'doing, making' < kird-:ko-:k- 'to do, make'
   dán 'giving' < da-:do-:d- 'to give'

3) Co|Vr (agent) occurs only on present stems ending in a vowel, sometimes with accompanying vocalic alternation:
   měgašxor 'employee' < měšaš 'salary';
   xward-:xo-:xw- 'to eat'
   cokmábór 'soldier' < cokmáś 'boots';
   bjrđ-:bơ-:b- 'to carry'

(5) Nominal suffixes occurring with nouns and verb stems:

1-2) -nök; -ök (characterized by'). These are the same in meaning but are not predictable in distribution:
   -nök: tirsnök 'coward' < tirš 'fear'
   grinök 'cry-baby' < gri-:gr- 'to cry'
   -ök: kirmök 'worm-eaten' < kirm 'worm'
   ĝeřök 'one who loves to walk,
   can't sit still' < ĝeřa-:geře- 'to walk'

(6) Nominal suffix occurring with nouns, adjectives, verb stems, pronouns, and nominal phrases (for which see 5.11):
   -ç (preëminent item) this suffix indicates a particular item

---

For these morphophonemic processes involving syncope of /i/ and assimilation of /ŋ/, see 2.312 and 2.321 respectively.
which typifies a class of items par excellence; or it merely points out a specific item:

- swǎṛ 'cavalryman' < swār 'horseman'
- dāṇ 'grain' < dān 'grain, feed'
- ʃiṛ 'rag' < ʃīr 'ragged'
- ʃmǎṛ 'number' < ʃmārd-ːməṛ- 'to count'
- əwǎṇ 'they' (definite antecedent) < əwàn 'they (indef.)'
- bekəṛ 'lazy person' < be kər 'without work'

(7) Nominal suffix occurring with particles:

- -lō (hypostasis). This is suffixed to cardinal numerals to give citation form: the name of a number, without reference to quantity of items:

  - əzwəlô 'a six; the sixes' (in cards) < əwɔ̆l 'six'
  - dəlō 'a deuce' < dəl 'two'

4.32. Adjectival Suffixes

Adjectival suffixes derive adjectives from nouns, adjectives, verb stems, and particles. There are also two prefixes, /nə-/ and /ná-/, which derive adjectives from adjectives.

(1) Adjectival suffixes occurring with nouns:

1) -əwɔ̆l 'covered with':
   - qɔrəwɔl 'nuddy' < qɔr 'muddy'
   - bəfərəwɔl 'snow-covered' < bəfr 'snow'

2) -l (gentilic):
   - ʃəzəwɔl 'western' < ʃəzəwɔl 'west'
   - ʃɔsa 'Christian' < ʃɔsa 'Jesus'
   - qawəl 'brown' < qawəl 'coffee'

3) -mənd 'having'
   - dəmənd 'just' < dəd 'justice'

4) -lən 'characterized by':
   - ʃərəmnən 'bashful' < ʃərm 'bashfulness'
   - tukən 'hirsute' < tuk 'hair'

(2) Adjectival affixes occurring with adjectives:

1) -bəw 'of the shade of':
   - sərbəw 'reddish' < sər 'red'

2-3) nə-ːnə- (negative). Certain adjectives take only nə-, others take only nə-, and others take either:

- nəʃiz 'dull' < nəʃiz 'sharp'
- nərek 'disarranged, dishonest' < nərek 'straight'

1See footnote on the preceding page.
4.34

\[ \text{náxo} \quad \text{‘ill'} \]
\[ \text{náxo} \quad \text{‘unpleasant'} \}
\[ < \text{xo} \quad \text{‘pleasant'} \]

4) -olé (diminutive)
\[ \text{kizolé} \quad \text{‘somewhat dull, gloomy'} \]
\[ < \text{kiz} \quad \text{‘dull, gloomy'} \]

(3) Adjectival suffix occurring with verb stems:
\[ \text{Cú|Vw} \quad \text{‘having...'} \quad \text{suffixed to past stem of verb to give the past participle (see 3.414 (5))}. \]
\[ \text{xwardd} \quad \text{‘having eaten'} < \text{xward-:xo-} \quad \text{‘to eat'} \]
\[ \text{?awsái} \quad \text{‘swollen'} < \text{?awsá:?:awsé} \quad \text{‘to swell'} \]

(4) Adjectival suffix occurring with nouns and particles:
\[ -\text{and} \quad \text{‘like or pertaining to'}: \]
\[ \text{kícané} \quad \text{‘girlish'} < \text{kíc} \quad \text{‘girl'} \]
\[ \text{kožai} \quad \text{‘daily'} < \text{kož} \quad \text{‘day'} \]
\[ \text{dwand} \quad \text{‘twin'} < \text{du} \quad \text{‘two'} \]

4.33. **Verbal Suffixes**

Verbal suffixes occur only with verb stems. Verb inflections are described in 3.4. Also described there is verb formation, together with the bound forms which occur in those formational processes, namely /\-ö-, /\-y/, /\-u/, /\-j/, /\-ay/, /\-r/, /\-a-:-e-/., and the person-number suffixes. In addition, affixes indicating pronominal goal and negation are described there.

Verbal suffix occurring with verb stems:
\[ \text{Cán|Výánd-Cén|Výé} \quad \text{(causative) suffixed to present stems of verbs;} \]
\[ \text{tírsán-:tírsén-} \quad \text{‘to frighten'} < \text{tírsá-:tírs-} \quad \text{‘to fear'} \]
\[ \text{gøyánd-:gøyé} \quad \text{‘to cause to arrive'} \]
\[ < \text{gøyšt-:gö-} \quad \text{‘to arrive'} \]
\[ \text{nwánd-:nwé} \quad \text{‘to put to sleep'} < \text{nust-:nu-} \quad \text{‘to sleep'} \]

4.34. **Particle Suffixes**

Particle suffix occurring with numerals:
\[ \text{Cóm|Výém|uwém} \quad \text{(ordinal). Indicates position in a series of items; may occur with increment (D) /\-ín/ without change in meaning;} \]
\[ \text{yékám} \quad \text{(D)yékémín} \quad \text{‘first'} \quad \text{seyém} \quad \text{‘third'} \]
\[ \text{duwém} \quad \text{‘second'} \quad \text{bístu penjém} \quad \text{‘twenty-fifth'} \]
5.0. The Utterance

An utterance is any stretch of speech preceded and followed by silence on the part of the speaker. It may consist of a single word (defined in 3.0(1) as any free morpheme) or of more than one word. Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to the inflection and formation of single words which make up an entire utterance. Chapter 5 takes up the structure of utterances consisting of more than one word. These utterances may consist of a phrase, a clause, or a combination of clauses. The phrase is a construction consisting of a head and its modifiers; it is merely an expansion of the head and functions syntactically as a single item of the same form class as the head. The clause is an exocentric construction with two heads—a subject and a verb. Thus, the phrase and the clause are defined syntactically rather than phonologically. The expression "syntactic unit" refers to any phrase or clause which is substitutable for a single word in any given syntactic position (for which see Clause Word Order, 5.23).

The definition of the clause arrived at in this analysis corresponds to the definition of the sentence in traditional European grammars. The definition of the sentence as used in this work is taken from Professor Charles C. Fries: "a single free utterance, minimum or expanded; i.e., it is 'free' in the sense that it is not included in any larger structure by means of any grammatical device."¹

5.1. Phrases

The phrase is a construction which consists of a single head and its modifiers and which is substitutable for a single word in a given syntactic position as defined in 5.23. Phrases are of two types: nominal and verbal. These are described in the following sections.

5.11. Nominal Phrases

The head of the nominal phrase may be a noun, an adjective, a pronoun, or a particle (interrogative, numeral, or demonstrative); the head is a word described (modified) by the other words (modifiers) of the phrase. The modifiers are of two classes: (1) those which follow the head and are linked to it by the liaison morpheme /i-/; these include nouns, adjectives, and pronouns; and (2) those which precede the head but are not formally linked to it, including certain types of particles and nouns; these are called prehead modifiers.

The liaison morpheme /-i-/ links two words or word groups into an endocentric construction—one that contains a single head with one or more modifiers. The hyphens in the transcription do not indicate juncture, but only morphological boundaries. The traditional term for this endocentric liaison morpheme is izafa, taken from Arabic grammar, and will be used here to mean "the endocentric liaison morpheme /-i-/.”

