

A grammar of Gawraǰū Gūrānī

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To the people of Gawraǰū

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Abbreviations

The following three charts list the abbreviations and symbols used in this study. The first chart shows the interlinear morphemic glosses of the Gawraǰūyī language material:¹

| Gloss | Definition | Gloss | Definition |
|-------|--|-------|-----------------------|
| _1 | Variant 1 (2, 3, 4, etc.) ² | IPFV | Imperfective |
| 1PL | First person plural | NA | Not analyzed |
| 1SG | First person singular | NEG | Negation |
| 2PL | Second person plural | NUM | (Possible) numerative |
| 2SG | Second person singular | OBL | Oblique |
| 3PL | Third person plural | PART | Participle |
| 3SG | Third person singular | PASS | Passive |
| ADD | Additive particle | PL | Plural |
| ADJ | Adjective | POSTP | Postposition |
| COMP | Complementizer | PRF | Perfect |
| COMPD | Compound marker | PROH | Prohibitive |
| COP | Copula | PROX | Proximal |
| DEF | Definite | PRS | Present |
| DEM | Demonstrative | PST | Past |
| DIR | Directional | PTCL | Particle |
| DIST | Distal | Q | Question particle |
| EU | Euphonic | RFL | Reflexive |
| EZ | Ezāfe | SBJV | Subjunctive |
| IND | Indicative | SG | Singular |
| INDF | Indefinite | | |

¹ Most of these abbreviations and symbols follow the standard of the Leipzig Glossing Rules, revised version of February 2008 (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>), developed jointly by the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Bernard Comrie, Martin Haspelmath) and by the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig (Balthasar Bickel). Another source consulted for the interlinear morphemic glossing conventions is Lehmann (2004). Several abbreviations have been modified or added for the Gawraǰūyī language material in consultation with Geoffrey Haig. Some conventions have also been modified in consultation with Thomas Goldammer.

² The combination of the underscore and numeral to mark variants, as _1, _2, _3, etc., is found mainly in the Appendix texts and is only used in the main body of this study for particularly relevant glosses.

The next chart shows symbols used in this study:

| Symbols | |
|---------|---|
| = | (Equal sign) indicates an enclitic boundary in examples and glosses. |
| - | (Hyphen) separates the segmentable morphemes in examples and glosses. |
| x.x | (Period) separates multiple metalanguage elements corresponding to a single object language element. |
| x_x | (Underscore) separates multiple object language elements corresponding to a single metalanguage element or to a unity of multiple metalanguage elements. |
| # | (Number sign) refers to a form that is provisionally glossed by word class category. In the description of phonology, the symbol refers to a word boundary. |
| ∅ | (Null sign) indicates an unmarked form in a paradigm or the absence of a form. |

The final chart shows additional abbreviations occasionally used in the study:

| Gloss | Definition | Gloss | Definition |
|----------|-----------------------|----------|--------------------------|
| A | Agent | n.p. | No page |
| adj. | Adjective | NP | Noun phrase |
| C | Consonant | O | Object |
| CVE | Compound verb element | part. | Particle |
| dem. | Demonstrative | p.c. | Personal communication |
| dep. | Dependent | pn. | Pronoun |
| encl. | Enclitic | S | Subject |
| FD | Focus domain | TOP | Topic |
| G | Goal | TOP'L OP | Topical open proposition |
| indep. | Independent | trans. | Transitive |
| intrans. | Intransitive | V | Verb |
| irreg. | Irregular | V | Vowel |
| n.d. | No date | vb. | Verb |

Numbers and titles of texts

Texts numbered 1 through 9 refer to the published texts in Mahmoudveysi, Bailey, Paul & Haig (2012) (hereafter referred to as Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012). The numbers and titles are:

| | |
|--------|---|
| Text 1 | The tale of Bizbal |
| Text 2 | Titīla and Bibīla |
| Text 3 | Mard and Nāmard |
| Text 4 | Širin and Farhād |
| Text 5 | Rostam and Sohrāb |
| Text 6 | Recollections of the revolution |
| Text 7 | Women's dress and customs |
| Text 8 | Traditions of weddings and marriage (1) |
| Text 9 | Traditions of weddings and marriage (2) |

Texts numbered 10 through 12 refer to three glossed texts, previously unpublished, included in the Appendix of the current study:

| | |
|---------|---|
| Text 10 | A short account of life and work in the village |
| Text 11 | The story of Mīnā and Gunka Čāyira |
| Text 12 | The story of Sinderelā |

PART I. BACKGROUND

1. CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This study is a grammatical description of the Gūrānī language spoken by the people of Gawraǰū village in the province of Kermānšāh in western Iran. In the study, Gūrānī of this locality is usually referred to simply as Gawraǰūyī, though people of the village commonly use the name Gawraǰūyāna. Gūrānī is genetically classified as a member of the North-West Iranian group within the Iranian and Indo-Iranian branches of the Indo-European language family. Gūrānī is thus related to the ancient language of Parthian and to modern languages such as Zazaki, Kurdish, Talyshi, Tati, and Balochi, and at the level of West Iranian, to languages such as Persian.^{3 4}

Gūrānī is used in a number of communities situated throughout a large area in western Iran and north-eastern Iraq, where it forms a vital part of the history and cultural heritage. For around five centuries, Gūrānī served as the literary language in the court of the Kurdish Ardalān principality and became the basis for an extensive body of literature. Gūrānī literature also includes the sacred poetry and songs belonging to the religious community of the Yārsān, also known as the Ahl-e Haqq. Despite its outstanding historical, cultural, and literary significance, Gūrānī in general shows degrees of endangerment, with fewer users, less than complete transmission from parents to children, and a smaller range of functional domains than in previous generations.⁵ It is thus undergoing complex linguistic processes and changing in many ways.

A particular sociolinguistic situation of this nature can be observed in the Gūrānī language of Gawraǰū village. The village of Gawraǰū is an area in which people of the Yārsān community have lived and maintained their language for centuries. It holds a very special place for the Yārsān as a center of culture, particularly in relation to music and highly skilled craftsmanship of the *tamūr* stringed instrument (Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini, p.c.). The village is also situated close to the town of Gahvāre, a location characterized as ‘in the heart of the Gúrān country’ (Rawlinson 1839:29), and the historical center from which the chiefs of the Gūrān tribe ruled during a long period of influence (Oberling 2002:n.p.). In more recent years, however, even with these very important cultural foundations, Gawraǰū Gūrānī has been facing loss, accelerated by various kinds of pressure. One type of external pressure is the

³ For Iranian language relationships, see Windfuhr (2009c:13–14).

⁴ Gūrānī is represented by the code of the International Organization of Standardization as ISO 639-3 [hac].

⁵ For these characteristics of endangerment, see Simons & Fennig (2017:n.p.)

widening use of other languages in the region. Another type of pressure arises from the movement of people away from the village for various reasons including work and resettlement due to construction of a dam. As people leave the area, the proximity to each other in the character of a community disappears. Many daily opportunities for people to maintain Gawraǰūyī vanish, having long-term consequences for the community's heritage, identity, and language, as a vast and unique body of knowledge built over generations.

Aims

The aim of this study, then, is to describe the grammar of Gawraǰū Gūrānī and contribute to its comprehensive documentation while it is still actively used by the people of the community. The study also attempts to fill one of the gaps in Iranian linguistic studies by supplying a detailed grammatical description of a Gūrānī variety based on a corpus of spoken texts and employing a theoretical framework of functional-typological linguistics. The study is also intended to contribute material to the historical and comparative research of Gūrānī as well as of the larger group of Kurdish and other Iranian languages. It is hoped, too, that this study would serve as a resource for the maintenance and preservation of Gawraǰūyī and other forms of Gūrānī.

The description presented here is a continuation of the research published in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012). That volume contains a grammatical sketch of Gawraǰūyī (fifty-one pages), including introductory descriptions of phonology, basic word classes and structures, and a short section on selected features of syntax. It also contains nine texts and a lexicon of approximately 1600 items. In comparison, the current study also contains a phoneme chart, a presentation of word classes, and a basic description of clause structure and reflexivity. Furthermore, the current description presents new research by treating the following areas in more detail or for the first time:

- Individual phonemes, stress, intonation, syllable and word structure, and major phonological and morphophonemic processes.
- Typological overview (morphological typology, head- and dependent-marking typology, and constituent order typology).
- Individual word classes according to their prototypical semantic, morphological, and distributional properties.
- Selected functional systems such as noun phrase operations, number, possession and related noun phrase constructions, grammatical relations and alignment of clause arguments, valence, tense, aspect, mood, location, and direction, clause combinations, non-declarative speech acts, information structure, and notes on linguistic effects of language contact.

- Notes about grammatical features of Gawraǰūyī in comparison to Gūrānī of other areas, specifically, Hawrāmī (Pāwa, Luhōn), Kandūlayī, Zardayāna, Bāǰaṭānī and Šabakī, as well as Kākayī.

The current study also includes three previously unpublished texts with interlinear morphemic glossing.

Limitations

This study has several limitations. One of these has to do with the fact that I was not personally involved in the fieldwork visits to Gawraǰū village (see Section 1.13.1.1). I was thus not able to meet the narrators and work on the text material with them. Nevertheless, I have been fortunate to be able to discuss the language material in detail with Parvin Mahmoudveysi, who is a native speaker of Hawrāmī (Pāwa) and has much knowledge of Gawraǰūyī and other Gūrānī varieties as well. She has graciously provided countless valuable insights and answers to my questions.

A further limitation involves the phonological description. It is based solely on the material available in the corpus of recorded texts, and there has not been an opportunity to discuss hypotheses directly with Gawraǰūyī speakers or to elicit contrastive sets of sounds. Furthermore, the testing of sounds and phonological processes has depended mainly on my own auditory perception rather than on instrumental measurements.

There are also limitations in the description of certain grammatical points. The description is based on the material from the spoken texts, and as a result, there are some gaps in paradigms and the possibility that some forms or constructions are absent, which might have otherwise appeared in a larger corpus of texts and elicited material.

Many other areas of importance in Gawraǰūyī remain to be researched and have not been included in this study. There is not much information about the current sociolinguistic situation. Furthermore, in Part III, certain functional systems of grammar have not been described in depth. For example, there is only basic information about the use of pronouns in deixis and anaphora. The description of the tense-aspect-mood system does not include details about key areas such as the aspectual character of verbs. The study also does not treat areas such as negation in clause combinations, grammaticalization, lexical typology, features of style and genre, or discourse issues such as thematic or action continuity. The chapter on language contact focuses mainly on grammar and leaves many questions about phonology and the lexicon to be answered in future studies.

Another limitation is the age of some of the dialect material used for the comparative notes in Chapter 16. Some of this material is found in older sources such as Mann & Hadank (1930) and MacKenzie (1966) and is not ideally representative of the recent states of the dialects.

In spite of these limitations, it is hoped that this study will provide another step forward in the work of understanding Gūrānī in particular as well as Kurdish and other Iranian languages in general, with all their beauty and systematic character, and lead to their greater appreciation and use by present and future generations.

General theoretical framework

This description is based on a functional and typological framework and also influenced by what is termed Basic Linguistic Theory. (For more details on theoretical background and source references, see Section 1.13.2.)

Sources of language material

The Gawraǰūyī material for this study has been taken from the aforementioned nine texts published in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012) as well as from unpublished notes and three other texts recorded by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in the DoBeS fieldwork (see Section 1.13.1 for more details).⁶

Material representing variation within Gūrānī is found in a number of published and unpublished sources that are listed here and also noted in relevant sections (such as in Section 16.2). The published sources are: Zardayāna (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013);⁷ Hawrāmī of Luhōn (MacKenzie 1966); Kandūlayī (Mann & Hadank 1930); and Bāǰaṭānī (MacKenzie 1956, 1966, Mann & Hadank 1930). The unpublished sources are: Hawrāmī of Pāwa (Parvin Mahmoudveysi, p.c., and Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2004); Kākayī of Wardak (Mahmoudveysi 2009); Šabakī of Šālālāt (Magin & Ali 2008a); Šabakī/Bāǰaṭānī (Magin, Abdul Basit & Bailey 2008); and Hawrāmī of Tawēṭa (Magin & Kocher 2008).

The greatest cooperative work for this study has been provided by Parvin Mahmoudveysi. Parvin Mahmoudveysi is from the Hawrāmān region, located approximately 120 kilometers from Gawraǰū. She is a native speaker of Hawrāmī, Kurdish, and Persian, and also fluent in German and English. As a teacher and researcher with expertise in Iranian languages, literature, and linguistic description, she provided consultation for Gawraǰūyī and other forms of Gūrānī. She did the primary fieldwork in Gawraǰū village in September-October of 2007 and again in October 2008, as she recorded the texts used in this study. She entered the recorded material into the ELAN software program, transcribed the texts, and provided the initial versions of the translations. We worked closely together on the lexical and grammatical

⁶ Due to revisions and corrections, the Gawraǰūyī material referred to in the current study occasionally shows a few minor differences from that which is presented in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012).

⁷ The Zardayāna material referred to in the current study also occasionally shows a few minor differences from that which is presented in Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013).

analysis and final translations. Without her work and help, this study would not have been possible.

Organization

This study incorporates many ideas for organization presented during a 2010 workshop on grammatical description led by Thomas Payne, including the suggestions in ‘A possible outline for a balanced grammatical description’, later published as the appendix of Payne (2014). The study is also organized according to ideas in Payne (1997) and Payne (2006). Some aspects of the study’s organization refer to the models used for the description of Iranian languages in Windfuhr (2009a), and to the ideas in Dixon (2010a; 2010b; 2012).

This study consists of sixteen chapters, arranged into four parts. Part I (Chapter 1) presents background information about Gūrānī in general and also more specifically about Gawraǰūyī. The information includes location, numbers, names and identification, notes on the environment, economy, and material culture, history, religion, written and oral traditions, and genetic and areal language relationships. There is also a section on previous research, followed by information about the current study, the nature of the research and corpus, and the theoretical approach. There are also remarks on the transcription and orthography used in this study.

Part II (Chapters 2 through 5) consists of a description of the basic linguistic structures of Gawraǰūyī. There are sections on the phonology, typologies, individual word classes, and phrase and clause structures.

Part III (Chapters 6 through 14) presents a description of selected functional systems: noun and noun phrase functions; number; noun phrase possession, attribution, and apposition; grammatical relations; valence; tense, aspect, and mood; clause combinations; non-declarative speech acts; and information structure.

Part IV (Chapters 15 and 16) treats several areas of Gawraǰūyī from a wider perspective. A look is taken at language contact and its linguistic effects, language vitality, and the comparison of selected areas of linguistic variation in Gawraǰūyī and within Gūrānī.

The Appendix contains three new interlinear morphemic glossed texts.

1.1 Introduction to Gūrānī and terms

In the current study, the name ‘Gūrānī’ refers to the language in general and follows the approach described in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:2–4) and also set forth in MacKenzie (1961). The use of this name assumes a historical unity that was once much larger but developed over time into smaller speech communities now scattered in various locations.

The speech communities within Gūrānī are referred in this study by more specific names, but the use of these names does not presume the degree of actual linguistic variation (see Section 1.4 for discussion of names and spellings, and see Chapter 16 for further discussion). In other words, Gūrānī is treated here as a language with a continuum of internal linguistic variation. Many questions remain about geographic and social delineation.

In the current study, in reference to speech communities, the term ‘variety’ is mostly used as a ‘neutral term to apply to any particular kind of language which we wish, for some purpose, to consider as a single entity’ (Chambers & Trudgill 1998:5).⁸

With this background, we refer to the main constituent varieties within the Gūrānī continuum in general agreement with previous linguistic studies such as Zolfaqari (2010:324), MacKenzie (2002), and Fattah (2000:63–64).⁹ ¹⁰ These can be outlined as 1) Gūrānī ‘proper’ (including Gawraǰūyī); 2) Hawrāmī; 3) Bāǰaǰānī (including Šabakī and some types of Kākayī); and 4) Kandūlayī. We also suggest a fifth grouping as 5) ‘Other’, which includes names of possible varieties that need more comparative research. These include the names of Rōǰbayānī and several associated with ‘Māčo’, specifically, some types associated with Kākayī and the speech of communities belonging to the clans of Zangana, Jimur, Bēwyānī, and Šēxānī (for Gūrānī dialects, see especially Mahmoudveysi 2016:3–7).

The language as recorded in the older literature, sometimes termed ‘Literary Gūrānī’, is not discussed in any detail in the current study. The reader is referred instead to Kreyenbroek & Chamanara (2013) and Mahmoudveysi (2016) for relevant discussion.

⁸ For related discussion of definitions of ‘dialect’ and ‘language’ with application to Kurdish and comments on Gūrānī, see Haig & Öpengin (2014).

⁹ Fattah’s introduction was made more accessible to me thanks to the unpublished translation by Barrie Evans (p.c.).

¹⁰ MacKenzie (2002:n.p.) notes (our spelling) Kandūlayī, Hawrāmī, Bāǰaǰānī, and an ‘offshoot among the Šabak, Šārlī, and Bāǰalān (Bēǰwān) villages’ east of Mosul. He also notes ‘Gorani proper’ with reference to language material from Gahvāre. Fattah (2000:63) notes Kandūlayī, Bāǰaǰānī, Hawrāmī, and additionally, Riǰāb, Bīwaniǰ, some villages near Kirind, the speech of the Ahl-e Haqq elders in Kirind, some villages near Sar Pol-e Zohāb, some villages in the district of Sanǰabī and also in the subdistrict in Gūrān. Other groupings of Gūrānī are found in Windfuhr (2009c:12), who lists Gūrānī (his spellings: ‘Gorani, Gōrānī, Gurani’) with two subgroups, ‘Auroman’ (in Hawrāmān) and ‘Bāǰalānī’ (in Mosul area, Iraq). Mann & Hadank (1930) describe ‘Kandūlāī’, ‘Auramānī’, and ‘Bādschālānī’ as the main dialects, while Fuad (1970) lists ‘Hawrāmī’, ‘Kandūlayī’, ‘Bāǰalānī’, and ‘Gahwārayī’.

1.2 Gūrānī: Locations

Gūrānī is used in communities located throughout western Iran and northern Iraq (see map in Section 1.2.1). The communities are concentrated in the mountain range known as the Zagros, a chain that runs along the western border of Iran, running from a north-western to south-eastern direction (Minorsky 1945:73).

More than one hundred years ago, the German orientalist and linguist Oskar Mann described Gūrānī as located mainly in villages and hamlets in the Zagros range and along a particular pilgrim route that led from the city of Hamadān through these mountains and down to the lower elevations near the Tigris River (see Mann & Hadank 1930:24).

In more recent times, several studies have also outlined the locations of Gūrānī speech communities in western Iran. Paul (2007:285–287) locates the areas where Gūrānī is spoken in western Iran and distinguishes northern and southern regions of a speech zone. The northern region is oriented to the historical Awromān area, which is described as reaching to Merīvān in the north and extending to Halabja in the west. This northern region is further described as consisting of: 1) Awromān-i Lohon (Luhōn), with the center of Nousūd; 2) Awromān-i Taxt, to the north; and 3) Awromān-i Režāv, with the center of Merīvān.¹¹ Another important center is Pāwa. In this northern region, the speech is referred to as ‘(H)ourāmī’ or ‘Pāve’ī’. It is reported that Gūrānī is still used by all of the local population of Awromān. The population in this region follows the traditions of Sunni Islam.

The southern region of Gūrānī is described as separated from the northern area by a mountain range. As noted by Paul, Gūrānī is only spoken in a few scattered villages in this area, specifically, the villages of Gawraǰū and Zarda. These villages are home to members of the Yārsān (Ahl-e Haqq) religious community. Gūrānī is also spoken as an isolated speech zone in Kandūle, in which people follow traditions of Twelver Shi‘ism. This speech zone is situated to the north-east of Kermānšāh and is relatively far from Gawraǰū (more than 100 kilometers).

In a description of a wider area in which Gūrānī is spoken, Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013:2, 6–7) note additional locations in Iran, specifically in association with Bēwyānī. These locations are found south-east of Qasir-e Širīn and in Sar Pol-e Zāhāb and the vicinity.

Gūrānī is reported to be spoken in another location, the town of Kirind (Kerend), mainly by the families of the religious leaders of the Yārsān. Other people in the town have already shifted to a variety of Central Kurdish (specifically Southern Jāfī, locally termed ‘Kırınyâna’) (Fattah 2000:63) (still to be confirmed as of 2016).

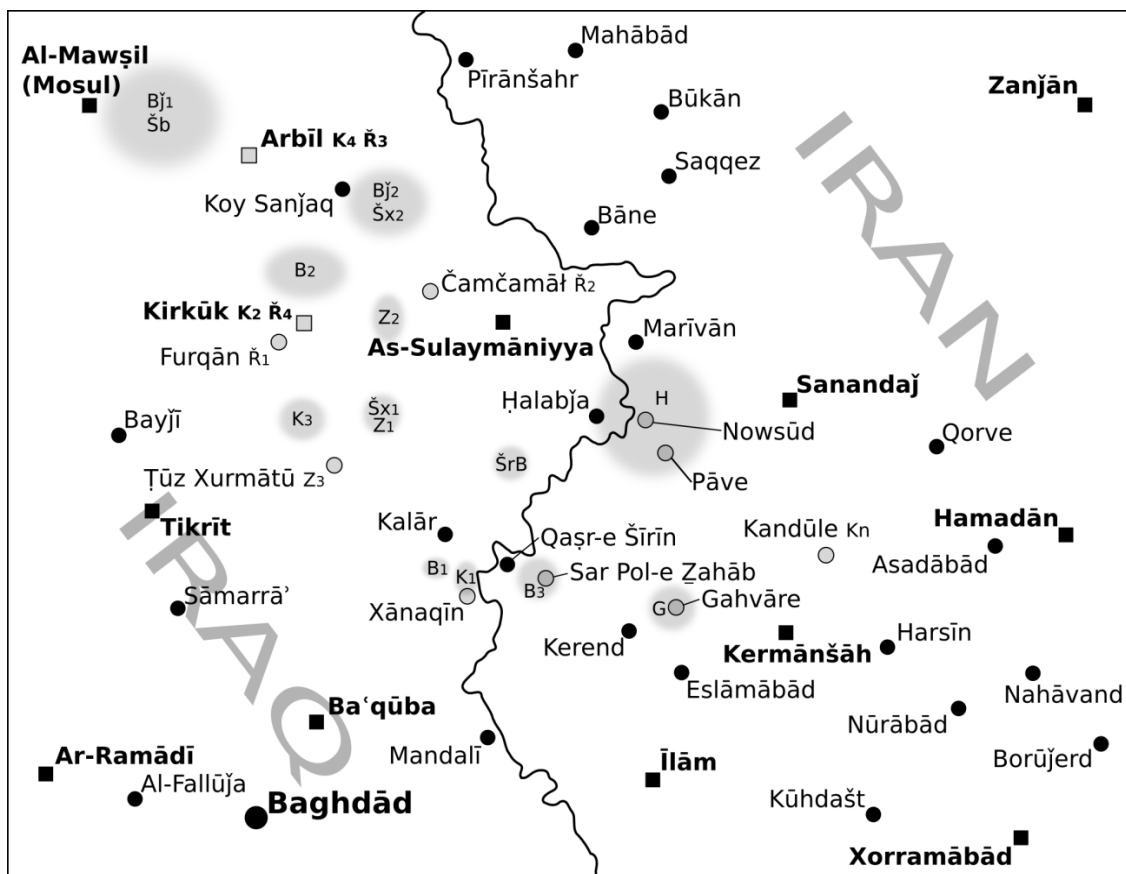
¹¹ MacKenzie (1987a:n.p.) lists these three areas and also Dezlī, located about fifty-three kilometers almost directly north of Nousūd.

The locations of Gūrānī are mapped in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:6–7) and in a slightly updated version in Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013:6–7). The 2013 version of this map is reproduced in the next section.

1.2.1 Map of the Gūrānī-speaking areas

The following map shows an overview of the main areas in which Gūrānī is spoken.¹²

Map 1. Overview of the traditional Gūrānī-speaking areas



¹² This map of the overview of the traditional speech area and the key originally appeared on pages 6–7 of Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012). They are reproduced here with permission from Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag. The map and key used in this dissertation represent slightly modified versions, almost identical to those on pages 6-7 of Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013). They are also reproduced with permission from Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag. The original map was designed by Maximilian Kinzler with information provided by Parvin Mahmoudveysi with the input of Muḥammad Malā Hasan (mayor of Xānaqīn), Ebrāhīm Bājalān, Bahman Hamīd Feyzullāh Bēwyānī (leader of the tribe of Bēwyānī), Najm Aḥmad Bajaṭān (employee of the Red Crescent), and Rīzgār Maḥmud Miḥammad (employee of the television station Nawroz in Kerkuk). They are acknowledged here with gratitude.

Key to the abbreviations of tribal names and place names

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| B (Bēwyānī) | B1: Sarqizil, Bardī ‘Alī Xwārū/Žūrū, Say Mişafā, Gōfī Ginūž, Kānī Širna; B2: Bēwyānī Gawra/Bičūk and about another fifteen villages; B3: Bēwyān, Dūšamnān (their main places in this area), Sar Pol-e Zāhāb, Dāraka, Qaḷama, Šāy Tōtyā, Barxu Bārānī Xwārū/Žūrū, Mişūryānī Ambar/Awbar, Tangī Ḥamām, Sarqaḷā |
| Bj (Bājalānī) | Bj1: several villages near Al-Mawşil (members of the tribe are also present in Xānaqīn, Kalār, etc.); Bj2: Kānī Māz, Taqtaq, Sē Girdkān, Qāmiš, (Kōya (Koy Sanjaq), Dukān) |
| G | Zarda and Gawrajū villages |
| H | Hawrāmān area (Center: Pāve and Nowsūd) |
| K (Kākayī) | K1: Xānaqīn, Mēxās, Qarāmīn, Malā Rāhmān, Dārā, Qaḷama, ‘Alī Bāpīr, Rāmazān, Tapa Čarmē, Ḥājī Mişafā; K2: Kirkūk (districts Ḥayy ‘Askarī, Usarā’ al-Mafqūdīn etc.); K3: around Tōpzāwa (center of the Kākayī), ‘Alī Sarāy, Ġarja Kōyī, Ma’tiq, Dāquq, Zaqaq; K4: near Arbīl: Sufaya, Wardak, Kabarlū, Tūlaban, Gazakān |
| Kn | Kandūla: three villages |
| Ř (Řōžbayānī) | Ř1: Furqān; Ř2: Čamčamāt; Ř3: Arbīl; Ř4: Kirkūk and Laylān (near Kirkūk) |
| Šb (Šabak) | Šabak villages near Al-Mawşil |
| ŠrB (Šaraf Bayānī) | villages around Bamō |
| Šx (Part of Šēxānī) | Šx1: villages near Qādir Karam: Qaşqa, Wēla, Šawak, etc.; Šx2: Kānī Māz, Taqtaq, Sē Girdkān, Qāmiš, (Kōya (Koy Sanjaq), Dukān) |
| Z (Zangana) | Z1: Qādir Karam; Z2: Bakragaḡa, Sipasar and many more (in Xānaqīn, Kalār, Kifri (between Kalār and Tūz Xurmātū), Arbīl and surrounding area and in the surroundings of Al-Mawşil); Z3: Tūz Xurmātū |

Besides these locations mentioned above and those on the map, it must be noted that there are also many individual Gūrānī speakers who live in other places, such as the larger cities and towns of Iran and Iraq, or in more distant places in Europe and North America.

It must also be noted that in past years as well as in more recent times, some of the locations of Gūrānī-speaking communities in Iraq have been changing in drastic ways. For example, in 1987 and 1988, there was massive displacement of populations and destruction of villages during the genocidal Anfal campaigns in 1987 and 1988 (see Human Rights Watch 1993; see also Leezenberg 1993, 1997). In more recent years, the minority communities of the Nineveh plains, including the Gūrānī-speaking Šabak and the Kākayī (and also the Yezidis, Christians, Turkmen, and many Kurdish and Arabic people), have suffered horrific losses and displacement in the campaigns of genocide by Daesh (ISIS). Many of the people from these communities are now displaced far from their traditional villages and homes (for example, see the report of UNAMI-OHCHR 2014).

1.3 Gūrānī: Numbers

An estimate of Gūrānī speakers in both western Iran and north-eastern Iraq as 200,000 to 300,000 is given in Paul (2007:285). A lower estimate of 150,000 speakers is given in Fuad (1970:XXIII). More precise figures are not yet available.

There are also some estimates for specific groups within Gūrānī. For Hawrāmī, or ‘the whole Avromani ethnic continuum’, Zolfaqari (2010:328) estimates a figure of 80,000 to 90,000; he also gives an estimate of about 50,000 for Avromani speakers in Iran and an estimate of 30,000 to 40,000 with 10,000 for the Avromans in Iraq. Other estimates for Hawrāmī are lower, with an approximate number of ‘perhaps 10,000 persons’ (MacKenzie 1987a:n.p.) as well as a figure of perhaps 20,000 speakers suggested in Blau (1989b:336).

Oberling (2002:n.p., with reference to Iranian sources) notes that an older report from 1952 estimates perhaps 18,000 individuals for the Gūrān tribe itself at that time.

For Šabakī (Shabaki), there is a wide range of estimates and more precise figures are not known. At the low end of the range is the estimate of perhaps 10,000 to 20,000 by Blau (1989b:336). Higher figures have been presented more recently, with estimates such as around 200,000 (Mizīrī 2005:129), 500,000 (Kakeyī 2008b:n.p.), and 250,000 to 400,000 (al-Lami 2014:n.p.). It is not clear if these estimates refer to actual speakers or more general ethnic affiliation.

1.4 Gūrānī: Names

The name ‘Gūrānī’ (or similar forms: Gurani, Gurānī, Gōrānī, Gorānī, Gorani) is found in many historical and linguistic works, though it is used with various types of reference.¹³ As mentioned above in Section 1.1, we use ‘Gūrānī’ in this study to refer to the language as a unity subsuming all the varieties in both Iran and Iraq. This general approach is based on tradition and history and includes its use as the older name for the literary language of the Ardalān court and of the sacred texts of the Yārsān. It is apparently no longer commonly used by local people to refer to the modern language (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:3) (but see further below for its local use in reference to ethnic and religious identity).

¹³ In the study of any language in the world, many complexities can appear in the area of names and identification (see Tuggy 2013). A particular name can be used in alternation with other names for a single variety, with the alternation depending on the source (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2013). A particular name may be used by members of a community to identify their own group or their language, while another name may be used by others who do not belong to the community. A particular name may be used in a context to distinguish the group from ‘others’ (see, for example, Edmonds 1957:141). The question of names of Gūrānī in particular has been noted, for example, by Minorsky (1943), Bruinessen (1992:109–115), Leezenberg (1993, 1997), and Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:2–3). Leezenberg (1993:7) explains: ‘nomenclature of this group (or these groups) of dialects is rather confusing, as are the precise relations between the ethnic groups speaking them. Western authors use ‘Gorani’ as a generic term for all of these dialects, but none of my informants [...] ever used it in that way [...]’. Leezenberg goes on to explain for the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan: ‘[...] locals indiscriminately use terms like ‘Gorani’ and ‘Hawrami’ as geographical, ethnic, linguistic, or even social labels’ (Leezenberg 1993:7).

This name, *Gūrānī*, is written here as it is pronounced in *Gawraǰū* itself and in the areas of Southern Kurdish in *Kermānšāh* province. This spelling (or a similar form) reflecting this pronunciation also appears in Mann & Hadank (1930) ('*Gūrānī*'), Minorsky (1943), Mahmoudveysi (2016), and Hooshmandrad (2004; 2014). As noted by Mahmoudveysi (2016:2), there is a variant pronunciation, '*Gorānī*', used in some *Sōrānī*-speaking areas of Kurdistan and *Hawrāmān*.

The shorter name, '*Gūrān*' (without *-ī*), also appears in this study with various types of reference. Most generally, it refers to the people who speak the language or who belong to the historical community. In other studies, however, it appears to be used in several different ways. In Minorsky (1943), it refers to the group or tribe (or federation, which at that time was composed of several clans, including some Kurdish ones), appearing on a map as located in the general area north-west of the city of *Kermānšāh*. Hooshmandrad (2004:10) writes that '*Gūrān* refers to a particular tribe with a number of other tribes and/or clans attached to it, and to the geographical region where they live' (also employing the terms of 'tribe', a translation of *il*, and 'clan', *tāyfa*, with careful definition). It is noted by Mahmoudveysi (2016:3; p.c.) that in *Kermānšāh* province, this name refers primarily to a distinct ethnic and religious identity rather than to a clan; the name also refers to a geographic area. Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini (p.c.), who is one of the religious leaders within the *Yārsān* community and grew up in the area, also confirms that this name is used for those who are *Yārsān* and follow the *Yārī* religion. Its use expresses a distinct identity. For example, people from *Gawraǰū* who are visiting another area or city would use this name to describe their own identity: 'We are *Gūrān*'. He also notes that *Gūrān* refers to a large area in western Iran.

The name *Gūrānī* is also used by the Iranian government in specific reference to an official district rural district according to the administrative divisions of Iran (see Wikipedia 2016, referring to the 2006 Census of the Islamic Republic of Iran). Nevertheless, as Hooshmandrad (2004:10) notes, this official designation based on geography does not represent 'the larger *Gūrān* tribe and their place of residence'.

In certain old historical records, the name '*Gurān*' appears to refer to a linguistic and social group, as in the *Sharafnāma* of 1597, a history of the Kurdish nation. In this important work, Prince Sharaf al-Dīn Bitlīsī used the name '*Gurān*' to refer to a group with 'its own tongue and customs' (al-Dīn Bitlīsī 2005:32) (see Section 1.8.1).

As already mentioned above, the name *Gūrānī* is found in reference to the language in the sacred texts of the *Yārsān* (Ahl-e Haqq) religious community as well as to the literary and court language of the *Ardalān* court from the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries (see Section 1.8.1) (see MacKenzie 2002:n.p.; Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:3). The literary language continues to be identified as *Gūrānī* in modern times by speakers of Southern Kurdish, who have memorized much of the poetry (Fattah 2000:69). In the current study, this language as

found in the older records of literature is termed ‘Literary Gūrānī’ and thus distinguished from the modern spoken varieties.¹⁴

A name often identified with Gūrānī is ‘Hawrāmī’ (or similar: Hawrāmānī, Hawramani, Howrāmī, Haurami, (H)ourāmī, Auramānī, Awrami). This name too can be used with various types of reference. In the current study, the name Hawrāmī is used to specifically refer to the speech of the regions of Pāwa (Pāveh) and Nawsūd, Iran, and also the Hawrāmān region in Iraq (including Halabǰa, Tawēḷa, and Xurmāl) (see also Leezenberg 1993:7; Mann & Hadank 1930).

This name Hawrāmī, though, is used differently, for example, in Iraqī Kurdistan. There, the name is commonly employed with a wider sense of reference to that which is linguistically Gūrānī (Leezenberg 1993:7). In western Iran as well, some Kurdish people also use this name with such a wide reference. Another name, ‘Kordī’ is also used in western Iran, though typically by Persian speakers with reference to both (linguistically) Gūrānī and Kurdish varieties (Parvin Mahmoudveysi, p.c.).

There are other alternate names for Gūrānī used by the local communities.¹⁵ One of these names used in Iraqī Kurdistan with a general reference is ‘Māčozwānī’ (according to one local speaker) (see Magin & Alī 2008b). The name ‘Māčo’ is often used with specific reference to the speech of people belonging to the Kākayī community (that is, the Yārsān in Iraq) (Leezenberg 1993:6).

The actual form of the name ‘Māčo’ is based on the Gūrānī verb, *māčo* ‘he/she/it says’.¹⁶ A similar name, ‘Māču’, is also noted by Benedictsens from his visit to western Iran in 1921 (Benedictsens & Christensen 1921:3). A reduplicated form, ‘Macho-Macho’ is noted as the name used ‘by the Kurds themselves’ by Edmonds in his observations about Gūrānī in Iraq and Persia in 1919–1925 (Edmonds 1957:10).

¹⁴ Most recent studies with detailed information about the older literary language of Gūrānī and its character and relationship to spoken varieties are notably Kreyenbroek & Chamanara (2013) and Mahmoudveysi (2016). (Another published study is Chaman Ara 2015, though I have not yet been able to read it.) Earlier research is found in Minorsky (1943:89) and MacKenzie (1965).

¹⁵ An example of a specific name in one local community is that used by outsiders in reference to Gūrānī as spoken in Xānaqīn. This name is ‘Aǰā-aǰā’, which is based on the common Gūrānī preposition *aǰā* ‘for’ (Parvin Mahmoudveysi, p.c.).

¹⁶ The name is the same as Hawrāmī *māčo*; for this person-number ending, see MacKenzie (1966:33); see also the verb in Zardayāna: *māčo* (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:80); but Gawraǰūyī: *mwāy* (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:23).

Table 1 below presents the different spellings of the names that are associated in some way with Gūrānī in scholarly studies and in the current work (details about the reference of each name in terms of linguistic variation or region, social or tribal affiliation are not given here).

Table 1. Names associated with Gūrānī and variant spellings in scholarly works

| Spelling in this work | Source, comments, and spellings in other works |
|-----------------------|---|
| Bājaḥānī | MacKenzie (1956; 2002), and Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012); Bājalānī, in Mann & Hadank (1930); Bājalānī, Bājorān, Bējwān, Arabic: Bājwān, in Blau (1989b); Bējwān (villages), in MacKenzie (2002); sometimes identified with Šabak, in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:7). |
| Bēwyānī | Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:6). |
| Bîwānîjî | Mann & Hadank (1930). |
| Gawraĵūyî | Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012). |
| Gūrānī or Gōrānī | Gōrānī, in MacKenzie (1966), Fuad (1970), Nebez (2002/2003), Paul (2007); Gûrānī, Gurānī, in Mann & Hadank (1930); Gūrānī, in Minorsky (1943); Gurani, in Minorsky (1945); Gurāni, in Fattah (2000); Gorani, in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012); Gorani, Gōrānī, Gurani, in Windfuhr (2009c); Gorani, Gōrānī, in Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013); Gūrānī, in Hooshmandrad (2004; 2014); Gūrānī, in Mahmoudveysi (2016). |
| Hawrāmī | MacKenzie (1966; 2002); Auramānī, in Mann & Hadank (1930); Avromānī, in MacKenzie (1987b; 2002), Tedesco (1921); (H)ourāmī, in Paul (2007). |
| Kākayī | Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:6); Kakaï, in Blau (1989b); Kakai, in Leezenberg (1993). |
| Kandūlayī | Kandūla (villages), in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:6); Kändülāi, in Mann & Hadank (1930); Kandūlai, in MacKenzie (2002). |
| Māčo | Used by local people in Iraqi Kurdistan as collective term; also specifically for Kākayī, in Leezenberg (1993:6); Māču, in Benedictsens & Christensen (1921). |
| Riĵābī | Riĵābī, in Mann & Hadank (1930). |
| Roshkakai | Roshkakai, in Leezenberg (1993). |
| Řožbayānī | Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:7). |
| Sārli | Şārli, in MacKenzie (1956); Sarliyya, Sarlî, in Blau (1989b); Sarlî, Sarlû, in Leezenberg (1993). |

| Spelling in this work | Source, comments, and spellings in other works |
|-----------------------|--|
| Sayyidī | Säyyidî, Sayyidânâ, in Mann & Hadank (1930). ¹⁷ |
| Šabak | Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:7); Šabak, in MacKenzie (1956); Chabak, in Blau (1989b); Shabak, in Leezenberg (1993). |
| Šaraf Bayānī | Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:7). |
| Šēxānī | Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:7). |
| Zardayāna | Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013); Zārdāi, in Mann & Hadank (1930); Zarde'ī, in Paul (2007). |
| Zangana | Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:7); Zengana (Leezenberg 1993). |

1.5 Gawraǰūyī: Names

The name *gawraǰūyī* ‘Gawraǰūyī’ is used by local people from outside the village, including Kurdish and Persian speakers, to refer to the speech of people from Gawraǰū village. A similar variant, *gawraǰūbī* ‘Gawraǰūbī’, is used mostly by Persian speakers.

The name *gawraǰūyāna* ‘Gawraǰūyāna’, an adjectival form, is commonly used by the people themselves to refer to their own speech; the name *kurdī gawraǰūyāna* ‘Gawraǰūyāna Kurdish’ may also be used, while *gūrānī* ‘Gūrānī’ is not used for the language (Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini, p.c.). (For descriptive purposes in the current study, the use of *gawraǰūyāna* may have been preferable for the reason that it is used by the speakers themselves, but the name *gawraǰūyī* was used especially to maintain continuity with its use in Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012.)¹⁸

The name *kurdī* ‘Kurdish’ is also used by these same speakers to refer to that which is also known to outsiders as Kurdish and spoken in the wider community outside of Gawraǰū (for example, see text material in Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:157).

In the general area of west Iran, people may refer to the various languages of the region as *kurdī gūrānī*, *kurdī hawrāmī*, and *kurdī kalhorī* (Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini, p.c.).

¹⁷ For notes on this name, see Section 16.1.6 .

¹⁸ According to the author of Zemkanema (n.d.:n.p.), there is another name used by local people living in the area, which is the reduplicated form *mwāy-mwāy*, literally, ‘he/she says-he/she says’ (with the verb form as it appears in Gawraǰūyī). (Use of this form needs further study.)

1.6 Gawraǰūyī: Location, numbers, and situation

In terms of administrative organization, Gawraǰū belongs to the Gūrānī Rural District (Persian: دهستان *dehestān*) of the Gahvāre (Gahvāreh) District (بخش *bakhs*) in Dālahū County (شهرستان *šahrestān*), located in the western part of Kermānšāh province (استان *ostān*) in western Iran.¹⁹

Gawraǰūyī is spoken within the larger Gūrānī speech zone. The village of Gawraǰū is situated at the most southern point and at the eastern edge of this speech zone, with only the small Gūrānī-speaking population of Kandūle located further east (see map in Section 1.2.1). In relationship to the most important centers of the Yārsān, Gawraǰū is situated about ten kilometers to the west and slightly south-west of the larger town of Gahvāre, and about six to eight kilometers south of the village of Tūtšāmī. The location of Gawraǰū can also be described as perhaps seven or eight kilometers (in a direct line) to the north-east of Kerend.

Gawraǰū is actually a village complex, composed of the main village and four small settlements (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:1).²⁰ The main village is officially named Gawraǰūb Morādbeyg (Persian: گوراجوب مرادیگ), also transliterated as Gura Jub-e Morad Beyg. It is referred to by local people as Gawraǰū Mourāwa or simply as Gawraǰū; when local people want to refer specifically to that village, thus distinguishing it from the smaller settlements, they use the name Gawraǰū Gawrā ‘Big Gawraǰū’ (Zemkanema n.d.:n.p.). The village has a health center, a telephone center, a post office, a primary school, and an intermediate school (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:145).

The four smaller settlements in the vicinity of Gawraǰū Morādbeyg are named Gawraǰūb Qešlāq (Persian: گوراجوب قشلاق), Gawraǰūb Bābā Karam (گوراجوب باباکرم), Gawraǰūb Zeyd Alī (گوراجوب زیدعلی), and Safar Šāh (صفرشاه).

Precise figures for the current populations are not available. Before people moved out of the village, there were perhaps eighty-five families living there, perhaps 400–500 people. Most of these families left in the last seven to eight years in anticipation of the flooding of the village by the construction of a dam on the local river, the Zimkān. It is estimated that by 2014, no-one was living in the village any longer (remaining that way also in 2016). (These details as well as the following are understood from personal communication with Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini.)

¹⁹ For the terms and areas, see Wikipedia (2014a; 2014b; 2015a).

²⁰ For some statistics on each village and links to the 2006 Census of the Islamic Republic of Iran, see Wikipedia (2015b; 2015c; 2015d; 2015e; 2015f).

Many families moved to Gahvāre, Kerend, Kermānšāh, and Sar Pol-e Zahāb, while others moved to the cities of Sāveh, Karaǰ, and Tehrān. A number of families also moved to Tūtšāmī, the religious center of the Yārsān and the home village of the Yārsān leadership.

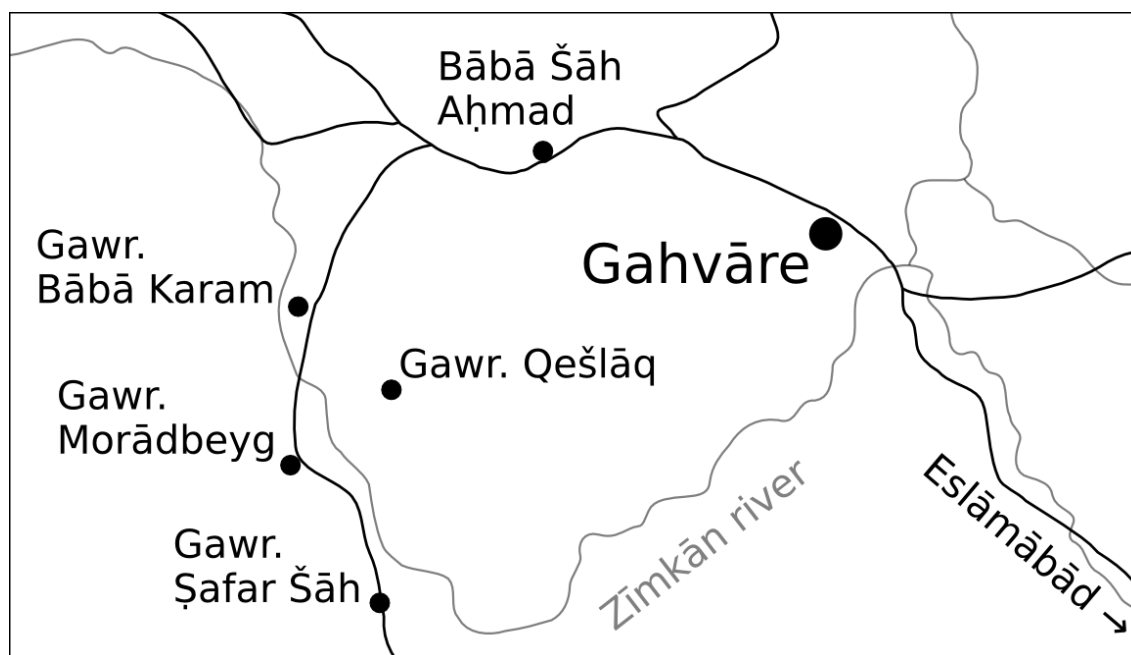
The Gawraǰū families, with the help of the leader of the Yārsān, Seyed Nasredin Haidari, and of the government, have made plans to construct homes at a new site and build a village to replace Gawraǰū. A suitable location has been chosen between Gawraǰū and Gahvāre, in an area with farmland and hills. It is also considered to be a holy place, and a Yārsān leader is buried there. The site is near a very old and large sacred tree, hence the name, Dāre Sayī Darwiš. Land has been allotted to the families, but no homes have yet been constructed.

The number of actual speakers of Gawraǰūyī is also unknown and must be considered in light of the new situations for the families and their different locations away from the village. As noted in 2016 by Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini (p.c.), it is mainly the members of the older generations who are actively using Gawraǰūyī in daily life with each other. The younger people tend to use Kurdish, depending on what is mainly spoken in their new locations, for example, in Gahvāre or in Kermānšāh. The children seem to be using Persian more and more, which could perhaps be due to the influence in schools. It is estimated that now perhaps only 200–300 people are using Gawraǰūyī. (See Section 15.5.2 for comments about revitalization.)

1.6.1 Map of the Gawraǰū region

The following map shows the village complex and region of Gawraǰū.^{21 22}

Map 2. The Gawraǰū region



1.7 Gawraǰūyī: Environment, economy, and material culture

Gawraǰū is situated in a valley surrounded by rolling hills and some steeper, rocky plateaus. The hills are covered with oak trees and shrubs, and the valley is filled with tall poplar-type trees. There are also cultivated orchards with rows of fruit trees.²³

The valley is distinguished by the Zimkān River, which plays an important role in the culture and economy of the area. The Zimkān River is the basis for the name of Gawraǰū, as the compound *gawra jū(b)* ‘big canal’, while the names of the smaller settlements are based on names of tribes (*Zemkanema* n.d.:n.p.). The Zimkān River begins with sources in and around Tušāmī (or Tutšāmī), the nearby village that is regarded as sacred and the religious center of Gūrān (see Hooshmandrad 2004:11). The Zimkān River then empties into the Sīrwān

²¹ This map of the Gawraǰū region originally appeared on page 7 of Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012). It is reproduced here with permission from Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag. (Note: The name written in this map as ‘Zimkān’ should be corrected to ‘Zimkān’.)

²² There is also an online map (<http://mapcarta.com/12396092>) that shows the settlement of Zeyd Ali.

²³ Observations here are based on photographs of the village taken in fieldwork by Parvin Mahmoudveysi.

River.²⁴ The Zimkān River provides water to all the gardens and orchards of the villages of Gawraǰū area (Zemkanema n.d.:n.p.). There is also a large spring of water in the center of Gawraǰū village, named the *sarāw gawraǰū*.

As already mentioned, this river is in the process of being blocked by a dam that is in various phases of construction. The dam's use begins in 2016. The construction of this dam has been a major factor in motivating many people to leave the area in anticipation of the flooding of the valley and the village area. As of May 2016, all the people had left their houses in Gawraǰū village. There are plans, though, for the construction of new homes in a nearby location to replace Gawraǰū village (see Section 1.6) (observations above from Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini, p.c.).

Traditionally, the people of Gawraǰū live from various means. They mainly depend on agriculture and spend the year in the seasonal work of sowing, tending, and harvesting produce from field crops, gardens of vegetables, orchards, and vineyards. The types of field crops in the area especially include wheat and legumes, while types of vegetables include tomatoes, peppers, and squash. Fruit and nut trees include pomegranates and walnuts.

Gawraǰū is particularly renowned throughout the region for its production of high quality apples with a delicious flavor. It is also known for gum made from the sap of wild pistachio trees. Such results of expert gardening bring to mind the earlier observation of Minorsky (1945:79): 'the Guran and cognate tribes are excellent gardeners and agriculturists generally, a fact which points to an ancient cultural tradition'.

The people of the village also raise and tend livestock, such as dairy cattle, sheep, goats, and poultry. They keep dogs for shepherding and donkeys for carrying loads. In the past, there was a tannery, and people worked in the processing and production of leather goods, an industry for which the village became a regional center. The village was also known as a place for the production of wool, baskets, and as a source of medicinal plants.

Many women participate in the work of gardening and the care of livestock. Some also spend time doing embroidery and sewing. Other activities involve food preparation, such as drying various kinds of fruits, making tomato paste, churning butter, making yogurt and drying it, and baking bread.

Gawraǰū village is known as a center of highly skilled woodworkers. Their work has given Gawraǰū a high reputation for the design, construction, and production of particular items for agricultural and other cultural uses. The woodworkers are famed for their specialized tools

²⁴ Rawlinson (1839:29) writes about the Zimkān River ('Chami zamakán'), 'which rises near Gahwárah, in the heart of the Gúrān country', and mentions that it flows into the Shírwán river before that river enters the plain of Semírán.

used in gardening and field and orchard cultivation. Gawraǰū woodworkers are particularly renowned as experts in the construction of the lute-like stringed instrument, the *tamūra*, which has a highly significant and sacred status in the Yārsān tradition (see Hooshmandrad 2014:51). Some of the most gifted and distinguished musicians specializing in this instrument in Iran and in the entire world live in or grew up in the general area. Thus, Gawraǰū village has special cultural importance in the area in terms of religion, local industry, and agriculture.²⁵

1.8 History

1.8.1 Gūrānī: Migration and historical background

Our picture of the historical background of the people who speak Gūrānī varieties is still incomplete. The information presented in this section is limited to summaries from published works documenting the name and possible early migrations and locations of a group identified as the Gūrān (mainly with reference to Minorsky 1943 and Mann & Hadank 1930, and also to Bruinessen 1992).²⁶ A few observations are also made regarding language material and historical change (with particular reference to MacKenzie 1961 and Paul 2007).

Modern Iranian languages, a group of which Gūrānī is a member, can be traced to a much earlier stage of language spoken in the latter part of the third to the early second millennium BCE (Skjærvø 2006:n.p.). The language at this early stage is discussed as Proto-Indo-Iranian and includes the predecessors of Iranian and Indic languages. As described by Windfuhr (2009c:5), it is believed that Proto-Indo-Iranians first lived in the steppes of Europe and then later moved on to the Ural steppes and the Volga, finally migrating by possibly about 2200

²⁵ Many details of daily work are found in especially Text 7 in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:142–163), or have been noted by Parvin Mahmoudveysi (p.c.) and Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini (p.c.).

²⁶ A discussion of names and possible confusion in relation to Gūrānī is found in Bruinessen (1992:110–112). There are difficulties with names in historical records just as there are with the study of names in modern times. It is not clear if the name Gūrān refers to a particular people group who also speak a particular language, or if the name refers to the ancestors of the group with the same name in later centuries.

BCE to Central Asia.²⁷ It is assumed that by this time a process of divergence had taken place, with the single group splitting into the ‘Proto-Iranians’ and ‘Proto-Indo-Aryans’.²⁸

Then, beginning in stages approaching the end of the second millennium BCE and into the first half of the first millennium BCE, the Iranians eventually moved from Central Asia to various locations on the Iranian plateau.²⁹ The actual routes by which the Iranians migrated are still unknown, though studies suggest they could have moved through the Caucasus or south of the Caspian Sea (Sims-Williams 1998:127).

Many details of the migration and settlement of the Iranian tribes in this long period of time are not yet apparent. In the period beginning from the ninth century BCE, however, more evidence can be found to support the theory that Iranians were living in the Zagros mountain range. Scholars note that the Medes and the Persians are first mentioned by name in writings of the Assyrians (Windfuhr 2009c:6).³⁰

The Iranian people who spoke a predecessor of Gūrānī are assumed to have participated in similar types of migrations into the Zagros, but the routes and earlier locations are unknown. It is hypothesized that, before their arrival into the Zagros, people of the Gūrānī group were living in the Caspian provinces and subsequently in other locations further south.

Caspian provinces

The Caspian provinces of northern Iran as the earlier location of the Gūrān have been suggested by scholars such as MacKenzie (2002:n.p.):

²⁷ See also Schmitt (1989b:25), who notes the steppes of east Iran and Central Asia (Sogdia, Kharezmia, and Bactria, and northern regions) as the probable location for the Indo-Iranian group. Sims-Williams (1998:127) notes that the location is thought to have been in the western part of Central Asia, to the east and north-east of the Caspian Sea. Skjærvø (2009a:43) notes that the location may have been south and south-east of the Aral Sea.

²⁸ As described by Windfuhr (2009c:5), who notes the ‘Proto-Iranians in the north, and the Proto-Indo-Aryans in the south’, and also Sims-Williams (1998:127), who notes the two groups as different ‘to some extent’.

²⁹ See Windfuhr (2009c:6) for the spread of Iranians to the Iranian plateau to begin at the ‘end of the second millennium’ (BCE). Schmitt (1989b:25) notes that the broad migration of the Iranian tribes to large areas of the Near East and Middle East took place in the early half of the first millennium (BCE).

³⁰ Sims-Williams (1998:127) also notes the evidence for Iranian tribes in the area as words of Iranian origin existing in written records of other languages of the area. Schmitt (1989b:25) also mentions the evidence in the existence of Assyrian and Babylonian records that also contain some Iranian names of people and geography, beginning by the early ninth century BCE.

The cradle of all Gurāni dialects (as of the closely related Zaza, or Dimlī [q.v.], dialects), was probably in the Caspian provinces. From there their speakers migrated en bloc to the southern Zagros at an unknown early date, and the Iraqi group after them to their present positions.

The idea of an earlier location in the Caspian area is also a theme in an Aoramani (Hawrāmī) oral tradition, noted by Soane (2007:377, reprint of 1912):³¹

According to their legend, Darius the Mede expelled the original Aoram from his native place near Demavend, in northern Persia, and he fled with his brother Kandul to Media, finding in the recesses of these mountains a refuge. Here he established himself and founded the Aorami tribe.

More support for an earlier location in the Caspian region for Gūrānī is also found in the existence of certain toponyms in the area in which the Gūrānī speakers presently live, as described by Minorsky (1943:86–87). The name of ‘Gīlān’, a Caspian region, is also the name given to a river flowing in the Alvand. A similar name, ‘Kānī-Gīlān’, is given to a tributary of the river Gāverū. These names also have a long use in history. In a written record of the fourteenth century, the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, the Gūrān area of Dartang (Rijāb) is called *Gīl-i Gīlān. It is also possible to note other similar names on a current map, such as ‘Gilan-e Gharb’ (west of Kerend).

The theory of the migration of the Gūrān from the Caspian can also be supported by the association of Gūrānī with Dimilī (or: Dimlī, Zazaki, Zaza), presently located in eastern Turkey. It has been suggested that this name can be traced to their earlier location in the southern Caspian mountains, in the area of Dailemī (noted by F. C. Andreas, mentioned in Mann & Hadank 1930:18). Some scholars suggest that the Dimilī (Zazaki) people migrated in several movements to the areas of their present-day location from Gīlān in the tenth to twelfth centuries CE (Asatrian 1995:n.p.).³²

Gūrānī and Dimilī (Zazaki), as members of the North-West Iranian group, also share some features in grammar and lexicon, which might indicate a relatively close genetic linguistic

³¹ This note by Soane is also referred to by Mann & Hadank (1930:5, 17), Minorsky (1943:86–87), and by Fuad (1970:XXI). Soane (2007:377, reprint of original 1912) also notes that the Aoraman rulers claimed to be descended from ‘Rustam, the Persian national hero’.

³² See Minorsky (1943:81), who notes that the middle of the tenth century, for example, is considered a period of Renaissance in Iranian history and involved the Iranian Daylamite dynasty of the Būyids and its influence in other areas such as Kurdistan.

relationship, with descent from a common ancestor language.³³ If this is the case, then the next question to be addressed has to do with the migration of the Gūrān further south into the Zagros mountain range.^{34 35}

Southwards

No written records are available, however, that contain an explicit reference to the Gūrān actually situated within the Caspian area. Instead, the oldest records that contain a possible mention of the Gūrān refer to locations further south of the Caspian, that is, relatively near the locations in which they live today. The records are dated in the pre-Islamic period and refer to the existence of a group with a similar name as Gūrānī in particular locations.

The historical background in this section is summarized from the detailed account by Minorsky (1943), with other sources noted where relevant.

The oldest record is found in the *Geographica*, a survey of the geography of the ancient world by the Greek geographer Strabo, who was born probably ‘not later than 54 BC’ (Hamilton & Falconer 1903).³⁶ In Book 11, Chapter 14, Section 14, there is a brief mention of the name ‘Gouranii’ conjoined with a reference to the Medes, as in the last sentence of the following (English translation by Jones 1924):³⁷

It is also said of certain of the Aenianes that some of them took up their abode in Vitia and others above the Armenians beyond the Abus and the Nibarus. These two mountains are parts of the Taurus, and of these the Abus is near the road that leads into Ecbatana past the temple of Baris. It is also said that certain

³³ There is still an open question of determining the common ancestor language and defining its relationship to Gūrānī and Zazaki. The common ancestor could have been limited to Gūrānī and Zazaki or it could have been the predecessor of other languages as well, at possibly an earlier stage (Geoffrey Haig, p.c.).

³⁴ In his linguistic study on the origins of Kurdish, MacKenzie (1961:86) suggests a hypothesis that the Gūrān (‘Goran’) moved into the southern Zagros and the general area, and then the Kurds moved into the same area from the north.

³⁵ See Paul (1998b:174–175) for some possible scenarios of the stages of migration involving the tribes of Kurds, Balūčī, Zaza, and Gūrān.

³⁶ This approximate date of birth is suggested in the Preface to *The Geography of Strabo* by Hamilton & Falconer (1903). It is also noted there that others argue that the year of Strabo’s birth was 66 BCE and the year of his death was CE 24.

³⁷ This reference in Strabo is noted by Mann & Hadank (1930:4), who also point out that several others have also indicated this reference in Strabo. In this passage, Mann & Hadank also consider that the juxtaposition of this name next to Medes as an argument that they are not actually the same group.

of the Thracians, those called “Saraparae,” that is “Decapitators,” took up their abode beyond Armenia near the Guranii and the Medes [πλησίον Γουρανίων καὶ Μήδων] [...]³⁸

In the context of this passage, there is no further mention of the location, other than beyond Armenia and close to the Medes. But Minorsky (1943:79–80) traces the details of a possible correction of the name ‘Saraparae’, connecting it with ‘Shirak’, and thus possibly with ‘Nor-Shirakan’, a name that referred to part of the southern Armenian kingdom near Nineveh and Arbīl, which is not far from the modern territory of the Gūrān in western Iran and eastern Iraq.

Another reference to the possible ancestors of the Gūrān connects them to an unspecified location associated with the Sasanian Empire. Minorsky notes a reference to the name ‘Kūrān-shāh’, posited though unattested as *Gūrān(-shāh), the son of Khusrau II, a king of the later period of the Sasanians, ruling from CE 590–628. This name is significant because names as titles at that time could be formed from a compound with the first element as the territory of a particular ruler (Minorsky 1943:80).

Later Arabic records of the ninth century contain references to the Gūrān, that is, if the Arabic name ‘Jābār.qa’ (and variants) are connected with the Gūrān, as assumed by Minorsky (1943:80–81).³⁹

For example, the Arab geographer, Ibn Khurdādhbih, mentions the district Ḥulwān with the populations of the Jābār.qa and the Kurds. The name Ḥulwān is also known as the Alvand, a river which is in the modern region of the Gūrān, near Sar Pol-e Zohāb.

Other ninth century records refer to the Gūrān in Media and also near Hamadān. In the records of the Arab geographer Mas‘ūdī, the name Jābār.qa is found in a list of Kurdish tribes of Media. A further record of a possible variant name appears in a description of an area near Hamadān, the salt lake of Farāhān, in which the author states that ‘Kurds and *Jābāraq export

³⁸ The Greek text here is found in Strabo (1877, version edited by A. Meineke).

³⁹ In these records, the reference to the Gūrān is based on Minorsky’s assumption of a possible older form as Arabic ‘Jābār.qa’, with variants ‘Kābār.ka’ (*Gābār.ka’). Minorsky notes it is not clear if this is a proper name or has literal meaning as Persian ‘gāubāra’, which is glossed as ‘ox-’ or ‘bull-rider’. In a further section of his article, Minorsky (1943:86) notes the connection of this name with Farīdūn, the Persian hero. (In a subsequent article, Minorsky 1945:79 spells the name as ‘Jābāriqa’.)

Fuad (1970:xxii) points out that ‘Gōrān’ also appears with the meaning ‘gabrān’, which can be translated (in Persian) as ‘Zoroastrian’ or ‘unbeliever’. Fuad cites a very old, though undated, manuscript of an epic in Gūrānī verse (written by a Gūrānī poet), in which the word ‘gōrān’ is used with this meaning of ‘gabrān’ (Fuad 1970:3).

the salt to every destination in Media’ (see Minorsky 1943:80 for these and further sources). In Arabic written records of the tenth and eleventh centuries, there are further references to the Gūrān by the name of ‘Jwrqan’ (*Jauraqān), associating them with Kurds and the general area (see Minorsky 1943:81–82).

There are also a number of key references to this name (and similar variants) in other eleventh century records of the rulers of territories in the vicinity. An especially significant record dates from the twelfth century, in which certain events recorded in a historical account from the previous century are retold by an author from the area west of Hamadān. The author then replaces the name in the original account, *Jawraqān, with ‘Gūrānān’ throughout his retelling (Minorsky 1943:82). In this record, several details are also noted about geographical landmarks and traditional material culture that could point to the Gūrān and an origin in the north-west Iran regions of the Caspian, such as the Gūrān use of the javelin, a weapon associated with people from Daylam in the Caspian regions.

In the fourteenth century, yet another noteworthy record exists with a possible variant name of the Gūrān, as people residing in the same general area in which they also live in modern times. This record is found in the work of an Egyptian author, Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Omari, who described Kurdish tribes (Oberling 2002:n.p., referring to Minorsky 1943 and to Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Omari’s work as Lech 1968). The Egyptian author states: ‘In the mountains of Hamadān and Shahrazur one finds a nation of Kurds named the ‘al-Kurāniya’ (Minorsky 1943:84, my translation). He further notes that this group consists of ‘soldiers and farmers’, with more than 5,000 men, living in Derteng (or Dartang, equated with Rījāb), an area also noted as early as 1258 CE in historical records.

Dartang/Rījāb is considered one of main areas of the Gūrān territory, along with another center, Darna, located ‘on the eastern side of the Dālahū in the Zimkān valley’ (Minorsky 1943:84). This location also corresponds to the area in which Gawraǰū village is presently located. Minorsky notes that this mention of another center likely refers to the location of an eastern branch of the Gūrān. Minorsky treats this record from the fourteenth century as especially important in that it confirms that the Gūrān were living in the same general area in which they live in modern times. He also notes that they ‘must have lived there for centuries before that date’.

Edmonds (1957:153) also notes a tradition among the Hawraman Begzada ruling families in which they trace their ancestry to a prince, Tahmurath of the Kayani dynasty of Persia, who was made governor of Hawraman after the death of Alexander (the Great). It is also maintained that the role of governor has remained within the family since then, with the exception of one period in the 1600s.

The Ardalān principality

In the fourteenth century, the Gūrān became associated with the Ardalān tribe (or Banī Ardalān), which ruled over an important Kurdish principality in the area for five centuries. As summarized by Oberling (1988b), the earliest leader of the tribe was Bābā Ardalān, who was a descendent of the ruling Marwān family of Diyarbekir. Bābā Ardalān's association with the Gūrān began with his move to the eastern region of Šahr-e Zūr (Sharazur), where he lived among the Gūrān and became the ruler, eventually setting up his capital at Senna (Sina, Sanandaĵ).

The Ardalān principality ruled over a large region in which their own tribe (Banī Ardalān) lived as well as the Kurdish tribes of the Jāf, the Kalhor, the Mandamī, and the Shaikh Esmā'īlī (Oberling 1988b:n.p., citing Rich 1836:217). The Ardalān rulers adopted Gūrānī as the court and literary language, and it was recognized as such among the Kurdish population in the area extending from the Lower Zāb River to Kermānšāh (Fuad 1970:XXI). Gūrānī remained in this prestigious role from the fourteenth until the nineteenth century (MacKenzie 2002:n.p.). During these centuries, many literary works were produced and still exist today as permanent records of the language. Manuscripts of many of these works are catalogued in Fuad (1970) (for further information, see also Mahmoudveysi 2016).

During this period after the fourteenth century, there are also references to Gūrān in further historical records. In an early reference, 'Gurān' as a name for a group with linguistic and cultural distinction appears in a history of the Kurdish nation, the Sharafnāma (Šaraf-nāma), from 1597, by the Prince Sharaf al-Dīn Bitlīsī (Bedlīsī) (English translation in al-Dīn Bitlīsī (2005:32):

The Kurdish nation divides into four branches, each with its own different tongue and customs. First is the Kurmānj, second the Lur, third the Kalhur, and fourth the Gurān.

This mention indicates a popular awareness of the association of Gūrānī with the Kurdish nation, though a more precise description of the name is not given (see Minorsky 1943:84–85 for details and qualifications).

In the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries, the Gūrān are documented as residing in the area of the Zagros mountain range, specifically, in the region of Hawromān (as described in Mann & Hadank 1930:5–10). Many travelers note their encounters with a group of people distinguished especially by their distinct language and by their clothing, in particular, an unusual type of headdress, which consisted of a white hat worn close to the head, tapered at the top, and with its sides as bands hanging down below the ears.

The location of the Gūrān in other areas near the Zagros are also reported by other observers such as Rawlinson, a major in the British army who led a regiment of Gūrān

(‘Gūrān’) and documented their 1836 march from Zohāb to Kermānšāh. He describes the situation of the Zohāb district (Sar Pol-e Zahāb), and the economy of the farmlands (Rawlinson 1839:27):

[...] the great proportion of the cultivation is in the hands of the Gūrān Iʿliyāt, who, after sowing their grain in the spring, move up to their summer pastures among the mountains.

Rawlinson also visited the village of Zarda (‘Zardah’), in its location near Zohāb, and describes the ruins of the fortress later noted by Oskar Mann. Rawlinson regarded the fortress and ruins as belonging to the time of the last Sasanian king, Yezdijird (spelled in other sources as Yazdegerd), who retreated there after the Arabs captured Ctesiphon (Rawlinson 1839:32, see also Shahbazi 2005:n.p.). Rawlinson (1839:34) further describes the village of Rijāb (‘Ríjáb’) and that it belongs to the Gūrān (‘Gūrān’) chief.

Such records throughout the centuries thus provide written evidence supporting the existence of the Gūrān as a group in the general area and the close association with their neighbors.

Questions of further migration and relationship to other populations

It is not yet clear if the Gūrān subsequently migrated to particular areas or if they existed as a single large group in a widespread area until shifting to the use of other languages spoken by incoming populations, with only some smaller groups maintaining use of Gūrānī. Scholars suggest various scenarios, with a common view that the Gūrān may have been an earlier settled and non-nomadic population (see Mann & Hadank 1930:14, also referring to F. C. Andreas in Benedictsen & Christensen 1921:8). It is also proposed by MacKenzie (1961:86) that many of the Gūrān (‘Goran’), an earlier arrival to the area of the southern Zagros, could have been absorbed into larger Kurdish groups, further noted by MacKenzie below (2002:n.p.):

The dialects were presumably once much more widely spoken, but many Gurāni-speaking areas were subsequently overrun by Kurdish speakers, leading to a merging of the two languages evident from the differences between the archaic Northern and the Gurāni-influenced Central Kurdish dialects.

The general picture of many Gūrān areas presented by MacKenzie might be supported by the character of the modern Gūrānī communities. The communities consist primarily of relatively small speech zones that are isolated from one another, rather than forming a single contiguous speech zone. The communities are found throughout a very wide area stretching from east of Mosul (Šabak, Bāǰaḩānī), to the vicinity of Xānaqīn (Kākayī, Bāǰaḩānī), to the south and east of Sulaimaniyah (Hawrāmī) and further east to Gahvāre (see map in

Section 1.2). It is possible that the Gūrānī communities were previously more unified (Paul 2007:285; Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:3).

It is also possible, however, that some of the small speech zones could represent independent migrations from a central location to other areas. Mann & Hadank (1930:14, citing Mann 1908:839) note that such a migration occurred for Gūrān who eventually moved to higher mountain valleys as a reaction to the Kurdish nomadic groups who came through.

An example might be observed in the case of the Gūrānī-speaking Bājaṭān. For example, Minorsky (1943:85) (referring to various sources) notes a group of the Gūrān tribe in Northern Luristan, and discusses movements in the early 1600s when the ‘Bājilān’ were transferred by a particular sultan from Mosul to the Zohāb region to control other tribes such as the Kalhur. Rawlinson (1839:107, also cited in Oberling 1988a:n.p.) lists the ‘Bājilān’ with summer quarters in Huiú and winter quarters in the plains of Sús and beyond Kerkhah and Deh Lurán, and describes them as refugees from Mosul in the 1700s.

There are many more questions about the history of Gūrānī communities and the identity of the speakers in modern society, but these remain as topics for research by others.

1.8.2 Gawraǰūyī

The local history of Gawraǰūyī has not been recorded, but some information is known about historical aspects of the community relating to the nearby town of Gahvāre (Gahwāre). As mentioned above in Section 1.6, Gahvāre is located about ten kilometers from Gawraǰū. The Zimkān River flows through both these communities. The town Gahvāre is especially known as the center of the Yārsān (also known as Ahl-e Haqq) community.

At the time of Oskar Mann’s visit in 1902 and earlier, it was recognized as the main center of the Gūrān, and according to Rawlinson (1836:29), it was located in ‘in the heart of Gúrān country’ and also ‘the residence of the residence of the Gúrān chief’ (1839:35). The name ‘Gahvāra’ is also included in a list of historical names of clans by Oberling (2002:n.p.).

Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini from Gahvāre (p.c., 2010), describes the village of Gawraǰū as historically playing a very important role in the life of the regional Yārsān community (for this community, see next section). The leaders traditionally lived in the nearby town of Gahvāre, while the group of the *kākī* ‘Kākī’, also termed *xādim* ‘Xādim’, lived in Gawraǰū. The Kākī are those members of the community who have particular responsibilities in the *ǰam*, or traditional meeting of the Yārsān. These responsibilities especially involve bringing water and the food needed for the meetings. The people of Gawraǰū were therefore closely connected with a particular type of work and tradition of the Yārsān.

There are also linguistic clues about Gūrānī variation in this village area that suggest an earlier history of migration. Gawraǰūyī may have had a period of contact with a group

speaking another North-West Iranian language distinct from Gūrānī or Kurdish. Paul (2007:293) points out that there are a number of lexical items present in Gawraǰūyī but not attested in other Gūrānī varieties: *detá* ‘daughter’; *wāzī* ‘game, play’; *key* ‘house’; and *īštān* ‘self’. The words are found, however, in other ‘Central Dialects’, which are North-West Iranian dialects from the Central Northern high plateau, spoken between Tehran, Isfahān, Yazd, and Hamadān, in the center of Persia, in what is historically the ‘area of ancient Media Major’ (Windfuhr 1991:n.p.; see also Stilo 2007 for defining features of these dialects). Paul (2007:293) presents the following words: Āštiyānī *wāzī* ‘game, play’, *deta* ‘daughter’; and Vafsī *īštān* (reflexive). Gawraǰūyī vocabulary also includes *key* ‘house’, to be compared to Zazaki *ke(y)*, while, as Paul notes, all other dialects have *yāna* ‘house’. (For further comparison of selected lexical items, see Table 91 and Table 115.)

As Paul suggests, such correspondences could be evidence that at some point in history, Gawraǰūyī was in contact with a North-West Iranian dialect that was closely related neither to Kurdish nor to Gūrānī. The circumstances of this language contact are a matter for future research.

1.9 Religion

1.9.1 Gūrānī and religious traditions

Gūrānī speakers follow various religious traditions. The main tradition is that of the Yārsān (Yāresān, Yāristān), or the Yārī religion, which are the names used in Iran, though it is also referred to as Ahl-e Haqq, in general. In Iraq, members of the Yārsān community are known as Kākayī. In Iran, as mentioned earlier, Gūrānī-speaking members of this community live in Gawraǰū, near Gahvāre, and in Zarda, near Sar Pol-e Zohāb. The Gūrānī Yārsān area can be characterized as located south of a range of mountains setting it apart from the Hawrāmān region (Paul 2007:287).

The Ahl-e Haqq also live in other locations and include people who do not speak Gūrānī varieties or who are also multilingual (see Section 1.9.2).

The Gūrānī communities in Hawrāmān generally follow traditions connected with Sunni Islam (Paul 2007:285). The historical background of the Sunni Muslim Gūrānī speakers is not yet clear. It is possible they were originally Yārsān or from another religious background and transferred their religious affiliation to Islam, or it is also possible that they earlier identified as Sunni Muslims and shifted in language and tribe to Gūrānī. Minorsky (1945:79) notes that the ‘Guran tribe consists of several clans, some of which are ‘original’ Guran, others simply of southern Kurds’, and that these Kurds still are identified as Sunnis. Mann & Hadank (1930:31, also citing Minorsky 1921:59 and his reference to Houtum-Schindler 1884:44) mention that certain tribes of the Jāf, such as the Taīchéī, Qaèr-mir-weisi, and Nīrīji,

originally following Sunni Islam traditions, left their main confederation and became affiliated with the Gūrān, though maintaining their original Sunni religious identity.

There are also Gūrānī speakers who follow traditions of Twelver Shi'ism, living in Kandūla and its two neighboring villages near Kermānšāh (Paul 2007:285). It is not yet clear what traditions are followed by the Šabak community of Gūrānī speakers near Mosul, though they may include some which are common to Alevi in eastern Turkey (see Bruinessen 1998:1). Some of the Šabak may be described as following Shi'ite traditions, with other Šabak following Sunni Islam traditions (Mizīrī 2005:129; Omarkhali 2014b:xxx).

1.9.2 Background of the Yārsān

The primary religious tradition in the Gūrān area, which includes Gawraǰū and the larger town of Gahvāre, is that of the Yārsān, as it is termed in Iran.⁴⁰ It is also known more widely as Ahl-e Haqq, and sometimes as 'Alī Ilāhī (see Rawlinson 1839:39), also *'Alī-Elahi*, or 'deifiers of 'Alī' in popular terms (Mir-Hosseini 1996:111). In the current study, both names of Yārsān and Ahl-e Haqq are used.

There are two main clusters of the Yārsān in Kermānšāh province in Iran, with the larger of these located in the Gūrān area (Mir-Hosseini 1996:117). The Gūrān cluster has several important distinctions. The leadership of the Yārsān lives in this area, specifically, in the village of Tūtšāmī, close to Gawraǰū and Gahvāre. Furthermore, the community in this area is distinguished for its maintenance of the oldest tradition of practices, including that of music (Hooshmandrad 2014:49).