5.111. Minimal Nominal Phrases.

(1) The most common type of nominal phrase consists of head, izafa, and modifier, which can be diagrammed thus:

```
[head] -i- [modifier]
```

The head may be a noun, an adjective, or a pronoun, and the modifier may be a noun, an adjective, or a pronoun, as follows:

- münčal-i-pčuk 'small children'
- mál-i-pyawékó 'the house of the man'
- pyáwek-i-baš 'a good man'
- náw-i-tó 'your name' (not someone else's; cf. náw't 'your name')
- xérík-i-nusín 'busy writing'

(2) The second type of nominal phrase consists of a head preceded by a modifier without izafa, diagrammed as follows:

```
[modifier] [head]
```

In most instances of this type of nominal phrase, nouns occur as heads, and certain particles (interrogatives, numerals, prepositions, adverbs of degree, and demonstratives) occur as the prehead modifiers. The head is always singular after interrogatives, numerals, and adverbs of degree, and of course is surrounded by the constituent elements of the discontinuous demonstratives /ow...Có|Vyó/ 'that' and /am...Có|Vyó/ 'this'.

- cánd fož 'how many days?'
- du münčal 'two children'
- lā bęgā 'in Baghdad'
- gálé kos 'many people'
- owāwów 'that night' (ow = 'night')

In some instances the modifier is a noun and the head is a numeral, as sagāt du 'two o'clock'

A nominal phrase with a preposition modifier (e.g., lā bęgā/) is called a prepositional phrase. Prepositional phrases are unlike other nominal phrases in that they do not have the same syntactic functions as nouns (such as subject, object, etc.), but serve as modifiers in the verbal phrase (5.121) or clause (5.24).
5.112. Expanded Nominal Phrases. The two minimal phrases of the previous section can be expanded into larger constructions by combining the two of them and/or by joining an additional phrase or a clause as a modifier.

(1) Combination of the two minimal types of 5.111. The phrase may be expanded to include particle, head, izafa, and modifier as defined in 5.11. This is represented by the following diagram:

```
  modifier   head  -i-  modifier
  du mändi-pcuk  'two small children'
  sëwëwaké-sarjó  'that night in Serjo'
  omisë-i-to  'this deed of yours'
```

(1) = 'work, deed')

(2) The phrase may also be expanded to include a head, izafa, and a nominal phrase. The modifying phrase may be either of the basic types of 5.111 or an expanded type of the preceding subsection.

```
  head  -i-  phrase
  niw-i-mudir-i-mudrift  'the name of the director of education'
  jasus-i-gëd sël  'a spy of a hundred years'
  xand-i-ô jëdë  'a noisy house' (ô jëdë = 'with noise')
  sojë-bë-misë-i-to  'the reason for this deed of yours'
  saës du-i-paž niward  'two o'clock p.m.'
```

(3) A third type of expanded nominal phrase contains two prehead modifiers and head, diagrammed as follows:

```
  modifier   modifier   head
  cóp bë-insëf  'How unjust you are!' (bë-insëf = 'without justice, unjust')
```

(4) The head of the nominal phrase may also be followed by a modifying (i.e., describing) clause introduced by the relative /ko/ 'who' and linked by izafa. As this construction involves utterances larger than a clause, it is described in combinations of clauses, 5.322.

5.12. Verbal Phrases

The verbal phrase is a construction consisting minimally of a head and its modifier, in which the head is a verb and the modifier may be an adverb, a noun, or an adjective; the modifier precedes the verb.

```
  modifier   head
```

A special type of verbal phrase has the copula (defined under (1) in 3.414; see also illustration in (4) in 5.121 below) and a predicate as.
modifier. The predicate may be a noun or pronoun, in which case it has the same referent as the subject, as

swpyawd boyangcîye ‘That man is a bootblack.’

Or, the predicate may be an adjective, an interrogative, or a prepositional phrase, in which case it modifies the subject, as

côni? câkî? ‘How are you? Are you well?’
zor be quwûtl ‘You are very strong.’ (be quwût = ‘with strength’)

The verbal phrase is a syntactic unit; that is, it can fill the syntactic role of a simple verb. Minimal types of verbal phrases are presented in 5.121 and expanded types are presented in 5.122.

5.121. Minimal Types of Verbal Phrases. The following types of minimal verbal phrases exist:

1. adverb + verb: dûr kîrd-:ke-|k- ‘to take out, remove’
   sîgokî lers dûr ko ‘Take the dog out of here!’

2. noun + verb: bant kîrd-:ke-|k- ‘to call, invite’
   mîlî bant ?ekā ‘He invites the mollah’

3. adjective + verb: amadō kîrd-:ko-|k- ‘to make ready’
   xoy amadō ?ekā ‘He gets himself ready’

4. predicate + copula: be însîf + copula ‘to be unjust’ (see 5.12)
   caq be însîfî ‘How unjust you are!’

5.122. Expanded Types of Verbal Phrases. The following types of expanded verbal phrases exist:

5. (adverb + adverb + verb): = (1) + (1)
   tek war da-:de-|d- ‘to shake’
   aw tek war ?odā ‘He shakes the water’

6. noun + adverb + verb: = (2) + (1)
   pand pe da-:de-|d- ‘to play a trick on’
   bôci pandît pe dam ‘Why did you play a trick on me?’ (For construction see 5.4)

5.123. Verbal Phrases with Nouns and Adjectives. These verbal phrases are very common in the language, and any noun or adjective can potentially occur in a verbal phrase. The most common verb in phrases of types (2) and (3) is /kîrd-:ko-|k- ‘to do, make’; other very common verbs are /bu-:b- ‘to become’ and /da-:de-|d- ‘to give’. A number of nouns and adjectives occur with both /kîrd-:ko-|k- and /bu-:b- with transitive and intransitive meanings respectively, as

fer kîrd-:ko-|k- ‘to teach’ and fer bu-:b- ‘to learn’
pak kîrd-:ko-|k- ‘to clean’ and pak bu-:b- ‘to become clean’

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5.124. **Verbal Phrase Diagram.** The verbal phrase is diagramed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>adverb</th>
<th>verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>predicate</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2. **The Clause**

The clause is a construction consisting minimally of a subject and a verb in agreement. It may also contain a direct object\(^1\) of the verb, as well as modifying expressions in certain positions in the clause and certain introductory expressions. These are described in the following sections. The formula for the fully expanded clause is given in 5.25.

5.21. **Subject**

The clause consists minimally of a subject and its verb. The subject may be expressed within the verb by the person-number suffix—the implicit subject—as in /hāt/ 'he came'; thus, a verb may constitute a minimum clause in itself. Or the subject may be expressed in a separate word—the explicit subject—as in /pyāwek hāt/ 'A man came'. There is person-number concord between the subject and the verb. However, if the subject is a numeral, the verb is in the singular: see illustration (4) below. If the subject is /tō/ 'you', the verb may be in the plural, to give the effect of an honorific, as /tō cf oξwēnēn?/ 'What are you (polite) studying?' The subject may be a noun, an adjective, a pronoun, or a particle (interrogative, numeral, adverb of place or quantity, demonstrative, or relative). The subject may also be a nominal phrase (except prepositional phrases), and the verb may be a verbal phrase. These various types of subject are illustrated in the following sentences; the first word in each case is the subject, except that in (8) /kό/ is subject:

(1) Noun cetokān hāt hatin 'The bandits ran away.'

---

\(^1\)The "indirect object" is expressed in Kurdish by a prepositional phrase in /bō/ 'to' or /bō/ 'to, for' (see under 3.55). As these phrases involve no syntactic arrangement different from any other prepositional phrase, they are not treated here as separate items. The position of the indirect object in the clause is described in 5.24, Order of Modifiers. A special postverb expressing indirect object only with the verb /da-:də-|d-/ 'to give' is described on page 79.
5.23. Clause Word Order

In 5.21-2 subject and object are defined. The word order of these is regular and fits the following formula:

\[(S) \quad (O) \quad V\]

in which \(S\) = subject, \(O\) = object, \(V\) = verb, and () means that the enclosed item may or may not occur in any given clause. Thus, the minimal clause consists of a verb with its implicit subject. If a subject or object is expressed, it fits into its respective position in this formula. Following are the various types of basic and limited clausal patterns.

5.231. Basic Clausal Types. The following types occur:

1. \(V : \text{hát} \quad \text{'He came.'}\)
   \( \text{pízbum} \quad \text{'I was dirty.'}\)
2. \(S \quad V : \text{míniš yem} \quad \text{'I'll come too.'} \quad (-\text{iš} = \text{'also'})\)
3. \(O \quad V : \text{déstit mác \?okəm} \quad \text{'I kiss your hand.'} \quad \text{(Formula of respect)}\)

---

The predicate plus copula constitutes a type of verbal phrase; see 5.12 and pattern (4) in 5.121.
5.23 Interrogatives are not necessarily initial in the clause, but go into the (S), (O) positions according to their syntactic role, as
molá ci ?eka 'What is the Mullah doing?' (ci = O)
to keyt 'Who are you?' (ke = Predicate)

5.232. Limited Clausal Types. These patterns are limited in the corpus not necessarily in incidence but in the number of verbs that occur in them. Type (5) is limited to such verbs as /pišán da:-do-|d-/ 'to show', and is relatively rare in occurrence. Type (6) is limited to verbs of saying and is a special pattern for direct quotations. It is especially common in anecdotes and similar narrative.

(5) (S) O₁ O₂ V₂ : Two Accusatives. V₂ includes the verb
pišán da:-do-|d- 'to show', as
xoy wa mandu pišán da... 'He showed himself so tired...'

(6) (S) V₃ O₁ : Quotations. V₃ includes verbs of saying,
as wət-:te-|t- 'to say', pišə:-pišə- 'to ask', as
molá ?əle yək qäc 'The Mullah says, "One leg".'

5.24. Order of Modifiers

5.23 presents the word order patterns of the most basic elements of the clause—subject, object, and verb. A clause may also contain modifiers, which fill certain positions in the clause. These positions are indicated by M's in the following formula, which is an expansion of the (S) (O) V formula of 5.23:

(S) (M') (O) (M'') V (M''')

Modifiers may be either phrases or single words. Those filling position M' modify (describe) the following portion of the clause.¹ Expressions occupying positions M'' and M''' modify the verb; those in position M'' may be expressions of manner or the indirect object, and those in M''' are generally expressions of place.

Expressions of place occur in M' or M''', and expressions of time and manner usually occur in M'; expressions of time, however, may occur in M''', thereby receiving special emphasis. When expressions of place occur in M''' they more directly modify the verb.

The M positions are listed below with an accounting of what types of expressions usually occur in them and whatever special meanings they may have.

¹Modifiers of the subject are linked to it by izafa; see nominal phrases, 5.1.
(1) Position M': Expressions occurring here modify the entire remaining portion of the clause. They are generally expressions of time, place, manner, purpose, accompaniment, etc. When expressions of different varieties occur in M', time precedes place and place precedes manner, as

\[
M' \\
\text{time place manner} \\
d\text{éné } \text{la mai-i-éma } b\text{o } d\text{o st } m\text{âr } k\text{ê } \text{kušt} \\
yesterday \text{ at our house } \text{by hand he killed a snake}
\]

When two expressions of time occur in M', the more general precedes the more specific, as

\[
b\text{ayani } z\text{û } h\text{a }l \text{ sta} \\
'\text{He got up early in the morning'} \\
(zû = 'early'; bayan = 'morning')
\]

\[
d\text{éné } s\text{aw} \\
'yesterday evening'
\]

With two expressions of place, the expressions are interchangeable.

(2) Position M": Expressions in this position usually modify the verb, as

\[
k\text{urdî bâš } ?\text{uzani} \\
'\text{You know Kurdish well.}'
\]

The indirect object regularly fills this position, as

\[
\text{kteb } k\text{ûm b\text{o } z\text{û }s\text{ol } f\text{ro }s\text{t} } \text{I sold the book to Rashol.}'
\]

(3) Position Mm: Expressions in this position more directly modify the verb. Thus, when an expression of place, which can fill either M' or Mm, occurs in this position, it modifies the verb rather than the clause as a whole. However, this is the regular position for expressions of place when the verb is a verb of motion, as

\[
c\text{û b\text{o } kwe} \\
'\text{Where did he go?}'
\]

A special meaning attaching to this position is that of emphasis: when an expression which would regularly go elsewhere occurs in this position more attention is focused on it, as

\[
\text{kteb } k\text{ûm } f\text{ro }s\text{t } b\text{o } z\text{û }s\text{ol } \text{I sold the book to Rashol.}'
\]

\[
\text{w\text{ê }t} \text{îm } p\text{et} \\
'I \text{told you!'}
\]

5.25. Introductory Expressions

The clause as a whole is often introduced by a word or word group. These may be a clause connector (as /\text{wás/ 'and'; see 5.31); an interjection (as /\text{xâ}/ 'aha!'); a noun in the vocative (as /\text{xârkê}/ 'People!'); prepositional phrases (as /\text{a}p\text{aš nân } x\text{wardîn}/ 'after eating'); or an expression of time (as /\text{jârek/ 'once').

These introductory expressions are symbolized by I in the following fully-expanded clause formula:

\[
(I) (S) (M') (O) (M^m) V (M^m)
\]
5.3 Combinations of Clauses

Sections 5.21-4 deal with the structure of the clause. An utterance may contain a sequence of clauses, in which one clause may modify another clause (see 5.321) or may modify a nominal phrase (see 5.322). These syntactic roles are signaled by clause connectors, which are discussed in 5.31. The structure of the clause always conforms to the formula of 5.25, regardless of its syntactic function.

5.31 Clause Connectors

Clause connectors are particles which indicate the relationship between a clause and the remainder of the utterance in which it appears. Some connectors may occur in utterances consisting either of a single clause or of more than one clause; others occur in utterances only of more than one clause. The former are called independent connectors (5.311) and the latter are called subordinate connectors (5.312). Certain connectors, whether independent or subordinate, regularly occur in clauses with the verb in the subjunctive; these are treated in 5.313.

5.311 Independent Connectors. Connectors which can occur either in a clause which itself constitutes the entire utterance or in a clause which is included in a larger utterance are called independent connectors. These include certain conjunctions and the interrogatives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunctions</th>
<th>Interrogatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bà</td>
<td>'let, have'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báskim</td>
<td>'perhaps'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>básam</td>
<td>'but'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>básku</td>
<td>'perhaps'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čuŋke ~ čuŋki</td>
<td>'because'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwai</td>
<td>'afterwards'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?égine</td>
<td>'otherwise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenānet</td>
<td>'well, then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wó</td>
<td>'and'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xozgó</td>
<td>'would that'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For illustrative sentences, see under conjunctions (3.52) and interrogatives (3.53).

The conjunctions occur only in position (I) of the formula of 5.25; the interrogatives occur in (I), (S), or (O) depending on their syntactic role: see 5.231.

5.312 Subordinate Connectors. Connectors which occur only in clauses that are contained in larger utterances are subordinate connectors. These include certain conjunctions and the relative /ké/, as
5.321

Conjunctions: Relative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ĝor</th>
<th>'if'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hótá</td>
<td>'until'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kó</td>
<td>'when; if; that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mágōr</td>
<td>'unless, if not'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'who, which, etc.'

For illustrative sentences, see conjunctions (3.52), and for relatives see 5.322.

Subordinate connectors occur in position (I) of the formula of 5.25.

5.313. Connectors and the Mood of the Verb. Certain connectors, whether independent or subordinate, regularly occur only in clauses with the verb in the subjunctive. These are:

| bá   | mágōr |
| bǎškim | řępe |
| ĝor  | xozgō |
| hótá |

All other connectors occur for the most part with verbs in the indicative. When they do occur with verbs in the subjunctive, the verb indicates, as a rule, an "unreal" type of action (see 3.415) or that the antecedent of the relative is indefinite (see 5.322).

5.32. The Clause as a Syntactic Unit

In an utterance containing two or more clauses, any clause introduced by a subordinate connector, or by zero, for which a specific subordinate connector is substitutable without change in meaning, is a syntactic unit (see 5.0), and is called a bound clause. Thus, since the clause /be tòyana bimālīyayə/ 'had they thrown it at you' in the utterance

be tòyana bimālīyayə ŋōbyt be cwarpē 'If they had thrown it at you, you would have become a quadruped'

would mean the same if /ĝor/ were added, it is a bound clause. The other clause or clauses in an utterance are called free clauses. Bound clauses may fill the positions (I), (M′), or (M") of free clauses, forming a sequence of clauses, or may modify a nominal phrase. Paragraph 5.321 describes the arrangement of bound clauses in larger utterances, and 5.322 describes the arrangement of bound clauses as modifiers in nominal phrases.