The general area in Kermānšāh province is renowned as the location of the sacred pilgrimage site of Bābā Yādegār, which is located adjacent to the village of Zarda (see Paul 2007:286; Rawlinson 1839:36). The area also has other sacred sites, including the shrines of Pir Benjāmin and Pir Musi in the town of Kerend, the Cave of Lady Shahrbānu, the castle ruins of Yazdegerd, the tomb of Ashab (or Dāwūd's Shrine) (see Mir-Hosseini 1996:116), and the Dokkān-e Dāwūd (or 'David's Shop') (Rawlinson 1839:39, who describes 'David's Shop' as based on the tradition that David was a blacksmith; for more details, see Gall 1995). As Paul (2007:287) notes, the second important pilgrimage site, Solṭān Eshḥāk, is located in the northern area in Hawrāmān, even though Sunni Islam is the main religion there.

The Yārsān (or Ahl-e Haqq) also live in other areas and countries, as noted above. The other cluster in Kermānšāh province is located in Sahne (Şahne) and the villages in its vicinity

⁴⁰ This summary of religion includes information from diverse sources. The technical terms are written here according to their transcription in these sources. In some instances, it is not clear if these terms are Kurdish, Persian, or Gūrānī material. The terms are nonetheless written here in italic font (normally reserved for Gawraǰūyī material), while the Gawraǰūyī terms are specified as such.

(Mir-Hosseini 1996:117). In other areas of Iran, communities are located in Lorestān, Iranian Azerbaijan, the regions near the Caspian Sea, areas north of Tehran, and in main urban centers of Iran; they are also found in Iraqi Kurdistan, including Suleimaniya and Kerkūk (Halm 1984:n.p; for other specific locations, see Geranpayeh 2006:50–52). The Ahl-e Haqq in Iraq are known as the Kākayī, many of whom speak a Gūrānī variety (see especially Edmonds 1969:89). Many of these other communities, however, use languages other than Gūrānī. Some Ahl-e Haqq speak Southern Kurdish (see Fattah 2000:8–9). Others speak Persian, Lurī, or a variety of Turkish (Geranpayeh 2006:4).

Within the various communities associated with Ahl-e Haqq, there is a degree of variation, and it is difficult to make generalizations, especially about such features as the teachings and main beliefs. The teachings are especially based on oral traditions, passed down within the priestly families over generations, and thus there can be differences in the characterization of the religion in terms of views, doctrines, and beliefs (Kreyenbroek 1996:101). There are some generalizations that can be made, however, about the name, historical background, main tendencies of beliefs, the organization of the community, important figures, and the sacred texts.

The name of *Ahl-e Haqq* can be translated literally as ‘People of Truth’ (or ‘of justice’, or ‘of one’s right’, or ‘of divinity’) (Mir-Hosseini 1996:111, 130). As mentioned above, a common name in Iran for the religion is *Yārsān* (with variants *Yāresān* or *Yāristān*) (Hooshmandrad 2004:3). Scholars suggest various possible interpretations of this name. The term *yār* refers to the ‘Friend’, as God (Mir-Hosseini 1996:111). Kreyenbroek (2010:n.p.) notes the use of this name for the Ahl-e Haqq and the semantic relationship of *Yāresān* to other names such as the word *Kākā’i* (also spelled *Kāka’i*). He writes that this word ‘derives from Kurd. *kak* ‘brother’ and means ‘belonging to the brotherhood’. It is reminiscent of the terms *Ṣoḥḥatiya* ‘circle of friends’, an ancient name for the group that came to be called Yezidis, and *Yāres(t)ān* ‘circle of friends’ which denotes the Ahl-e Haqq.’

Another suggested interpretation is based on the use of the morpheme *sān* as a reference to ‘king’ or ‘sultan’, denoting the divine king or friend, *Sultān*; thus possible translations might be ‘the friends of Sultān’ (‘the divine king’) or ‘the divine friend, Sultān’ (Hooshmandrad 2004:3).

People also refer to their religion in other ways, as simply *Yārī* (Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini, p.c.). Another term for the religion is found as (Gawraǰūyī) *tāyfa* (see, for example, its use in Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:136). According to Mir-Hosseini (1996:111), the name *tāyefē*, translated as ‘the sect’, is one used by followers themselves.

The early form of the Yārsān/Ahl-e Haqq as a community is generally traced to Solṭān Soḥāk, as Edmonds (1969:89) notes: ‘The order was founded, at Pird-i War in the Hawrāmān district on the Iraqi-Persian border, by a certain Sayyid or Sulṭān Ishāq or Suhāk, son of

Shaykh ʿĪsā of Barzinja, a village in Iraq situated fourteen miles east of the town of Sulaymānī.’ Some scholars place his birth in the thirteenth century, though such dating is debated (see Hooshmandrad 2014:49). The name of one of his successors, Bābā Yādegār, is included in a document of 1526, however, which could be regarded as an orientation to the time in which the community became established (see Mir-Hosseini 1996:114). Another theory is set forth by Edmonds (1957:190–191), who suggests that the order of the Kakai (referring to the Ahl-e Haqq in Iraq) could have had its beginnings in Luristan, was brought into the district of Hawrāmān about the middle of the eleventh century and then reformed by the Sultan Ishaq (Sultan Sohak) about 250 years later.

The traditions involve various features, some of which are shared by other religions in the area, though it is noted that Ahl-e Haqq is to be regarded as a distinct faith, as detailed by Hooshmandrad (2014:14). Many of the features show similarities to those found in ancient Iran (Kreyenbroek 1998:164, 170–171). Other features also appear to be originally Shiʿite ideas (Kreyenbroek 1996:101) and have elements in common with Islam (for details, see Kreyenbroek 1998:171–173). Certain features are also shared by the Yezidi and the Alevi religious communities in the wider area (see Kreyenbroek 1998).

Some features of the traditions tend to include a social structure with a distinction between laity and a leadership group, the *sayyid* (*sayyed*, *seyyit*) (Kreyenbroek 1998:167). Members of the leadership are referred to in Gawraǰūyī as *sayī*. The leaders are descended from the founder of the religion, Solṭān Soḥāk, or from another person as his manifestation. These leaders are responsible for reciting the prayers and maintaining relations with those outside of the leadership group in various types of relationships, such as master-disciple, similar to practices of many Sufi orders (see Mir-Hosseini 1996:122–123).

Solṭān Soḥāk is regarded as the main figure within the tradition, and also the founder, as noted above. Other figures include two sets of seven divine beings, three of which have especially important roles: Pir Benyāmin, Dawūd (Davūd), and Bābā Yādegār (see Mir-Hosseini 1996:121).

Oral traditions play an important role. These include the *kalām* (Gawraǰūyī: *katām*) or hymns, and myths, which are a means of passing on religious knowledge (Kreyenbroek 1998:168). Many of these traditions are in Gūrānī (Halm 1984:n.p.; Kreyenbroek 1998:163). They were passed down in oral form over the centuries, and then, at some unknown point, they were recorded in writing. The traditions in the Gūrān region of Iran have been researched in detail in terms of ethnomusicology by Hooshmandrad (2004).

The sacred texts of the religion have several names and titles, with some possible differences in reference (Philip Kreyenbroek, p.c.). A general term in Gawraǰūyī for the sacred texts and writings is *daftar* (Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini, p.c.; see also the use by Hooshmandrad

2014:54 in reference to books of the sacred poems). Another term that is sometimes used as a general reference for all the ancient texts is *Saranjām* (Philip Kreyenbroek, p.c.).

Practices include the *kalām* (Gawraǰūyī: *kaṭām*), which refers to a session in which selections of sacred music are chanted and accompanied by the stringed instrument, the *tanbur* (Gawraǰūyī: *tamūra*) (for these and further details, see Hooshmandrad 2014:53). Hooshmandrad also notes that the word *kalām* can also refer to the corpus of the sacred poems in the religion. The ritual of the *jam* refers to a gathering for the blessing and consumption of food, while the *nazr* (Gawraǰūyī: *nazr*) involves the blessing of an animal sacrifice, and *niyāz* (Gawraǰūyī: *niyāz*) refers to the blessing ritual of food items that are not for sacrifice (Hooshmandrad 2014:58; see also Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:154). Other practices involve animal sacrifice, pilgrimage to sacred sites, and observance of specific festivals (for these and more details, see Kreyenbroek 1996:101–104).

Some foundational beliefs include the idea that God or the divine is manifested as a ‘sevenfold cluster’ (termed the *Haftan* or *Haft-tan*) in cycles over time (Hooshmandrad 2014:48). Kreyenbroek (1998:170) notes the belief shared in religions of pre-Islamic Iran and by Ahl-e Haqq and Yezidis in a ‘supreme Creator God, who left control of the world in the hands of a group of seven divinities, who are at the same time aspects of God and separate beings.’

There is also a belief in a basic division in the universe between the inner world and the outer world. These are considered to be parallel worlds, with the inner world being the world of a person’s final destiny, and with the outer world as a different order (see Mir-Hosseini 1996:119). The main principles, or pillars, of the religion are *pākī*, referring to purity in spirit; *rāstī*, referring to truthfulness and righteousness; *nīstī*, or ‘non-existence or self-renunciation’; and *radā*, which could be interpreted in different ways having to do with the manifestation of divine attributes or with acquiescence (Hooshmandrad 2004:5).

1.10 Written and oral traditions

1.10.1 Gūrānī

There is an enormous wealth of written and oral traditions in Gūrānī. Its use as an important literary language continued for around five centuries, and a large body of written literature has been preserved from this period. Manuscripts of Gūrānī literature have been collected by local and foreign scholars and visitors to Iran, including especially Oskar Mann. Some manuscripts of poems are kept in the British Museum, with two catalogued by Rieu (1881:728). A large collection has been catalogued and preserved in the Orientabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz. General background on Gūrānī literature, transcriptions of the individual compositions, and detailed catalogue information

about the manuscripts in this museum are presented in Fuad (1970), a work which also serves as the main source for the summary below.

Fuad (1970:XI, XII, XV) refers to the earliest known literary traditions from Kurdistan as the Hawrāmī work ‘Mārfat-u Pīr Šalayār-i’, translated as ‘The Wisdom of Pīr Šālyār’ (though it is not known when the author lived) and the poetry in Gūrānī by Malā Parēšān, who is thought to have lived in the second half of the 1300s. Fattah (2000:69) also notes the old forms of Gūrānī found in the work of the mystic Bābā Tāher Hamadānī, who lived from 935–1010.

In later periods, there is much literature in Gūrānī as well, written by various poets including Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Sayda-i Hawrāmī, who lived in Hawrāmān in the 1500s, Yūsu(f) Yāska, Bēsārānī, Ḥānā-i Qubādī, Almās Ḥān, Mīrzā Šafī’, Aḥmad Bag-i Kōmāsī, Sayyid Fattāḥ Malā-i Ġabārī (1806–1876), Mawlawī Tāwgōzī, and Mīrzā ‘Abdul’l-Qādir-i Pāwayī (see Fuad 1970:XXXIII, also citing other sources).

As Fuad (1970:XXIII) notes, most of the literature is poetry. Fuad (1970:XXI) further mentions that the Gūrānī dialect of Hawrāmī was used as the literary language, with the dialect of Kandūlayī as the second most important. (For details on the linguistic nature of the literary language, see especially Kreyenbroek & Chamanara 2013 and Mahmoudveysi 2016.)

Much of the literature was written during the rule of the principality of the Kurdish Ardalān (see also Section 1.8.1), in which Gūrānī functioned as a court language and had high prestige as a literary language. Literary development especially took place during the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries (Blau 1996:21; see also Fattah 2000:68–70).

In 1867, as the principality of Ardalān ended, Gūrānī gradually declined in its role as the main language of literary production, even though some of the early poets of the Baban court at Suleimani continued to use Gūrānī to compose poetry (Edmonds 1957:10). By the beginning of the twentieth century, Gūrānī was no longer used as an influential literary language in the area (Fuad 1970:XLII). Nevertheless, Gūrānī kept its reputation and was still regarded as having high prestige among Kurds, which is supported by the following lines by the Ahl-e Haqq leader Ḥāḡī Nūr-’Ālī Ilāhī (born 1895), published in the newspaper ‘Kurdistan’ and presented in Fuad (1970:XLII) (my translation):

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Garĉi kurdī ham wa čand lisānan, | Indeed, Kurdish is of several tongues; |
| Walē faṣiḥiš lafz gūrānan. | But its high language is Gūrān; |
| Ya'nī wa lafz-i ahil awrāmān, | That means, the language with the words of the people of Hawrāmān, |
| Talafuz makan kirmānǰiš māčān. | That which they speak, the Kirmanǰ call it 'māčān'. |

1.10.2 Gawraǰūyī

There is no known written literature in Gūrānī as currently spoken in Gawraǰū village. However, oral traditions are maintained and passed on by people of the village. Some representative oral traditions been documented in the study by Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012).

The oral traditions collected in Gawraǰūyī village are of several types. A common type is the *dāstān* 'story' or 'tale'. The *dāstān* refers to either a folk tale or a historical epic. Such a folk tale can involve characters of talking animals, trees, springs, and other features normally attributed to human beings. It can also involve human characters and complicated plots about their social relationships. It might also include special rhymes or verse, sometimes combining elements from Kurdish, as found for example in Text 1 and Text 2 of Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:81–88).

The Gawraǰūyī historical stories involve heroic characters known across the Iranian world, such as Šīrīn, Farhād, and Rostam (Gawraǰūyī: *rūsam*), also known in Ferdowsi's Šāh-Nāma. The recounting of material from these stories can be characterized by the presence of special poetic features, including rhyme and a change in some of the more usual constituent order.

These types of oral traditions, both the folk tale and historical tale, are performed at gatherings of family and visitors at home. They can be performed for benefits of entertainment, recounting of history, and transmission of particular moral teachings about values such as honesty, heroism and sacrifice, and generosity.

1.11 Language relationships

Gawraǰūyī can be classified with other languages on the basis of shared genetic and areal features. The traditional means of classification is genetic, in that features shared between languages can be traced to a common ancestor language. Another means of classification is on the basis of shared features acquired by languages in a common geographical area or social domain (see Hock & Joseph 1996:456–463 for discussion of genetic and other reasons for

similarities between languages). There are also systems of classification that combine genetic and areal factors.⁴¹

1.11.1 *Gūrānī* and *Gawraǰūyī*: Genetic relationships within Western Iranian

At a high level in the family tree model, the *Gūrānī* varieties, including *Gawraǰūyī*, are genetically classified as Iranian.⁴² The Iranian languages in turn are classified at another level with the Indo-Aryan (Indic) languages, together forming the Indo-Iranian branch, one of the ten main branches of the Indo-European family. Thus, as part of the Indo-European language family, *Gawraǰūyī Gūrānī* is genetically related to many larger and more widely known languages, including English, Persian, French, and Greek. It is estimated that there are approximately 150 to 200 million people who use Iranian languages (Windfuhr 2009b:1).

Within the Iranian language group, *Gūrānī* varieties are classified as Western, and more specifically, as belonging to the North-Western subgroup (see MacKenzie 1961; Paul 1998b; 2007:285). *Gūrānī* exhibits many of the characteristic features of this group (see Paul 1998b), which differ from South-Western features found in languages such as Persian. The features of the North-Western group represent a break in contact at some point in time with the ancestor language(s), which resulted in linguistic divergence, with some features lost, others preserved, and yet others innovated. Traditionally, the features upon which genetic classification is based are phonological, for the reason that sound change is regular and thus a reliable means to trace historical development. In more recent work, however, other linguistic features are regarded more relevant in defining these relationships (Geoffrey Haig, p.c.).

Early examples of the features distinguishing South-West (such as in Old Persian) and other languages (for example, Median as belonging to a North-West group, and Avestan as difficult to classify) appear in the historical period of Old Iranian (see Schmitt 1989a:28). This period is not clearly dated at its earliest point, but Windfuhr (2009c:9) suggests an early beginning with dates for Old Avestan of 1500–1000 BCE. The main written documents of this period are Old Persian texts dated from between 522 to approximately 350 BCE, which was about the time of the Achaemenid rulers (558 to 330 BCE), according to Skjærvø (2009a:43).

⁴¹ Combined methods of classification for Iranian languages are represented, for example, in Windfuhr (2009c:12), in a system of dialectology that accounts for ‘diachronic, geographic, and dialectological parameters’. Gorani is listed as a member of ‘Northwest Iranian, Tier 1’, in the Upper Zagros and Central Plateau Group, listed with Zazaki and Kurdish. For another type of classification, see research by Asatrian (2009:11).

⁴² The family tree model is traditionally used to classify Iranian languages, but it has limitations; for discussion and refined approaches, see especially Paul (1998b) and Korn (2003). For examples of classification models for Iranian, see Stilo (2007) and also Windfuhr (2009c:12–15).

In the next stage of development as the Middle Iranian period (beginning from about the fourth or third centuries BCE until about the eighth or ninth centuries, and somewhat later; according to Schmitt 1989b:26, ‘4./3. Jh. v.Chr. bis ins 8./9. Jh. n.Chr.’), the North-West distinctions that began earlier in Old Iranian continue in Parthian, and differ from South-West features, which could be seen in Middle Persian (see Schmitt 1989c:99).

The most recent historical period as a framework for classification is that of New Iranian, with existing material dating from the ninth century to the present day (Windfuhr 1989a). Within this period, modern Iranian languages are classified, including Gūrānī. In some classification models, such as that presented in Windfuhr (2009c:12), Gūrānī, with its North-Western features, is placed in the same subgroup as languages such as Zazaki (also known as Zaza, Dimili) and Kurdish (also further distinguished as North, Central, and Southern subgroups). According to Windfuhr (2009c:19), ‘Zazaki and Gorani are the least innovative in relation to Parthian’ in terms of phonological developments within West Iranian. On another level, Gūrānī is also related to languages, such as Talyshi, Tati, Vafsi, Central Plateau dialects, Khuri, and Balochi (Windfuhr 2009c:13).

The classification of Gūrānī is discussed by MacKenzie (1961; 2002), Windfuhr (1995), Paul (1998b), and Blau (1989b). An early study including Gūrānī is also found in Tedesco (1921). In all these studies, Gūrānī qualifies as North-Western. It is described as one of the ‘most Northern’ of the Western group (Paul 1998b:174) and ‘undiluted’ in its character as North-Western (MacKenzie 1961:86).

1.11.1.1 Characteristic North-West Iranian features of Gūrānī

Presented below are some of the characteristic features in phonology that support the classification of Gūrānī as a North-West Iranian language, as compared to developments in South-West Iranian, represented by Persian. This presentation generally follows the description in MacKenzie (1961:73–74). It also incorporates material from Tedesco (1921) about Northern and Southern distinctions within the Western group.

The Proto-Iranian sounds are included, marked with * to indicate these as reconstructed forms. These sounds are cited from the account of sound changes in Western Iranian by Korn (2003:54).⁴³

The material is labeled according to variety, given here with the source following the name: Hawrāmī (Luhōn) (MacKenzie 1961, 1966); Hawrāmī (Tawēṭa) (Magin & Kocher

⁴³ The only difference is that Korn (2003) uses a symbol *i* with a diacritic instead of the symbol *y* here. The sibilant symbols have been compared with the table of consonant phonemes for Early Iranian in Skjærvø (2009a:51)

(2008); Gawraǰūyī (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012); Zardayāna (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013); Šabakī (Šālālāt) (Magin & Ali 2008a); and Kākayī (Wardak) (Mahmoudveysi 2009).⁴⁴

Proto-Iranian: *ž – North-West z, compared to South-West (Persian) d

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| (Gūr.) Hawrāmī (Luhōn) | zamā ‘bridegroom’ |
| (Gūr.) Gawraǰūyī | zāwā (or loanword: dāmād) ‘bridegroom’ ⁴⁵ |
| (Gūr.) Hawrāmī (Tawēṭa) | zomā ‘bridegroom’ |
| (Gūr.) Zardayāna | zāmā ‘bridegroom’ |
| Persian | dāmād ‘bridegroom’ |

Proto-Iranian: *š – North-West s, compared to South-West (Persian) h

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| (Gūr.) Hawrāmī (Luhōn) | māsāwī ‘fish’ |
| (Gūr.) Šabakī (Šālālāt) | məsāw ‘fish’ |
| (Gūr.) Hawrāmī (Tawēṭa) | māsāwī ‘fish’ |
| (Gūr.) Kākayī (Wardak) | masāw ‘fish’ |
| Persian | māhī ‘fish’ |

Proto-Iranian: *ǰ – North-West ž, compared to South-West (Persian) z

| | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| (Gūr.) Gawraǰūyī | žan ‘woman’ |
| (Gūr.) Zardayāna | žan ‘woman’ |
| (Gūr.) Kākayī (Wardak) | žan ‘woman’ |
| Persian | zan ‘woman’ |

⁴⁴ Some IPA symbols originally used for transcribing material in Magin & Ali (2008a) and Magin & Kocher (2008) are adapted here to symbols in the system used in traditional Iranian studies.

⁴⁵ This loanword from Persian into Gūrānī is only mentioned here but not considered for classification.

Proto-Iranian: *č – North-West č and ž, compared to South-West (Persian) z

| | |
|------------------|--|
| (Gūr.) Gawraǰūyī | až ‘in, from’ (also: az ‘in, from’, likely Persian loanword) |
| Persian | az ‘from’ |

Proto-Iranian: *y – North-West initial y, compared to South-West (Persian) j

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| (Gūr.) Hawrāmī (Luhōn) | yawa ‘barley’ |
| (Gūr.) Šabakī (Šālālāt) | yew ‘barley’ |
| (Gūr.) Hawrāmī (Tawēḷa) | yəwē ‘barley’ |
| (Gūr.) Zardayāna | ǰaw ‘barley’ (loanword?) |
| Persian | ǰau ‘barley’ |

Proto-Iranian: *h_u – North-West initial w, compared to South-West (Persian) initial xw- (x^u-)⁴⁶

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| (Gūr.) Hawrāmī (Luhōn) | war- ‘eat’ (present stem) |
| (Gūr.) Gawraǰūyī | war- ‘eat’ (present stem) |
| (Gūr.) Zardayāna | war- ‘eat’ (present stem), (further examples: wāḷa ‘sister’, wē ‘(reflexive)’)) |
| Persian | x ^u ur- ‘eat’ (present stem), (further examples: xahar ‘sister’, xod ‘(reflexive)’)) |

Several other typical North-Western features are also found in Gūrānī varieties. These are noted by MacKenzie (2002:n.p.). (Some examples of Persian and Kurdish are from MacKenzie 1961). The following Proto-Iranian sounds are from Korn (2003:54). Examples are added from Gawraǰūyī and other Gūrānī varieties:

⁴⁶ MacKenzie (2002:1) notes a secondary outcome of this sound to *h* within the Gūrānī variety of Bāǰaḷānī. This sound *h* corresponding to *w* in other Gūrānī varieties also appears in Šabakī (of Šālālāt).

Proto-Iranian: *w- – North-West w-, compared to b- in South-West (Persian)⁴⁷

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| (Gūr.) Hawrāmī (Luhōn) | wā ‘wind’ |
| (Gūr.) Gawraǰūyī | wā (also: bā) ‘wind’ |
| (Gūr.) Kākayī (Wardak) | wā ‘wind’ |
| Persian | bād ‘wind’ |

Proto-Iranian: *d- – North-West b-, compared to d- in South-West (Persian)⁴⁸

| | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| Parthian | bar ‘door’ |
| (Gūr.) Hawrāmī (Luhōn) | bara ‘door’ |
| (Gūr.) Gawraǰūyī | bara, bar ‘door’ |
| Persian | dar ‘door’ |

1.11.2 Areal relationships

Gawraǰūyī is in areal relationship to several languages with which it has shared a geographical area or social domain and had contact over time. They thus share a number of structural and lexical features on the basis of this relationship. Most of these languages are Iranian and thus genetically related as well, which can make it difficult to discern which features are inherited and which have been acquired through contact.

The main language groups in areal relationship with Gawraǰūyī are Persian, Kurdish, and other Gūrānī varieties. In the distant past, Gawraǰūyī may also have had some contact with North-West Iranian dialects of the Central-North high plateau (Paul 2007:293). There are also a few words that appear to have Turkic and Aramaic origin, though more study is needed to determine their process of entering Gawraǰūyī. The languages in areal relationship to Gūrānī are briefly described below.

1.11.2.1 Persian

Gawraǰūyī is in contact to varying degrees with Persian, the national language of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The sociolinguistic registers of Persian that Gawraǰūyī speakers

⁴⁷ MacKenzie (2002:1) notes that this sound is a preservation of initial *w-. (It is not clear if he is referring to Proto-Iranian.)

⁴⁸ MacKenzie (2002:1) notes that this sound corresponds to initial *d-. (It is not clear if he is referring to Proto-Iranian.)

encounter are Modern Standard Persian, which is the written standard and thus used in education and written media; Colloquial Persian, used as the standard of spoken communication; and regional varieties of Persian, such as that spoken in Kermānšāh (for these registers in Persian, see Windfuhr & Perry 2009:417).

1.11.2.2 Kurdish

While many details of Gūrānī and Kurdish history are still unknown, it can be assumed that the two language groups have been in contact to various degrees over time. MacKenzie (1961) suggests that Gūrānī functioned as a substrate language to Kurdish and transferred particular features that distinguished Central from Northern Kurdish (MacKenzie's proposal is further discussed in studies such as Leezenberg 1993 and Jügel 2014).

Gawraǰūyī speakers have had a significant amount of contact with the variety of Southern Kurdish generally termed by locals as 'Kalhorī' for all Kurdish of that area (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:3). It is also termed by Gawraǰūyī speakers as *ūšī-ūšī*, literally, 'I speak-I speak' (Parvin Mahmoudveysi, p.c.). One of the closest Southern Kurdish varieties in the area is spoken in the town of Gahvāre, the administrative center for Gawraǰū village. In the early 1900s, Gūrānī was used by the Gahvāre community, as documented by Mann & Hadank (1930), but by 2004, it had been mostly given up in favor of Southern Kurdish (Paul 2007:286).

Gawraǰūyī speakers also have limited contact with Central Kurdish (Sōrānī) through its use as a written language, in administration in Iraqī Kurdistan, and in mass media (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:2). Gawraǰūyī speakers have little or no contact with Northern Kurdish, however, while some speakers of Šabakī and Bāǰaḩānī have contact, as described further below.

Summary information is presented here about the three main Kurdish linguistic groups: Southern Kurdish, Central Kurdish, and Northern Kurdish (for these names, see use in MacKenzie 1990a, Blau 1989a, and Windfuhr 1989c:294).

Southern Kurdish has significant contact with Gūrānī in general. Background information about Southern Kurdish is found in Fattah (2000:vi, 4–39), which is the source of the summary in the next paragraphs.

It is estimated that the speakers of Southern Kurdish number approximately three million, which is about twelve to fifteen percent of all Kurds. The locations of Southern Kurdish are to the south, south-east, and west of the Gūrānī area, mainly in western Iran but also extending into Iraq. On the Iranian side, Southern Kurdish is spoken in and around the cities of Kermānšāh, the largest center, and also north-east of Kermānšāh extending to an area south-east of Sanandāǰ (Sina) (but not reaching to Sandandāǰ), including Qorwa. Another large center of speakers is Ilam. To the west, Southern Kurdish is spoken over the border in Iraq

in the vicinity of Badra, Mandili, and Xanaqîn. Communities are also found in Baghdad (Fayli Kurdish), and there are many more displaced communities of speakers.

Main branches distinguished within Southern Kurdish include Bijâr, Kolyâi, Laki-Kirmânšâni (not the same as Lakî), Kalhori-Sanjâbi-Zangana, Malîkšâhi (or Malîkšây), Bayray, and Kordali.

As mentioned above in this section, the Southern Kurdish variety Kalhorî is in close contact with Gawraĵüyî, with the center in Šâhâbâd (Islâmâbâd). The Kalhor can be considered as one of the largest Kurdish tribes in southern Iran (Fattah 2000:26–27). The Kalhor have had much contact with Gūrânî in past centuries as well (Minorsky 1943:84–85).

Central Kurdish varieties are spoken primarily to the north-west of Gawraĵüyî and are thus particularly in contact with other Gūrânî varieties spoken in Iraqî Kurdistan. Central Kurdish is estimated to be spoken by approximately five million people (McCarus 2009:587). Other names for Central Kurdish varieties include Sōrânî, Kordî (Kurdi), and Mukrî (Mokrî). Sōrânî is a general name based on the historic principality of Sōrân (Fattah 2000:2), used in a more specific way to refer to the dialect of Suleimaniye after it acquired literary prestige in the court of the Baban dynasty in the late eighteenth century (Blau 1996:22). In modern times, Sōrânî is generally used to refer to Central Kurdish located west of the Zagros range in Iraqî Kurdistan. In Iranian Kurdistan, however, Central Kurdish varieties may be collectively termed Kordî (Kurdi), or Sine'i (as well as Mokrî) (Blau 1989a:328; 1996:20).

Central Kurdish is especially used in the major cities of Silêmanî (Suleimaniye, Sulaimania), Hewlêr (Arbil), and Kirkuk, and in the surrounding regions. Some names referring to regional variation within Central Kurdish include Suleimani, Wârmâwa, Bingird, Piždar, Mukrî, Arbil, Rewandiz, and Xōšnâw (MacKenzie 1990a:xviii). Central Kurdish is also used in some communities located in the western regions in Iran. Speakers of southern Jâfî, a variety of Central Kurdish, live in the regions of Juânrud, in Ruânsar, in the district of Salâs, in an area near Sar Pol-e Zohâb, in the town of Kerend and its villages, well as around Xânaqîn and Qasir-i Širin (Fattah 2000:2–4). Some of the Jâf tribe have also been speakers of Gūrânî (see Edmonds 1957:153).

Northern Kurdish is not in contact with Gawraĵüyî, but the Northern Kurdish variety of Behdîni appears to have had some degree of contact with the Gūrânî varieties of Šabakî and Bâĵafânî. The number of Northern Kurdish speakers is estimated to be around eighteen to twenty million speakers (Chyet 2003:xv). The language in general is commonly termed Kurmancî, though other names may also be used. Northern Kurdish is located throughout a very large area. The southernmost speech zone can be viewed as beginning south of Akre and Sheikhan, and north of Hewlêr (Arbil) (MacKenzie 1990a:xvi, 222), with northernmost areas roughly extending to the area of Qers, then to the west around major cities including Mereş and Malatya, south to Gaziantep and to Efrîn, and Qamişlo (Syria), and further east to Urmia

(Iran). There are also many communities outside the main speech zone, including some in Central Asia and eastern Iran. Some communities are reported to be located in Balochistan and Afghanistan (Blau 1989a:328). Diaspora communities also exist in Europe, Australia, and North America.

Detailed information on Northern Kurdish and its regional variation and classification can be found in recent work by Haig & Öpengin (to appear) and also Öpengin & Haig (2014).

Lakī

Although it does not have direct contact with Gawraǰūyī at present, Lakī is another language that may have been in contact with Gūrānī in the past. According to MacKenzie (2002:n.p.), Lakī shares some vocabulary with Gūrānī. It is spoken by about one million people in a speech zone located to the east and south-east of Kermānšāh, north of Khorramabad in Luristan province, and in Ilam province in Iran (see Fattah 2000:4, 10). There are two main parts of this zone, Pish-e Kuh and Posht-e Kuh (see Anonby 2004/2005:8). Other communities are found in Mazandaran, Iran, and also Iraq (Fattah 2000:57). There are ten Lakī-speaking villages that follow religious traditions of the Yārī (Yārsān, Ahl-e Haqq) (Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini, p.c.).

1.12 Previous linguistic research

1.12.1 Linguistic studies of Gawraǰūyī

There are only a few published linguistic studies that focus on Gawraǰūyī. There is also an older study that does not treat Gawraǰūyī by name but still describes closely similar material.

The older study consists of the extensive description of Gūrānī dialects by Mann & Hadank (1930). In this work, there is a nineteen-page section that presents an introduction to ‘Gāhwārāî’, that is, the Gūrānī variety spoken in Gahvāre. The material consists of grammar notes, verb paradigms, a word list, a text with translation, and sentences. The dialect is no longer spoken by most of the people of the town, and instead, a dialect of Southern Kurdish is spoken, along with Persian (Paul 2007:286).

The next study with information on Gawraǰūyī is an eleven-page article by Paul (2007). In this article, the author describes a fieldwork trip to Iran taken with the purpose of investigating the situation of Gūrānī (‘Gōrānī’) varieties. He includes an overview of several varieties, including the dialect spoken in Gawraǰū (‘Gourāǰū’) village. The article presents data of phonological, morphological, and lexical interest, notes on language use, dialectology, and historical relationships to New Persian, Kurdish, and Zazaki. There is an appendix with one short text and one saying from Gahvāre, another short text from Kandūle, and five riddles from Nousūd.

There is also the 2009 M.A. thesis by Soroush Shahbazi, with the title of the ‘Gurani dialect of the village Gawrajub Qeshllaq’ (University of Tehran). (I have not yet been able to locate and evaluate this work.)

The most recent work is a book of 277 pages by Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012), focusing on Gawraǰūyī. The authors document and describe Gawraǰūyī within the Gūrānī (‘Gorani’) project of the endangered language program, DoBeS (Dokumentation bedrohter Sprachen). The book consists of a collection of nine texts with notes, a sample of an interlinear glossed text, a grammatical sketch of fifty-three pages, and a lexicon of approximately 1600 words.

1.12.2 Linguistic and language-related studies of Gūrānī and varieties

For at least two centuries, scholars have been aware of Gūrānī and have written about it. The earliest scholarship was oriented to the old manuscripts of Gūrānī poetry. Later studies focused on individual dialects, and relatively substantial works began to appear in the early twentieth century. In most recent times, a number of studies have focused on Gūrānī. Some of the studies are short articles and notes, while others are books. Some of these studies have treated Gūrānī as a group, while a few others have focused on specific varieties.

The following summary of research on Gūrānī is presented in three stages, which are: 1) The oldest studies in European languages dated prior to 1921; 2) the studies from 1921 to 1956; and 3) the studies from 1956 until 2016.

1.12.2.1 Studies prior to 1921

As noted in Mann & Hadank (1930:1), a list of the studies on Gūrānī prior to 1840 is presented in Lerch (1856, and later in German in 1858), a work on Iranian Kurds (in Russian), then expanded in Charmoy (1868). Mann & Hadank also note the later bibliographic work of Minorsky (1921–1922), with its references regarding the Ahl-e Haqq.

An important body of research was produced from 1820 until 1921. The most significant references and descriptions in this period are mostly summarized here from the information presented in Mann & Hadank (1930:43–51). I have also looked at some of the studies directly in order to confirm Mann & Hadank’s information.

In 1820, two manuscripts of Gūrānī poetry were given to C. J. Rich in the town of Sennā (Sina, Sanandaǰ). In 1835, two more manuscripts were brought by a missionary, Rev. Hörnle, to Germany (a report of the Gūrānī manuscripts was published in a journal article by Rödiger 1840, see Mann & Hadank 1930:43). In 1881, Charles Rieu, as the editor of the Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum, had access to Rich’s manuscripts and produced a study with limited comments, as Rieu (1881).

In 1884, a study was produced by a German engineer, Albert Houtum-Schindler, who published a number of studies on Persian topics (see Mann & Hadank 1930:44). In this work,

‘Beiträge zum kurdischen Wortschatze’ (Houtum-Schindler 1884), there is much language material from Kurdish varieties and also many Gūrānī vocabulary items, with notes on grammatical forms and sentences. The material is useful for comparison in that there are some forms listed which are identical in Gawraǰūyī, such as the reflexive *īštan* and the verb ‘go’ as *š* (Houtum-Schindler 1884:100). Some of the analysis, however, appears to be in need of revision (such as the ‘future’ category for Gūrānī).

Houtum-Schindler’s study is valuable in that it also offers information on larger social structures. The Gūrānī-speaking tribes are described as living near Kerind (Kerend) and divided into two sections: Gūrān i Sīyah (‘Black Gūrān’) and the Gūrān i Safīd (‘White Gūrān’). The Gūrān i Sīyah consists of the tribes Qal‘ah i Zandjîrî, Kalchâni, Nîrîzî, Tâischî, Tofangschî, Bîâmêhî, Tachtgâhî, and is sometimes named after the main branch, Gūrān i Qal‘ah i Zandjîrî. An approximate estimate of the population for this branch is 16,000 families, including 4000 Sunni Jaf families. This part of the Gūrān tribe supplied the government with a regiment of a thousand soldiers, with their commander living in Gahwâreh. The second branch of the Gūrān, the Gūrān i Safīd, is listed as living near Kerind and Bîwanîdj, and consisting of 6000 families.

In the same journal in 1884, in the appendix to Houtum-Schindler’s article, Ferdinand Justi added notes on the article (see Mann & Hadank 1930:45). This publication, appearing as Justi (1884), contains comparative information, comments, and corrections.

In 1887, Baron V. R. Rosen compared certain Gūrānī verbs from the dialect of Sedeh (Isfahan) and Gūrānī of literature (Rieu’s material from the British Museum), in the appendix of an article by the Russian researcher Žukovskij (1887a:27ff). In another volume in 1887, a text of the Ahl-Haqq was also published by Žukovskij (1887b:6ff) (as noted in Mann & Hadank 1930:46).

At the end of the nineteenth century, Wilhelm Geiger and Albert Sochin made brief mention of Gūrānī in the major work edited by Geiger & Kuhn on Iranian languages, *Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie* (2005, reprint of 1898–1901), as noted by Mann & Hadank (1930:46). The authors refer to the Gūrānī dialect as Kurdish, also mentioning the existence in it of the traditional story of Bahrām and Gulandām (with reference to Rieu’s catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum) (Geiger & Kuhn 2005:204). The article in that work by Sochin, ‘die Sprache der Kurden’, also includes a mention of Houtum-Schindler’s material on Gūrānī (Sochin 2005:250). In their comments about the notes of Gūrānī in the work of Geiger & Kuhn, Mann & Hadank (1930:46) accurately point out that Gūrānī is not treated in any detail and that, when it is noted, it is treated in the context of Kurdish.

In 1901, Benedictsens began his research on Gūrānī, with the results published later in Benedictsens & Christensen (1921) (described in Mann & Hadank 1930:48). Oskar Mann also began his research at this time (1901–1903 and 1906–1907), with initial documentation in the

form of an interim report in 1902 and a letter during a trip (see Mann & Hadank 1930:49 for details of these documents). Much more material was later published in Mann & Hadank (1930). (These two studies are also mentioned further below.)

In 1904, some Gūrānī materials were published by J. de Morgan, who had traveled to Iran in 1889–1891 (see Mann & Hadank 1930:47, but with dates 1890–1891). In this publication (Morgan 1904), Gūrānī was not recognized as such but treated among Kurdish dialects. This work contains material from the two dialects (Awromani and Ridjābi) as well as from a number of other Iranian languages. The relevant section (194 pages long) presents vowels and consonants and has comments and a comparison in relation to French sounds, example words that appear to be carefully transcribed in a Latin-script-based orthography, and sections on orthography and historical development of sounds. This work also presents a basic overview of structural features in grammar as well as an interesting collection of nouns classified into forty semantic domains.

Benedictsen & Christensen (1921:7) consider de Morgan's notes as the earliest publication of material in Awromānī (Pāwa). MacKenzie (1966:3) also lists de Morgan's work as the first representative of published research by Europeans at the turn of the century.

1.12.2.2 Studies from 1921 to 1956

In the next period, the article by Soane (1921) appeared as an anthology of poetry. This work also includes notes about Gūrānī dialects.

Also in 1921, a lengthy linguistic study of Gūrānī was published by Benedictsen & Christensen (in French), *Les dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwā*. This book was actually produced by M. Arthur Christensen, who compiled the notes and texts collected by Åge Meyer Benedictsen in his fieldwork in 1901 in the Hawrāmān region in western Iran. This study contains seven texts from the Awromān dialect and five texts from the Pāwā (Pāwa) dialect. There are also fifty-three pages on grammar. In this book, the possibility is suggested of a close historical relationship of Gūrānī to Zaza in Turkey, that speakers of these languages may have been members of the same group before the migration and expansion of territory of other people groups, including the Kurds (Benedictsen & Christensen 1921:6–8).

Not long afterwards, in 1930, the book *Mundarten der Guran, besonders das Kändülāi, Auramānī und Bādschālānī*, appeared, as one of the series of the *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, by Oskar Mann and Karl Hadank (already mentioned earlier). It was the longest and most detailed linguistic work on Gūrānī up to that time. Oskar Mann had done extensive fieldwork in the region and collected much material from different Gūrānī varieties. The material was then compiled, edited, and published by Karl Hadank, who also wrote a lengthy introduction containing information about the scholarship, names, and history of the Gurān as well as about their religion, tribes, and settlements. The introduction further provides a

discussion of classification and comparative Iranian issues. There are brief comparisons of Gūrānī (Kandūlayī) with other Iranian languages (Mukri Central Kurdish, Semnanī, Sivandī, Zaza), and the relationship of Gūrānī to the language of the Medes is treated. Hadank included a glossary and verb charts, and did the grammatical analysis of the material, focusing especially on the Gūrānī variety of Kandūlayī. There are also two sketches showing the geographic region of the languages. This book presents valuable material from the Gūrānī varieties of (as already mentioned) Kandūlayī (Kāndūlāī), Hawrāmī (Auramānī), and Bāǰaǰānī (Bādschālānī), as well as of Bīwānīǰī, Gāhwārāī, Rijābī, Säyyīdī, and Zārdāī.

In 1936, an article was also produced by Arthur Christensen, who published several texts and sentences from Awromān found in (the late) Benedictsens's field notebooks, and also corrections and additions to the 1921 grammar of Benedictsens & Christensen. There are notes on grammatical features, vocabulary, customs, and items from other languages.

1.12.2.3 Studies from 1956 to 2016

Twenty years later, MacKenzie (1956) was published as a seventeen-page description of the Gūrānī variety of Bāǰaǰānī. The article was based on field notes collected in 1955 during the author's stay in the city of Mosul (Iraq). He elicited material in about five hours from one language consultant, Qāsim Rašīd, on a visit to the village of Ārpačī. In this article, there are basic paradigms of personal pronouns, demonstratives, and common verbs, as well as a list of vocabulary and basic sentences. There is also a small map, showing that in the 1950s, Bāǰaǰānī was spoken in northern Iraqī Kurdistan, east and north-east of Mosul, in the villages of Xazna, Orta Xarāb, Topraq Ziyāra, Gōǰǰalī, and others. The people of the area studied by MacKenzie are locally known by the general name of Šabak. They are also in close contact with other communities, such as the Northern Kurdish-speaking Yezidi (MacKenzie: Yazīdī), Turkoman, Chaldean, and Arab groups. MacKenzie also notes the varieties of Šabakī and Šārlī, treating them as closely related Iranian dialects, along with Bāǰaǰānī, and as having a common origin of Iranian ethnicity. MacKenzie's informant considered Šārlī as a 'more difficult form of Šabakī' (MacKenzie 1956:420).

MacKenzie also published an article in 1961, 'The origins of Kurdish', in which he includes Gūrānī data from Hawrāmī (Hawrāmān-ī Luhōn) and some data from Mann & Hadank (1930). In this article, phonological features of Gūrānī (as a North-West Iranian language) are compared to features in Kurdish, attempting to trace the historical development of Kurdish. MacKenzie points out crucial sound changes that characterize Gūrānī as Northern in its genetic classification and morphological features of Gūrānī in the context of comparing Northern and Central Kurdish. He describes features that are found in Central (and Southern) Kurdish, but not in Northern Kurdish, and attributes these features to the contact in history that Kurdish had with Gūrānī. These features include: the form *-aka* as suffix of definiteness; an 'open compound' construction (instead of the *ezāfe*); a morphological passive

(present) *-yê-*, (past) *-yâ-*; and a postverbal particle *-awa* (1961:85). MacKenzie suggests that the influence of Gūrānī as a substrate language contributed to the distinction of Central and Southern Kurdish groups from Northern Kurdish.

In 1965, two more articles were published by MacKenzie. In the first of these, MacKenzie (1965), Gūrānī poetry is treated by means of a description of several examples of verse, together with their transcription and translation. Comments are also included on the background, authors, and issues of the manuscripts. There is also some discussion of various grammatical features of literary Gūrānī and a list of vocabulary. (The second of the articles is entitled ‘Gūrān’ and published in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam II*, Leiden, and has not yet been read for evaluation in the current study.)

The monograph by MacKenzie (1966) consists of a grammatical sketch of the dialect of Hawrāmān-ī Luhōn, with the central town of Nawsūda, located in western Iran. His work contains six pages on phonology, forty-four pages on morphology and about two pages on syntax. It also includes four texts of varying length, a selection of sentences, a short list of proverbs, and twenty-seven pages of vocabulary items, with an English-Hawrāmī index as well.

The article by Fuad (1970) presents many notes on Gūrānī in the introduction to a catalogue of the collection of old Kurdish and Gūrānī manuscripts. This work includes valuable information on the names and groups of Gūrānī, as well as some linguistic notes on gender marking in the personal pronoun system and in the forms of the ezāfe particle (Fuad 1970:XXIX-XXXI). This publication is also significant as a source of information on the older forms of Gūrānī used in poetry.

A short article by Khorshid (1983) includes some sociolinguistic notes on Gūrānī in the context of describing Kurdish dialects. This description is representative of the view that Gūrānī is a dialect linked with Kurdish on the basis of social and historical commonalities rather than on the basis of strictly genetic linguistic features. The author lists these four groups of Kurdish as North Kermanji, Middle Kermanji, South Kermanji, and Gurani. Within Gurani, he lists four branches: original Gurani, Hewramani, Bajlani, and Zaza.

An article on Hawrāmī (‘Avromani’) by MacKenzie (1987b, updated in 2011) gives a brief overview (about two pages) of some main features of phonology and grammar.

Another short article with a section on Gūrānī was written by Blau (1989b). It contains a summary of five dialects of the Gūrānī (Blau: Gurânî) group, with approximately a page of notes about outstanding phonological and morphological distinctions. She mentions five varieties (her spelling of the names here): 1) Gurânî, spoken in western Iran by people living north of Kermānchâh and in the Kuh-e Châhân-Dâlâlu mountains along the border with Iraq. She includes the important town of Gawhâra, and notes another group living east of Kandûla,

near Dinawar; 2) Hawrāmānî, spoken west of Sanandaj, with two varieties: Hawrāmān-î Luhon, with the central town Nawsuda, and Hawrāmān-î Taxt, with central towns Pâwa, Châho, and Hajîj; 3) Bâjalânî (also named Bâjorân, Bêjwân, or Arabic Bâjwân), located in Qaṣr-e Chirîn, Zohâb, Bin Qudra and Quratur, to the north of Khanaqin, with a branch of Bâjalânî in Mosul province, and their home areas are found on the left side of the Tigris river, also represented among speakers of close varieties Chabak and Sarlî (Sarliyya), belonging to the Kakai tribal confederation; 4) Chabak, as spoken north of Mosul, in villages ‘Alî Rach, Yagija, Khazna, and Talâra; and 5) Sarlî, which is spoken in the same regions as Chabak, on the Great Zab River, and also in Kirkuk. Blau describes the varieties of the Gūrānî group sharing genetic linguistic characteristics, such as various phonemes, grammatical characteristics, case distinctions, and gender and definiteness marking. She also notes the forms of the ezāfê particle, a compound marker, pronouns, and several types of verb morphology.

The article by Leezenberg (1993) deals with the sociolinguistic situation of the Gūrānî varieties in Iraqî Kurdistan. There is information on identification and names and the effects of displacement of the Gūrānî-speaking communities. There is also a small map. The author discusses especially the effects of contact with Central Kurdish in relationship to the hypothesis of MacKenzie (1961) of Gūrānî as a substrate. Leezenberg describes various types of Gūrānî (as Gūrānî proper spoken in Hawraman in Iranian Kurdistan and over the border into Iraqî Kurdistan, termed by local people as ‘Hawramî’ or ‘Hawramani’; Bajalan near Khanaqin and Mosul; Shabak, also located near Mosul; Kakai, near Topzawa and Khanaqin, as part of the religious community also called Ahl-ê Haqq, Ali-Ilahi or Yaresan (in Iran), with the dialect sometimes called Macho). Leezenberg also notes the Gūrānî variety of Sarlî (or Sarlû), and mentions Zengana, referring to a tribal confederation located south-east of Kirkuk, also near Khanaqin; and Roshkakai, spoken in the same area near Khanaqin. In his article of 1997, Leezenberg further writes about questions of ethnicity in Iraqî Kurdistan of especially the Shabak and Kakai communities, and mentions the name of Rojbeyani as associated with Gūrānî.

The article by Paul (1998b) includes material on distinctive features in Gūrānî phonology (based on Hawrāmî material from MacKenzie 1966) and discussion of possible historical developments. The article focuses on the position of Zazaki in relation to other Western Iranian languages, including Gūrānî.

The monograph of Yusupova (1998), only evaluated here as its summary version online, contains information on the history of studies on Gūrānî, and a description of the phonetics as well as of morphology and syntactic features of Literary Gūrānî in material from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. There is also a Gūrānî-Russian wordlist. In this study, Gūrānî is regarded as a dialect of Southern Kurdish.

The book by Fattah (2000) focuses on Southern Kurdish dialects, but it also includes introductory information on Gūrānī. This detailed work includes a section on the subgroups and locations, and it especially serves as a useful source of Kurdish material to compare with Gūrānī.

The article by MacKenzie (2002, updated in 2012) on Gūrānī as a group of varieties provides five pages of detailed information on main common and differing features of phonology and grammar. It also contains notes on the language used in the literature from earlier centuries.

The article by S. Aryadoust, Marandi & M. Aryadoust (2009) is a treatment of Hawrāmī (Pâveh and Marivân). This article discusses forms of Hawrāmī verbs and tenses, contrasting them with verb forms and tenses in modern Persian and in English. This study includes some paradigms and example sentences, as well as short descriptions of the structures and use.

The article by Holmberg & Odden (2008) focuses on the noun phrase in Hawrāmī (from Pāwa). The authors discuss areas such as the distribution and use of the two different ezāfe particles, the definiteness marker and the demonstrative, as well as details of number and case. The authors also treat questions involving the phrase level and ezāfe agreement.

The article by Mahmudweysi (Mahmoudveysi) & Haig (2009) is a treatment of expressions of modality and their occurrence in selected West Iranian languages. There are examples of these expressions from Hawrami, Kurdish, and Persian.

The article by Zolfaqari (2010) focuses on demographic information about Hawrāmī (and also discusses points about the larger group of Gūrānī). This article is based on recent fieldwork in Iran and also with reference to works of Iranian scholars. The author includes information on the background of Hawrāmī, the sociolinguistic situation in western Iran, and a detailed account of population figures in the towns and villages in the Hawrāmān area.

Another linguistic work includes a lengthy Hawrami-Kurdish dictionary authored by Jemāl Habīb Āṭe in 2010, published in Hewlêr, Kurdistan.

There are also some works available on Šabakī (Şebekî, Shebeki). There is a book of riddles, with the material collected and edited by Herdewêl Kakeyî (published as Kakeyî 2008a). The book by Kakeyî (2008b) presents Šabakī proverbs and idioms (248 pages) and includes comments, photos, and a CD of audio recordings. There is also a Šabakī-Kurdish (Sōrānī) dictionary by Kakeyî (n.d.) of 626 pages. These books by Kakeyî were published by the Enstîtuya Kelepûrê Kurdî (the Kurdish Heritage Institute).

The book by Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012), focuses on Gūrānī as it is spoken in Gawraĵū village. The book by Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013) treats Gūrānī as spoken in the village of Zarda in western Iran. These works consist of introductory information, a grammatical sketch, a selection of texts, a lexicon, and audio recordings of the texts.

The article by Kreyenbroek & Chamanara (2013) presents a discussion of characteristics of Gūrānī as it is represented in the older literary records, also referred to sometimes as Literary Gūrānī. This article focuses on the question of whether the language found in the old Gūrānī records can be regarded as a unified variety with defining features or whether it represents a range of features found in various dialects. There is also a discussion of grammatical features including the ezāfe particle, oblique case marking, and the definiteness suffix.

The article by Bistoon, Gheitury & Kazzazi (2013) deals with the semantics of kinship terms in Hawrami of Pāwa, Iran, and includes much well-organized lexical material.

The doctoral dissertation of Mahmoudveysi (2016) focuses especially on Gūrānī as a literary language and its poetry. It includes sections on linguistic features of Literary Gūrānī and of four spoken dialects (Hawrāmī, Kandūlayī, Gawraǰūyī, and Zardayāna). There is valuable discussion of phonological features, and it includes tables of grammatical morphemes.

1.12.2.4 Various cultural studies

There are also a number of studies that treat primarily cultural topics of the Gūrānī communities, only briefly noted here: Bruinessen (1992; 1998) (information on history, society, religion); Edmonds (1957) (cultural and historical information on the region, with chapters on the Kakai order, and the Hawrami and Jaf); Hooshmandrad (2004; 2014) (ethnomusicology of the Ahl-e Haqq of the Gūrān region, religion); Kreyenbroek (1996; 1998; 2006) (religion and culture, history); Leezenberg (1997) (the Shabak and Kākayī communities of northern Iraq); Minorsky (1921–22, as cited in Mann & Hadank 1930:1, 50–51), also Minorsky (1943; 1945) (history, Ahl-e Haqq); Mir-Hosseini (1996) (Ahl-e Haqq), and Vinogradov (1974) (a ethnographic study of the Shabak).

1.13 Current study

1.13.1 Research and corpus

1.13.1.1 Nature of the research

The primary language material for this study consists of oral texts and notes collected as part of the documentation project of Gūrānī (Gorani) that formed a part of the Dokumentation Bedrohter Sprachen (DoBeS) program, sponsored by the German VolkswagenStiftung. The grant for this project was awarded in 2007 to Ludwig Paul (Universität Hamburg), Geoffrey Haig (at that time, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, and since 2010, Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg), and Philip Kreyenbroek (Georg-August-Universität

Göttingen). Training through workshops and support through central digital archiving were provided by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, the Netherlands.

The language material was collected and recorded by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in two fieldwork trips to the Gawraǰū village area in October 2007 and October 2008. She was accompanied by Geoffrey Haig and Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini on the first visit. Geoffrey Haig assisted with the recordings and then helped to set up the files in the ELAN software program and develop a tentative orthography. Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini, who belongs to the religious leadership of the Yārsān (Ahl-e Haqq) community and is originally from the nearby town of Gahvāre, participated in some of the interviews and also facilitated the fieldwork visits.

The next stage of work involved more detailed processing of the language material. Parvin Mahmoudveysi, who is a native speaker of Hawrāmī of Pāwa, Iran, and also multilingual in Kurdish, Persian, German, and English, transcribed the texts and produced the initial translations. At this stage, beginning in February 2009, I joined the project and worked together with Parvin Mahmoudveysi to edit the transcriptions and to further translate and edit the texts, add notes and commentary, and develop a lexicon, also in regular consultation with Geoffrey Haig and Ludwig Paul. A number of sections of the grammar sketch were initially written by Ludwig Paul, who based his work on language material he had obtained in his fieldwork in Gawraǰū. The draft grammar sketch was then expanded and modified by Geoffrey Haig and myself in consultation with Parvin Mahmoudveysi, and was based on the spoken language material from the recorded texts.

The texts and linguistic descriptive materials are stored at the central digital archive site at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, the Netherlands for the Dokumentation Bedrohter Sprachen (DoBeS) program. They can be accessed at:

<http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/gorani/>

As noted above in Section 1.12.1, the results of this research were published as a book in 2012. The book contains background information, nine texts, the grammar sketch, a sample interlinear morphemic glossed text, and a lexicon.

For the current study, I continued analysis of the Gawraǰūyī language material in consultation with Parvin Mahmoudveysi. I had help with questions about the sociolinguistic situation and village through correspondence with Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini. I also had technical support from Nicholas Bailey.

Sources of other language material from Gūrānī varieties are noted where relevant.

1.13.1.2 Background of the text narrators

Six people from Gawraǰū provided the texts (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:4–5 with introductions to the texts). The narrator Arūs is a married woman, who was about thirty-five years old at the time of recording. She is a very fluent speaker of Gawraǰūyī and has little interference from Kurdish or Persian in her speech. She has had about four or five years of education and also speaks Kurdish and Persian.

Another speaker who provided texts is an older man named Alī Dūst. He was about seventy-five years of age at the time of recording. He has always lived in Gawraǰū village and had about four or five years of education. He also speaks Kurdish and Persian. He narrated the texts in very good Gawraǰūyī.

Three women also provided texts. Their names are abbreviated here as YFH, YFN, and YFF, for purposes of their privacy. They are all very good speakers of Gawraǰūyī. They also show a fair amount of contact influence from both Kurdish and Persian. They have all attended school in Persian.

A further narrator, Ama Rangīna, also provided a text. She was about sixty-five years old at the time of recording. She has lived in Gawraǰū her entire life.

1.13.1.3 Technical information

The texts were recorded with a Zoom H2 recorder, with the sound recorded in a linear Waveform Audio File Format (WAV) with the frequency set at 44 KHz (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:5). The program Adobe Audition was used at a later stage to adjust the volume of some of the recordings.

The texts were transcribed with corresponding audio data in the software program of EUDICO Linguistic Annotator (ELAN), Version 3.7.2. (and later versions) (for a program description, see Sloetjes & Wittenburg 2008).⁴⁹

The orthography for the Gawraǰūyī transcription was based on a Latin script traditionally used in Iranian studies, and further developed and modified by Geoffrey Haig, Parvin Mahmoudveysi, and Ludwig Paul (see Section 1.14 for details about this orthography).

As mentioned above, the texts were translated in several stages. I then entered the transcriptions and translations into a software program, FieldWorks Language Explorer

⁴⁹ ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator) is from the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive, Nijmegen, the Netherlands. It can be accessed at <http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>.

(FLEx), Version 7.0.3. (and later versions), in order to analyze the morphology, create interlinear glosses, and produce a lexicon.⁵⁰

1.13.1.4 Corpus

The corpus is primarily composed of the nine texts published in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012), unpublished field notes, and three previously unpublished texts (included here in the Appendix).

The audio recorded material totals 125 minutes, detailed as follows: The recordings of the published texts are 94 minutes in length, the recordings of the three unpublished texts are 23 minutes in length, and the recordings of the unpublished field notes, which are made up of primarily a set of elicited sentences, about 8 minutes in length.

Material from other Gūrānī varieties is also used for comparison, and the sources are noted where relevant.

Information is summarized in Table 2 below (see also Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:79):

⁵⁰ FieldWorks Language Explorer can be accessed at: <https://software.sil.org/fieldworks/>.

Table 2. Text corpus

| Text | Title | Content | Speaker(s) | M/F | Age | Minutes |
|------|---|----------------------------------|-------------|------|--------|---------|
| 1 | The tale of Bizbal | Traditional children's narrative | Arūs | F | 35 | 5:44 |
| 2 | Tītīla and Bībīla | Traditional children's narrative | Arūs | F | 35 | 5:56 |
| 3 | Mard and Namard | Traditional narrative | Arūs | F | 35 | 8:14 |
| 4 | Šīrin and Farhād | Traditional narrative | Alī Dūst | M | 70 | 13:52 |
| 5 | Rostam and Sohrāb | Traditional narrative | Alī Dūst | M | 70 | 13:47 |
| 6 | Recollections of the revolution | Personal history | Alī Dūst | M | 70 | 10:29 |
| 7 | Women's dress and customs | Descriptive with dialogue | YFH, YFN | F, F | 27, 30 | 21:22 |
| 8 | Traditions of weddings and marriage (1) | Descriptive with dialogue | YFH | F | 27 | 13:41 |
| 9 | Traditions of weddings and marriage (2) | Descriptive with dialogue | YFF, YFH | F, F | 29, 27 | 4:49 |
| 10 | A short account of life and work in the village | Descriptive | Ama Rangīna | F | 60/65 | 6:07 |
| 11 | The story of Mīnā and Gunka Čāyira | Traditional narrative | Arūs | F | 35 | 10:58 |
| 12 | The story of Sinderelā | Narrative | Arūs | F | 35 | 5:55 |
| H | Sentences | 32 elicited sentences | YFH, YFF | F, F | 27, 29 | 8:00 |

1.13.2 Theoretical approach and references

This study refers to several linguistic theories that are oriented towards form, function, and cognition. These include in particular the functional-typological approaches found in Givón (1984; 1990; 2011) and Payne (1997; 2006), and Basic Linguistic Theory as represented in Dixon (2010a; 2010b; 2012). Some points are influenced by Functional Grammar as represented in the work of Dik (1978; 1997a; 1997b). A few points of the description are influenced by Role and Reference Grammar, as found in the work of Van Valin & LaPolla (1997), as well as by what can be regarded as the relatively general approach (with assumptions from Lexical Functional Grammar) presented in Kroeger (2005). The description of information structure in Chapter 14 is based on the theoretical work of Lambrecht (1994; 2000), Lambrecht & Michaelis (1998), and its application in N. Bailey

(2009). The sociolinguistic observations are influenced by Hock & Joseph (1996) and Thomason (2001) as well as other work, noted where relevant.

Several grammatical descriptions written from functional theoretical perspectives have also been consulted for terms and ideas of organization. They include Baart (1999), Watters (2002), and Wilde (2008), and also works on specific Iranian languages (cited where relevant).

In this study, a primary assumption underlying the presentation and analysis of Gawraǰūyī material is that there is a distinction in language between forms and their functions (see Payne 2006:3–4, 8–9). The forms are basically structures given as meaningful units, as morphemes, and their shapes and combinations as words, sentences, and discourse, to be described as morphology and syntax. Forms are also described as entries in the lexicon. The functions are the uses of these forms as ‘tools’ by speakers, as they purposefully express ideas in communicating with others. Speakers use forms, for example, in particular combinations to convey such messages as the time of an event relative to the moment of speech, which can be described as the tense system. They may use forms to convey information about participants in an event, such as marking a participant as new to a scene or as unknown to the audience, which can be described as a system of definiteness or identifiability.

This general distinction between form and function in language is the basis of organization for the main parts of this study. The Gawraǰūyī forms are presented first, in Part I, while the functions, as relational systems, are presented in Part II.

1.14 Transcription and orthography

1.14.1 Latin script transcription of Gawraǰūyī language material

The Gawraǰūyī language material in this study is transcribed in a Latin script system developed and modified for Gawraǰūyī (by Geoffrey Haig, Parvin Mahmoudveysi, and Ludwig Paul; see Section 1.13.1.3). It was originally presented in Mahmoudveysi et al (2012). The system employs conventions in Iranian linguistic studies (including symbols with diacritics, such as <ī, ē, ā, ū, š, ž, ǰ>) and also from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) (including symbols <ɫ, ɦ>).⁵¹ This system thus differs from that which is based on Arabic script and used for Gūrānī literature as well as for Kurdish and Persian literature in the area.

⁵¹ IPA symbols are from the International Phonetic Alphabet (Revised to 2005) (Accessed on November 30, 2010: [http://www.langsci.ucl.ac.uk/ipa/IPA_chart_\(C\)2005.pdf](http://www.langsci.ucl.ac.uk/ipa/IPA_chart_(C)2005.pdf)). The symbols from the Iranian studies tradition do not follow a single source, but there are similar sets of symbols (including č, ǰ, š, ž, ɫ, y) found in publications, for example, by MacKenzie (1966; 1990a; 1990b).

The Gawraǰūyī orthographic system is mostly phonemic; that is, each orthographic symbol represents a phoneme. In the case of <gh>, a digraph represents a single phoneme. Some areas of complexity involve loans. The symbols <ʕ> and <ʔ> are used in the orthography but do not represent actual phonemes in the Gawraǰūyī inventory. These two symbols appear only in loanwords of ultimately Arabic origin and are preserved to reflect the source word orthography and to indicate the possibility of related phonological effects in the transferred form. The orthographic symbol <ħ> is used to represent a sound that is both a loan phoneme and also a member of the Gawraǰūyī phoneme inventory (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:10) (see also Section 2.3.13).

Table 3 below shows the correspondences of the phonemes and orthographic symbols. The Gawraǰūyī orthographic symbols are written to the left, while the corresponding IPA symbol is written on the right. The vowels are listed first, followed by the consonants. The consonants are also ordered according to their manner of articulation.

Table 3. Gawraǰūyī orthographic symbols with IPA correspondences

| Vowels | Consonants | | |
|-------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------|
| ī [i:] | p [p ^h] | n [n] | x [x] |
| i [i] - [ə] | b [b] | ř [r] | gh [ɣ] |
| ē [e:] | t [t ^h] | r [r] | h [h] |
| e [ɛ] | d [d] | f [f] | ħ [ħ] |
| a [æ] - [a] | k [k ^h] | s [s] | l [l] |
| ā [a:] | g [g] | z [z] | ł [ł] |
| o [o] | q [q] | š [ʃ] | y [j] |
| u [u] | ʕ [ʕ] | ž [ʒ] | w [w] |
| ū [u:] | ʔ [ʔ] | č [t ^h] | |
| ü [y] | m [m] | ǰ [dʒ] | |

In Chapter 2, describing the phonology of Gawraǰūyī, phonetic data are transcribed in the IPA and enclosed by square brackets, as [...]. Phonemic data in these sections are enclosed by slashes, as /.../. Orthographic symbols are enclosed by brackets <...> or simply written in italic font.

1.14.2 Citation of language material using other Latin script systems

Language material taken from other sources are usually written as they are found in those sources. These sources may employ other Latin script systems, such as a standard system recognized in Iranian studies for Persian (for example, the system used by the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1969, as listed in the table by Pedersen 2005); or a modified

system used for transcription of Iranian languages other than Persian (for example, Fattah 2000; MacKenzie 1966; 1990a; 1990b; Mann & Hadank 1930). In some instances, the material from other sources is modified to the system used for Gawraǰūyī in order to facilitate comparison.

1.14.3 Conventions for transcription of text material

Much of the Gawraǰūyī language material for the grammatical description originally appears in the published collection of Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012) (Texts 1–9). In some instances, this material (including gloss and translation) is revised and updated, thus differing in minor ways from what is found in the 2012 publication. Further Gawraǰūyī language material is also taken from three previously unpublished texts (Texts 10, 11, and 12), included in the Appendix of the current study.

The text material has been transcribed and organized using the following conventions: The location of material in the texts is indicated by numbers following an example, enclosed in square brackets. The number of the text is given first, followed by a colon and the number of the sentence. An example is shown here with material from Text 5, sentence 52:

až ānā nimanīšim ‘there I will not reside’ [5:52]

Text material distinct from the object of study is enclosed by curly brackets and noted, for example: {Kurdish: ...} or {poetic: ...}.

Material such as enclitics or morphemes attached to enclitics are linked by a hyphen (-) in the published texts but by an equal sign (=) in this grammatical description. The use of the hyphen is illustrated here preceding the enclitics *yč* ‘also, in turn’ and *ū* ‘and’:

Published text: pišiyaka-yč makariya dād-u hāwār ‘the cat in turn calls out for help’ [1:13]

Grammatical description: pišiyaka=yč makariya dād=u hāwār ‘the cat in turn calls out for help’ [1:13]

Linguistic material that is assumed but for some reason not overtly manifested in a particular instance is nevertheless transcribed in parentheses. For example, in the word *bāšā(d)* ‘all right’ [1:68], the segment *d* is not realized but still included in parentheses in the standardized transcription.

1.14.4 Proper names

Proper names that are easily recognized by English speakers are written according to standard English conventions or as they appear in the source of information. Because of the variety of sources and their own systems of transcriptions, some of the proper names in this study may appear spelled in several different ways, but it is assumed that the names are still

identifiable in context. Sometimes an alternate spelling is given in parentheses. In some instances, diacritics may be omitted.

Many of the Gūrānī or Kurdish names are standardized to Gūrānī or Kurdish spelling conventions or written as in the source.

In the translation of the Gawraǰūyī material, the proper names are written as they appear in Gawraǰūyī.

1.14.5 Language material and use of fonts

In the prose sections of this study, material (as the object of study) from the Gawraǰūyī corpus and from other languages is written in italics. In the numbered examples, tables, and as the phonetic and phonemic items in the phonological description, however, the material is written in normal font (no italics).

1.14.6 Free translations of examples

The free translations of the examples are given beneath the interlinear glosses. In these free translations, final punctuation is usually omitted.

Information in the translation which is only implied or not explicit in the Gūrānī language material is occasionally included in the free translation and enclosed by parentheses.

PART II: STRUCTURES OF GAWRAJŪYĪ

2. CHAPTER 2. PHONOLOGY

The description here of the phonology builds on the introductory information in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:9–12). The new information consists of description of the individual phonemes, stress and intonation, syllable and word structure, and major phonological and morphophonemic processes.

2.1 Phoneme inventory

The phonemes of Gawraǰūyī are presented in the following sections. The consonants are introduced first and then the vowels.

The structure of the tables in these sections generally corresponds to the columns, rows, and labels used in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The symbols in the tables, however, are not written in the IPA but in the Gawraǰūyī orthography, which is phonemic. For correspondences of the Gawraǰūyī orthographic symbols to the IPA symbols, see Table 3.

The individual phonemes are described below. For each phoneme, examples are given of the phoneme in the different positions in which it can be found in a word (including in loanwords).

There are several qualifications regarding the following description. The examples of the sounds are all found in words occurring in text material rather than a word list. The sounds are also described according to my perception of them from audio recordings rather than from instrumental measurements.

2.2 Consonants

Table 4 below presents the Gawraǰūyī consonants. The labels here follow the order of the IPA in manner of articulation, with the exception that in this table, the fricatives are listed after the plosives, and the affricates are added. The table has similarities to the one in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:10), though it also has several differences in organization, such as the addition of the category bilabial and labiodental, separate rows for the trill and tap, and includes information on loans.

Table 4. Gawraǰūyī consonant phonemes

| | Bilabial | Labio-dental | Alveolar | Post-alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Uvular | Pharyngeal | Glottal |
|--------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|---------------|---------|--------------------------------|-----------|---|-----------------------|
| Plosive | p b | | t d | | | k g | q | | (ʔ: rare loan symbol) |
| Affricate | | | | č ǰ | | | | | |
| Fricative | | f (v: rare loan symbol) | s z | š ž | | x (xw: marginal, perhaps loan) | gh (loan) | ħ (native and loan) (ʕ: loan symbol) | h |
| Nasal | m | | n | | | | | | |
| Trill | | | ř | | | | | | |
| Tap | | | r | | | | | | |
| Lateral simple/velarized | | | l ɭ | | | | | | |
| Semivowel | w | | | | y | | | | |

2.3 Description of the consonant phonemes

As shown in Table 4 above, the consonant phonemes of Gawraǰūyī are:

/ p, t, k, b, d, g, t, f, s, š, x, ħ, h, z, ž, č, ǰ, m, n, r, ř, w, y, l, ɭ /

The phonemes /ʔ, ʕ, gh, v/ appear only in loanwords; and /q/ is found mainly in loanwords (see also Section 2.6.2).

The consonants are described here according to classes and relevant grouping. Examples are given of the consonants in various environments and positions in the word.

The data are transcribed in Gawraǰūyī orthography and also in the IPA where relevant. In the IPA transcriptions, stress is marked only in those instances in which it does not follow the predictable stress placement rules.

2.3.1 /p/: Voiceless bilabial plosive

The plosive /p/ is found in word-initial, intervocalic, and rarely, word-final position. It can have a degree of audible aspiration. The aspiration is not contrastive and seems to occur

to varying degrees. It is more consistently audible on the plosive in word-initial position. The plosive also is attested in one example as unreleased in word-final position.

Examples of /p/ in various environments include:

- (1) pal [p^hæɫ] ‘leaf’ [1:25]
- (2) pēš [p^heʃ] ‘ago’ [8:105]
- (3) čapa [tʃ^hæp^hæ] ‘bouquet’ [1:111]
- (4) qāpī [qap^hi] ‘gate’ [4:27]
- (5) qap [qæp̚] ‘bite’ [2:86]

2.3.2 /t/: Voiceless alveolar plosive

The plosive /t/ also occurs in word-initial, intervocalic, and word-final positions. It has non-contrastive aspiration. In word-final position, this aspiration may be very light, or reduced and inaudible, and the plosive may be unreleased. There are also a few instances in which the plosive in word-final position seems to be slightly voiced.

Examples of /t/ in various environments include:

- (6) tīž [t^hiʒ] ‘sharp’ [2:80]
- (7) dita [di^htæ] ‘girl’ [3:91]
- (8) šakat [ʃæk^hæt̚] ‘tired’ [3:15]
- (9) ħaft [ħaft^h] ‘seven’ [1:42]
- (10) nawāt [næwad/t] ‘NEG_2.say.PST’ [4:187]

2.3.3 /k/: Voiceless velar plosive

The plosive /k/ is frequently found in word-initial position and occasionally in word-final position. It also appears in intervocalic position. It has non-contrastive aspiration, which may vary slightly in degree. In word-final position, the aspiration may be reduced or inaudible, or the plosive may be unreleased.

The transcription and phonetic realizations of this plosive in the definiteness morpheme *-aka* are complicated and discussed further below in Section 4.1.5.2.

Examples of /k/ include:

- (11) ka [k^hæ] ‘house’ [8:52]
- (12) kā [k^ha] ‘Mister’ [2:29]

- (13) kiḥāš [k^hḥāʃ] ‘shoes’ [4:21]
 (14) šakat [ʃæk^hætʰ] ‘tired’ [3:15]
 (15) pāk [p^hak] ‘pure’ [5:145]

2.3.4 /q/: Voiceless uvular plosive

The voiceless uvular plosive primarily appears in loanwords. There may be a slight or irregular degree of aspiration (aspiration is not transcribed here).

Examples of /q/ in various environments include:

- (16) quṭang [quṭæŋ] ‘pickaxe’ [4:170]
 (17) qurbān [qurban] ‘sacrifice’ [3:75]
 (18) taqī [t^hæqi] ‘burst.PST’ [2:41]
 (19) xarqa [xærqæ] ‘robe’ [4:18]
 (20) řafiq [ræfiq] ‘friend’ [3:1]

2.3.5 /b/: Voiced bilabial plosive

The voiced bilabial plosive /b/ is realized as [b] mainly in word-initial position (or in stem-initial position in compound words).

In intervocalic and word-final positions, /b/ typically undergoes lenition (see Section 2.11.2.1), though not in some loanwords.

Examples of /b/ include:

- (21) bān [ban] ‘roof’ [2:67]
 (22) bā [ba] ‘let it be’ [4:59]
 (23) xanabanān [xænæbænan] ‘xanabanān (party)’ [7H:108] (compound with stem *ban-*)
 (24) sabad [sæbæð] ‘basket’ [7H:110] (loanword?)
 (25) ħejāb [ħedʒab] ‘ħejāb dress code’ [7H:5]
 (26) qablan [qæblæn] ‘earlier’ [7N:17]

2.3.6 /d/: Voiced alveolar plosive

The plosive /d/ is realized as [d] in word-initial position.

In intervocalic position and word-final position, it can also occasionally undergo lenition (see Section 2.11.2.1), with the effect of slight devoicing.

Examples of /d/ include:

- (27) dūr [dyr] ‘far’ [8:113]
- (28) dita [dit^hæ] ‘daughter’ [3:84]
- (29) edāma [ɛdamæ] ‘continuation’ [7N:53]
- (30) qadīm [qædim] ‘old’ [7N:132]
- (31) mard [mærd] ‘Mard (name)’ [3:77]
- (32) baʿd [ba:d] ‘then’ [5:55]
- (33) baʿd [ba:t] ‘then’ [5:115] (slight devoicing)
- (34) gard [gærd] ‘with’ [3:32]
- (35) gard [gært] ‘with’ [5:90] (slight devoicing)

In the following lexical item, what is assumed to be an underlying /d/ is consistently realized as an approximant or even a fricative [ɣ], that is, in the velar place of articulation, though with less friction:

- (36) didān [diɣan] ‘teeth’ [2:81]

2.3.7 /g/: Voiced velar plosive

The voiced velar plosive /g/ is found in various environments. It is consistently realized as [g] in word-initial position. In intervocalic position, /g/ typically undergoes lenition (see Section 2.11.2.1).⁵²

Examples of /g/ include:

- (37) gala [gælæ] ‘flock’ [2:4]
- (38) gawrā [gæwra] ‘big’ [7N:73]
- (39) gīwa [giwæ] ‘traditional cloth shoes’ [4:21]
- (40) agara [ʔægæræ] ‘if’ [7N:6] (realized as [g])
- (41) bigardinē [ʔbigærdne] ‘she may offer’ [7N:96] (realized as [g])

⁵² The realization of the sound as a plosive or with lenition is also likely to be affected by stress patterns. This process may be seen on verb stems that preserve a stem-initial [g] when preceded by the stressed subjunctive prefix *bi-* (see below for the example *bigardinē*), differing from the lenition that occurs when the stem is preceded with unstressed indicative *ma-* (see below for the example *magardim*) (noted by Geoffrey Haig, p.c.).

- (42) magardim [mæwærdim] ‘I wander about’ [3:102] (realized as [w])
- (43) magirt [mæɣirt] ‘it would have borne’ [3:44] (realized as [ɣ])
- (44) ayar [ʔæɣær] ‘if’ [7N:53] (realized as [ɣ])

For discussion of the plosive /g/ as it is realized in the definiteness morpheme *-aka* [æɣæ]/[æɣæ], see Section 2.11.2.1.

In the Gawraǰūyī text corpus, no occurrences are found of the voiced velar plosive in a postvocalic position preceding a pause, that is, in word-final position. The plosive is only found in word-final position as the final element of the cluster /ng/ or /rg/. In the cluster /ng/, the plosive tends to be realized as a velar nasal [ŋ], but in some instances, there is a slightly audible [g]. For example:

- (45) quṭang [quṭæŋ] ‘pickaxe’ [4:86]
- (46) māng [maŋ] ‘month’ [4:188]
- (47) tifang [tʰifæŋ] ‘rifle’ [6:81]

In the cluster /rg/ in word-final position, the voiced velar plosive must be further tested for quality. In the following example, it seems to occur as a plosive:

- (48) marg [mærg] ‘death’ [2:95]

In the following word, the quality of what is transcribed as a plosive is unclear. It actually seems to be realized as a fricative or an approximant (further testing is needed):

- (49) gurg [gʊɣ] or [gʊrw] ‘wolf’ [2:63]

2.3.8 /f/: Voiceless labiodental fricative

In the consonant inventory, the class of fricatives exhibits the most distinctions in place of articulation. Contrary to what one might expect with such a complex system, however, there is no voiced counterpart to the fricative /f/ in the Gawraǰūyī system. In the text corpus, the orthographic symbol <v> appears only once, found in an obvious loanword, and is thus considered only a ‘loan symbol’ rather than a phoneme. In this instance, it not clearly audible, and instead seems to be a semivowel [w]:

- (50) nāmovafāq [namwofaq] ‘unsuccessful’ [9:71]

The fricative /f/ is found in all positions in a word, though it appears to be rare in word-medial, intervocalic position.

Examples of /f/ include:

- (51) fra [fræ] ‘much, many’ [3:15]

(52) *tifang* [tʰifæŋg] ‘rifle’ [6:81]

(53) *haft* [haft] ‘seven’ [3:96]

(54) *kaf* [kʰæf] ‘foam’ [2:14]

2.3.9 /s/: Voiceless alveolar fricative

The voiceless alveolar fricative is found as word-initial, intervocalic, and word-final, as illustrated here:

(55) *sāt* [saʈ] ‘year’ [9:72]

(56) *kāsa* [kʰasæ] ‘bowl’ [2:58]

(57) *garsī* [gær̥si] ‘search.PST’ [4:23]

(58) *řuwās* [ruwas] ‘fox’ [2:63]

2.3.10 /š/: Voiceless postalveolar fricative

The voiceless postalveolar fricative is also found as word-initial, preceding consonant, intervocalic, and word-final:

(59) *šal* [ʃæl] ‘lame’ [2:3]

(60) *šīt* [ʃitʰ] ‘crazy’ [3:64]

(61) *īštan* [ʔiʃtʰæn] ‘RFL’ [3:6]

(62) *baš* [bæʃ] ‘portion’ [2:92]

(63) *waš* [wæʃ] ‘good, pleasant’ [1:104]

2.3.11 /x/: Voiceless velar fricative

The voiceless velar fricative /x/ is found as word-initial and intervocalic. Its occurrence in word-final position is infrequent in the text corpus (appearing in only four words).

Examples include:

(64) *xāk* [xak] ‘earth’ [5:73]

(65) *xirs* [xirs] ‘bear’ [2:54]

(66) *āxir* [ʔaxir] ‘but, then’ [5:140]

(67) *taxt* [tʰæxt] ‘throne’ [6:16]

(68) *šāx* [ʃax] ‘horn’ [2:65]

2.3.12 /xw/: Voiceless velar fricative with unclear degree of rounding

The sound /xw/ appears in only a few words. It seems to be realized as a voiceless velar fricative with a degree of rounding. In terms of timing, the rounding seems to be occurring more as an offglide than as simultaneous. It is treated here as a marginal phoneme (more research is needed for a clear analysis). For example:

(69) xwā [x^ua] ‘God’ [5:148]

2.3.13 /ħ/: Voiceless pharyngeal fricative

This fricative is found primarily in words that appear to be ultimately from Arabic, though it also appears in Gawraǰūyī *ħaft* ‘seven’, which is of Iranian origin.⁵³ As a pharyngeal sound, it is one of the less common consonants in languages of the world (see Maddieson (2011b:n.p.). It seems to be uttered with a relatively slight degree of pharyngealization and may vary occasionally with /h/.

In the text corpus, it is found infrequently in word-initial and word-medial (intervocalic) positions. It is not found in word-final position, apart from in what could be an interjection, *aħ* ‘eh’ [5:51]. In the recorded texts, this sound can be difficult to clearly distinguish, and it deserves further testing, especially with live speakers.

Examples are given here:

(70) ħasār [ħæsar] ‘courtyard’ [5:103]

(71) ħaft [ħaft^h] ‘seven’ [1:42]

(72) aħyānan [ʔæħjanæn] ‘accidentally’ [9:32]

2.3.14 /h/: Glottal fricative

The glottal fricative /h/ seems to be most frequently found in word-initial position. But in certain words, it is sometimes elided in word-initial position, such as in the verb *(h)āma* ‘come.PST’ [8:125].

In word-final position, /h/ only appears in a few items in the Gawraǰūyī text corpus, such as in one loanword (see below) and what might be considered an interjection, *eh* (or *ah*) ‘eh’ [5:121]. It is occasionally found in word-final position in *da* ‘ten’ [8:61], though it is not transcribed in the orthography.

⁵³ See Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:10, as noted by Nicholas Sims-Williams in a review of an early draft of that publication.

Examples of /h/ follow:

- (73) har [hær] ‘each’ [3:52]
- (74) wahār [wæhar] ‘spring’ [4:153]
- (75) eslāh [ɛslah] ‘hair removal’ [7N:5]

Some Gawraǰūyī words with /h/ can occur in alternation with Kurdish words with /k/:

- (76) hānī [hani] ‘spring’ [1:97]
- (77) kānī [k^hani] ‘spring’ [1:96] (Kurdish)

2.3.15 /z/: Voiced alveolar fricative

The phoneme /z/ is common and found in various environments, as word-initial, intervocalic, following a consonant, and word-final. A few examples follow:

- (78) zamīn [zæmin] ‘ground’ [2:51]
- (79) xazāna [xæzanæ] ‘treasury’ [4:207]
- (80) pānza [p^hanzæ] ‘fifteen’ [7N:55] (With possible nasalization of first vowel and assimilation of [n] and [z].)
- (81) nāmzadī [namzædi] ‘engagement’ [7N:69]
- (82) paz [p^hæz] ‘flock’ [4:153]

2.3.16 /ž/: Voiced postalveolar fricative

The phoneme /ž/ is also common and appears in various environments:

- (83) žīr [žir] ‘under, lower’ [1:7]
- (84) ažin [æžin] ‘from it’ [2:29]
- (85) hažda [hæždæ] ‘eighteen’ [6:90]
- (86) až [æž] ‘in, from (etc.)’ [1:24]

2.3.17 /č/: Voiceless postalveolar affricate

The phoneme /č/ has a slight degree of non-contrastive aspiration. This phoneme is common and appears in word-initial, intervocalic, and word-final positions:

- (87) čam [tʃ^hæm] ‘eye’ [5:88]
- (88) kuča [k^hutʃ^hæ] ‘stone’ [2:49]

- (89) hūč [hytʰ] ‘nothing’ [2:86]

2.3.18 /ʃ/: Voiced postalveolar affricate

The phoneme /ʃ/ is found in word-initial and medial positions, but does not appear in word-final position in the text corpus:

- (90) ǰwān [dʒwan] ‘young’ [5:31]
 (91) řijā [riɖʒa] ‘request’ [1:80]
 (92) dāʔagijān [daʔægɪɖʒan] ‘vultures’ [4:180]
 (93) paŋjā [pʰændʒa] ‘fifty’ [7H:91]

2.3.19 /m/: Voiced bilabial nasal

The phoneme /m/ is also common and appears in various environments:

- (94) māmir [mamɪr] ‘chicken’ [1:64]
 (95) kamā [kʰæma] ‘arrow’ [5:97]
 (96) dam [dæm] ‘mouth’ [3:87]

2.3.20 /n/: Voiced alveolar nasal

The nasal /n/ also appears in various environments:

- (97) nām [nam] ‘name’ [5:8]
 (98) mināʔ [mɪnaʔ] ‘child’ [5:135]
 (99) didān [diɖan] ‘tooth’ [2:81]

The nasal /n/ appears to be realized as [ŋ] before the plosive /g/, with the nasal assimilating to a velar place of articulation (noted also in Section 2.9), in which case the plosive is usually not audible. The process takes place for the sequence in word-final position (the sequence is never found in word-initial position). It is not yet clear if this process can take place for the sequence in intervocalic position, though it seems possible. More testing is needed.⁵⁴ Examples are shown here:

- (100) ǰangāna [dʒæŋganæ] ‘fights.DEM’ [6:82] (possible assimilation?)
 (101) quʔang [quʔæŋ] ‘pickaxe’ [4:86]

⁵⁴ In Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:11), the velar nasal is noted, and an analysis of a sequence, /n/ + /g/, is suggested.

(102) paŋang [p^hætæŋ] ‘leopard’ [3:110]

2.3.21 /ʀ/: Voiced alveolar trill

The trill /ʀ/ appears to be found in all positions in the word, though there is no clearly audible example of it as word-final. Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:10) treats its status as undefined and suggests the possible analysis that it is in complementary distribution with the voiced alveolar flap /r/ (see Section 2.3.22).

Examples of the trill include:

(103) řā [ra] ‘way’ [2:14]

(104) ařā [æra] ‘for, to’ [1:18]

(105) kuřa [k^huræ] ‘boy’ [5:137]

2.3.22 /r/: Voiced alveolar flap

The flap is found in intervocalic and word-final positions. It does not normally appear in word-initial position.

Examples of the flap include:

(106) bēčāra [bet^haræ] ‘poor one’ [11:10]

(107) xurī [xuri] ‘yarn’ [11:11]

(108) čwār [t^hwar] ‘four’ [3:72]

(109) dar [dær] ‘on’ [7H:29]

2.3.23 /w/: Voiced labiovelar approximant

The voiced labiovelar approximant is also listed as a semivowel. It does not have any audible quality of frication. The phoneme is found as word-initial, intervocalic, and word-final:

(110) war [wær] ‘sun’ [2:20]

(111) waš [wæʃ] ‘pleasant’ [1:104]

(112) šawī [ʃæwi] ‘dress’ [7N:133]

(113) qawī [qæwi] ‘strong, hard’ [2:27]

(114) āw [ʔaw] ‘water’ [1:109]

2.3.24 /y/: Voiced palatal approximant

The phoneme /y/ is also listed as a semivowel. It occurs in word-initial, intervocalic, and word-final positions:

- (115) yā [ja] ‘or’ [4:188]
 (116) sīyā [sija] ‘black’ [2:47]
 (117) kūy [k^huj] ‘zucchini, squash’ [7H:27]

2.3.25 /l/: Voiced lateral approximant

The voiced lateral approximant /l/ appears in word-initial, intervocalic, and most word-final positions. It does not seem to be found in word-final position following the vowel /ā/, while the velarized lateral approximant /ɭ/ can occur in that environment.

There is a rare instance of slight palatalization of the lateral approximant attested in the word *čila* ‘(unknown gloss)’ [5:164], realized as [tʰi^hɭæ].⁵⁵

Examples of words with /l/ include:

- (118) lā [la] ‘side, presence’ [1:45]
 (119) lālo [lalo] ‘uncle’ [2:91]
 (120) čil [tʰi^hɭ] ‘forty’ [4:151]
 (121) pal [p^hæɭ] ‘leaf’ [1:23]

2.3.26 /ɭ/: Voiced lateral velarized approximant

The velarized lateral approximant is not attested in word-initial position.

Examples of words with this sound include:

- (122) baṭē [bæte] ‘yes’ [1:102]
 (123) kiṭāš [k^hɭaʃ] ‘shoes’ [4:21]
 (124) kučāṭa [k^huɭ^hæɭæ] ‘small bowl’ [2:58]
 (125) čāṭ [tʰaɭ] ‘pit’ [3:57]
 (126) diṭ [diɭ] ‘heart’ [9:78]

⁵⁵ There can be some palatalization of the lateral in the Gūrānī variety of Zardayāna (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:13) and in Laki, another West Iranian language (Lazard 1992b:216; Anonby 2004/2005:16).

2.3.27 Question of gemination

Several words are transcribed in the texts with doubled consonants (gemination), <nn>, but it has not been possible to ascertain length at this stage without instrumental measurement. The consonants might have been written as doubled to preserve the orthography of the word in the source language. The following words must be tested further for gemination:

- (127) zinna [zɪnæ] ‘alive’ [2:20] (no audible length)
 (128) ʃahānnimā [dʒa:nɪma] ‘world’ [4:176] (no audible length on consonant)
 (129) sunnī [suni] ‘Sunni’ [7N:87] (little to no audible length)

2.4 Vowels

The approximate positions of the vowels are shown below in Table 5. This table has similarities to the table in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:11), but also has differences in the placement of the vowels /i/ and /u/. This table also lists /ö/ in parentheses as a rare phoneme, /e/ as a loan phoneme, and includes the labels of ‘close-mid’ and ‘open-mid’.

Table 5. Gawraǰūyī vowel phonemes

| | Front | Central | Back |
|-----------|-------------|---------|------|
| Close | ī ü | | ū |
| | | i | u |
| Close-mid | ē (ö) | | o |
| Open-mid | (loan: e) a | | |
| Open | | ā | |

2.5 Description of the vowel phonemes

As shown in Table 5 above, the vowel phonemes in Gawraǰūyī are:

/ī, i, ē, e, a, ā, o, ü, ū, u/ and a rare phoneme /ö/.⁵⁶

The vowels are described here in terms of their height and close/lax articulation. The vowels /i, ī, e, ē, a, ā, u, ū/ are also described in terms of length. The relationship of length and close/open articulation is not yet clear, and more precise analysis is needed. Past studies use various terms. For example, in describing Hawrāmī (Luhōn) vowels, MacKenzie (1966:8)

⁵⁶ The vowels are described with reference to the vowel chart of the IPA by the International Phonetics Association (2005) and to the vowel chart in Hosken & Priest (2007:3).

uses the terms ‘long’ and ‘short’, while Windfuhr (1989b:252) notes the distinction as lax/tense for vowels Western Iranian dialects in general. For Kurdish (Sōrānī of Sulaimania), McCarus (2009:591) notes that the vowel contrasts are found in length, height, and tenseness.

The rounded vowels /o, ü, ū/ are also a topic for further research. A long counterpart of /o/ might exist, as /ō/, or it may be an allophone of /ū/ (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:11). The sound does not seem to be unambiguously evident in the text material. The rounded vowels also have comparable and contrastive features, as noted below in the relevant sections, but these features have not yet been tested with speakers or measured with instruments. The rare phoneme /ö/ is discussed below in Section 2.5.7.

2.5.1 /i/: Close front unrounded vowel

The phoneme /i/ is the cardinal vowel [i]. It occurs in environments as word-initial, between consonants, and word-final:

- (130) ī [ʔi] ‘PROX.DEM.ADJ’ [9:81]
 (131) īštan [iʃtʰæn] ‘RFL’ [7H:123]
 (132) šīr [ʃir] ‘milk’ [1:3]
 (133) hānī [hani] ‘water spring’ [1:97]

2.5.2 /i/: Near-close front/central unrounded vowel

The articulation of this vowel approaches [ɪ] and also a high central unrounded vowel [ɨ].

The vowel /i/ has limited distribution in that it never occurs in word-initial position. It also almost never occurs in word-final position, except in the word *čī* ‘what’ [3:30].

This vowel is also frequently elided in certain environments (see Section 2.11.3).⁵⁷

Examples follow:

- (134) min [min] ‘1SG’ [1:35]
 (135) āyir [ʔajir] ‘fire’ [5:82]

⁵⁷ A similar type of ‘mid-high, mid-closed, unrounded’ vowel is found in Northern Kurdish (Kurmanji), but it is presented in Haig & Öpengin (to appear:11–14) as distinguishing two variants (though written with one symbol): The first is termed the ‘lexical central vowel’, is stressed and cannot be deleted in certain phonological environments, while the second, termed the ‘epenthetic central vowel’ is regarded as a ‘default’ vowel and occurs in processes of epenthesis that take place under certain conditions involving syllable structure and breaking up consonant clusters in onsets and codas. A similar analysis might also apply to the Gawraǰūyī vowel (the Northern Kurdish analysis was brought to my attention by Geoffrey Haig, p.c.).

- (136) čī [tʃ^hi] ‘what’ [12:20]

2.5.3 /ē/: Close-mid front unrounded vowel

As noted in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:11), the vowel /ē/ is phonetically close to /ī/. There is occasional alternation of these two vowels in the same word by the same speaker, such as in the word *ēma* ‘1PL_2’ (‘we’) as [ʔe:mæ] in [1:61], but [ʔi:mæ] in [1:63]. This alternation might be attributed to contact influence from Southern Kurdish, in which this word is also realized as [i:mə]. The alternation of mid and high front vowels (/ē/ and /ī/, respectively) takes place only in a few words that Gawraǰūyī shares with Southern Kurdish. The forms with /ī/ are regarded as more typical of Southern Kurdish.

The vowel /ē/ occurs rarely in word-initial position (only two lexical items in our corpus), and also is relatively infrequent in word-medial position. It is found more frequently in word-final position, however.

Examples include:

- (137) ēma [ʔemæ] ‘1PL_2’ [1:61]
 (138) kulēra [k^hʊleræ] ‘kulēra bread’ [7N:137]
 (139) sē [se] ‘three’ [3:42]

2.5.4 /e/: Open-mid front unrounded vowel

The vowel /e/ is articulated as [ɛ], but occasionally seems to vary between [e] and [i̯]. It is difficult to determine its quality.

It is also noted below (see Section 2.6.1) as a possible loan phoneme, because it occurs most commonly in loanwords from Persian, such as *entexāb* ‘choice’ [7H:145], *eslāh* ‘hair removal’ [7N:5], and *ārāyeš* ‘make-up’ [7N:5].

It might also be found in Gawraǰūyī as the *ezāfe* particle = *e*, though the exact quality of the vowel in this particle is not yet analyzed.

This vowel appears in word-initial and intervocalic environments. It only occurs in word-final position as the *ezāfe* particle, connecting it to another form, and not strictly preceding a pause.

Examples of the vowel include:

- (140) engelīs [ʔɛŋgelis] ‘England’ [6:96]
 (141) čena [tʃ^henæ] ‘that much’ [7H:59]
 (142) luxt = e [luxt^hɛ] ‘uncovered = EZ’ [7H:3]

2.5.5 /ā/: Open central unrounded vowel

The vowel /ā/ seems to be articulated in a relatively low position. It is not yet clear if this sound has any quality of rounding.

The vowel can appear in various positions in a word:

(143) āyam [ʔajæm] ‘human being’ [3:44]

(144) dār [dar] ‘tree’ [3:44]

(145) āsā [asa] ‘then’ [11:54]

2.5.6 /a/: Near-open front unrounded vowel

The vowel /a/ is usually articulated as close to [æ], but seems to also range in variation to [ɛ] or [ə]. This range of realizations is also noted in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:11) and that it can be realized as a schwa or elided in fast speech.

It is a very common phoneme and found in Gawraǰūyī words as well as in loanwords. It can appear as word-initial, between consonants, or word-final:

(146) asp [ʔæsp^h] ‘horse’ [4:99]

(147) quṭang [quṭæŋ] ‘pickaxe’ [4:86]

(148) dāya [ˈdajæ] ‘mother’ [11:41]

2.5.7 /o/: Close-mid back rounded vowel

The vowel /o/ has limited distribution in word-initial position, in what appears to be loanwords. In other positions, it is only found in a few words, such as those formed with the stem *řo* ‘go.PRS’.

In some words, such as *lālo* ‘uncle’ [2:91], the vowel seems to be articulated as close-mid to close, thus approaching [ʊ] or [u].

There is also free variation of the close-mid [o] and close [u] in the word transcribed as both *bo* ‘SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG’ [6:45] and *bū* [6:46].

It is noted in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:11) that a long counterpart, /ō/, was found in initial fieldwork, but it is suggested that this sound might be an allophone of /ū/ or the realization of the semivowel /w/, such as in the sequence transcribed as *-aw*. The existence of the long /ō/ is not discussed further here.

Examples of /o/ are shown here:

(149) orda [ʔordæ] ‘authority’ [9:4]

(150) mařoma [mæromæ] ‘I go to’ [5:137]

(151) lālo [lalo] ‘uncle’ [2:91]

(152) bo [bo] ‘SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG’ [6:120]

2.5.8 /ö/: Close-mid front rounded vowel?

It is also mentioned in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:11) that the possibility exists of a marginal phoneme /ö/. The quality of this vowel is not clearly audible in the text recordings, however, and it is transcribed only very rarely in our text corpus. Its status deserves further study. Possible examples of the vowel, which need to be confirmed, are found in:

(153) dö [dø] ‘two’ [11:17]

(154) nö [nø] ‘anew’ [11:27]

2.5.9 /ü/: Near-close front rounded vowel

The vowel /ü/ is realized by one of the narrators, Alī Dūst, but in some words, another narrator, Arūs, seems to utter this sound with less or no fronting. In our transcription, the words still are written with the fronted vowel (as *řüž* ‘day’ [2:28], *dü* ‘two’ [2:31]) for the purpose of consistency in the texts. It may be possible, however, that different speakers use one or the other, /ü/ and /ū/. The transcription of this vowel should be reviewed and tested with Gawraǰūyī speakers in future study. There is also alternation of this sound in the loanwords (Persian) *řū(z)* ‘day’ [8:6] and (Kurdish) *řü(ž)* [5:164].

The vowel /ü/ never occurs in word-initial position, though it can occur elsewhere.

Examples include:

(155) p^hül [p^hyl] ‘money’ [7H:106]

(156) hüč [hyt^h] ‘nothing’ [2:86]

(157) dü [dy] ‘two’ [2:31] (or: [du])

(158) dūr [dyr] ‘far’ [8:113]

(159) mü [my] ‘hair’ [7N:5]

2.5.10 /ū/: Close back rounded vowel

As noted above under /o/, the vowel /ū/ may be realized as close-mid in some words or it can be found in variation with /o/. The position of these /o/ and /ū/ variants seem to be word-final.

This vowel is found in word-initial position in only one instance (see below), while it is frequently found in other positions.

Examples include:

(160) ūrdū [urdu] ‘camp’ [5:136]

(161) tūša [t^huʃæ] ‘victuals’ [3:6]

(162) kū [k^hu] ‘mountain’ [2:34]

2.5.11 /u/: Near-close back rounded vowel

The vowel /u/ seems to range in its realization as sometimes near-close but also close, approaching [u].

The vowel /u/ is limited in distribution and only occurs in word-initial position in the word *usā* ‘master tradesman’ [1:52]. It can occur in other positions in the word, however.

This vowel appears in the enclitic =*u* ‘and’ [3:114], but in some instances of the enclitic at the end of a sentence, it can be realized with a slight degree of length, such as in [2:53] and [2:79].

The vowel is frequently found following velar consonants /g/ and /k/, such as *gurg* ‘wolf’ [2:29] and *kušt* ‘kill.PST’ [4:140]. It is also frequently found in loanwords ultimately from Arabic, such as *muttaqan* ‘definitely’ [7H:10] and *musaxar* ‘occupied’ [6:31]. Examples of this vowel are given here:

(163) usā [usa] ‘master tradesman’ [1:52]

(164) kuša [k^hura] ‘son’ [5:139]

(165) puša [p^huʃa] ‘steel’ [4:66]

(166) nu [nu] ‘nine’ [5:123]

2.5.12 Sequences of vowel and semivowel

There are several sequences in Gawraǰūyī of a vowel and another sound that is provisionally interpreted in our study as a semivowel: /ay/, /āy/ (infrequent), /ēy/ (rare), /ūy/ (rare), /aw/, /āw/, /ēw/ (rare), and /īw/ (rare). (The sequences /ei/, /ou/, and /au/ or /ao/ are listed in Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:12).

These sequences might be interpreted instead as two vowels or a vowel and an offglide. The analysis of such sequences needs more detailed investigation and is not discussed further here.

Examples of the sequences are listed here:

- (167) ay [ʔæj] ‘well then’ [2:91]
 (168) qay [qæj] ‘on’ [4:171]
 (169) qayr [qæjr] ‘bit’ [2:21]
 (170) čāy [tʰaj] ‘tea’ [5:66]
 (171) xwāy [xwaj] ‘God’ [6:54]
 (172) dāyka [dajkʰæ] ‘mother’ [2:38]
 (173) tēy [tʰej] ‘in it’ [5:106]
 (174) kūy [kʰuj] ‘zucchini’ [7H:27]
 (175) haw [hæw] ‘up, out, forth’ [4:9]
 (176) dawra [dæwræ] ‘place, surroundings’ [3:27]
 (177) kawš [kʰæwʃ] ‘shoe(s)’ [1:43]
 (178) aspāw [ʔæspʰaw] ‘belongings’ [8:124]
 (179) āsyāw [ʔasjaw] ‘mill’ [3:19]
 (180) šēwnī [ʃewni] ‘dissolve.PST’ [8:155] (The first vowel seems to be slightly lowered here.)
 (181) dīw [diw] ‘giant’ [5:88]

2.6 Loan phonemes

2.6.1 Vowel /e/

As mentioned above in Section 2.5.4, the vowel /e/ is found primarily in loanwords. This vowel also comprises a form of the ezāfe particle (see Section 4.1.5.14).

Examples include:

- (182) eǰāza [ʔedʒazæ] ‘permission’ [7N:11]
 (183) ensān [ʔensan] ‘human being’ [9:20]
 (184) = e [ɛ] ‘=EZ’ [5:161]

It occurs in the following words as well, though it is not clear if these are also loanwords:

- (185) be [bɛ] ‘(preposition, meaning unclear)’ [8:48]
 (186) čena [tʰenæ] ‘that much’ [7H:59]

2.6.2 Consonants from loanwords: ʕ, ʔ, gh, q, ħ, v

Certain consonants, represented orthographically as <ʕ, ʔ, gh, q, ħ, v>, are attested in the text corpus primarily or exclusively in loanwords. Some of these consonants appear to be loan phonemes in the process of integration to the phonological Gawraǰūyī system, while some consonants are preserved in the orthography as they occur in the source word of Kurdish, Persian, or ultimately Arabic. These have varying phonetic realizations, however. Some speakers attempt to adapt their pronunciation of the sound (or sounds) in a loanword so that they reach some equivalence in Gawraǰūyī. Other speakers might utter the loanword in a way that is comparable to the source word pronunciation, which would be an instance of code-switching rather than of borrowing.

In any case, the orthography used in the texts preserves these ‘loan symbols’ as they are written in the source words. The symbols are retained in the Gawraǰūyī orthography to preserve the form of the source word and to aid the reader in identifying that source word (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:10, noting the use of ʕ, ʔ, and ħ in particular).

The sound orthographically represented as <gh> is found only in loanwords. Its phonetic realization varies in certain words. In word-initial position, it is realized as a voiceless uvular plosive [q], with audible aspiration. Its word-initial position is illustrated here:

(187) gharīb [q^hærib] ‘stranger’ [4:57]

(188) ghayr [q^hajr] ‘except’ [7H:109]

In intervocalic position, such as in the loanword, *āghā* ‘sir, man, gentleman’, the realization varies. It can occur as a plosive:

(189) āghā [aqa] ‘man’ [9:67]

It can also occur as a voiceless velar fricative (possibly slightly backed in this instance):

(190) āghā [ʔaxa]/[ʔaxa] ‘man, gentleman’ [8:137]

In one word in the text corpus, however, there seems to be a degree of frication and voicing in its realization. It occurs in the environment following a vowel and preceding /z/:

(191) maghz-aka = š [mæ^hkæ:ʃ] ‘brain-DEF = 3SG’ [3:61]

The sound written as <q> appears in a number of loanwords. Examples of this sound are shown here in word-initial and word-final environments:

(192) qabūṭ [qæβuṭ] ‘acceptance’ [6:52]

(193) qurbān [qurban] ‘sacrifice’ [3:75]

(194) řafiq [ræfiq] ‘friend’ [3:1]

In intervocalic position, there seems to be variation in the realization of this sound. For example, it is realized as a plosive /q/ in the following words:

- (195) āqara [aqaeræ] ‘so’ [3:106]
 (196) mantaqa [mænt^hæqæ] ‘area’ [6:162]
 (197) matūqē [mæt^huqe] ‘it gives forth’ [1:97]

In other instances, however, it is transcribed as <q> but realized as a fricative, as shown in the next two examples:

- (198) kāqaz [xaχæz/s] ‘document’ [7N:151]
 (199) faqat [fæχæt] ‘only’ [7N:145]

More study is needed of the processes that affect the realization of this plosive.

The pharyngeal fricative /ħ/ is mainly found in loanwords, though also in *ħaft* ‘seven’, which is of Iranian origin (see Section 2.3.13).

The glottal plosive, orthographically represented as <ʔ>, is included in our phoneme table as a ‘rare loan symbol’. It is not contrastive, however, and should not be considered as a phoneme. The symbol is written in the orthography in only three loanwords. For example, the word written as *maʔmūr* ‘sentry’ [4:103] seems to be realized as [ma:^hmur], with no audible stop in voicing after the vowel and only with added length.

The glottal plosive can be sometimes perceived, however, in the environment preceding a vowel in word-initial position. It too is not regarded as contrastive in this environment. In the current study, the glottal plosive in that environment is not transcribed in the orthography, though it may be included (when audible) in the phonetic transcription:

- (200) aw [ʔaw] ‘only’ [2:15]

The voiced pharyngeal fricative, orthographically represented as <ʕ>, is also found written in loanwords in various positions, and thus is considered to be a loan symbol. It is either not audible or only slightly realized as a glottal plosive [ʔ]. Examples of words with this symbol include:

- (201) ʕarūsī [ʔærusi] ‘wed’ [3:99]
 (202) ʕarūs [ʔærus] ‘bride’ [7N:116]
 (203) tazʕīn [t^hæzin] ‘decorate’ [7N:106] (Pharyngeal fricative not audible.)
 (204) baʕd [bæd/t] ‘then’ [8:201]
 (205) wāqēʕan [waqæɲ] ‘truly’ [3:102] (Not audible.)

(206) tābēŋ [tʰabeŋ] ‘subject’ [7N:28]

The symbol <v> is only found in the loanword *nāmovaḥāq* ‘not successful’ [9:71], in which it seems to be phonetically manifested as [w].

2.7 Stress

2.7.1 Characteristics and conventions

In Gawraǰūyī, stress consists of a complex of features. It can include a relatively higher degree of pitch, though in some instances, pitch does not appear to be the most outstanding quality. Stress also can be characterized as having a relatively stronger degree of loudness. Sometimes there is a slight lengthening of the vowel in the syllable nucleus. The features of Gawraǰūyī stress are complex, and more study is needed to identify and isolate them.

As already illustrated in some of the preceding instances of Gawraǰūyī, our description follows IPA conventions to mark suprasegmentals. Primary stress at the word level is indicated by means of the symbol [ˈ] (here in square brackets). Secondary stress is indicated by the same symbol, though it is placed on the lower line [ˌ]. Both stress markers are placed before the actual stressed syllable.

Phrase level stress is indicated by an underline under the stressed word.

2.7.2 Word level stress

The distribution of the stress is first described here for the word level. Most words have a primary stress on one syllable. There is also the possibility of a secondary stress in the same word occurring on a different syllable.

The placement of stress can be described according to various contexts, such as word structure, derivation, and function in grammar. Windfuhr (1989b:253) suggests ‘a universal rule’ in West Iranian languages whereby stress is placed on the following: 1) the first syllable of a word in vocative use; 2) the final syllable on (uninflected) nominals; 3) present tense verb endings; 4) the subjunctive prefix; and 5) the negation markers (taking precedence over the stress on the subjunctive). Stress placement in Gawraǰūyī also tends to follow such placement, with some exceptions (described in the next section).

2.7.2.1 Single-morpheme stems and stress

In general, words composed of a stem consisting of a single morpheme receive primary stress on the final syllable. These words can be nouns (as in the rule noted by Windfuhr 1989b) or also some words from other classes. The stress placement is illustrated here:

(207) būčik [byˈtʰɪk] ‘small’ [8:50]

- (208) gawrā [gæw'ra] 'big' [7N:27]
 (209) arā [ʔæ'ra] 'for what, why' [6:49]
 (210) ažin [ʔæ'žin] 'from (source)' [3:58]
 (211) mināʔ [mɪ'naʔ] 'child' [1:31]
 (212) kamtār [k^hæm't^har] 'vulture' [2:55]
 (213) ēma [ʔe'mæ] 'we' [3:104]
 (214) hāwird [ha'wird] 'bring.PST' [3:103]

There are some exceptions to this general stress rule, in which the stress is placed the first syllable of the word (as it also occurs with some Persian and Tajik adverbials and interjections listed in Windfuhr & Perry 2009:429–430 and compared with the following Gawraǰūyī words):

- (215) arē [ʔære] 'yes' [7N:73]
 (216) baʔē ['bæʔe] 'yes' [3:77]
 (217) hāqa ['haqæ] 'so many, so much' [8:108]
 (218) walē ['wæle] 'but' [7N:9]

Words composed of multiple morphemes may take stress in varying places, according to the type of the morpheme, compounding, or in one case, according to grammatical function, as described in the next sections.

2.7.2.2 Negative prefixes on finite verbs and stress

The prefixes signaling negation on finite verb constructions receive primary stress in a word: *ni-* 'NEG_1', *na-* 'NEG_2', and *ma-* 'PROH' (prohibitive), as illustrated below:

With negative prefix *ni-*:

- (219) nimakarin [ʔnimæk^hærin] 'they do not do' [3:20]
 (220) nimazānē [ʔnimæzane] 'he does not know' [4:131]

With negative prefix *na-*:

- (221) naši [ʔnæʃi] 'may you not go' [6:78]
 (222) naništi [ʔnæniʃt^hi] 'you did not wait' [3:105]
 (223) wāz nakara [waz ʔnæk^hærae] 'do not open' [2:38]

With prohibitive prefix *ma-*:

(224) matarsa [ˈmætʰærsæ] ‘do not fear’ [4:97]

(225) maka [ˈmækʰæ] ‘do not do’ [4:117]

2.7.2.3 Other prefixes and suffixes on finite verbs and stress

The placement of primary stress is more complicated on a finite verb construction that contains a prefix, a stem, and a person-number ending. The stress placement appears to be less consistent and might be conditioned by factors such as the number of syllables of a word and vowel length. For Hawrāmī (Luhōn), MacKenzie (1966:12) notes that the stress pattern within words with three or more syllables in finite verb constructions depends on the ‘fixed order of precedence of the stresses of the various prefixes, stems, endings and suffixes.’ For Gawraǰūyī, more study is needed to investigate this order of stress placement, though some preliminary observations can be made.

The prefix *bi-* ‘SBJV’ (subjunctive) tends to receive the primary stress, at least in a finite verb construction made up of three syllables:

(226) bi-škin-ī [ˈbiʃkʰini] ‘SBJV-break.PRS-2SG’ [1:25]

(227) bi-řāw-ē [ˈbiɾawe] ‘SBJV-go.PRS-3SG’ [1:32]

The stress placement is less clear on certain shorter finite verb constructions, however, in which the short vowel of the prefix *bi-* appears to be elided. In the following word, it is not completely clear if the prefix is stressed (though it is provisionally marked here). There might be a secondary stress on the person-number ending (more study is needed):

(228) b-war-ē [ˈbwæ,ɾe] ‘SBJV-eat.PRS-3SG’ [3:16]

In a finite verb construction with three syllables, the prefixes *ma-* ‘IND’ and ‘IPFV’ (and the rare variant *mi-*), which denote indicative in present and imperfective in past, tend to be unstressed. This tendency towards lack of stress on the prefix is also found in Southern Kurdish prefixes (*a-*, *ma-*, and *di-*) (Fattah 2000:236–237), while the prefix *mi-* in Persian is always stressed (Windfuhr & Perry 2009:430). The person-number ending in Gawraǰūyī seems to be stressed. Examples follow:

(229) ma-san-im [mæsæˈnim] ‘IND-buy.PRS-1SG’ [11:60]

(230) ma-kat-ē [mækʰætʰe] ‘IND-fall.PRS-3SG’ [2:17]

In other instances, however, the prefix seems to receive a stronger degree of stress. In any case, the conditions for the stress placement in these words is in need of more analysis and discussion with speakers of Gawraǰūyī.

2.7.2.4 Suffixes on nouns and stress

The suffix *-ān* ‘PL’, which attaches to a noun as stem and indicates plural number, receives relatively more stress than the stress of the stem. This stress placement is illustrated in the following pairs of words, first without the suffix and then with it:

(231) āyam [ʔaˈjæm] ‘human being (person)’ [3:44]

(232) āyam-ān [aˈjæˈman] ‘people-PL’ [4:103]

(233) mināt [mɪˈnaːt] ‘child’ [1:31]

(234) mināt-ān [mɪnaˈʔan] ‘child-PL’ [11:50]

The suffix *-aka*, indicating definiteness, is also stressed on the final syllable. When attached to a noun, this suffix takes primary stress. This suggests that the suffix is integrated into the word (Geoffrey Haig, p.c.):

(235) āsyāw [ʔasˈjaw] ‘mill’ [3:40]

(236) āsyāw-aka [ʔasˈjawæˈgæ] ‘mill-DEF’ [3:47]

The situation is more complex when a stem, such as *kawš* ‘shoe’ in the next example, is suffixed with both *-aka* and *-ān*. In this case, there is assimilation of the final vowel of *-aka* to the initial vowel of *-ān*. The stress falls on *-ān*. The stress mark is placed before the consonant *-k*, as illustrated here:

(237) kawš-ak-ān [kʰæwʃæˈʔan] ‘shoe-DEF-PL’ [12:29]

Another example shows the shift of stress from the final syllable of the stem, *māmīr* ‘chicken’, to the suffix. The unstable short vowel in the stem is elided:

(238) mām(i)r-ak-ān [mamræˈʔan] ‘chicken-DEF-PL’ [1:93]

Other suffixes attached to nouns do not appear to take stress. This includes the indefinite suffixes *-ēk* ‘INDF_1’ and *-ī* ‘INDF_3’. The next example with *-ēk* illustrates the absence of stress on the suffix and simply remaining on the final syllable of the stem:

(239) āsyāw-ēk [ʔasˈjawek] ‘mill-INDF_1’ [2:22]

2.7.2.5 Enclitics and stress

There are a number of enclitics in Gawraǰūyī: the conjunction =*u* ‘and’, the additive particle =*īč* and its variant: =*īš*, the ezāfe particle =*e*, the demonstrative enclitic particle =*a*, and the directional particle =*a*. Other forms include the enclitic pronouns and present tense copula forms. Enclitics are morphemes that have a function in a larger syntactic unit, such as a phrase or clause, and attach phonologically to the final word of the unit. When an enclitic attaches to that word, the stress remains positioned within its normal domain of

assignment, which is the word (Geoffrey Haig, p.c.) (and for Gawraǰūyī, often the final syllable of the word). The stress does not move to the enclitic. The following example shows stress falling on the final syllable of a word (*īštan* ‘RFL’) rather than on the enclitic (= *īš* ‘3SG’):

(240) *īštan* = *iš* [ʔiˈtʰæniʃ] ‘RFL = 3SG’ [2:22]

Occasionally, though, enclitics seem to receive a degree of stress, but the conditioning factors are not yet clear, and more study is needed.

2.7.2.6 Compound words and stress

The stress on a compound word also falls on the final syllable of the entire word, while the final syllable of the first element in the compound carries a slight secondary stress, as illustrated here:

(241) *dawʔatxāna* [dæwʔætʰxaˈnæ] ‘palace’ [4:141] (*dawʔat* ‘government’ + *xāˈna* ‘house’)

2.7.2.7 Vocative and stress shift

The placement of stress in Gawraǰūyī words can shift from the final syllable to the initial syllable on nouns and proper names when they are used with vocative sense (as noted for Western Iranian languages by Windfuhr 1989b:253, and described, for example, for Southern Kurdish by Fattah 2000:235, and for Dimili, or Zazaki, by Todd 1985:53 and Paul 1998a:10). For example, the following words in non-vocative use take stress on the final syllable of the stem:

(242) *řūʔa* = *m* = *iš* [ruˈʔæmiʃ] ‘my dear child(ren)’ [2:69] (stem is *řūʔa* ‘dear child’)

(243) *dawriš* [dæwˈriʃ] ‘dervish’ [4:31]

(244) *šīrin māya* [ʃiˈrin maˈjæ] ‘Šīrin comes to’ [4:39] (stem is *šīrin* ‘Šīrin’)

In vocative use, the stress shifts to the initial syllable of the same words:

(245) *řūʔa* [ˈruʔæ] ‘dear child’ [2:38] (context of address)

(246) *dawriš* [ˈdæwriʃ] ‘dervish’ [4:46] (context of address)

(247) *ˈšīrin* [ˈʃirin] ‘Šīrin’ [4:35] (context of address)

In an instance of a proper name preceded with a title, the stress is found on the first syllable of the title (here *lālo* ‘uncle’), but it can remain on the final syllable of the proper name (*pāyar* ‘Pāyar’):

(248) *lālo pāyar* [ˈlalo pʰaˈjæɾ] ‘Lālo Pāyar!’ [2:75]

2.7.3 Phrase level stress

While there is stress on the word level, which falls on certain syllables within the word, there is also a type of stress or relatively loud or intense quality occurring on certain words in a phrase (as described for phrase and clause stress in Central Kurdish by McCarus 2009:594, and considered here with reference to Gawraǰūyī).

Within a noun phrase consisting of a head noun followed by another word, and sometimes linked by the *ezāfe* particle, this phrase stress tends to occur on the word at the end of the phrase (Nicholas Bailey, p.c.). (The phrase stress is indicated here with an underline.) In such a case, the word stress on the final syllable is also uttered with relative more loudness and can include additional length on the vowel:

(249) *dāyka = y čīman* ‘the mother of Čīman’ [1:39] (vowel *ā* in *čīman* is lengthened)

(250) *gūša = y barz* ‘corner high up’ [3:109]

But there are also exceptions in which the head noun takes the stress:

(251) *razm pāṭawānī* ‘heroic armour’ [5:63]

Certain word class elements can also take a relatively loud stress on the phrase level. These elements are numerals and quantifiers (Nicholas Bailey, p.c.). In the following examples, *ya* ‘one, a’ and *čan* ‘several’ seem to take slightly louder stress here:

(252) *ya miš* ‘one (a) ram’ [2:3]

(253) *čan sāla* ‘several years’ [3:40]

In other examples, however, the head noun also appears to be stressed as well as the numeral or quantifier:

(254) *dü pīyā* ‘two men’ [3:1]

(255) *čwār māng* ‘four months’ [5:117]

(256) *čil šaw* ‘forty nights’ [5:159]

(257) *har dam* ‘whatever time’ [5:75]

Interrogatives, including in their related use as exclamatives, also tend to be stressed on the phrase level and also in their occurrence at the sentence level (see also Section 14.3.4). For example:

(258) *ča farmāyiš* ‘what command’ [3:75]

(259) *ča bū* ‘what it may be’ [5:39] (*ča* ‘what’ is used as an exclamation here.)

(260) *kī bū* ‘who may it be?’ [4:147]

(261) řaftī wa kā ‘where did you go?’ [2:90]

2.8 Notes on intonation

Gawraǰūyī intonation patterns can be described for stretches of speech in the three sentence types of declarative, interrogative, and imperative. Intonation patterns involve a number of features, such as relative rising or falling pitch contours, lengthening of the vowel in the stressed syllable of a phonological word in the intonation unit, and silence, as a pause in the speech unit. Among these, the pitch contours are especially significant in characterizing the patterns of intonation (Cruttenden 1997:5).

The following symbols adapted from conventions in linguistic studies are used in the examples here to indicate such features:

- loudness
- ... typical pause
- additional non-phonemic length of final vowel in word
- = level pitch on final word of unit
- / rising pitch
- // relatively higher rising pitch on final word of unit
- \ falling pitch on final word of unit

In a declarative sentence (statement), there are intonation patterns typical of non-final and final utterances.

Non-final utterances are signaled with level or rising pitch and a degree of lengthening. There may be a short pause or no pause at all.

Final utterances are signaled with falling pitch and a pause.

Non-final and final intonation patterns are illustrated in the long sentence here:

- (262) pišī-k hāma /
 cat-INDF come.PST
- sar qulīn-a(k)a = š = iš lā dā = u — // ...
 top basket-DEF = 3SG = 3SG aside give.PST = and
- dam = iš nīyā šīr-aka \
 mouth = 3SG put.PST milk-DEF
- tā tānis = iš šīr-aka ward = iš = u /
 until can.PST = 3SG milk-DEF eat.PST = 3SG = and
- bāqī = š = ī(č) řišnī \<\
 rest = 3SG = ADD pour.out.PST
- ‘A cat came, pushed the lid off the (her?) basket and it put its mouth to the milk, it drank as much as it could, and it poured the rest of it out too.’ [1:8–9]

Some single elements, such as words or phrases, can be regarded as an intonation unit. They can be uttered with a final intonation pattern, for example, certain purposes. In the following sentence, the adverbial *xulāsa* ‘finally’ (or perhaps: ‘then’) is uttered possibly as a separate element and receives falling pitch:

- (263) xulāsa \
 finally
- dāya_kaywānū m-wāy /
 old.lady IND-say.PRS.3SG
- bazbarřafta = t nīya \<\
 running.away = 2SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
- ‘Finally, the old lady says (to the cat): ‘You have no (chance) of running away.’’ [1:10]

In an interrogative with a question word (information question), the question word is stressed, but the intonation pattern is comparable to that in a declarative sentence, with falling pitch at the end. In the following example, the question word *ča* ‘what’ appears as uttered with slight relative loudness:

- (264) ča ma-tī wanim \<\
 what IND-give.PRS.2SG to.goal.1SG
- ‘What will you give me?’ [3:79]
- (265) ča bi-kar-im \
 what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
- ‘What should I do?’ [4:201]

In a yes-no question, the pitch rises at the end of the question:

- (266) ēma / hāya = mān dā wan — //
 1PL_2 egg = 1PL give.PST to.goal
- ‘Did we give her eggs?’ [1:63]

The final syllable may be stressed and not reduced, as in this example of another yes-no question:

- (267) čwārqāpī žinaftī qasir — /
 four-gated hear.PST.2SG.COP.PRS.2SG Qasir
 ‘Have you heard of the four-gated (city of) Qasir(-e Šīrīn)?’ [4:24]

The intonation on a tag question is the same as declarative, with a slightly falling intonation, if the speaker is confirming:

- (268) aǰā heǰāb tu ka qisa ma-kay \ mayar na — \\
 about heǰāb 2SG COMP speech IND-do.PRS.2SG or no
 ‘You’re talking about the ‘heǰāb’ (i.e., dress code), aren’t you?’ [7H:5]

With imperatives, the intonation normally falls:

- (269) aǰā = šān b-wāž \\
 to = 3PL SBJV-say.PRS
 ‘Tell it to them.’ [7N:30]

2.9 Syllable structure

The phonemic segments can be combined in various ways to form the larger units of syllables. Syllables are made up of a single vowel as the nucleus, and either one or two consonants in the first position (‘onset’) and after the nucleus (‘coda’). The attested patterns are listed here in Table 6:

Table 6. Attested syllable patterns

| | | |
|------|--|---------|
| V | ī [i] ‘PROX.DEM.ADJ’ | [2:53] |
| VC | až [æʒ] ‘from’ | [3:57] |
| CV | kī [k ^h i] ‘who’ | [7H:38] |
| CVC | tik [t ^h ik ^h] ‘drop’ | [2:51] |
| CVCC | kīšt [k ^h iʃt ^h] ‘pull.PST’ | [4:143] |
| CCV | gwā [gwa] ‘so to say’ | [9:76] |
| CCVC | čwār [tʃ ^h war] ‘four’ | [5:8] |

The more frequently attested syllable patterns are V, VC, CV, CVC, and CVCC. The patterns of CCV and CCVC are less common.

A pattern of CVCCC is attested only once in the texts, as *dayšt* [dæjʃt^h] ‘outside’ [6:117]. It is not included in the table above.

When the syllable patterns V and VC occur in word-initial position, a glottal plosive tends to be added as the onset. This sound is not contrastive with other consonants in this environment. The presence of the glottal plosive can be regarded as optional in these environments, and it might be influenced by the position of the word in a larger phrasal unit or rate of speech, though more study is needed to confirm the conditions.

A pattern of VCC is not included in the table above. In principle, it might be possible for such a pattern to occur, but the syllables with this pattern all seem to include a glottal plosive as onset, as in the attested forms: *amr* [ʔæmr] ‘lifespan’ [6:35], *asʔ* [ʔæstʔ] ‘origin’ [5:55] (unclear in [5:60]), *asp* [ʔæsp^h] ‘horse’ [4:89], *ārd* [ʔard] ‘flour’ [11:70], and *esm* [ʔesm] ‘name’ [11:3]. (There is also one item in which the onset is unclear, in *org* [org]/[ʔorg] ‘keyboard’ [7H:81]). More study is needed of this possible pattern.

There are particular combinations of consonant phonemes that occur in the onset and the coda. These phonemes are also combined in a particular sequence.

The syllable-initial clusters, composed of two segments, are attested with certain types of consonants. The first member of a cluster can be a plosive, as one of the set /b, d, g, k, q/. It can be from the set of fricatives /f, x, s, š, z, ž/, from the affricates /j, č/, from the nasals /m, n/, or a trill, /r/.

The second member of the syllable-initial cluster is most frequently the semivowel /w/. In a few occurrences, the second member is /r/. There is also one instance of /y/ (in a loanword).

It is also possible that some initial clusters may represent a reduced CV pattern in which the vowel /i/ has been elided (see Section 2.11.3), but this question is not investigated further here.

Some examples of the syllable-initial cluster combinations are shown here:

- (270) bwaxši [bwæxʃi] ‘forgiveness’ [5:145]
- (271) dwān [dwan] ‘second’ [3:45]
- (272) čwār [tʃ^hwar] ‘four’ [8:213]
- (273) gwān [gwan] ‘udder’ [2:44]
- (274) kwān [k^hwan] ‘throw.violently.PST’ [4:136]
- (275) xwār [x^war] ‘sister’ [8:95]
- (276) swā [swa] ‘tomorrow’ [7N:92]
- (277) jwān [dʒwan] ‘young’ [5:32]

- (278) nwā [nwa] ‘front, forward’ [9:58]
 (279) řwān [rwan] ‘cooking oil’ [6:133]
 (280) zwān [zwan] ‘language’ [7N:119]
 (281) drü [dry] ‘lie’ [4:170]
 (282) fra [fræ] ‘very’ [11:11]
 (283) syāsatmadār [sjasætmaɖar] ‘politician’ [6:144]

Syllable-final clusters are also typically composed of two members. There is a relatively wide variety of combinations. There can be a plosive followed by another type of consonant, such as a flap, nasal, or fricative of a different place of articulation):

- (284) fikr [fikʰr] ‘thought’ [8:212]
 (285) luqm [luqm] ‘morsel’ [3:5]
 (286) nuqʈ [nuqʈ] ‘lollipop’ [7N:105]

A consonant cluster can also consist of a fricative followed by another consonant (various types):

- (287) kaft [kʰæftʰ] ‘fall.PST’ [4:86]
 (288) sefr [sefr] ‘zero’ [8:166]
 (289) hefz [hefz] ‘memory’ [7H:126]
 (290) luxt [luxtʰ] ‘uncovered’ [7N:13]
 (291) waxt [wæxtʰ] ‘time’ [6:76]
 (292) paxš [pæxʃ] ‘distribute’ [7N:100]
 (293) tüxm [tʰyxm] ‘seed’ [5:129]
 (294) maghz [mæxʒ] ‘brain’ [3:34]
 (295) dast [dastʰ] ‘hand’ [7H:103]
 (296) nisf [nisf] ‘half’ [7N:47]
 (297) fašt [fæst] ‘season’ [6:92]
 (298) jašn [dʒæʃn] ‘celebration’ [3:95]
 (299) hešt [heʃtʰ] ‘allow, let.PST’ [8:103]
 (300) nazr [næzr] ‘sacred meal’ [7N:90]

(301) bazm [bæzm] ‘manner, way’ [6:72]

The cluster can consist of a lateral, a flap, or a nasal, which is followed by another consonant (various types):

- (302) palp [p^hælp^h] ‘impossible task’ [4:57]
 (303) kilk [k^hilk^h] ‘finger’ [7N:41]
 (304) miłk [miłk^h] ‘property’ [6:51]
 (305) dałq [dæłq] ‘(plastic) bag’ [4:159]
 (306) garm [gærm] ‘warm’ [7H:78]
 (307) dars [dærs] ‘studies’ [6:1]
 (308) kār̄t [k^hart^h] ‘military service papers’ [9:42]
 (309) mār̄k [mark^h] ‘label’ [6:133]
 (310) marg [mærg] ‘death’ [3:116]
 (311) barq [bærq] ‘lightning’ [5:106]
 (312) marz [mærz] ‘border’ [4:10]
 (313) barz [bærz] or [bærs] ‘high’ [3:109]
 (314) birinĵ [bir̄indʒ] ‘rice’ [1:19]
 (315) dang [dæŋ] ‘voice’ [4:86]

As already mentioned in Section 2.3.20, in the cluster /ng/, the nasal /n/ assimilates to the velar place of articulation when it precedes /g/. The cluster is typically realized as [ŋ].

(316) dang [dæŋ] ‘voice’ [4:86]

Semivowels could be analyzed as the first member of the syllable-final consonant clusters:

- (317) xayr [xæjr] ‘goodness’ [3:108]
 (318) bayn [bæjn] ‘between’ [4:8]
 (319) dawr [dæwr] ‘about, around’ [4:156]
 (320) kawš [kæwʃ] ‘shoe’ [1:43]
 (321) kawt [kæwt^h] ‘fall.PST’ [3:11]

2.9.1 Summary

In relationship to other languages of the world (see Maddieson 2011a:n.p.), Gawraǰūyī can be regarded as having an intermediate type, between a moderately complex syllable structure and a complex syllable structure. In the position before the vowel (as the onset position), it allows two consonants, but the second of these must be from a class of semivowel or liquid. It is more complex, however, because it allows for two consonants after the vowel.

2.10 Word structure

The syllable patterns described above can be used to constitute the phonological word. A phonological word is assumed to be a unit that ‘can be pronounced on its own’ and characterized by features such as primary stress or word-final devoicing (Aikhenvald 2015:48). The syllable patterns can form single words or be combined to form multi-syllabic words. Examples are shown below of syllables combined in the common two-syllable word structure. Following IPA conventions, a period indicates the syllable break (only in this section).

It is provisionally assumed here that a syllable consists of at least a vowel, as nucleus. In cases in which division is not clear, a syllable is assumed to begin with a consonant rather than with a vowel.⁵⁸ Thus, a two-syllable word such as *mināṭ* ‘child’ is interpreted as *mi.nāṭ* ‘child’ [6:93], rather than *min.āṭ*.

- (322) a.řā ‘for’ [11:71] V.CV
 (323) ā.nān ‘those, they’ [2:4] V.CVC
 (324) aw.sā ‘at that time’ [4:175] VC.CV
 (325) ās.mān ‘sky’ [6:150] VC.CVC
 (326) pa.ča ‘courtyard’ [2:5] CV.CV
 (327) mi.nāṭ ‘child’ [6:93] CV.CVC
 (328) pa.ṭang ‘leopard’ [3:114] CV.CVCC
 (329) pān.za ‘fifteen’ [7N:55] CVC.CV

⁵⁸ The division of syllables within a word follows the method in Todd (1985:37) for analysis of Dimili (Zaza), McCarus (2009:593) for Central Kurdish (Sulaimania), and Kahn (1976:62) for Northern Kurdish. There is a cross-language tendency for syllables to have onsets (see principle referred to as the ‘Maximal Onset Principle’, described in, for example, Radford, Atkinson, Britain, Clahsen & Spencer 1999:91, and brought to my attention by Geoffrey Haig, p.c.).

- (330) pīš.kaš ‘gift’ [3:80] CVC.CVC
 (331) bit.wāym ‘we may want’ [7H:4] CVC.CVCC

An unusual pattern CV.VC is attested once in the word *pā.īz* ‘autumn’ [7N:30].

There are also words composed of three or more syllables. The patterns appear to follow those patterns listed above. A few examples of words (as stems) with three or more syllables are listed here:

- (332) ta.mü.ra ‘tamūra (stringed) instrument’ [7N:41]
 (333) xa.zā.na ‘treasury’ [4:207]
 (334) sar.za.mīn ‘field’ [5:74]
 (335) xās.te.gā.rī ‘request for marriage’ [8:207]
 (336) xas.ra.wā.nī ‘royal’ [3:42]
 (337) žān.dā.mi.rī ‘gendarmerie’ [4:104]
 (338) sar.ne.wešt.sāz ‘maker of destiny’ [9:20]

2.11 Phonological and morphophonemic processes

Several phonological processes are observed in the Gawraǰūyī material. Some of these processes are also morphophonemic in that their application changes the shape of morphemes and results in allomorphs. The processes are described below in terms of their effects on vowels and consonants.⁵⁹

A few of the processes especially involving affixes and enclitics are also summarized with morphophonemic rules. For these rules, the following definitions and symbols are used from Payne (2006:63–84, see also for background):

⁵⁹ There might be other processes such as metathesis, though more material would be needed to determine this. In one instance, a Persian loanword, *šaks* ‘photo’, appears to be transferred to Gawraǰūyī as *šask* [ʔæsk^h] ‘likeness’ [4:42]. There is also a possible example of what might be considered affix suppletion. This form is shared with Southern Kurdish, *-ayl* ‘PL’. It is attested three times and used in place of the Gawraǰūyī plural marker, *-ān*.

- {...} underlying form of morpheme
 (...) segment or variable in parentheses is optional
 |...| forms between vertical bars are allomorphs

2.11.1 Vowels: Processes in certain morphemes

The initial and final vowels of certain attached morphemes, as affixes and enclitics, can be subject to various processes. The processes include elision and also likely assimilation, resulting in contracted (shortened or reduced) forms.⁶⁰ They take place when certain vowels occur in an environment of other vowels, usually which share a relatively similar place of articulation, though there are also some exceptions.

2.11.1.1 Assimilation and elision in definiteness suffix

The definiteness suffix *-aka* becomes *-ka* when it attaches to a sequence ending in the stem-final vowel /a/, /ā/, or rarely, /ū/ (see Section 4.1.5.2 for details on the spelling of *-aka* with <k> and the varying phonetic realizations). This change can be summarized as:

- (339) Initial vowel in definiteness suffix:
 {-aka} → |-ka| / a, ā, (rarely ū) __
 Where {-aka} is the definiteness suffix.

The process is illustrated here:

- (340) dita-ka [dīt^hægæ] ‘young woman-DEF’ [9:64]
 (341) pīyā-ka [p^hijayæ] ‘man-DEF’ [3:36]
 (342) kaywānū-ka [kæjwanuwæ] ‘lady-DEF’ [11:71]

Another change is observed in the form of the definiteness suffix *-aka* which is realized as *-ak* when it is followed by the plural suffix *-ān*. This change is summarized in the following rule:

- (343) Final vowel in definiteness suffix:
 {-aka} → |-ak| / __ -ān
 Where {-aka} is the definiteness suffix.

For example:

- (344) māmīr-ak-ān [mamræyan] ‘chicken-DEF-PL’ [1:93]

⁶⁰ See McCarus (2009:595–596) and Öpengin (2016:43) for contraction in Central Kurdish phonology.

Both of the above rules can apply simultaneously to the morpheme *-aka*, resulting in the allomorph *-k-*, as shown in the next example:

- (345) dita-k-ān [dit^hæyan] ‘daughter-DEF-PL’ [1:95]

2.11.1.2 Assimilation and elision in indefinite suffix

The indefinite suffix *-ēk* becomes *-k* when it attaches to a stem ending in /ē/, /i/, or /ü/. This change is summarized as:

- (346) Initial vowel of indefinite suffix:
 {-ēk} → |-k| / ē, i, ü __
 Where {-ēk} is the indefinite suffix.

The next examples show this process:

- (347) har sē-k = iš [hær sek^hiʃ] ‘all three-INDF_1 = 3SG’ [3:52]
 (348) piši-k [p^hiʃik^h] ‘cat-INDF_1’ [1:8]
 (349) har_dü-k [hær dyk^h] ‘both-INDF_1’ [5:157]

2.11.1.3 Elision of final vowel in certain prefixes

A process of elision also affects the short vowel /i/ in the prefix *bi-* ‘SBJV’ (subjunctive) and the short vowel /a/ in *ma-* ‘IND’ (indicative) or ‘IPFV’ (imperfective). These prefixes become *b-* and *m-* (respectively) when the stem begins with a vowel (only instances with stem-initial /ā/ and /i/ are attested in the text material) or with a semivowel.

This change is summarized here:

- (350) Final vowel of subjunctive and indicative/imperfective verbal prefixes:
 {bi-, ma-} → |b-, m-| / __V, semivowels w, y
 Where {bi-, ma-} are verb prefixes.

Examples of *bi-* include:

- (351) bi-š-i [ʰbiʃi] ‘SBJV-go.PRS-2SG’ [1:15] (here with no conditioned change of prefix)
 (352) b-ār-i [ʰbari] ‘SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG’ [1:31]
 (353) b-iya [ʰbijæ] ‘SBJV-give.PRS.2SG.DIR’ [1:14]
 (354) b-war-im [ʰbwærim] ‘SBJV-eat.PRS-1SG’ [1:19]

Examples with *ma-* include:⁶¹

- (355) *ma-šu* [mæʃu] ‘IND-go.PRS.3SG’ [1:55] (here with no conditioned change of prefix)
 (356) *m-ār-ē* [mare] ‘IND-bring.PRS-3SG’ [1:11]
 (357) *haw m-ayz-in* [hæw məjzin] ‘up IND-get.up.PRS-3PL’ [8:216]
 (358) *m-wār-ē* [mware] ‘IND-eat.PRS-3SG’ [2:21]
 (359) *m-yard = iš* [mjærdiʃ] ‘IPFV-take.PST = 3SG’ [6:104]

2.11.1.4 Elision in negation prefix

A process of elision affects the short vowel in the negation morpheme (prefix) *na-* ‘NEG_2’ when it precedes the vowel /ā/. This process is summarized as:

- (360) Final vowel of negation prefix:
 $\{na-\} \rightarrow |n-| / _ā$
 Where {na-} is a verb prefix.

For example:

- (361) *na-girt* [ˈnæɣirt^h/t] ‘NEG_2.get.PST’ [2:13] (here with no conditioned change of prefix)
 (362) *n-ār-ī* [ˈnari] ‘NEG_2-bring.PRS-2SG’ [7N:13]
 (363) *n-āy* [naj] ‘NEG_2-come.PRS.3SG’ [8:67]

There are no examples of this process found with the prefixes *mi-* (the rare variant of *ma-* ‘IND’), *ma-* ‘PROH’ (marking prohibitive), or with *ni-* ‘NEG_1’.

2.11.1.5 Elision in demonstrative enclitic particle

The demonstrative enclitic particle =*a* is elided (or perhaps assimilated) when it attaches to a stem ending in /a/ or /ā/. This change can be summarized as:

- (364) Elision of demonstrative enclitic particle:
 $\{=a\} \rightarrow |=\emptyset| /a/ \text{ or } /ā/ _$
 Where {=a} is the demonstrative enclitic particle.

This process is shown in the follow examples. The demonstrative enclitic particle would have been expected to occur in word-final position (attached to the noun phrase), conditioned by the context, but it is not audible as a separate segment:

⁶¹ It is also noted in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:11) that the vowel in the indicative prefix preceding the stem *wīn* ‘see.PRS’ can be realized as the vowel *ö* (thus, *moun-im/möyn-im* ‘IND.see.PRS-1SG’).

(365) \bar{i} řāsā [i rasa] ‘PROX.DEM.ADJ straight.direction’ [2:53]

(366) \bar{i} ābādī īma [i ʔabadi ʔimæ] ‘PROX.DEM.ADJ village-1PL_3’ [7H:6]

It is thus assumed to be elided, but it is also possible that it is simply not added, which happens occasionally in some contexts:

(367) \bar{a} das [a dæs] ‘DIST.DEM.ADJ side’ [2:7]

(368) \bar{i} bāwka = mān [i bawk^hæman] ‘PROX.DEM.ADJ father = 1PL’ [5:15]

2.11.1.6 Elision of initial vowel in enclitic pronouns

There is also a process of elision of the initial short vowel /i/ in the enclitic pronouns. The enclitic pronouns =*im* ‘= 1SG’, =*it* ‘= 2SG’, and =*iš* ‘= 3SG’ become =*m*, =*t*, =*š* (respectively) when they attach to a stem ending in a vowel.⁶² This change can be summarized as:

(369) Initial short vowel in enclitic pronouns:

{ = im, = it, = iš } → | = m, = t, = š | / V __

Where { = im, = it, = iš } are the enclitic pronouns.

For example:

(370) $\bar{p}\bar{a}$ = m [p^ham] ‘foot = 1SG’ [1:23]

(371) tu = m [t^hum] ‘2SG = 1SG’ [3:101]

(372) ča = t [t^hæt^h] ‘what = 2SG’ [3:102]

(373) dū = š [dyʃ] ‘two = 3SG’ [4:108]

(374) dile = š [dileʃ] ‘in = 3SG’ [11:80]

2.11.1.7 For further study: Assimilation and elision in enclitic additive

There might be a process of assimilation and elision of the vowel /i/ in the enclitic additive particle =*īč* (or variant =*iš*), but this must still be confirmed by further study. The process seems to take place when the morpheme is attached to a stem ending in /i/. There is only one example observed, as *sunni* = *č* [sunit^h] ‘Sunni = ADD’ [7N:86]

⁶² It is assumed that this assimilation and elision process for the short vowel in enclitic pronouns takes place when the form follows any long or short vowel. The examples in the texts are found as: =*m* following / \bar{i} , \bar{e} , \bar{a} , \bar{u} , o, u, a /; =*š* following / \bar{i} , \bar{e} , \bar{a} , \bar{u} , a, e, u /; and =*t* following / \bar{i} , a /.

2.11.1.8 Elision in certain verb suffixes

A similar process of elision of the vowel /i/ takes place for certain verb suffixes on present and past tense verbs. The verb suffixes *-im* ‘1SG’ and *-in* ‘3PL’ become *-m* and *-n* (respectively) when they attach to a stem ending in a vowel. This change can be summarized as:

- (375) Initial short vowel of verb suffixes:
 {-im, -in} → | -m, -n | / V __
 Where {-im, -in} are the verb suffixes.

For example:

- (376) ma-tī-m [mæt^him] ‘IND-give.PRS-1SG’ [11:17]
 (377) ma-tī-n [mæt^hin] ‘IND-give.PRS-3PL’ [12:28]

2.11.1.9 Elision of vowel in unstressed syllables

The vowel /i/ is especially subject to elision.⁶³ This process occurs when the vowel occurs in an unstressed syllable (occurring in most West Iranian varieties, according to Windfuhr 1989b:252) or in a stressed syllable that is followed by another syllable that receives relatively more stress.

The following pairs of words illustrate the elision (or reduction):

- (378) qasir [ˈqæsɪr] ‘Qasir’ [4:23]
 (379) qas(i)r = a [ˈqæsɪræ] ‘Qasir = DEM’ [4:11] (The enclitic is also stressed.)
 (380) bizin [bɪˈzɪn] ‘goat’ [2:3]
 (381) bizin = a [bɪˈzɪnæ] ‘goat = CMPD’ [2:2] (The enclitic is also stressed.)
 (382) dita [dɪˈtʰæ] ‘girl’ [3:67]
 (383) dita-ka = š [dɪˈtʰæˈgæʃ] ‘girl-DEF = 3SG’ [3:67] (The /i/ vowel may be reduced.)

This process of elision is frequently observed on the short vowel in a verb suffix on a present tense verb:

- (384) ma-š-in [mæʃɪn] ‘IND-go.PRS-3PL’ [12:28] (The /i/ vowel is retained.)
 (385) ma-š-(i)n = a [mæʃnæ] ‘IND-go.PRS-3PL = DIR’ [3:2] (The /i/ vowel is elided.)

⁶³ Noted by Geoffrey Haig (p.c.) in an early draft of Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012).

2.11.1.10 Dissimilation of verb suffix

There is a process of vowel dissimilation, evident in the verb suffix *-ē* (third person singular) changing shape to a high vowel *-ī* when it precedes the vowel *a* (for example, which could be the directional particle =*a* ‘DIR’).⁶⁴ The following pairs show the change of vowel:

- (386) ma-kar-ē [mæk^hære] ‘IND-do.PRS-3SG’ [1:95]
 (387) ma-kar-ī = ya [mæk^hærijæ] ‘IND-do.PRS-3SG = DIR’ [3:58]
 (388) ma-kat-ē [mæk^hæt^he] ‘IND-fall.PRS-3SG’ [5:97]
 (389) ma-kat-ī = ya [mæk^hæt^hijæ] ‘IND-fall.PRS-3SG = DIR’ [3:63]

2.11.1.11 Insertion of semivowel in orthography and issues in morphophonology

In the orthography used for the Gawraǰūyī texts, a semivowel *y* (and rarely *u*) is regularly inserted to break up a sequence of particular vowels that would otherwise exist at a syllable juncture, specifically, when a morpheme is added.

The actual phonetic manifestation of the semivowel is not yet clear, however. It seems to be audible to different degrees in some instances, such as a segment or an off-glide, but in other instances, it may be absent or seems to be merged with the similar vowel in the environment. It depends on the degree of differences between the vowels that are in the sequence. This topic is only outlined here as ‘residue’, needing further study with more precise instrumental analysis.

For example, a semivowel *y* is added as a written symbol following the vowel /*ī*/ and preceding the vowel /*a*/. Such an instance may be found when a noun with a stem-final vowel /*ī*/ takes the definiteness suffix *-aka* ‘DEF’, which is then written as *-yaka*. The material must be tested further to determine if there is length on the first vowel or some related evidence of an inserted phonetic segment. Examples are shown here, with provisional phonetic transcription:

- (390) wī-yaka [wijægæ] ‘willow-DEF’ [1:15]
 (391) hānī-yaka [hanijægæ] ‘spring-DEF’ [1:24]

In another instance, the semivowel *y* is written when following /*ā*/ and preceding /*ē*/, such as when a noun with a stem-final vowel /*ā*/ takes the indefinite suffix *-ēk* ‘INDF_1’ (thus written as *-yēk*). In terms of actual phonetic manifestation, however, the semivowel seems to be an off-glide or only weakly articulated:

- (392) daryā-yēk [dærja^lek^h] ‘river-INDF_1’ [2:17]

⁶⁴ Noted by Geoffrey Haig (p.c.) in an early draft of Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012).

- (393) qatā-yēk [qætəjek^h] ‘castle- INDF_1’ [5:54]

In a few words with stem-final /a/ and the addition of -ēk ‘INDF_1’, the semivowel *y* is written but may only be slightly audible as a weak off-glide:

- (394) tarašta-yēk [t^hæræʃt^hæjek^h] ‘hatchet-INDF_1’ [1:11]

- (395) dita-yēk [dɪt^hæjek^h] ‘daughter-INDF_1’ [11:1]

There are other instances of the possible insertion of the semivowel, such following /ā/ and preceding /i/ in the enclitic pronoun =iš ‘=3SG’:

- (396) pādšā=yiš [p^hadʃajɪʃ] ‘government = 3SG’ [5:49]

In another example, the semivowel *w* is written when following /ū/ and preceding /ē/. The distinction between /ū/ and what would be /w/ in this sequence is not clearly audible, however.

- (397) dānišjū-wē [daniʃdʒuwe] ‘student-INDF_2’ [6:10]

2.11.2 Consonants: Voicing assimilation, lenition, elision

It is possible to have a degree of voicing assimilation with processes of devoicing and voicing of certain consonants. Such changes take place in anticipation of the following sound, as what is termed ‘anticipatory assimilation’ (Crystal 1991:28). These processes are observed, for example, with the postalveolar fricatives and an affricate (other consonants have not yet been tested).

The voiced postalveolar fricative /ʒ/ becomes devoiced in word-final position, when the next word begins with a voiceless sound. In the example below, /ʒ/ is realized instead as [ʃ]:

- (398) až xāw [ʔæʃ xaw] ‘from sleep’ [3:14]

The voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ becomes voiced in word-final position, realized as [ʒ], when the next word begins with a voiced sound.

In the next two examples, word-final /ʃ/ becomes voiced as [ʒ]:

- (399) šētī = š bar ma-šu [ʃet^hiʒ bæɾ məʃu] ‘insanity = 3SG forth IND-go.PRS.3SG’ [3:92]

- (400) esm = iš mawu [ʔesmiʒ məw] ‘name = 3SG be.PRS.3SG’ [11:4]

Other examples are found with the voiced postalveolar affricate /ʒ/ [dʒ] becoming voiceless, as [ʃ], or possibly elided when the next word begins with /ʃ/ [ʃ]. (The plosive feature of the manner of articulation within the affricate also appears to be elided.)

- (401) pan(j) šaš [p^hæn ʃæʃ] ‘five-six’ [7H:120]

2.11.2.1 Lenition of voiced plosives

In his overview of the phonologies of West Iranian languages, Windfuhr (1989b:255) notes the ‘Zagros-d’, which is also observed by McCarus (2009:597) for Central Kurdish (Sulaimania). This phenomenon involves the tendency towards loss of *d* when it occurs between vowels, resulting in a variety of sounds with differing degrees of stricture. This process can affect various types of plosives in West Iranian. For example, Borjian (2010:n.p.) observes that in the Caspian dialect of Kalārestāq (transitional variety between Gilakī and Mazāndarānī), what were originally postvocalic plosives have become either fricatives or vowels (compare Persian *sīb* and Kalārestāq *sef* ‘apple’, and Persian *čub* and Kalārestāq *ču* ‘wood’).

This weakening of stricture, or lenition, is also found in Gawraǰūyī, and affects the series of voiced plosives: /b/ (in a few instances), /d/, and /g/.^{65 66}

This process can take place when a voiced plosive follows a vowel, either between vowels or following a vowel in word-final position. The lenition has varying results. The sound can be articulated as an undefined approximant, a fricative, a semivowel, or a vowel, corresponding to the place of articulation of the plosive. It may simply remain as a plosive (though the conditions for this are not yet clear).

In the transcription of the Gawraǰūyī texts, the plosive is usually written, but sometimes the sound resulting from lenition is transcribed instead.⁶⁷ There are also instances of the same word uttered with different degrees of lenition by the same speaker. In these cases, the sound is realized as a plosive in one instance and with a degree of lenition in another. A few of these alternates are shown here:

⁶⁵ This process of lenition is also described in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:18) regarding present stem forms of verbs and their relationship to past stem forms: ‘The shape of the present stems of some verbs is further modified by the lenition of certain initial voiced consonants *b-*, *d-*, *g-*, or *w-*. When preceded by the prefixes *ma-*, *na-* (negation), or *bi-*, these consonants become glides, [w] or [y], and the vowel of the prefix may coalesce with the stem vowel.’

⁶⁶ A remaining question is whether lenition also affects *ǰ* [ʒ], which could be a reason for alternation of words by the same speaker: *m-wāy* ‘IND-say.PRS.3SG’ [7H:103] (most frequent) and *m-wāǰ-ē* ‘IND-say.PRS-3SG’ [7H:127] (infrequent). Another topic for future research is the possibility of lenition affecting voiceless plosives.

⁶⁷ In these instances, our transcription should be regarded as provisional.

Table 7. Illustrations of lenition: Pairs of the same word by the same speaker

| | | | | |
|-----|---------|----------|-----------|--|
| /b/ | dubāra | [dubaræ] | ‘again_1’ | [3:5] The speaker utters this word with [b] but then as [w] in the next example. |
| | dwāra | [dwaræ] | ‘again’ | [2:47] |
| /d/ | farād | [færad] | ‘Farād’ | [4:3] The speaker utters this word with [d] but then as [j] in the next example. |
| | farā(d) | [færaj] | ‘Farād’ | [4:132] |
| /g/ | agara | [ʔægæræ] | ‘if’ | [7N:6] The speaker utters this word with the segment perhaps close to a plosive or with minimal fricative quality, but then in the next example here below as [ɣ], written as <i>y</i> in the orthography. |
| | ayara | [ʔæɣæræ] | ‘if’ | [7N:65] |

There can also be a consistent realization of a sound that is assumed to have undergone lenition. This applies to what is assumed to be intervocalic /d/ in the morpheme *didān* ‘tooth’, which is always realized in the text corpus as a sound approaching [ɣ]:

(402) didān [dīyan] ‘tooth’ [2:81] (The plosive /d/ is realized as [ɣ].)

It might also be suggested that a plosive (either /k/ or /g/) in the definiteness morpheme has undergone lenition. While this morpheme has been transcribed in our text corpus as *-aka*, it is actually phonetically manifested in varying ways. It is most frequently found with a voiced velar fricative, as [æɣæ], or occasionally with a voiced velar plosive [ægæ], with slightly irregular degrees of voicing. The morpheme is also found as a lengthened vowel, as [æ:]. It only rarely occurs as [æk^hæ]. (See Section 4.1.5.2 for more details, including reasons for transcription as *-aka*.)