5.321. Sequences of Clauses. Bound clauses may serve as modifiers in free clauses, filling the positions of (I), (M′), or (M") sequences of clauses. In the illustrations of these positions, square brackets [ ] indicate the bound clause that is filling the position in question. See 5.24 for the meanings of these modification positions.

(1) Bound clauses in the position (I):
5.321

(I) (S) V (Mm)

[éger némaweno] xóm ?øzaním cf ?økém
‘If you don’t myself I know what I’ll do return it to me
‘If you don’t return it to me, I know what I’ll do.’

(2) Bound clauses in the position (M’):

(S) (M’) V
ománík [ko émo ?øbiní] ?øtørin...
these also when they see this they fear
‘For their part, when they see this they fear…’

(3) Bound clauses in position (Mm): Clauses in this position may be
(a) subject of the free clause:

V (Mm)
baštríre [ko bzání]
it is better that we know
‘It is better that we know.’

(b) object of the free clause:

(S) V (Mm)
møla ?øbin [borma~skøy xaw øwèn-i-xøy némawo]
Mullah sees his rug in its own place is no more
“The Mullah sees that his prayer rug is no longer in its place.’
See also the clause under (Mm) in (1) above.

(c) receiving special emphasis:

(I) (O) V (Mm)
tuxwá møla cf ?økírd [éger borma~skøman nédoytayawo]
indeed, mullah, what would you if we had not returned your have done rug to you
‘What would you have done, if we had not returned your rug?’

5.322. The Clause as a Modifier of Nominal Phrases. A bound clause introduced by the relative /ké/ ‘who’ may modify a nominal phrase, whether or not the nominal phrase is in a clause, and, if it is, regardless of its position in the clause. This construction (see (4) in 5.112) contains a head and a clause. The head may be a noun, a pronoun, or a demonstrative; if it is a noun or a pronoun, then it is regularly modified by the discontinuous particle /w...Gá|Vys/ ‘that’ or, less often, /w...Gá|Vys/ ‘this’. This modifying clause is introduced by the connector /ké/ ‘who’ and is linked to the head by izafa; however, either /ké/ or izafa may be omitted without change in meaning. This construction is diagrammed as follows:
That bread that the dog ate was old.'

This person who is singing songs is my brother.'

That which you ate you will pass
[i.e., excrete],

that which you did you will see again.'

(Proverb)

The head of the phrase is the antecedent of the relative /k4/.

Further, /kọ/ itself may be the subject of the verb of the clause which it introduces. If it is the subject, and if its antecedent is indefinite (that is, if the head occurs with neither the definite article nor a demonstrative particle), then izafa does not occur, and the verb which agrees with /kọ/ is in the subjunctive mood. In this context, /dọw/ 'he' and /dọw/ 'that' may be either definite or indefinite without difference in form. This difference in mood and antecedent is illustrated by the following pair of sentences:

The one who is clever will succeed.'

Whoever is clever will succeed.'

On the other hand, if /kọ/ is not the subject of the verb of the clause which it introduces, then that verb occurs with an affix for pronominal goal (3.421) which is in person-number concord with the head modified by the clause, as

This person whom you know is my brother' (Lit., 'this person whom you know him is my brother')

A hand cut off by a judge merits no punishment' (Lit., 'a hand which judge cut it has no blood')

Displaced Suffixes

Every verb receives suffixes indicating the person and number of its subject (see 3.411). Prepositions may receive pronominal suffixes indicating the person and number of their objects (see (3) in 3.0 for the suffixes and 5.11 for the construction). However, under certain conditions in a clause, these suffixes occur not with the verb or preposition but on some other word in the clause. The shifting of the person-number suffixes of verbs is described in 5.41, and that of person-number suffixes of prepositions in 5.42. In each case, there are two patterns of shifting, depending on whether the verb in the clause is based on the past stem or the present stem of the verb.
When a clause contains words in addition to a verb and an explicit subject, the person-number suffixes of transitive verbs are shifted to a prior word in the clause, as, for example, in the following:

\[
\text{kesit}n = \text{I killed}'; \quad \text{marek} = \text{a snake}.
\]

But

\[
\text{marekim kesit} = \text{I killed a snake}.
\]

That is, the suffix /-lm/ of /kesit/ has gone from /kesitn/ to /marek/; /marekim/ does not occur as an entire utterance in itself. The subject suffix may be shifted to any word, except as follows: (1) among form classes, certain particles—interjections, conjunctions, and adverbs of time—never receive these suffixes; and (2) among syntactic elements, shifted suffixes are never affixed to explicit subjects, prepositional phrases, or prehead modifiers in any nominal phrase. This shifting occurs whether or not there is an explicit subject in the clause. If there is an explicit subject, the subject suffixes are in concord with it.

In the following illustrations containing respectively an adjective, a pronoun, an adverb, a proverb, and an interrogative, all of which have received the displaced suffixes, these words and the respective displaced subject suffixes are indicated in parentheses:

1. ciktrim kird 'I did well.' (cik 'good' -trn)
2. man tom binl 'I saw you.' (t6 'you' -m)
3. waman kird 'we did it thus' (wá 'thus' -man)
4. pyawokd d6ryan kird 'The men removed it.' (d6r 'out' -yan)
5. c6ntan zanf 'How did you know?' (c6n 'how?' -tan)

The patterns vary for verbal suffixes and for prepositional suffixes, and also according to whether the verb in the clause is in the present tense or a past tense. This section presents the patterns for verbs, and section 5.42 presents those for prepositional suffixes.

(1) In tenses based on the past stem, the person-number suffixes of the verb are shifted to the first word in the clause, except that the items listed earlier in this section never receive these suffixes. In the following illustrations, the subject suffixes have been shifted to the words /caq6/ 'knife', /helk6/ 'egg', /haz/ 'love', /fa/ 'away', and /maq6m/ 'my house'. The verbs in parentheses are the forms with the subject suffixes:

\[
\text{molá caq6y d6r hena} = \text{The Mullah took out a knife.' (henéy)}
\]

\[
\text{d6 helk6m xwará} = \text{'I ate two eggs.' (xwar6m)}
\]

\[
\text{hazim lo to kird6} = \text{'I'm in love with you.' (lit., 'I have loved you') (kird6m6s)}
\]

If the object of the verb is a pronoun, as in this instance, an alternate way of expressing goal is described in 3.421, Pronominal Goal. Both types of expression are common, with /tom binl/ showing more emphasis on the object than /binlmit/ 'I saw you'.
5.42

(2) In the present tense, only three verbs are involved, all three having suppletive stems:

- *wt-1e-1-*  'to say'
- *wist-1owd(t)*  'to want'
- *hö...bu:hö...Cö|vö*  'to have'

When the subject suffixes are shifted from the verb, the verb occurs in its present stem form, except that *wt-1e-1-*/ receives the aspect prefix */ö-/* as well; the person and number of the subject are indicated by pronominal suffixes on the first word of the clause, with the exceptions noted in the first paragraph of 5.41. The illustrations give first the verb with subject suffixes and then a sentence with displaced suffixes:

- *èitöyti*  'you (sg) say'  cit *èitö* 'What are you saying!'
- *etänöwe*  'you (pl) want'  kam kärstän *owd* 'Which chair do you want?'
- *höma*  'I have'  trumpölim *hövo* 'I have a car.'

The verbal phrase */wöö wist-1owd(t)/ 'to like, love' shows the pronominal suffix on */wöö/ for subject and the verbal suffix on */owd(t)/ for object, as

- *töm wöö owd*  'I love you.'
- *töm wöö owd*  'I love you.'

5.42. Displaced Prepositional Suffixes

The pronominal suffixes of prepositions (expressing object of the preposition) are shifted in clauses containing transitive verbs or, in the present tense, containing the copula.

(1) In clauses with the verb in a past tense the subject suffixes of transitive verbs are shifted to a prior word in the clause, as described in 5.41. The pronominal suffix for the object of a preposition likewise is shifted, but in this case the suffix goes to the verb. Further, the suffixes occurring with the verb and representing the object of the preposition are not the pronominal suffixes themselves, but the corresponding verbal suffixes of 3.411.2 The verbal suffix on the verb now refers to the object of the preposition, the pronominal suffix on the

---

1. These two verbs are conjugated irregularly in the present tense; see (2) Present Tense under 3.414.
2. Thus, whenever a transitive verb occurs with the verbal suffixes the latter refer to the object of a preposition. The verbal suffixes seem to have an objective or passive character to them as opposed to the pronominal suffixes, which have an agential or active nature. Compare the use of verbal suffixes with intransitive verbs and in the
prior word in the clause refers to the subject of the verb, and the preposition itself has no suffix. Thus, in the utterance

\[ \text{cdki leg} \text{t k\text{\text{"i}rdim} 'He did well by me.' \text{(} c\text{\text{"a}k leg\text{"i}lim k\text{\text{"i}rdi} \text{)}} \]

the suffix /-i/ '3rd sing.' of the verb /k\text{\text{"i}rdi/ 'he did' has been shifted to /c\text{\text{"a}k/ 'good' and the suffix /-im/ '1st sing.' of the preposition /leg\text{"i}lim/ 'with me' has moved to the verb. If the preposition is itself the first word of the clause, then it receives the subject suffix of the verb, as

\[ \text{p\text{\text{"e}yan bax\text{\text{"i}m} 'They presented [it] to me.' \text{(} p\text{\text{"e}- 'to'; -yan 'they'; bax\text{\text{"i}m 'presented'; -m 'me') \text{)}}} \]

The structure here is:

preposition - subject verb - object

Additional examples (including one with a passive verb) are:

\[ \text{l\text{\text{"o}b\text{"r}im k\text{\text{"i}rdin 'I put them on, I donned them'} \text{(} l\text{\text{"o}b\text{"r 'on'; -im 'I'; k\text{\text{"i}rd 'did'; -im 'them') \text{)}}} \]

\[ \text{c\text{\text{"e}st\text{\text{"i}m bo le nayt 'I prepared the meal for you.' \text{(} c\text{\text{"e}st 'meal'; -im 'I'; bo 'for'; le na- 'prepared'; -yt 'you') \text{)}}} \]

\[ \text{pet w\text{\text{"a}t\text{\text{"i}m 'you told me'} \text{(} pe- 'to'; -t 'you'; w\text{\text{"a}t 'told'; -im 'me') \text{)}}} \]

\[ \text{c\text{\text{"a}g\text{\text{"y}an j\text{\text{"e}zd le s\text{\text{"a}gend 'How much were they fined?' \text{(} c\text{\text{"a}g- 'how much?'; -yan 'they'; j\text{\text{"e}zd 'fine'; le 'from'; s\text{\text{"a}gend 'was taken') \text{)}}} \]

However, if the verb precedes the preposition and its suffix (which is not normal word order but is an arrangement that receives emphasis; see (3) in 5.24), the above rule does not obtain and

\[ \text{w\text{\text{"a}t\text{\text{"i}m pet means 'I told you.' \text{(} \text{)} \text{)}}} \]

(2) In clauses with the verb in the present tense, the preposition suffix is shifted to a prior word in the clause, provided the verb is a transitive or the copula. The suffix goes to the first word in the clause, with the exceptions noted in 5.41.

\[ \text{c\text{\text{"a}m bo b\text{\text{"e}ne 'Bring me some tea!' \text{(} c\text{\text{"a}m 'tea'; -m 'me'; bo 'for'; b\text{\text{"e}ne for (D) b\text{\text{"e}ne 'bring') \text{)}}} \]

\[ \text{cir\text{\text{"o}k\text{\text{"e}kt\text{\text{"i}t bo ?\text{\text{"a}l\text{\text{"e}m 'I'll tell you a story.' \text{(} cir\text{\text{"o}k\text{\text{"e}kt 'a story'; -\text{\text{"i}t 'you'; bo 'for'; ?\text{\text{"a}l\text{\text{"e}m 'I say') \text{)}}} \]

\[ \text{\text{"e}r\text{\text{"o}m pe x\text{\text{"o}de 'I like it here.' \text{(} \text{)} \text{)}}} \]

\[ \text{\text{"e}r\text{\text{"o}m 'here'; -m 'me'; pe 'to'; x\text{\text{"o}de 'is nice') \text{)}}} \]

passive voice, while the pronominal suffixes are used to express subject in transitive verbs, pronominal goal, etc.
Following are two texts, given in Kurdish script (on the left-hand pages) and in a phonemic transcription with interlinear morphemic translation (facing, on the right-hand pages). Finally, free translations are given of the stories. The reader will observe that, in the Kurdish script, words of Arabic origin are often retained in their original Arabic spelling.
پی کُرم حکایهت

چارکی‌کا به ده به رالکِم همیهو،
هر لَگیرت، گچ نه چی‌بو مزگروت بو
نورِژ کردن، چکه نه گاهانه مزگروت له
کَپِتا خه رَکی دمَست نوری شته نهی
هندترِ له دوسته پارده هَکانی له ناوا
خاریانا شدیرنهکون وِه به‌رالکِمی له
نَهِمَند وَده هِلین‌بایی کُرس راستی بِلی
تا بُبانِن ناهل‌چی له کا.

۲ مهدِکُر له دوست نورِ شته
نه بیته وَه خه رَیله نهی نوری بَاه
نه بینِت به رُمالکی له شوین‌ی خَری
نه ماوه له گرونه‌بِه‌گری‌به سوورت‌رِبی
yskom ḥokayāt
first story

1. ḫrekeyan mālā būramalski-l-xūy
time-a-of-them mullah prayer-rug-the/-i/-himself

ẖī ṭagret ṭo ṭacē bo ṭiṣgāwīt bo
he-takes-up and he goes to mosque to

nwēx kirdīn n. ṭakā ṭagātī ṭiṣgāwīt la
prayer to-do when he-arrives-at mosque in

kāteka xarīk-i-dastnwekītīn ṭobē
while busy-/-i/-hand-prayer-to-wash he-is

ẖande la ḏastubrādārākānī lanāw
a-few from friends-and-friends-his among

xūyāna tādbīr ṭəkān wa būramalskiy la
themselves arrangement they-make and rug-the-him from

👃īdīn ṭo ṭēlān nābi kōs ṭastī bīlā
they-steal and they-say must-not anyone truth he-tell

tā ṣibānān mālā ci ṭəkā
until we-know mullah what he-does

3. mālā kē la dastnwekītīn
mullah when from hand-prayer-to-wash

Tplētāw xarīk ṭobē nwēx bīkā
he-is-back busy he-is prayer that-he-do

Tplēket būramalskiy la lwen-i-xūy
he-sees rug-the-his in place/-i/-itself

nāmaww 4. gōlek ṭagāfū be ṭadd ṭobē
it-has-not-remained a-lot he-walks-around without avail it-is
هر روز خشونت دیگری کار می‌کنیم. به مردانه، این صدایی که در پیش‌های بی‌پناه می‌رویم. او تنها چنین دروغ نمی‌گفت. همگی نه می‌فهمند که این چنین نیستند. این مراکز که به مردانه در خدمت می‌گردند، جنگ‌مندان هستند. خون این مردانه به مردانه می‌رود. اگر چه این مراکز به مردانه در خدمت می‌گردند، پیش‌های بی‌پناه به مردانه می‌روند. اگر چه این مراکز به مردانه در خدمت می‌گردند، پیش‌های بی‌پناه به مردانه می‌روند.
5. Sàwànl liic qée nàkàn 6. màla' ke boy
they-also no talk they-make mullah when to-him

6. ìgà 7àbóta leyàân ìkàdóta le be
most-clear it-becomes from-they hid with

turshyáwë 7àld xàières bo xwà
anger he-says People! for God

7. ò́òtàn 7àódm bàrmàlásàkàm bëjàwësà wë
to-you(pl) I-say rug-the-my give-back and

8. ágàr ñàdmënsàwë xàdm 7àsànùn ci 7àóm
if not-to-me-you-give-back myself I-know what I-do

9. ómànl àkàn òbìjnì 7àtíràn àwatá la-wò-i-ke
tyey-also when this they-see they-fear from-that/-i/-that