Examples of variation in the realization of this morpheme include:

(403) hānī-yaka [haniɣæɣæ] ‘spring-DEF’ [1:97] (realized as [ɣ])

(404) kuřa-ka [k^hurægæ] ‘young.man-DEF’ [9:40] (realized as [g])

(405) šīr-aka = š [ʃiræ:] ‘milk-DEF = 3SG’ [1:19] (realized as lengthened vowel)

(406) pār-aka [p^haræk^hæ] ‘last year’ [8:105] (realized as [k^h])

2.11.3 Elision

The phonological process of elision can take place under certain conditions. In the transcription of the texts, the elided sounds are often written in parentheses, such as in: (*h*)āma ‘come.PST’ [8:125], *a(r)* ‘if’ [5:112], *wa(rd)* ‘eat.PST’ [11:28]. Sometimes elided sounds are written without parentheses, however.

In a few instances, consonants are also elided in word-final position, either after a vowel or consonant. The following pairs first show the word in its full form, and then give an example of the same word with elision of the word-final consonant:

- (407) min [mɪn] ‘1SG’ [2:70]
 (408) mi(n) [mɪ] ‘1SG’ [9:27] (Elided in speech of only one speaker.)
 (409) ward = iš [wærdɪʃ] ‘eat.PST = 3SG’ [2:55]
 (410) war(d) [wær] ‘eat.PST’ [3:106]

There is also a fair degree of word-final elision of the affricate /č/ in the additive = *ič* ‘ADD’ (or of the fricative /š/ of = *iš* as the variant form). The examples below first show a full form = *ič* and then elision of the affricate:

- (411) dār = ič = a [daritʰæ] ‘tree = ADD = DEM’ [3:44]
 (412) īnān = i(č) hāma-n [ʔinani haman] ‘PROX.PL = ADD come.PST-3PL_1’ [6:97]
 (413) ayar = i(č) ahyānan [ʔæjæri ʔæhjanæn] ‘if = ADD accidentally’ [9:31]

Such elision of /č/ occasionally takes place in the environment of a following word-initial voiced bilabial consonant such as /b/ or /m/.⁶⁸ The phonetic motivation for this elision is not yet clear:

- (414) ayar = i(č) b-wāy [ʔæjæri bwaj] ‘if = ADD SBJV-say.PRS.3SG’ [9:12]
 (415) īnān = i(č) m-wā-n [ʔinani mwan] ‘PROX.PL = ADD IND-say.PRS-3PL’ [3:67]

The cluster /rd/ is almost always elided in the common past stem of ‘do’, *kard*, when word-final. The following first shows the full form and then with elision:

- (416) kard = a [kʰærdæ] ‘do.PST = DIR’ [4:81]
 (417) ka(rd) [kʰæ] ‘do.PST’ [4:217]

⁶⁸ Noted by Geoffrey Haig (p.c.) in an early draft of Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012).

3. CHAPTER 3. TYPOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

3.1 Morpheme inventory

This section on Gawraǰūyī grammar begins with a look at the inventory of morphemes.⁶⁹ A morpheme can be defined as ‘a linguistic unit that contributes meaning to an utterance, but cannot itself be divided into smaller meaningful parts’ (Payne 2006:335). Morphemes in Gawraǰūyī consist of several types: roots, affixes, and enclitics. These morphemes in turn can be divided as ‘free’, meaning that there is the possibility that they are used alone, or as ‘bound’, meaning that they must be attached to another element.

The morphemes can be used alone or be combined to form the unit of the ‘grammatical word’, which is assumed to have ‘conventionalized coherence and meaning’ (Aikhenvald 2015:48).

Roots are mainly free morphemes that ‘form the core of the word’ (Kroeger 2005:13–14). They can occur alone or together with other roots. In any language, roots are regarded as an ‘open class’, which means that there are many of these elements in a language and they can be readily added to a language’s lexicon through borrowing, for example. As Kroeger notes, roots typically express a type of meaning that is considered lexical rather than grammatical. A few roots are shown here:

(418) birā ‘brother’ [1:40]

(419) das ‘hand’ [11:56]

(420) fra ‘much, many, a lot, very’ [7N:117]

(421) kam ‘a little, few’ [3:19]

A single root can constitute a simple stem of a word; multiple roots can be joined to form a compound stem, or as a root with further affixed derivational morphology to form a stem. A stem, in turn, is that element of word structure to which inflectional morphology can be attached (Crystal 1991:326).

Affixes are bound morphemes. They attach to another morpheme, such as a root. The affixes can be further specified as prefixes, suffixes, or infixes. The affixes also typically add a certain grammatical meaning to a root. In contrast to roots, affixes are considered to be a ‘closed class’; there is only a limited number of them in a language.

⁶⁹ I am thankful to John Roberts (p.c.) for the suggestion to include a morpheme inventory in this study.

Enclitics are also bound morphemes. They are similar to affixes in that they always attach to another element. But they are different in that they can attach to a larger selection of elements, such as a phrase or clause, as well as a root or stem. In Gawraǰūyī, the majority of enclitics express grammatical meaning, and in that sense, these forms comprise a closed class. Only a few forms of the enclitics have lexical meaning.

Table 8 through Table 12 below present a comprehensive inventory of Gawraǰūyī affixes and enclitics, including attested allomorphs, other spellings, or variants in parentheses. It does not note frequency of the morphemes, though. Gloss abbreviations are found on page xxix. The gloss may involve an equal sign indicating an enclitic (for example, ‘=2PL’). It should also be noted that in further sections of this study, the glossing of variants with an underscore and numeral, for example, *_1*, *_2*, *_3*, etc., is only included on particular items when relevant, though it is found consistently in the glossing of the texts in the Appendix.

Table 8. Prefixes

| Prefix | Gloss |
|------------------------|---------------|
| bi- (b-) | SBJV- |
| ma- (m-, variant: mi-) | IND- IPFV- |
| ma- | PROH- |
| ni- | NEG_1- |
| na- (n-) | NEG_2- |

Table 9. Suffixes

| Suffix | Gloss |
|---|----------------|
| -a | -3SG_4 |
| -a | -NA (or: NUM?) |
| -a (-ya) | -2PL_1 |
| -a (-ya) | -PART |
| -aka (-yaka, -ya(k)a, -yak, -waka, -ka, -(k)a, -ak, -k, -(k), -a(k)a) | -DEF |
| -aw | -NA |

| Suffix | Gloss |
|---|------------------------------------|
| -ay | -NA |
| -aya | -NA |
| -ayl (-yayl, -yl) | -PL_2 |
| -ām (-yām, -yā(m)) | -1PL_4 |
| -ān (-yān, -wān) | -PL_1 |
| -ān | -2PL_2 |
| -ān | -3PL_2 |
| -e | -NA |
| -ē (-yē,-wē, -ī, -i, variant: -y) | -3SG_8 |
| -ē | -NA |
| -ē | -INDF_2 |
| -ēk (-yēk, -k, -ē, -yē, -e, -ē(k), -wē) | -INDF_1 |
| -hā | -PL_3 |
| -i | -EU |
| -i | -NA |
| -im (-m, -yim, -(m), -(i)m) | -1SG |
| -in (-n,-yn,-(i)n, -yin) | -3PL_1 |
| -ī (-yī, -y) | -INDF_3 |
| -ī (-yī, -y) | -2SG |
| -ī | -NA |
| -ī | -OBL |
| -īm (-m, -ym) | -1PL_5 |
| -īs (-yīs) | -PASS.PST_1 |
| -n | (Present stem causative suffix) |
| -o | -3SG_7 |
| -y | -3SG_5 |

| Suffix | Gloss |
|--------|-------------|
| -y | -NA |
| -ya | -PASS.PRS |
| -ya | -NA |
| -yay | -NA |
| -yā | -PASS.PST_2 |
| -yām | -1PL_7 |
| -yān | -NA |
| -yānē | -NA |
| -ymē | -1PL_6 |

Table 10. Infix

| Infix | Gloss |
|-------|---|
| -n- | (Causative derivational infix on past stem) |

Table 11. Enclitics

| Enclitic | Gloss |
|--|-----------------|
| = a | = COP.PRS.3SG_3 |
| = a | = NA |
| = a | = DEM.PTCL#_1 |
| = a | = COMPD |
| = a | = DIR |
| = an | = COP.PRS.3SG_2 |
| = awa (variant: = w) | = POSTP#_2 |
| = ay | = 3SG_2 |
| = ay (= yay, = y, = way, variant: = a) | = POSTP#_1 |

| Enclitic | Gloss |
|--|-------------------|
| = ām | = COP.PRS.1PL_2 |
| = e (= y, = ye) | = EZ_1 |
| = e | = NA |
| = ē | = NA |
| = ē | = COP.PRS.3SG_1 |
| = ē | = DEM.PTCL#_2 |
| = im | = COP.PRS.1SG |
| = im (= m, = (i)m) | = 1SG |
| = in (= n, = yin, = y(n)) | = COP.PRS.3PL |
| = iš (= š, = (i)š, = yš, = (š), = i(š), = yiš) | = 3SG |
| = it (= t, = (i)t, = (it), = wit) | = 2SG |
| = ī | = COP.PRS.2SG |
| = ič (= yč, = (ī)č, = ī(č), = ī, = y(č), = y, = č) | = ADD_1 |
| = iš | = ADD_2 |
| = īm | = COP.PRS.1PL_3 |
| = mān | = 1PL_1 |
| = šān | = 3PL |
| = tān | = 2PL |
| = wa (variant: = awa) | = POSTP#_3 |
| = wa (= a, = ya) | = PTCL# |
| = wa | = NA |
| = wē | = COP.PST.PRF.3SG |
| = wim | = COP.PST.PRF.1SG |
| = wīn | = COP.PST.PRF.3PL |
| = y (= ī) | = 3SG_1 |

| Enclitic | Gloss |
|----------|-----------------|
| = ya | = NA |
| = yām | = COP.PRS.1PL_1 |
| = yē | = EZ_2 |

Table 12. Enclitics with lexical glosses

| Enclitic | Gloss |
|----------|--------|
| = aw | = to_2 |
| = u | = and |

3.2 Morphological typology

Gawraǰūyī can be viewed according to morphological typology, which is a system of classification distinct from traditional genetic classification. Morphological typology is based on the morphemes and their role in the structure of words. This structure has two aspects. One of these is the degree to which words can be divided into morphemes, and the other is the degree to which the morphemes themselves, as units with meaning, can be recognized and segmented (Payne 1997:27; Ineichen 1991:46). In this typology, three (or four) main types of languages are commonly distinguished according to their places on two indices, as outlined in Comrie (1983:39) (see also Payne 1997:27–29; 2006:190; Ineichen 1991:48–54).

The first is an ‘index of synthesis’. This index is based on the number of morphemes in a word, though there is not an absolute number to distinguish the types. Rather, the index can be seen as a sort of spectrum, with languages classified on different places on the spectrum, with tendencies towards one pure type or the other.

One of the end points is occupied by languages that are ‘isolating’. Such languages are made up of words consisting of a single morpheme each. At the other end point of the spectrum are languages which are ‘polysynthetic’; in this type of language, words tend to be consist of many morphemes.

On this first index of synthesis, Gawraǰūyī can be classified as tending towards polysynthetic. Words can consist of a number of morphemes, which is a result of adding affixes, and also can consist of conjoining roots and other structures in compounding. But a fair number of words in Gawraǰūyī also consist of only a single morpheme. So with this mixture of words and morpheme numbers, Gawraǰūyī cannot be considered purely polysynthetic. Examples of words with more than one morpheme are shown here:

- (422) asp-aka = š
horse-DEF = 3SG
'her horse' [4:89]
- (423) ni-ma-kar-in
NEG_1-IND-do.PRS-3PL
'they do not do' [3:20]
- (424) bambā-wārān
bomb-rain
'bombardment' [6:162]

Words consisting of a single morpheme include:

- (425) dār
tree
'tree' [3:7]
- (426) wahār
spring
'spring' [4:153]
- (427) taḷā
gold
'gold' [4:148]

The second index on which language types can be classified is an 'index of fusion'. The index of fusion involves the degree to which meanings of grammatical categories are found in morphemes, whether multiple units of meaning are merged or 'fused' into one morpheme or whether each unit of meaning is found in an individual morpheme. It is a matter of degree, and languages can be described with tendencies towards one type or the other. In an 'agglutinative language', each morpheme can be segmented, marks one grammatical meaning, and has an unchanging form. In a 'fusional language', morphemes cannot be easily segmented, and one morpheme expresses several grammatical meanings.

On this index, it is noteworthy there can also be mixing of types, and it is also possible that languages change from one main type to another throughout their history (Ineichen 1991:46, 49–50).

In terms of the 'index of fusion', Gawraǰūyī exhibits tendencies towards both agglutination and fusion. This combination of agglutination and fusion is very common in languages throughout the world (Bybee 1985:45). The agglutinating tendencies in Gawraǰūyī are especially seen in compound words. A few examples follow:

- (428) birā-zā
brother-offspring
'nephew (brother's son)' [8:77]

- (429) diṭ-waš
heart-pleasant
'pleased' [6:69]
- (430) kawš-durus-kar
shoe-prepare-do.PRS
'shoemaker' [1:45]

Another example of agglutination is the segmentable morpheme indicating plural number, added to a noun:

- (431) sāṭ-ān
year-PL
'years' [6:93]

Nevertheless, Gawraǰūyī morphology also shows many instances of fusion. It is shown in the different forms of tense-aspect in the verb stems. A single morpheme expressing meanings of tense-aspect cannot be segmented from the verb root. This fusion is exemplified in verbs such as:

- (432) wīn
see.PRS
'see (present stem)' [1:111]
- (433) dī
see.PST
'see (past stem)' [4:133]

Fusion is also evident in the verb endings, which indicate both person and number in a single morpheme, as first person and plural number *-ām*, as shown here:

- (434) m-wāž-ām
IND-say.PRS-1PL
'we say' [7H:107]

In summary, Gawraǰūyī can be classified as tending towards polysynthetic and showing both agglutinating and fusional features.

3.3 Morphological processes

There are various ways in which Gawraǰūyī words can be formed with morphemes to convey grammatical or lexical meaning. A root, as the basis of the word, can have other morphemes combined with it through certain morphological processes. The relevant processes described here are suffixation, prefixation, infixation, stem modification, complete and partial reduplication, compounding, and autosegmental variation (see Payne 2006:40–45).

3.3.1 Suffixation

Suffixation is the most common morphological process in Gawraǰūyī. There are approximately forty suffixes, including several that are not yet analyzed. Some examples of suffixation include:

- (435) šār-ēk
town-INDF_1
‘a town’ [3:5] (indefinite suffix)
- (436) b-ār-ī
SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG
‘you must bring’ [1:67] (verb suffix)
- (437) pāṭawān-ī
hero-(adjectival)
‘heroic’ [5:63] (noun to adjective derivation)

3.3.2 Prefixation

Prefixation is also found in Gawraǰūyī. There are five prefixes, used to mark meanings of mood, aspect, and negation.

Prefixation is illustrated here by the addition of *bi-*, which attaches to the beginning of a verb stem and expresses subjunctive mood, and also by the addition of *ma-*, expressing indicative and imperfective aspect:

- (438) bi-kar-im
SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
‘I may do’ [5:28]
- (439) ma-qirtin-ē
IND-cut.off.PRS-3SG
‘she cuts off’ [1:11]

3.3.3 Infixation

Infixation, a rare process in Gawraǰūyī, is observed in the formation of the causative stem, which involves the addition of the morpheme *-n-* to a past stem (such a stem is exemplified here by *sūz* ‘burn.PST’). The morpheme precedes a final *-ī* vowel:

- (440) sūz-n-ī
burn.PST-(cause)-NA
‘cause.to.burn.PST’ [8:106]

3.3.4 Stem modification

The process of stem modification occurs when the root itself is changed as a component of meaning. This process is found in the two different forms conveying present and past tense of verbs, illustrated here by the present and past stems of the verb ‘say’:

- (441) wāž
say.PRS
‘say (present stem)’ [2:2]
- (442) wāt
say.PST
‘say (past stem)’ [3:62]

3.3.5 Reduplication

Another morphological process in Gawraǰūyī is reduplication, which takes place when either a complete morpheme or part of one is repeated to form a new lexical item as a word or in some instances as a phrase.

3.3.5.1 Complete reduplication

Complete reduplication involves the repetition of a complete morpheme, as in the following examples. The function of reduplication may add a sense of incremental or repeated action:

- (443) kut kut
chop chop
‘chopped up’ [3:72]

Complete reduplication also appears in the subclass of ideophonic nouns (see Section 4.1.7.6):

- (444) taq taq
knock knock
‘knocking sound’ [2:43]

3.3.5.2 Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication is observed in a construction of ‘similative plural’ (see Section 7.1.10). This construction is formed when a morpheme, typically a noun, is repeated, and the initial sound of the repeated element replaced with the nasal *m-*. The morphemes may

or may not be joined with the conjunction *=u* ‘and’.⁷⁰ The resulting nominal construction expresses a more generalized sense. For example:

- (445) *nān* *mān*
 bread m.bread
 ‘bread and such things’ [3:14]
- (446) *taxt = u* *maxt*
 throne = and m.throne
 ‘throne and such things’ [5:49]

3.3.6 Compounding

Compounding in Gawraǰūyī is observed when a new word is formed by combining two roots or stems. It is also possible to combine various types of roots, such as two nouns, an adjective and noun, or a preposition and noun. Examples of compounding include:

- (447) *bāwa-žan*
 father-wife
 ‘stepmother’ [11:1]
- (448) *basa-ziwān*
 bound-tongue
 ‘speechless (creature)’ [2:23]
- (449) *bā-nāmūsē*
 with-honor
 ‘honorable’ [6:129]

3.3.7 Autosegmental variation

Another process is autosegmental variation, which takes place in Gawraǰūyī by means of an adjustment of a morpheme’s autosegmental feature of stress. This process only affects two Gawraǰūyī morphemes and thus can be considered relatively rare. The unstressed verbal prefix *ma-* indicates indicative mood and imperfective aspect, while the stressed verbal prefix *'ma-* indicates prohibitive sense (that is, a negated imperative). This adjustment in the feature of stress is illustrated here:

- (450) *ma-tar¹s-ē* ‘IND-fear.PRS-3SG’ (‘she fears’) [8:3]
- (451) *'ma-tars-a* ‘PROH-fear.PRS-2PL’ (‘do not fear’) [4:97]

⁷⁰ With the addition of the conjunction, this construction might be considered on a different level than the word (more study is needed).

3.4 Head-marking and dependent-marking typology

Gawraǰūyī can also be classified in terms of head-marking and dependent-marking typology. This typology is a system of classification based on the relationship of various elements comprising a group of constituents. This group can be characterized at various levels, such as a phrase, clause, or sentence. Within the group, there is an element which can be identified as the ‘head’, which is the constituent that ‘governs’ or ‘determines the category of its phrase’ (Nichols 1986:57). For instance, according to this definition, the head of a possessive phrase is the possessed noun, and the head of an adpositional phrase is the adposition.

Languages throughout the world tend to have consistent patterns of morphological marking of either the head or of the dependent constituent. This morphological marking includes ‘any form of inflection, affixation, cliticization or other overt morphological variation that signals some relevant relation, function, or meaning’ (Nichols 1992:48). By the patterns in such marking, a language that tends to mark the head is classified as ‘head-marking’, while a language that tends to mark the dependent is ‘dependent-marking’. It is also possible that a language may show patterns of marking both constituents, and can be classified as ‘double-marking’ (Nichols 1992:49). There can also be inconsistent or no marking of the relationship (see Nichols & Bickel 2011).

These patterns of marking can be viewed at the various levels of phrase, clause, and sentence. These levels and patterns are listed in the table from Nichols (1986:57), shown here with a few minor adaptations:⁷¹

⁷¹ In the original table in Nichols (1986:57), under the dependent of the phrase level, the wording is ‘object of adposition’. Under the dependent at the clause level, the wording is ‘arguments and adjuncts’.

Table 13. Head and dependent elements

| Level | Head | Dependent |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Phrase | possessed noun | possessor |
| | noun | modifying adjective |
| | adposition | complement of adposition |
| Clause | predicate | arguments |
| | modal auxiliary verb | lexical ('main') verb |
| Sentence | main clause predicate | relative or subordinate clause |

In general, Gawraǰūyī exhibits a mixture of marking patterns in its morphology. The head constituent may be marked at some levels, but at other levels, the dependent is marked. The mixture of patterns is similar to that found in Persian (see map of Nichols & Bickel 2011: Feature 25A).

3.4.1 Phrase level

In a possessive phrase, the possessed noun is considered to be the head, while the possessor is considered to be the dependent. The head-dependent relationship can be marked by morphological means, namely, by the *ezāfe* (a linking particle, see Section 4.1.5), which is attached to the head. In many instances, however, this morpheme is absent, and the elements are only linked by simple juxtaposition. The two patterns are illustrated below:

- (452) *dāyka = y ēma*
 mother = EZ 1PL_2
 ‘our mother’ [2:45]
- (453) *ka = y pādšā*
 house = EZ king
 ‘house of the king’ [11:106]
- (454) *diṭ kaywānū-aka*
 heart woman-DEF
 ‘heart of the lady’ [11:33]
- (455) *fikr mināṭ-ī*
 mind child-INDF_3
 ‘the mind of a child’ [6:93]

The head-dependent relationship is also evident in a possessive phrase in which the possessor is expressed by an enclitic pronoun. In such a construction, there is no possibility of the *ezāfe* occurring. This pattern is illustrated here:

- (456) ya birā = m
 one brother = 1SG
 ‘a brother of mine’ [7N:82]

Besides the ezāfe, there is also infrequently attested and irregular marking of the dependent by the residual oblique case marker *-ī*, as shown here:

- (457) bar ka-ka = šān-ī
 door house-DEF = 3PL-OBL
 ‘door of the house’ [12:42]

In an attributive noun phrase, the noun is considered to be the head, and the modifying adjective is considered to be the dependent. In Gawraǰūyī, the head noun most frequently occurs before the dependent. There can be morphological marking on the head by means of the ezāfe, or this marking can be absent, and the elements linked by simple juxtaposition. These patterns are illustrated below:

- (458) kuṛa = y dileṛāsīn = im
 son = EZ middle = 1SG
 ‘my son in the middle (i.e., my middle son)’ [6:1]

- (459) žan = e jwān
 woman = EZ young
 ‘young woman’ [5:31]

- (460) řazm pāṭawānī
 armor heroic
 ‘heroic armor’ [5:63]

In an adpositional phrase, the adposition is considered to be the head, and the complement (the noun phrase referring to the location) is considered to be the dependent. In Gawraǰūyī, the most frequent type of adposition, specifically, the preposition, occurs before the dependent. (An adposition can also be a circumposition or postposition, though they are less common.) The head-dependent relationship can be marked by the ezāfe attached to a limited set of prepositions (also classed as nouns), but it also can be absent. These patterns with prepositions as heads are illustrated here:

- (461) lā = y lālo pāyar
 side = EZ Lālo Pāydār
 ‘(the goat comes to) side (i.e., presence) of Lālo Pāydār’ [2:75]

- (462) až hānī-yaka
 from spring-DEF
 ‘from the spring’ [1:24]

The dependent element is also occasionally and irregularly marked by the oblique case marker *-ī*, as in the following example:

- (463) aṣ sar-ī
 from head-OBL
 ‘from the head’ [11:42]

The next three examples show head-dependent relationships with a circumposition and an ezāfe linking the head as preposition with the dependent nominal, a circumposition without an ezāfe, and thus no marking, and a postposition, also without marking:

- (464) wa řü = y tāša = wa
 at face = EZ rock = POSTP#_2
 ‘on the surface of the rock face’ [4:172]
- (465) wa_ gard = im = ay
 with = 1SG = POSTP#_1
 ‘with me’ [12:10]
- (466) dār = ay
 wooden.beam = POSTP#_1
 ‘in the beam(s)’ [11:19]

3.4.2 Clause level

In a simple clause, the predicate is considered to be the head, while the subject and object arguments are considered to be the dependents. In a Gawraǰūyī clause with an intransitive verb, the predicate (as head) is marked with the person-number properties of the subject (dependent).⁷² The next three examples show this morphological marking on the head, as the verb has agreement morphology indexing the person and number of the subject (as dependent), with *-im* (first person, singular) and *-ē* (third person, singular):

- (467) min ma-řaw-im
 1SG IND-go.PRS-1SG
 ‘I am going’ [6:18]
- (468) birā-ka = m bi-řaw-ē
 brother-DEF = 1SG SBJV-go.PRS-3SG
 ‘(if) my brother goes’ [8:93]

The agreement can also occur without a separate element in the same clause expressing subject:

⁷² Nichols (1986:58) notes that on the Indo-European verb, there is person-number agreement with the subject. She points out this is a kind of marking which signals the ‘type of dependency’ (i.e., the marking is identified as subject); it is also a kind of marking by which the subject (dependent) has properties which are ‘indexed’ on the other constituent, the predicate (head).

- (469) ma-wīn-ē
 IND-see.PRS-3SG
 ‘she sees’ [4:41]

In a complex clause construction involving a modal auxiliary verb, the modal auxiliary verb is considered to be the head, while the second verb is considered to be the dependent. In these Gawraǰūyī constructions, the head occurs before the dependent. The morphological marking is not found on the head, but rather on the dependent, expressed by means of the subjunctive prefix *bi-*, as illustrated here:

- (470) ma-tān-im wa dāyka = m b-wā-m
 IND-can.PRS-1SG to mother = 1SG SBJV-say.PRS-1SG
 ‘I can say to my mother’ [8:84]

In a multi-clause construction, the main clause is considered to be the head, while the subordinate clause is considered to be the dependent. In the Gawraǰūyī construction, there is marking of the dependent in that it is introduced with the complementizer *ka*, and the predicate is marked with the subjunctive prefix *bi-*. For example:

- (471) baǰd eǰāza ma-tī = ya ka bi-niš-ām
 then permission IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR COMP SBJV-sit.PRS-1PL
 ‘then they (literally, singular) give permission that we may sit’ [7N:11]

3.4.3 Summary

Table 14 below provides an overview of the constructions and types of marking:

Table 14. Overview of head and dependent marking in Gawraǰūyī

| | Elements in construction | Morphological marking | Head or dependent marking? |
|--|---|--|--|
| Possessive phrase | Possessed noun + possessor | 1. Ezāfe attached to head 2. No ezāfe 3. No ezāfe, but irregular marking of dependent with oblique | 1. Head 2. No marking apart from order 3. Dependent-marking (irregular) |
| Attributive phrase | Noun + modifying adjective | 1. Ezāfe attached to head 2. No ezāfe | 1. Head 2. No marking apart from order |
| Adpositional phrases | | | |
| 1. Prepositional | Preposition + complement | 1. Ezāfe attached to a limited set of prepositions 2. No ezāfe 3. No ezāfe, but irregular marking of dependent with oblique | 1. Generally head-marking 2. No marking 3. Dependent-marking (irregular) |
| 2. Circumpositional | Preposition + complement + postposition | 1. Ezāfe attached to a limited set of prepositions 2. No ezāfe | 1. Generally head-marking 2. No marking |
| 3. Postpositional | Complement + postposition | No ezāfe | No marking |
| Simple clause (intransitive verb as predicate) | Subject/agent + predicate | Predicate (head) marked with person-number properties of subject | Head-marking |
| Complex clause construction with modal auxiliary | Modal auxiliary + second verb | Second verb (dependent) marked with subjunctive prefix <i>bi-</i> | Dependent-marking |
| Multi-clause construction of main clause + subordinate clause | Main clause + subordinate clause | Subordinate clause (dependent) optionally introduced with complementizer <i>ka</i> ; predicate of subordinate clause marked with subjunctive prefix <i>bi-</i> | Dependent-marking |

3.5 Constituent order typology

Gawraǰūyī can also be described according to a typology of constituent order. There are languages which have a basic order of the object preceding the verb, abbreviated as OV, and there are other languages in which the object follows the verb, abbreviated as VO. The order of such clause constituents tends to correlate with features of syntax and other constituent orders, as first proposed by Greenberg (1963; 1966). Greenberg's proposals, however, have been widely discussed since then, with its assumptions tested and revised (see, for example, Dryer 1992). Furthermore, the correlations noted by Greenberg can also have exceptions, depending on conditions such as a language history as well as discourse and pragmatics (see Payne 1997:71–91). This typology is mentioned here simply as a set of observations and a potential tool for describing grammatical structures in Gawraǰūyī.⁷³

The selected constituent orders observed in Gawraǰūyī involve those of clause constituents, noun and possessive, noun and adjective, adposition and noun, noun and relative clause, and interrogative words. (Comparative constructions are not noted here; for description, see Section 5.6.10.)

3.5.1 Order of clause constituents

The ordering of constituents at the clause level is described here for unmarked, or relatively neutral structures in terms of pragmatics (see, however, Chapter 14). Such clauses include those that are typically affirmative, contain a transitive verb, and are those in which reference to participants is already established (i.e., no introduction of new participants) (Payne 1997:77).

A clause is also considered to have a 'core', consisting of the predicate with the core clausal arguments, the subject, object, and goal (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:26). These can be expressed by full (lexical) noun phrases, pronouns, or no marking (see Chapter 9 for discussion and variation).⁷⁴ The constituent order with full noun phrases expressing the S and O arguments is basically subject-object-verb (SOV), as illustrated here:

⁷³ The choice of most of the areas here (clause, noun phrase) showing constituent order follows Comrie (1983:80–86, 96, referring to Greenberg 1966). The description of Gawraǰūyī here also relies on Payne (1997:71–91 and 2006:191–198) and refers to the model used by Baart (1999:20–30). Dryer's research was brought to my attention by Geoffrey Haig (p.c.), who also provided useful comments on Greenberg's correlations.

⁷⁴ In our text corpus, variation is found in that only the distal form of the third person singular independent pronoun is attested as expressing O in a present tense clause (enclitic pronouns are used instead) (see Section 9.1.4.3).

- (472) S O V
 birā-(k)-ān naxša = šān kišt-a = wē
 brother-DEF-PL plan = 3PL make.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG
 ‘the brothers had made plans’ [5:26]

The same order is seen when the S argument is expressed by an independent pronoun:

- (473) S O V
 ēma nām = iš ma-zān-ām
 1PL_2 name = 3SG IND-know.PRS-1PL
 ‘we know its name’ [4:19]

The most common type of expression of clause arguments, however, occurs solely by means of the person-number ending on the verb or indexing with an enclitic pronoun:

- (474) ma-wīn-ē
 IND-see.PRS-3SG
 ‘she sees’ [12:19]
- (475) wāt = iš
 say.PST = 3SG
 ‘he said’ [3:87]

A constituent can also follow the verb when it functions as a syntactic ‘goal’ (or indirect object) (abbreviated here as G):

- (476) S O V G
 šā dastūr = iš dā nayrū = y nizāmī
 Shah order = 3SG give.PST military.force = EZ military
 ‘The Shah gave the order to the military forces’ [6:30]

The goals or results of certain verbs are also positioned after the verb, such as *mawu* ‘be.PRS.3SG’ (sense of ‘become’) or *kard* ‘do.PST’:

- (477) S V G
 dita mawu pīk puṭā
 girl be.PRS.3SG strong.and.straight steel
 ‘the girl will become (like) the cutting edge of steel’ [3:91]
- (478) V G
 kard = iš = a melī yānī māl = e melat
 make.PST = 3SG = DIR national it.means property = EZ people
 ‘he nationalized it, I mean, (made it) the property of the people’ [6:119]

Complements of speech and perception verbs are positioned after the verb:

- (479) gīw wāt-a = wē min ma-š-im
 Gīw say.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG 1SG IND-go.PRS-1SG
 ‘Gīw had said: ‘I will go’’ [5:89]
- (480) ma-wīn-ē mār = ē
 IND-see.PRS-3SG snake = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘she sees (that) it is a snake’ [11:67]

There is also further constituent ordering with certain elements considered external to the core of the clause. Adverbials, such as certain temporal expressions, can appear at the beginning of the clause and modify the entire clause:

- (481) ī šaw kuł ma-yr-ē
 PROX.DEM.ADJ night hide IND-bring.PRS-3SG
 ‘the next evening she hides’ [1:6]

3.5.2 Order of noun and possessive

Another constituent order also is that of a head noun and possessive (genitive) (G) (introduced in Section 3.4.1). The unmarked order is NG:

- (482) dāyka = y ēma
 mother = EZ 1PL
 ‘our mother’ [2:45]
- (483) xānawāda = y dita
 family = EZ young.woman
 ‘family of the young woman’ [8:10]

3.5.3 Order of noun and modifying adjective

At the level of the noun phrase, with elements of a head noun and modifying adjective, the most common order in the noun phrase is that the head noun (N) is followed by an adjective (A):

- (484) řüstā = y büčik-ēk
 village = EZ small-INDF_1
 ‘a small village’ [8:97]
- (485) kuřa = y dileřāsīn = im
 son = EZ middle = 1SG
 ‘my son in the middle (of the children’s ages)’ [6:1]

According to Windfuhr (1989b:260–261), the constituent order of head noun first in the noun phrase is an important characteristic of a subgrouping of West Iranian languages including Kurdish, Dimili (Zazaki), Central dialects, and Luri.

This constituent order has a few exceptions, however:

- (486) sīyā čādur
 black tent
 ‘black tents’ [4:156]
- (487) čwārqāpī qasir
 four-gated Qasir
 ‘four-gated (city of) Qasr-e Širin’ [4:23]

Constituents such as numerals and other quantifiers also occur before the head noun:

- (488) pañ māng
 five month
 ‘five months’ [4:188]

3.5.4 Order of adpositions and nouns

Another significant constituent order has to do with adpositions and nouns. Gawraǰūyī has many prepositions (simple or complex), but also circumpositions, as a combination of prepositions and postpositions. No postpositions occur alone, however. Examples of the order in adpositional phrases include:

- (489) až xānawāda = y kuřa
 from family = EZ young.man
 ‘from the young man’s family’ [8:48]
- (490) wa bān čaš
 at upon eye
 ‘upon the eyes’ [11:38]
- (491) wa war = š = ay
 at on = 3SG = POSTP#_1
 ‘on him’ [4:18]

3.5.5 Order of noun and relative clause

A head noun (N) precedes the modifying relative clause (R):

- (492) kas-ān = ē ka kumak pišī-yaka = šān kard = ē
 person-PL = NA COMP help cat-DEF = 3PL do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘the people who have helped the cat’ [1:108]
- (493) xānawād-ān ka saxt ma-yr-in
 family-PL COMP strict IND-bring.PRS-3PL
 ‘the families who act strictly’ [9:1]

3.5.6 Order of interrogative words

There is a strong tendency for interrogative words such as *kī* ‘who’, *ka* ‘where’, or *kay* ‘when’ to appear in the same position in the clause as the element that answers the question (in situ). In the following example, the question word *kī* ‘who’, expressing the subject argument, appears in the same sentence-initial position that another noun or pronoun would appear:⁷⁵

- (494) *kī* ma-tān-ē, *ī* mināṭ=a wa_gard=e *ī*
 who IND-can.PRS-3SG PROX child=DEM with=EZ PROX
 dāy=š=ay bar bi-kar-ē aǰ(ā=y) min
 mother=3SG=NA out SBJV-do.PRS-3SG for=EZ 1SG
 ‘Who is able to bring out this child together with his mother for me?’ [5:86]

3.5.7 Greenberg’s observations and Gawraǰūyī constituent order

The constituent orders described above can be compared to Greenberg’s main observations of other potential correlations in syntax for a language with a basic clause constituent order of SOV (see Comrie 1983:86–93, 96; Payne 1997:72). In Table 15 below, typical correlations for an SOV language are presented on the left hand side, with the actual Gawraǰūyī constituent orders shown on the right hand side. Compared to Greenberg’s correlations, Gawraǰūyī shows only the typical correlation of NA, while the other constituent orders are exceptional.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ An exceptional instance may be found as the following: *kā ma-š-ī* ‘where IND-go.PRS-2SG’ (‘Where are you going?’) [11:14], though further testing is needed. It is assumed that the element that would potentially answer such a question is more typically found following the predicate position: *ma-š-in=a kū* ‘IND-go.PRS-3PL=DIR mountain’ (‘they go to the mountains’) [2:36] (Nicholas Bailey, p.c.).

⁷⁶ For observations on Persian constituent order, see Comrie (1983:92).

Table 15. Comparison of some of Greenberg's observations and Gawraǰūyī constituent orders

| Greenberg's observations (SOV) | Gawraǰūyī constituent orders |
|---|---|
| GN (genitive – head noun) order | NG (head noun – genitive) |
| If SOV and GN, then... AN (adjective – head noun) | NA (head noun – adjective) |
| Postpositions | More prepositions, but also circumpositions; only one rarely attested postposition |
| Relative clauses before head nouns (RN) | Relative clauses after head nouns (NR) |
| Interrogative words occur sentence-initial or elsewhere | Tendency to be 'in situ' |

4. CHAPTER 4: WORD CLASSES

Chapter 4 presents a catalogue of the structures of Gawraǰūyī. The aim of this chapter is to identify the main classes of words and to present illustrations of typical features of an item belonging to a particular class.

In the organization of the sections in this chapter, three areas are noted as they help to identify an item as belonging to a particular class (as described by Givón 2011:36; 1984; and Payne 1997; 2006). These three areas can be considered as a cluster of properties that are generally found with prototypical members of a word class, though all the properties may not be involved in every case (Givón 2011:36).

These three areas are: 1) semantic features, in that the prototypical members of a particular class tend to involve particular types of meaning; 2) morphology, in that the members of a word class tend to consist of certain types of morphemes; and 3) syntactic distribution, in that members of a word class tend to be positioned in a particular place in larger structures such as the phrase, clause, or text. Of these three areas, morphology and syntactic distribution are assumed to be more significant for membership in a particular word class, while semantic features are less consistent and tend to be coincidental (Aikhenvald 2015:52).⁷⁷ Semantic features, however, can serve to identify the prototypes (Payne 2006:94).

In this description of word classes, a distinction is also assumed between lexical words and grammatical (or ‘inflectional’) morphemes. According to Givón (1984:48–50), lexical words ‘carry primarily lexical meaning that codes our culturally-shared generic knowledge or world-view’, while grammatical morphemes code information relating to propositions and discourse function. Lexical words form an ‘open class’, in that words can easily be added to it as needed, while grammatical morphemes form a ‘closed class’, in that the membership in the class is limited, and new members are not normally added to it.

4.1 Nouns

Words belonging to the class of Gawraǰūyī nouns can be identified by their tendencies to exhibit characteristic properties in terms of their semantic features, morphology, and syntactic distribution.⁷⁸ The nouns can be regarded as belonging to various subclasses as well. The distinctions between these classes are also based on certain semantic features and grammatical characteristics, such as the type of inflectional marking that they can take and their syntactic

⁷⁷ These distinctions have been brought to my attention by Geoffrey Haig (p.c.).

⁷⁸ Background for the description of nouns is mostly based on Payne (1997:33–46; 2006:94–103), Givón (1984:56–57), and Dixon (2012a, 2010b), also referring to Baart (1999:31–36) as a model.

distribution. The subclasses consist of common nouns, proper names, generics, count and mass nouns, nouns as numeral classifiers, and distinctions in possessibility, such as kinship terms and body part nouns. One subclass, ideophonic nouns, is primarily distinguished by its special phonological features. Some of the nouns that have been borrowed into Gawraǰūyī from another language can also have some distinctions in grammatical marking.

Certain nouns have properties typical of other word classes. A few nouns have some properties in common with adjectives and have overlap in function (see Section 4.9.7). A number of nouns are used as adpositions (see Section 4.10.2).

4.1.1 Semantic properties

In terms of semantics, a prototypical noun is a word that is used to refer to an entity that is perceived as being generally stable and not changing significantly over time.⁷⁹ Entities that serve as referents for nouns further tend to be ‘concrete, physical, and compact’ (Givón 1984:51; see also Dixon 2010b:39). They tend to be ‘bounded or individuated’ (Payne 2006:94). Some prototypical nouns in Gawraǰūyī include *ka* ‘house’ [10:40], *qutāng* ‘pickaxe’ [4:168], *dār* ‘tree’ [11:68], *tāǰ* ‘crown’ [3:79], *sitāra* ‘star’ [5:13], and *bāt* ‘arm’ [5:155].

Nouns can also refer to abstract concepts, such as *wašī* ‘happiness’ [3:95], or with a degree of abstractness, such as a noun referring to a temporal concept, *īwār* ‘evening’ [2:48].

Nouns can be further distinguished as subclasses (see Givón 1984:56–57; Payne 2006:101–103; Dixon 2010a:102–103). There are common nouns, referring to an entity as a class of objects (Dixon 2010a:102). Examples include *qulīna* ‘basket’ [1:7] and *sang* ‘stone’ [4:148]. There are also proper nouns (proper names), referring to an entity with a unique identity (Payne 2006:101). Examples include *ardašīr* ‘Ardašīr’ [5:23] and *zimkān* ‘Zimkān (River)’ [2:6].

Certain nouns can also be considered according to the ways they can be quantified. Count nouns refer to countable entities, for example, *asp* ‘horse’ [4:91], while mass nouns refer to indivisible entities, such as *āw* ‘water’ [5:71].

Some nouns can be classed according to properties of size and shape, and serve as numeral classifiers, for example, *gila* ‘piece, unit’ [1:31] and *das* ‘set’ [7N:128].

⁷⁹ Givón (2011:37) also notes that prototypical nouns are ‘temporally durable’, with properties that ‘do not change rapidly over time’ (see also Payne 2006:94). Givón (1984:51) suggests that experiences that stay the same over time ‘tend to be lexicalized in human language as nouns’. He treats time-stability as on a scale, having to do with degrees and depending on the human speaker’s perception of an experience remaining relatively the same. It would not be regarded as a property to be interpreted in a literal sense (Geoffrey Haig, p.c.).

Nouns can be described by semantic features of animacy, such as *gurg* ‘wolf’ [2:81], or inanimacy, such as *āyir* ‘fire’ [5:82].

Some nouns can also be described in terms of the possibility of being possessed, such as those referring to kinship relations, including *bāwka* ‘father’ [5:113] and *dita* ‘daughter’ [3:67].

4.1.2 Grammatical properties: Morphology and distribution

A prototypical noun has specific grammatical properties. Its most basic structure is the root or stem. The stem can be formed through various derivational processes.

This basic structure can be further changed through inflectional processes, that is, by the addition of morphemes expressing certain categories of meaning, such as definiteness and number. A noun also has distributional properties and can function through its place in larger structures, such as in a noun phrase, a clause, or a discourse.

The grammatical properties of the Gawraǰūyī noun class are summarized here:

Morphological

- Nouns can take definiteness or indefiniteness marking, or remain unmarked.
- Nouns can take number marking for plural and singular.
- Nouns can be marked for case (only irregularly).

Distributional

- Nouns can occur as heads of noun phrases.
- A subclass of nouns (i.e., as heads of noun phrases) can also occur as heads of adpositional phrases.
- Nouns (i.e., as heads of noun phrases) can occur as arguments of a clause.
- Some nouns can also occur in combination with a verb to form a compound verb.
- Nouns (i.e., as heads of noun phrases) can occur as topics of a text.⁸⁰

4.1.3 Morphological properties: Structure of the noun stem and derivational processes

Derivation is defined here as the creation of ‘new stems from simpler stems or roots’ (Payne 2006:326). There are several derivational processes by which noun stems can be created in Gawraǰūyī. Derivational suffixes can be added to nouns or to items of other word

⁸⁰ Distribution of the noun in terms of its role as head of the noun phrase was brought to my attention by Geoffrey Haig (p.c.).

classes to form nouns. There is also a process of compounding. The derivational processes are described in the next sections.

4.1.3.1 Derivational morpheme *-ī*

The vowel *-ī* (stressed) is a morpheme used for the derivation of nouns. This vowel can be added to elements such as nouns, adjectives, verb stems, or numerals. It frequently occurs on what appear to be Persian loanwords. Examples are shown here of this vowel and its use in deriving one form from another:

Noun to noun:

(495) ǰang > ǰang-ī
 ‘conflict’ [7H:86] ‘soldier’ [5:99]

(496) sarbāz > sarbāz-ī
 ‘soldier’ [6:35] ‘military service’ [9:41]

Adjective to noun:

(497) nārāhat > nārāhat-ī
 ‘insulted’ [8:55] ‘unpleasantness’ [9:73]

Verb stem to noun:

(498) kuš > kuš-ī
 ‘kill.PRS’ [3:59] ‘murderer’ [5:70]

Verb stem to noun (nominalization, as participle):

(499) nīšt > nīšt-ī
 ‘sit.PST’ [6:150] ‘sitting’ [8:182]

N numeral to noun:

(500) yak > yak-ī
 ‘one’ [6:133] ‘unity’ [7H:81]

4.1.3.2 Derivational morpheme *-a*

The suffix *-a* can be added to a numeral in order to create a noun:

(501) čil > čil-a
 ‘forty’ [4:199] ‘forty days after death custom’ [7H:68]

4.1.3.3 Derivational morpheme *-a* (participle)

The suffix *-a* attaches to a past stem to form a participle (nominalization):

(502) nīšt > nīšt-a
 ‘sit.PST’ [6:150] ‘sitting’ [5:47]

4.1.3.7 For further study: Derivational morpheme *-ta*

A morpheme *-ta* is found in other Gūrānī varieties to express some sense of diminution, but there is only little evidence of it in Gawraǰūyī.⁸¹ One instance of this morpheme is attested in the text corpus in a lexical item expressing a sense of affection: *ǰūta* ‘dear child’ [2:38]. It is not clear if this morpheme is productive.

4.1.4 Morphological properties: Structure of the noun word

The noun word can appear as a bare stem or combined with certain inflectional elements in a particular sequence (the actual inflectional processes are discussed below in Section 4.1.5). The structural elements described here occur most frequently at the word level, but a few can also be found at the phrase level (see Section 5.1), in which case they would be alternatively treated as enclitics. In Table 16 below, the various possible structural elements of the noun word are presented.

Table 16. Structural elements of the noun word

| Element | Meaning | Level |
|-------------|---|---|
| stem | generic or specific, definite or indefinite, singular or plural | |
| -aka | definiteness (DEF) | word and phrase |
| -ayl | plurality (PL ₂) (rare) | word (phrase unknown) |
| -ān | plurality (PL) | word (also phrase after <i>-aka</i>) |
| loan suffix | (PL) | only word level, limited to certain loanwords |
| = ay | postposition or case | word and phrase |
| -ēk | indefiniteness (INDF ₁) | word and phrase |
| -ē | indefiniteness (INDF ₂) | word (phrase unknown) |
| -ī | indefiniteness (INDF ₃) | word and phrase |

⁸¹ For Hawrāmī (of Hawrāmān and Pāwa), Benedictsen & Christensen (1921:53) note the suffix *-ta* used to express diminution in *wāta* (their spelling: *wātā*) ‘little sister’. Mann & Hadank (1930:113) cite this and also note the suffix *-l* in Kandalūyī, for example, *wālī* (their spelling: *wālī*), from *wā* ‘sister’, diminutive *-l*, and feminine ending *-ī*.

4.1.4.1 Order of attached markers

One possibility for noun word structure consists of the stem and one of the indefinite suffixes, *-ĕk*, *-ĕ*, or *-ĭ* (see Section 4.1.5). No other suffixes can follow an indefinite suffix in the noun word. This structure is outlined in the next chart (parentheses signify optional occurrence):

| | | |
|-------|-------------|-----------------|
| (508) | STEM | (INDF) |
| | noun | -ĕk -ĕ -ĭ |

For example:

(509) qayr-ĕk ‘bit-INDF_1’ [3:58]

(510) dāstān-ĕ ‘story-INDF_2’ [5:95]

(511) marāsim-ĭ ‘celebration-INDF_3’ [7H:68]

Another noun word structure is formed with the stem and the addition of the definiteness marker *-aka*, as summarized here:

| | | |
|-------|-------------|--------------|
| (512) | STEM | (DEF) |
| | noun | -aka |

For example:

(513) dita-ka
girl-DEF
‘the girl’ [3:87]

Another noun word structure is the stem with the addition of only a plural marker. No other marker follows the plural:

| | | |
|-------|-------------|-------------|
| (514) | STEM | (PL) |
| | noun | -ān -ayl |

For example:

(515) jwān-ān
young.people-PL_1
‘young men’ [7H:119]

The same noun word structure is observed when a Gawraǰūyī noun word bears *-ayl*, a rare variant plural marker:

- (516) ǰwān-ayl
 young.people-PL_2
 ‘young people’ [7N:46]

Finally, the stem can be followed by both the definiteness marker and then the plural marker *-ān* (the suffix *-ayl* is not attested in this structure). No other suffix can follow *-ān* (though enclitics may be attached). This structure is characterized as:

| | | | |
|-------|------|-------|------|
| (517) | STEM | (DEF) | (PL) |
| | noun | -aka | -ān |

For example:

- (518) dita-k-ān
 young.woman-DEF-PL
 ‘the young women’ [7N:49]

Certain noun words can undergo structural change to express the category of plural, which involves the addition of a loan suffix and sometimes a vowel change. It is only observed in a few loanwords ultimately from Arabic. These examples show, first, a noun stem, and then a noun stem with this type of change (for the loan suffix, see also Section 4.1.5.8):

- (519) ǰawāhir ‘jewel’ [4:32] (stem)
 (520) ǰawāherāt ‘jewels’ [6:106] (with vowel change and addition of *-āt*)

There is also an oblique case marker *-ī* with irregular use. It is not included here in the discussion of noun word structure, but it is instead described in Section 6.3.1.

4.1.5 Morphological properties: Noun structure and inflectional processes

In this section, the noun with inflectional processes are presented, while details of their function and use are found in Chapter 6.

Nouns in Gawraǰūyī can occur as simply a bare stem and can be interpreted to express various categories related to definiteness and number. There is also case marking, though it does not occur in a consistent pattern. There is no grammatical marking of gender or animacy.

Only the structural details of inflection are presented here. As mentioned above in Section 4.1.4, an inflectional morpheme may simply attach directly to the noun stem, or it may attach to other inflectional morphemes in sequence.

Some types of nominal morphology can also attach at the phrase level, such as to a modifying element of a head noun (see Section 5.1). It is not clear if this nominal morphology

should be described as inflectional or in terms of cliticization. In the current section, the inflected forms are discussed in their primary occurrence on the word level.

4.1.5.1 Uninflected nouns: Definite or indefinite, singular or plural, specific or generic

A point to be noted before considering inflectional morphology is that a noun in Gawraǰūyī can appear without any inflection at all. In this unmarked form, it can be interpreted as indefinite or definite, singular or plural. It can also be interpreted as generic and thus contrast with a noun that is marked for specificity (such as with a demonstrative). Such interpretations of the unmarked noun are determined by the discourse context and pragmatic factors. Examples attested in the texts of uninflected nouns with varying interpretations are listed here:

- (521) ānān = ič čapar ma-kyās-in
DIST.PL_1 = ADD messenger IND-send.PRS-3PL
‘they also send a messenger’ [5:17] (*čapar* ‘messenger’ is indefinite and singular, unmarked)
- (522) quṭang až āsmān ma-niš-ē
pickaxe in air IND-remain.PRS-3SG
‘the pickaxe remains in the air’ [4:170] (*quṭang* ‘pickaxe’ is definite and singular, unmarked)
- (523) fawrī hāya ma-kār-in
immediately egg IND-do.PRS-3PL
‘they immediately lay eggs’ [1:94] (*hāya* ‘eggs’ can be interpreted as plural, unmarked)
- (524) gizg būř-ām
broom SBJV.cut.PRS-1PL
‘we make brooms’ [7H:27] (*gizg* ‘brooms’ can be interpreted as generic, plural, unmarked)

4.1.5.2 Suffix *-aka*: Definiteness

A noun can be inflected with the suffix *-aka* (allomorphs: *-ka* following stem-final *a*, *ā*; *-yaka* following *i*; *-waka* following *ū*; final *-a* of suffix elided when it precedes *ā*).

While the suffix is consistently written as *-aka* in the text transcriptions and in the current study, it is found with a range of phonetic realizations, as [æyæ], [ægæ], or [æ:], possibly undergoing lenition (see Section 2.11.2.1).⁸² It is only rarely realized with a voiceless plosive,

⁸² Different speakers seem to use a particular pronunciation fairly consistently (more study is needed).

as [æk^hæ].⁸³ In the current study, the reasons for writing it as *-aka* (rather than as *-aga*, for example) are in order to maintain consistency with the original transcription in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012) and to show its historical association with the definiteness suffix in other Gūrānī varieties, such as Hawrāmī.⁸⁴

The suffix *-aka* indicates definiteness, or in other terms, it marks the identifiability of the referent (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:14). (See Section 6.1 for more details.) Instances are presented here of the suffix alone and together with other markers:

- (525) māmīr-aka
chicken-DEF
‘the chicken’ [1:66]
- (526) kuřa-ka = m
son-DEF = 1SG
‘my son’ [1:64]
- (527) hānī-yaka
spring-DEF
‘the spring’ [1:29]
- (528) kū-waka
mountain-DEF
‘the mountain’ [4:82]
- (529) kawš-ak-ān
shoe-DEF-PL
‘the shoes’ [1:95]
- (530) birā-(k)-ān
brother-DEF-PL
‘the brothers’ [5:26]

4.1.5.3 Suffix *-ēk*: Indefiniteness and singularity

A noun can also be inflected with *-ēk* (allomorphs: *-k* following stem-final vowels *ī*, *ē*, *ū*; *-yēk* following *a*, *ā*; *-wēk* following *ū*). This morpheme most frequently indicates

⁸³ Two of the rare examples in which the definiteness suffix is realized as [æk^hæ] are the words *pāraka* ‘last year’ and *pērāraka* ‘two years ago’ [8:105].

⁸⁴ The definiteness morpheme appears in Hawrāmī (Luhōn) as *-aka* (masculine singular) or *-akē* (plural or feminine singular) (MacKenzie 1966:16). In Zardayāna, it is transcribed as *-aka* but can be realized as [æk^hæ], [ægæ], or [æyæ]. In Southern Kurdish, the morpheme is also realized as *-aga/-aġa/-aka/-a* (the variety of Kalhorī has *-a/-aga*) (Fattah 2000:245).

indefiniteness. In a few instances, it also denotes singularity on a noun referring to a group of items with collective sense, or as a singular numbered entity (see Section 6.2 for further discussion).⁸⁵ In rare instances, the noun can also be preceded by the word *ya(k)* ‘one’ (or ‘a’).

The suffix is glossed INDF_1. Examples of the suffix include:

- (531) qayr-ēk
 bit-INDF_1
 ‘a bit’ [3:58]
- (532) tarašta-yēk
 hatchet-INDF_1
 ‘a hatchet’ [1:11]
- (533) ya šār-ēk
 one town-INDF_1
 ‘a town’ [3:5]
- (534) har_dü-k
 both-INDF_1
 ‘both’ [5:157]

4.1.5.4 Suffix -ē: Indefiniteness

The form -ē (-y after stem-final *ā*) is also shown here. It is treated as a separate morpheme marking indefiniteness, glossed ‘INDF_2’, though it is possible it is simply a variant of -ēk. There could be further distinctions of meaning that are not yet identified. It is occasionally found suffixed to the numeral *yak* ‘one’, while the form -ēk never occurs in this use. Examples of the -ē variant include:

- (535) yak-ē
 one-INDF_2
 ‘each one’ [2:51]
- (536) dastan-ē
 story-INDF_2
 ‘a story’ [5:95]
- (537) ya palp-ē
 an impossible.task-INDF_2
 ‘an impossible task’ [4:57]

⁸⁵ In another rare instance, the form -ēk is found on an adjectival phrase indicating some type of intensification. The basic meaning of -ēk in this use is not yet clear. For example: *řāhat řāhat-ēk* ‘comfortable comfortable-INDF’ (‘very comfortable’) [3:113].

4.1.5.5 Suffix *-ī*: Indefiniteness

The noun can also be followed by a different morpheme *-ī* (allomorph: *-yī* following stem-final *a* or *ū*), which also indicates a type of indefiniteness (see Section 6.2). This morpheme is glossed ‘INDF_3’. Examples include:

(538) marāsīm-ī
celebration-INDF_3
‘a celebration’ [7H:68]

(539) ya basta-yī
a package-INDF_3
‘a package’ [7N:104]

4.1.5.6 Suffix *-ān*: Plural number

A noun can be inflected for plural number in three ways. The most common way is with the suffix *-ān* (allomorph: *-yān* following stem-final vowel *ī* and *-wān* following stem-final *ū*). (See Section 7.1 for more discussion of number.) Examples include:

(540) iwār-ān
evening-PL
‘evenings’ [2:28]

(541) ābādī-yān
village-PL
‘villages’ [7N:71]

4.1.5.7 Suffix *-ayl*: Plural number

A few instances are attested of plural number marking by means of the suffix *-ayl* (allomorph: *-yl* following stem-final *a*). It is possible that the suffix indicates a collective sense (see MacKenzie 2002:n.p., noting forms *-gal*, *-yal*).⁸⁶ For example:

(542) jwān-ayl
youth-PL_2
‘young people’ [7N:46]

⁸⁶ The plural suffix *-ayl* is also found in different Southern Kurdish varieties, including Kalhorī (see Fattah 2000:248). A similar plural suffix, *-gel* (or: *-gal*) is found in Šabakī/Bāǰatānī (see Magin, Abdul Basit & Bailey 2008:14): *mahān* ‘horse’, *mahān-gel* ‘horse-PL’, with the suffix *-al* found in Lakī of Aleshtar (see Lazard 1992b:217).

4.1.5.8 Loan suffix: Plural number

Plurality is marked in rare instances by the addition of the suffix *-āt* or *-at*, and sometimes with a change of vowel in the stem. This marking only appears on nouns ultimately from Arabic and does not appear to be productive. It is not analyzed as a separate morpheme in the glosses in our study. An example is shown here, where the final vowel of the stem is lowered and the suffix *-āt* is added:⁸⁷

Singular:

- (543) *ǰawāhir*
 ‘jewel’ [4:32]

Plural:

- (544) *ǰawāherāt*
 ‘jewels’ [6:106]

4.1.5.9 Suffix *-ī*: Oblique case marking

The morpheme *-ī* (allomorph: *-y* following *a* or *ā*) expresses oblique case, but it is only occasionally attested in the text corpus, with irregular distribution.⁸⁸ It is attached to only a few nouns and pronouns (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:13). This morpheme is shown here:

- (545) *dār-ī*
 tree-OBL
 ‘the basket’ [11:68]
- (546) *īnān-ī*
 PROX.PL_1-OBL
 ‘these ones’ [2:8]

⁸⁷ See also the structural difference in singular *ǰamāʕat-ē* ‘gathering-INDF_2’ (‘a gathering’) (7N:12) and compare to plural *ǰamāʕiyat* ‘gathering.PL’ (‘gatherings’) (7N:23). Another unanalyzed plural form occurs as *haywānāt* ‘animals’ [12:8].

⁸⁸ A rare instance is found of the form *-ē*, which might also be an oblique case marker: *šāhābāt-ē* ‘Šāhābāt.town-OBL(?)’ (‘Šāhābāt town’) [10:49], noted only in Text 10, and which could represent influence from possibly Zardayāna. In the same text, there is also one instance of what might be a residual form of oblique case marking on kinship nouns, *-r* on the noun *birā* ‘brother’: *birā-r-zā* ‘brother-oblique?-child’ (‘brother’s child’) [10:54], also as in Zardayāna (see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:23). For a similar form of oblique case on particular kinship terms in Dimili (Zaza, Zāzākī), see Todd (1985:53–54) and Paul (1998a:26–27, 1998b:171–172).

In such instances, the oblique marking could be considered as distinguished from elements that are not marked, with the absence of marking functioning as ‘direct case’.

4.1.5.10 Suffix or enclitic =ay: Case or postposition?

The form =ay (allomorph: =yay following ā) might be treated as a case marker, which is a possibility suggested in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:55). In the current study, however, it has been provisionally treated as a postposition. The fact that it occurs only on nouns in adpositional phrases could suggest an alternative interpretation as a type of locative case.⁸⁹ An example follows:

- (547) wa bān-aka = šān = ay
 at roof-DEF = 3PL = POSTP#_1
 ‘on their roof’ [2:64]

4.1.5.11 Other elements attached either to the noun or noun phrase

A few other morphemes can attach either to the noun or to the noun phrase. For some of the forms, it is not clear if they should be treated as suffixes or as enclitics. The analysis of these deserve further study.

4.1.5.12 Suffix -a: Numerative

A morpheme -a (provisionally glossed here as NUM) can attach to a time noun that is preceded by a numeral, though its use is not consistent in the Gawraǰūyī data (see also Section 7.1.8). This form might be best described as a ‘numerative’ marker.⁹⁰ An example is shown here:

- (548) čwār řüž-a
 four day-NUM
 ‘four days’ [3:72]

4.1.5.13 Enclitic =a: Demonstrative

The enclitic =a (glossed as DEM) attaches to nouns in a demonstrative phrase (see Section 4.12):

⁸⁹ For possibly similar forms in the West Iranian language of Balōčī (-ayā or -iā) with a ‘local/directional’ function, see Jahani & Korn (2009:652). For mention of an ‘inflectional locative’ in Gūrānī (no examples given), see Windfuhr (1989b:258).

⁹⁰ The description of this form as a numerative was first suggested by Nicholas Sims-Williams in a review of an early draft of Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012).

- (549) ī gurg = a
 PROX wolf = DEM
 ‘this wolf’ [2:76]

4.1.5.14 Enclitic =e: Ezāfe

The enclitic =e (glossed as EZ) (allomorph: =y, following stem-final vowel) can attach to a noun stem and link it in the ezāfe construction (phrase level) to another element, which can be an adjective or another noun phrase:⁹¹

- (550) diwār = e sīyā
 tent = EZ black
 ‘black tent’ [5:161]
- (551) ka = y xirs
 house = EZ bear
 ‘house of the bear’ [2:56]
- (552) marāsim = e xāstegārī
 ceremony = EZ marriage.request
 ‘ceremony of marriage request’ [8:207]
- (553) ā tūta = y gard gala = m = a
 DIST.DEM.ADJ dog = EZ with flock = 1SG = DEM
 ‘that dog with the flock’ (i.e., sheepdog) [3:34]⁹²

4.1.5.15 Enclitic =a: Compound marker

A less frequently attested form is the compound particle:

- (554) = a ‘COMPD’ [2:2]

The compound particle attaches as an enclitic to a noun and links it to another element, which is usually a modifier. The noun phrase in which it occurs tends to have definite sense, whether or not it is overly marked as such (with one exception with it following an indefinite noun phrase).⁹³ (For more details on the compound noun phrase, see Section 5.1.2.) The particle is illustrated here:

⁹¹ One instance occurs of the ezāfe transcribed as =yē [1:20], but the vowel quality is difficult to determine. It is only mentioned here as an item for further study.

⁹² In this example, the form =m (first person singular of enclitic pronoun) refers to an agent argument in the wider context and is not relevant here to the use of the ezāfe.

⁹³ A formally identical particle -a appears to link ideophonic elements, such as *taq-a taq* ‘knocking noise’ [2:40] (see Section 4.1.7.6), though the analysis is not yet clear.

- (555) baš = a naxt-aka
part = COMPD worthy-DEF
‘the worthy portion’ [5:15]
- (556) bizin = a šal
goat = COMPD lame
‘the lame goat’ [2:2] (It does not have the definiteness marker *-aka*, but it is still interpreted as definite from context.)

4.1.5.16 For further study: Enclitic =ē before complementizer

The enclitic =ē also appears in only a few rare instances on a noun phrase followed by the complementizer *ka* introducing a relative clause (see Section 12.4.1). The definition and use of this form are not yet clear, and it is only glossed as ‘NA’ (‘not analyzed’) in this study:

- (557) taḷā = u ǰawāhir = ē
gold = and jewel = NA
- ka aṛā = y mil ǰarūs-aka san-a = š = ē
COMP for = EZ neck bride-DEF get.PRS-PART = 3SG = COP.PRS.3SG
‘gold and jewels that he has bought for the neck of the bride’ [11:102]

4.1.6 Distributional properties

In Gawraǰūyī, a noun serves as the head of a noun phrase. (In turn, the noun phrase can function at other levels, for example, expressing the argument of a clause or occurring in a left-detachment construction, but illustrations are not included here.)

4.1.6.1 Noun as head of a noun phrase

A noun in its function as the head of a noun phrase is exemplified here by *kūza* ‘vase’:

- (558) sē kūza xasrawānī
three vase royal
‘three royal vases’ [3:42]

The noun phrase can consist of a noun and adjective as modifier:

- (559) řüstā = y būčik-ēk
village = EZ small-INDF_1
‘a small village’ [8:97]

The noun phrase can consist of a head noun and noun or pronoun as possessor:

- (560) ka = y pādšā
house = EZ king
‘the king’s house (or: the house of the king)’ [3:68]

- (561) qaṭa = y šīrīn
 castle = EZ Šīrīn
 ‘Šīrīn’s castle (or: the castle of Šīrīn)’ [4:25]
- (562) ka = y īma
 house = EZ 1PL_3
 ‘our house’ [7H:7]

4.1.7 Subclasses of nouns

Nouns can be classified in various ways according to their semantic properties. The classes are identified in that the distinctions have some type of consequence for the morphology or syntax.⁹⁴

4.1.7.1 Common nouns and proper names

Common nouns comprise the largest class in Gawraǰūyī. A common noun refers to a set of entities (or referring to a ‘class of objects’, described by Dixon 2010a:102). An entity can also be distinguished as something that exists, something that exists in a particular time, in time and space, as living beings, objects, roles, and more. An example follows:

- (563) diḥ ‘heart’ [9:76]

There is also a class of nouns as proper names, each uniquely referring to a particular person, animal, group, or place (Dixon 2010a:102).⁹⁵ They can be simple, as a single form, or complex, as a combination of more than one form. Some examples are shown here:

- (564) diḥkaš ‘Diḥkaš’ [7N:49] (name of woman)
- (565) xasraw ‘Xasraw’ [4:11] (name of man)
- (566) zimkān ‘Zimkān’ [2:6] (name of river)
- (567) šawdīz ‘Šawdīz’ [4:144] (name of horse)
- (568) haḥabja ‘Haḥabja’ [6:162] (name of town)
- (569) āraš kamāngar ‘Āraš Kamāngar’ [5:20] (name of person)
- (570) bān tāq ‘Bān Tāq’ [6:97] (name of place)

Some proper names are complex forms in that they occur in apposition to another noun used as a title (see also Section 8.4). (In the texts, some of these titles are translated while

⁹⁴ For this identification and also for background below on features of noun classification, see Givón (1984:56).

⁹⁵ Aspects of Baart (1999:34) (complex proper names and titles) and Gholami (2009:42–47, with updated version as 2014:78–83) (apposition) have been helpful as models for the description here.

others are transliterated.) The title noun can refer to a kinship relationship, such as ‘uncle’ or ‘aunt’ or to another social role, such as ‘doctor’ or ‘Imam’. Certain nouns as titles precede the core element of the proper name, while others follow it. Examples of complex forms include:

- (571) lālo pāyar ‘Lālo Pāyar’ [2:75] (lālo ‘uncle’)
 (572) mīm tamīna ‘Auntie Tamīna’ [1:40] (mīm ‘aunt’)
 (573) duktur sinǰawī ‘Doctor Sinǰawī (Sanǰabī)’ [6:74] (duktur ‘doctor’)
 (574) imām xumaynī ‘Imam Xumaynī (Xomeini)’ [6:136] (imām ‘Īmām’)
 (575) kā gurg ‘Mr. Wolf’ [2:29] (kā ‘Mister/term of address’)
 (576) šālyār šā ‘King Šālyār (Šahriār)’ [5:103] (šā ‘shah/king’)

The noun classification of proper names has limitations in types of grammatical marking. Proper names are not normally marked with the indefinite suffixes *-ēk*, *-ē*, or *-ī*.⁹⁶ Singular number marking is only possible if the proper name represents a member of a class. For example:

- (577) ya gila šeʕa
 one unit Shiʕite
 ‘one Shiʕite’ (i.e., one person of the Shiʕites) [7H:98]

The definite suffix *-aka* does not typically appear on a proper name, with only one instance of this found in the Gawraǰūyī text corpus:

- (578) zimkān-aka
 Zimkān-DEF
 ‘the Zimkān (River)’ [2:19]

Proper names, however, are attested a few times in a demonstrative construction:

- (579) ī bān_tāq = a
 PROX.DEM.ADJ Bān_Tāq = DEM
 ‘this (town of) Bān Tāq’ [6:95]

Proper names are also not usually marked for plural number with the suffix *-ān*. They are only marked for plural if they refer to a number of groups or classes:

⁹⁶ There is an exceptional case of a proper name co-occurring with a numeral/indefiniteness marker *ya* ‘one’: *ya pīrān ways-a* ‘one Pīrān Ways-NA’ [5:55].

- (580) *ī* *fāntum-ān = a*
 PROX.DEM.ADJ Phantom-PL = DEM
 ‘these Phantoms’ [6:153] (‘Phantom’ is the name of a class of jet airplanes.)

4.1.7.2 Count and mass nouns

Count and mass nouns in Gawraǰūyī can be distinguished by certain grammatical properties. Count nouns are those nouns which can be individuated and counted, such as the following:

- (581) *šaw* ‘night’ [4:89]
 (582) *kuṛa* ‘young man’ [9:32]
 (583) *šēr* ‘lion’ [3:114]

Such nouns can be preceded with numerals in a noun phrase or by a numeral and a classifier, such as *gila* ‘unit’:

- (584) *čil šaw*
 forty night
 ‘forty nights’ [4:209]
 (585) *čwār gila kuṛa*
 four unit young.man
 ‘four young men’ [7N:6]
 (586) *ya gila šēr*
 one unit lion
 ‘one lion’ [3:111]

The term *nafar* ‘(counted) person’ always appears together with a numeral:

- (587) *da nafar*
 ten person
 ‘ten people’ [8:215]

Count nouns also can also be marked for number by the plural suffix *-ān* (*-yān*):

- (588) *ābādī-yān*
 village-PL
 ‘villages’ [7N:71]
 (589) *fāmīl-ān*
 family-PL
 ‘families’ [7N:93]

They can also bear an indefinite suffix, that is, *-ēk*, *-yēk*, *-ē*, *ī*, as shown:

(590) pīknīk-ēk
small.gas.cooker-INDF_1
'a small gas cooker' [3:86]

(591) tarašta-yēk
hatchet-INDF_1
'a hatchet' [1:11]

In contrast, mass nouns refer to entities that are not normally counted:

(592) āw 'water' [2:16]

(593) haṭwā 'sweet pastry' [11:70]

(594) xana 'henna' [7N:97]

(595) xāk 'earth' [3:18]

In the Gawraǰūyī text corpus, mass nouns are not attested with an indefinite suffix *-ēk*, *-ē*, or *-ī*, unless they are quantified together with a countable element:

(596) dū kiṭū xāk
two lump earth
'two lumps of earth' [3:17]

4.1.7.3 Nouns as numeral classifiers

There are also several nouns that are only found in combination with phrases with numerals and a noun to be counted (see Lambton 1996:43 for classifiers in Persian). They are listed here:

Table 17. Nouns used as classifiers

| | | |
|------|----------------------|---|
| gila | ‘unit’ | Most common numeral classifier; used with nouns referring to both inanimate and animate entities; but never used with time nouns (such as <i>řū</i> ‘day’, <i>māng</i> ‘month’, or <i>sāt</i> ‘year’). |
| dāna | ‘unit’ | Only attested with nouns referring to inanimates: <i>sēka</i> ‘coin’. (The term <i>dāna</i> can also have the sense of ‘precious item’, and conjoined with <i>ǰawāhir</i> ‘jewel’: <i>dāna = u ǰawāhir</i> ‘precious items and jewels’ [4:32].) |
| din | ‘unit’ | Only attested once, with a noun referring to an animate: <i>gařā</i> ‘Gařā sentry’. |
| das | ‘set’ | Attested with nouns referring to clothing: <i>libās</i> ‘clothing’ or specific types of clothing. |
| serī | ‘set’ | Attested with nouns referring to clothing: <i>libās</i> ‘clothing’. |
| ling | ‘item (leg/foot)’ | Attested with noun referring to individual units of ‘shoes’: <i>kawš</i> ‘shoes’. |

In such constructions, these classifier nouns do not appear with inflectional morphology typical of other nouns. They appear in the position before the counted noun and following the numeral. Examples include:

- (597) ya dāna seka-yī
 one unit coin-INDF_3
 ‘one coin’ [7N:105]
- (598) ya gila šēr
 one unit lion
 ‘one lion’ [3:111]
- (599) ya das libās
 one set clothing
 ‘one set of clothing’ [7N:128]
- (600) ling kawš-aka = š
 unit.shoe shoe-DEF = 3SG
 ‘one of her shoes’ [12:32]

4.1.7.4 Animate and inanimate nouns

Gawraǰūyī does not distinguish between animate and inanimate nouns.

4.1.7.5 Nouns referring to kinship relations and body parts

Nouns referring to kinship relations and body parts also appear to be characterized by their inherent possessibility as they tend to occur as possessed elements in possessive constructions (see Section 8.2) (see Payne 1997:105).

4.1.7.6 Ideophonic nouns

There are also a few nouns that form a subclass on the basis of their distinctive phonological structure. They are formed with phonemes or morphemes that mimic a sound or action.⁹⁷ Several of these involve reduplication of morphemes as well. For example:

- (601) talilī ‘joyful sound’ [7H:59] (Context: People are celebrating at a wedding.)
 (602) řima řim ‘loud noise’ [2:58] (Context: A goat bangs on the roof of a fox’s house.)
 (603) taq taq ‘knocking sound’ [2:40] (Context: A wolf is knocking on the goat’s door.)
 (604) qūqūlī qūqū ‘crowing sound of rooster’ [11:99]
 (605) niq ‘murmur’ [11:78] (as compound verb element)
 (606) biṭa bil ‘flicking action’ [11:68] (Context: A snake’s tongue is flicking.)

4.2 Pronouns

Pronouns comprise a minor word class, in that there is a limited number of members, and each member has grammatical rather than lexical meaning (Payne 2006:119). Pronouns can be defined as forms whose reference changes depending on the orientation to the speaker, the addressee, or to yet another entity (Dixon 2010a:114).

The Gawraǰūyī pronoun system consists of independent and bound (enclitic) forms. The independent forms differ from the enclitic pronouns in several aspects of their semantics and grammar, as well as in some of their distributional properties and functions. (A summary chart comparing these two sets is found in Section 4.2.4.)

The independent pronouns are described here first in terms of characteristic semantic and grammatical properties. These pronouns and also the enclitic forms are described in more detail in Chapter 9 with regard to distribution and function of expressing clause argument roles.

⁹⁷ MacKenzie (1990a:140–141) also notes for Central Kurdish (Suleimaniye) morphemes of ‘noise’ in a section about ‘copulative compounds’, such as *qāspa-qāsp* ‘clucking (of partridge)’. He notes that the ‘final *-a-* of the first element is not merely a compound vowel’, but does not give more details.

Independent pronouns are described here in two main sets: 1) personal pronouns (only first and second person forms); and 2) demonstrative pronouns (with third person reference).⁹⁸

4.2.1 Independent pronouns: First and second person

4.2.1.1 Semantic properties

The first and second person pronouns also distinguish for singular and plural number.

4.2.1.2 Morphological properties

The basic structure of the first and second person pronouns consists of a stem. There is generally no further morphological marking on these forms with the exception of first person singular *min*. On this form, a possible oblique case marking, *-ī*, is attested, though it is rare (only three instances) and might instead be a shortened form of the additive particle *=ī(č)* ‘also’ (more study is needed).

The structure of the demonstrative pronouns is more complicated. The basic form is a stem. For a number of the forms, further morphemes can be added (see Section 4.2.2).

All the independent pronouns bear a phonological stress typical of a word.

The following table presents first and second person, singular and plural forms, together with their glosses:

⁹⁸ In certain West Iranian languages, the independent forms that can be categorized as the third person pronouns and/or demonstrative pronouns present challenges in analysis and categorization. Linguists seem to make a choice between presenting the forms in different ways: 1) as two separate sets with identical members, or 2) as one set of forms that can have different functions. For example, in a description of Modern Persian by Windfuhr & Perry (2009:434), the forms are listed in one table as ‘personal and deictic pronouns’, which are also distinguished for ‘far’ and ‘near’ distance. In the description for Hawrāmī (Luhōn) by MacKenzie (1966:24), the third person pronouns are presented as a single set but as having both ‘personal and demonstrative features’. (MacKenzie also notes a formally different set of ‘purely demonstrative pronouns’). For Balochi (Jahani & Korn 2009:655), the forms are presented as ‘demonstrative pronouns’, and it is noted that the subset of ‘distal demonstratives are also used as personal pronouns for the 3rd person.’

Table 18. First and second person pronouns

| | First person | | Second person | |
|----------|--------------|---------|---------------|-------|
| Singular | min | ‘1SG’ | tu | ‘2SG’ |
| Plural | ēma | ‘1PL_2’ | šima | ‘2PL’ |
| | variant: ĩma | ‘1PL_3’ | | |

The form *min* ‘1SG’ is occasionally realized with elision of the final consonant, written as *mi(n)*.