10. Sàmmi bo sàrìyàkàwë wàtì 7àócm
this-one-also with coldness-a he-said I-was-going

bo màwësà hànàà xùràm hàbù 7àmdà bo
to house-to a-bit wool-I had I-was-giving-it to

jolà boy bikìjrìdme yà bo bàrmàl
weaver for-he should-have-made-me into prayer-rug
دروهم حکاپیت

اگر چیکاها بی‌گی له دوروسته تانی بو
تافته کردن سهار بانگه نه کاته مالی

ضرایب، مما درشه نه و بروشه قدر له
به یانیوه هر هر کماده گه گا و بر جی
پله له به به گه گا. و به نزیله نیوه رو
نه یییته مالی کابراي دوروستی بو نان ضارون
ه. دوای بهره عزوره و به خیره هنی
خازون مال له سهره و به دوای نیهی و
به خریشی نه و به چند کرسکی باگه
کرووه. له لریتی نان خواردننا خازون مال
نه یه ری چائنیه له مرگل به زد پنا
1 دل صیران مراوی به له ن سر به
په وستاوه 7. به به مرد گهی؛ بهلر نهور
1. járekyan yškyle la dostakání bo one-time-of-them one-a from friends-his to

qawalti kǐrdįn málį bąŋ ọskate mál-1- lunch doing mulish invite he-does-to house-/l-/ 

xóyan 2. málį s̱w ọskéhár la themselves mulish-also that day only from 

bayandawa xoy amadé ọskə wə jəl-1- morning-from himself ready makes and clothes-/l-/ 

pèk lèbər ọskə 3. wə nǐsik niwèbò clean on he-does and near noon

?ọcètə mál-1-kabrā-1-dosti bo nán xwardįn he-goes-to house-/l-/fellow-/l-/friend-his for bread eating

4. dway cúna kúrəwaw bə xer hatįn after going-to inside-to-and to well coming

xawonmài la s̱rəwaw dány ọnə wə host on head down-him places and 

bə xọss-1-şwawə cand kàseki bąŋ to happiness-of-that-by a-few people-a-he invitation

kîrdus 5. ləpəs nän xwardįnə xawonmài has-done before bread eating-at host

?ọyədwe gaitóyək leqəl máładà bșkə he-wants joke-a with mulish-at that-he-do

6. la haywán mrawfıyək lasər yək in corridor(at patio) duck-a on one

pe wòstawə 7. bə málį ọsəd mála s̱w leg he-has-stood to mulish he-says mulish that
مراوی‌پی چه چن تایی هری ۲۶ مله نهایی پیچه تا ۱ گلاپا نهایی ییاری چاله به هم‌لدل چون سرایی پیچه تایی نهایی چاله به هم‌لدل هر لرس شی خوی درام ندا. مراوی ای خانومن مال وکره زیان‌خی کیورdekی لی نرتب خویه و همه گرکت و گرمه یه مراوی‌پی که. »، مراوی‌پی یکشی ل درمانن با چایکی تری دوانا هه را کرک، سه خانومن مال وی.»، ها می‌لاد ونوه نه دووکی تایی هری ۲۶. می‌لاد تکلیی کیکروه وته نه به رودی تو بهو مراوی یه به سزمه‌ها تا دهی به نیرویها دیالییپه یه بیپی یه جیار بی ۶
duck how-many legs-his there-are mullah he-says

one leg fellow he-says man-/i/-good-be

mullah how duck one leg-his it-will-be

mullah only on word-/i/-himself stay he-does

later host pebble-/i/-gravel-/i/-small-he

from near himself-from up took and threw-to

duck-the duck-the-also from fear-at

duck-the-/i/-other-he down put and away-he did

host he-said aha mullah that is-not

mullah thinking-he from did-again

he-said that rock-which-you at-that duck

threw to you-they-at had thrown

you-would-become to quadruped
On one occasion the Mullah takes his own prayer rug and goes to the mosque to pray. When he arrives at the mosque and while he is busy performing his prayer ablutions, a few of his friends arrange among themselves and steal his rug and say, "No one must tell the truth until we find out what the Mullah will do."

When the mullah gets back from his ablutions and is about to pray, he sees that his prayer rug is no longer in its place. He searches everywhere but in vain. His friends, for their part, say nothing. When it becomes crystal clear to the Mullah that they have hidden it from him, he says angrily, "People! Indeed, I say to you, give me back my prayer rug. If you don't, I know what I'll do about it!" The others, when they hear this, fear that the Mullah might do something bad if they don't return the rug; they return it immediately. After the Mullah had finished praying the men ask him to swear and say, "By God, Mullah, if we hadn't given you back your rug, what would you have done?"

Said the Mullah coldly, "I would have gone home where I have a bit of wool; I would have given it to a weaver so that he might make it into a rug for me."
Once one of his friends invites the Mullah to lunch. The Mullah, for his part, gets ready early in the morning that day and puts on clean clothes, and near noon goes to the house of his friend to eat. After going inside and the welcoming was done, the host put him at the head; he had invited a few people because of the occasion. Before eating, the host wants to have a joke with the Mullah. In the corridor a duck is standing on one leg. He says to the Mullah, "Mullah, how many legs does that duck have?" The Mullah answers, "One leg." The man says, "Come now, Mullah, how can a duck have one leg?" But the Mullah maintained his stand. Later the host picked up a small pebble from nearby and threw it at the duck. The duck put down its other leg from fear, and ran away.

The host said "I say, Mullah, doesn't the duck have two legs now?" The Mullah thought it over and said, "If they had thrown at you the rock that you had thrown at that poor duck, you'd have become a quadruped (donkey)."
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Those items preceded by an asterisk (*) in the following bibliography were not available to the author for his personal inspection during the preparation of this study. They are listed nevertheless, on the basis of citation in other works, in the interest of presenting as complete a bibliography on Kurdish as possible. Complete data were not ascertainable in all cases.

Proper names and titles in non-Roman scripts are transliterated according to generally recognized conventions. The phonemic transcription of Kurdish used in the main body of the text has not been employed here. Translations and words not appearing on the title pages of the works themselves are enclosed in square brackets.

BOOKS

*Ahmad-i-Aziz, Agha. The Kurdish ABC. Baghdad, 1929.
*Berésin, M. Recherches sur les dialectes persans. Kazan, 1853.


ARTICLES

Abbreviations used in this section:

- AW Wien: K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
- AN SSSR: Akademija Nauk SSSR
- BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
- BSOS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
- JA: Journal asiatique
- JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society
- JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
- REI: Revue des études islamiques
- ZDMG: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft


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GLOSSARY
The order of alphabetical arrangement in the Glossary that follows is given below:

| a | b | c | d | e | f | g | h | i | j | k | l | m | n | o | p | q | r | s | t | u | v | w | x | y | z |

The symbol / in the glossary is equivalent to the vertical bar (|) as used in the main body of the text (cf. paragraph 3.0, fn. 1).
?awsän (?awse-) to swell up
?awsâw swollen, pregnant
?əŋgawtfn (?əŋgew-) to shoot

a
[interj.] yes (informal style)
əfərin, əferim [interj.] bravol
əfrət woman
agə care, attention
agadənd alertness
agəf fire
agərdən fireplace
agə agha
amadə [adj.] ready
amadə kərdən to prepare
əsmən sky
əsudef comfort
əst peace
əw water
əzəf freedom
əy [interj.] ahl
əyə (interrog. part., formal style)

b
[interj.] yes (informal style)
[conj.] let, have (in indirect commands)
[prep.] against, in opposition to
bəg (plur. bagət) garden
bən plateau
bənzın gasoline
bən call, invitation
bən kərdən to invite
bəpər grandfather
bəräm (man's name)
bən [adj.] good
bəskəm [conj.] perhaps
bəwək father
bəxən (bəxə-) to present, give
bəy [prep.] for the price of
bəyanı morning
bə, bəbə [prep.] without
bekərə lazy person
bə/pə [prep.] to, in, with
bə...(əwə) [prep.] with (instrument)
bəd [adj.] bad
bəfr snow
bəfrəwəf [adj.] snow-covered
bəgə Baghdad
bəle [interj.] yes (formal style)
bəlam [conj.] but
bəiku [conj.] perhaps
bənd cord
bəndəxwən, bənəxwən belt-cord
bər front
bərəd rock, stone
bərmət prayer-rug
bərqliyə telegram
bərəu oak tree
bərx lamb
bəs [adj.] enough, sufficient
bəsər [prep.] by (in oaths)
bəswəmən [adj.] poor
bəxən (bəxə-) to forgive
binən, diți (past bini-, di(t)-; pres. bini-) to see
bər mind
bist [numeral] twenty
bistifn (byo-/by-; passive bistr-) to hear
bistu penjm (numeral] twenty-fifth
bijlyfn [numeral] billion
bin bottom
bijrdn (be-/b-; passive br-) to carry
bijfnj rice
bijfn goat
bijnakew mountain goat
b_of [prep.] to, for
boci, bô [interrog.] why?
holnbax necktie
boyag shoe polish, shine
boyagci boot black
bra brother
bradar friend
brdn (bre-) to stop (trans.)
brayetf brotherhood
braza brother's son or daughter
brfn (br-) to wound
brfn (b-) to cut
bük bridelroom
bukuñuṣ toy
bûn (past -bu-; pres. Çim/Vm, hô-, b-) to be
burdìn (bur-) to forgive

coänd, coŋ [adv.] a few
côp left hand
cœpufâst left hand and right hand
cœqo knife
cf [interrog.] what?
ciròk story
ciryô [interj.] cheer! (a toast)
cf [numeral] forty
cirâ light (noun)
cön [interrog.] how?
cûn (c-; imperative co-) to go
lă cun to go away
ték cun to disagree
cûŋko, cûŋki [conj.] because
cwâr [numeral] four
cwardâ [numeral] fourteen
cwarpâ quadruped, donkey
d
dâ [preverb] down
dâd justice
dadgâ court
dadmënd [adj.] just
dan tooth
dân grain, feed
dân (de-/d-; passive dr-) to give
lë dan to hit, to play (musical instrument)
ték wâr dàn to shake (water)
danâ grain
dâr tree
darjitân forest
dâx sorrow
dây mother
dâyk motherhood
dé (plur. dehât) village
dé [numeral] ten
dé, dëy (asseverative particle occurring with verbs)
dâm period of time, a while
demdêm [adv.] from time to time
dâŋ voice
dâŋkeozix piece of gravel
dâr [preverb] out
darâj degree
géránnewe (past gera-...ëwe; present gera-...ëwe) to tell, relate

gélek [adv.] a great deal of
génfim wheat
génj [adj.] young
gênnesëmi corn
gém [adj.] hot
germá heat
gérán (geñe-) to walk
gérök one who loves to walk
géwrö [adj.] big, large
gøyandën (gøyen-) to cause to arrive
gøyëtn (gœ-/g-) to arrive
göz bite
göz (unit of measure for cloth)
gözëf (göz-) to bite
gôn soul
gianlëbor animal, living thing (except plants)
girfän pocket
givé (onomatopoeia for sound of bullets)
givegiv (onomatopoeia for sound of bullets)
giszé (onomatopoeia for sound of buzzing of bullet)
giszé kirdën to complain
giszegiz complaining, whining
git soil
gîrëtn (gr-; passive stem gir-) to take, grasp, throw
gîl girëtn to pick up
glëw [adj.] unclean (religious usage)
gobkë (a kind of flower)
gôl lake
gôm lake
goranf song
gôstit meat
govár magazine
grow bet, wager
grin (gr-) to cry
grink² cry-baby
gûn [adj.] expensive
gunëf crime
gûl leprosy
gûl rose
gûlw rose water
gwë ear
gwë̀z nuts
garibi foreign land
gélët mistake
gélëtyarî a bad move or play (in games)

h

há [interj.] aha!
habit Protector
hafté week
hakfim judge
hatfîn (ye-/y-; subjunctive e-; imperative wër-) to come
hatucô coming and going, loitering
hawištën (hawež-) to throw
helkë egg
henân (hen-) to bring
dër henân to take out, remove
hërio (girl's name)
hëstën (hel-) to permit
hësta [adv.] still, yet
hëbu [v.] there was, were
hëbun (past hë...bu; present hë...Çô/Yë/yeti; imperative hë...be) to have
hël [preverb] up
helô eagle
hëmanë leather
hëmû, hëmû [adv.] each, every, all, any
hëndek [adv.] a few, a little
hënjîr figs
hëñwën honey
hêr [adv.] only
hërmë pear
hërzän [adj.] cheap
eight
eighty
until
up to, as far as
orphan
homosexual
there is, are
corridor (bordering courtyard of house)
thousand
eighteen
no, not any
poem
(a measure of weight)
sober
seventy
seven
animal
animal
work, deed
respect
today
this year
tonight
examination
then, in that case
justice, equality
man, person
Lisbon
bowl
formerly
once
spy
noise
fine (noun)
take a fine
from, to fine
holiday
clothes
slang
you (polite)
barley
weaver
to chew
pair (rugs, dice)
beautiful

man, fellow
letter
letter-writer
addressing elder brother
melon
melon vendor
which?
spring (water)
straight (in poker)
work
ewe
workshop
small ewe
while, time
while, during
who? whom?
when, if, that
who, which
use
light (in color)
take off
laugh
donkey
seller
selling
defaf
person, anybody
kašti ship
kštyowáñ sailor
kowtfn (kow-) to fall
kóy [interrog.] when?
kfc girl, daughter
kícánó [adj.] girlish
kľk tail
kirdgár Creator
kirdën (ka-/k-; passive kr-) to do, make
dór kirdën to take out, remove
lábér kirdën to put on, don
fá kirdën to run away
kírm worm
kírmok [adj.] wormy, worm-eaten
k¡z [adj.] dull, gloomy
kízołó [adj.] somewhat dull, gloomy
ktáw shoe
kľawřfn shoe thief
kdlk target
kón [adj.] old
kór party (of people)
křn (kr-) to buy
křn (kr-; passive kír-) to rub
ktéb book
kúr hunchback
kužánowo (kužen-...owe) to turn off, extinguish
kdík scratch
kušlé mosquito net
kdík hen ready to lay eggs
kèrd Kurd
kurdí Kurdish
kurdowarì the Kurdish people
kurđstán Kurdistan
kurself chair
kárt [adj.] short
kâf boy, son
kuřezá grandson
kaštfn (kušt-) to kill
kwé, kwâ [interrog.] where?
kwér [adj.] blind
kweraí blindness

1

lá side
ladé countryside
lagifr supporter, follower, adherent
láq leg
lé [preverb] from
léw lip
lé/lé (-da) [prep.] in, at
lá/lé (-owe) from
lábér [prep.] because of, on
lábfn [prep.] beneath
lagól (-da) [prep.] with
lèkfn...owe [prep.] beside
lenaw (-da) [prep.] inside of
lèpáš (-da) [prep.] after
lepéš (-da) [prep.] before
lèsér [prep.] on
lèžér [prep.] under
libnán Lebanon
ľiské wash-rag

máč kiss
máč k. to kiss
máľ house
matín (mat-) to throw, cast
malocké little house
mám uncle
mán (me-) to remain
mandý, mañd [adj.] tired
már snake
marmasí eel
máš fish
mášt yoghurt
mèrd man, husband
mèš fly
mešuló mosquito
mégáš salary
mëgaškór employee
mégné meaning
mégar [conj.] unless, if not
mèla mullah
méló swimming
məmnən [adj.] much obliged, thank you
mərg pasture
mərkəba [interj.] hello
məqənatəs magnetism
miwən guest
miz urine
mizildən bladder
məlwankə necklace
məlyiṇ [numeral] million
mən [pron.] I, me
mənət, məndət child
mənaif childhood
mənaokə (dear) little child
mərdən (mr-) to die
mirwarəi pearl
məzgəwt mosque
mör [adj.] purple
mərzə dice
mrawə duck
mərəbbə jam
məjərsəf education
mudər director
mehtəməl [adj.] possible
məmnən [adj.] possible

n
nəbe [v.] must not
nəgl leather slippers
nadər (man's name)
nən bread
nən (ne-) to put, place
də na to put down
nankər baker
nərdən (ner-) to send
nərək [adj.] disarranged, dis-orderly, dishonest
nasin (nas-) to know, be acquaint-ed with
nəw name
nəw inside, interior
nəxəs [adj.] unpleasant
nə? [interj.] no
nəsrən (girl's name)
ətıx [adj.] dull

nəwəd [numeral] ninety
nəxər [interj.] no (emphatic)
nəxəs [adj.] ill
nəxtek a little bit
nəız intention
nəwəfə noon
nəwəfəxəw noon nap
nəsbət comparison
nəštən, nəštən (niə-) to sit
də nəštən to sit down
nəʃək [adj.] near
nəzm [adj.] low
nə [numeral] nine
nə [interj.] here's to you (a toast)
nəzdəs [numeral] nineteen
nusən (nus-) to write
nəktəbəz comedian, joker
nəqərc a pinch
nəstən, mustən (nu-/nw-) to sleep
nəwəndən (nwend-) to put to sleep
nəwed [adj.] new
nəwəz kirdən to pray

ogəf:
ogərbe Where are you going? (polite style)
ogər kirdən to go (polite)
osti master
oxəy [interj.] ah! (delight)