The variant form *ĩma* ‘1PL_3’ is occasionally found in alternation with *ēma* (with *ĩma* also found in Southern Kurdish; see Fattah 2000:276–277). There does not seem to be systematic patterning to the alternation. Some speakers, such as Arūs (narrator of Texts 1, 2, and 3), tend to almost always use *ēma*, while other speakers, such as Speaker F (Text 8), Speaker N (Text 7), and Ama Rangīna (Text 10) tend to use *ĩma*. Others, such as Speaker H (Text 7) and Ālī Dūst (Texts 4, 5, and 6), use both forms. Some of the alternation may also be due to decisions in the transcription process involving interpretation of the sound.

Examples of the first and second person pronouns include:

- (607) min b-war-im
1SG SBJV-eat.PRS-1SG
‘I may eat’ [1:53]
- (608) tu ma-tān-ī
2SG IND-can.PRS-2SG
‘you can’ [4:198]
- (609) ēma m-wāž-ām
1PL_2 IND-say.PRS-1PL
‘we say’ [7H:107]
- (610) ĩma haw ma-yz-ām
1PL_3 up IND-get.up.PRS-1PL
‘we get up’ [7H:25]
- (611) šima m-wāž-a
2PL IND-say.PRS-2PL
‘you (plural) say’ [7H:108]

4.2.1.3 Distributional properties

The independent pronouns can also be characterized by their distributional properties at the phrase and clause levels.

At the phrase level, in a possessive construction, first and second person pronouns can be found as the possessor (but not as possessed):

- (612) pā=y min
foot=EZ 1SG
'my foot' [1:24]
- (613) ī kuřa tu=wa
PROX.DEM.ADJ son 2SG=DEM
'this son of yours' [5:40]
- (614) dāyka=y ēma
mother=EZ 1PL
'our mother' [2:45]
- (615) ī gīwa=y šima
PROX.DEM.ADJ gīwa.shoe=EZ 2PL
'these traditional cloth shoes of yours' [4:21]

In an adpositional phrase, first and second person singular pronouns (but not second person plural) are attested as the complement:

- (616) až_sar=e min
above=EZ 1SG
'above me' [1:31]
- (617) wa_gard tu=wa
with 2SG=POSTP#_3
'with you' [5:111]
- (618) bīštir wa īma
more than 1PL_3
'more than us' [7N:90]
- (619) ařā=y īma
for=EZ 1PL_3
'for us' [7N:29]

The second singular form is attested once preceding a complementizer as (possibly) the head of a relative clause:

- (620) ařā ħeǰāb tu ka qisa ma-ka-y
about ħeǰāb 2SG COMP speech IND-do.PRS-2SG
'you're talking about the 'ħeǰāb'' [7H:5]

At the clause level, independent pronouns fill many of the same syntactic positions as noun phrases, though some uses are not attested, which is perhaps due to the limited material

of the text corpus. (For more discussion on the forms expressing clause arguments, see Chapter 9.)

In present tense clauses, there are many examples of independent pronouns expressing subject (S) (of an intransitive clause) and agent (A) (of a transitive clause). An example (of S) as *min* ‘1SG’ follows:

- (621) *min ma-š-im*
 1SG IND-go.PRS-1SG
 ‘I go’ [5:89]

The first and second person independent pronouns, however, are not attested as object (O) in these clauses. (There, only the demonstrative distal singular form *ān* is found.)

In past tense clauses, there are also many examples of independent forms expressing subject (S) and agent (A), while it is rare that an independent form expresses object (O). The following illustrates *min* ‘1SG’ as A and *tu* ‘2SG’ expressing O:

- (622) *min tu=m nasī*
 1PL 2SG=1SG recognize.PST
 ‘I recognized you’ [3:101]

In present tense clauses, the second person singular form is attested in at least two instances as the postverbal argument of goal:

- (623) *hāya bi-tī-m = a tu*
 egg SBJV-give.PRS-1SG = DIR 2SG
 ‘I may give the eggs to you’ [1:67]
- (624) *min šü ma-kar-(i)m = a tu*
 1SG marry IND-do.PRS-1SG = DIR 2SG
 ‘I will marry you’ [4:206]

4.2.2 Independent pronouns: Demonstratives

Most of the demonstrative pronouns refer to third person. These pronouns can be compared to the first and second person pronouns in that they occur in the same or similar syntactic positions and also can be specified for number (singular and plural). The demonstrative pronouns are distinct, however, in that they have a formal distinction for two degrees of what is generally treated as the relative distance from the speaker’s location or orientation point.

A few of these demonstrative forms refer to a location rather than to a person. With this use, these forms could be alternatively regarded as ‘adverbial demonstratives’, as a set of similar forms in Mukri Central Kurdish is described by Öpengin (2016:100).

The demonstrative pronouns differ slightly in form from the demonstrative adjective forms (see Section 4.3). The demonstrative pronouns normally stand alone and do not modify a head noun in a phrase as do the demonstrative adjectives, though there are a few exceptional instances.⁹⁹

4.2.2.1 Semantic properties

Almost all of the demonstrative pronouns distinguish for singular and plural number. One form, *āna*, can be considered as neutral in number, in that it can refer to an entity that is either singular or plural.

The demonstrative pronouns also distinguish for a feature of distance, generally labeled as ‘proximal’ (near to speaker) and ‘distal’ (far from speaker). This distinction can involve the actual physical distance from the speaker’s location. In many instances, however, it involves reference to another entity in a text, as anaphoric or cataphoric, with different uses (such as activation, contrast, or disambiguation). The proximal and distal forms can also be found in idiomatic expressions indicating impersonal (or non-specific) referents. The uses of demonstratives deserve further research.

4.2.2.2 Morphological properties

Demonstrative pronouns appear as bare stems or stems with added morphemes. In Table 19, the complex forms are presented and glossed without segmentation of morphemes. Some of the forms are rare and listed with the number of occurrences in the text corpus.

⁹⁹ The stem forms of the demonstrative pronouns (*īn* and *ān*) differ from than those of the demonstrative adjectives (*ī* and *ā*). There are two instances, however, attested in which the forms *īn* and *ān* are found modifying a head noun in a noun phrase: *īn gawraǰū* ‘PROX.DEM.ADJ Gawraǰū’ (‘this Gawraǰū village’) [7N:34] and *ān fārmāyišt-ān = a* ‘DIST.DEM.ADJ decree-PL_1 = DEM’ (‘those decrees’) [6:85]. In these contexts, *īn* and *ān* could also be analyzed as variants of the demonstrative adjective.

Table 19. Demonstrative pronouns

| | Proximal | Distal |
|---------------------------|---|--|
| Singular | ǐn ‘PROX_1’ ǐnī ‘PROX_2’ ǐnā (rare variant: ǐnahā) ‘PROX_3’ (only as locative ‘here’) ǐna ‘PROX_4’ ǐnāyna ‘NA’ (only as locative ‘here’) (rare, 1x) | ān ‘DIST_1’ ānī ‘DIST_2’ ānā ‘DIST_3’ (including locative ‘there’) aw ‘DIST_5’ (rare, 3x) ānana ‘NA’ (rare, 1x, number is unclear) |
| Neutral for number | | āna ‘DIST_4’ |
| Plural | ǐnān ‘PROX.PL_1’ ǐnānī ‘PROX.PL_2’ ǐnāna ‘PROX.PL_3’ ǐnakānī ‘PROX.PL_4’ (rare, 1x) āyšān ‘PROX.PL_5’ (rare, 1x) āyakān ‘PROX.PL_6’ (rare, 1x) | ānān ‘DIST.PL_1’ ānānī ‘DIST.PL_2’ (rare, 1x) ānāna ‘DIST.PL_3’ (rare, 2x) |

The stems of most of the forms are composed of *ǐn* (proximal) and *ān* (distal).

The singular forms can be the unmarked stem, or the stem followed by *-ǐ* (possible oblique *-ǐ* or shortened form of = *ǐč* as the additive), *-ā* (possible deictic marker), and = *a* (demonstrative enclitic).¹⁰⁰

The plural forms, both proximal and distal, are composed of the stem plus the plural suffix *-ān*. To these forms, another suffix can be added, such as *-ǐ* (also possible oblique *-ǐ* or shortened form of = *ǐč* as the additive) or = *a* (demonstrative enclitic). The suffix *-aka* (normally the definite marker) is attached to two of the rare proximal forms.

Examples are given here of the more frequently attested forms of the demonstrative pronouns:

¹⁰⁰ The meaning of the ending *-ǐ* on singular and plural forms is not yet clear and may be an oblique or the shortened form of the additive particle = *ǐč*. As noted in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:13, also citing Haig 2008), it is not regularly found in syntactic contexts that would have required the oblique; however, it might be a ‘remnant’ of a case marker.

- (625) īn m-wāy
PROX_1 IND-say.PRS.3SG
‘this (one) says’ [3:66]
- (626) īnī ma-šū = wa ānā
PROX_2 IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR DIST_3
‘he (or: ‘this one’) goes there’ [5:50]
- (627) dita = y īnā
young.woman = EZ PROX_3
‘the young woman of this (place)’ [7N:34]
- (628) īna či = ya
PROX_4 what = COP.PRS.3SG_3
‘What is this?’ [3:73]
- (629) až īnahā bi-l-ī bar
from PROX_3 SBJV-go.PRS-2SG outside
‘(that) you go out from here (this place)’ [7H:7]
- (630) xānawāda = y īnān
family = EZ PROX.PL_1
‘the family of these (young people)’ [8:61]
- (631) ya_dafayī īnānī m-wā-n
suddenly PROX.PL_2 IND-say.PRS-3PL
‘suddenly they say’ [2:8]
- (632) walē īnāna raft-a = yē
but PROX.PL_3 go.PST-PART = COP.PRS.3SG_1
‘but they have gone’ [7N:118]
- (633) ān m-wāy
DIST_1 IND-say.PRS.3SG
‘another one says’ [4:148]
- (634) ānī m-wāy
DIST_2 IND-say.PRS.3SG
‘she says’ [4:92]
- (635) ānā wāt = iš
DIST_3 say.PST = 3SG
‘the other one said’ [6:48]
- (636) tā min ma-š-(i)m = a ānā wa pā
until 1SG IND-go.PRS-1SG = DIR DIST_3 by foot
‘until I go there by foot’ [4:153]

- (637) āna ka ma-zān-in
DIST_4 COMP IND-know.PRS-3PL
‘those who know’ [7N:123]
- (638) ānān ma-zān-in
DIST.PL_1 IND-know.PRS-3PL
‘they know’ [7H:45]
- (639) ānān = ič čapar ma-kyās-in = u
DIST.PL_1 = ADD messenger IND-send.PRS-3PL = and
‘they also send a messenger and’ [5:17]
- (640) ānānī dalīl-ān xās = e ištan = šān garak = e
DIST.PL_2 reason-PL special = EZ RFL = 3PL want = COP.PRS.3SG_1
‘they want (have?) their own special reasons’ [9:35]
- (641) āxir ānāna bāwka = šān hamīša lā = šān = wa biya
well DIST.PL_3 father = 3PL always with = 3PL = POSTP#_3 COP.PRF.3SG
‘well, those ones, their father was always with them’ [7H:40]

4.2.2.3 Distributional properties

Demonstrative pronouns can also be described according to their distribution in phrases and clauses.

At the phrase level, the proximal plural forms *inān* and *ināna* occur as possessor (the other forms are not observed in this function in the text corpus):

- (642) xānawāda = y inān
family = EZ PROX.PL_1
‘the family of these’ [8:61]
- (643) das ināna
hand PROX.PL_3
‘hand of them’ [5:154]

There is an instance attested of a proximal singular form as the possessed element:

- (644) ina = y bāwažan = it
PROX_4 = EZ stepmother = 2SG
‘this one of your stepmother’ [11:30]

A demonstrative pronoun can also occur as a complement in an adpositional phrase:

- (645) až in
to PROX_1
‘to him’ [4:57]

- (646) aw_šün ān
after DIST_1
'after that' [5:27]
- (647) až ināna
from PROX.PL_3
'from these ones' [7H:92]
- (648) až āna
from DIST_4
'from that' [3:87]

In a few instances, some of the demonstrative forms are attested as the head of a relative clause:

- (649) ānān kē mujařad = in
DIST.PL_1 who unmarried = COP.PRS.3PL
'those who are unmarried' [7N:107]
- (650) āna ka ma-zān-in
DIST_4 COMP IND-know.PRS-3PL
'those who (or: that) know' [7N:123]

One of the demonstrative pronouns occurs in a present tense clause to express the postverbal argument of goal:

- (651) inī ma-šū = wa ānā
PROX_2 IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR DIST_3
'he (or: 'this one') goes there' [5:50]

4.2.2.4 Notes on demonstrative pronouns: Referent types and uses

Referent types

The demonstrative pronouns are attested in the texts as having various types of referents. These can be human animates (that is, primarily human beings but also including animals that are represented with human attributes, such as the animal participants in the folk tale texts), or inanimates. For some of the demonstrative pronouns, the referents can be locations. The referents can also be one or more propositions (that is, a stretch of any length of discourse) (see Section 14.4.7).

The proximal forms *in* 'PROX_1', *inī* 'PROX_2', *ina* 'PROX_4', *inān* 'PROX.PL_1', *ināna* 'PROX.PL_3' are mainly attested referring to human animates and only occasionally to inanimates. The rare forms *inakānī* 'PROX.PL_4', *āyšān* 'PROX.PL_5', and *āyakān* 'PROX.PL_6' are only found referring to human animates. The latter two forms are close to the Southern Kurdish (Kalhorī) proximal demonstrative form (*h*)āya (see Fattah 2000:318).

The distal forms *ān* ‘DIST_1’, *ānī* ‘DIST_2’, *ānān* ‘DIST.PL_1’ are mainly attested referring to human animates (some forms are not analyzed). The form *āna* ‘DIST_4’ can refer to human and other animates, inanimates, locations, and propositions. The rare form *ānānī* ‘DIST.PL_2’, only refers to a human animate, while *ānāna* ‘DIST.PL_3’ and *aw* ‘DIST_5’ appear to refer to a human animate or other entity. (Other rare forms *ānaka* ‘NA’ and *ānana* ‘NA’ are unclear regarding reference.)

Certain pronouns can refer to locations and thus have adverbial function.¹⁰¹ The proximal form *īnā* ‘PROX_3’ almost always refers to a location, while *īnāyna* ‘NA’ is only attested referring to a location (one time). The distal form *ānā* ‘dist_3’ is mostly attested referring to a location and only rarely to a human animate. (As noted in the preceding paragraph, *āna* ‘DIST_4’ is also sometimes attested in reference to a location.)

Uses of demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are found with anaphoric, cataphoric, and deictic uses. Some forms are also observed in idiomatic constructions of paired elements. These uses are noted briefly here.

Most frequently, demonstrative pronouns are found in anaphoric use, that is, when the pronoun is interpreted by reference to an element in the preceding discourse context.¹⁰² Anaphoric use (also referred to as ‘discourse reference’) is also found to be the most frequent use of Persian deictic forms *īn* ‘this’ and *ān* ‘that’ in the texts discussed by Roberts (2009:248). Examples of demonstratives with this function can be found in Section 14.2.4. Uses of the proximal and distal demonstratives in discourse reference are not discussed in the current section.¹⁰³

Only a few instances are found in the texts showing demonstrative pronouns in cataphoric use. Cataphoric use takes place when the demonstrative pronoun is interpreted as reference to an element (or elements) in the following discourse context. An example is presented here with *īna* ‘PROX_4’ referring to such elements (‘putting on good and new and clean clothes’ and ‘to be flirts with them’):

¹⁰¹ The question of animacy and forms as adverbs was brought to my attention by Geoffrey Haig (p.c.).

¹⁰² For this background on anaphora, see J. Lyons (1977), Kroeger (2005:136), and discussion with Nicholas Bailey (p.c.).

¹⁰³ See Jahani (2018) for a study of deixis in discourse of oral texts from several Western Iranian languages, including Gawraǰūyī.

(Context: As for the stepmother's own daughters ... [12:6])

- (652) faqat hāyna fikr ina = ya
 only be(?).PRS.3PL thought PROX_4 = COP.PRS.3SG_3
- libās xās = u tāza = u tamīs bi-kar-in = a war = u
 clothing good = and new = and clean SBJV-do.PRS-3PL = DIR on = and
- qiř bi-tī-n wānā
 flirting SBJV-give.PRS-3PL with.them (?)
- 'only their thoughts are always (?) this, to put on good and new and clean clothes, and to be flirts with them (?)' [12:6]

There are also relatively few instances of demonstrative pronouns in what can be termed 'deictic use', which can involve a speaker actually pointing to or gesturing towards some entity in the actual speech situation. This type of reference in general can also be termed as 'objective reference', which has to do with the interpretation of the reference according to the actual 'physical aspect of the communication situation' (Roberts 2009:248). The speaker may indicate some entity that is relatively near and use a proximal form, or indicate something further away and use a distal form. This use is exemplified here by *āna* 'DIST_4' in a question:

(Context: The daughter of the speaker of the text being recorded notes the camera and asks her mother a question ... [12:43])

- (653) mān, āna čē
 Mama DIST_4 what.COP.PRS.3SG_1
- āna dūrbīn-aka = š = ē
 DIST_4 camera-DEF = 3SG = COP.PRS.3SG
- (Daughter speaks) 'Mama? What is that?' (Mother answers) 'That is her camera.' (Or: 'That belongs to her camera') [12:43]

Besides the uses outlined above, demonstrative pronouns are also used in an idiomatic construction consisting of a pair of forms. The first element includes a proximal form indicating the first referent, and a distal form indicating the second referent. Depending on contextual factors, the construction can express 'someone ... someone else' or simply refer to a generalized set of referents, 'this and that'. Some examples are presented here:

- (654) in m-wāy kī = ya = u
 PROX_1 IND-say.PRS.3SG who = COP.PRS.3SG_3 = and
- ān mwāy kī = ya
 DIST_1 IND-say.PRS.3SG who = COP.PRS.3SG_3
- 'this one says: 'Who is it?' And someone else (lit., that one) says: 'Who is it?'' [3:66]
- (655) wāt = šān ina = u āna
 say.PST = 3PL PROX_4 = and DIST_4
- 'they said this and that' [8:18]

4.2.3 Enclitic personal pronouns

Besides the independent pronouns, there is a set of personal pronouns which are attached as enclitics and thus termed ‘enclitic pronouns’.

4.2.3.1 Semantic properties

The enclitic pronouns distinguish first, second, and third persons, as well as singular and plural number. There is no distinction in demonstrative meaning (proximal versus distal) for the third person singular enclitic pronouns. They are not formally distinguished for case. Their functions, however, are limited to those typical of oblique case.

4.2.3.2 Morphological properties

The enclitic pronouns and glosses are listed here:

Table 20. Enclitic pronouns

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|----------------------|
| 1 | = <i>im</i> ‘= 1SG’ | = <i>mān</i> ‘= 1PL’ |
| 2 | = <i>it</i> ‘= 2SG’ | = <i>tān</i> ‘= 2PL’ |
| 3 | = <i>iš</i> ‘= 3SG’ Rare: = <i>y</i> ‘= 3SG_1’ | = <i>šān</i> ‘= 3PL’ |

There are also allomorphs for the singular forms when following a vowel: = *m* ‘= 1SG’, = *t* ‘= 2SG’, and = *š* ‘= 3SG’. These allomorphs occasionally follow a consonant (if the previous syllable is stressed and the short vowel is elided, as noted in Section 2.11.3).

The rare form = *y* ‘= 3SG_1’ is also attested in Southern Kurdish (see Fattah 2000:280).

Enclitic pronouns do not bear any inflectional morphology. These forms are illustrated here (mostly in noun phrase possessive constructions, while details of distributional properties are presented in the next section):

(656) *birā-ka = m*
brother-DEF = 1SG
‘my brother’ [9:31]

(657) *dūst-aka = t*
friend-DEF = 2SG
‘your friend’ [8:144]

(658) *dāyka = š*
mother = 3SG
‘his mother’ [8:176]

- (659) ařā = y
for = 3SG_1
'for him' [4:123] (Here it is shown as complement in an adpositional phrase; no instance is attested in a possessive construction.)
- (660) xānawāda = mān
family = 1PL
'our family' [8:73]
- (661) dāyka = tān
mother = 2PL
'your mother' [2:41]
- (662) dāyka = šān
mother = 3PL
'their mother' [2:36]

4.2.3.3 Distributional properties

Enclitic pronouns can attach to many different types of words, such as nouns, independent pronouns, other enclitic pronouns, reflexives, verbs, adpositions, adjectives, adverbs, and compound verb elements. Only rarely, however, are enclitic pronouns attached to a numeral or a particle. They do not appear at all on negative or affirmative particles, or on conjunctions.

In terms of their distributional properties, enclitic pronouns are found in a variety of constructions and functions:¹⁰⁴

- Possessor in a noun phrase possessive construction (genitive relationship) (including specification of possessor on a reflexive)
- The 'whole' element in a part-whole construction (partitive relationship)
- Complement in a prepositional phrase
- Object argument of a present tense clause
- Agent argument of a past tense clause or a perfect construction
- Goal (indirect object) argument with speech verb
- Goal (indirect object) argument with the verb 'give'
- Possessor in an existential clause ('have')
- Experiencer in a copula clause construction

¹⁰⁴ See Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:16) for a similar list (including 'recipient or benefactor in noun phrases or verbs'). The section in the current study adds several functions to that list.

- Non-canonical subject (experiencer) in a ‘want’ copula clause construction
- Experiencer in a Present Progressive construction with *hē*
- Specification of person and number referent on reflexive

The enclitic pronouns also have limits in distribution. Their functions do not completely overlap with those of the independent pronouns (see summary table in Section 4.2.4). The enclitic pronouns express functions typical of oblique case and are therefore not found as expressing subject or agent in a present tense clause or subject in a past intransitive clause.

The enclitic pronoun functions are illustrated here.

Possessor in noun phrase possessive construction (genitive relationship) (including specification of possessor on a reflexive)

An enclitic pronoun can attach to a head noun to function as possessor:

- (663) dāyka = tān
 mother = 2PL
 ‘your mother’ [2:44]

An enclitic pronoun can specify the possessor on a reflexive:

- (664) aǰ_dile gawraǰū iǰtan = mān
 in Gawraǰū RFL = 1PL
 ‘in our own Gawraǰū (village)’ [8:15]

The ‘whole’ element in a part-whole construction (partitive relationship)

An enclitic pronoun can be used in a part-whole construction to express the ‘whole’:

- (665) har_dü-k = šān
 both-INDF_1 = 3PL
 ‘both of them’ [3:2]

Complement in a prepositional phrase

An enclitic pronoun can attach to a preposition to express the complement of a prepositional phrase:

- (666) aǰā = š
 to = 3SG
 ‘to him’ [3:98]
- (667) wār = im
 before = 1SG
 ‘in front of me’ [1:67]

Object argument of a present tense clause

An enclitic pronoun can attach to the verb to express the direct object (O) of a transitive verb in a present tense clause (see also Chapter 9):

- (668) ma-kar-ē = š = a war māmīr-ak-ān
 IND-do.PRS-3SG = 3SG = DIR before chicken-DEF-PL
 ‘(the cat) puts it in front of the chickens’ [1:93]
- (669) āw ma-yar-ē = mān
 water IND-take.PRS-3SG = 1PL
 ‘the water will take us away’ [2:13]
- (670) īsa ma-wīn-ī = mān
 now IND-see.PRS-2SG = 1PL
 ‘now you see us’ [10:33]
- (671) m-wār-im = šān
 IND-eat.PRS-1SG = 3PL
 ‘I will eat them’ [2:34]

Agent argument of a past tense clause or a perfect construction

An enclitic pronoun can express the agent (A) argument of a transitive verb in a past tense clause. It can also be used to express A in perfect constructions (in which it attaches to the participle of the construction) (see also Chapter 9). Examples are shown here:

- (672) girt = šān
 arrest.PST = 3PL
 ‘they arrested (him)’ [6:25]
- (673) quṭang = iš hāwird
 pickaxe = 3SG bring.PST
 ‘he brought the pickaxe’ [4:120]
- (674) ī kuřa = t = a dī
 PROX.DEM.ADJ young.man = 2SG = DEM see.PST
 ‘when you see (lit., saw) this young man’ [8:139]
- (675) min ward-a = m = ē
 1SG eat.PST-PART = 1SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘I have eaten them’ [2:70]

Goal (indirect object) argument with speech verb

The enclitic pronoun can express an indirect object argument with a speech verb, but this is attested only once in the text corpus. (Other verb types taking indirect objects have not yet been examined.)

- (676) wāt = šān = it
 say.PST = 3PL = 2SG
 ‘Did they tell it to you?’ [5:124]

Goal (indirect object) argument with the verb ‘give’

The enclitic pronoun can appear following the verb (after what is interpreted here as the directional particle) with the verb ‘give’. This is only attested with this verb in present tense:

- (677) dāna = u ǰawāhir ma-tī-m = a = t
 precious.item = and jewel IND-give.PRS-1SG = DIR = 2SG
 ‘I will give you precious jewels’ [4:148]

It is much more common for the enclitic pronoun to express this function instead as the complement in an adpositional phrase, following the verb.¹⁰⁵

Possessor in an existential clause (‘have’)

In a clause with an existential verb to express possession, the enclitic pronoun can express possessor:

- (678) yak kaškūt = iš hē
 one bag = 3SG exist.3SG
 ‘he has a bag’ [4:32]

Experiencer in a copula clause construction

In a copula clause construction expressing the experience of a condition (here: ‘hunger’), the enclitic pronoun can express the experiencer (here: = *m*, also with an independent pronoun *min*):

- (679) min āwrā = m = ē
 1SG hunger = 1SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘I am hungry’ [1:66]

Non-canonical subject (experiencer) in a ‘want’ copula clause construction

In a copula clause construction that has the modality particle *garak* to express ‘want’, the enclitic pronoun can also express the non-canonical subject (experiencer):

¹⁰⁵ An example is shown here of the indirect object of ‘give’ appearing as the complement in an adpositional phrase (usually following the verb): *bi-tī-m wan = it* ‘SBJV-give.PRS-1SG to = 2SG (‘I may give (it) to you’) [11:16]. (This configuration is also typical for the independent pronouns in the same function.)

- (680) tu = š garak = ē
 2SG = 3SG want = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘he wants you’ [8:56]

Experiencer in a Present Progressive construction with hē

An enclitic pronoun also can express an experiencer, but it is found attached to the particle *hē* ‘currently’ (also as existential), preceding a Present Indicative. This combination may be regarded as a Present Progressive construction (rare, found in elicited material). This construction needs further study.

- (681) alāna = yč = a (?) hē = šān entezār ma-kīš-in
 now = ADD = DEM (?) currently = 3PL wait IND-pull.PRS-3PL
 ‘now, too, (?), they are in the process of waiting’ [8:168]

Specification of person and number referent on reflexive

- (682) ištan = iš ma-šār-ē = wa
 RFL = 3SG IND-hide.PRS-3SG = PTCL#
 ‘he hides himself’ [3:22]

4.2.3.4 A note on the relative order of enclitic pronouns

There are relatively few instances attested of multiple enclitic pronouns attached in sequence, so it is not possible at this stage to generally describe the order of pronouns and functions. In at least one instance, the enclitic pronoun indicating possessor occurs closest to the (possessed) noun phrase, followed by an enclitic pronoun expressing agent (A) of a past tense clause:

- (683) řūła-k-ān = iš = im = ič ward = ē
 dear.child-DEF-PL = 3SG = 1SG = ADD eat.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘I have eaten her dear children too’ [2:80]

4.2.4 Summary table comparing uses of independent and enclitic pronouns

The following table offers a comparison of the uses of independent and enclitic pronouns:

Table 21. Comparison of the uses of independent and enclitic pronouns

| Use | Independent | Enclitic |
|---|-------------|----------|
| Demonstrative use | Yes | No |
| Possessor in a noun phrase possessive construction (genitive relationship) | Yes | Yes |
| The ‘whole’ element in a part-whole construction (partitive relationship) (e.g., with quantifiers <i>gišt</i> ‘all’, <i>fra</i> ‘many’) | No | Yes |

| Use | Independent | Enclitic |
|--|----------------|-----------------|
| Complement in an adpositional phrase | Yes | Yes |
| Expression of S – Present and Past | Yes | No |
| Expression of A – Present | Yes | No |
| Expression of A – Past | Yes | Yes |
| Expression of O – Present | No | Yes |
| Expression of O – Past | Yes (rare) | No |
| Goal (indirect object) argument with speech verb | Yes (rare, 1x) | Yes (rare, 1x) |
| Goal (indirect object) argument with the verb ‘give’ | Yes (rare, 2x) | Yes (rare, 2x?) |
| Possessor in an existential clause (‘have’) | Yes | Yes |
| Experiencer in a copula clause construction | Yes | Yes |
| Non-canonical subject (experiencer) in a ‘want’ copula clause construction | Yes | Yes |
| Other experiencer types (Present Progressive with <i>hē</i>) | No | Yes |
| Specification of person and number referent on a reflexive | No | Yes |
| Head of relativized clause | Yes | No |

4.3 Demonstrative adjectives

The demonstrative adjectives have certain similarities to the third person independent pronouns and are therefore described in this section instead of with the adjectives (modifiers) in Section 4.9.¹⁰⁶

4.3.1 Semantic properties

Demonstrative adjectives distinguish distance (proximal and distal), but not number, which is marked on the noun phrase instead. The demonstrative adjectives involve a sense of specificity and definiteness, and thus never occur together with indefiniteness marking.

¹⁰⁶ The label ‘demonstrative adjective’ is employed here as in other traditional studies of Iranian languages. An alternative term for this item is ‘demonstrative determiner’ or ‘nominal demonstrative’, since its forms and functions differ in certain important respects from the main type of adjectives (Dixon 2010b:225).

4.3.2 Morphological properties

The demonstrative adjectives and glosses are presented here:

Table 22. Demonstrative adjectives

| Proximal | Distal |
|----------------------------------|---|
| ī ‘PROX.DEM.ADJ’ | ā ‘DIST.DEM.ADJ’ |
| Rare variant: <i>in</i> ‘PROX_1’ | Rare variants: <i>aw</i> ‘DIST_5’, <i>ān</i> ‘DIST_1’ |

There are also a few rare variants of these forms. The proximal variant *in* is attested one time. There is also one instance of a possible variant use of the third person plural proximal form *ināna* (to be confirmed).¹⁰⁷

The distal variant *aw* is also used only in a few instances. It also appears in Southern Kurdish (see Fattah 2000:314).

The form that is otherwise common as the distal demonstrative *ān* is also attested one time with what appears to be use as a demonstrative adjective. The form is also shared with Persian.¹⁰⁸

4.3.3 Distributional properties

The distributional properties of the demonstrative adjective include its position at the beginning of a noun phrase, preceding the head noun. The head noun in turn can be unmarked, or it can be marked for plural number with *-ān*. The head noun can also be marked for definiteness with *-aka*, though such a combination of demonstrative adjective and definite marking is rare.

In most instances, when a demonstrative adjective is used, the demonstrative enclitic particle *=a* also appears at the end of the noun phrase. It may also be occasionally omitted for unknown reasons or it assimilates to a preceding vowel and is not clearly distinguished. (A loan form, *=ē* can occur instead, though it is rare.)

Examples are given here of the demonstrative adjectives with various nouns, noun phrase morphology, and a few stems ending in a vowel:

¹⁰⁷ For example, *tamām ināna jawāherāt* ‘all these jewels’ [6:106].

¹⁰⁸ An unusual form is found in Kandūlayī as *yārū*, primarily meaning ‘friend’ but attested as a type of demonstrative pronoun with distal meaning. It can occur as a demonstrative adjective modifying a noun, as in: *yārū kanāčakī* ‘that young girl’ (Mann & Hadank 1930:119; their transcription: *yârû kânâčâkî*).

- (684) ī dawriš = a
 PROX.DEM.ADJ dervish = DEM
 ‘this dervish’ [4:30]
- (685) ī kuřa
 PROX.DEM.ADJ son
 ‘this son’ [6:101]
- (686) ī dawlat-ān = a
 PROX.DEM.ADJ country-PL = DEM
 ‘these countries’ [6:155]
- (687) īn gawraǰū
 PROX.DEM.ADJ Gawraǰū
 ‘this Gawraǰū (village)’ [7N:34]
- (688) ā čamadān = a
 DIST.DEM.ADJ suitcase = DEM
 ‘that suitcase’ [7H:154]
- (689) ā kār-ān = a
 DIST.DEM.ADJ work-PL = DEM
 ‘those tasks’ [7H:31]
- (690) ā dita
 DIST.DEM.ADJ girl
 ‘that girl’ [11:105]
- (691) aw sāt = a
 DIST.DEM.ADJ_2 time = DEM
 ‘that time’ [8:36]
- (692) ān farmāyišt-ān = a
 DIST.DEM.ADJ decree-PL = DEM
 ‘those decrees’ [6:85]

4.4 Interrogatives and indefinites

This section presents interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and other indefinite words. (The interrogative words *kay* ‘when’ [7H:83], *kā* ‘where’ [2:90], and *ařā* ‘why’ [1:5] are described as adverbs in Section 4.9.16.)

4.4.1 Semantic properties

The interrogative pronoun *kī* ‘who’ refers mainly to human animates. It also appears in a folktale in reference to an animal behaving like a human. There is also the form *ča* ‘what’

with its variants: *čī*, *čīi*, *čū* that refers to inanimate entities.^{109 110} These interrogative pronouns do not distinguish number.

There are complex forms classed as indefinite pronouns. The form *har kē* ‘whoever’ is only attested once and denotes a human animate referent. The form *har kām* ‘whoever’ (or perhaps ‘whichever’) is attested a few times and always refers to human animates and to animals in a folktale that are given human characteristics. The form *har čī* ‘whatever’ is more common and usually denotes inanimate referents, though it is also attested in one instance denoting a human animate referent.

The indefinite form, *kas* ‘someone’, denotes a human referent, while *fitān* ‘such-and-such, a certain’ can refer to either human or non-human entities. The forms *yakī*, *yakē* ‘one’ or ‘someone’ appear to be occasionally found denoting human or non-human referents (but this analysis needs further research).

4.4.2 Morphological properties

The interrogative pronouns are listed here:

- (693) *ča* ‘what’ [2:54]
- (694) *či* ‘what’ [3:30]
- (695) *čū* ‘what’ [4:192] (rare)
- (696) *čū* ‘what’ [2:63] (rare)
- (697) *har čī* ‘whatever’ [7N:71]
- (698) *har ka* ‘whoever’ [2:38]
- (699) *har kām* ‘whoever’ [2:13]
- (700) *har kē* ‘whoever’ [7H:112]
- (701) *kām* ‘which’ (or ‘who’) [2:84]
- (702) *kī* ‘who’ [7H:38]

¹⁰⁹ For the mention of an animacy distinction for interrogative pronouns in all New West Iranian dialects, see Windfuhr (1989b:258), also noting Standard Persian *harke* ‘whoever’ and *harčē* ‘whatever’. For other examples, see Windfuhr & Perry (2009:435). For examples from Middle West Iranian, see Skjærvø (2009b:204, 209).

¹¹⁰ For *kī* ‘who’, there is a possible rare variant *kē*, found once as introducing a relative clause (see Section 12.4.1).

The indefinites are listed here:

- (703) fiṭān ‘such-and-such, a certain’ [5:39]
 (704) kas ‘someone, a person’ [7H:144], ‘no-one’ [7H:20]
 (705) yakī, yakē ‘someone, one’ [7N:17], [7N:154], ‘no-one’ [7H:51]

The interrogative pronouns are not inflected further. The interrogative pronouns can occur alone or can be followed by the enclitic pronouns:

- (706) kī bū
 who SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘Who could he be?’ [4:147]
 (707) aǰ īnā kī = mān hē
 from PROX_3 who = 1PL exist.3SG
 ‘Who do we have from here?’ [7H:38]

The distinctions of the various forms of the inanimate interrogative pronoun are not yet clear (more study is needed). There is a tendency for the form *ča* to appear when followed by an enclitic pronoun, while the form *čī* can occur in other contexts (Parvin Mahmoudveysi, p.c.). The forms *čū* and *čū* appear to be phonological variants. Examples include:

- (708) īna čī = ya
 PROX_4 what = COP.PRS.3SG_3
 ‘What is this?’ [3:73]
 (709) ča bi-kar-im
 what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘What should I do?’ [4:201]
 (710) dī = t ča = š ka(rd)
 see.PST = 2SG what = 3SG do.PST
 ‘Did you see what he did?’ [6:159]
 (711) čū zān-im
 what know.PRS-1SG
 ‘What do I know?’ [2:63]

The indefinites can occur alone or take further indefinite inflection:

- (712) qaṭā-yēk = u fiṭān-ēk = u
 castle-INDF_1 = and such-INDF_1 = and
 ‘a castle and such and’ [5:54]
 (713) yak-ē nīya
 one-INDF_2 NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ‘there is no-one (or: there is not someone)’ [7H:51]

The indefinite form, *kas* can convey the meaning of ‘people’ or ‘someone’. It also can occur independently or with a negated verb to mean ‘no-one’ or ‘anyone’:

- (714) a(ya)r waš=a kas-ē b-āy
if pleasant=DIR someone-INDF_2 SBJV-come.PRS.3SG
‘if she loves someone’ [8:68]
- (715) kas=e tir=wa ni-m-wā-m
someone=EZ other=POSTP#_3 NEG_1-IND-speak.PRS-1SG
‘I am not speaking about anyone else’ [8:133]
- (716) bi-nīš-ī waxte ka
SBJV-sit.PRS-2SG when COMP

bi-nīš-ī kas naw
SBJV-sit.PRS-2SG someone NEG.be.PRS.3SG
‘you can sit, (if) when you sit, no-one is there’ [7H:20]
- (717) čünka wāqeʿan ʿarūsī-yaka aṛā=mān mahram=ē,
because truly wedding-DEF for=1PL mahram=COP.PRS.3SG_1

kas wa kas, duxtardāyī=t=ē
someone to someone cousin=2SG=COP.PRS.3SG_1
‘because truly the wedding is ‘mahram’ (within close family) for us, no-one says to someone (anyone?): ‘Is she your mother’s brother’s daughter?’’ [7H:144]

4.4.3 Distributional properties

The interrogative pronouns and indefinites can occur at the phrase and clause level in similar uses as those of the independent pronouns. For example, an interrogative pronoun can occur at the phrase level, as possessor in a noun phrase possessive construction or as complement in an adpositional phrase:

- (718) ī kawš=a kawš kī=ya
PROX.DEM.ADJ shoe=DEM shoe who=COP.PRS.3SG_3
‘(find out,) this shoe is the shoe of whom’ [12:35]
- (719) wa kām=mān
with which=1PL
‘with which of us?’ [2:84]

An interrogative pronoun can also appear at the clause level, to express a clause argument. The pronouns *kī* and *har ka* ‘whoever’ can express subject (S) in a present or past tense clause (expressions of other arguments are not attested):

- (720) kī ma-tān-ē
who IND-can.PRS-3SG
‘who can [...]?’ [5:86]

- (721) har_ka hāma piš(t) bar-aka
 whoever come.PST behind door-DEF
 ‘whoever came up to the door’ [2:38]
- (722) kī = ya
 who = COP.PRS.3SG_3
 ‘Who is it?’ [2:43]

4.5 Pronoun-like forms

Several pronoun-like forms are also attested: *yo* ‘one’, *yānā* ‘such ones’, and *hīn* ‘that of’.

The forms *yo* and *yānā* are only attested one time each in the text corpus and thus can only be described in basic terms here.

The form *yo* ‘one’ is attested with reference to an antecedent. It is identical to the masculine pronoun *yo* in Hawrāmī (Luhōn), described by MacKenzie (1966:23) as a form of *yak* ‘one’. The Gawraǰūyī form is exemplified here:

- (723) panǰ šiš gila kuř-ē hē řarūsī ma-kar-ē
 five six unit young.man-NA exist.3SG wedding IND-do.PRS-3SG
 až_īnā yo = šān xānanda m-ār-ē
 from_here one = 3PL singer IND-bring.PRS-3SG
 ‘there are five (or) six young men who will marry; here one of them will bring (i.e., marry) a singer’ [7H:71]

An example of what appears to be a pronoun-like form, *yānā*, is shown here:

- (724) farā(d) yānā
 Farād such.ones
 ‘Farhād and such ones’ [4:163]

The form *hīn* also shows similarities to a pronoun. This form can be translated as ‘that of’, expressing possession:¹¹¹

- (725) ī mantaqa = y qatxānī = ya, hīn dāřāhu = wa
 PROX area = EZ Qalxānī = DEM that.of Dāřāhu = DEM?
 ‘this area of the Qalxānī, that of the Dāřāhu’ [6:162]
- (726) hīn sinderelā
 that.of Sinderelā
 ‘that (i.e., clothing) belonging to Sinderelā’ [12:24]

¹¹¹ In Hawrāmī-ī Luhōn, forms of the possessive pronoun are found as *hīn*, *hīna*, *hīnē* (masculine, feminine, and plural, respectively) (MacKenzie 1966:27). A possessive form also exists in Central Kurdish (noted by Geoffrey Haig, p.c.), for example, Sōrānī *hī* (McCarus 2009:600).

4.6 Reflexive and reciprocal markers

There are two markers of reflexivity in Gawraǰūyī. The most common frequent marker is *īštan*, while there is also a rarely attested form *wē*, which can be compared to the Zardayāna form *wē* and Hawrāmī (Luhōn) form *wē*.¹¹²

There is no lexical item that appears exclusively as a reciprocal, though the numeral *yak* ‘one’ can also be used to convey the meaning ‘each other’.

Reflexive and reciprocal constructions are described in greater detail in Chapter 10.

4.6.1 Semantic properties

The reflexive form in Gawraǰūyī indicates a constituent of a clause with the same referent as the subject (agent) of the clause, the topic of the text, or the first-person speaker of the text. This constituent of the clause can be the possessor in a possessive construction, the complement of an adposition (rare), or the object (O) argument of a clause.

The reflexive form can also be simply juxtaposed to the subject to signal a type of emphasis.

The referent of the reflexive *īštan* is most frequently animate (with one instance of an inanimate referent in the text corpus). The referents in the attested instances of *wē* are always animate.

The form *yak* ‘one’ can be used with a sense of ‘each other’ when occurring in a reciprocal construction (see Section 10.7), and thus expresses a situation of two distinct participants acting upon each other. The two participants therefore can both be considered the agent and patient of the clause (see Payne 1997:200–201).

4.6.2 Morphological properties

The reflexive, *īštan*, and the less common *wē*, do not distinguish person or number in the form itself. Instead, person and number are always expressed by the addition of an enclitic pronoun. Examples of the reflexive and enclitic pronoun include:

¹¹² For the Hawrāmī (Luhōn) form (his transcription: *we-*), see MacKenzie (1966:27). Other forms to compare are New Persian *xod*, *xwīštan* (Paul 2007:293), Southern Kurdish (Kalhorī) *xwa-* (Fattah 2000:291), Kandūlayī *wi-* (Mann & Hadank 1930:291), Semnāni *xoštun* (direct), *xoštara* (oblique) (Lecoq 1989a:307), and Central Iranian dialects of Tafreš (Vafsi) *eštan* (Lecoq 1989b:314) and of the North-West dialect Āzari (Harzand) *īštan* (Lecoq 1989a:302). The complex form *xwēš tan* ‘own body’ is also listed for Middle Persian by Skjærvø (2009b:208), who notes that it can be sometimes considered as a ‘simple reflexive pronoun’.

- (727) ēma iṣtan = mān
1PL_2 RFL = 1PL
'we ourselves' [7H:107]
- (728) iṣtan = im
RFL = 1SG
'myself' [8:132]
- (729) iṣtan = iṣ
RFL = 3SG
'himself' [3:22]

The rare form *wē* also always occurs with an enclitic pronoun:

- (730) wē = m
RFL_2 = 1SG
'myself' [4:173]

The reciprocal is expressed by the form *yak*. It is formally identical to the numeral *yak* 'one'. The sense of reciprocal is conveyed typically only by contextual information, such as plural (dual) subjects. Two examples are shown here:

- (731) ya gila dit = u kuṛa = šān
one unit young.woman = and young.man = 3PL

entezār yak ma-kīš-in
wait one IND-pull.PRS-3PL
'one young woman and young man, they are waiting for each other' [8:61]
- (732) hedyā ka dā = šān-ī yak
gift COMP give.PST = 3PL-NA one
'the gifts that they gave each other' [8:125]

4.6.3 Distributional properties

As noted above, the reflexive can be distributed on the phrase, clause, and text levels. The following examples illustrate the reflexive on the phrase and then clause levels, with first, the reflexive in a possessive construction, and second, expressing object of a clause, referring to the same entity as the subject (agent) (more examples and details are presented in Chapter 10):

- (733) kuṛa = y iṣtan = iṣ ma-tī = ya zamīn-ī
son = EZ RFL = 3SG IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR ground-OBL
'he throws his own son to the ground' [5:151] (or: 'his son')
- (734) iṣtan = iṣ qayīm ma-kar-ē
RFL = 3SG hide IND-do.PRS-3SG
'she hides herself' [2:22]

Furthermore, it can occur in apposition with a clause subject (agent) to express a type of emphasis:

- (735) tu iřtan = it nān-aka = t dizī = u
 2SG RFL = 2SG bread-DEF = 2SG steal.PST = and
 ‘you yourself stole the bread and’ [3:104]

The reciprocal is found most frequently on the phrase level, such as an adpositional phrase. In the following example, the form *yak* is the complement of the adpositional phrase with *ař* ‘from’:

- (736) ař yak āškārā mawin
 from one recognized be.PRS.3PL
 ‘they recognize each other’ [4:45]

4.7 Verbs

The word class of verbs in Gawraǰūyī is characterized here according to properties of semantics and grammar.¹¹³

The actual tense-aspect-mood constructions of most verbs are presented in Chapter 11.

The copula, the verb ‘be/become’, and the existential verb have specific characteristics and are treated in Section 4.7.8.

The modal auxiliary verb is treated in Section 4.8.

Gawraǰūyī verbs can be divided into various subclasses. The most general division described here is between transitive and intransitive verbs, with distinguishing features depending on argument structure and possible semantic roles. Another class consists of ditransitive verbs, such as ‘give’ and ‘show’.

More details relating to transitivity are given in Chapter 10.

4.7.1 Semantic properties

A prototypical verb refers to a concept that has relatively low ‘stability’ in time, involving degrees of change (see Givón 1984:64; Payne 1997:47). This concept can be generally termed as a ‘situation’ (see Comrie 1985:5; 1999:363). The situations can be distinguished as ‘events’, which involve a relatively greater degree of change over time, and as ‘actions’, ‘processes’, and ‘states’, which involve less change (for terms, see Comrie 1985:5; see also Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:83, with ‘states of affairs’ instead of ‘situations’).

¹¹³ The background for this section is found in Payne (1997:47–51) and Givón (1984:51–55, 64).

Events are depicted by Gawraǰūyī verbs such as (only present stems listed here) *ya* ‘hit.PRS’ [5:84], *nam* ‘grab.PRS’ [3:115], *škin* ‘break.PRS’ [1:25], and *kat* ‘fall.PRS’ [3:63]. Situations with less change over time are depicted by such Gawraǰūyī verbs as *zān* ‘know.PRS’ [4:19], *man* ‘remain.PRS’ [2:4], and *ws* ‘sleep.PRS’ [2:23] (see Givón 1984:52, 55). There are also situations that are not depicted by a single verb but rather by a special construction employing the copula verb and a particular form and use of the subject.¹¹⁴

The situations depicted by verbs also include those associated with types of perception, such as *wīn* ‘see.PRS’ [8:28] and *žnāw* ‘hear.PRS’ [3:1], and utterance, such as *wāž* ‘say.PRS’ [4:104].

Besides their depiction of various types of situations, verbs can also be described as having semantic properties such as participant roles (see Payne 2006:104–111). Roles for Gawraǰūyī verbs consist of agent, patient, experiencer, instrument, recipient, beneficiary, and goal.

4.7.2 Morphological properties

4.7.2.1 Introduction

Gawraǰūyī verb stem forms can be simple or complex. The stem exhibits various types of derivational and inflectional morphology to express categories of meaning. The stem itself expresses a tense distinction (see next section). Certain morphemes added to the stem can indicate a change in voice or valence. Inflectional morphemes can express such meanings as negation, mood, and aspect. Other morphemes can express person-number agreement with the clause arguments, while the use of enclitics can also refer to the clause arguments. Various complex verb constructions can express further concepts of tense and aspect.

4.7.2.2 Structure of the present and past verb stems and derivational processes of verbs

For every Gawraǰūyī verb, there is a present stem and a past stem. The stems are the basic forms for building the various finite verb constructions. Generally, verb constructions with present time reference are formed with the present stem, while constructions with past time reference are formed with the past stem. Both of the non-finite forms, that is, the participle as well as a type of infinitive, are also formed from the past stem and added morphemes.

The forms of the present and past stems for a single verb can have various shapes. The forms can be identical, similar, or completely different. Details on stem formation are presented in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:18–25). The main points of that description are summarized here with several additional comments.

¹¹⁴ Thanks to Geoffrey Haig (p.c.) for bringing this to my attention.

In many instances, the present stem can be regarded as the base form, with the past stem viewed in relation to it. Some present and past stem forms exhibit a clear pattern of correspondence, while other forms show an irregular relationship.

A regular pattern involves the addition of one or more segments to the present stem to form the past stem. These segments can be *d* or *t*, or *t* with a further change of *w* to *f*. Pairs of stems include (first the present stem, then the past stem):

- (737) war ‘eat/drink.PRS’ [1:14]
- (738) ward ‘eat/drink.PST’ [2:54]
- (739) nīš ‘sit.PRS’ [9:50]
- (740) nīšt ‘sit.PST’ [6:16]
- (741) řaw ‘go.PRS_1’ [1:65]
- (742) řaft ‘go.PST’ [2:90]

Another regular pattern is the addition of the segment *ī* to the present stem to form the past stem:

- (743) wāz ‘want/request.PRS’ [3:81]
- (744) wāzī ‘want/request.PST’ [5:30]
- (745) nūs ‘write.PRS’ [6:102]
- (746) nūsī ‘write.PST’ [6:105]

Past stems can also have a form with the addition of *is*, *ist*, or *īst* (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:21, including elicited forms). They are attested only rarely in the text corpus. Pairs of stems include:

- (747) tān ‘can.PRS’ [9:53]
- (748) tānis ‘can.PST’ [8:80]
- (749) xan ‘laugh.PRS’ [7N:14]
- (750) xanist ‘laugh.PST’ [7N:14] (only one example available, as participle *xanista*)
- (751) zān ‘know.PRS’ [3:28]
- (752) zānist ‘know.PST’ [4:77]

Some present and past stems are formally identical:

- (753) kyās ‘send.PRS’ [5:156]

(754) kyās ‘send.PST’ [5:134]

For some present and past stems, the forms are completely different, as suppletive:

(755) wīn ‘see.PRS’ [1:111]

(756) dī ‘see.PST’ [4:133]

Some forms of the present and past stems also differ on account of particular historical morphophonemic changes (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:18, 25). The most obvious difference is found in the correspondence of the stem initial consonant in certain sets of present and past stems.¹¹⁵ The background for this possible difference is that the present stem is only attested with prefixes and never occurs in isolation. The form of the prefix can have phonological effects on the stem initial consonant and result in differences in the initial consonant.

Contact influence can account for some variation of stems. Certain common verbs expressing ‘go’, ‘say’, and ‘give’ have sets of present and past stems, but there is irregularity in that some present stems are attested without corresponding past stems (note: variants are not glossed as such here):¹¹⁶

- ‘say’

(757) wāž ‘say.PRS’ [4:104] (variant: wā)

(758) wāt ‘say.PST’ [4:121]

(759) üš ‘say.PRS’ [7N:1] (Kurdish, attested twice, possible code-mixing)

- ‘go’

(760) řaw ‘go.PRS_1’ [8:3], (attested frequently); variant: řo ‘go.PRS_2’ [5:112]

¹¹⁵ Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:18) describes how some present stems are found with an initial semivowel that corresponds to an initial voiced plosive of the past stem. This correspondence is due to the process of lenition of the voiced plosive in intervocalic position (see Section 2.11.2.1). When conjugated, the present stem is always preceded by a prefixed element (for example, indicative marker *ma-* or subjunctive *bi-*) that presents an environment in which the lenition takes place. An example of a present and past stem with this correspondence is: *yar* ‘take/carry.PRS’ [6:66]; *bard* ‘take/carry.PST’ [4:126] (variant, following vowel: *yard* [6:104]). This process presented some difficulties for the transcription of the present stem in the texts. For example, the initial consonant in the present stem *gard* ‘wander/distribute.PRS’ [3:102] is written as *g*, but manifested as a semivowel, approximating *w*.

¹¹⁶ Both variants of ‘go’ (*š* and *řaw*) are observed in a single sentence: *āna ma-řaw-ē řā = wa, ma-š-ē řā = wa* ‘DIST.3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG way-POSTP#_3 IND-go.PRS-3SG way-POSTP#_3’ (‘he goes on the way, he goes on the way’) [11:104].

- (761) řaft ‘go.PST’ [2:90]
 (762) š ‘go.PRS’ [3:112] (attested frequently)
 (763) l ‘go.PRS_3’ [7H:7] (Hawrāmī, attested once)
- ‘give’
- (764) tī ‘give.PRS’ [1:17]
 (765) dā ‘give.PST’ [1:8]
 (766) d ‘give.PRS’ [7H:163] (Kurdish, attested once)

4.7.2.3 Causatives

To form a causative present stem, the morpheme *-n* is added to a present stem:

- (767) řaš ‘reach.PRS’ [3:20]
 (768) řasn ‘cause.to.reach.PRS’ [9:25]

A similar set is shown here:

- (769) sūz ‘burn.PRS’ [5:46]
 (770) sūzn ‘cause.to.burn.PRS’ [8:159]

To form a causative past stem, the morpheme *-n-* is added to a past stem as an infix, preceding a final *-ī* vowel:

- (771) sūznī ‘cause.to.burn.PST’ [8:106]

The functions of the causative in terms of voice and valence is discussed in Section 10.3.

4.7.2.4 Passives

A passive present and past stem can also be formed by the addition of morphemes. To form a present passive stem, the morpheme *-ya* is added to a present stem:

- (772) kuš-ya ‘kill.PRS-PASS.PRS’ [8:48]

A past passive stem is formed by the addition of the morpheme *-īs* to what is possibly a past stem (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:46–47; see also Paul 2007:292, with notes on history). Mann & Hadank (1930:439) note the existence of this passive form with *-īs* in the Gūrānī variety of Gahwāre (close to Gawraǰūyī), and also note that it is not found in other Gūrānī varieties.

- (773) šikīs ‘break.PST.PASS.PST’ [4:96]
 (774) wiřīs ‘consume.PST.PASS.PST’ [1:4]

4.7.2.5 Compound verbs

Compound verb constructions are found in many Iranian languages (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:47–48). Sometimes they are termed ‘light verb constructions’, with the common or function verb regarded as the ‘light verb’. These are considered to be an analytical formation of verbs. In Modern Persian, for example, they are the only source of new verbs over centuries (Windfuhr & Perry 2009:496).

These verbs consist of two basic elements in sequence. The first element, termed here as the ‘compound verb element’, can be a noun, adverb, adjective, or adposition. The second element is termed the ‘light verb’. There are only a few verbs in the Gawraǰūyī verb inventory that can appear as a light verb. The light verb, when occurring as a finite form, bears the inflectional morphemes that indicate such categories as aspect, mood, negation, and person-number.

The compound verb element and the light verb are closely positioned to each other as a unit. Besides the inflectional affixes, the only material that can intervene between the two are enclitic pronouns. Occasionally the subjunctive prefix on a finite light verb is absent.

The compound verb elements especially include loans from Persian (or ultimately Arabic). Some of these elements are not attested independently of the compound verb construction (and might only be translated with the sense of a verb), while others are also used in different contexts and can be considered members of other word classes such as a noun or adjective, or rarely, as an adverb.¹¹⁷ Examples of compound verb elements include (with meaning as in compound verbs):

- (775) šurū ‘begin’ [7N:92] (only in compound verb)
- (776) bāwař ‘believe’ [8:188] (only in compound verb)
- (777) dařwat ‘request’ [5:112] (also a noun, ‘invitation’, ‘request’)
- (778) durus ‘prepare’ [1:41] (also an adjective, ‘correct’)
- (779) niq ‘murmur’ [11:78] (only in compound verb)
- (780) wiř ‘leave’ [5:147] (also a noun, ‘peace, freedom’)

The most common light verb in compound verb constructions is *kar* ‘do.PRS’, *kard* ‘do.PST’ [7N:118]. Other forms occasionally found as light verbs are:

- (781) kīř ‘pull.PRS’ [4:158]

¹¹⁷ It can be difficult to determine if an element should be analyzed as an independent form or as an essential part of a compound verb construction. For related discussion about compound verbs in Kurdish, see Haig (2002).

(782) tī ‘give.PRS’ [1:104]

Several examples of compound verbs are shown here:

(783) durus ka(rd) ‘prepare do.PST’ (‘build’) [4:123]

(784) paxš kar ‘distribute do.PRS’ (‘distribute’) [7N:100]

(785) entezar kīš ‘wait pull.PRS’ (‘wait’) [9:46]

(786) časb tī ‘attach give.PRS’ (‘attach’) [1:104]

4.7.2.6 Verbs with preverbal particles

Another type of complex verb form has a special type of particle, termed a ‘preverb’, which precedes a main verb. The preverbal particle is not attested as an independent form elsewhere in the language, and it cannot be identified as belonging to another word class. The most common preverbal particle is *haw* ‘up, out, forth’. Other preverbal particles are *hay* ‘down’ and *wā* ‘down’, though these are only rarely attested in the text corpus.

The preverbal particle *haw* ‘up, out, forth’ occurs with a transitive verb such as *dā* ‘give.PST’, and combines to form an intransitive verb expressing movement. Compare:

(787) dā ‘give.PST’ [4:215]

(788) haw dā ‘get up’ [5:98]

The preverbal particle *hay* ‘down’ is found with a posture verb, *nīš* ‘sit.PRS’, and adds a sense of direction to the movement. Compare the following:

(789) nīš ‘sit.PRS’ [8:184]

(790) hay nīš ‘sit down’ [9:88]

The preverbal particle and main verb are closely positioned to each other as a unit. The particle immediately precedes the main verb. The only elements that can intervene are inflectional affixes on the verb or an enclitic pronoun.

A few more examples of verbs with preverbal particles are presented here:

(791) haw girt ‘up get.PST’ (‘pick up’) [4:108]

(792) haw dā ‘up give.PST’ (‘get up’) [5:98]

(793) haw ayz ‘up (?).PRS’ (‘get up’) [5:166]

(794) wā nī ‘down put.PRS’ (‘put down’) [3:10]

4.7.2.7 Verb formation and the verbal particle =*wa*

A verb can appear followed by a particle =*wa* (or rare variant =*awa*). This particle is sometimes attached to the stem or occurs on another constituent (see Section 4.12). With a verb, it can convey a further sense of ‘back, again’ or an additional sense to the verb stem itself. In several instances, its use is not clear.

For example, a stem such as *ā* ‘come.PRS’ can occur without and with the particle. With the particle, the stem meaning is instead ‘come back’ (see next section for an example on a finite verb).

4.7.3 Morphological properties: Structure of the finite verb

The structure of the verb as a finite form, consists of the following: 1) a present or past stem; and 2) additional morphemes, depending on whether the stem is present or past.

The type of additional morphemes, that is, the verb suffixes or the enclitics, specifically relates to person-number indexing and depends on the transitivity and tense of the verb (for further detail, see Chapter 9.) The use and position of the enclitics (with the exception of the particle =*wa*) also relate to the level of phrase structure and are not described here, but are treated instead in Section 5.3.

Table 23 lists the structural elements of the finite verb.

Table 23. Structural elements of the finite verb

| Element | Meaning |
|--------------------------|---|
| stem | present or past tense |
| bi- | subjunctive mood |
| ma- (mi-) | indicative mood or imperfective aspect |
| ni- | negation with indicative or imperfective <i>ma-</i> |
| na- | negation with no <i>ma-</i> prefix |
| ma- | prohibitive |
| -verb suffixes | person-number endings |
| -ā (-tā following vowel) | past subjunctive |

In the next sections, templates are shown representing the basic morphological structures of the finite verb word, with both simple and complex verbs.¹¹⁸ They are organized into three main sections:

- Present stem verb structures
- Present stem verb structures in imperative sentences
- Past stem verb structures

Parentheses enclose elements that are optional. The ellipsis (...) represents various forms in the particular class. Items listed on lines within the same column are mutually exclusive.

The Present Perfect and Past Perfect are not described here in terms of finite verb word structure, however, because they involve a combination of participles and enclitics (copula verbs).

4.7.3.1 Present stem verb structures

Simple verb, present stem

There are two templates for this structure, one that contains the indicative prefix and one that does not. The template with the indicative prefix is shown here:

¹¹⁸ These templates are based on the background in Payne (2006:45–49) and designed with help from Nicholas Bailey (p.c.).

| (795) | (neg) | aspect-mood | PRESENT STEM | person-number |
|-------|------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| | negation_1 | indicative | ... | ... |

That is, this verb word has an obligatory indicative prefix and an obligatory person-number ending. The negation prefix is optional.

The following verbs illustrate this structure:

(796) ma-was-in
IND-bind.PRS-3PL
'they bind' [3:4]

(797) ni-ma-kar-in
NEG_1-IND-do.PRS-3PL
'they do not work' [3:20]

The next template shows the structure of a verb word with subjunctive or negation:

| (798) | neg-mood | PRESENT STEM | person-number |
|-------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| | subjunctive | ... | ... |
| | negation_2 | | |

That is, the verb word requires either a subjunctive mood prefix or a negation prefix, but these prefixes cannot co-occur. The verb word also has an obligatory person-number ending.

Examples include:

(799) bi-zān-im
SBJV-know.PRS-1SG
'I may know' [5:89]

(800) na-wīn-im
NEG_2-see.PRS-1SG
'may I not see' [11:109]

Complex verb with preverb, present stem

There are also two templates for this structure. The first shows a complex verb marked for indicative mood. An example marked for negation is not attested in our text corpus, but the structure is predicted.

| (801) | preverb | (neg) | aspect-mood | PRESENT STEM | person-number |
|-------|---------|------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| | ... | negation_1 | indicative | ... | ... |

For example:

- (802) haw m-ayz-ē
 up IND-get.up.PRS-3SG
 ‘she gets up’ [11:42]

The second template shows the same structure of the verb word but with non-indicative mood:

| (803) | preverb | neg-mood | PRESENT STEM | person-number |
|-------|---------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| | ... | subjunctive negation_2 | ... | ... |

Examples include:

- (804) haw bi-kar-ē
 up SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘she may pull up’ [11:25]
- (805) haw na-kar-ī
 up NEG_2-do.PRS-2SG
 ‘(if) you do not bring forth’ [1:23]

Complex verb with the verbal particle = wa, present stem

The next template shows the structure of a complex verb word with the verbal particle = *wa* and indicative mood. An example of a verb marked for negation is not attested but only predicted.

| (806) | (neg) | aspect-mood | PRESENT STEM | person-number | verbal particle |
|-------|------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| | negation_1 | indicative | ... | ... | = wa |

For example:

- (807) m-ā-yin = wa
 IND-come.PRS-3PL = PTCL#
 ‘they come back’ [12:22]

The following template summarizes a verb word with subjunctive rather than indicative. Here, too, an example with negation is not attested though it is predicted.

| (808) | neg-mood | PRESENT STEM | person-number | verbal particle |
|-------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| | subjunctive negation_2 | ... | ... | = wa |

For example:

- (809) bi-ār-ī = wa
 SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG = PTCL#
 ‘you may bring back’ [11:6]

Complex verb with compound verb element, present stem

This template summarizes the structure of a complex verb with a compound verb element (abbreviated here as ‘CVE’) and marked for indicative mood:

| (810) | CVE | (neg) | aspect-mood | PRESENT STEM | person-number |
|-------|-----|------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| | ... | negation_1 | indicative | ... | ... |

Examples include:

- (811) ḥasāw ma-kar-ām
 count IND-do.PRS-1PL
 ‘we count’ [7N:127]
- (812) zendegī ni-ma-kar-ē
 live NEG_1-IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘(one) does not live’ [12:47]

The second template involves non-indicative mood. In contrast to other verb words in subjunctive mood, the verb word with a compound verb element is unusual in that the subjunctive present is occasionally absent:

| (813) | CVE | (neg-mood) | PRESENT STEM | person-number |
|-------|-----|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| | ... | subjunctive negation_2 | ... | ... |

For example:

- (814) durus bi-kar-im
 prepare SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘I (may) make’ [1:54]
- (815) durus kar-ī
 prepare SBJV.do.PRS-2SG
 ‘you (must) make’ [1:41]

- (816) dard na-kar-ē
 pain NEG_2-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘may it not hurt’ [11:76]

4.7.3.2 Present stem verb structures in imperative sentences

For all structures involving the imperative, the person-number ending can consist of either an overt element (second plural verb suffix *-a*) or for second singular, no marking, which could be treated instead as a phonologically null or ‘zero’ morpheme.

Simple present stem, imperative sentence

For this structure, only one template is presented. With this verb word, either a subjunctive or a prohibitive prefix occurs. Note that the prohibitive is only expressed with *ma-* with this type of verb word; there are no examples attested of it with the negation prefix *na-* (it is listed, however, for compound verbs, in the section further below).

| (817) | neg-mood | PRESENT STEM | person-number |
|-------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| | subjunctive | ... | ... |
| | prohibitive | | |

For example:

- (818) bi-püš
 SBJV-put.on.PRS
 ‘put on’ [5:61]
- (819) bi-zān-a
 SBJV-know.PRS-2PL
 ‘find out’ [8:86]
- (820) ma-kar-a
 PROH-do.PRS-2PL
 ‘don’t force’ [8:122]

Complex verb with preverb, present stem, imperative sentence

An example of this type of verb word with the prohibitive is not attested, but the structure is predicted. These prefixes are provisionally listed here as obligatory, though this claim must be supported by evidence from more language material.

| (821) | preverb | neg-mood | PRESENT STEM | person-number |
|-------|---------|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| | ... | subjunctive prohibitive | ... | ... |

For example:

- (822) haw b-ayz-a = w
 up IND-get.up.PRS-2PL = NA
 ‘get up’ [11:41]

Complex verb with compound element, present stem, imperative sentence

In this type of verb word, the subjunctive prefix can sometimes be absent, with no change in meaning.

| (823) | CVE | (neg-mood) | PRESENT STEM | person-number |
|-------|-----|---|--------------|---------------|
| | ... | subjunctive prohibitive negation_2 (rare) | ... | ... |

For example:

- (824) kil bi-ka
 send SBJV-do.PRS.2PL
 ‘send (that one)’ [1:36]
- (825) wāz kar-a
 open do.PRS-2PL
 ‘open (the door)’ [2:41]
- (826) wāz na-kar-a
 open NEG_2-do.PRS-2PL
 ‘do not open (the door)’ [2:38]
- (827) niq ma-ka
 murmur PROH-do.PRS.2PL
 ‘do not murmur’ [11:78]

4.7.3.3 Past stem verb structures

The next set of templates present the structure of the verb word when it is formed with a past stem. There are several complexities involved. The imperfective prefix indicating aspect is not obligatory. The absence of marking generally indicates perfective.

The subjunctive prefix appears only in one type of verb word construction (Past Subjunctive).

There are two templates for each type depending on the transitivity of the verb. This distinction is made on the basis of obligatory nature of the person-number endings for intransitive verbs, and the absence of the endings on transitive verbs, for which another system of person-number reference applies, that is, the use of the enclitic pronouns.

Note that the directional marker *=a* (distinct from the verbal particle *=wa*), which appears in some of the examples, is not included in the template.

Simple verb, past stem

Note that here and for all other verb words that involve the past stem, the prefix ‘negation_1’ only appears together with the imperfective prefix. Otherwise, the prefix ‘negation_2’ appears.

The template for this type of verb word with a past intransitive verb stem is shown here:

| (828) | (neg) | (aspect) | PAST STEM INTRANSITIVE | person-number |
|-------|------------|--------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| | negation_1 | imperfective | ... | ... |
| | negation_2 | | | |

For example:

- (829) *īma* *řaft-īm*
 1PL_3 go.PST-1PL_5
 ‘we went’ [8:146]
- (830) *ma-řaft = a*
 IPFV-go.PST.3SG = DIR
 ‘he was going to’ [4:79]
- (831) *řaft-yām = a*
 go.PST-1PL = DIR
 ‘we went to’ [6:9]
- (832) *ni-ma-řaft-ī-yām = a*
 NEG_1-IPFV-go.PST-NA?-1PL = DIR
 ‘we would not go to (the mountains)’ [10:40]

The transitive verb template is shown here:

| (833) | (neg) | (aspect) | PAST STEM TRANSITIVE |
|-------|------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| | negation_1 | imperfective | ... |
| | negation_2 | | |

Examples are given here:

- (834) nāsī
recognize.PST
'(I) recognized (you)' [3:101]
- (835) dī = š
see.PST = 3SG
'(he) saw' [4:133] (The enclitic pronoun is not treated as part of word structure here.)
- (836) ma-kīšt
IPFV-pull.PST
'(we) would pull' [10:27]
- (837) na-wāt
NEG_2-say.PST
'(I) did not tell' [4:187]
- (838) ni-ma-yašt
NEG_1-IPFV-allow.PST
'(I) was not allowing (?) (or: I did not allow)' [5:85]

Complex verb with preverb, past stem

The next template shows the verb word formed with an intransitive verb stem. An example with negation is not attested in our text corpus, but the structure is predicted.

| (839) | preverb | (neg) | (aspect) | PAST STEM INTRANSITIVE | person-number |
|-------|---------|--------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| | ... | negation_1 negation_2 | imperfective | ... | ... |

For example:

- (840) haw ma-istī-yām
up IPFV-get.up.PST-1PL
'we would get up' [10:35]

The following template summarizes the verb word formed with a transitive verb stem. Examples with a negation prefix are not attested, but the structure is predicted:

| | | | | |
|-------|----------------|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| (841) | preverb | (neg) | (aspect) | PAST STEM TRANSITIVE |
| | ... | negation_1 negation_2 | imperfective | ... |

For example:

(842) haw dā=y
up give.PST=3SG
'(we) set up' [10:41]¹¹⁹

(843) haw ma-yā
up IPFV-give.PST
'(we) would dig out' [10:8]

Complex verb with verbal particle = wa, past stem

An example with a negation prefix and an intransitive verb stem is not attested, but the structure is predicted:

| | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| (844) | (neg) | PAST STEM INTRANSITIVE | person-number | verbal particle |
| | negation_2 | ... | ... | = wa |

The following example involves third singular person-number, but there is no person-number ending on the verb itself (that is, it can be regarded as 'zero'). This absence of ending is normal and predictable as a part of the paradigm of past tense person-number endings on an intransitive verb:

(845) hām = wa
come.PST = PTCL#
'he returned' [6:20]

The next template shows a verb word formed with a transitive verb stem. An example with a negation prefix is not attested, but the structure is predicted:

| | | | |
|-------|--------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| (846) | (neg) | PAST STEM TRANSITIVE | verbal particle |
| | negation_2 | ... | = wa |

¹¹⁹ The enclitic pronoun =y here is not treated as part of the word structure. The verb dā 'give.PST' is translated idiomatically, according to context, both here and in the following example.

For example:

- (847) kīšt = wa
 pull.PST = PTCL#
 ‘he pulled up’ [4:143]

Complex verb with compound verb element, past stem

There are no verbs attested with a compound verb element (abbreviated in template as ‘CVE’) and an intransitive past stem. The next template only represents the structure of transitive verbs.

There are no examples attested of this verb word with both negation and imperfective prefixes occurring together, but the structure is predicted.

| (848) | CVE | (neg) | (aspect) | PAST STEM TRANSITIVE |
|-------|-----|--------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| | ... | negation_1 negation_2 | imperfective | ... |

For example:

- (849) bāzdāst = iš ka(rd)
 arrest = 3SG do.PST
 ‘he arrested him’ [6:63]
- (850) zaxm ma-ka
 wound IPFV-do.PST
 ‘(it) would wound’ [10:23]
- (851) payā na-ka(rd)
 procure NEG_2-do.PST
 ‘(it) did not bring about’ [3:68]

Simple verb, past stem, past subjunctive

The structure of this verb word is provisionally outlined here only for a simple verb with a past transitive stem. Verb words of this type are not attested with a past intransitive stem, and this template also does not include complex verbs. There are also no examples of negation attested with this structure, but it might be predicted to occur in the position of the subjunctive prefix.

| | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (852) | (neg-mood) | PAST STEM TRANSITIVE | past subjunctive ending |
| | subjunctive negation_2 | ... | -ā (-tā following vowel) |

For example:

- (853) bi-kard-ā
 SBJV-do.PST-PST.SBJV
 ‘would have done’ [3:35]

4.7.4 Morphological properties: Structure of the non-finite verb word

Past stem, participle

The most frequently attested non-finite verb word is a participle. It is composed of a past stem and the participle marker *-a*.¹²⁰ (In some instances, the participle ending is not apparent, as it assimilates to a stem-final vowel *-a* or *-ā*.)

| | | |
|-------|------------------|--------------------------|
| (854) | PAST STEM | participle marker |
| | ... | -a |

For example:

- (855) pūšīd-a ‘wear.PST-PART’ [7H:8]
 (856) xanist-a ‘laugh.PST-PART’ [7N:14]

Other non-finite verb structures

There are other non-finite forms, though they are only rarely attested. The analysis of these forms is not yet clear, and their description deserves further study. Examples are shown here, though they are not glossed. One of these forms consists of a past stem and the ending *-ān*, appearing as a verbal noun:

- (857) kušt-ān ‘killing’ [8:96]

Another past stem with the ending *-in* is attested once, likely due to contact influence from Persian or Kurdish:

- (858) qurs xwārd-in ‘pill-taking’ [8:35]

¹²⁰ For Hawrāmī, an ‘infinitive verbal noun’ is based on the past stem plus the stressed morpheme *-(a)y* (MacKenzie 1966:28).

4.7.5 Morphological properties: Verb structure and inflectional processes

The following sections present finite verb structure in terms of the various inflectional processes that express tense, aspect, mood, and negation. (See also Chapter 11 for more details on tense, aspect, and mood.)

4.7.5.1 Present and past stems: Tense and aspect

As noted in Section 4.7.2.2, there is a basic tense distinction expressed in the present and past stems. The present stem forms the basis for constructions involving present tense, while the past stem forms the basis for those constructions involving past tense. Examples include:

(859) kīš ‘pull.PRS’ [4:158] (present stem)

(860) kīšt ‘pull.PST’ [4:143] (past stem)

(861) žnaw ‘hear.PRS’ [3:1] (present stem)

(862) žinaft ‘hear.PST’ [4:24] (past stem)

4.7.5.2 No marking: Past tense, perfective aspect

An unmarked present stem does not occur as a finite form, while an unmarked past stem can appear as a finite form in such a construction based on a transitive verb as the Past Perfective (or ‘Simple Past’) (see also Section 11.2.4). For example:

(863) dā ‘give.PST’ (‘gave’) [1:63]

(864) war(d) ‘eat.PST’ (‘ate’) [3:106]

When involving an intransitive verb, it may appear as formally unmarked, interpreted as indexing a third person singular referent as phonologically null (‘zero’).

(865) řaft ‘go.PST.3SG’ (‘he went’) [6:36] Prefix *ma-*: Indicative mood and imperfective aspect

The prefix *ma-* (allomorph: *m-* before vowels; relatively rare variant *mi-*) occurs on constructions based on the present stem. With the present stem, the prefix expresses indicative mood and thus has a contrast with the subjunctive prefix *bi-* (see next section). It is required for all indicative forms in the present, and thus there is no aspectual contrast expressed. But on a past stem, *ma-* indicates imperfective aspect, in contrast to its absence indicating perfective aspect.¹²¹ This prefix is illustrated here in both uses, as indicative with the present and imperfective with the past:

¹²¹ Noted in discussion with Geoffrey Haig (p.c.).

- (866) ma-řaw-ē
IND-go.PRS-3SG
'she goes' [1:65]
- (867) ma-řaft-in
IPFV-go.PST-3PL
'they used to go' [6:140]

4.7.5.3 Prefix *bi-*: Subjunctive mood

The prefix *bi-* (allomorph: *b-* preceding vowel) expresses subjunctive mood on present stems (the use of 'mood' follows Palmer 2001:4). It is also found on past stems in combination with the suffix *-ā* (see Section 4.7.5.7).¹²² The use of the prefix is shown here:

- (868) bi-škin-ī
SBJV-break.PRS-2SG
'you may break' [1:25]
- (869) bi-ward-ā
SBJV-eat.PST-PST.SBJV
'would eat' (or: 'would have eaten') [3:36]
- (870) bi-wāž-a
SBJV-say.PRS-2PL
'you say' [3:71]

4.7.5.4 Prefix *ni-*: Negation on constructions with *ma-*

The prefix *ni-* 'NEG_1' (allomorph: *n-* preceding vowel) is used to express negation on finite forms involving the prefix *ma-* 'IND' or 'IPFV', namely, the Present Indicative and the Past Imperfective constructions:

- (871) ni-ma-zān-im
NEG_1-IND-know.PRS-1SG
'I do not know' [4:19]
- (872) tu = m ni-ma-yašt
2SG = 1SG NEG_1-IPFV-allow.PST
'I did not allow you' [5:85]

¹²² The combined occurrence of these forms was brought to my attention by Geoffrey Haig (p.c.).

4.7.5.5 Prefix *na-*: Negation of other finite verb constructions

The prefix *na-* ‘NEG_2’ (allomorph: *n-* preceding vowel) is used to negate constructions without *ma-* ‘IND’, ‘IPFV’. In constructions involving the subjunctive, the negative prefix *na-* replaces *bi-* ‘SBJV’. Examples include:

- (873) *na-wīn-im*
 NEG_2-see.PRS-1SG
 ‘may I not see’ [3:116]
- (874) *na-girt*
 NEG_2-get.PST
 ‘he did not get’ [8:188]

4.7.5.6 Prefix *ma-*: Prohibitive

The prefix *ma-* ‘PROH’ (no allomorph attested) is used to negate a verb in an imperative construction (prohibitive). The prefix *na-* ‘NEG_2’ is also rarely attested (one time) in this construction (see next section for an example):

- (875) *ma-tars-a*
 PROH-fear.PRS-2PL
 ‘do not fear’ [4:97]

Negation prefixes and position

The prefixes *ni-*, *na-*, and *ma-* are usually positioned before other prefixes (as in many languages of the world; see Dixon 2012:98). If the main verb is composed of a compound verb, however, the negation prefix occurs on the light verb rather than on the compound verb element. On a complex verb with a preverbal particle, the negation prefix occurs on the main verb. The position of the negation prefix on both these types of complex verbs is illustrated here:

- (876) *fikr ni-ma-kar-im*
 think NEG_1-IND-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘I don’t think’ [8:212]
- (877) *wāz na-kar-a*
 open NEG_2-do.PRS-2PL
 ‘do not open’ [2:38]
- (878) *āw haw na-kar-ī*
 water out NEG_2-do.PRS-2SG
 ‘(unless) you take out water’ [1:23]

4.7.5.7 Suffix *-ā*: Past tense, subjunctive mood

The suffix *-ā* is added to a past stem and indicates subjunctive in the past tense. (The use of the construction in counterfactuals is discussed in Section 11.2.6.) For example:

- (879) bi-kušt-ā
 SBJV-kill.PST-PST.SBJV
 ‘would have killed’ [3:34]

4.7.5.8 Verb suffixes: Person-number, present tense clauses

There is a set of suffixes that are added to verbs in present tense clauses. The suffixes indicate the person and number of the subject (or agent) of the clause:

Table 24. Present tense verb suffixes

| | | |
|------|-----|--|
| -1SG | -im | (-m following vowels <i>ī</i> , <i>ā</i> , <i>a</i> , <i>o</i> ; also <i>-yim</i> following <i>ā</i>) |
| -2SG | -ī | (-y following vowel) |
| -3SG | -ē | (-ī or -y preceding = a morpheme) rare variants: -a, -o, also several fused forms |
| -1PL | -ām | (-yām following vowel) rare variants: -ymē; or -īm (-ym following vowel) |
| -2PL | -a | rare variant: -ān |
| -3PL | -in | (-n following vowel) rare variant: -ān |

The form *-ymē* is also found in *Zardayāna* and *Hawrāmī*. The form *-īm* is found in some dialects of Southern Kurdish (see Fattah 2000:470). (See also Section 15.2.9 for comparison table.)

Some third person singular endings are not analyzed further and simply glossed as a unit together with the verb stem, as illustrated here:

- (880) ma-šu ‘IND-go.PRS.3SG’ [1:34]
 (881) bi-tāšū ‘SBJV-hammer.PRS.3SG’ [4:68]
 (882) mi-nāy = š = a ‘IND-put.PRS.3SG = 3SG = DIR’ [2:20]
 (883) m-wāy ‘IND-say.PRS.3SG’ [5:139]
 (884) ma-nā ‘IND-put.PRS.3SG’ [8:217]
 (885) ma-řo ‘IND-go.PRS.3SG’ [5:51]

The third person singular ending *-ē* can be realized by an allomorph *-ī* in the environment preceding *=a* (directional particle):¹²³

(886) *ma-kar-ī = ya* ‘IND-do.PRS-3SG = DIR’ [2:7]

(887) *ma-kat-ī = ya* ‘IND-fall.PRS-3SG = DIR’ [4:88]

(888) *ma-řas-ī = ya* ‘IND-reach.PRS-3SG = DIR’ [3:58]

It is also assumed that there is assimilation of the third person singular ending *-ē* to *-ī*, following a stem-final *-ī*, as shown in this example:

(889) *ma-tī = ya* ‘IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR’ [8:183]

4.7.5.9 Verb suffixes: Person-number, intransitive verbs in past tense clauses

Another set of verb suffixes appears on intransitive verbs in past tense clauses (patterns of use are discussed in Chapter 9). These forms can be identified as such in that they only occur with a past stem verb. This set of suffixes is assumed to be distinct from the set of the present tense suffixes, even though most of the forms are identical or only differ under conditions of the verb stem-final segment.¹²⁴ The main difference is that in the past set, the third person singular category is not overtly expressed, or else it can be analyzed in the paradigm as ‘zero’. The past set is shown here:

¹²³ There are also variants of third person singular endings with and without the directional: *ma-tī = ya* ‘IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR’ [8:183] and *ma-t-ē* ‘IND-give.PRS-3SG’ [5:53]. See also *řim* ‘make desolate’ (see form *na-ř(i)m-ī = ya* ‘NEG_2-make.desolate.PRS-3SG = DIR(?)’ [5:111] and *na-ř(i)m-ē* ‘NEG_2-make.desolate.PRS-3SG’ [4:191]).

¹²⁴ For example, the more common second singular present form is *-ī* (as it follows a verb stem ending in a consonant), while the past form is *-y* (most commonly following a verb stem ending in a vowel).

Table 25. Past tense verb suffixes

| | | |
|------|------------|--|
| -1SG | -im | (-m following vowel, or rarely -yim following vowel) |
| -2SG | -ī | (-y following vowel) |
| -3SG | (unmarked) | |
| -1PL | -yām | rare variants: -ymē, -imē, -īm |
| -2PL | -īa | (elicited, but not attested in texts) ¹²⁵ |
| -3PL | -in | (-n following vowel) |

4.7.5.10 Verb suffix: Imperative

In the Imperative construction, the addressee is indicated on the verb by an absence of marking (singular) or by means of a suffix (plural) *-a* (formally identical to the present tense second person plural suffix) or by a rare variant *-ān*. Besides the verb suffix (or its absence), the subjunctive prefix *bi-* usually occurs in this construction as well. (More details about the Imperative are presented in Chapter 13.)

Table 26. Imperative verb suffixes

| | |
|------|-------------------------|
| -2SG | (no marking) |
| -2PL | -a rare variant: -ān |

4.7.6 Distributional properties

The distributional properties of verbs involve their occurrence within larger structures (see Payne 1997:47). That is, the verb occurs as head of what is assumed here to be the verbal complex. In turn, the verbal complex can express the predicate of a clause.

In the following example, the verb *makyāsīn* and the object *čapar* are found in the verbal complex, and the verb *makyāsīn* occurs as the head:

- (890) ānān = ič čapar ma-kyās-in
 DIST.PL_1 = ADD messenger IND-send.PRS-3PL
 ‘they also send a messenger’ [5:17]

The verb, as head of the verbal complex, is also distributed on the clause level, expressing the predicate (nucleus) (see Givón 1984:73). The next example shows the verb *mařamē* expressing the predicate of a clause:

¹²⁵ This form is found in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:27).

- (891) ma-řam-ē
 IND-run.PRS-3SG
 ‘she runs’ [11:67]

4.7.7 Grammatically distinct subclasses of verbs

4.7.7.1 Intransitive and transitive verbs

Gawraǰūyī verbs consist of the two main subclasses of intransitive and transitive. These subclasses can be distinguished by grammatical properties. An intransitive verb cannot take a direct object argument, while a transitive verb can (though it may not always be apparent). The distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs as classes also can be viewed in the marking of grammatical relations (alignment) in present and past tense clauses, with the forms expressing the core clausal arguments and the patterns of agreement and indexing. These patterns are described in detail in Chapter 9.

A few examples of intransitive verbs follow here (only past stems listed):

- (892) řaft ‘go.PST’ [2:90]
 řasī ‘reach/arrive.PST’ [3:102]
 hāma ‘come.PST’ [1:8]

A few examples of transitive verbs follow:

- (893) hāwird ‘bring.PST’ [3:68]
 ward ‘eat/drink.PST’ [2:54]
 nūsī ‘write.PST’ [6:105]

4.7.7.2 Other subclasses of verbs

A few minor subclasses of verbs can be further distinguished.

Verbs of posture and change of posture

A possible subclass consists of verbs indicating posture:

- (894) nīšt ‘sit.PST’ [6:150]

A verb indicating change of posture also might be regarded as distinct:

- (895) ayz ‘get up.PRS’ [7H:25] (with preverbal particle *haw* ‘up’)

These two verbs also exhibit some special features of distribution and grammatical marking (see Section 11.2.9.2).

Verbs with goals

Some verbs involving movement towards a ‘goal’ are distinguished formally in that they typically involve a postverbal constituent expressing an indirect object argument. Here, both present and past stems of such verbs are listed:

- (896) kat ‘fall.PRS’ [11:52], kat ‘fall.PST’ [8:102] (rare variants: kaft ‘fall.PST’ [4:86], kawt ‘fall.PST’ [3:11])
- (897) nā ‘place/lay.PRS’ [1:16], nīyā ‘put.PST’ [1:9]
- (898) tī ‘give.PRS’ [1:61] (rare variant: d ‘give.PRS’ [7H:163]), dā ‘give.PST’ [1:63]

Verbs of speech and cognition

Verbs of speech and cognition are considered transitive verbs in that they can take an object argument and exhibit alignment patterns common to transitive verbs. However, the object of the verb tends to be expressed most often as a complement clause:

- (899) wāt ‘say.PST’ [4:121]
- (900) dī ‘see.PST’ [4:133]
- (901) žinaft ‘hear.PST’ [6:75]

Other possible verb subclasses?

A topic for further study is the classification of verbs according to their aspectual character and depiction of situations in time.

4.7.8 Copula, the *mawu* copula, and the verb of existence

There are three further sets of forms also considered to be verbs but with particular characteristics. These forms are the copula, the *mawu* copula, and the verb of existence.

Each form is described here according to their features of semantics, grammar, and distribution. For these special verbs, their uses in tense-aspect-mood constructions are presented here rather than in Chapter 11, where tense-aspect-mood constructions for all other verbs are discussed.

4.7.9 Copula: Semantic properties

The copula (comparable to English ‘be’) is a verbal form used in constructions that link a subject and a complement. By itself, the copula is considered to be semantically ‘empty’ or ‘depleted’ (Givón 1984:91–92). Another way of describing it is that it conveys relational meaning, that is, between the copula subject and copula complement, rather than referential

meaning, such as in predicates consisting of transitive and intransitive verbs (Dixon 2010b:159).

4.7.10 Copula: Morphological properties

The Gawraǰūyī copula distinguishes tense and mood by overt marking or absence of marking, while it does not distinguish aspect (see also Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:31 for observations). The copula is also marked for person-number, mainly employing similar or identical forms as the suffixes found on intransitive verbs (unlike the distinct copula forms found in other varieties such as Zardayāna and Hawrāmī-ī Luhōn). For some of the tense-mood categories, however, there are no person-number forms attested in the texts.

4.7.10.1 Present Indicative of copula

In present tense clauses, the copula attaches as an enclitic to a preceding element. The copula distinguishes person and number. The singular forms, as well as the first and third plural forms, are identical to the person-number endings found on present tense verb constructions (shown in Section 4.7.5), while the second person plural form of the copula is not attested. For the third person singular, however, there are two additional variants of the copula, which are not identical to the person-number endings.

The copula forms (Present Indicative) are shown here:

Table 27. Present Indicative of copula

| | | |
|---------------|----------------|--|
| = COP.PRS.1SG | = im | (= yim following vowel) |
| = COP.PRS.2SG | = ī | (= yī or =y following vowel) |
| = COP.PRS.3SG | = ē | (= yē following vowels other than ü, = wē following ü, = ī preceding vowel a) variant: = an (with allomorph = na following vowel, also allomorph: = yan following vowel); variant: = a (with allomorph = ya following vowel) |
| = COP.PRS.1PL | = yām | rare variant: = ām; rare variant: = īm ¹²⁶ |
| = COP.PRS.2PL | (not attested) | |
| = COP.PRS.3PL | = in | (= n following ī; =yin following vowels other than ī) rare variants: = y(n), = yā(n) |

¹²⁶ It is not yet clear, but the variant *-īm* may be first person singular.

The copula forms have allomorphs following certain vowels, as noted in the table. The first and second singular forms have no variants.

The third person singular copula has allomorphs as well as variants with allomorphs. The most frequently attested form is = \bar{e} (allomorph = $y\bar{e}$ following a vowel). This form also appears to be occasionally manifested as = \bar{i} in the environment preceding the vowel *a* (as in the directional particle, see Section 11.4).

There are also two variants for third person singular: = *an* (allomorph = *na* following vowel) and = *a*. These forms can be compared to = *an* in both Zardayāna and Hawrāmī, and to = *a* in Southern Kurdish (see Fattah 2000:515).¹²⁷

The forms = $\bar{a}m$ and = $y\bar{a}m$ express first person plural. The form = $y\bar{a}m$ occasionally follows a vowel (thus as an allomorph of = $\bar{a}m$), but it also can occur unpredictably after a consonant. It is listed simply as a variant.

The rare variant = $\bar{i}m$ (only one instance attested) expressing first person plural is also shared by Southern Kurdish (see Fattah 2000:516).

There is no instance of a second person plural form found in the texts.

The third person plural form = *in* may have one variant or allomorph = $y(n)$ following the vowel *a*. Other allomorphs are = *n* (following \bar{a} , *a*, and \bar{i}), and = yin (following *a*).

The copula forms in the Present Indicative construction are illustrated here:

- (902) *mīmān* = *im*
 guest = COP.PRS.1SG
 ‘I am a guest’ [5:114]
- (903) *mard* = \bar{i}
 good.man = COP.PRS.2SG
 ‘you are a good man’ [3:102]
- (904) *xās* = \bar{e}
 good = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘it is good’ [8:67]
- (905) *fra xirāw* = *an*
 very bad = COP.PRS.3SG_2
 ‘it is very bad’ [6:157]

¹²⁷ It may also be possible that an identical form = *a* can occur as an allomorph of = \bar{e} when following the vowel \bar{i} , as in *kī=ya* ‘who = COP.PRS.3SG_3’ [12:35].

(906) durust = a
right = COP.PRS.3SG_3
'it is right' [7H:141]

(907) řafiq = in
friend = COP.PRS.3PL
'they are friends' [3:24]

4.7.10.2 Present Subjunctive of copula

The copula is found as Present Subjunctive, but it is attested only as third person singular, *bū*. A variant form, *bo*, is also attested. Examples include:

(908) ča bū
what SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG_1
'what it may be' [8:63]

(909) har_či bo
whatever SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG_2
'whatever there may be' [7N:71]

4.7.10.3 Past of copula

In past tense clauses, the copula occurs as an independent form rather than an enclitic. The copula in past tense distinguishes person and number:

Table 28. Past of copula

| | |
|---------------|--|
| = COP.PST.1SG | (not attested) |
| = COP.PST.2SG | (not attested) |
| = COP.PST.3SG | <i>bī</i> variant: <i>bē</i> |
| = COP.PST.1PL | <i>bīsyām</i> rare variant: <i>wīsyām</i> |
| = COP.PST.2PL | (not attested) |
| = COP.PST.3PL | <i>bīsin</i> |

The copula forms for the Past are not attested for first and second person singular, or for second person plural.

The third person singular forms *bē* and *bī* both appear with similar frequency.

There is also one instance in the text corpus of a variant past form for first person plural: *ni-ma-wīsyām* 'NEG_1-IPFV-COP.PST.1PL' [10:33].

Examples of the copula in past tense include:

- (910) qablan bē
earlier COP.PST.3SG_1
'it was (existed) in earlier times' [8:22] (sense of existence?)
- (911) mariz bē
sick COP.PST.3SG_1
'he was sick' [6:36]
- (912) gařā sardas(t)a = řān bī
Gařā leader = 3PL COP.PST.3SG_2
'the Gařā was their leader' [4:125]
- (913) ēma řafiq bisyām
1PL_2 friend COP.PST.1PL
'we were friends' [3:104]
- (914) giřt = iř mahandis bīsin
all = 3SG engineer COP.PST.3PL
'all of them were engineers' [6:144]

4.7.10.4 Perfect

The copula as a Perfect construction is commonly attested. It is most frequently found as third person singular, but there is also one instance of a first person singular form. The Perfect of the copula conveys a similar meaning to English 'was, has become', with the alternation in meanings depending on contextual information.

Table 29. Perfect of copula

| | |
|---------------|---------|
| = COP.PRF.1SG | biyayim |
| = COP.PRF.3SG | biya |

Examples of the Perfect of the copula are presented here:

- (915) fra biya
many COP.PRF.3SG
'there have been many' [8:114]
- (916) řinī biya
Chinese COP.PRF.3SG
'he was Chinese' [4:5]
- (917) min xās xās = wa biyayim
1SG well well = PTCL# COP.PRF.1SG
'I have become completely well again' [3:93]

4.7.10.5 Past Subjunctive

The Past Subjunctive (used in Past Conditional constructions, see Section 11.2.6) is attested only in first and third person singular forms. The Past Subjunctive is normally formed with the subjunctive prefix *bi-*, the past stem, the ending *-ā* (or *-tā* following a vowel), and the appropriate person-number marking. The Past Subjunctive of the copula is not analyzed further, however, as it is assumed to be a fused form with the subjunctive prefix and the past stem. The attested forms are shown in this table:

Table 30. Past Subjunctive of copula

| | |
|--------------------|------------|
| = COP.PST.SBJV-1SG | biyātā-yim |
| = COP.PST.SBJV.3SG | biyātā |

Examples of the Past Subjunctive of the copula are given here:

- (918) xozgā min āyamīzāya biyātā-yim
 wish 1SG human.being COP.PST.SBJV-1SG
 ‘I wish I were a human being’ [3:33]

- (919) wišk = wa biyātā
 dry = PTCL# COP.PST.SBJV.3SG
 ‘so it would become dry again’ [3:34]

4.7.11 Copula: Distributional properties

In terms of distributional properties, the copula is distributed as the predicate of a copula construction.

The Present Indicative forms of the copula are also used in the Present Perfect construction. For example, the third person singular form of the copula is shown here together with the verb *man* ‘remain’:

- (920) man = ē
 remain.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘it has remained’ [8:179]

A particular form of the copula (with initial *w*) is used in the Past Perfect construction (see Section 11.2.8). These forms are only attested for first person singular, as = *wim*, and third person singular, = *wē*. Examples include:

- (921) gīw wāt-a = wē
 Gīw say.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG
 ‘Gīw had said’ [5:89]

- (922) yārū řaft-a = wē
gal/guy go.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG
‘the gal had gone’ [8:123]

4.7.12 The *mawu* copula: Semantic properties

The *mawu* copula is similar to the more general copula in that *mawu* can also link a subject and a complement. In some contexts, however, the *mawu* copula conveys a meaning similar to English ‘become’.

4.7.13 The *mawu* copula: Morphological properties

The form *mawu* is treated as a special type of copula and glossed provisionally as ‘be.PRS’, with the third person singular or plural treated as fused forms (not analyzed further).

Table 31. Present Indicative of the *mawu* copula

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| ‘be.PRS.3SG’ | mawu |
| ‘be.PRS.3PL’ | mawin |

It is mostly attested with indicative mood and third person (singular and plural) reference. It most frequently indicates situations in present time, though in a few instances, it might be interpreted as indicating past time. It is provisionally glossed as present tense, though it has not been observed with a regular contrast with a past tense form. Examples of the *mawu* copula include:

- (923) zinna = wa mawu
alive = PTCL# be.PRS.3SG
‘she becomes alive again’ [2:20]
- (924) qāwī mawin
strong be.PRS.3PL
‘they become strong’ [2:27]
- (925) šakat mawin
tired be.PRS.3PL
‘they are tired’ [3:26]

In a few examples in the texts, the constituent order differs, and a nominal follows the *mawu* copula in a construction that conveys a sense of change (‘become’):

- (926) mawu xuť
be.PRS.3SG ash
‘it becomes ashes’ [5:46]

- (927) mawu dita-ka=y ĵār-ān
 be.PRS.3SG girl-DEF=EZ time-PL
 ‘she becomes (like) the girl of former times.’ [3:92]

4.7.13.1 Present Subjunctive of the *mawu* copula

Several other forms are attested that could be analyzed as the Present Subjunctive of the *mawu* copula, as shown in the following table:

Table 32. Subjunctive of the *mawu* copula

| | |
|-----------------|----------|
| SBJV.be.PRS.1SG | bwim |
| SBJV.be.PRS.3SG | bwa, bwī |

For example:

- (928) řahat bwim
 relaxed SBJV.be.PRS.1SG
 ‘I may be relaxed’ [8:91]
- (929) mwafaq bwa
 successful SBJV.be.PRS.3SG
 ‘may it (you?) be successful’ [2:82]
- (930) bwī
 SBJV.be.PRS.3SG
 ‘one must become’ [8:36]

4.7.13.2 For further study: Past of the *mawu* copula?

A possible past (subjunctive?) form of the *mawu* copula is attested once as *bu* (though this could be a variant of the normal copula):

- (931) bu=wa řayīs ĵambūrī
 be.PST.3SG=DIR president republic
 ‘he would become president of the republic’ [6:68]

4.7.14 The *mawu* copula: Distributional properties

As already illustrated above, the *mawu* copula is distributed as the predicate of a clause and exhibits agreement with the subject of the clause.

4.7.15 Verb of existence: Semantic properties

The verb (or perhaps better, particle) *hē* can be compared to English ‘there is’. It indicates that an entity exists or is located in some conceptual world. The form is also used in possessive constructions as ‘to X something/someone exists’, which can be translated as ‘have’. There

is no common Gawraǰūyī verb for ‘have’, though a form *dīr* ‘have.PRS’ occasionally occurs, which is assumed to be a loan from Southern Kurdish (see forms in Fattah 2000:365).

4.7.16 Verb of existence: Morphological properties

The verb of existence can be marked for person-number, but not all possible forms are attested (see also Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:43 for this verb). The third person singular form is the most common. A first person plural form and a variant (possibly the same form) are attested once. The verb of existence is not distinguished for aspect or mood. It is only used in contexts of present time (see also Section 11.2.2). The following table lists only the attested forms of this verb:

Table 33. Attested forms of the verb of existence

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| exist.3SG | hē |
| exist.1PL_1 | hēmē |
| exist.1PL_2 | hēymē |

For example:

- (932) šansāzī hē
 sickle-making exist.3SG
 ‘there is sickle-making’ [7N:37]
- (933) hēmē dile marāsim-aka
 exist.1PL_1 in celebration-DEF
 ‘we are at the celebration’ [7H:139]
- (934) hēymē gard=š=ay
 exist.1PL_2 with=3SG=POSTP#_1
 ‘we are with it (?) (i.e., united)’ [9:88]

4.7.17 Verb of existence: Distributional properties

The verb of existence is distributed as the predicate of a clause and shows agreement with the subject (see preceding examples).

4.7.18 Summary chart

The forms and meanings of the copula, the *mawu* copula, and the verb of existence are summarized here:

Table 34. Copula, *mawu* copula, verb of existence: Forms and meanings

| | copula | <i>mawu</i> copula | <i>hē-</i> verb of existence |
|----------|---------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| ‘be’ | yes | yes | (unclear, 1x) |
| ‘become’ | yes (Perfect) | yes | no |
| ‘exist’ | no | yes | yes |

4.7.19 Copula, the *mawu* copula, and verb of existence: Negation

Only a few forms are attested expressing negation of the copula, the *mawu* copula, and the verb of existence. The negated form occurs as an independent word rather than as an enclitic.

4.7.19.1 Negation of Present Indicative

There is also a present tense negated form. It is marked for person and number:

Table 35. Negated forms of Present Indicative copula (and verb of existence)

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| NEG.COP.PRS.1SG | nīyam (variant: nayim) |
| NEG.COP.PRS.2SG | nīyay |
| NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG | nīya (variant: nīyan) |
| NEG.COP.PRS.1PL | nīyām |
| NEG.COP.PRS.2PL | (not attested) |
| NEG.COP.PRS.3PL | (not attested) |

A second person plural form is not attested.

The third person singular form, *nīya*, is mainly attested as a negated verb of existence, though it can occasionally also be found as a negated copula. The other person-number forms (*nīyam*, *nīyay*) are attested only as a negated copula and are glossed accordingly. (The form of the third person plural needs to be confirmed by further study.) Examples include:

- (935) *īnāna* *nīyam*
PROX.PL_3 NEG.COP.PRS.1SG
‘I am not (like?) these’ [5:33]
- (936) *tu* *dāyka=y* *ēma* *nīyay*
2SG mother=EZ 1PL NEG.COP.PRS.2SG
‘you are not our mother’ [2:45]

- (937) muškel nīya
 problem NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ‘there is no problem’ [8:93]
- (938) řāhat nīyām
 comfortable NEG.COP.PRS.1PL
 ‘we are not comfortable’ [7H:140]

4.7.19.2 Negation of Present Subjunctive

There are only two attested negated forms of what appears to be the Present Subjunctive.

The form *nawī* indicates Present Subjunctive of the *mawu* copula, second person singular, illustrated here:

- (939) nārāhat nawī
 insulted NEG.be.2SG
 ‘don’t be insulted’ [8:55]

The form *naw* indicates Present Subjunctive of the *mawu* copula, third person singular:

- (940) kār = it naw
 work = 2SG NEG.SBJV.be.PRS.3SG
 ‘may it not be your concern’ [11:78]

The form *nawīsin* indicates Past of copula, third person plural:

- (941) xirāw nawīsin
 bad NEG.COP.PST.3PL
 ‘they were not bad’ [6:130]

The form *nawya* indicates the Past Perfect of copula, third person singular

- (942) haṭāḷ = iš nawya
 cure = 3SG NEG.COP.PST.PRF.3SG
 ‘there has not been a cure for her’ [3:31]

4.7.19.3 Negation of Past

The form *nawē* appears to be the negated Past of the copula/verb of existence:

- (943) māšīn nawē
 car NEG.COP/exist.PST.3SG
 ‘there were no cars (trucks)’ [6:95]

This form *nawē* can have a sense of ‘not become’, in which case it could also be analyzed as the negated form of *mawu* ‘be.PRS.3SG’ (more study is needed):

- (944) xaswa bī, bī nawē
 well = again COP.PST.3SG COP.PST.3SG NEG.COP/exist.PST.3SG
 ‘(if) she becomes (lit., became) well again, becomes (lit., became), she does not become (lit., did not become)’ [3:72]

The form *nawīsin* indicates the Past of the copula, third person plural:

- (945) xirāw nawīsin
 bad NEG.COP.PST.3PL
 ‘they were not bad’ [6:130]

The form *nawya* indicates the Past Perfect of the copula, third person singular

- (946) haṭāǰ = iš nawya
 cure = 3SG NEG.COP.PST.PRF.3SG
 ‘there has not been a cure for her’ [3:31]

4.8 Modal auxiliary verb and modality particles

Only one form, *tān* ‘can.PRS’, *tānis* ‘can.PST’, is attested in the text corpus as a modal auxiliary verb. Its form is similar to that of a full verb, and it can be marked for tense, aspect, mood, as well as for person and number. It normally appears in clause combinations (see Chapter 12) and supplies supportive information to a verb in another clause.

There are also a number of particles that occur together with a verb to express various types of modality. One of these particles appears to be derived from a verb, while the others are less transparent. Some of them appear to be forms due to contact influence from other languages.

4.8.1 Semantic properties

The verb *tān* ‘can.PRS’, *tānis* ‘can.PST’ expresses ability or potential. (A rare form, attested once, is also found as *twāy* ‘want.PRS’ [7H:4], though its status must be confirmed.)

The particles listed in the next section express a range of meanings of deontic (obligation or permission) and epistemic (certainty or probability) modality (for terms, see Kroeger 2005:166; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:41).

4.8.2 Morphological and distributional properties

The modal auxiliary verb has a present and past stem:

- (947) tān ‘can.PRS’ [3:72] (rare variant: tāw), tānis ‘can.PST’ [8:80]

The modal auxiliary occurs in a clause with another finite verb. The finite verb follows the modal auxiliary and is consistently marked as subjunctive, exemplified here by *biṛawē*:

- (948) walē birā-k = m ma-tān-ē bi-řaw-ē
 but brother-DEF = 1SG IND-can.PRS-3SG SBJV-go.PRS-3SG
 ‘but my brother can go’ [7H:100]

In a construction with the modal auxiliary and a main verb, the negation marker appears on the modal auxiliary and negates the entire construction:

- (949) yā dī ni-ma-tān-in qisa bi-kar-in
 or anymore NEG_1-IPFV-can.PRS-3PL speech SBJV-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘or they cannot speak anymore’ [9:52]
- (950) dī na-tānis = šān zendegī bi-kar-in
 so.then NEG_2-can.PST = 3PL life SBJV-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘so then they could not live (together)’ [8:80]

In some instances, however, the negation can be limited in scope to the second verb of the construction:

- (951) āyam bi-tān-ē
 person SBJV-can.PRS-3SG
 waš = (i)š = a kas-ē n-āy
 pleasant = 3SG = DIR someone-INDF_2 NEG_2-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘(if) a person is able to not love someone’ [8:67]

The modal particles are listed here:¹²⁸

- (952) bāyad ‘must’ [1:52]
- (953) bāyas ‘must (may?)’ [7N:18] (rare variant)
- (954) bāyasa ‘must, should’ [7N:22] (rare variant)
- (955) garak ‘want’ [7N:129] (rarely, with negation, as ‘not need’ [3:86])
- (956) ghayr = e mumken ‘not possible’ [5:34]
- (957) majbūr ‘must’ [9:83]
- (958) mašyo ‘should’ [11:87] (rare, also in Hawrāmī)
- (959) mawiž
- (960) mawiž ‘must’ [5:64]
- (961) mawu ‘must, want’ [7N:143], (also perhaps ‘possible’ [11:74], though rare)

¹²⁸ For several forms in Hawrāmī (*majbūr*, *garak*, and auxiliary verb *tāw*), and also in Northern and Central Kurdish and Persian, see Mahmudweyssi & Haig (2009).

(962) mumken ‘possible’ [7N:22]

(963) šāyad ‘maybe’ [7H:44]

The particle *bāyad*, and its variants *bāyas*, *bāyasa*, express strong obligation. They are used at the beginning of the clause preceding both positive and negative statements. The main verb of the clause is marked with subjunctive. Examples follow:

(964) mādar = iš bāyad b-wīn-ē = š
 mother_1 = 3SG must_4 SBJV-read.PRS-3SG = 3SG
 ‘her mother must see it’ [8:27]

(965) yā bāyad nān na-tī-n
 or must_4 food NEG_2-give.PRS-3PL
 ‘either they must not provide food’ [7H:60]

The particle *garak* conveys the senses of ‘want’ in a positive sentence. In a negative sentence, it expresses ‘not want’ (and rarely, perhaps ‘not need’). The particle occurs in a construction with the copula or negated copula/verb of existence, with the subject of the clause obligatorily expressed by an enclitic pronoun. Its use is illustrated here:

(966) ayar dita-ka garak = iš bū kurdī
 if_7 girl-DEF want = 3SG SBJV.be.PRS_3.3SG Kurdish
 ‘if the young woman wants, it’s Kurdish (style)’ [7N:129]

(967) aǰā = y zendegī tu = š garak = ē
 for = EZ life 2SG = 3SG want = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘he wants you for life’ [8:56]

(968) hūč = im garak nīya
 nothing = 1SG want NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ‘I do not want anything’ [11:61]

The particle *maǰbūr*, conveys strong obligation, translated as ‘must’. It is attested four times in the texts, followed by a present copula and a finite verb in subjunctive. In the example below, it is followed by what is assumed to be a variant of first person singular:¹²⁹

(969) maǰbūr = im bi-san-(i)m = iš
 must_3 = COP.PRS.1PL_3 SBJV-buy.PRS-1SG = 3SG
 ‘I (we?) must buy it’ [9:83]

¹²⁹ The variant is identical to the Persian form of the copula (noted by Parvin Mahmoudveysi, p.c.), though in Persian, it denotes first person plural rather than singular.

The particle *mawu* is formally identical to the *mawu* copula. It expresses a sense of strong obligation, as ‘must’. The particle is not attested with negation. An example of *mawu* ‘must’ is shown here:

- (970) šā mawu bi-řaw-ē
 Shah must SBJV-go.PRS-3SG
 ‘the Shah must go’ [6:4]

It is also attested once with a sense of ‘possible’ (this use needs further study):

- (971) ha isa mawu ĵür mīnā
 just now possible like Mīnā

 tu = š bi-yar-m = a tařā
 2SG = ADD_2? SBJV-take.PRS-1SG = DIR gold
 ‘is it just now possible that I take you too (i.e., fool you too) like Mīnā with gold?’ [11:74]

The form *mumken* conveys the meaning of ‘possible’. It also occurs with the copula verb, followed by a clause with a finite verb marked with subjunctive:

- (972) ayar jā-yayl-ē ka mumken = ē čan gila
 if place-PL-NA COMP possible = COP.PRS.3SG_1 some unit

 pīyā, kuřa bi-nīř-ē
 man young.men SBJV-sit.PRS-3SG
 ‘if there are places where it is possible that some men, some young men may be sitting’
 [7N:22]

4.9 Modifiers

4.9.1 Descriptive adjectives

Adjectives in Gawraǰūyī form a distinct word class with particular semantic and grammatical properties. This class is relatively large and open, and some of the members appear to be due to contact influence.

Several adjectives can also share certain properties with nouns and verbs, while some can also function as adverbs. These overlapping properties are also discussed below.

Adjectives functioning in particular constructions are also discussed in Section 8.3 (noun phrase) and in Section 5.6.3 (copula construction).

4.9.2 Descriptive adjectives: Semantic properties

Gawraǰūyī adjectives are attested with properties that are typical across languages. They can be divided into four core types, which are dimension, age, color, and value. There are also other types for the description of physical properties, human propensities, difficulty, position, and qualification (generally following Dixon 2010a:112–114). According to Dixon

(2010a:304), when viewed across languages, an adjective class can be considered reasonably large if it contains such a variety of categories.

Dimension

(973) büčik ‘small’ [8:50]

(974) gawrā ‘big’ [7N:73]

Age

(975) gawrā ‘old-aged’ [6:127]

(976) ǰwān ‘young’ [5:32]

(977) kūna ‘old’ [9:84]

(978) musen ‘elderly’ [9:16]

(979) pīr ‘old’ [5:30]

(980) qadīm ‘old’ [7N:132]

(981) qadīmī ‘old’ [3:20] (derived)

Value

(982) gan ‘bad’ [7H:56]

(983) harzān ‘inexpensive’ [6:133]

(984) ǰwān ‘beautiful’ [4:6] (also ‘young’ ‘5:32]

(985) kāmīṭ ‘perfect’ [9:37] (also with senses of qualification: ‘complete, right, correct’)

(986) naxt ‘worthy’ [5:15]

(987) pāk ‘pure’ [5:82]

(988) waš ‘pleasant’ [7H:78]

(989) xās ‘good’ [8:86] (also: ‘well, better, special’)

(990) xirāw ‘bad’ [6:157]

Color

(991) kuwa ‘dark blue’ [11:78]

(992) qāwa ‘brown’ [2:46]

- (993) qirmiz ‘red’ [11:103]
 (994) sawz ‘green’ [6:133]
 (995) sifid sifid ‘very white’ [11:32] (*sifid* ‘white’ is not attested apart from this construction.)
 (996) siyā ‘black’ [5:161] (variant: siya [11:39, 78])

Physical properties

- (997) āwrā ‘hungry’ [3:106]
 (998) kař ‘deaf’ [5:133]
 (999) kuř ‘short’ [1:14]
 (1000) lāt ‘dumb’ [5:133]
 (1001) luxt ‘uncovered’ [7N:13]
 (1002) mariz ‘sick’ [6:36]
 (1003) piř ‘full’ [3:43]
 (1004) qawī ‘strong/hard’ [2:49]
 (1005) sir ‘full’ [3:36]
 (1006) šakat ‘tired’ [3:15]
 (1007) šal ‘lame’ [2:3]
 (1008) šit ‘insane’ [3:64]
 (1009) tiř ‘sharp’ [6:93]
 (1010) wišk ‘dry’ [3:40]
 (1011) zinna ‘alive’ [5:166]

Human propensities

- (1012) bāxwar ‘aware’ [5:19]
 (1013) řājiz ‘disappointed, in despair’ [3:70]
 (1014) řāqit ‘wise’ [9:17]
 (1015) řāhat ‘relaxed’ [8:91]
 (1016) řāži ‘happy, satisfied’ [8:178]

- (1017) pāṭawānī ‘heroic’ [5:61] (derived)
 (1018) dawrišī ‘(quality) of dervishes’ [4:17] (derived)
 (1019) nārāzī ‘not satisfied’ [8:175] (derived)
 (1020) diṭwaš ‘pleased’ [6:69] (derived)

Difficulty

- (1021) saxt ‘difficult’ [7N:36]

Position

- (1022) barz ‘high’ [3:109]
 (1023) dūr ‘far’ [9:46]
 (1024) nizik ‘near, close’ [4:209]

Qualification

- (1025) durus ‘right, correct’ [6:52]

Other

- (1026) gawraǰūyī ‘pertaining to Gawraǰū village’ [7H:131] (derived)
 (1027) tir ‘other’ [7H:83]
 (1028) faqat ‘only’ [7N:46] (also as adverb)

4.9.3 Descriptive adjectives: Morphological properties

The only morphological marking that may appear directly on an adjective occurs when the adjective modifies a head noun in a noun phrase construction. The marking that would normally occur on a head noun is then found on the end of the modifying adjective, as illustrated here:

- (1029) ṛüstā = y büčik-ēk = ē
 village = EZ small-INDF_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘it is a small village’ [8:97]

4.9.3.1 Structure of the adjective stems and derivational processes of adjectives

Adjectives can be structured as simple or more complex forms. There are several possible processes used for derivation of adjectives from items of other classes.

4.9.3.2 Derivational morpheme *-ī*

An adjective can be formed from a noun with the addition of the morpheme *-ī* (*-yī* following vowel):

- (1030) gawraǰū ‘Gawraǰū’ [7H:91] (noun, as proper name of village)
 (1031) gawraǰūyī ‘Gawraǰūyī’ [7H:131] (adjective)
 (1032) dawriš ‘dervish’ [4:31]
 (1033) dawriši ‘of dervishes’ [4:17]
 (1034) pāṭawān ‘hero’ [5:60]
 (1035) pāṭawānī ‘heroic’ [5:63]

4.9.3.3 Derivational morpheme *-(y)āna*

The derivational morpheme *-(y)āna* is also used to derive an adjective. It is attested once in the texts in the derivation of an adjective from another adjective (it is not yet clear if there is a stem-final *-ī* in this example):

- (1036) engelīs ‘English’ [6:121]
 (1037) engelīsyāna ‘English’ [6:111]

4.9.3.4 Prefix *nā-*: Negated stem

The morpheme *nā-* can be added as a prefix to certain adjectives in order to create a counterpart with negative sense (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:49 for this process and for compounding below):

- (1038) řāzī ‘satisfied’ [8:178]
 (1039) nāřāzī ‘not satisfied’ [8:175]

4.9.3.5 Compounding

Another common process to derive adjectives is by compounding two elements, such as a numeral and noun, or a noun and verb stem:

- (1040) čwārqaṗī ‘four-gated’ [4:23] (čwār ‘four’ + qaṗī ‘gate’)
 (1041) zahmatkēš ‘effort-making’ [7N:35] (zahmat ‘effort’ + kēš ‘pull.PRS’)

Some of the compounds are formed with terms of body parts:

- (1042) řüwařü ‘faced’ [7H:104] (řü ‘face’ + wa ‘to’ + řü ‘face’)

(1043) diṭwaš ‘pleased’ [6:69] (diṭ ‘heart’ + waš ‘pleasant’)

4.9.3.6 Repetition of adjectives

There can be repetition of adjectives (either basic or derived forms) to convey intensification. The repetition might also express a distributive sense (more study is needed).

Intensification is illustrated here by the repetition of *sifid* ‘white’:

(1044) sifid sifid ‘very white’ [11:32]

Intensification is also shown here with the repetition of the adjective *sēr* ‘full’ (here in adverbial function):

(1045) dita-ka sēr sēr ma-wram-ē
 girl-DEF full full IND-cry.PRS-3SG
 ‘the girl cries so much’ [12:27]

In another instance, repeated adjectives appear as a construction with the ending *-ēk* on the final element, which is an ending that normally expresses indefiniteness (see Section 4.1.5). The entire construction expresses a sense of intensification:

(1046) řāhat ‘comfortable’ [8:184]

(1047) řāhat řāhat-ēk ‘very comfortable-INDF_1’ [3:113]

A distributive sense could be suggested for some instances of repetition. In the next two examples, there appears to be no obvious difference in meaning, but the repetition is consistent with a distributive sense:¹³⁰

(1048) řiyā ‘separate, divided’ [7H:79]

(1049) řiyā řiyā ‘separate, divided’ [7H:85]

In the next example, an adjective derivational suffix is added to the final element of repeated nouns. The derived adjective might express a distributive sense as ‘all flowered’ (though more study is needed to confirm this interpretation):

(1050) guṭ ‘flower’ [4:54]

(1051) guṭ guṭi ‘flowered’ [11:21] (also with derivational suffix *-j*)

¹³⁰ This process of reduplication or repetition is also noted for Kandūlayī by Mann & Hadank (1930:116). Repetition is noted by Skjærvø (2009b:207) for Middle Persian and Parthian, and described as a way to form adverbs signaling distribution, such as Parthian *yud yud* ‘separately’.

4.9.3.7 Phrasal forms

An adjective can also appear in phrasal form:

(1052) dar wa dar ‘adrift, astray’ [8:126]

4.9.4 Descriptive adjectives: Distributional properties

An adjective has distributional properties of functioning as a modifier of a head noun in a noun phrase. It is only possible to describe single adjectives in this function; there are no instances attested in the texts of multiple adjectives modifying a head noun.

In the following examples, the adjectives *sāda* ‘simple’ and *gawrā* ‘big’ modify a head noun:

(1053) ya marāsim sāda
a ceremony simple
‘a simple ceremony’ [7N:68]

(1054) ya ʔarūsī gawrā
a wedding big
‘a big wedding’ [7N:73]

The adjective as modifier is almost always positioned after the head noun, but in rare instances, the adjective can precede the noun:

(1055) sīyā čādur
black tent
‘black tents’ [4:156]

An adjective can also be modified by a preceding adverb *fra* ‘very’:

(1056) fra xirāw = an
very bad = COP.PRS.3SG_2
‘it is very bad’ [6:157]

(1057) fra saxt = ē
very difficult = COP.PRS.3SG_1
‘it is very difficult’ [7N:16]

An adjective can also be found as an element of a compound verb construction (see also Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:49). It is illustrated here by *řāzī* ‘satisfied’:

(1058) xānawāda = mān řāzī ma-kar-im
family = 1PL satisfied IND-do.PRS-1SG
‘I will make our family satisfied’ [8:178]

Adjectives can function as complements to a copula:

- (1059) tu qāwa = yī
2SG brown = COP.PRS.2SG
'you are brown' [2:46]
- (1060) marāsim = šān waš = ē
celebration = 3PL pleasant = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'their celebration is pleasant' [7H:78]
- (1061) pīr biya
old COP.PRF.3SG
'he was old' [5:30]
- (1062) šakat mawin
tired be.PRS.3PL
'they are tired' [3:26]

4.9.5 Adjectives in adverbial function

An adjective can appear in adverbial function to modify a verb:

- (1063) zü ma-š-in = a pay kār = ay
early IND-go.PRS-3PL = DIR to work = POSTP#_1
'they (start) going to work early' [7N:60]

4.9.6 Comparison

Only one adjective, *zū* 'early', is attested with comparative sense, expressed with the addition of the comparative morpheme *-tir*:

- (1064) zü 'early' [7N:60]
- (1065) zütir 'earlier, sooner' [7N:59]

This comparative form is only attested in adverbial function to modify a verb:

- (1066) kuřa-k-ān = mān zütir tā dita-k-ān ma-řaw-ē
young.man-DEF-PL = 1PL earlier than young.woman-DEF-PL IND-go.PRS-3SG
'the young men among us go earlier than the young women (into marriage)' [7N:59]

Two forms that include the morpheme *-tir* are *bīštir* 'more, most' and *kamtir* 'less'. These are listed below as non-numeral quantifiers (see Section 4.9.8). They are not attested together with an adjective.

The comparative construction of clauses is discussed in Section 5.6.10.

4.9.7 Adjectives used as nouns

The adjective *ǰwān* ‘young’ [3:74] can be used as a noun. It is illustrated here, first as an adjective (modifying a head noun *ǰan*), and then as a noun (with nominal morphology; see also Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:49):

- (1067) *ǰan* = e *ǰwān*
 woman = EZ young
 ‘a young woman’ [5:31]
- (1068) *nisf* = iš *wa ǰwān-ak-ān*
 half = 3SG to young.person-DEF-PL
 ‘half of the young people’ [7N:47]

An adjective appearing in place of a noun is illustrated here with *šar* ‘damned’:

- (1069) *ī* *šar* = a
 PROX.DEM.ADJ damned = DEM
 ‘this damned one’ [4:56]

4.9.8 Non-numeral quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers express indefinite types of the quantity of entities, as in English ‘some, much, all’.

4.9.9 Non-numeral quantifiers: Semantic properties

There is a fair degree of variety in the meanings of *Gawraǰūyī* non-numeral quantifiers. Most of the attested forms are listed here:

- (1070) *āqara* ‘so many’ [3:68]
- (1071) *āqa* ‘so much’ [4:77]
- (1072) *besyārē* ‘a lot’ [5:42]
- (1073) *baʔzē* ‘some’ [7H:87]
- (1074) *bīštir* ‘most, mostly, more’ [7N:36] (comparative and superlative)
- (1075) *čan* ‘several, some’ [3:40]
- (1076) *čena* ‘that much’ [7H:59]
- (1077) *enqa(d)* ‘so much’ [7H:44]
- (1078) *fiṯān* ‘a certain, such and such’ [6:50]
- (1079) *fra* ‘much, a lot, many’ [7H:47] (rarely attested modifying a noun)

- (1080) gišt ‘all, everything, everyone’ [8:163]
 (1081) hamka ‘so much, much’ [3:108]
 (1082) har ‘each, every, any, whatever’ [7N:75]
 (1083) har čī ‘all’ [4:217]
 (1084) har čē ‘all’ [12:8]
 (1085) hūč ‘nothing, no’ [7H:14]
 (1086) hūčka ‘nobody’ [10:43]
 (1087) kam ‘less, few’ [6:95]
 (1088) kamtir ‘fewer’ [7N:47]
 (1089) qawča ‘so much’ [7H:1]
 (1090) yačka ‘a few’ [10:47]

4.9.10 Non-numeral quantifiers: Morphological properties

In certain quantifiers, the element *-tir* indicates a degree of comparison (as with adjectives; see Section 4.9.6):

- (1091) kam ‘few’ [6:95]
 (1092) kamtir ‘fewer’ [7N:47]

The quantifier *baǰzē* ‘some’ can be inflected for singularity (indefiniteness) if it functions as a noun:

- (1093) baǰzē-k = iš = ī(č)
 some-INDF_1 = 3SG = ADD
 ‘some of them too’ [7H:149]

The quantifier *čan* ‘some, several’ can be used with a classifier, similar to the use of a numeral:

- (1094) čan gila pīyā
 some unit man
 ‘some men’ [7N:22]

4.9.11 Non-numeral quantifiers: Distributional properties

The non-numeral quantifiers can modify a head noun in a noun phrase:

- (1095) čena talili
that.much joy
'that much joy' [7H:59]

The quantifier typically precedes the noun it modifies:

- (1096) har xarj = šān
each expense = 3PL
'each of their expenses' [7N:75]

- (1097) fra kas
many people
'many people' [7H:47] (This use modifying a noun is rare in the texts; it is more common as an adverb.)

A quantifier can also function in place of a head noun:

- (1098) gišt sīr ma-kar-ī
all full IND-do.PRS-3SG
'she filled all' [4:207]

A quantifier can occur as a copula complement:

- (1099) kam bē
few COP.PST.3SG
'there were few' [6:95]

Particular quantifiers occur in special constructions or collocations with other elements. For example, the quantifier *har* 'each, every' can be used with a numeral to indicate a single set or unit:

- (1100) har dū
each two
'both' [4:108]

- (1101) har sē-k = iš
each three-INDF_1 = 3SG
'all three of them' [3:52] (In this example as well as in the following two examples, the pronoun = *iš* '3SG' is used in reference to a plural entity, 'them'.)

It also should be noted that the quantifier *har* 'each, every' frequently requires the presence of the indefinite suffix *-ēk* on the quantified noun, as in the preceding example.

The quantifier *gišt* 'all' is frequently found with an enclitic pronoun indicating a partitive relationship, as shown in the following example (here, the pronoun = *iš* refers here to a plural entity, 'them'):

- (1102) gišt = iš ma-kīš-ē
 all = 3SG IND-pull.PRS-3SG
 ‘he pulled out all of them’ [2:81]

The quantifier *bīštir* ‘more, most’ is also frequently found with an enclitic pronoun, also indicating a partitive relationship:

- (1103) īma bīštir = iš ni-ma-zān-ām
 1PL_3 most = 3SG NEG_1-IND-know.PRS-1PL
 ‘we do not know most of them’ [7N:114]

4.9.11.1 Negative quantifier *hüč*

The negative quantifier *hüč* has some special properties in that it can occur with other elements. It is most frequently attested denoting subject or object of a clause with a negated verb:

- (1104) hüč-ī ni-ma-rz-in
 nothing-INDF_3 NEG_1-IND-leave.PRS-3PL
 ‘they will leave nothing (i.e., nothing will remain)’ [5:158]
- (1105) hüč = šān na-hišt
 nothing = 3PL NEG_2-leave.PST
 ‘they did not leave anything (nothing)’ [4:207]

When it occurs independently, it expresses the meaning of ‘nothing’:

- (1106) kuřa-ka = yč dī hüč
 young.man-DEF = ADD then nothing
 ‘as for the young man, then, nothing’ [8:126]

4.9.12 Numerals

A complete set of Gawraǰūyī numeral is not attested in the text corpus, but a few generalizations can be made.

4.9.13 Numerals: Semantic properties

The Gawraǰūyī system of numerals is decimal. The numerals found in the texts are almost all cardinals, with only a few ordinals. A few numbers have variants.

4.9.13.1 Cardinals

The attested cardinal numerals are listed here, divided into categories of zero to ten, then twelve to eighteen, then in tens (twenty to fifty), and then hundred and thousand:

Table 36. Attested cardinal numbers

| | | | | | |
|------|---------|--|--------|---------------------|--|
| sefr | ‘zero’ | [8:166] Only found in idiomatic use for ‘complete’. | da | ‘ten’ | [7N:144] |
| yak | ‘one’ | [6:133] Also in combination: <i>čil yak</i> ‘forty-one’ [6:32]. | dwānza | ‘twelve’ | [8:61] |
| ye | ‘one’ | [8:199] Also in Persian and Southern Kurdish. | čwārda | ‘fourteen’ | [6:153] Only attested in a proper name: <i>af čwārda</i> ‘F-14’ [6:153]. |
| dü | ‘two’ | [2:86] | pānza | ‘fifteen’ | [7N:55] |
| sē | ‘three’ | [2:86] | pūnza | ‘fifteen’ | [8:226] |
| čwār | ‘four’ | [5:8] | hažda | ‘eighteen’ | [6:90] Only attested in combination: <i>ina hizār-u sīsad-u hažda</i> ‘This (was) 1318 (i.e., 1939)’ [6:90]. |
| panj | ‘five’ | [3:72] Also in combination: <i>bīs = u panj</i> ‘twenty-five’ [8:226]. | bīs | ‘twenty’ | [8:226] |
| šiš | ‘six’ | [7H:71] Gūrānī form, only attested once. | sī | ‘thirty’ | [5:99] |
| šaš | ‘six’ | [6:18] Compare to Kurdish <i>šaš</i> . | čil | ‘forty’ | [4:199] |
| ħaft | ‘seven’ | [1:42] | panjā | ‘fifty’ | [7H:91] |
| hašt | ‘eight’ | [1:42] | sīsad | ‘three ‘hundred’ | [6:90] Only attested in combination: <i>hizār = u sīsad = u hažda</i> ‘1318’ [6:90]. |
| nu | ‘nine’ | [5:123] | hizār | ‘thousand’ | [6:93] |

4.9.13.2 Fractions

Two words referring to fractions are attested in the text corpus:

Table 37. Attested fractions

| | | |
|-------|--------|---------|
| nisf | ‘half’ | [7N:47] |
| dukut | ‘half’ | [5:109] |

4.9.13.3 Ordinals

There are only a few examples of ordinals attested in the text corpus:

Table 38. Attested ordinal numbers

| | | |
|--------|---------|---------|
| awaṭ | ‘first’ | [3:54] |
| awaṭīn | ‘first’ | [8:152] |
| šašum | ‘sixth’ | [4:8] |

4.9.14 Numerals: Morphological properties

Numerals are not typically inflected. Nevertheless, there are two forms, *yo* ‘one’ (only attested once) and *dwān* ‘two’, which occur in certain contexts to denote a partitive sense.¹³¹

When used with a partitive sense, the forms appear with enclitic pronouns:

- (1107) *yo* = šān
 one = 3PL
 ‘one of them’ [7H:71]

- (1108) *dwān* = šān
 two = 3PL
 ‘two of them’ [6:43]

The form *dwān* seems to appear as a nominalized form (attested once):

- (1109) *dwān* ma-řaw-ē
 two IND-go.PRS-3SG
 ‘two (people) go’ [7N:154]

It also appears in one context as a possible ordinal (more study is needed to confirm the interpretation of the examples with *dwān*):

- (1110) *īna* *dwān* = iš
 PROX_4 two = 3SG
 ‘this (is) the second of them (i.e., the stories)’ [3:45]

4.9.15 Numerals: Distributional properties

Numerals most commonly occur in a noun phrase as modifying elements of a head noun. The numeral is positioned preceding a head noun or preceding a classifier and head noun (for

¹³¹ Southern Kurdish has a partitive sense for the suffix *-ān* on numerals two and three (Fattah 2000:301–302). In Central Kurdish (Sulaimania), the suffix *-ān* with a number expresses a nominalized form (McCarus 2009:603). Hawrāmī (Luhōn) has a special form *yuwa* ‘one’ for counting items (MacKenzie 1966:23).

classifiers, see Section 4.1.7.3). In this distribution, there is no further marking on the noun indicating number or case. Two examples of numerals as modifiers are shown here:

- (1111) sē šaw
three night
'three nights' [5:46]
- (1112) haft sāz
seven stringed.instrument
'seven stringed instruments' [3:96]
- (1113) čwār gila kuřa
four unit young.man
'four young men' [7N:6]

A numeral is also occasionally attested as taking the place of a head noun, whereby it can also be inflected, though only for indefiniteness/singularity. The numeral can be preceded by *har* 'each, every':

- (1114) har_dü-k
each_two-INDF_1
'both' [5:157]

In the next example, the numeral *yak* 'one' takes the indefinite suffix *-ē*:

- (1115) ař hizār = iř yak-ē
from thousand = 3SG one-INDF_2
'one out of a thousand' [7H:158]

The next examples shows two instances of a numeral and a classifier replacing a head noun:

- (1116) ař panjā gila = ř panj gila = ř
from fifty unit = 3SG five unit = 3SG
'out of fifty of them, five of them' [7H:91]

4.9.15.1 Subsets and fractions

There is a construction that expresses a numbered subset selected from a larger set. The larger set is positioned before the subset:

- (1117) kamtir da māř ya māř = iř pāxasür = iř hē
fewer ten home one home = 3SG pāxasür = 3SG exist.3SG
'fewer than one in ten households has the 'pāxasür'' [7N:144]
- (1118) ař hizār = iř yak-ē
from thousand = 3SG one-INDF_2
'one out of a thousand' [7H:158]

Another construction is attested as a fraction preceding an adpositional phrase expressing a larger set:

- (1119) nisf=iš wa ǰwān-ak-ān
 half=3SG to young.person-DEF-PL
 ‘half of the young people’ [7N:47]

4.9.15.2 Combination of numerals

Numerals also occur in combination to form higher numerals. In such combinations, they are ordered from high to low, as in Persian (see Windfuhr & Perry 2009:445) and in Southern Kurdish (see Fattah 2000:301). Dates also follow this pattern. The numerals tend to be joined by means of the conjunction =*u* ‘and’:

- (1120) bīs=u panǰ timan
 twenty=and five toman
 ‘twenty-five toman’ [8:226]
- (1121) ina hizār=u sīsad=u hažda
 PROX_4 thousand=and three.hundred=and eighteen
 ‘this (was) 1318 (i.e., 1939)’ [6:90]
- (1122) sāṭ=e čil=u yak
 year=EZ forty=and one
 ‘in the year 41 (i.e., 1341/1962)’ [6:32]
- (1123) mitawalid=e hizār sīsad da=yim
 birth=EZ thousand three.hundred ten=be.PRS.1SG?
 ‘I am (was) born in 1310 (i.e., 1931)’ [6:93]

4.9.15.3 Approximation

Numerals also can occur in a construction of approximation. The construction consists of two close numerals in sequence and expresses a quantity that is not exact:

- (1124) ya dū pākat širīnī
 one two package sweet.pastry
 ‘one or two packets of sweet pastries’ [6:13]
- (1125) dū sē řü
 two three day
 ‘two or three days’ [5:164]
- (1126) sē čwār gila mināṭ
 three four unit children
 ‘three or four children’ [1:31]

4.9.16 Adverbs

The words categorized here as adverbs in Gawraǰūyī have a wide range of semantic and grammatical properties. They are assumed here to form a word class, but it is less clearly defined than other word classes.

Adverbs can have some overlap in form and function with members of other word classes, which also can take place in Persian to some extent, with adverbs overlapping with adjectives and nouns (see Lazard 1992a:90). Some Gawraǰūyī adverbs are also used as adjectives or nouns indicating time, position, or location. Some adverbs can also be used in discourse in a similar manner as particles.

4.9.17 Adverbs: Semantic properties

Adverbs express a fairly wide range of meanings. Most of the forms found in the Gawraǰūyī texts indicate concepts of time, manner, location/direction, and those involving a speaker's comment (judgment or evaluation).¹³² The largest subgroup of adverbs in Gawraǰūyī is made up of those associated with meanings of time. The second largest subgroup is composed of adverbs with meanings relating to the speaker's comment.

Time (including occurrence)

- (1127) alān 'now' [4:101]
 (1128) alāna 'now' [7H:25]
 (1129) awsā 'at that time' [4:175]
 (1130) ayzan 'again' [2:43]
 (1131) āsā 'then, at that time' [4:17]
 (1132) baʿd 'then, afterwards' [4:51]
 (1133) baʿdan 'later, afterwards' [9:34]
 (1134) bārḥā 'several times' [9:28]
 (1135) bāzam 'still' [9:73]
 (1136) dimātir 'later' [8:194]

¹³² For this general information about adverbs and these categories, see Givón (1984:77–79) and Payne (1997:69–70; 2006:118). Payne (2006:118) lists the category of evidential adverbs, which 'indicate the source of the information expressed in the clause' and the category of epistemic adverbs, which 'indicate the degree to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the clause'.

- (1137) dubāra ‘again’ [3:5]
 (1138) dwāra ‘again’ [3:8]
 (1139) emrūza ‘today’ [7N:46]
 (1140) fawrī ‘immediately’ [1:94]
 (1141) gāh ‘sometimes’ [4:106]
 (1142) hamīša ‘always, at all times’ [7H:8]
 (1143) hamrā ‘still’ [4:172]
 (1144) har ‘always, still’ [3:102]
 (1145) hargiz ‘never’ [3:116]
 (1146) hay ‘then, still, always, ever’ [2:23]
 (1147) hüč mawqeŕ ‘never’ [7H:101] (adverbial phrase)
 (1148) hüčwaqt ‘never’ [7N:6]
 (1149) isa ‘now’ [8:126]
 (1150) isāta ‘now’ [3:107]
 (1151) imrū ‘today’ [8:197]
 (1152) imsāt ‘this year’ [10:52]
 (1153) isay ‘now’ [4:176]
 (1154) istāta ‘now’ [7N:54]
 (1155) iwāra ‘(in) evening’ [3:111]
 (1156) jā ‘then’ [4:95]
 (1157) jā āsā ‘then’ [1:62] (adverbial phrase)
 (1158) jāre ‘at that time, first’ [3:9]
 (1159) kay ‘when’ [7H:83]
 (1160) mawqeŕe ‘when’ [7H:134]
 (1161) pār ‘last year’ [8:16]
 (1162) pērār ‘two years ago’ [8:105]

- (1163) so sob ‘near future’ [10:56]¹³³
 (1164) qablan ‘earlier’ [7N:9]
 (1165) tā ‘when’ [5:152]
 (1166) tāza ‘now’ [7N:56]
 (1167) zü(d)tar ‘soon’ [7H:27]
 (1168) zütir ‘earlier’ (or: ‘sooner’) [7N:59]

Speaker’s comment (judgment or evaluation)

- (1169) aslan ‘just, at all, absolutely’ [9:26]
 (1170) čirā ‘actually’ [7H:66]
 (1171) daqīq(an) ‘exactly’ [8:16]
 (1172) dar kul ‘in general’ [7H:12] (adverbial phrase)
 (1173) elā wa belā ‘by any means’ [5:34] (adverbial phrase)
 (1174) hatman ‘definitely, certainly’ [7H:165]
 (1175) jür ‘somehow’ [4:37]
 (1176) mara ‘perhaps’ [5:87]
 (1177) maxsan ‘particularly’ [7N:118]
 (1178) mutlaqan ‘definitely, absolutely’ [7H:10]
 (1179) řāsī ‘truly, really’ [6:46]
 (1180) wāqe’an ‘actually, really, truly’ [9:20]

Manner

- (1181) aňyānan ‘accidentally’ [9:32]
 (1182) ham ‘again, anew’ [5:74]
 (1183) dūstāna ‘friendly way’ [9:25]
 (1184) kam ‘little’ [3:19] (also quantifier/adjective, can function as adverb)
 (1185) kam kam ‘little by little’ [1:65] (adverbial phrase)

¹³³ The adverb *so sob* ‘near future’ can be compared to Persian *fardā pasfardā* (Parvin Mahmoudveysi, p.c.).

- (1186) kāmīṭ ‘perfectly’ [7H:36] (also adjective ‘perfect’)
 (1187) řāhat ‘only, simply’ [8:170] (also adjective ‘comfortable’)

Location and direction

- (1188) az ānā ‘there’ [5:86] (adverbial phrase)
 (1189) bar ‘out, forth’ [2:89] (also a preverb)
 (1190) ča ‘here’ [10:20]
 (1191) ĩrā ‘here’ [11:14]
 (1192) kā ‘where’ [2:90] (also an interrogative word)
 (1193) pēš ‘forth’ [7N:17]
 (1194) pīš ‘forth’ [8:204]
 (1195) wār ‘down, downwards’ [4:174]
 (1196) žēr ‘below’ [4:43]

Other adverbs

- (1197) ařā ‘why’ [1:5] (also interrogative)
 (1198) čimā ‘as if, such that’ [10:25] (clause level)
 (1199) faqat ‘only’ [7N:46] (also as an adjective)
 (1200) mar ‘only’ [7H:62]
 (1201) fra ‘very’ [11:25]

4.9.18 Adverbs: Morphological properties

Adverbs do not have regular inflectional morphology. Some adverbs, however, are formed through a process of compounding morphemes. For example, several adverbs denoting temporal concepts show compounding of a demonstrative adjective to distinguish relative time. Certain adverbs may involve the proximal demonstrative adjective *ī*, indicating a meaning of immediate or near time, such as ‘now’, while another adverb is formed with the distal demonstrative adjective *ā*, indicating a related meaning of distant time, as ‘that’ or ‘then’.

- (1202) ĩsa ‘now’ [8:126]
 (1203) ĩsāta ‘now’ [3:107]

(1204) āsā ‘then, at that time’ [4:17]

There are also compounds such as the adverb formed from the adjective *zū* ‘early’ and the comparative morpheme *-tir*:

(1205) zütir ‘earlier’ [7N:59]

Another adverb is composed of the noun *dust* ‘friend’ and the addition of *-āna*, normally an adjectival derivational morpheme:

(1206) dūstāna ‘friendly way’ [9:25]

Some adverbs involve repetition, illustrated by the adjective/quantifier *kam* ‘little, few’, to create an adverb ‘little by little’ (i.e., ‘gradually’):

(1207) kam kam ‘little by little’ [1:65]

There are also complex structures, consisting of adverbial phrases:

(1208) hüč mawqeʿ ‘(at) no time, never’ [7H:101]

(1209) jā āsā ‘then’ [1:62] (jā ‘then’ + āsā ‘that time’)

A number of adverbs appear to be due to contact influence, such as the following (of ultimately Arabic origin):

(1210) qablan ‘earlier’ [7N:9]

(1211) daqīq(an) ‘exactly’ [8:16]

(1212) aḥyānan ‘accidentally’ [9:32]

There are also some adverbs shared with Persian:

(1213) bārhā ‘several times’ [9:28]

(1214) bāzam ‘still’ [9:73]

4.9.19 Adverbs: Distributional properties

Adverbs can be distinguished by their distributional property of modifying a verb or a larger unit such as a clause or a sentence (Payne 1997:69). An adverb can be found at different positions in a sentence, such as preceding or placed close to the unit it modifies, though the exact scope of modification is difficult to define more precisely. In the next example, the adverb modifies a verb, immediately preceding it:

(1215) bāyad ī kār=a hatman bi-kar-ī
 must PROX.DEM.ADJ work=DEM absolutely SBJV-do.PRS-2SG
 ‘you must absolutely do this work’ [8:73]

Within a discourse, the adverb can occur in sentence-initial position:

- (1216) baʃd filmbārdārī ma-kar-ām
 then filming IND-do.PRS-1PL
 ‘then we do filming’ [8:221]

In some sentences, it is difficult to determine the position of the adverb in relation to the modified element. The following could be either analyzed as at the beginning of the sentence or preceding the verb and direct object:

- (1217) dwāra šīrīn = u šawdīz = iš girt = a šān = wa
 once.again Šīrīn = and Šawdīz = 3SG get.PST = DIR shoulder = POSTP#_3
 ‘once again he put Šīrīn and Šawdīz on his shoulders’ [4:141]

4.10 Adpositions

The term ‘adposition’ is used here as a generalized term referring to prepositions, postpositions, and circumpositions. In Gawraǰūyī, the class of adpositions is relatively large and includes a wide variety of forms and meanings.

4.10.1 Adpositions: Semantic properties

For the elements they modify, adpositions indicate types of spatial orientation and also extended senses. The most common senses involve direction, location, comitative, and source (ablative).

4.10.2 Adpositions: Morphological and distributional properties

Adpositions are listed here according to their structure and distributional properties (see also Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:52–57). They are found as simple and compound prepositions, simple postpositions, circumpositions, and contracted forms, or ‘absolute’ adpositions. In terms of distribution, an adposition is used as the head in an adpositional phrase structure, with a noun phrase (that is, a noun phrase, a lexical noun or a pronoun) as complement.

4.10.2.1 Simple prepositions

The simple prepositions consist of a single independent word.

In one type of structure, a simple preposition precedes a noun phrase. The adposition is not inflected, and the complement is only irregularly marked for oblique case. It is outlined here:

| | | |
|--------|-------------|------------------|
| (1218) | Head | Dependent |
| | preposition | noun phrase |

For example:

| | |
|--------|----------------|
| (1219) | wa min |
| | to 1SG |
| | ‘to me’ [1:35] |

Certain simple prepositions can also be classed as nouns or as sharing features of a noun. A few examples are shown here, while others are found in the list below:

(1220) bān ‘top’ [4:143]

(1221) lā ‘side’ [5:156]

(1222) sar ‘head’ [4:29]

The forms share the distributional property of nouns in that they can occur in an ezāfe construction. In such a construction, they are connected with the ezāfe particle or juxtaposed to another element (complement of adpositional phrase) and express ‘top of X’ or ‘side of X’. The forms that occur with an ezāfe are also noted below in the list, with corresponding examples below each section. An example of this structure includes:

| | |
|--------|-------------------|
| (1223) | bān = e xāk |
| | top = EZ ground |
| | ‘upon the ground’ |

In Table 39, the simple prepositions are listed here together with approximate English glosses, the general grammatical term (generally following terms for Persian in Windfuhr & Perry 2009:441–444 and in Lazard 1992a:76–79), a reference to an occurrence in the text corpus, and comments.

Table 39. Simple prepositions

| Form | Meaning | Example reference and comment |
|------|---|---|
| aṛā | ‘for, to’ (benefactive, direction) | [11:17] Frequently followed by =y ezāfe. Also found as interrogative ‘why’, and with a topicalizing function, as ‘about’. |
| aw | ‘to’ (direction) | [4:15] |
| az | ‘from, of’ (ablative, partitive) | [7N:9] Comparable to Persian form (also: ‘in’ [10:14], locative, unlike Persian). |
| až | ‘in, from, of, at, to, on, after’ (location, ablative, direction) | [11:52] Also found as conjunction ‘because’. |

| Form | Meaning | Example reference and comment |
|---------|---|---|
| ba | ‘in, with, according to, to’ (manner/instrumental) | [7H:133] |
| bar | ‘out, upon, before, in front of’ (location, direction) | [4:23] Occurs mainly as preverb and noun. |
| bayn | ‘between’ (location) | [8:102] |
| bā | ‘with’ (instrumental) | [6:69] |
| bān | ‘upon, on, up’ (location) | [4:143] Mainly as noun ‘roof’ or ‘upper place’ with nominal morphology, with ezāfe; as preposition only in postverbal position. |
| be | ‘with’ (comitative) | [8:19] |
| bedūn | ‘without’ (negation of comitative) | [8:22] |
| bē | ‘without’ (negation of comitative) | [5:139] |
| bī | ‘without’ (negation of comitative) | [5:129] |
| bo | ‘for’ (purpose) | [7H:83] |
| dar | ‘on’ (location) | [7H:29] Also found as compound verb element <i>dar ār</i> ‘take off.PRS’ [7N:13]. |
| dard | ‘like’ (comparison) | [5:30] Only with ezāfe = <i>e</i> . |
| da(r)da | ‘like’ (comparison) | [5:35] Only with ezāfe = <i>y</i> . |
| dawr | ‘about, around, near’ (location, approximation) | [4:156] |
| dile | ‘in, inside, to, at’ (location) | [5:45] Considered to be a form of <i>dil</i> ‘heart’ and the ezāfe = <i>e</i> . |
| dunbāt | ‘after, following, for’ (location) | [3:2] |
| gard | ‘with’ (comitative) | [3:32] Isolated term is rarely attested; more common is <i>wa gard</i> ... = <i>ay/=a</i> ‘with’; see below under compounds. |
| ǰa | ‘from, of’ (ablative) | [7N:104] |
| ǰür | ‘like’ (comparison) | [4:130] Also a noun. |
| la | ‘from’ (ablative) | [4:195] Rare. |
| lā | ‘to (somebody)’ (direction) | [5:156] Also noun ‘side, presence’, also usually with ezāfe = <i>y</i> . |

| Form | Meaning | Example reference and comment |
|-------|--|--|
| manē | ‘like, similar to’ (comparison) | [6:156] Perhaps as the verb ‘it resembles’. |
| mil | ‘on’ (location) | [4:144] Preposition only in postverbal position. |
| na | ‘on, to, at, from’ (location, direction, ablative) | [5:139] |
| nāw | ‘in, among’ (location) | [5:10] Attested once, only in postverbal position. |
| pay | ‘after’ (location, direction) | [7N:47] |
| pišt | ‘up to, behind (?)’ (location) | [2:37] Rare and ambiguous as preposition, mainly attested as noun ‘back’. |
| qa | ‘on’ (location) | [2:43] Rare, <i>qa</i> is not attested as noun, but occurs with <i>ezāfe = y</i> . |
| sar | ‘upon, above, to’ (location, direction) | [3:10] Also as noun ‘head’, sometimes with <i>ezāfe = e</i> . |
| šün | ‘after’ (location) | [2:31] Also as noun ‘place’, can also occur with <i>ezāfe = e</i> , can also occur as <i>wa šün</i> ‘after this, then’ [7N:67]. |
| tā | ‘until, up to’ (goal, duration, purpose, comparison) | [1:54] Also as conjunction ‘so that, that, than, as’. |
| wa | ‘with, by, to, at, as, than’ (comitative, instrumental, direction, location, comparison) | [7N:90] A form <i>wā</i> is not listed here, as it appears to be a contraction of <i>wa</i> and <i>ā</i> ‘DIST.DEM.ADJ’ [11:11]. |
| war | ‘on, before, in front of’ (location) | [1:93] |
| waraw | ‘to, towards’ (direction) | [5:88] |
| žir | ‘under’ (location) | [1:7] Also might be noun ‘lower part’. |

Examples of most of these forms are shown here, in the order in which the prepositions are listed:

- (1224) ařā min
for 1SG
‘for me’ [8:143]
- (1225) ařā ka=y řarūs
to house=EZ bride
‘to the house of the bride’ [7N:94]

- (1226) az taraf
from side
'from the side (of)' [8:8]
- (1227) aǰ xānawāda = mān
in family = 1PL
'in our family' [8:96]
- (1228) ha aǰ ī kūča = y bān = a
just on PROX.DEM.ADJ street = EZ upper = DEM
'exactly on this upper street' [8:115]
- (1229) bāyad bi-š-ī āw aǰ hānī-yaka haw bi-kar-ī
must SBJV-go.PRS-2SG water from spring-DEF forth SBJV-do.PRS-2SG
'you must go bring out water from the spring' [1:24]
- (1230) ba kurdī m-wāǰ-in
in Kurdish IND-say/sing.PRS-3PL
'they sing in Kurdish' [7N:119]
- (1231) bi-tī-m = a bar gaya = y gurg
IND-give.PRS-1SG = DIR on belly = EZ wolf
'(that) I may hit (my horns) on the belly of the wolf' [2:76]
- (1232) bā xūn na-řišya bān zamīn
let blood NEG_2-spill.PRS.3SG.DIR upon ground
'do not let blood spill on the ground' [5:72]
- (1233) řaft = a bān = e qawr-aka = š
go.PST = DIR upper.part = EZ grave-DEF = 3SG
'she went to (upon) his grave' [4:216] (*ban* is used here as a nominal with ezāfe)
- (1234) be = šān
with = 3PL
'with them' [8:19]
- (1235) bī bāwa = u bī dāya
without father = and without mother
'without father and without mother' [5:129] (only attested in idiomatic phrases)
- (1236) dar ya ħad kār ma-kār-ām
on one level work IND-do.PRS-1PL
'we work on one level' [7H:29] (rare)
- (1237) ma-řaw-ē dawr ya āsyāw-ēk
IND-go.PRS-3SG near one mill-INDF_1
'she goes near a mill' [2:22]

- (1238) dawr da nafar
about ten people
'about ten people' [8:215] (an extended sense of approximation)
- (1239) dile ya ĵamāʿat
in one gathering
'in a gathering' [7N:7]
- (1240) ma-nā = š = a dile ya gila sabad
IND-place.PRS.3SG = 3SG = DIR into one unit basket
'they place them (singular) into one basket' [7H:110]
- (1241) ĵa dīnī enqa(d) sar bar b-ār-im
of religion-NA so.much head forth SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG
'(he doesn't like it if) I understand much of religion' [7H:44]
- (1242) čaš = iš ĵür dīw biya
eye = 3SG like giant COP.PRF.3SG
'his eyes were like a giant' [5:88]
- (1243) yakē ĵür min
someone like 1SG
'someone like me' [7H:41]
- (1244) dūr la žan-aka
far from woman-DEF
'far from the woman (...)' [8:113] (rare)
- (1245) m-āy = a lā = y lālo pāyar
IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR side/presence = EZ Lālo Pāyar
'he comes to Lālo Pāyar' [2:75] (used in postverbal position, referring to a person as a goal here)
- (1246) sar qulīna(k)a = š = iš lā dā
top basket-DEF = 3SG = 3SG side give.PST
'it pushed the lid off (i.e., aside) the basket' [1:8]
- (1247) ī šāyera kard-ī = ya mil qul šawdīz = a
PROX.DEM.ADJ plane.tree.DEM do.PST-3SG = DIR upon leg Šawdīz = NA
'he put this plane tree on the leg of Šawdīz' [4:144] (perhaps with postposition here)
- (1248) na pā = y kū
at foot = EZ mountain
'at the foot of the mountain' [4:80]
- (1249) das bar na tīša
hand out to hammer
'(his) hand out to the hammer' [4:119]

- (1250) gurg-aka māy = a piš(t) bar-aka
 wolf-DEF IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR up.to door-DEF
 ‘the wolf comes up to the door’ [2:37]
- (1251) řaft = a = ya sar zendegī iřtan = iř
 go.PST = COP.PRS.3SG = DIR to life RFL = 3SG
 ‘she has gone (entered to) her own life’ [7N:58]
- (1252) b-ā-yām = a sar nāmard
 SBJV-come.PRS-1PL = DIR to/about Nāmard
 ‘let us come to (talking about) Nāmard’ [3:99]
- (1253) ma-kat-ī = ya šün bizin
 IND-fall.PRS-3SG = DIR after goat
 ‘(the wolf) comes after the goat’ [2:31]
- (1254) tā sē māng
 up.to three month
 ‘up to three months’ [10:19]
- (1255) āsmān tā zamīn
 sky to earth
 ‘(extent of) sky to the earth’ [7H:100]
- (1256) miř-aka wa bizin-aka m-wāy
 ram-DEF to goat-DEF IND-say.PRS.3SG
 ‘the ram says to the goat’ [2:9]
- (1257) wa nazar = im
 by view = 1SG
 ‘in (i.e., by, according to) my view’ [8:185]
- (1258) ma-kar-ē = ř = a war māmīr-ak-ān
 IND-do.PRS-3SG = 3SG = DIR front.of chicken-DEF-PL
 ‘she puts it in front of the chickens’ [1:93]
- (1259) ma-nyay = ř = a žir qulīna
 IND-put.PRS.3SG = 3SG = DIR under basket
 ‘she puts it under a basket’ [1:7]

4.10.2.2 Simple postpositions

There are four postpositions that can appear as a simple (non-compound) element: =aw ‘to’, =ay ‘POSTP#_1’, =wa ‘POSTP#_3’, and =ara ‘to (direction)’. The meanings of these forms are not yet completely clear, but some generalizations are given in Table 40 below.