P
pək [adj.] clean
pək kərdən to clean, peel
pək kərdənwə to clean, wash
pələwətən (pəlew-) to filter
panəs [numeral] fifteen
pər [adv.] last year
pərəstən (parez-) to protect
pəs [prep.] after
pəzərəz [adv.] in the future
pəytəxt capital city
pəqu, bıçık [adj.] little, small
pə foot
pë [preverb] to 
pëc curve
pecpec zigzag
pëk [preverb] together
pëkëwë [adv.] together
pëna [numeral] five
përår [adv.] year before last
pës [prep.] before
pëwë [preverb] with
pëlo haste
pëlopsil great haste
pënd trick, pun
pënd pe dën to play a trick on
ponja [numeral] fifty
përdëwëkësë mosquito net
pësto chorus
pëstën (pëst-) to press
pfr [adj.] old
përetë oldness
përimërd old man
përıžë old woman
përël oldness
plë [adj.] dirty
pìšan dan to show
pìrsën (pìrs-) to ask
pë [adj.] full
pët kirđin to fill up
pīë rung (of ladder)
propelantë propaganda
pëllë cat
pûl money
pulbëz miser
purzë aunt's son or daughter
pyaw man
pyawëthi humanity

q
qac leg
qadjër (man's name)
qawë coffee
qawëf [adj.] brown
qawëltë lunch
qazanj profit
qazawën goose tender
qëlëbdëg crowd
qëlëm pen, pencil
qëlëmdân pencil box
qopqop (onomatopoeia for sound of wooden shoes)
qerëyolë cot
qerëzdër debtor
qay naka it doesn't matter
qëycë scissors
qëza misfortune
qopce button
qorawi [adj.] muddy, mud-covered
qul [adj.] deep
quwët strength
qülerë Negro
qurban you (polite)
qerësë Koran
qërs [adj.] difficult
qës speech
qës kirđin to speak
qësësë [adj.] witty

r
rë [preverb] away
rëmasëän Ramadan
rat [n.] right hand
[adj.] right, correct
rastë truth
rastër [adj.] more correct
rastucëwt [adj.] dishonest
rëk [adj.] straight
rëkupëk [adj.] in order, in good shape
rastën (rës-) to spin
rësm mercy
rëny [adj.] color
rëne [conj.] maybe
rësm picture
rësmëgër photographer
rësil [adj.] black
rësëbë resheba, dust storm
rësil (man's name)
rësëkë kirđin to sprinkle
rëd kirđin to beg, entreat
rëd [preverb] down
sá [adj.] clear, certain
sát year
sán (s-) to wake up
sárd [adj.] cold
sárá cold (noun)
sárd coldness
sárdugár cold and hot
sády [adv.] tomorrow
sé [numeral] three
séezé [numeral] thirteen
sér [adj.] strange
séw apple
sébá reason, cause
sébbálne [adv.] tomorrow
ségett hour, watch, clock, o'clock
ség dog
ségbáz dog fancier
ségbór dog washer
séhál ice
sém'mún French bread
séndín (sénd-) to take, receive
séqf ceiling
sér head
sér kawtín to succeed
sérban roof
sérbáz soldier
sérf spending
sérfjó (place name)
sérspí [adj.] hoary
séwá haggling
séwák. to haggle
séwbó (a kind of flower)
séwé [adj.] green
séwzé (plur. séwza'át) green (noun)
séfdr without veil
séf [numeral] thirty
síndmá the movies
síné tray
sífré zero
síftáh first sale of day
ség stomach
skút silence
s-confidence box
snógár black box
sradín (sper-) to order, command
spí [adj.] white
stan (st-) to get up, arise
stúd avail
súr [adj.] red
surbáw [adj.] reddish
swár horseman
swárd cavalryman
swén oath
sé [numeral] hundred
sá king
sáí ceremony
séanzé [numeral] sixteen
sár city
sátrínj chess
sákx mountain
saxwán mountaineer
sazadó prince, princess
sázín queen
séw evening meal
séhwán hermaphrodite
sékîr sugar
sökírdán sugar bowl
sólín (sól-) to be lame
sém'mökwr bat (animal)
sérmb bashfulness
bashful
condition, proviso
six
sixty
light (noun)
a six (cards)
blue
ragged
rag
infant
sweet
swords and arrows
thing
to break
to be broken
thanks (to God)
milk
rag
infant
sweet
thing
to wash
place
crown
(proper name)
into
apart, divorce
full
ter vacation
to arrange
well, then
thing
prayer beads
to thank
wooden dish
small wooden dish
very small wooden dish
board (wood)
prayer beads
beautiful person
sharp
fear
fear
fear
frighten
coward
sour
thank
you
to die (animal)
fishing net
musette bag
wild or "snake" cucumber
automobile
grapes
hair
hirsute
puppy
radish
anger
to be able, can
slice
(indeed!)
hotel
professor
(onomatopoeia for sound of buzzing of bees)
(onomatopoeia for sound of machines)
(onomatopoeia for sound of machines)
thus, so
ruin, ruination
ruin
ruined
and
as
like
think
from
westán (west-) to stand
wé wéstán to stop (intrans.)
westfn (-owe(t); passive wistr-) to want
wutd iron (instrument)
wutucf laundryman
westfn (ie-/i-; passive witr-) to say
westnwe (ie-...owe) to teach

xaúz charcoal
xalujá cousin
xalužín aunt
xane, xand house
xáseten [adv.] especially
xawemfí host
xawlí towel
xák, xélq people
xorín [adj.] busy (plus subjunctive verb: about to)
xów dream
xít a spinning
xítloko top (which spins)
xinkán (xinke-) to drown, choke
xistfn (xo-/x-) to pull
xízfn relative, relation
xizmaya relationship
xó self
xó [interj.] I say! (accosting)
oxomésh ash
xonoxór one who does not eat
xóí [adj.] pleasant, nice, delicious
xóshk sister
xóshkasór elder sister
xóshgo [conj.] would that
xráp [adj.] bad
xurí wool
xutwóloko top (which spins)
xwá God
xwardfn (xo-/xw-; passive xur-) to eat
xwardú [adj.] having eaten
xwardubíd eating and plucking


xwardú south
xwó salt
xwédán salt shaker
xwen blood
xwendfn (xwen-) to read


y
yanzó, yanzdó [numeral] eleven
yapróx stuffed cabbage rolls
yarí play, move (in games)
yeśán (yeš-) to ache, pain
yók [numeral] one
yókém [numeral] first
yókémfín [numeral] first
yókfirmó [adj.] united
yóksó [adv.] straight, immediately
yóktír [numeral] one more
yóle [interj.] hurry up


z
zaúf [adj.] weak
zanfn (zan-) to know
zewí ground, earth
zéhmótr trouble, bother
zin saddle
zíbrá step-brother
zírk [adj.] clever, smart
zírkósh step-sister
zístán winter
zímn tongue, language
zór [adv.] very, much, many
zorné flute
zré (onomatopoeia for tinkling sound)
zú early


ž
žán pain
žándór headache
žápn Japan
žér under part
žerxán basement
žián (ži-) to live
žiín life
ژین woman, wife
ژماردن (ژمار-) to count
ژماره numeral, number
ژدروغ inside
ژانتکسی [adj.] funny
ژاقلی intelligence
ژایب shame
ژبیا aba (woman's black cloak)
ژمر age (years)
ژورئگد heavy drinker
ژورز, ژورز ground, floor
ژتار notions shop
ژتاری notions shopkeeper
ژیسا Jesus
ژیسی Christian