In terms of distribution, the postposition attaches as an enclitic to the preceding noun phrase that fills the role of complement in the adpositional phrase. The complement in turn

has a dependent relation to the postposition, which is the syntactic head (see also Section 3.4). The structure is outlined here:

| | | |
|--------|------------------|----------------|
| (1260) | Dependent | Head |
| | noun phrase | = postposition |

For example:

| | | |
|--------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| (1261) | sarpēl = ay | biya |
| | Sarpēl = POSTP#_1 | COP.PRF.3SG |
| | ‘he has been in Sarpol’ [5:48] | |

The simple postpositions are listed here:

Table 40. Simple postpositions

| | | |
|------|------------------|---|
| =aw | ‘to’ (direction) | [3:6] (direction) Rare, only attested twice. |
| =ay | ‘POSTP#_1’ | [3:10] (location or goal?) Most often attested in circumposition (allomorphs: =yay, =y, =way; variant: =a). It is possible that it represents a case form, but this needs more study. |
| =wa | ‘POSTP#_3’ | [3:104], [4:141] (location or direction/goal?) Frequently occurs as attached to a nominal element in postverbal position. ¹³⁴ |
| =ara | ‘(direction)’ | [12:28] (direction) Rare, only attested once. |

Examples of the simple postpositions are presented here:

- (1262) ma-yas-ī = ya pišt = š = aw
 IND-tie.PRS-3SG = DIR back = 3SG = to
 ‘he ties it to his back’ [3:6]
- (1263) bāwka = š ma-tī = ya zamīn = ay
 father = 3SG IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR ground = POSTP#_1
 ‘he threw the father to the ground’ [5:144] (or: case?)
- (1264) šīrīn = u šawdīz = iš girt = a šān = wa
 Šīrīn = and Šawdīz = 3SG get.PST = DIR shoulder = POSTP#_3
 ‘he took Šīrīn and Šawdīz up on (his) shoulder’ [4:141]
- (1265) wasł = iš ma-kar-in = a yak = ara
 bind = 3SG IND-do.PRS-3PL = DIR one = to
 ‘they bind it (together) into one (piece)’ [12:28]

¹³⁴ This postposition differs from the verbal particle of identical form. The postposition appears to be mostly used attached to the nominal element in an adpositional phrase, and also attached to a noun phrase expressing a goal argument. The verbal particle appears to occur primarily after verbs and indicates some sense associated with the verb situation.

4.10.2.3 Compound prepositions

The compound prepositions are composed of two elements, the first of which is one of three simple prepositions: *aw* ‘to’ (rare), *až* ‘location, ablative’, or *wa* ‘location, direction’. The second element is typically a form that can have features of a noun. The meanings of the elements may seem redundant (that is, with some repetition of senses), but the combination of these two elements forms a new preposition.

The compound preposition occurs as head of an adpositional phrase and precedes the dependent noun phrase, which is the complement. This structure is outlined here:

| | | |
|--------|----------------------|------------------|
| (1266) | Head | Dependent |
| | compound preposition | noun phrase |

An example is shown here with the head as *až dile* ‘location’, and the complement as a noun phrase:

| | | | |
|--------|---------------------------|-----------|------------|
| (1267) | <i>až_dile</i> | <i>ya</i> | <i>ǰam</i> |
| | in | one | gathering |
| | ‘in a gathering’ [7H:115] | | |

The compound prepositions are listed here:

Table 41. Compound prepositions

| Form | Meaning | Example reference and comment |
|-----------------|-------------|--|
| <i>aw šün</i> | ‘after’ | [3:97] (location) One example shows <i>šün</i> as a noun and followed by <i>ezāfe</i> . |
| <i>až bān</i> | ‘over’ | [5:71] |
| <i>až bayn</i> | ‘between’ | [4:8] (location) Attested once. |
| <i>až dile</i> | ‘among, in’ | [7H:119] (location) |
| <i>až žir</i> | ‘under’ | [5:68] (see also <i>žir</i>) (location) |
| <i>ghayr az</i> | ‘except’ | [7H:109] (exclusion) |
| <i>wa bān</i> | ‘upon’ | [2:78] (location) Occurs only in phrase: <i>wa bān čāš</i> ‘upon the eyes’ [2:78]; the compound is not found in postverbal position. |
| <i>wa dile</i> | ‘at, in’ | [7N:19] (location) |
| <i>wa pišt</i> | ‘behind’ | [7N:19] (location) Attested once, translated as ‘in front of’. |
| <i>wa qay</i> | ‘upon’ | [11:20] (location) Attested four times. |
| <i>wa sar</i> | ‘at’ | [9:73] (location) |

| Form | Meaning | Example reference and comment |
|--------|----------|----------------------------------|
| war ja | 'before' | [5:7] (location) Attested twice. |

Examples of the compound prepositions are presented here:

- (1268) aḷ_bān zamīn
over ground
'over the ground' [5:71]
- (1269) aḷ_dile jwān-ān
among young.people-PL
'among young people' [7H:119]
- (1270) aḷ_dile gawraǰū iṣtan = mān
in Gawraǰū RFL = 1PL
'in our own Gawraǰū (village)' [8:15]
- (1271) aw_šün sē řü(ž)-a
after three day-NA
'after three days' [3:91] (The final *-a* is not analyzed.)
- (1272) aḷ_bayn iṣtan = šān
between RFL = 3PL
'between themselves' [4:8]
- (1273) aḷ_žir libās-ak-ān = iṣ
under clothing-DEF-PL = 3SG
'under his clothes' [5:68]
- (1274) wa_sar sifra
at dining.cloth
'at the dining cloth' [7N:12]
- (1275) war_jā kayān(i)
before Kiānyān
'before Kiānyān' [5:7]

4.10.2.4 Circumpositions

The Gawraǰūyī circumpositions are composed of either a simple or compound preposition as the first element and a postposition as the second element. These two elements form the head of the construction. The second element follows the dependent noun phrase. The structure is outlined here:

| | | | |
|--------|--|---------------------------------|---|
| (1276) | Head₁ preposition | Dependent noun phrase | Head₂ = postposition |
|--------|--|---------------------------------|---|

An example is shown here, with a pronoun as complement:

- (1277) dile = šān = ay
among = 3PL = POSTP#_1
‘among them’ [9:7]

The circumpositions are listed below:

Table 42. Circumpositions

| Form | Meaning | Example reference and comment |
|------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| aw šün ... = ay | ‘after, then’ | [3:88] (location) Attested once, together with enclitic pronoun + =ay. |
| až ... = wa | ‘from, from (a time) onwards’ | [3:108] (ablative) |
| až dile ... = ay | ‘among’ | [4:13] (location) Attested once, together with =ay. The element <i>až dile</i> might only be a compound preposition. |
| až žēr ... = wa | ‘from below’ | [4:41] (ablative) The form <i>žēr</i> can be interpreted as a noun. |
| dile ... = ay | ‘among’ | [9:7] (location) Attested once. |
| dile ... = wa | ‘into’ | [2:35] (direction) Attested once, as circumposition. |
| ja dile ... = wa | ‘from within (?)’ | [11:57] (direction?) Attested once, as circumposition. |
| mil = ay | ‘upon’ | [7N:133] (direction) Occurs most frequently with <i>sar</i> ‘head, upon’, as <i>mīl sar = ay</i> . |
| pay ... = ay | ‘after’ | [7N:60] (direction) Attested once; interpretation is not yet clear. |
| qay ... = aw | ‘upon’ | [4:171] (location) The form of the postposition is not yet clear. |
| qa = y ... = wa | ‘on’ | [2:43] (location) |
| qay ... = ay | ‘on’ | [1:104] (location) |
| wa ... = awa | ‘with’ | [8:70] (comitative, direction) Rare, attested three times. |
| wa ... = wa | ‘with, to’ | [3:5] (comitative) Rare, attested twice. |
| wa ... = ay | ‘on’ | [6:140] (location) |
| wa gard ... = wa | ‘with’ | [5:111] (comitative) |

| Form | Meaning | Example reference and comment |
|-------------------------------|---------|--|
| wa gard ... = ay (or: = a) | ‘with’ | [9:89] (comitative) The element <i>wa gard</i> can also be followed by <i>ezāfe = e</i> . In one instance, the postposition is absent. |
| wa lā = y ... = wa | ‘with’ | [8:26] (comitative) |
| wa nāw ... = a | ‘in’ | [7N:20] (location) Rare, attested once. |
| wa šün ... = ay | ‘after’ | [6:60] (location, temporal sequence) |
| wa řü = y ... = wa | ‘upon’ | [4:172] (location) |
| wa war ... = ay | ‘upon’ | [4:18] (location) |

Examples of the circumpositions are shown here:

- (1278) aw_šün = iš = ay
after = 3SG = POSTP#_1
‘after that’ [3:88]
- (1279) až ānā = wa
from DIST = POSTP#_3
‘from then on’ [3:108] (temporal)
- (1280) až_dile wīša = y
among bush = POSTP#_1
‘among the bushes’ [4:13] (The form = y might be alternately analyzed as case.)
- (1281) ma-š-in = a dile āsyāw-aka = wa
IND-go.PRS-3PL = DIR into mill-DEF = POSTP#_3
‘he goes into the mill’ [2:35]
- (1282) až_žēr = wa ma-nüř-ē
from.under = POSTP#_3 IND-look.PRS-3SG
‘she looks from below’ [4:41]
- (1283) tür ma-tī-n = a mil sar = š = ay
veil IND-give.PRS-3PL = DIR upon head = 3SG = POSTP#_1
‘they put a veil on her head’ [7N:141]
- (1284) qay kamar-aka = w
upon rock.face.cliff-DEF = POSTP#_3?
‘he hits the woman upon the rock face of the cliff’ [4:171]
- (1285) dü gila čū ma-nīya qa = y sar = iš = wa
two unit wood IND-put.PRS.3SG.DIR on = EZ head = 3SG = POSTP#_3
‘he put two pieces of wood on his head’ [2:43]

- (1286) wa xāw = ay
in sleep/dream = POSTP#_1
'in his dreams' [4:6]
- (1287) wa_gard tu = wa
with 2SG = POSTP#_3
'with you' [5:111]
- (1288) wa_gard irān = ay
with Iran = POSTP#_1
'with Iran' [5:131]
- (1289) hamīša wa_gard muškel = ay řüwařü = wē
always with difficulty = POSTP#_1 faced = COP.PRS.3SG
'it is always faced with difficulty' [7H:104]
- (1290) min wa_gard = š = ay diraw ma-kar-im
1SG with = 3SG = POSTP#_1 grain.harvesting IND-do.PRS-1SG
'I do the grain-harvesting with him' [7H:29]
- (1291) wa_lā = y dita = u kuřa-ka = wa
with = EZ young.woman = and young.man-DEF = POSTP#_3
'with the young woman and young man' [8:26]
- (1292) wa_nāw kūč = a
in street = POSTP#?
'in the streets' [7N:20]
- (1293) wa_šün = š = ay
after = 3SG = POSTP#_1
'after this' [6:60]
- (1294) hamřāy naqš = ē wa_řü = y tāš = awa
still indentation = COP.PRS.3SG_1 upon = EZ rock.face = POSTP#_2
'the indentation on the surface of the rock face is still there' [4:172]
- (1295) dubāra ma-yām = wa wa_yak = wa
again IND-come.PRS-1PL = PTCL# with.each.other = POSTP#_3
'we will come back together again' [3:5]
- (1296) wa drü = wa
with falsehood = POSTP#_3
'with falsehood' [4:167]
- (1297) xarqa = y lāř šāhī wa_war = š = ay biya
robe = EZ NA royal upon = 3SG = POSTP#_1 COP.PRF.3SG
'a royal robe of (?) was on him (i.e., he was wearing a royal robe of (?))' [4:18]

4.10.2.5 Absolute prepositions

The absolute prepositions are forms that occur as independent words and are not inflected. This subclass in Gawraǰūyī consists of only two members, *ažin* and *wan* (see below for meanings), which is relatively small in comparison to the diversity of forms in other Gūrānī varieties such as Zardayāna, which has ten (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:71–72).

An absolute preposition is considered to be a type of contraction, incorporating a sense of a third person singular pronoun as complement (dependent) with no further pronominal marker. It is noteworthy, however, that an absolute adposition is also observed in some instances with an additional enclitic pronoun as complement.

In terms of order, the absolute preposition, as head of the adpositional phrase, precedes the complement (dependent), which can be either ‘zero’ or an enclitic pronoun, as summarized in this structure:

| | | |
|--------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| (1298) | Head | Dependent |
| | absolute preposition | ‘zero’ or enclitic pronoun |

An example follows:

| | |
|--------|-----------------|
| (1299) | wan = im |
| | to.goal = 1SG |
| | ‘to me’ [8:137] |

The absolute prepositions are presented here:¹³⁵

Table 43. Absolute prepositions

| Form | Meaning | Example reference and comment |
|------|---|-------------------------------|
| ažin | ‘from (source), in (location)’ | [3:58] (ablative, location) |
| wan | ‘on, to, at (goal/location), in (location)’ | [1:63] (direction, location) |

The form *wan* is also occasionally followed by the directional particle = *a*, linking it to an enclitic pronoun:

| | |
|--------|---------------------|
| (1300) | wan = a = t |
| | to.goal = DIR = 2SG |
| | ‘to you’ [5:81] |

¹³⁵ The form *ažin* ‘from (source)’ is also found in Lakī of Aleshtar. According to Lazard (1992b:221), it is a contracted form of *až* + *e* (‘de lui’) followed by an epenthetic nasal *-n*, in the environment preceding a vowel, for example: *ažen e* ‘de lui’.

Further examples of the absolute prepositions are presented here:

- (1301) qayr-ēk ažin ma-kar-ī = ya gīrfān = iš
 bit-INDF_1 from.source IND-do.PRS-3SG = DIR bag = 3SG
 ‘he puts a little from it into his bag’ [3:58]
- (1302) biniša ažin
 SBJV-sit.PRS-2PL in.location
 ‘sit in it’ [11:45]
- (1303) ēma hāya = mān dā wan
 1PL_2 egg = 1PL give.PST to.goal
 ‘Did we give eggs to her?’ [1:63]

4.11 Conjunctions

4.11.1 Conjunctions: Semantic, morphological, and distributional properties

The minor word class of conjunctions consists of both enclitics and independent words that signal linkage. The conjunctions are described below according to the general type of linkage. ‘Type I’ conjunctions are those used to form a ‘coordinate structure’, that is, when ‘two constituents belonging to the same category are conjoined to form another constituent of that category’ (Kroeger 2005:218; see also Payne 2006:162–163). These conjunctions occur as single forms or in pairs. ‘Type II’ conjunctions are those independent words or phrasal constructions used to introduce dependent clauses in terms of their relationships of time, condition, reason, purpose, and contrast.

4.11.1.1 Type I conjunctions: Linkage of coordinate structures

Type I conjunctions in Gawraǰūyī consist of various independent forms and the enclitic =*u* ‘and’. The disjunctive forms can occur in pairs. They are listed below with labels referring to their logical relationships:

Table 44. Type I conjunctions

| Conjunction | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------|
| =u | ‘and’ | [1:109] |
| ham ... ham | ‘both (X) and (Y)’ | [8:150] |
| Disjunction | | |
| yā | ‘or’ | [5:127] |
| yā ... yā | ‘either (X) or (Y)’ | [5:105] |
| na ... na | ‘neither (X) nor (Y)’ | [8:62] |
| Adversative | | |
| na ... bařka | ‘but, rather’ (rare) | [7H:32] |
| āxir | ‘but’ | [5:140] |
| walē | ‘but’ | [8:198] |
| walēm | ‘but’ | [12:8] |

The form =u ‘and’ is used to link constituents from the same category, illustrated here by coordinated nouns, noun phrases, adpositional phrases, adjectives (or possibly adjective phrases), and clauses. (It can also coordinate sentences; see Section 12.5.2.)

- (1304) *ī* *tāǰ*=u *taxt*=m=īč=a
 PROX.DEM.ADJ crown=and throne=1SG=ADD=DEM
 ‘this crown and throne of me too’ [3:79]
- (1305) *nazr*=u *nīyāz*
 sacred.meal=and sacred.ceremony
 ‘sacred meal and sacred ceremony’ [7N:90]
- (1306) *gurg*=u *šēr*=u *pařang*
 wolf=and lion=and leopard
 ‘the wolf and lion and leopard’ [3:114]
- (1307) *min*=u *xwār-aka*=t
 1SG=and sister-DEF=2SG
 ‘I and your sister’ [8:95]
- (1308) *wa* *čař*=u *wa* *dam*
 with eye=and with mouth
 ‘with eye and with mouth’ [9:53]

- (1309) āw = e sīya = u kuwa
 water = EZ black = and dark.blue
 ‘the black and dark blue water’ [11:78]
- (1310) kuřa ma-xur-a = u m-wāy
 boy IND-shout.PRS-3SG = and IND-say.PRS.3SG
 ‘the boy shouts and says’ [5:139]

Occasionally =u occurs at the end of a phrase or clause, and there is no obvious linkage to a following unit:

- (1311) m-ā-yin = a dāwā = y mīnā = u
 IND-come.PRS-3PL = DIR request = EZ Mīnā = and
 ‘they come to request Mīnā and’ [11:90]

The conjunctions *ham ... ham* ‘both (X) and (Y)’ are used as a pair to coordinate elements as a unit. The form *ham* precedes the qualified element:

- (1312) ham řawrawī ham engelīs
 both Soviet and English
 ‘both the Soviets and the English’ [6:124]

The form *yā* ‘or’ links words, phrases, clauses, or sentences in disjunction. It can appear as a single word to join two alternative elements (rarely attested), but most frequently, it appears in a paired construction, preceding the alternative elements:

- (1313) ā dāmparwarī = ya yā kiřāwarzī iřtan = řān = a
 DIST.DEM.ADJ livestock.tending = DEM or farming RFL = 3PL = DEM
 ‘that livestock tending or farming’ [7N:53]
- (1314) yā řa yā fiřān
 or what or such.and.such
 ‘or what or such and such’ [9:69]
- (1315) yā xwār-ī yā bāwka = ř
 either sister-INDF_3 or father = 3SG
 ‘either a sister or her father’ [7N:148]
- (1316) yā řama = y dita-ka
 either aunt.father’s.side = EZ young.woman-DEF

 yā xāla = y dita-ka
 or aunt.mother’s.side = EZ young.woman-DEF
 ‘either the young woman’s paternal aunt or the young woman’s maternal aunt’ [8:10]
- (1317) yā bāyad nān na-tī-n yā nān-ē bi-tī-n
 or must food NEG_2-give.PRS-3PL or food-NA SBJV-give.PRS-3PL
 ‘either they must not provide food or they may provide food’ [7H:60]

The paired construction *na ... na* ‘neither (X) nor (Y)’ also links two alternatives in disjunction:

- (1318) *na dita-ka-y* *šü* *ma-kar-ē*
 nor young.woman-DEF-NA husband IND-do.PRS-3SG

 na kuřa-ka-y *das žan* *ma-yr-ē*
 nor young.man-DEF-NA hand woman IND-take.PRS-3SG

 ‘neither the young woman marries nor the young man takes the hand of a woman’ [8:62]

Adversatives are shown in the next examples with *āxir*, *bařka*, and *walē* (all translated as ‘but’):

- (1319) *wa bāwka=š* *m-wāy*,
 to father=3SG IND-say.PRS.3SG

 āxir ni-ma-zān-ē *ī* *mināř-ē*
 but NEG_1-IND-know.PRS-3SG PROX.DEM.ADJ child-DEM_2

 ‘(the boy) is speaking to his father, but he does not know it, this child’ [5:140]
- (1320) *na har bāwka=y* *min-ī* *bařka dita ābādī* *giřti*
 NEG only father=EZ 1SG-NA but girl village all

 ‘not only my father but all the girls of the village’ [7H:32]
- (1321) *řaqd ma-kar-in* *walē eřtebā* *ma-kar-in*
 engage IND-do.PRS-3PL but mistake IND-do.PRS-3PL

 ‘they become engaged but they make a mistake’ [8:198]

4.11.1.2 Type II conjunctions: Linkage of dependent and main clauses

Type II conjunctions are used to introduce a dependent clause and link it with a main clause in a temporal, conditional, or consequential (reason or purpose) relationship (see Dixon 2010a:134–137 for various types of linkage). The forms are listed here:

Table 45. Type II conjunctions

| Temporal | | |
|-------------|------------------------|---|
| tā | ‘until’ | [11:62] |
| tā ĩnka | ‘until then’ | [1:44] |
| waxtē | ‘when, as’ | [5:82] (also: waxte [4:107], waqte [4:188]) |
| Conditional | | |
| agara | ‘if’ | [7N:6] (variants: ayara, ayar, ar, ara) |
| ariča | ‘even if’ | [7H:142] |
| ayarīta | ‘if’ | [3:41] |
| āyā | ‘if’ (also: ‘Q.PTCL#’) | [9:83] |
| Reason | | |
| āxe | ‘because’ | [8:50] |
| čün | ‘because’ | [7N:14] |
| čünka | ‘because’ | [7H:119] |
| hambāz | ‘because’ | [7N:26] |
| Purpose | | |
| tā | ‘so that’ | [5:89] |

Examples include:

- (1322) waxte küčik, pā = š dāya küčik, küčik řaft = a-y farsax
 when stone foot = 3SG strike.PST.DIR stone stone go.PST = DIR-NA farsax
 ‘when a stone, his (i.e., Farhād’s) foot strikes a stone, the stone flies (the distance of one) ‘farsax’’ [4:107]
- (1323) ayar šü bi-kar-im, šü ma-kar-im
 if husband SBJV-do.PRS-1SG husband IND-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘if I get married, I get married’ [9:87]
- (1324) až_dile ĵwān-ān kam piš m-āy
 among young.people-PL less forth IND-come.PRS.3SG
 čünka nwār-aka hē
 because cassette-DEF exist.3SG
 ‘among young people it happens less, because there are cassettes’ [7H:119]

- (1325) ma-š-im tā bi-zān-im ča ma-ka-m
 IND-go.PRS-1SG so.that SBJV-know.PRS-1SG what IND-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘I go so that I may know what I will do’ [5:89]
- (1326) b-ār tā b-war-im
 SBJV-bring.PRS so.that SBJV-eat/drink.PRS-1SG
 ‘bring (it) so that I may drink’ [11:24]

4.12 Particles

The class of particles is made up of words and enclitics that occur consistently on certain phrase and clause levels, with each one expressing a particular type of meaning according to its context of use.¹³⁶ In Gawraǰūyī, some particles only occur on the level of the noun phrase and are used to express relationships between the head noun and other elements. Other particles are primarily associated with the verbal complex and indicate such notions as direction of the action of the verb. Some particles function on the level of the clause and serve to express meanings about the speaker’s attitude and standpoint about that which is being said. There are also particles that convey meanings of affirmation and negation, or have a special use in different speech acts, such as introducing questions, suggestions or commands, or wishes.

Some particles listed here have overlapping functions with certain types of adverbs. For example, *dī* ‘so, then, now, anymore (etc.)’ might instead be classified as an adverb, since it can sometimes modify the meaning of an entire clause, a function also possible for some adverbs (see Aikhenvald 2015:167–168). It is listed here as a particle with the acknowledgement that classification is difficult and may be treated as a matter of degree.

Each particle is described here individually according to relevant semantic, grammatical, and distributional properties.

4.12.1.1 Verbal particle

There is an enclitic associated with the verbal complex, generally treated here as a ‘verbal particle’:

- (1327) = wa ‘PTCL#’ (‘verbal particle’) [2:18] (rare variant: = awa)

This verbal particle attaches to the end of the verbal complex or to the end of a clause. When combined with a verb, it changes the basic sense of the verb in various ways. In some instances, it does not add a clear meaning but only an undefined nuance. Most frequently, the

¹³⁶ Background in this section on particles is found in Payne (2006:125).

addition of the particle expresses some sense of repetition of the verb action, translated as ‘back’ or ‘again’.¹³⁷

The following examples show different senses of verbs, first without the particle and then with the particle.

The particle =*wa* binds to the verb *ā* ‘come.PRS’ to express a sense of ‘come back’ (‘return’):

(1328) aǰ řüstā-yān=e tir m-ā-yin
from village-PL=EZ other IND-come.PRS-3PL
‘they come from other villages’ [8:51]

(1329) iwāra m-ā-yin = wa
evening IND-come.PRS-3PL = PTCL#
‘in the evening they come back’ [3:111]

The particle =*wa* can also combine with *tī* ‘give.PRS’ to add a sense of ‘give back’:

(1330) šīrīnī ma-tī-n
sweets IND-give.PRS-3PL
‘they give sweets’ [7N:66]

(1331) ī aspāw-ān = a b-īya = wa
PROX.DEM.ADJ thing-PL = DEM SBJV-give.PRS.NA.DIR = PTCL#
‘give these things back’ [8:162] (imperative)

The particle combines with *ār* ‘bring.PRS’ to express a sense of ‘bring back’:

(1332) m-ār-ē = š
IND-bring.PRS-3SG = 3SG
‘he brings her’ [5:91]

(1333) m-ār-ē = š = wa aw qasir
IND-bring.PRS-3SG = 3SG = PTCL# to Qasir
‘he brings her back to Qasir (Qasir-e Šīrīn)’ [4:15]

It also occurs on the complement of a clause with *mawu* ‘be.PRS.3SG’ or with the copula to express the meaning of ‘back, again’:

¹³⁷ MacKenzie (2002:n.p.) notes that the particle *-awa* in the Gūrānī varieties belongs to the group of ‘pre- and post-verbal adverbs’, such as *hur* ‘up’, *-ana* ‘on’, *-ara* ‘down’. Preverbal forms exist in Gawraǰūyī as *hay* ‘up’ and *haw* ‘up/forth’ or ‘down’, and the postverbal form, =*wa* (= *awa*). The postverbal forms *-ara*, *-ana*, and *-awa* are found in Hawrāmī (Luhōn) (MacKenzie 1966:31–32) and Kandūlayī (Mann & Hadank 1930:125). In Zardayāna (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:38, 69–70), postverbal forms =*ana* ‘in’, =*ara* ‘on, to, at, towards’, and =*awa* (= *o*) ‘from’, seem to function as postpositions.

- (1334) xās xās = wa mawu
well well = PTCL# be.PRS.3SG
'she becomes completely well again' [3:35]
- (1335) zinna = wa mawu
alive = PTCL# be.PRS.3SG
'she comes back to life' [2:20]

The particle can also combine with the verb *wīn* 'see.PRS' to express a verb with the sense of 'find':

- (1336) dita ma-wīn-ē
girl IND-see.PRS-3SG
'he sees a girl' [4:13]
- (1337) žan ma-wīn-ē = wa
woman IND-see.PRS-3SG = PTCL#
'he finds the woman' [5:90]

In some instances, it appears to add a sense of an endpoint to the action of the verb:

- (1338) šāyerēk = iš kīšt = wa
plane.tree.INDF_1 = 3SG pull.PST = PTCL#
'he pulled up a plane tree' [4:143]
- (1339) wišk = wa mawu
dry = PTCL# be.PRS.3SG
'it becomes dry' [3:62]

In another instance, the sense is not yet clear:

- (1340) ma-hař-ē = š = wa
IND-grind.PRS-3SG = 3SG = PTCL#
'he grinds it' [3:62]

There is also what appears to be a variant form =*awa*, occurring with a verb:

- (1341) ma-yēr = awa
IND-win.PRS = PTCL#
'(one) wins' [2:82]

This particle seems to have no clear meaning independent of the verb and could be considered part of the stem itself.

The form =*awa* also appears in a few instances as a postposition together with the preposition *wa* and appears to indicate some type of stative position, similar to English 'at'.

In other Gūrānī varieties, a form comparable to the Gawraǰū particle is also classified as a verbal particle and a postposition, expressing ‘back, again’.^{138 139}

4.12.1.2 Verb aspect particle

(1342) hē ‘currently, in the process of’ [8:168]

The particle *hē* is associated with finite verb constructions. It is attested only one time in the text corpus. It is also found in elicited sentences. The form is identical to the third person singular verb of existence *hē*, but the particle is used to express current, ongoing action (glossed as ‘currently’) in a progressive construction (see Section 11.2.2 for more details):

(1343) alāna = yč = a (hēya) hē = šān entezār ma-kīš-in
 now = ADD = DEM (?) currently = 3PL wait IND-pull.PRS-3PL
 ‘now, too, they are in the process of waiting’ [8:168]

4.12.1.3 Directional particle

Another particle is the directional, occurring as an enclitic:

(1344) = a ‘DIR’ [7N:60]

The particle has allomorphs of =*ya* following *ī* (or *ē*, once), and of =*wa* following *u* or *o*. There are also rare occurrences of =*wa* following a consonant (*č* and *n*).

The directional particle typically attaches to a verb and links it to an element expressing a syntactic goal (see Section 11.4 for details of verbs and goals).¹⁴⁰ If the verb is followed by an enclitic pronoun, the directional then attaches to that enclitic pronoun. The directional particle indicates a type of physical or metaphorical movement towards the goal, which may

¹³⁸ MacKenzie (1990a:120–121) notes for Central Kurdish (including for Wārmāwa, with similarities to Hawrāmī) the form *-(a)wa* (War. *-ō*) and considers it a type of preverb even though it occurs as a suffix (‘postverb’). He describes it as having two functions: a sense of ‘repetition, or reversion’ (with examples of meaning differences between ‘say/repeat’ and ‘wander/turn back’); or a sense that changes the meaning of the simple verb in an unpredictable way.

¹³⁹ For the Mukri variety of Central Kurdish, Öpengin (2016:72–73) describes a similar morpheme *-ewe* as an ‘aspectual morpheme’ and also gives examples of its use conveying shades of negative meaning with certain verbs, as a malefactive.

¹⁴⁰ In one particular idiom, however, *waš X ā* ‘pleasant X come.PRS’ (‘to like/love X’), the directional is also found attached to an adjective, for example, *a(ya)r waš = a kasē b-āy* ‘if pleasant = DIR someone SBJV-come.PRS.3SG’ (‘if she loves someone’) [8:68]. (In this idiom, the directional alternatively may be absent, or it may be present and also followed with *wa* ‘to’ or *wan* ‘to.goal’.)

indicate a location, recipient, addressee of a speech verb, object, or result of the verbal action.¹⁴¹ The directional particle is exemplified here:

- (1345) m-āy = a ka = y bāwka = š
 IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR house = EZ father = 3SG
 ‘she comes to her father’s house’ [8:211]
- (1346) bi-řo-m = a kursān
 SBJV-go.PRS-1SG = DIR Kursān
 ‘I may go to Kursān’ [6:44]
- (1347) bi-nā = ya ī bizin min = a
 SBJV-put.PRS = DIR PROX.DEM.ADJ goat 1SG = DEM
 ‘put (it) in front of this goat of mine’ [1:16]
- (1348) ma-šu = wa dile ya otāq = wa
 IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR into a room = POSTP#_3
 ‘she goes into a room’ [11:19]

An example is shown here of the position of the directional particle as attached to an enclitic pronoun:

- (1349) bard = š = a dawłatxāna = u
 carry.PST = 3SG = DIR palace = and
 ‘he carried (them) to the palace and’ [4:141]

The directional particle may undergo assimilation to a preceding *ī* or *a* vowel or is simply absent in this environment:

- (1350) ma-řaw-ē sarpēl
 IND-go.PRS-3SG Sarpēl.(Sarpol)
 ‘he goes to Sarpēl (Sarpol)’ [5:90]
- (1351) b-ār-ī ī dīm = a = y
 IND-bring.PRS-2SG PROX.DEM.ADJ side = DEM = POSTP#_1
 ‘you bring (it) to this side’ [4:62]
- (1352) kuřa hāma xāstegārī
 young.man come.PST court
 ‘the young man came to court (the young woman)’ [9:32]

It also appears to assimilate to a preceding *ē* vowel, though there is an exception with the rare instance of the directional as a longer form = *wa*, as the next examples show:

¹⁴¹ The description of directional use has benefited from discussion with Nicholas Bailey.

(1353) ma-řaw-ē sarpēl
 IND-go.PRS-3SG Sarpēl.(Sarpol)
 ‘he goes to Sarpēl (Sarpol)’ [5:90]

(1354) mīš ma-pař-ē = wa řā
 ram IND-cross.PRS-3SG = DIR way
 ‘the ram crosses over’ [2:14]

There are some irregularities in its distribution. For example, there are several rare and unexplained instances in which the directional particle (or any other element linking the verb and goal constituent) is absent:

(1355) m-ā-yin ka = y pādšā
 come.PRS-3PL house = EZ king
 ‘they come to the house of the king’ [11:106]

(1356) m-ā-yim maydan-aka
 come.PRS-1SG square-DEF
 ‘I will come to the square’ [2:74]

There are some infrequently attested instances of a speech verb *wāž* ‘say.PRS’, *wāt* ‘say.PST’ followed by a goal constituent indicating an addressee. In these instances, the directional particle can be observed. But in rare occurrences, the directional is absent, and instead, the preposition *wa* ‘to, on’ or the absolute adposition *wan* (‘to.goal’) are found (as discussed with examples in Section 11.4.3).

The absence of the directional as a particle and instead as the preposition *wa* is also observed in a few other contexts with other verbs:

(1357) dā = š wa zamīn, kwān = iš wa huwā
 give.PST = 3SG to ground throw.PST = 3SG to air
 ‘he knocked him to the ground, he threw him in the air’ [4:136]

Other exceptional instances are found in clauses with the verb *tī* ‘give.PRS’ (including related meanings of ‘strike/hit, throw’; for discussion and examples, see also Section 11.4.4). The third person singular form usually has a directional particle following it. This verb form can also be followed by the preposition *wa* ‘to, on’ or *wan* ‘to.goal’:

(1358) bāwka = š ma-tī = ya zamīn = ay
 father = 3SG IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR ground = POSTP#_1
 ‘his father throws him to the ground’ [5:145]

(1359) ma-tī = ya wa tūta-ka
 IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR to dog-DEF
 ‘he strikes the dog’ [3:60]

- (1360) māmīr-aka hāya ma-tī = ya wan
 chicken-DEF egg IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR to.goal
 ‘the chicken gives eggs to her’ [1:64]

The directional particle as an enclitic could be assumed to be a grammaticalized form of the preposition *wa* ‘to’.¹⁴² The particle as an enclitic is also found in Zardayāna (see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:63). In Southern Kurdish, the forms *a* and *wa* (*va*) also exist as prepositions (see Fattah 2000:586); there is also a directional particle (see Fattah 2000:454). In Hawrāmī (Luhōn), a preposition *pay* ‘for’ is used, or a special construction with an absolute adposition, instead of a directional particle (see data in MacKenzie 1966). An enclitic directional particle is also not clearly evident in Bāḡaṭānī/Šabakī, but it appears possible to use the absolute preposition *bana* ‘to’ to link a speech verb and a goal (see data in MacKenzie 1956:433).

4.12.1.4 Demonstrative enclitic particle

The demonstrative enclitic particle is associated with a noun phrase:

- (1361) = a ‘DEM’

This demonstrative enclitic particle = *a* (= *wa* following *ū*, *u*, *ā*, or rarely *ī*, and = *ya* following other vowels, or likely assimilated following *a* or occasionally *ā*) attaches to a noun phrase that is modified with a demonstrative adjective. It can also attach to a noun phrase that lacks a demonstrative adjective but nonetheless expresses some type of demonstrative sense. The particle normally attaches as the final element of the noun phrase, following other enclitics. Examples include:

- (1362) ī kār = a
 PROX.DEM.ADJ work = DEM
 ‘this work’ [8:157]
- (1363) ī dū nafar = a
 PROX.DEM.ADJ two people = DEM
 ‘these two people’ [9:18]
- (1364) ā saxtgīrī = ya
 DIST.DEM.ADJ strictness = DEM
 ‘that strictness’ [8:73]
- (1365) ā marāsīm = tān = a
 DIST.DEM.ADJ celebration = 2PL = DEM
 ‘that celebration of yours’ [8:212]

¹⁴² Comparison of the particle = *a* with the preposition *wa* was suggested by Nicholas Sims-Williams in a review of an early draft of Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012).

- (1366) ā čamadān = e dita
 DIST.DEM.ADJ suitcase = EZ young.woman
 ‘that suitcase of the young woman’ [7H:147] (no overt particle; might be assimilated?)
- (1367) inānī = š = a
 PROX.PL_2 = 3SG = DEM
 ‘these of it’ [7N:26]
- (1368) ina = yč = a
 PROX_4 = ADD = DEM
 ‘this one too’ [9:6]

4.12.1.5 Additive particle = *īč* (variant: = *īš*)

The enclitic additive particle = *īč* is glossed as ‘ADD_1’ (or simply ‘ADD’):

- (1369) = *īč* ‘ADD’ (‘also, too, as for’) [7H:49]

This additive particle = *īč* (= *yč* following vowel, = (*ī*)*č* following *ī* or *ū*, or = *ī(č)* preceding form with initial *m*-) is frequently attested.

Another form of the additive exists and is treated here as a variant, glossed as ‘ADD_2’. It is not yet clear if this form is simply a phonological variant or due to contact influence, since it is also found in Southern and Central Kurdish:¹⁴³

- (1370) = *īš* ‘ADD_2’ [12:49]

The additive particle attaches as an enclitic to a word or phrase as a constituent of the clause. This constituent is often the subject of the clause. Examples include:

- (1371) kašašēr-ēk = *īč* dile pača-ka = šān mawu
 rooster-INDF_1 = ADD in stall.for.animals-DEF = 3PL be.PRS.3SG
 ‘There is also a rooster in their stall for animals’ [11:98]
- (1372) nāmdār = *īč* ya tarāka = š hē
 Nāmdār = ADD one cassette.track = 3SG exist.3SG
 ‘Nāmdār (i.e., name of a singer) has a cassette track’ [7H:126]

¹⁴³ In some places in the Gawraǰūyī texts, such as [9:59] and [9:83], the form = *īč* is transcribed instead of what upon further review could be = *īš*. More examination is needed. For Southern Kurdish = *īš*, see Fattah (2000:658–659). The particle = *īš* is also found in Central Kurdish (Sulaimania) and attaches to the first constituent of the clause, preceding all other clitics, as described by McCarus (2009:612). It is found as well in the Mukri variety of Central Kurdish, as described by (Öpengin 2016:120, 129). In terms of phonology, the question of alternation between the sounds *č* and *š* in Kurdish might relate to certain historical developments (see Asatrian 2009:15, Footnote 19).

- (1373) tu = yč ĵür minā
2SG = ADD like Minā
'you too like Minā' [11:49]
- (1374) inān = č = a bē
PROX.PL_1 = ADD = DEM COP.PST.3SG
'there were also these things' [10:47]
- (1375) šāyad = ič bāwka = m bi-zān-ē
maybe = ADD father = 1SG SBJV-know.PRS-3SG
'maybe too my father knows (about it)' [7H:44]
- (1376) až taraf ka = y řarūs = ič = wa yak-ē ma-řaw-ē
from side house = EZ bride = ADD = POSTP#_3 one-INDF_2 IND-go.PRS-3SG
'from the house of the bride too someone goes' [7N:154]
- (1377) das žan = (i)č = i na-girt
hand woman = ADD = NA NEG_2-take.PST
'he did not take the hand of another woman in marriage' [8:188]
- (1378) ma-püş-im = š = ič
IND-wear.PRS-1SG = 3SG = ADD
'I also wear it' [9:83]
- (1379) alān = ič až gawraĵū masan b-wāž-ām
now = ADD in Gawraĵū for.example SBJV-say.PRS-1PL
'now, too, in Gawraĵū, for example, we may say' [8:42]

The additive particle tends to be positioned in a certain order relative to other enclitics. It precedes the demonstrative enclitic:

- (1380) i dār = ič = a
PROX.DEM.ADJ tree = ADD = DEM
'this tree also' [3:44]

The additive = ič normally follows one or more enclitic pronouns:

- (1381) dā = š = i(č)
mother = 3SG = ADD
'also his mother' [5:9]
- (1382) řūřa-k = ān = iš = im = ič ward = ē
dear.child-DEF-PL = 3SG = 1SG = ADD eat.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'I have eaten her dear children too' [2:80]

In one exceptional instance, however, the additive appears before an enclitic pronoun:

- (1383) way = č = mān ma-ka
care = ADD = 1PL IPFV-do.PST
'we also would take care (of them)' [10:16]

The additive is found in a rare instance with a following form *-ī* (not analyzed):

- (1384) řüstā-ka = yč-ī
village-DEF = ADD-NA
'also (in) the village' [7N:26] (The suffix *-ī* may be oblique.)

Enclitic = ič̣ as additive and relating to information structure issues

The additive particle = *ič̣* has two uses. First, it is often used as a marker of addition, expressing a meaning of 'also, too':

- (1385) asp-aka-y až šān = š = wa = u
horse-DEF-NA on shoulder = 3SG = POSTP#_3 = and

šīrīn = ič̣ až šān = š = wa
Šīrīn = ADD on shoulder = 3SG = POSTP#_3
'the horse is on his (i.e., Farhād's) shoulder(s), and Šīrīn is also on his shoulder(s)' [4:108]
- (1386) ya takya haṭwā aṛā = m bi-kar-a = u
one tray sweet.pastry for = 1SG SBJV-do.PRS-2PL = and

piř ya daṭq = ič̣ xāk aṛā = m bi-kar-a
fill one bag = ADD earth for = 1SG SBJV-do.PRS-2PL
'prepare a tray with sweet pastries for me and also prepare a bag full of earth for me'
[4:159]
- (1387) xānawāda = šān = i(č̣) ma-zān-ē = u
family = 3PL = ADD IND-know.PRS-3SG = and
'their families also know and' [8:171]
- (1388) wa xātir īna = yč̣ = a ni-ma-tān-ē b-wāy
by reason PROX = ADD = DEM NEG_1-IND-can.PRS-3SG SBJV-say.PRS.3SG
'because of this too, she cannot say (it)' [9:6]

The sense of = *ič̣* as 'also, too' can occasionally coincide with the information structure category of focus (see Section 14.3).

The enclitic = *ič̣* has another sense relating to the information structure category of topic. The particle is best translated as 'in turn' or 'as for X', when it coincides with a change of topic or with topic promotion (see Section 14.2.2 for more detail):

- (1389) min = i(č̣) m-wā-m
1SG = ADD IND-say.PRS-1SG
'I in turn say' [1:37]
- (1390) gūra-ka = yš sēr bi-kar-ī
calf-DEF = ADD_2 full SBJV-do.PRS-2SG
'as for the calf, you must feed it (to be) full' [11:6]

4.12.1.6 Particle *dī*

(1391) *dī* ‘now, then, anymore, so then, really’ [5:150]

The particle *dī* is an independent word that can occur in various positions in a sentence. This particle expresses a number of meanings in the text corpus and is translated according to context. These meanings can be described as associated with: 1) time; 2) negated situations and bounded time; 3) logical progression and explanation; and 4) speaker’s confirmation. There may be other meanings as well.

It can express meanings associated with a point of time, translated as ‘now’:

(1392) *īma dī ya xānawāda = yām*
 1PL_3 now one family = COP.PRS.1PL
 ‘we are now one family’ [7N:127]

(1393) *dī tamām biya*
 now finish COP.PRF.3SG
 ‘now it is finished’ [5:51]

It can also express a point in a sequence of time periods, translated as ‘then’:

(1394) *až ānā dī až yak āškarā mawin*
 there then to one recognized be.PRS.3PL
 ‘there, then, they recognize each other’ [4:50]

(1395) *baʿd dī ǰwāw = iš dā*
 afterwards then answer = 3SG give.PST
 ‘afterwards, then, she gave the answer (i.e., called off the engagement)’ [8:164]

(1396) *xulāsa dī ǰraft*
 finally then go.PST
 ‘in the end, then, he went (i.e., passed away)’ [6:36]

(1397) *aw šün = š = ay masan dī*
 after = 3SG = POSTP#_1 for.example then

pišt = u inān = iš = a wan bi-sāwa-y
 back = and such = 3SG = DEM to.goal SBJV-anoint.PRS-2SG
 ‘after that, for example, then, you anoint her back and such’ [3:88–89]

(1398) *dī kaykāwis ma-mar-ē*
 then Kaykāwis IND-die.PRS-3SG
 ‘then Kaykāwis dies’ [5:93]

A similar sense is also conveyed in certain contexts and expresses logical progression or some type of explanation:

- (1399) ya qayr giž_giyā m-wār-ē=u dī āwis mawu bizin-aka
 a bit grass IND-eat.PRS-3SG=and then pregnant be.PRS.3SG goat-DEF
 ‘she eats a bit of grass and then becomes pregnant, the goat’ [2:21]
- (1400) ina dī biya
 PROX_4 so.then COP.PRF.3SG
 ‘this, then, was it (i.e., the situation)’ [6:59]
- (1401) ina dī wa qawt=e qadīm-ān
 PROX_4 so.then according legend=EZ old-PL
 ‘this (is) so, then, according to ancient legends’ [5:44]
- (1402) har_čī kār-a xulāsa dī ma-kar-ē
 whatever work-NA in.summary then IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘whatever work (there is), in summary, so then she does it’ [12:5]

The meaning is also evident in clauses with negated verbs, with a sense of (not) ‘any more, any longer’.

- (1403) dī ni-ma-tān-in qisa bi-kar-in
 anymore NEG_1-can.PRS-3PL speech SBJV-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘they cannot speak anymore’ [9:52]
- (1404) dī ni-m-ā-yim
 anymore NEG_1-IND-come.PRS-1SG
 ‘I will not come anymore’ [1:14]

In a few instances, the particle *dī* seems to convey meanings of a speaker’s attitude of confirmation, as ‘really, of course’ (more study is needed):

- (1405) dī tā aw ka bi-zān-ī
 really so.that DIST COMP SBJV-know.PRS-2SG
 ‘you really should know’ [7H:72]
- (1406) dī har ařā=y awařin barxurd bāwk=im
 of.course very for=EZ first meeting father=1SG
 jwāw=iš ma-tī=ya
 answer=3SG IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR
 ‘of course my father rejects his request from the very first meeting’ [7H:98]

4.12.1.7 Deictic particles

- (1407) ina ‘PROX_4’ [7N:27]
- (1408) āna ‘DIST_4’ [7H:145]

The form *ina* is usually analyzed as a proximal demonstrative pronoun.¹⁴⁴ It can also be used as a type of adverbial particle. In this use, it occurs at the beginning of a clause and refers to an entire proposition (see Section 14.4.7). In some instances, it is translated as ‘this (is) so’, while in other instances, it is translated simply ‘so’ or ‘thus’.

In the current study, it is provisionally glossed as PROX_4, regardless of function as pronoun or particle.

Examples of *ina* include:

- (1409) *ina* *gawraǰū* *gawrā = n*
 PROX_4 *Gawraǰū* *big = COP.PRS.3SG_2*
 ‘this (is) so, *Gawraǰū* is big’ [7N:27]
- (1410) *ina* *ī* *ǰūr = a* *biya*
 PROX_4 *PROX.DEM.ADJ* *manner = DEM* *COP.PRF.3SG*
 ‘this (is) so, it was this way’ [5:170]

The form *āna* is usually classified as a distal demonstrative pronominal, but it also appears to occasionally function as a type of adverbial particle. It occurs at the beginning of a clause and indicates a sense of ‘that (is) so’. For example:

- (1411) *āna* *bāyad* *dita-ka* *bi-řaw-ē*
 DIST_4 *must* *young.woman-DEF* *SBJV-go.PRS-3SG*
 ‘that (is) so, the young woman must go’ [7H:145]
- (1412) *āna* *yak*
 DIST_4 *one*
 ‘that (was) one (thing)’ [4:204]

4.12.1.8 The proximal particle and a similar form

- (1413) *a* ‘PROX.PTCL’ [10:44]
- (1414) *ha* ‘just, exactly’ [4:21]

The proximal particle *a* is always found immediately preceding a phrase with the proximal demonstrative adjective *ī* ‘PROX.DEM.ADJ’. In at least one instance in the text corpus, this combination (*a* + *ī*) is alternatively transcribed as *ay*.

¹⁴⁴ For Hawrāmī (Luhōn), the forms *ānā* and *inā* are also noted by MacKenzie (1966:57). He describes them as ‘independent adverbs’, with a meaning comparable to French ‘voilà’ and ‘voici’. He notes that the Hawrāmī forms can frequently replace the copula.

The proximal particle is only occasionally attested. It seems to convey a sense of ‘just’ or ‘exactly’. An identical form of the proximal particle *a* is also found in Zardayāna (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:63).

Examples are shown here:

- (1415) *ī* *dayšt = a* *dī-ya = t = ay,* *ǰā* *bi-nūr-ī,*
 PROX.DEM.ADJ out = DEM see.PST-PART = 2SG = NA then SBJV-look.PRS-2SG
- a* *ī* *qar = a* *bāč = u* *zamīn = u*
 PROX.PTCL PROX.DEM.ADJ amount = DEM garden = and field = and
- ‘when you look out, just this many gardens and fields and’ [10:44]
- (1416) *a* *ī* *ǰūr = a*
 PROX.PTCL PROX.DEM.ADJ way = DEM
- ‘just this way’ [11:46]
- (1417) *ay* *ǰād-ān = a* *tu* *ma-wīn-ī*
 PROX.PTCL.PROX.DEM.ADJ street-PL = DEM 1SG IND-see.PRS-2SG
- ‘just these streets you see’ [6:125]

There is another particle, *ha*, provisionally glossed as ‘just, exactly’. In some instances, it overlaps in meaning and use with the proximal particle. While the proximal particle always occurs preceding a proximal demonstrative adjective, the particle *ha* can occur preceding either a proximal or distal demonstrative adjective. The form has a moderate number of occurrences in the text corpus, with examples presented here:

- (1418) *ha* *ā* *fīrm = a*
 exactly DIST.DEM.ADJ manner = DEM
- ‘exactly (in) that manner’ [11:63]
- (1419) *ha* *až* *ī* *kūča = y bāna*
 just on PROX.DEM.ADJ street = EZ above
- ‘just on this street above’ [8:115]

4.12.1.9 Affirmative particles

- (1420) *arē* ‘yes’ [7N:39] (variant: *ārē* [11:36])
- (1421) *ā* ‘well, yes’ [4:80] (somewhat informal)
- (1422) *baṭē* ‘yes, oh yes, indeed’ [2:75]
- (1423) *čirā* ‘sure, yes, actually’ [7H:70]

The affirmative particle *arē* ‘yes’ occurs as an independent word. It can be uttered in isolation or right before a sentence. This particle is used in dialogue to express an affirmative

response to a statement or proposition. A speaker may ask: ‘Did she answer her cousin?’ The hearer responds:

- (1424) arē ĵwāw pesarxāla-ka=š dā=ya
 yes answer cousin-DEF=3SG give.PST=COP.PRS.3SG_3?
 ‘yes, she has answered her cousin’ [8:169–170]

It is noteworthy that the particle *arē* is only attested in the three texts (7H, 8, 9) that are narrated by the younger speakers. These speakers rarely use the other affirmative particle, *ā*.

The affirmative form, *ā*, also occurs as an independent word, preceding a sentence or uttered in isolation. It is also used as an affirmative response to a question. For example, in Text 4, the question is asked of Farād: ‘Can you bring water for us from Nižuwarān to this side?’ The response is:

- (1425) m-wāy ā
 IND-say.PRS.3SG yes
 ‘he says: ‘Yes’’ [4:63]

The particle *ā* is most frequently used by a single speaker (rather than in dialogue), to add a sense of confirmation to a statement:

- (1426) ā īsa hamrāy āw=iš
 yes now still water=3SG
 až ā kamar-aka bar m-āy
 from DIST.DEM.ADJ rock.face-DEF out IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘yes, now, water still comes out of the rock face (of the cliff)’ [4:171] (no pause after *ā*)

The particle *ā* also appears as a response to term of address in vocative use:

- (1427) m-wāy bira, m-wāy ā
 IND-say.PRS.3SG brother IND-say.PRS.3SG yes
 ‘He says: ‘Brother!’ He says: ‘Yes?’ [3:4]

Another affirmative particle is *batē*. It is most frequently attested in dialogue, when the speaker responds after being addressed by name:

- (1428) m-wāy ā bāwka, m-wāy batē
 IND-say.PRS.3SG yes father IND-say.PRS.3SG yes
 ‘she says: ‘O, Father!’ He says: ‘Yes?’ [3:93]
- (1429) m-wāy hā gurg, m-wāy batē
 IND-say.PRS.3SG hey wolf IND-say.PRS.3SG yes
 ‘she says: ‘Hey, wolf!’ (The wolf) says: ‘Yes?’ [2:87]

The particle *batē* is also used to confirm an assertion or assumption, with a meaning similar to English ‘indeed’. In this use, it precedes a complement clause after the verb ‘see’:

- (1430) ma-wīn-ē baṭē īna
 IND-see.PRS-3SG indeed/yes PROX_4
 ‘he sees, yes this is it’ [3:63]
- (1431) ma-wīn-ē baṭē dü wačka = š = ič = iš hē
 IND-see.PRS-3SG indeed/yes two offspring = 3SG = ADD = 3SG exist.3SG
 ‘he sees indeed she has two offspring’ [2:31]

The form *čirā* is also a particle with affirmative meaning. It is mainly attested in dialogue. In three out of its four occurrences in the Gawraǰūyī texts, this particle is used as a response to a negated yes-no question that presupposes a positive answer. The particle is used as an affirmative in response. For example, when the speaker is asked: ‘Doesn’t the custom of pāxasūr still exist?’, the response is:

- (1432) čirā řasim = iš man = ē
 indeed custom = 3SG remain.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘indeed/sure, its custom has remained’ [7H:157]

4.12.1.10 Other particles of affirmation and agreement

These particles also express various senses of affirmation and agreement:

- (1433) bāšad ‘may it be, all right’ [2:74]
- (1434) hālā ‘all right’ [6:131] (rare, definition is provisional)
- (1435) xās ‘very well, okay’ [4:206] (also adjective)
- (1436) xo ‘well, all right, certainly’ [9:19]
- (1437) xob ‘well, good, all right’ [4:64]

Examples are shown here:

- (1438) m-wāy bāšad, tu har_čī b-wāy,
 IND-say.PRS.3SG all.right 2SG whatever SBJV-say.PRS.2SG
 ařā = t anjām ma-tī-m
 for = 2SG fulfill IND-give.PRS-1SG
 ‘she says: ‘All right, everything you say, I will fulfill for you’’ [11:17]
- (1439) m-wāy bāšad, wa_bān čaš
 IND-say.PRS.3SG all.right upon eye
 ‘she says: ‘All right, it will be done’ (lit., upon eyes)’ [11:38]
- (1440) hālā naftša až irān fra bard-ī dī
 all.right oil from Iran much take.PST-NA then
 ‘all right, (America) took a lot of oil from Iran, then’ [6:131]

- (1441) m-wāy xās
IND-say.PRS.3SG well
'he says: 'Very well'' [4:206]
- (1442) m-wāy qay = iš nīya,
IND-say.PRS.3SG problem = 3SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
xo ni-ma-k(u)š-ē = m
all.right NEG_1-IND-kill.PRS-3SG = 1SG
'she says: 'No problem, all right, it does not kill me'' [11:33]
- (1443) m-wāy xob ča, ma-tī-m wan = it,
IND-say.PRS.3SG all.right what IND-give.PRS-1SG to.goal = 2SG
čil sang = it patik ma-tī-m wan = it
forty stone = 2SG wool IND-give.PRS-1SG to.goal = 2SG
'he says: 'All right, what, we will give to you, we will give you wool forty times your own weight'' [4:151]

4.12.1.11 Negation particles

- (1444) na 'no' [8:193]
- (1445) naxayr 'no, to no avail' [1:22]

The negation particle *na* 'no' is frequently attested in the text corpus. It can appear in isolation or at the beginning of an utterance. The particle expresses a negative response.

The form *naxayr* also expresses a negative response, though the form is attested only rarely. It is sometimes used as a type of interjection by the speaker and can be interpreted in various ways, depending on the context.

A few examples of the negation particles are shown here. In the first example, a king has offered his crown and throne to the speaker. The speaker responds:

- (1446) na, tāj = u taxt-aka = t piškaš wa išan = it
no crown = and throne-DEF = 2SG gift to RFL = 2SG
'no, (may) your crown and throne be a gift to yourself' [3:80]

In the next example, a willow tree speaks and gives a negative response to a request:

- (1447) m-wāy naxayr
IND-say.PRS.3SG no
'(the willow tree) says: 'No'' [1:22]

The particle can express a speaker's comment on a situation:

- (1448) har_čī taftiš = šān ka(rd) naxayr
all search = 3PL do.PST no
'all searched for her, to no avail' [4:217]

4.12.1.12 Vocative particles

The vocative particles are used in address and normally precede the reference to the addressee.

(1449) ay ‘hey, oh’ [4:15]

(1450) hay ‘hey’ [5:120]

(1451) hā ‘hey’ [1:30]

Examples of the vocative particles are presented here:

(1452) ay kaykāwis
oh Kaykāwis
‘Oh Kaykāwis!’ [5:81]

(1453) hay řūfā, m-wāy baṭē
hey dear.child IND-say.PRS.3SG yes
‘Hey dear child!’ He says: ‘Yes?’ [11:29]

(1454) hay žan, m-wāy baṭē
hey wife IND-say.PRS.3SG yes
‘Hey dear (lit., wife)!’ She says: ‘Yes?’ [5:120]

(1455) hā gurg, m-wāy baṭē
hey wolf IND-say.PRS.3SG yes
‘Hey Wolf!’ He says: ‘Yes?’ [2:87]

4.12.1.13 Scalar particles

(1456) xud ‘even’ [8:57] (also: ‘self’)

(1457) tā ‘even’ [7H:142]

The particle *xud* ‘even’ is only attested once. In that instance, it precedes a modified element and is connected by an ezāfe:

(1458) až xud=e řüstā-yān=e tir
from even=EZ village-PL=EZ other
‘from even other villages’ [8:57]

The form *tā* ‘even’ is only attested once in use as a scalar particle. This use is illustrated here in a dependent clause, where it appears at the beginning and follows the conjunction *ariča* expressing a similar meaning:

(1459) ariča tā nāmzadi-yaka=š=i ghariba bo
even.if even engagement-DEF=3SG=NA stranger SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG
‘even if strangers were at her engagement’ [7H:142]

4.12.1.14 Question introduction particles

(1460) āyā ‘Q.PTCL#’ (question) [9:89]

(1461) ay ‘well then’ [2:91]

These two particles are attested in a few instances and are used to introduce questions (see Section 13.3). The form *āyā* occurs infrequently in the texts, in four instances (only in Texts 9 and Text 12). It introduces a yes-no question that presupposes a positive answer:

(1462) āyā ni-mawu masaʔan dū waʔe_muštarak = mān
 Q.PTCL# NEG_1-be.PRS.3SG for.example two common.point = 1PL
 bo wa_gard yak = ay
 SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG with one = POSTP#_1
 ‘Don’t we have, for example, two points in common with each other?’ [9:89]

The form *ay* ‘well, well then’ also occasionally introduces a question, besides having other discourse uses. It occurs at the beginning of the sentence shown here:

(1463) ay marda čü zinn(a) = wa mawu
 well.then dead how alive = PTCL# be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Well then, how does a dead one become alive again?’ [5:166]

4.12.1.15 Suggestion/command particles

(1464) baw ‘come’ [1:103]

(1465) bā ‘let it be, come’ [4:59]

(1466) lā ‘let it be’ [3:70] (rare)

The particles *baw* and *bā* also appear to introduce a suggestion or command:

(1467) ī dita = t = a baw bi-tī-m wan = it
 PROX.DEM.ADJ girl = 2SG = DEM come SBJV-give.PRS-1PL to.goal = 2SG
 ‘this girl, come, (you said) we should give her to you’ [4:61]

(1468) bā bayn na-š-ī
 let.it.be destroy NEG_2-go.PRS-2SG
 ‘may you not be destroyed’ [6:78]

(1469) bā wa yak bi-řas-in
 let.it.be to one SBJV-reach.PRS-3PL
 ‘let them get together (lit., reach each other)’ [9:19]

The particle *lā* appears to express advice:

- (1470) *lā*, *waš* *hāma=y*, *ni-mawu*
 well.let.it.be pleasant come.PST=COP.PRS.2SG NEG_1-be.PRS.3SG
 ‘well, let it be, you are welcome, it won’t work (lit., it is not)’ [3:70]

4.12.1.16 Warning and advice

- (1471) *hā* ‘take note, watch’ [11:62]

The particle *hā* expresses a warning or that the hearer should take note:

- (1472) *wa* *drü = wa* *hā*
 with falsehood = POSTP#_3 watch
 ‘That (was) with falsehood, watch!’ [4:167]
- (1473) *waṭē* *hā* *īna*
 but take.note PROX_4
 ‘but, take note, this (is) so’ [11:62]

4.12.1.17 Wish or desire

- (1474) *xozgā* ‘I wish’ [3:33]
- (1475) *xozū* ‘I wish’ [3:44]

These two particles are relatively rare in the texts, only attested one time. They are both used to express a wish or desire, and they introduce a Past Subjunctive construction:

- (1476) *xozgā* *min* *āyamizāya* *biyātā-yim*
 wish 1SG human.being COP.PST.SBJV-1SG
 ‘I wish I were a human being’ [3:33]
- (1477) *xozū* *min* *āyam* *biyātā-yim*
 wish 1SG human COP.PST.SBJV-1SG
 ‘I wish I were a human being’ [3:44]

4.12.1.18 Particles introducing a summary or explanation

- (1478) *xulāsa* ‘finally (or: then), in short, in summary’ [11:72]
- (1479) *āxir* ‘thus, finally, well’ [7H:34] (also as adverb)
- (1480) *haw* ‘well’ [3:36]
- (1481) *xo* ‘well’ [6:127] (also as affirmative particle)
- (1482) *masaṭan* ‘for example’ [9:89]
- (1483) *masan* ‘for example’ [7N:10]

(1484) mayar ‘so to speak, or not (with negative)’ [7H:5]

(1485) yānī ‘it means’ [4:144]

(1486) gwā ‘so to say’ [9:76]

4.12.1.19 Other particles

(1487) har ‘just, only’ [4:134]

(1488) hay ‘just, so, well, then’ [8:184] (rare, attested once)

(1489) tāza ‘in spite of this’ [7N:89] (rare, attested once)

4.12.2 Interjections

Interjections are conventionalized expressions of a speaker’s emotion in response to an event or observation (Dixon 2010b:27–29, also for further background here). They appear as independent forms and are not inflected. An interjection can make up a single utterance, or appear at the beginning of a sentence, in apposition. There are relatively few instances attested of interjections in the text corpus, and the following observations are limited.

4.12.2.1 Grief and disappointment

(1490) āy ‘well, oh’ [2:18]

(1491) āxe ‘oh’ [7H:125]

The form *āy* can indicate a feeling of grief or resignation:

(1492) āy gawraǰū fra=š nābūt=ē
oh Gawraǰū much=3SG brokenness=COP.PRS.3SG_1
‘oh, Gawraǰū has much brokenness’ [8:131]

The form *āxe* also indicates disappointment:

(1493) āxe min hefz=im nīya
oh 1SG memory=1SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
‘oh, I forgot’ [7H:125]

4.12.2.2 Hesitation or request for clarification

There are a few forms that seem to be found as simply expressing hesitation or to fill in for a response. They are not yet clearly analyzed here:

(1494) eh ‘eh’ [5:121] (variant: ē [1:111]) (used to fill in for a response or expressing hesitation)

(1495) hah ‘huh’ [6:27] (used to elicit a clarification)

4.12.2.3 Appeal and request for attention

(1496) hāwār ‘appeal for help’ [4:139] (also: dād = u hāwār ‘appeals for help’ [1:13])

(1497) bāwā ‘hey’, ‘old fellow’, ‘hey, man’ [5:66]

4.12.2.4 Exclamation and expression of positive emotion

(1498) waṭā ‘by God’ [3:91],

(1499) nawaṭā ‘no, by God’ [7H:73]

(1500) ʕalāy ḥaq ‘by God’ [2:27] (rare)

(1501) alhamduleṭāh ‘thank God’ [12:50] (rare)

5. CHAPTER 5. PHRASE AND CLAUSE STRUCTURES

5.1 Structure of the noun phrase

The noun phrase has already been introduced in Section 3.4 in relationship to head-dependent marking typology and also in Section 4.1.6, in relationship to the distributional properties of the noun. In the following section, the noun phrase is described as a higher level unit.

The structures of the two types of noun phrases are summarized in prose and outlined below.¹⁴⁵

5.1.1 Basic noun phrase

In the most common type of noun phrase, the head of the phrase is the noun, which implies that a noun standing alone can form a phrase. A pronoun or a reflexive can also function as a noun phrase.

It is also possible to add further elements to the head noun to form a complex noun phrase. These dependent elements can precede and follow the head noun. Only elements from certain word classes can fill these positions.

There are two optional positions preceding a head noun. The first of these positions can be filled by a demonstrative adjective. The second position can be filled by a numeral, a numeral with classifier, or a quantifier.

There are only a few instances in the Gawraǰūyī texts in which both positions preceding the noun phrase are filled. These instances are outlined below, with the exception of the possibility of a numeral filling the first position and a ‘numerative’ marker occurring following the head noun, as more study is needed to confirm this.

There are multiple positions following a head noun. In the first position immediately following the head noun, an ezāfe particle can optionally attach as an enclitic to the head noun. It is also possible that no such element appears and that the head noun is linked to following elements simply by juxtaposition. The presence of the ezāfe, however, requires that an additional element occurs, which together with the ezāfe particle constitutes an ‘ezāfe phrase’. Either the ezāfe phrase or simple juxtaposed phrase is then embedded (which implies ‘recursion’). (This optional embedded phrase is indicated by the bold box in Table 46 below.)

¹⁴⁵ The descriptions of noun phrase structure and the ezāfe phrase have benefited from discussion with Nicholas Bailey.

The following dependent element typically consists of a noun phrase or an adjective phrase. There is still an open question of whether or not a relative clause can be included here as a dependent element following an ezāfe. Furthermore, in a few instances, the dependent element is what appears to be an adverb phrase (perhaps in 6:107), but more research is needed to describe this structure.

Following the dependent element, there can be an enclitic pronoun and then an additive particle, attached as enclitics. The order of these are attested as the enclitic pronoun and then additive. In a few occurrences, an enclitic pronoun attaches to the additive particle. Then, finally, at the end of the noun phrase, a demonstrative enclitic can be attached.

This noun phrase structure is outlined below:

Table 46. Noun phrase structure

| (Dep.) | (Dep.) | Head noun | (Encl.) | (Dep.) | (Encl.) | (Encl.) | (Encl.) | (Encl.) |
|-----------|---|-----------|------------|----------------------------|--------------|----------|--------------|------------|
| dem. adj. | numeral numeral + classifier quantifier quantifier + numeral | ... | ∅ ezāfe | noun phrase adj. phrase | enclitic pn. | additive | enclitic pn. | dem. part. |

The noun phrase structure is illustrated in the following. In the example below, a noun phrase is illustrated as consisting only of a head noun, without any other elements:

- (1502) kūčik
stone
'stone' [4:107]

The sole element as head can also consist of a proper name or an independent pronoun, as shown in the next two examples:

- (1503) čīman
Čīman
'Čīman' [1:39] (proper name)

- (1504) īma
1PL_3
'we' [8:97] (pronoun)

The following examples show a head noun with various types of preceding elements, such as a numeral, numeral plus classifier, and a quantifier.¹⁴⁶

(1505) sē māng
three month
'three months' [5:117]

(1506) dü gila řafiq
two unit friend
'two friends' [3:1]

(1507) fra kas
many people
'many people' [7H:47]

(1508) har_dü-k dita-ka
both-INDF_1 girl-DEF
'both girls' [12:46]

The next example presents a demonstrative adjective preceding a noun (usually with the demonstrative enclitic particle =a attached to the end of the noun phrase):

(1509) ā mālik = a
DIST.DEM.ADJ landowner = DEM
'that landowner' [6:54]

The example here shows a demonstrative adjective preceding a numeral before a head noun:

(1510) ī šaš māng = a
PROX.DEM.ADJ six month = DEM
'these six months' [6:18]

The next examples show a noun phrase with a head noun followed by various types of dependent elements, linked by simple juxtaposition or by an ezāfe enclitic:

(1511) fikr mināṭ-ī
mind child-INDF_3
'the mind of a child' [6:93] (head noun followed by Ø, that is, the absence of ezāfe, and noun)

(1512) das šīrīn
hand Šīrīn
'the hand of Šīrīn' [4:126] (head noun followed by Ø, that is, the absence of ezāfe, and noun)

¹⁴⁶ It may be possible that certain quantifiers can function in the place of a head noun, such as *gišt = išt* 'all = 3SG' ('all of it/them') [2:81].

- (1513) xānawāda = y ima
family = EZ 1PL_3
'our family' [8:97] (head noun followed by ezāfe and noun phrase embedding pronoun)
- (1514) dāyka = y čīman
mother = EZ Čīman
'mother of Čīman' [1:39] (head noun followed by ezāfe and noun phrase embedding proper name)
- (1515) xāw = e ī ʔask = š = a
dream = EZ PROX.DEM.ADJ image = 3SG = DEM
'dream of this image' [4:44] (head noun followed by ezāfe and noun phrase with demonstrative elements)
- (1516) žan = e jwān
woman = EZ young
'young woman' [5:31] (head noun followed by ezāfe and adjective phrase)
- (1517) kuřa = y iřtan = iř
son = EZ RFL = 3SG
'his own son' [5:151] (Head noun followed by ezāfe and reflexive; here enclitic pronoun = iř marks possessor.)

The next examples present more complex structures:

- (1518) ya guř = e ī bāxča = t = a
a flower = EZ PROX.DEM.ADJ garden = 2SG = DEM
'a flower of this garden of yours' [4:54]
- (1519) ī tāj = u taxt = m = ič = a
PROX.DEM.ADJ crown = and throne = 1SG = ADD = DEM
'this crown and throne of me too' [3:79] (For coordinated elements, see Section 4.11.1.1.)
- (1520) ā kuřa gawrā-ka = m = ič = a
DIST.DEM.ADJ son older-DEF = 1SG = ADD = DEM
'that older son of mine too' [6:4]
- (1521) dū wačka = š = ič = iř
two offspring = 3SG = ADD = 3SG
'also two offspring of hers' [2:31] (provisional translation of enclitics)
- (1522) ʔuhda = y ka = y bāwka = y kuřa-ka
responsibility = EZ house = EZ father = EZ young.man-DEF
'responsibility of the household of the father of the young man' [7N:78]

5.1.2 Compound noun phrase

The compound noun phrase is structurally similar to a basic noun phrase but with several distinct limitations.¹⁴⁷ It is thus presented here as a particular type, attested relatively infrequently. It consists of a head noun linked by means of the compound marker =*a* to a following dependent element, which is most often an adjective phrase. The compound marker =*a* attaches directly to the head noun. The resultant noun phrase is almost always definite, inferred through context or indicated with morphological marking (such as the definiteness marker -*aka*) on the dependent element. The construction is outlined here:

Table 47. Compound noun phrase structure

| Head noun | (Encl.) | (Dep.) | (Encl.) |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| ... | compound marker | noun phrase adj. phrase | enclitic pn. |

This construction is illustrated here:

- (1523) bizin = a šal
goat = COMPD lame
'the lame goat' [2:2]
- (1524) baš = a naxt-aka = š
part = COMPD worthy-DEF = 3SG
'the worthy (i.e., best) part' [5:15]
- (1525) dim = a kuł-aka = m
tail = COMPD short-DEF = 1SG
'my (i.e., the cat's) short tail' [1:14]
- (1526) xwār = a nātani-yak-ān = iš
sister = COMPD not.of.one.body(mother)-DEF-PL = 3SG
'her stepsisters' [12:26]
- (1527) ganim = a šīr = a
wheat = COMPD milk = DEM
'the milk-wheat (dish)' [2:91]

¹⁴⁷ Helpful discussion of a compounding noun phrase in Mukri Central Kurdish, also relevant to Gawraǰūyī compounding, is presented by Öpengin (2016:112). (See also Öpengin 2016:54–55 for compound nominals.)

5.1.3 The noun phrase and placement of definiteness and indefiniteness marking

The placement of the noun morphology indicating definiteness (*-aka*) and indefiniteness (*-ēk*, *-ē*, *-i*) is introduced in Section 4.1.5. In the current section, the placement of these markers is described in terms of the phrase level (it is not treated in Table 46).

As mentioned in Section 5.1.2, the definiteness marker (*-aka*) in a compound noun phrase construction appears on the dependent element rather than on the head noun itself.

In the basic noun phrase construction (introduced in Section 5.1.1), definiteness marking may occur on either the head noun or the dependent element, conditioned by the following factors (though more research is needed to test them in detail).

When the head noun is modified by a simple noun phrase or adjective phrase, the modifying dependent element tends to be marked for definiteness, as illustrated here:

(1528) dita = y žan-aka
daughter = EZ woman-DEF
'the daughter of the woman' [11:62]

(1529) diṭ kaywānū-ka
heart lady-DEF
'the heart of the lady' [11:33]

(1530) kuř awaḥin-aka
young.man first-DEF
'the first young man' [8:152]

Nevertheless, the definiteness marker can instead occur on the head noun. It always occurs on the head noun when a reflexive is found as the dependent element. It also frequently occurs on the head noun when a personal pronoun (as possessor) occurs as the dependent element. Examples follow here:

(1531) xwār-aka = y iṣtan = im
sister-DEF = EZ RFL = 1SG
'my own sister' [9:2]

(1532) tāw-aka = y min
swing-DEF = EZ 1SG
'my swing' [11:66]

(1533) bāzūwan-aka = y bāt = iṣ
armband-DEF = EZ arm = 3SG
'the armband of his arm' [5:119]

There are, however, other instances in which the definiteness marker occurs on the head noun without being followed by a reflexive or personal pronoun:

(1534) dit-aka = y ĵārān
 girl-DEF = EZ earlier.times
 ‘the girl of former times’ [3:92]

(1535) sandaḷ(i)-yaka = y engelīs
 girl-DEF = EZ earlier.times
 ‘the girl of former times’ [6:108]

The indefiniteness marker is always placed on the dependent element rather than on the head noun, thus behaving as an enclitic (though only a few instances are attested with this combination):

(1536) āyam xās-ēk
 person good-INDF_1
 ‘a good person’ [8:86]

(1537) žan = e ĵwān-ēk = iš
 woman = EZ young-INDF_1 = 3SG
 ‘a young woman’ [5:30] (The enclitic = *iš* refers to the clause subject and is not relevant to the discussion here.)

Occasionally, the head of the noun phrase is a compound (such as *nān čāy*) or two nouns conjoined by = *u* and that appear to have a close semantic relationship. In such instances, the definiteness marker comes on the final noun:

(1538) až nān čāy-aka = šān dī har_čī bi-man-ē = wa
 from bread tea-DEF = 3PL then whatever SBJV-remain.PRS-3SG = PTCL#
 ‘whatever then may remain of their bread and tea’ [3:8]

(1539) tāĵ = u taxt-aka = t
 crown = and throne-DEF = 2SG
 ‘your crown and throne’ [3:80]

(1540) wa lā = y dita = u kuřa-ka = wa
 with presence = EZ young.woman = and young.man-DEF = POSTP#_3
 ‘with the young woman and young man’ [8:27]

The plural suffix *-ān* has two possibilities for attachment. It attaches to the head noun when no definite marker is present:

(1541) čišť-ān = e tir = šān
 thing-PL = EZ other = 3PL
 ‘other things of them’ [6:129]

(1542) sar-ān = e yak
 chief-PL = EZ one
 ‘chiefs of each other’ [6:154]

- (1543) mālik-ān = e kulyā(i)-yān
 landowner-PL = EZ Kulyāyī-PL
 ‘the landowners of the Kulyāyī’ [6:39]

When a definiteness marker *-aka* is present, the plural suffix *-ān* attaches to it. The two forms always occur in this order and are not separated by other elements. Such facts could suggest that it may be alternately regarded as a unit, *-akān* (Geoffrey Haig, p.c.). This combination attaches to the dependent element (adjectival or nominal modifier) rather than to the head noun itself. In this position, *-ān* (or the unit *-akān*) behaves as an enclitic. Examples follow here:

- (1544) dita ǰwān-ak-ān
 young.woman young-DEF-PL
 ‘the young women’ [7N:112]
- (1545) kiṭū xāk-ak-ān
 lump earth-DEF-PL
 ‘the lumps of earth’ [3:17]
- (1546) kuṛa muǰaṛad-ak-ān
 young.man unmarried-DEF-PL
 ‘the unmarried young men’ [7N:103]

5.1.4 Nouns in apposition

Certain nouns can appear in a relationship of apposition. The nouns are simply juxtaposed, without any intervening elements or links. The relationship of apposition is typically found with a proper name preceded or followed with another noun used as a title:

- (1547) lālo pāyar
 uncle/Lālo Pāyar
 ‘Lālo (Uncle) Pāyar’ [2:75]
- (1548) parī xānim
 Parī lady
 ‘Lady Parī’ [9:28]

5.2 Structure of the adjective phrase

The adjective phrase consists of an adjective as head and an adverb as an optional dependent element.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ This structure was brought to my attention by Nicholas Bailey (p.c.).

The adjective phrase structure appears as: 1) the complement of a copula construction; and 2) an embedded modifier in a noun phrase.

The adjective phrase can be simple, consisting only of a head, or it can be complex, with an adverb, typically as an intensifier. Only the simple types are attested in the texts as the embedded modifier in a noun phrase.

The adjective phrase structure is summarized in the following table:

Table 48. Adjective phrase structure

| (Dependent) | Head adjective |
|-------------|----------------|
| adverb | ... |

- (1549) čünka kār = šān saxt = ē
 because work = 3PL difficult = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘because their work is difficult’
- (1550) fra saxt = ē
 very difficult = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘it is very difficult’ [7N:16]
- (1551) fra waš bē
 very good COP.PST.3SG
 ‘it was very good’ [11:34]
- (1552) žan = e jwān
 woman = EZ young
 ‘young woman’ [5:31] (head noun followed by ezāfe and adjective phrase)

5.3 The verbal complex and the order of elements commonly occurring with it

The verbal complex is treated here provisionally as a finite verb (see Section 4.7.3) together with any dependent and non-dependent elements commonly occurring with it. It is not strictly defined and is presented here only as a means of outlining attested verb structures (simple or complex) together with the linear position of the elements occurring with it. More research is needed to test for final evidence for this structure (see Payne 2006:158–165 for tests).

The finite verb itself can be: 1) a simple form or 2) a complex form that involves either a verb with a preverb; a verb with a verbal particle; or a compound verb.

Elements in the verbal complex can be present or absent according to the transitivity of the head verb and its tense. For transitive verbs, there can be a dependent noun phrase functioning as the direct object. This noun phrase can be a full lexical noun phrase or a pronominal. Other elements can be enclitics, such as the enclitic pronouns and the directional

particle. In some configurations, enclitic pronouns may express arguments that are not dependent on the verb but still follow the linear order of the complex. Such an enclitic could be, for example, an enclitic pronoun expressing the agent of the clause, which under certain circumstances attaches to the first element of the verbal complex (to be illustrated below).

The different tables presented below are provisional. They represent a range of attested structures with the linear order of elements, though it is possible some structures have not yet been included.

It should be noted that the headings over the language examples contain general information about what is included in the example rather than strictly reflecting the order of elements.

5.3.1 Head as simple verb

The structure of a verbal complex with a simple verb as head is shown in the following tables and illustrated by several subtypes.

For the first structure, the verb is intransitive and in a tense based on the present or past stem. There is the possibility that an optional enclitic can occur, which is normally the directional particle:

Table 49. Simple verb, intransitive, present or past, optional enclitic

| Finite verb word | (Encl.) |
|--|-------------|
| simple verb, intrans., present or past | directional |

The following examples show variations of this structure.

Simple verb, intransitive, present, no enclitic

- (1553) ma-wram-ē
IND-cry.PRS-3SG
'she cries' [11:8]

Simple verb, intransitive, present, enclitic (directional)

- (1554) ma-nīš-in = a
IND-sit.PRS-3PL = DIR
'they sit to' [11:50]

Simple verb, intransitive, past, no enclitic

- (1555) řaft
go.PST
'she went' [8:161]

Simple verb, intransitive, past, enclitic (directional)

- (1556) řaft = a
 go.PST = DIR
 ‘she went (to)’ [11:11]

The structure of a verbal complex with a simple verb as head may also involve a transitive verb, as shown in the following tables and examples:

Table 50. Simple verb, transitive, present, full NP as object, optional enclitic

| Object-full NP | Finite verb word | (Encl.) |
|----------------|------------------------------|-------------|
| full NP | simple verb, trans., present | directional |

Simple verb, transitive, present, full NP as object, no enclitic

- (1557) taši ma-řs-ē
 yarn IND-spin.PRS-3SG
 ‘she spins the yarn’ [11:7]

Simple verb, transitive, present, full NP as object, enclitic (directional)

- (1558) gunka_čāyir ma-tī-n = a
 Gunka.Čāyira IND-give.PRS-3PL = DIR
 ‘they give Gunka Čāyir to’ [11:95]

Table 51. Simple verb, transitive, present, optional enclitics

| Finite verb word | (Encl.) | (Encl.) |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| simple verb, trans., present | enclitic pn. (object) | directional |

Simple verb, transitive, present, no enclitics

- (1559) m-ār-ē
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG
 ‘he brings (them)’ [1:95]

Simple verb, transitive, present, enclitic (directional)

- (1560) bi-kar-in = a
 SBJV-do.PRS-3PL = DIR
 ‘they put (it) on’ [12:38]

Simple verb, transitive, present, enclitic (object)

- (1561) ma-kuš-ē = š
 IND-kill.PRS-3SG = 3SG
 ‘he kills it’ [3:59]

Simple verb, transitive, present, enclitic (object), enclitic (directional)

- (1562) ma-kar-ē = š = a
 IND-do.PRS-3SG = 3SG = DIR
 ‘he puts it (i.e., them) on’ [11:102]

Table 52. Simple verb, transitive, past, NP as object, enclitic (agent), optional enclitic

| Object-NP | Encl. | Finite verb word | (Encl.) |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| full NP or pronoun (object) | enclitic pn. (agent) | simple verb, trans., past | directional |

Simple verb, transitive, past, NP as object, enclitic (agent)

- (1563) āw = im wa(rd)
 water = 1SG eat/drink.PST
 ‘I drank water’ [11:28]

The next example shows that an independent pronoun (here: *min*) can occur as a noun phrase in the object slot:

- (1564) min = it kušt
 1SG = 2SG kill.PST
 ‘you killed me’ [5:153]

Simple verb, transitive, past, NP as object, enclitic (agent), enclitic (directional)

- (1565) ārd-aka = š kard = a
 flour-DEF = 3SG do.PST = DIR
 ‘she put the flour next to’ [11:70]

There is also another pattern, though it is not common. The enclitic pronoun indicating agent attaches to the end of the verb:

Table 53. Simple verb, transitive, past, full NP as object, optional enclitics

| Object-full NP | (Encl.) | Finite verb word | Encl. | (Encl.) |
|------------------|---------|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| full NP (object) | – | simple verb (past trans.) | enclitic pn. (agent) | directional |

Simple verb, transitive, past, full NP as object, enclitic (agent)

- (1566) šīr-aka ward = iš
 milk-DEF eat/drink.PST = 3SG
 ‘it drank the milk’ [1:9]

There is also an infrequent pattern of the verbal complex without an overt form for the object. This pattern is found when the object argument is third person singular:

Table 54. Simple verb, transitive, past, optional enclitics

| Finite verb word | (Encl.) | (Encl.) |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| simple verb, trans., past | enclitic pn. (agent) | directional |

Simple verb, transitive, past, no overt object, no enclitics

- (1567) ba(rd)
 take/carry.PST
 ‘it took (it)’ [6:106]

Simple verb, transitive, past, no overt object, enclitic (agent)

- (1568) kušt = šān
 kill.PST = 3PL
 ‘they killed (him)’ [6:105]

Simple verb, transitive, past, no overt object, enclitic (agent), enclitic (directional)

- (1569) girt = iš = a
 take.PST = 3SG = DIR
 ‘he took to’ [5:131]

Other potential patterns of this type of verbal complex are not attested. There are no examples of an enclitic pronoun expressing O in this pattern with a past tense clause (see Section 9.2.3.4).

5.3.2 Head as complex verb with preverb

The verbal complex structure can also consist of a head as a complex verb with a preverb. In this structure, the enclitic pronoun as object is attached to the preverb. (No examples are attested of verb with an enclitic directional.) It is difficult to classify these complex verbs as transitive or intransitive according to the meaning of the main verb or of the entire complex, and thus, for the current analysis, they are simply classified here according to the meaning of the whole complex.

The following tables show the structures with a complex verb as head:

Table 55. Complex verb with preverb, intransitive, present or past

| Preverb | Finite verb word |
|---------|---|
| preverb | complex verb, intrans., present or past |

Complex verb with preverb, intransitive, present

- (1570) hēz ma-yr-ē
 up IND-bring/take.PRS-3SG
 ‘he gets up’ [3:11]

Complex verb with preverb, intransitive, past

- (1571) haw ma-īstī-yām
 up IPFV-get.up.PST-1PL
 ‘we would get up’ [10:35]

Table 56. Complex verb with preverb, transitive, present, full NP as object

| Object-full NP | Preverb | Finite verb word |
|----------------|---------|-------------------------------|
| full NP | preverb | complex verb, trans., present |

Complex verb with preverb, transitive, present, full NP as object

- (1572) sar wā ma-nī-n
 head down IND-put.PRS-3PL
 ‘they put their head(s) down’ [3:10]

Table 57. Complex verb with preverb, transitive, present, optional enclitic (object)

| Preverb | (Encl.) | Finite verb word |
|---------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| preverb | enclitic pn. (object) | complex verb, trans., present |

Complex verb with preverb, transitive, present, no enclitic (object)

- (1573) haw ma-yr-ē
 out IND-bring/take.PRS-3SG
 ‘he takes (some from it)’ [7H:114]

Complex verb with preverb, transitive, present, enclitic (object)

- (1574) haw = iš ma-yr-ē
 up = 3SG IND-bring/take.PRS-3SG
 ‘he picks him up’ [5:144]

Table 58. Complex verb with preverb, transitive, past, full NP as object, enclitic (agent)

| Object-full NP | Encl. | Preverb | Finite verb word |
|----------------|----------------------|---------|----------------------------|
| full NP | enclitic pn. (agent) | preverb | complex verb, trans., past |

Complex verb with preverb, transitive, past, full NP as object, enclitic (agent)

- (1575) tāw = im haw nāt = ē
 swing = 1SG up hang.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘I have hung up a swing’ [11:66]

Table 59. Complex verb with preverb, transitive, past, enclitic (agent)

| Preverb | Encl. | Finite verb word |
|---------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| preverb | enclitic pn. (agent) | complex verb, trans., past |

Complex verb with preverb, transitive, past, enclitic (agent)

- (1576) haw = iš dā
 up = 3SG give.PST
 ‘he got up’ [5:98]

5.3.3 Head as complex verb with verbal particle

The head can consist of a complex verb with the verbal particle = *wa*. The enclitic pronoun can be attached to the verb stem and then followed by the verbal particle. (No examples are attested of the directional following the verb.)

Table 60. Complex verb with verbal particle, intransitive, present or past

| Finite verb word | Encl. |
|---|--------------------------------|
| complex verb, intrans., present or past | verbal particle (= <i>wa</i>) |

Complex verb with verbal particle, intransitive, present, enclitic (verbal particle)

- (1577) m-āy = wa
 IND-come.PRS.3SG = PTCL#
 ‘she comes back’ [11:72]

Complex verb with verbal particle, intransitive, past, enclitic (verbal particle)

- (1578) hām = wa
 come.PST = PTCL#
 ‘the Shah returned’ [6:20]

Table 61. Complex verb with verbal particle, transitive, present, full NP as object

| Object-full NP | Finite verb word | Encl. |
|----------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| full NP | complex verb, trans., present | verbal particle (= wa) |

Complex verb with verbal particle, transitive, present, full NP as object

- (1579) tamāta bi-čīn-im = wa
 tomato SBJV-pick.PRS-1SG = PTCL#
 ‘I pick tomatoes’ [7H:27]

Table 62. Complex verb with verbal particle, transitive, present, optional enclitic (object)

| Finite verb word | (Encl.) | Encl. |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| complex verb, trans., present | enclitic pn. (object) | verbal particle (= wa) |

Complex verb with verbal particle, transitive, present, no enclitic (object)

- (1580) bi-yar-ī = wa
 SBJV-take.PRS-2SG = PTCL#
 ‘(if) you take (them) away’ [11:16]

Complex verb with verbal particle, transitive, present, enclitic (object)

- (1581) ma-wīn-ē = š = wa
 IND-see.PRS-3SG = 3SG = PTCL#
 ‘he will find it’ [12:12]

Table 63. Complex verb with verbal particle, transitive, past, full NP as object, enclitic (agent)

| Object-full NP | Encl. | Finite verb word | Encl. |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| full NP | enclitic pn. (agent) | complex verb, trans., past | verbal particle (= wa) |

Complex verb with verbal particle, transitive, past, full NP as object, enclitic (agent)

- (1582) šāyerēk = iš kīšt = wa
 plane.tree.INDF_1 = 3SG pull.PST = PTCL#
 ‘he pulled up a plane tree’ [4:143]

In rare instances, an adpositional phrase (here: *až engelīs*) can be found within the verbal complex:

- (1583) naft = iš až engelīs san = wa
 oil = 3SG from England take.back.PST = PTCL#
 ‘he took back the oil from England’ [6:121]

5.3.4 Head as compound verb construction

The head can also consist of a compound verb construction. This type of verbal complex is more complicated to analyze, and the possibilities for the maximum number of elements are not yet completely investigated in the current study.¹⁴⁹ (The compound verb element is abbreviated here as ‘CVE’.) The attested structures are shown below.

Table 64. Compound verb construction, transitive, present, full NP as object, optional enclitic

| Object-full NP | CVE | Finite verb word | (Encl.) |
|----------------|-----|-------------------------------|-------------|
| full NP | CVE | complex verb, trans., present | directional |

Compound verb construction, transitive, present, full NP as object, no enclitic (directional)

- (1584) labās-ak-ān = iš kut_kut ma-kar-in
 clothing-DEF-PL = 3SG tear.up IND-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘they tear her clothes to pieces’ [12:22]

Compound verb construction, transitive, present, full NP as object, enclitic (directional)

- (1585) dim pišī-yaka časb ma-tī = ya
 tail cat-DEF attach IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR
 ‘she sticks the tail of the cat on’ [1:105]

¹⁴⁹ It is also not clear how the compound verb element itself should be analyzed. In the outline above, the noun phrase is treated in a separate column. For further study of compound verbs, see Haig (2002) for discussion of issues in Northern Kurdish, some of which also have relevance for Gawraǰūyī.

Table 65. Compound verb construction, transitive, present, optional enclitics

| CVE | (Encl.) | Finite verb word | (Encl.) |
|-----|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| CVE | enclitic pn. (object) | complex verb, trans., present | directional |

Compound verb construction, transitive, present, no enclitics

- (1586) durus ma-kar-ē
 prepare IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘he makes’ [1:95]

Compound verb construction, transitive, present, enclitic (object)

- (1587) durus = iš ma-kar-in
 prepare = 3SG IND-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘they make it’ [7N:39]

Compound verb construction, transitive, present, enclitic (object), enclitic (directional)

- (1588) wasṭ = iš ma-kar-in = a
 bind = 3SG IND-do.PRS-3PL = DIR
 ‘they bind them to’ [12:28]

Table 66. Compound verb construction, transitive, past, enclitic (agent)

| CVE | (Encl.) | Finite verb word |
|-----|----------------------|----------------------------|
| CVE | enclitic pn. (agent) | complex verb, trans., past |

Compound verb construction, transitive, past, enclitic (agent)

- (1589) paxš = iš kard = ē
 spread = 3SG do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘he has spread (the news)’ [4:195]

Table 67. Compound verb construction, transitive, past, full NP as object, enclitic (agent)

| Object-full NP | (Encl.) | CVE | Finite verb word | (Encl.) |
|----------------|----------------------|-----|----------------------------|-------------|
| full NP | enclitic pn. (agent) | CVE | complex verb, trans., past | directional |

In this pattern, no verbal complex with past transitive verbs is attested with a directional enclitic, but it would be expected, and the slot for it is still included in the table (more study is needed).

Compound verb construction, transitive, past, full NP as object, enclitic (agent)

- (1590) tāq = iš durus ka(rd)
 tāq.(niche) = 3SG prepared/complete do.PST
 ‘So he (i.e., Farhād) built a tāq (niche)’ [4:124]

5.3.4.1 Another possible compound verb construction

Another structure with a compound verb has an intervening element that occurs in the position following the compound verb element and preceding the finite verb word. It is not yet completely analyzed. An example is provisionally diagrammed here:

Table 68. Compound verb construction

| CVE | Noun phrase | Finite verb word | (Encl.?) |
|-----|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| CVE | enclitic pn. / full noun phrase | complex verb (trans., present) | directional |

Compound verb construction, with intervening element

- (1591) entezār kur-aka ma-kīš-ē
 wait young.man-DEF IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘she waits for the young man’ [8:182]

5.4 Simple clauses

Simple clause structures contain finite verbs, have full inflectional information, and can be used independently in discourse (Payne 1997:306). A simple clause structure may employ an intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive verb.

5.4.1 Intransitive clause

An intransitive clause is formed with an intransitive verb and takes a single argument. The argument can be expressed as a noun phrase or simply indexed on the verb. Examples include:

- (1592) ma-řaw-ē
 IND-go.PRS-3SG
 ‘she goes’ [2:17]
- (1593) ma-pař-ām ā das
 IND-cross.PRS-1PL DIST.DEM.ADJ side
 ‘we cross to that side’ [2:12]

- (1594) īwara bizin m-āy = wa
 evening goat IND-come.PRS.3SG = PTCL#
 ‘in the evening the goat comes back’ [2:52]

5.4.2 Transitive clause

A transitive clause is formed with a transitive verb and takes two arguments, as a subject (agent) and an object. Patterns of argument indexing are discussed in Chapter 9. Examples of a transitive clause include:

- (1595) ma-wīn-ē
 IND-see.PRS-3SG
 ‘she sees’ [2:52]
- (1596) ĵā šīrīn ina ma-wīn-ē
 then Šīrīn PROX_4 IND-see.PRS-3SG
 ‘then Šīrīn sees this’ [4:131]
- (1597) īnī řazm pāṭawānī ma-püş-ē
 PROX_2 armor heroic IND-put.on.PRS-3SG
 ‘this one puts on heroic armor’ [5:63]
- (1598) m-war-im = šān
 IND-eat.PRS-1SG = 3PL
 ‘I will eat them’ [2:34]
- (1599) min tu = m nasī
 1SG 2SG = 1SG recognize.PST
 ‘I recognized you’ [3:101]

5.4.3 Ditransitive clause

A ditransitive clause is formed with a ditransitive verb and takes three arguments, that is, subject, object, and indirect object (‘goal’ or ‘recipient’).¹⁵⁰ Examples include:

- (1600) māmīr-aka hāya ma-tī = ya wan
 chicken-DEF egg IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR to.goal
 ‘the chicken gives her an egg’ [1:64]
- (1601) kū bīsitūn nīšān = iš ma-tī-n
 mountain Bīsitūn show = 3SG IND-give.PRS-3PL
 ‘they show him the mountain of Bīsitūn’ [4:64] (The enclitic =iš refers to ‘him’.)

¹⁵⁰ For clarification of the likely referents in several examples, thanks are due to Parvin Mahmoudveysi (p.c.).

- (1602) ma-tī-n = iṣṣ wan
 IND-give.PRS-3PL = 3SG to.goal
 ‘they give her to him’ [5:116] (The enclitic = iṣṣ refers to ‘her’.)
- (1603) dāna = u ḡawāhir ma-tī-m = a = t
 precious.item = and jewel IND-give.PRS-1SG = DIR = 2SG
 ‘I will give you precious jewels’ [4:148]

5.5 Dependent clause types

A dependent clause is treated here as a clause that constitutes part of a main clause and functions in some way within it or related to it (Aikhenvald 2015:232). Dependent clauses are found as complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and include associated strategies. These and other types of clause combinations, are discussed in detail and illustrated in Chapter 12. In summary, the structure of a dependent clause is conditioned by various factors, and there is a continuum of grammatical integration between it, the matrix verb, and the main clause. Various structures exist. In some types, there may be a use of a specific word or phrase to introduce the dependent clause, or there may be simple juxtaposition. In terms of position, dependent clauses generally follow main clauses, with the exception of the temporal adverbial clauses. The constituent order that is found in dependent clauses include the same basic constituent order as in main clauses. A dependent clause may share grammatical information with the main clause or it may differ in certain respects, such as exhibiting subjunctive mood on the verb. One example is given of a dependent clause (here a complement clause):

- (1604) ēḡāza ma-tī = ya ka bi-nīṣ-ām
 permission IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR COMP SBJV-sit.PRS-1PL
 ‘one gives permission that we may sit’ [7N:11]

5.6 Special types of clause constructions

5.6.1 Copula clauses and related constructions

Copula clauses and related constructions are based on a simple clause with a single finite verb. These clauses are treated here as a special type of construction because of the variety of semantic and grammatical features they exhibit.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ The description of copula constructions is based on Dixon (2010b:159–188), Payne (1997:111–128), and notes in Dik (1997a:202–216). Dixon refers to these constructions as ‘copula clauses’, Payne uses the terms ‘predicate nominal’ (subsuming ‘predicate nominal’, ‘predicate adjective’, and ‘predicate locative’), and Dik uses ‘non-verbal predicates’ (including ‘nominal predicate’ and ‘adpositional predicate’).

The copula clause construction is composed of two arguments linked by a predicate. The first argument expresses the subject of the clause, while the second argument expresses the ‘copula complement’ (Dixon 2010b:159). The predicate is composed of the copula verb or the *mawu* copula (see Section 4.7.8).

There are three main types of copula clause constructions. These are distinguished by the type of copula complement, whether it is a noun phrase, an adjectival phrase, or an adpositional phrase (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:58). These elements as the complement express various meanings in relationship to the subject referent.

The first type of copula clause construction is formed with a noun phrase as the complement (sometimes termed ‘predicate nominal’). This construction can express two types of meaning, namely: 1) identity of the referent, as ‘equation’ (for example, as in English ‘The president is Rachel’ as well as ‘Rachel is the president’); 2) the membership of a referent in a set, as ‘proper inclusion’ (for example, ‘Rachel is a student’).

The second type is formed with an adjectival phrase as complement (also termed ‘predicate adjective’). This construction expresses a description or attribute of the referent, such as ‘Rachel is happy’.

The third type is formed with an adpositional phrase as complement (or ‘predicate locative’), and expresses the subject’s location, as in ‘Rachel is at school’.

These constructions are summarized in the table below:

Table 69. Copula constructions with complements

| Copula clause type | Semantic type | Complement type | Example |
|----------------------------|------------------|---------------------|---|
| predicate nominal | equation | noun phrase | ‘Rachel is the president’ and ‘The president is Rachel’ |
| | proper inclusion | noun phrase | ‘Rachel is a student’ |
| predicate adjective | | adjective phrase | ‘Rachel is happy’ |
| predicate locative | | adpositional phrase | ‘Rachel is at school’ |

The elements in a copula clause construction appear in a particular sequence. The copula verb occurs at the end of the clause, preceded by the copula complement. The subject normally is positioned toward the beginning of the clause. This order and the structural elements are outlined here:

Table 70. Order of elements in the copula clause

| Copula subject | Copula complement | Copula |
|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| noun phrase | noun phrase | copula verb |
| | adjectival phrase | or |
| | adpositional phrase | <i>mawu</i> copula |

The copula verb is described in Section 4.7.8. It shares many features with Gawraǰūyī intransitive verbs, but it also exhibits some differences. In present tense sentences with indicative mood, there is no overt stem, and the form of the copula is identical to the person-number endings for intransitive verbs (see Section 4.7.5). The copula attaches to the copula complement as an enclitic. In past tense sentences, however, the copula appears as an overt form and employs the stem *b-*. It is marked for person and number. The copula form is also evident as an element in the Past Perfect construction (see Section 11.2.8), in which it appears to undergo lenition and is realized as *w-*. (It is not further discussed here.)

There are also several loan forms of the copula verb (see Section 4.7.8).

In addition, there is the copula-like form, *mawu* (the ‘*mawu* copula’), introduced in Section 4.7.8, which can be found in some of the copula clause constructions.

There are also three other constructions that employ a copula clause (to be discussed further below). These constructions express existence (see Section 5.6.5), possession (see Section 5.6.7), and experience (see Section 5.6.8).

5.6.2 Copula clause construction with noun phrase complement

The copula clause construction with a noun phrase as complement expresses the identity of a subject referent as proper inclusion and equation. These notions are typically expressed in such a predicate nominal construction (Payne 1997:114).¹⁵²

5.6.2.1 Proper inclusion

Proper inclusion is the concept of a particular entity treated as a member of a larger class. This larger class is indicated by a noun phrase as copula complement. According to Payne (1997:114), the subject of this copula clause is typically specific, while the copula complement tends to be non-specific. In Gawraǰūyī, the copula complement is an unmarked noun phrase or if the noun phrase is modified by an adjective, it is marked with the indefinite suffix *-ēk*.

¹⁵² The background in these sections is especially based on Payne (1997:114.)

An example follows, with the subject as the noun phrase *bāwkašān* ‘their father’, and the copula complement as the noun phrase *dawriš* ‘dervish’. These are joined by the copula verb =*ē* (Present Indicative):

- (1605) *bāwka* = *šān* *dawriš* = *ē*
 father = 3PL dervish = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘their father is a dervish’ [7N:48]

Other examples are presented here:

- (1606) *aš* = *u* *jad* = *e* *tu* *pāṭawān* = *in*
 origin = and forefathers = EZ 2SG hero = COP.PRS.3PL
 ‘your origins and forefathers are heroes’ [5:60]
- (1607) *ēma* *řafīq* *bīsyām*
 1PL_2 friend COP.PST.1PL
 ‘we were friends’ [3:104]

In the next examples, there is no overt noun phrase as subject. Instead, the subject is simply indexed on the copula:

- (1608) *mināṭ* = *ē*
 child = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘he is a child’ [5:137]
- (1609) *mīmān* = *im*
 guest = COP.PRS.1SG
 ‘I am a guest’ [5:114]

As mentioned above, if a noun phrase includes a modifier, then an indefinite marker occurs on it:

- (1610) *āyam* *xās-ēk* = *ē*
 person good-INDF_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘he is a good person’ [8:86]
- (1611) *řüstā* = *y* *büčik-ēk* = *ē*
 village = EZ small-INDF_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘it is a small village’ [8:97]

5.6.2.2 Equation

The copula clause construction with a nominal can also express the notion of equation. The entity expressed as the subject of the clause is equated with another entity, expressed as the predicate nominal element. For example:

- (1612) kayxasraw = ē
 Kayxasraw = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘he is Kayxasraw’ [5:78]

Other forms of the verb

The *mawu* copula occasionally appears in this construction to express equation:

- (1613) nām = iš bizbal mawu
 name = 3SG Bizbal be.PRS.3SG
 ‘its name is Bizbal’ [1:2]

Loan forms of the copula can also appear:

- (1614) wazīfa = š = a
 duty = 3SG = COP.PRS.3SG_3
 ‘it is her duty’ [7H:14] (Kurdish form of copula)
- (1615) ī žan = ē = na
 PROX.DEM.ADJ woman = DEM.PTCL#_2 = COP.PRS.3SG_2
 ‘it is this woman’ [4:44] (Zardayāna and Hawrāmī form of copula)

5.6.3 Copula clause construction with adjectival complement

The copula clause construction can have an adjective as complement:

- (1616) dāyka = y ēma siyā = yē
 mother = EZ 1PL black = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘our mother is black’ [2:45–46]
- (1617) dwān = šān fra nār(āh)at bīsin
 two = 3PL very sad be.PST.3PL
 ‘two of them were very sad’ [6:43]
- (1618) marāsim = iš waš = ē
 celebration = 3SG pleasant = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘its celebration is pleasant’ [7H:84]
- (1619) fra saxt = ē
 very difficult = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘it is very difficult’ [7N:16]

Other forms of the verb

The *mawu* copula is also found in this construction:

- (1620) qadīmī mawu
 old be.PRS.3SG
 ‘it is old’ [3:20]

The variant form of the copula, =*an* (also found in Zardayāna and Hawrāmī) is also attested:

- (1621) fra xirāw = an
 very bad = COP.PRS.3SG_2
 ‘it is very bad’ [6:157]

In a rare instance, the copula is absent:

- (1622) gawraǰū ya muhīt-ēk-ī büčik
 Gawraǰū one place-INDF_1-NA small
 ‘Gawraǰū (is) a small place’ [8:50]

5.6.4 Copula clause construction with adpositional phrase complement

The copula clause construction can also consist of an adpositional phrase as the complement, expressing location:

- (1623) aǰ kursān bē
 in Kursān COP.PST.3SG
 ‘he was in Kursān’ [6:35]

Some of these also function to express a sense of existence:

- (1624) na dūstdāštan wan = ē
 no love in.location = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘no love is in it’ [8:130]
- (1625) sē kūza xasrawānī wan = ay bē
 three vase royal in.location = POSTP#_1 COP.PST.3SG
 ‘there were three royal vases in it’ [3:42]

Other forms of the verb

The *mawu* copula is also attested in a predicate locative construction:

- (1626) wa kay = a mawin
 at home = POSTP#? be.PRS.3PL
 ‘they are at home’ [2:4]

5.6.4.1 Construction with adpositional complement and verb of existence *hē*

There is another construction that functions similarly to the copula and adpositional phrase, but it involves the verb of existence, *hē* (see below for more details). In this

construction, the verb of existence always appears in the clause-initial position, followed by the adpositional phrase.¹⁵³ Examples include:

- (1627) hē ka=y bāwk=ay
 exist.3SG house=EZ father=POSTP#_1
 ‘she is (now) in (her) father’s house’ [8:78]
- (1628) hēmē dile marāsim-aka
 exist.1PL_1 in celebration-DEF
 ‘we are at the celebration’ [7H:139]
- (1629) hēymē gard=š=ay
 exist.1PL_2 with=3SG=POSTP#_1
 ‘we are with each other’ (i.e., we are united) [9:88]
- (1630) (h)ē yāy=im
 exist.3SG memory=1SG
 ‘it is in my memory (i.e., I remember)’ [6:94]

5.6.5 Existential construction

An existential construction consists of a subject followed by the verb expressing existence, *hē*. This construction asserts the existence of an entity, expressed by the subject. Examples include:

- (1631) šansāzī hē
 sickle-making exist.3SG
 ‘there is sickle-making’ [7N:37]
- (1632) isāta řasim=e pāxasür=u ī čitān=ič=a hē
 now tradition=EZ pāxasür=and PROX.DEM.ADJ thing?.PL=ADD=DEM exist.3SG
 ‘now there is the tradition of the pāxasür and also these things’ [7H:152]
- (1633) paň šiš gila kuř-ē hē
 five six unit young.man-NA exist.3SG
 ‘there are five (or) six young men’ [7H:71]

In an existential construction, there can also be an additional phrase indicating location, a feature that is typical across languages (Payne 1997:123):

- (1634) alān=ič až gawraǰū hē
 now=ADD in Gawraǰū exist.3SG
 ‘now too there is (love) in Gawraǰū’ [8:41]

¹⁵³ Noted by Nicholas Bailey (p.c.).

5.6.5.1 Other existential constructions

The form =*ē* ‘COP.PRS.3SG_1’ is also attested with existential meaning, as in the following example:

- (1635) ar xwā=yē
 if God=COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘if there is a God’ [6:47] (or: ‘if God exists’)

The *mawu* copula ‘be.PRS.3SG’ and a noun phrase can also be considered an existential construction (see also Section 14.4 for further details of use in discourse):

- (1636) ya bizin mawu
 a goat be.PRS.3SG
 ‘there is a goat’ [2:3]

5.6.6 Negation of copula clauses and related constructions

There are also negated forms of the copula in the various types of constructions. The negation marking in clauses with the copula (and the verb of existence) is distinct from that which appears on other verbs.¹⁵⁴

In present tense clauses, the copula itself is a special negated word, *nīya* (see Section 4.7.19), rather than the enclitic form of the affirmative. It is followed by a person-number ending appropriate to present tense clauses.¹⁵⁵ For example:

- (1637) ināna nīyam
 PROX.PL NEG.COP.PRS.1SG
 ‘I am not (one of) these people’ [5:33] (proper inclusion)
- (1638) tu dāyka=y ēma nīyay
 2SG mother=EZ 1PL_2 NEG.COP.PRS.2SG
 ‘you are not our mother’ [2:45] (equation)
- (1639) gawraǰū ā jūr=a nīya
 Gawraǰū DIST.DEM.ADJ way=DEM NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ‘Gawraǰū village is not like that’ [7H:79] (equation?)

¹⁵⁴ Negation of a copula clause with the adjective *mumken* ‘possible’ is expressed with an idiomatic construction: *ghayr=e mumken=eē* ‘no?=EZ possible=COP.PRS.3SG’ (‘it is not possible’) [5:70].

¹⁵⁵ A negated form of a perfect copula is attested, but it is not yet clear if it is translated correctly. It may have some sense of existential: *haṭāǰ=iš nawya* ‘cure=3SG NEG.COP.PRS.PRF(?)’ (‘it has not been a cure for her’) [3:31].

- (1640) mutfaqan marāsim waš=iš nīya
definitely celebration pleasant=3SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
'the celebration is definitely not pleasant' [7H:61] (with adjective)
- (1641) řāhat nīyām
comfortable NEG.COP.PRS.1PL
'we are not comfortable' [7H:140] (with adjective)
- (1642) ghayr_az dāmād-aka kuřa=mān dile nīya
except.for groom-DEF young.man=1PL among NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
'except for the bridegroom, no young men are among us' [7H:109] (with adpositional phrase)
- (1643) āyam wa ī dawra-y nīya
person at PROX.DEM.ADJ place-NA NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
'there is not a human being in this place' [3:27] (with adpositional phrase)

The identical form of negation is used for existential constructions:

- (1644) wā nīya
wind NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
'there is no wind' [1:76]
- (1645) hūč nīya
nothing NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
'there is nothing' [3:16]

For past tense clauses, the verb of existence and the copula merge in a negated form *nawē*, only attested as third person singular (although the pronoun is plural, the copula is expressed as singular in the following example):

- (1646) īnāna nawē
PROX.PL_3 NEG.COP/exist.PST.3SG
'these did not exist' [6:95]

It also expresses a negated copula, third person singular:

- (1647) na, āna amrikā nawē
no DIST_4 America NEG.COP/exist.PST.3SG
'no, that was not America' [6:89]

In past tense clauses, the only form attested is a copula, third person plural:

- (1648) xirāw nawīsin
bad NEG.COP/exist?.PST.3PL
'they were not bad' [6:130]

5.6.6.1 Negation of *mawu*

The form *mawu* ‘be.PRS.3SG’ (also used in existential constructions) is negated by means of the prefix *ni-* ‘NEG_1’, in the same way as other verbs that bear the prefix *ma-* (‘IND, IPFV’):

- (1649) hüč aǰā = š ni-mawu
 nothing for = 3SG NEG_1-be.PRS.3SG
 ‘there is nothing at all for him’ [3:18]

5.6.7 Possessive construction on the clause level

The notion of possession is conveyed in a construction comparable to that of existence, but with an additional element expressing the possessor. The construction consists of three elements, namely: 1) a predicate with *hē*, the verb of existence, 2) a possessor, which is obligatorily expressed as an enclitic pronoun attached to *hē*, and a separate noun phrase also referring to possessor, which can optionally occur, depending on factors of context (for example, topic change or topic promotion); and 3) a possessed entity, as the actual subject of the clause. Examples include (with overt noun phrase as possessor):

- (1650) min ya birā = m hē
 1SG one brother = 1SG exist.3SG
 ‘I have a brother’ [7N:82]
- (1651) kuřa = mān eǰāza = š hē
 son = 1PL permission = 3SG exist.3SG
 ‘our son has permission’ [7N:85]

In the next examples, the possessor is only expressed by the enclitic pronoun attached to the possessed entity (clause subject):

- (1652) ya kuřa = š hē
 one son = 3SG exist.3SG
 ‘he has a son’ [5:78]
- (1653) yak kaškūł = iš hē
 one bag = 3SG exist.3SG
 ‘he has a bag’ [4:32]
- (1654) dü wačka = š = ič = iš hē
 two offspring = 3SG = ADD = 3SG exist.3SG
 ‘she also has two offspring’ [2:31] (The function of the second enclitic pronoun = *iš* is not clear and might be possessive: ‘her two offspring exist to her’.)
- (1655) řāhat řabeta = šān hē
 only relationship = 3PL exist.3SG
 ‘they only have a relationship’ [8:170]

Other forms of the verb

A rarely attested type of possessive construction is formed in a similar way as the examples in the preceding section, though it is formed with the verb *mawu* ‘be.PRS.3SG’ instead of *hē* ‘exist.3SG’:

- (1656) *ya bizin=iš mawu*
 one goat=3SG be.PRS.3SG
 ‘she has a goat’ [1:2]
- (1657) *dāyka=š ni-mawu, bāwāžan=iš mawu*
 mother=3SG NEG_1- be.PRS.3SG stepmother=3SG be.PRS.3SG
 ‘she does not have a mother, she has a stepmother’ [12:1]

There is also a rare example of a verb *dīr* ‘have’, which is similar to present forms of ‘have’ in Southern Kurdish (see Fattah 2000:365):

- (1658) *ḵawāhir dīr-ē bī_sar bī_sāmān*
 jewel have.PRS-3SG without.beginning without.end
 ‘he has endless amounts of jewels’ [4:38]

5.6.7.1 Negation of possessive construction

Negated forms of the possessive construction employ the verb *nīya*. Examples are presented here:

- (1659) *didān=im nīya*
 tooth=1SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ‘I have no teeth’ [1:19]
- (1660) *tu šāx=it nīya*
 2SG horn=2SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ‘you have no horns’ [2:42]

5.6.8 Experiencer construction

The experiencer construction consists of a predicate with the copula verb or the *mawu* copula. The experiencer is obligatorily expressed by an enclitic pronoun attached to the noun phrase functioning as the clause subject. The experiencer may also be expressed as an overt noun phrase, or it may be omitted as any other type of subject could be, conditioned by pragmatic factors.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Noted by Geoffrey Haig (p.c.).

In the following example, the experiencer is expressed by the enclitic pronoun $=(i)m$ ‘= 1SG’, attached to the noun phrase functioning as subject, *āwrā* ‘hunger’. There is also an independent pronoun *min* ‘1SG’, referring to the experiencer:

- (1661) *min āwrā = m = ē*
 1SG hunger = 1SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘I am hungry’ [1:66]
- (1662) *min āqara āwrā = m bē*
 1SG so hungry = 1SG be.PST.3SG_2
 ‘I was so hungry’ [3:106]

In the next example, the experiencer is only expressed by the enclitic pronoun $=š$ attached to the clause subject:

- (1663) *āwrā = š maw(u)*
 hungry = 3SG be.3SG
 ‘he became hungry’ [3:15]

If there is more than one enclitic pronoun, the one referring to the experiencer appears to be positioned at the end, as in the following with $=mān$ ‘1PL’ (more study is needed to confirm this analysis):

- (1664) *īma qabūṭ = iš = mān nīya*
 1PL_3 accept = 3SG = 1PL NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ‘we do not accept her’ [8:186]

5.6.9 ‘Want’ construction

There is also a construction expressing the notion of ‘want’ and a negated form. The construction consists of a copula verb preceded by the particle *garak*. The entity that ‘wants’ is obligatorily expressed by an enclitic pronoun attached to the noun phrase expressing subject. The entity that is ‘wanted’ is optionally expressed by a noun phrase. Examples include:

- (1665) *min dita = tān = im garak = ē*
 1SG daughter = 2PL = 1SG want = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘I want your daughter (i.e., in marriage)’ [9:47]
- (1666) *ayar dita-ka garak = iš bū*
 if young.woman-DEF want = 3SG SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘if the young woman wants’ [7N:129]
- (1667) *garak = it bo*
 want = 2SG SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘you may want’ [7H:7]

This construction can be negated:

- (1668) dita-k-ān min dī garak = šān nīya
 daughter-DEF-PL 1SG any.longer want = 3PL NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ‘they will not want my daughters any longer (i.e., in marriage)’ [12:38]

5.6.10 Comparative construction

The comparative construction generally involves at least one clause, and is thus treated here as a special type of clause construction.

The comparative construction has characteristic elements: 1) the subject of the clause, expressing the entity to be compared; 2) the ‘standard’, expressing the entity to which the subject is compared; 3) the ‘quality’ (comparative element) for comparison of subject and standard; and 4) a linking marker indicating the comparison (see Payne 1997:88–89).

In the Gawraǰūyī examples below, the subject and the standard are attested as full noun phrases or as independent pronouns. The examples presented below involve a quality consisting of the quantifier *bīštir* ‘more’ and various types of predicates; and a linking marker of either the conjunction *tā* ‘than, as’ or *wa* ‘than’. The linking marker and the standard form a prepositional phrase. In terms of constituent order, this prepositional phrase is attested in the text corpus as occurring before and after the quality.

In the first example, the different elements are labeled:

| | | | | |
|--------|---|---|---------------|--------------------------|
| (1669) | Subject | Quality | Marker | Standard |
| | žan-ak-ān woman-DEF-PL | bīštir zahmat ma-kīš-in more effort IND-pull.PRS-3PL | tā than | mard-ak-ān man-DEF-PL |
| | ‘the women make more effort than the men’ [7N:36] | | | |

More examples of the comparative construction are shown here:

- (1670) dita=y inā, dita=y řüstā
 young.woman=EZ PROX_3 young.woman=EZ village
 in gawraǰū, bīštir wa mard-ak-ān kār ma-kar-ē
 PROX.DEM.ADJ Gawraǰū more than man-DEF-PL work IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘the young woman of this (place), the young woman of the village, this Gawraǰū, she works harder than the men’ [7N:34]

- (1671) bīštir wa īma ma-šu = wa zīyārat,
 more than 1PL_3 IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR pilgrimage
 bīštir wa (m) wa īma eħtirām = iš ma-yr-ē dīn-aka = mān,
 more than (NA) than 1PL_3 respect = 3SG IND-bring.PRS-3SG religion-DEF = 1PL
 bīštir wa īma nazr = u nīyāz ma-kar-ē
 more than 1PL_3 nazr = and ceremony IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘more than us, she goes on pilgrimages; more than us, she has respect for our religion;
 more than us, she attends the nazr sacred meal and the ceremonies’ [7N:90]
- (1672) bīštir ʔāšiq dit = e gawraǰū mawin
 more love young.woman = EZ Gawraǰū be.PRS.3PL
 tā yak ǰā = ye tir
 than one place = EZ other
 ‘more (of them) fall in love with young women from Gawraǰū than from another place’
 [8:58]
- (1673) aǰ_dile ʔarūsī = y gharība-k-ān bīštir-ī ištān = mān
 at wedding = EZ stranger-DEF-PL more-NA RFL = 1PL
 wa dūr ma-yr-ām tā nezīk
 at far IND-take.PRS-1PL than close
 ‘at a wedding of strangers, more (often) we keep ourselves afar (i.e., behave with more
 reserve) than too close (i.e., less reserve)’ [7H:138]

PART III: FUNCTIONAL SYSTEMS

Part III presents a selection of topics about the use of Gawraǰūyī structures to perform certain communicative tasks, or functions.

6. CHAPTER 6. NOUN PHRASE: DEFINITENESS, INDEFINITENESS, CASE, AND OTHER FUNCTIONS

This chapter presents selected functions typically associated with nouns and the noun phrase. Some of the functions are expressed by individual morphemes, while others are expressed by more complex grammatical constructions. The chapter thus provides discussion of both inflectional morphology and syntax. There is also some discussion of lexical distinctions.

The main functions discussed here are definiteness, indefiniteness, and case. Other functions are only briefly noted, such as nominalization, diminution, and the absence of grammatical marking for animacy and gender.

See Chapter 8 for noun phrase constructions involving possession, attribution, and apposition.

6.1 Definiteness

Definiteness involves the knowledge that a speaker and hearer share about entities in their ‘universe of discourse’ (Givón 1984:388). A speaker expresses this knowledge in particular constructions according to assumptions about the hearer’s knowledge. That is, ‘speakers assume that hearers either know or are unwilling to challenge, for whatever reason, a certain proposition’, according to Givón (1984:398–399), who describes definiteness in these terms: ‘Speakers code a referential nominal as definite if they think they are entitled to assume that the hearer can—by whatever means—assign it unique reference.’

The assignment of unique reference can also be termed ‘identifiability’. The speaker assumes that, in a particular context, an entity is uniquely identifiable to the hearer.

There are four important ways by which a speaker can assume that an entity is ‘sufficiently identifiable’ to a hearer for the purposes of a discourse (Chafe 1994:97): 1) the entity has been introduced earlier in a discourse, and its identity is thus clear (that is, there is ‘anaphoric’ reference); 2) the identity of an entity can be clear from the immediate situation, such as seeing or hearing an entity (such as ‘Look, the cat caught a mouse!’); 3) the identity of the entity can be inferred from general knowledge and associations about the world (‘scripts’ or ‘frames’ consisting of expectations about what happens in the world, Chafe 1994:122,

‘yesterday in a store, the cashier overcharged us’); or 4) it is known or familiar because of the shared world between a speaker and hearer (‘John called’).¹⁵⁷

The following sections describe the common constructions by which Gawraǰūyī speakers assign unique reference. Throughout the sections, both the terms ‘definiteness’ and ‘identifiability’ are used.

6.1.1 Expressions of definiteness and functions

Definiteness in Gawraǰūyī is expressed by a variety of simple and complex constructions:

- Unmarked noun phrase
- Noun phrase followed by definiteness marker *-aka*
- Noun phrase preceded by demonstrative adjective and followed by demonstrative enclitic particle *=a*
- Noun phrase followed by demonstrative enclitic particle *=a*

6.1.1.1 Unmarked noun phrase but definite sense

Depending on the context, an unmarked noun phrase can have definite sense, as illustrated by *gurg* ‘wolf’ in the following sentence:

(1674) gurg m-āy=a aǰā lā lālo pāyar
 wolf IND-come.PRS.3SG=DIR to presence Lālo Pāyar
 ‘the wolf comes to Lālo Pāyar’ [2:80]

Another example shows a noun phrase *kanīz* ‘maidservant’ as referring to a unique set of entities. The noun phrase is not marked for definiteness, but the referent is still uniquely identifiable based on general knowledge about people who are normally associated with life in castles:

(1675) yak-ē aǰ kanīz-ān
 one-INDF_2 from maidservant-PL
 ‘one of the maidservants’ [4:28]

6.1.1.2 Noun phrase followed by definiteness marker: Anaphoric and non-anaphoric reference

To mark a noun phrase as uniquely identifiable, however, the marker *-aka* can be added to the noun phrase (for the position of the marker, see Section 5.1). The below example shows a noun phrase with this marker in anaphoric use. The referent, a lion, has already been introduced in the preceding context as returning to a location (*ya šēr mayin = wa* ‘a lion comes

¹⁵⁷ Background on ‘identifiability’ follows ideas in Lambrecht (1994:74–116, see especially page 109 for the relationship of ‘identifiability’ to ‘activation’) and Chafe (1994:93–107), and discussion with Nicholas Bailey.

back' [3:23]). The next time the referent is mentioned, it is treated as identifiable, and marked with *-aka* as definite:

- (1676) šēr-aka
 lion-DEF
 ‘the lion’ [3:38]

Another example of this marker in anaphoric use is found in Text 2. There are several nouns marked as definite. The referents have already been introduced and also referred to once before in the preceding discourse; their identifiability has been established:

- (1677) bizin-aka, miš-aka wa bizin-aka m-wāy
 goat-DEF ram-DEF to goat-DEF IND-say.PRS.3SG
 ‘the goat ... the ram says to the goat’ [2:9]

The marker *-aka* also appears on a noun phrase that is identifiable on the basis of general knowledge about the world. An example of this use occurs in a context in which a goat and a wolf are planning to have a fight with each other. The goat mentions a location for the fight as the central square of the village. The square is expressed with definite marking even though it has not been mentioned before in the discourse. Nevertheless, it is assumed to be uniquely identifiable because it is common knowledge that every village typically contains a central square:

- (1678) m-ā-yim maydān-aka
 IND-come.PRS-1SG square-DEF
 ‘I will come to the square’ [2:74]

6.1.1.3 Alternation of *-aka* and no marking

It is noteworthy that there can be alternation between the presence and absence of definiteness marking on noun phrases, even though the referent in both instances is considered identifiable. The alternation appears to be somewhat irregular and unpredictable.

There appears to be one pattern, however, by which the suffix *-aka* is typically used to mark the first mention of an identifiable referent. In a subsequent mention of the same referent, in particular if there is immediate repetition of the noun phrase, there is no use of *-aka*. This pattern appears to take place in constructions in which the noun phrase expresses the object argument and is also fronted in the clause (described in Section 14.2.5):

- (1679) bizin-aka-y āw ma-yar-ē=š,
 goat-DEF-NA water IND-take.PRS-3SG = 3SG
 bizin āw ma-yar-ē=š
 goat water IND-take.PRS-3SG = 3SG
 ‘the goat, the water takes her, the goat, the water takes her’ [2:15–16]

- (1680) didān gurg-aka gišt = iš ma-kīš-ē,
tooth wolf-DEF all = 3SG IND-pull.PRS-3SG

didān gurg ma-kīš-ē
tooth wolf IND-pull.PRS-3SG
‘the teeth of the wolf, he pulls all of them, he pulls the teeth of the wolf’ [2:81–82]
- (1681) masan hanā-ka,
for.example henna-DEF

ʕarūs hanā ma-gardin-ē
bride henna IND-cause.to.pass.around.PRS-3SG
‘for example, the henna, the bride distributes the henna’ [7N:103]

6.1.1.4 Use of demonstrative adjective + noun phrase + demonstrative enclitic particle =a

A noun phrase can be marked as identifiable and also express additional meanings of specificity and deixis by means of a demonstrative adjective construction. In this construction, the demonstrative adjective precedes the noun and typically occurs together with a demonstrative particle attached as an enclitic to the end of the noun phrase. There are proximal and distal forms of the demonstrative adjective.

This construction is used with entities in anaphoric reference but which must be further singled out in a particular context. In the following example, the construction is used in a context of discussing courtship and suitors. A young man (‘A’) is mentioned in an earlier part of the text, while another young man (‘B’) is introduced later. Subsequently, ‘B’ is referred to by means of a (distal) demonstrative adjective construction:

- (1682) ā xāstegār = a
DIST.DEM.ADJ suitor = DEM
‘that suitor’ [9:61]

6.1.1.5 Identifiability by use of particle =a

An identifiable referent can also be indicated as a noun phrase followed by the particle =a.^{158 159} In a context with the recounting of epic material, which may possibly involve more archaic forms, the particle is only attested two times, referring to the same entity, *quṭang* ‘pickaxe’:

- (1683) qulang = a haw ma-nāy
 pickaxe = DEM up IND-put.PRS.3SG
 ‘he tosses the pickaxe up’ [4:169]

6.1.2 Definiteness marking and limitations

There are some limitations on definiteness marking on subclasses of nouns and on certain grammatical constructions. Definiteness marking is not normally attested on mass nouns, proper names, body parts, and certain kinship terms. It is never attested on first or second person pronouns. It is not found in the text corpus on nominalizations. It is also not normally attested with forms or constructions involving indefiniteness, some types of quantification, and combinations with other definiteness marking.

6.1.2.1 Mass and plural nouns

The markers of definiteness do not typically occur on mass nouns, unless there is some sense of boundedness or a sense of totality of the referent. As C. Lyons (1999:10–12) notes, definiteness (i.e., identifiability) can be viewed as it relates to plural and mass nouns as ‘the reference is to the totality of the objects or mass in the context which satisfy the description’.

The following words illustrate definiteness and what are typically mass nouns. In the first example, the ‘milk’ has been introduced in the previous discourse, as a goat has given its milk to an old lady. It is then apparently assumed to be a specific portion of milk in a container. It is expressed as a noun with the definiteness marker:

¹⁵⁸ It is not clear if this particle is related to the definite marker or to the demonstrative enclitic particle =a. A comparable particle appears in the Gūrānī variety of Kandūlayī, in the form of stressed *ā*, which can occur with a demonstrative and occasionally alone, and also can appear on proper names (see Mann & Hadank 1930:107). Windfuhr (1989b:258) notes a ‘referential or topicalizing’ marker in many other West Iranian dialects (for example, Persian -e), which could be related to Gawraǰūyī -aka.

¹⁵⁹ It is also used in another text, appearing in one instance in which the referent is not mentioned in the preceding text. It is possible the referent could be assumed to be identifiable by means of inference through general knowledge (though this, too, deserves further study): *walē mawqeše ka duktur = a hāma* ‘but when doctor = DEM come.PST.3SG’ (‘but when the doctor came’) [8:18].

- (1684) šīr-aka
 milk-DEF
 ‘the milk’ [1:101]

The noun *āw* ‘water’ also most commonly refers to a mass, but in the following example, it refers to a specific, bounded mass of water introduced in the preceding context as the Zimkān River:

- (1685) ī āw = a
 PROX.DEM.ADJ water = DEM
 ‘this water’ [2:11]

Otherwise, most common nouns that refer to plural, countable (non-mass) entities can be also marked as definite:

- (1686) māmīr-ak-ān
 chicken-DEF-PL
 ‘the chickens’ [1:93]

6.1.2.2 Definiteness and indefiniteness, quantification, and combinations of marking

It is expected that definiteness and indefiniteness would be mutually exclusive, as observed by Mann & Hadank (1930:106) for other Gūrānī varieties. Definiteness marking or constructions are not attested together with *ya(k)* ‘a’ or ‘one’, or with an indefinite suffix *-ēk*, *-ē*, or *-ī*. Definiteness marking is also not attested on a noun phrase preceded by the modifier *fitān* ‘a certain’.

The definiteness marker is not attested on noun phrases modified by quantifiers such as *gišt* ‘all’, *har* ‘every’.

6.1.2.3 Definite marking on proper names, body parts, and kinship terms

Certain groups of nouns have referents that are already considered uniquely identifiable and exhibit some limitations in additional definiteness marking (see Givón 1984:399–400). Such nouns consist of proper names, body parts, and a few kinship terms (as McCarus 2009:612 notes with reference to Central Kurdish). For example, a proper name is not normally attested with the definiteness marker *-aka*, though it may appear in a demonstrative adjective construction:

- (1687) ī bān tāq = a
 PROX.DEM.ADJ Bān Tāq = DEM
 ‘this Bān Tāq’ [4:100]

Nouns indicating body parts refer to entities associated with the speaker and hearer, and their referents tend to be considered unique on the basis of cultural knowledge about the

constituents of a human body. These nouns are not attested with overt definiteness marking. They are often found in possessive constructions:

- (1688) das ‘hand’ [4:125]
 (1689) sar ‘head’ [5:139]
 (1690) čaš ‘eye’ [9:53] (Hawrāmī form: čam [5:88])
 (1691) dam ‘mouth’ [9:53]
 (1692) bāt ‘arm’ [5:155]
 (1693) qul ‘leg’ [4:143]

Nouns referring to kinship relations are attested with definiteness marking as well as without it. When these nouns appear in a possessive construction (see Section 8.1), they are usually marked for definiteness (even though possessives themselves convey a sense of definiteness; see C. Lyons 1999:130):

- (1694) birā ‘brother’ [2:8]
 (1695) birā-ka = m
 brother-DEF = 1SG
 ‘my brother’ [7H:100]

There are other nouns, however, which refer to ‘older kin’ and are not attested with the definiteness marker (as noted for Hawrāmī, Luhōn, by MacKenzie 1966:25):

- (1696) dāyka = šān
 mother = 3PL
 ‘their mother’ [1:43]
 (1697) bāwk = im
 father = 1SG
 ‘my father’ [8:76]

Another kinship term attested in a possessive construction without definiteness marking is shown here:

- (1698) birāzā = m
 brother.son = 1SG
 ‘my brother’s son’ [1:43]

While no first and second person pronouns are attested with definiteness marking, there is one instance of a variant third person form with a definiteness marker:

- (1699) āyakān ‘PROX.PL_6’ (‘the others’) [3:71]

6.2 Indefiniteness

Indefiniteness is defined by Givón (1984:399):

Speakers code a referential nominal as indefinite if they think that they are not entitled to assume that the hearer can—by whatever means—assign it unique referential identity.

6.2.1 Expressions of indefiniteness and functions

A speaker can employ various simple and complex constructions to indicate an unidentifiable referent:

- Unmarked noun phrase
- Noun phrase followed by indefiniteness marker *-ēk*
- Noun phrase followed by indefiniteness marker *-ē*
- Noun phrase followed by indefiniteness marker *-ī*
- Noun phrase preceded by *ya(k)* ‘one/a’ and followed by indefiniteness marker (*-ēk*, *-ē*, or *-ī*)

6.2.1.1 Unmarked noun phrase and indefinite sense

An unmarked noun phrase can be interpreted in context as indefinite. In the following examples, the speaker is talking about hypothetical situations and does not have uniquely identifiable referents in mind:

(1700) alān ka āyam, dita
 now COMP person young.woman
 ‘now that a person, a young woman’ [8:70]

(1701) kuřa=u dita=u žan=u mināt
 young.man=and young.woman=and woman=and children
 ‘young men and young women and women and children’ [7H:81]

(1702) aǰ_dile jwān-ān
 among young.people-PL
 ‘among young people’ [8:43]

6.2.1.2 Noun phrase followed by indefinite markers *-ēk*, *-ē*, *-ī*

Indefiniteness can be indicated by forms *-ēk*, *-ē*, or *-ī* (introduced in Section 4.1.5). These forms are attested as attaching to certain types of elements. The form *-ēk* can behave as a suffix, attaching to a head noun, or it can behave as an enclitic, attaching to a modifier in a noun phrase. (The conditions for this variation are not yet clear.) The form *-ē* is only attested

attaching to a head noun, while the form *-ī* is attested most commonly as attaching to a head noun, but it can also attach to a modifying element in a noun phrase.

Of these three forms marking indefiniteness, the most commonly attested is *-ēk*, illustrated here:

- (1703) žan-ēk
 woman-INDF_1
 ‘a woman’ [4:13]
- (1704) pīknīk-ēk
 small.gas.cooker-INDF_1
 ‘a small gas cooker’ [3:86]

In a noun phrase with head noun and modifier, the form *-ēk* usually attaches to the end of the modifier:

- (1705) žan = e jwān-ēk
 woman = EZ young-INDF_1
 ‘a young woman’ [5:30]

The form *-ē* is also used in many similar contexts as *-ēk*, suffixed to a noun. It is only found, however, as occurring on a head noun, that is, one without a modifier:

- (1706) dāstān-ē
 story-INDF_2
 ‘a story’ [5:95]
- (1707) zūn-ē
 dress-INDF_2
 ‘a zūn (Kurdish-style dress)’ [7N:133]

Indefinite sense can be expressed by the word *yak* ‘one’ and the suffix *-ē*, resulting in a nominal form *yakē*, glossed as ‘one’ or ‘someone’:¹⁶⁰

- (1708) yakē jūr min
 someone like 1SG
 ‘one like me’ [7H:41]
- (1709) yakē ma-řaw-ē
 someone IND-go.PRS-3SG
 ‘someone goes’ [7N:154]

¹⁶⁰ The suffix *-ī* is also found attached to *yak* ‘one’ as a construction indicating a nominal ‘one’ or ‘someone’ (while the question remains if it could be alternatively analyzed as an *ezāfe*, connecting the word *yak* with following material): *yak-ī až řüstā-yēk tir = wa* someone-? ‘from village-INDF_2 other = POSTP#_3’ (‘someone from another village’) [7N:9].

The form *-ī* can appear in contexts comparable to those of *-ēk*, as shown here:

- (1710) kuřa-y
boy-INDF_3
'a boy' [5:123]
- (1711) fikr mināṭ-ī
mind child-INDF_3
'the mind of a child' [6:93]

6.2.1.3 Use of *ya(k)*

Indefiniteness is also indicated by means of a noun phrase preceded by the word *ya(k)*. This form encodes both the sense of the numeral 'one' and an indefinite article (though it is consistently glossed in this study as 'one'). These two senses of *ya(k)* presents some ambiguity for interpretation in a text, and it is not always possible to clearly determine which sense is intended by the speaker. The form can be termed a 'quasi-indefinite article' (see C. Lyons 1999:95).

The noun phrase preceded by *ya(k)* can occur with or without one of the indefiniteness markers, in the following combinations:

- *ya(k)* + noun phrase
- *ya(k)* + noun phrase + *-ēk*
- *ya(k)* + noun phrase + *-ē*
- *ya(k)* + noun phrase + *-ī*

Examples include:

- (1712) yak waraq
one card
'one (a) card' [11:52] (singular number or indefinite)
- (1713) ya ĵam
one gathering
'a gathering' [7H:115] (indefinite 'a')
- (1714) ya šār-ēk
one town-INDF_1
'a town' [3:5] (indefinite sense, relatively infrequent with both *ya* and *-ēk*)
- (1715) ya ĵwān-ē
one youth-INDF_2
'a young man' [3:74] (only indefinite)

- (1716) ya žan-ī
 one woman-INDF_3
 ‘a woman’ [5:160] (indefinite)

The combinations of *ya(k)* NP + *-ē* and *ya(k)* NP + *-ī* are also consistently attested on certain noun phrases referring to time or manner:

- (1717) ya jür-ē
 one way-INDF_2
 ‘a way’ [9:78]
- (1718) ya mudat-ē
 one time-INDF_2
 ‘a period of time’ [2:24]
- (1719) ya dafa-yī
 one time-INDF_3
 ‘at once, suddenly’ [3:112]

6.2.1.4 Indefiniteness markers and quantifiers

The marker *-ēk* is attested on a noun phrase preceded by the negative quantifier *hüč* ‘nothing, no’, while *-ē* can also appear on noun phrases preceded with *har* ‘each, every, any, whatever’, and *gi(št)* ‘all, every’:

- (1720) hüč farq-ēk = iš
 no difference-INDF_1 = 3SG
 ‘no difference of it’ [7N:31]
- (1721) har ħaraket-ē
 whatever movement-INDF_2
 ‘whatever movement’ [7N:28]
- (1722) gi jür-ē
 all type-INDF_2
 ‘all types’ [10:42]

6.2.1.5 Indefiniteness and copula clauses

The combinations NP + *-ēk* or *-ē* can appear as a complement of a copula clause:

- (1723) āyam xās-ēk = ē
 person good-INDF_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘he is a good person’ [8:86]

- (1724) dānišǰū-wē bē
 student-INDF_2 COP.PST.3SG
 ‘he was a student’ [6:10]

The combination of *ya(k)* NP also appears in a construction with the verb of existence, *hē*, while the other combinations are not attested in this use:

- (1725) ya kuřa=š hē
 one son=3SG exist.3SG
 ‘he has a son (lit., a son exists to him)’ [5:78]

6.2.1.6 Indefiniteness markers and indefinite words

The indefinite markers *-ēk* and *-ē* are also attested on indefinite words such as *bařz* ‘some’, *čit* ‘thing’, and *kas* ‘(some) person’:

- (1726) bařz-ēk = iš
 some-INDF_1 = 3SG
 ‘some of them’ [7N:139]
- (1727) hā čit-ēk na-man = ē
 NA thing-INDF_1 NEG_2-remain.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘nothing has remained’ [4:146]
- (1728) a(ya)r waš = a kas-ē b-ay
 if pleasant = DIR person-INDF_2 SBJV-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘(if) someone likes’ [8:68]

6.3 Case

Case is defined here as ‘morphosyntactic marking [...] of nouns or noun phrases that expresses something about the relationship of the noun or noun phrase to its syntactic context’ (Payne 2006:323). Such a relationship can be seen, for instance, in a subject argument or object argument to a verb, or a noun in relationship to an adposition (see also Kibort 2008 for background).

There are several types of case marking in Gawraǰūyī. Vocative case is expressed regularly by prosodic means to signal a noun being used in address (see Section 2.7.2.7). The other types of case marking involve morphology. These types are irregular, however. They are assumed to represent remnants of earlier systems that exhibited more consistent distribution.

These forms include the suffix *-ī*, which is attested on certain nominals and appears to function as an oblique case marker, though it is irregular (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:12–13). This form is identical with those markers found in other Gūrānī varieties.

Another possible case form is the enclitic *=ay*, which might be analyzed as a fused form of a postposition with oblique case, but it is not yet possible to determine this. An area for

further research is its possible status in denoting some type of locative case, based on its distribution in marking nominals in adpositional phrases (see Footnote 89 in Section 4.1.5.10).

Finally, a case distinction is evident in the use of enclitic pronouns in comparison to the use of the independent pronouns. The enclitic pronouns have functions that are limited to oblique case, while the independent pronoun forms can function either as direct or oblique.

6.3.1 Oblique case *-ī*

In various West Iranian languages, a distinction exists between direct and oblique case (for historical development and discussion, see Haig 2008; see also Jügel 2014). Typically, the direct is the unmarked form, while the oblique case is marked. In Gawraǰūyī, there is no marking of a direct form, while there is one oblique form, *-ī*. This form, however, is relatively infrequent and irregular in the text corpus and is not always clearly identified. It is provisionally found to indicate: 1) the complement of adpositional phrase; 2) the indirect object ('goal') argument of a clause; 3) the possessor (genitive relationship) in possessive constructions; and 4) the nominal expressing object of present transitive clause (analysis must yet be confirmed).

No unambiguous examples are found of the oblique used to mark a nominal expressing agent of a past transitive clause.¹⁶¹

Examples are presented here with the oblique marker *-ī* (or what is possibly the oblique, noted with a question mark) and uses:

Complement of adpositional phrase

- (1729) aǰ sar-ī
from head-OBL
'from the head' [11:42]
- (1730) ja dīn-ī
from religion-OBL
'of (or: from) religion' [7H:44]

¹⁶¹ The form *-ī* also appears on several instances of proper names expressing clausal arguments that would not normally be marked with an oblique, such as the subject of a present tense intransitive clause. It is not yet clear if the form is the oblique or instead the additive particle =*ī(č)*. For example: *mard-ī aǰ xāw m-āy* 'Mard-OBL(?) from sleep IND-come.PRS.3SG' ('Mard wakes up') [3:13], and *ay baǰd rūsam-ī ma-řaw-ē* 'well, afterwards, Rūsam-OBL(?) IND-go.PRS-3SG' ('well, afterwards, Rūsam goes') [5:96].

Indirect object ('goal') argument

- (1731) kuřa = y iřtan = iř ma-tī = ya zamīn-ī
 son = EZ RFL = 3SG IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR ground-OBL?
 'he throws his own son to the ground' [5:151]
- (1732) gula dā = ř = a qul = ř-ī
 bullet give.PST = 3SG = DIR leg = 3SG-OBL?
 'a bullet hit him in his leg' [6:8]
- (1733) tu mār = it kard = ē dār-ī
 2SG snake = 2SG do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 tree-OBL?
 'you have put snakes in the tree' [11:68]
- (1734) min iřtan = im řaft-yām = a qas(i)r-ī
 1SG RFL = 1SG go.PST-1PL = DIR Qasir-OBL?
 'I myself, we went to Qasir (-e řirīn)' [6:9]

Possessor (genitive relationship)

- (1735) řirū řaw sar bāwka = ř-ī biřī
 řirū night head father = 3SG-OBL? cut.PST
 'one night, řirū cut off his father's head' [4:209]
- (1736) ma-tī-n = a bar ka-ka = řān-ī
 IND-give.PRS-3PL = DIR door house-DEF = 3PL-OBL?
 'they knock on the door of their house' [12:42]

Object of present transitive clause

- (1737) kādu = ř-ī ma-tī = ya-n
 gift = 3SG-OBL? IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR-3PL
 'they give gifts' [8:223]
- (1738) sabad-aka-y ma-yir-n = a das = wa
 basket-DEF-OBL? IND-place.PRS-3PL = DIR hand = POSTP#_3
 'they place the basket in the hands' [7H:110]

The suffix *-ī* also appears on some personal and demonstrative pronouns (see following list). As suggested in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:13, citing Haig 2008), it is possible that the case marker could be maintained on pronominals with their high degree of animacy. This suffix, however, has not been conclusively analyzed as the oblique, because it appears on the pronoun in syntactic environments that would not typically require the oblique. The question can be asked, however, if the oblique is a generalized form marking the roles of subject (of intransitive clauses) and agent (of transitive clauses). The pronominal forms under consideration are:

- (1739) ānī ‘DIST_2’ [1:40]
 ānānī ‘DIST.PL_2’ [9:35] (rare, attested once)
 īnī ‘PROX_2’ [5:50]
 īnānī ‘PROX.PL_2’ [2:14]
 īnakānī ‘PROX.PL_4’ [3:30] (rare, attested once)

The form *ānī* ‘DIST_2’ is only attested once in an environment in which an oblique would be anticipated, as object in a present tense clause:

- (1740) mawu ānī bi-tī = wa
 must DIST_2 SBJV-give.PRS.2SG = PTCL#
 ‘you must find it’ [3:49]

More frequently, the pronominal form *ānī* is attested as agent of a transitive verb in a present tense clause, but the oblique case would not be expected in that syntactic environment:

- (1741) ānī m-wāy
 DIST_2 IND-say.PRS.3SG
 ‘he says’ [4:47]

The proximal singular form, *īnī* ‘PROX_2’ is attested as the subject of an intransitive verb in a present tense clause:

- (1742) īnī ma-šu = wa ānā
 PROX_2 IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR DIST_3
 ‘he goes there’ [5:50]

The plural forms *īnānī* ‘PROX.PL_2’ and *īnakānī* ‘PROX.PL_4’ (rare) are only attested as the agent of a transitive verb in a present tense clause:

- (1743) ya_dafa-yī īnānī m-wā-n
 suddenly-INDF_3 PROX.PL_2 IND-say.PRS-3PL
 ‘suddenly they say’ [2:8]
- (1744) īnakānī m-wā-n
 PROX.PL_4 IND-say.PRS-3PL
 ‘these (others) say’ [3:30]

Finally, the distal plural form, *ānānī* ‘DIST.PL_2’ is attested once as the subject of a present tense copula clause:

- (1745) ānānī dalīl-ān xās = e īštan = šān garak = ē
 DIST.PL_2 reason-PL special = EZ RFL = 3PL want = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘they want (have?) their own special reasons’ [9:35]

In other instances, the form *-ī* appears to be a shortened form of the additive particle *=īč* rather than a possible oblique case marker.¹⁶²

6.3.2 Postposition or case marker *=ay*

Another possibility of a case marker is found as the ending *=ay*. It is only found marking a noun in an adpositional phrase, however. On this basis, it is treated as a postposition here (also by Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:13). Further study is needed to look into the possibility that it could be a ‘locative’ case form.

6.4 Nominalization

The process of nominalization (to form a noun from a verb stem) takes place with the addition of the ending *-a* (as a participle, glossed as ‘PART’):

(1746) kard ‘do.PST [11:68] > karda ‘doing’ [11:50]

(1747) mard ‘die.PST’ [6:105] > marda ‘death’ [7H:69]

Examples in clauses include:

(1748) ma-š-ām = a kār kard-a = u
IND-go.PRS-1PL = DIR work do.PST-PART = and
‘we will go (find) work to do’ [3:4]

(1749) ma-nīš-in = a pāsūrān kard-a
IND-sit.PRS-3PL = DIR cards do.PST-PART
‘they sit to play cards’ [11:50]

It is possible that nominalization can also take place by means of the suffix *-ay* (not analyzed here) when added to a past stem of a verb.¹⁶³ An example is shown here:

(1750) dita-ka ma-yr-in = a gištī entexāb kard-ay
young.woman-DEF IND-take.PRS-3PL = DIR all choose do.PST-NA
‘they take the young woman to choose everything’ [7N:130]

¹⁶² The analysis as a shortened form of *=īč* is suggested in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:13). Examples of the shortened form of *=īč* on these pronouns include: *īn-ī(č) mařawē* ‘this one also goes’ [3:83]; *īnān = ī(č) mwān* ‘these ones in turn say’ [3:67].

¹⁶³ MacKenzie (1966:28) notes that in Hawrāmī (Luhōn), there is an ‘infinitive verbal noun’ formed with the past stem and stressed *-(a)y*.

6.5 Diminution

The category of diminution involves a sense of small size and possibly affection. It is not regularly attested on Gawraǰūyī nouns, and it is only suggested for the analysis of a few items. The Gawraǰūyī word *řūta* ‘dear child’ [2:90] may contain a diminution morpheme, *-t*, though the stem and derivation are not yet clear.

Another instance of what might be a diminution morpheme, *-al*, is found as an adjective in the phrase *ābādī büčk-al-āna-yk-a* ‘small village’ [7H:7] (compare with *büčik* ‘small’ [7H:9], and also the word in Kandūlayī, *vičkälä* ‘small’). There is also a closely similar diminution morpheme *-at* (and variants) in Southern Kurdish (see Fattah 2000:777).¹⁶⁴

6.6 Animacy and gender

Grammatical marking of animacy only appears in distinct forms of some interrogative pronouns. There are also some tendencies observed in the use of demonstratives that involve animacy (see Section 4.2.2.4).

There is no grammatical marking of gender on nouns or pronouns. In this respect, Gawraǰūyī differs from Hawrāmī (Luhōn), which distinguishes masculine and feminine on the noun and adjective (see MacKenzie 1966:13).

¹⁶⁴ Mann & Hadank (1930:113–114) note the suffix *-l* as diminutive. They note that this suffix occurs on nouns as well as adjectives, and that it is found in Kandūlayī and also in Hawrāmī (with reference to Christensen, that is, Benedictsens & Christensen (1921:53)). In Benedictsens & Christensen (1921:53), the actual form is noted as *tä*.

7. CHAPTER 7. NUMBER

The conceptual category of number in Gawraǰūyī is expressed through various morphosyntactic and lexical means. In this chapter, grammatical number is discussed in its manifestation on mainly noun phrases and pronouns, though it is also described for a few issues involving verbs. There are also comments on related issues such as collectivity.

7.1 Number and noun phrases

The singular and plural number distinction is described here as it occurs on certain types of nouns, such as those referring to bounded, individuated, or countable entities. Some of these nouns include those referring to people (for example, *birā* ‘brother’ [8:85]), units of time (for example, *řüž* ‘day’ [8:86]), or simply to unspecified items. In contrast, number marking is not attested on other types of nouns, such as a mass noun or a proper name referring to an individual person.

7.1.1 Basic values

The basic values of number marking on pronouns and nouns are singular and plural. On unmarked noun phrases, there is a general value, that is, number is not specified or relevant. Such ‘general number’ is discussed by Corbett (2000:9–19), who notes that ‘the meaning of the noun can be expressed without reference to number’ (2000:10).

Singular number is a complex area that interacts with indefiniteness. Plural number is also a broad category. It is still an open question whether or not there are distinctions within plural for subcategories such as collective or indefinite.

7.1.2 Summary of number marking on noun phrases

Gawraǰūyī exhibits the following number values, expressed through forms:

Table 71. Number marking on noun phrases

| | Form | Meaning and comments |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| General | – ('zero') | unmarked noun phrase, no expression of number value |
| Singular | ya(k) (classifier) NP (-ī) | singularity |
| | ya(k) (classifier) NP (-ēk, -ē) | singularity/indefiniteness |
| | NP -ēk, -e | indefiniteness |
| Plural | -ān | reference to more than one entity |
| Other plural forms (rare) | -yl | Shared by Southern Kurdish, possible collective sense. |
| | (vowel + suffix change) | Found only in certain Arabic loanwords. |
| | -hā | Persian, attested once in probable loan word. |

There is no grammatical marking of dual, though there is the possibility of lexical expression by means of the phrase *har dū-k* 'each_two-INDF_1' ('both') [5:157].

7.1.3 General

Number is not obligatorily specified on all noun phrases. A morphologically unmarked noun phrase is conceptually unmarked for number, but depending on context, it may be interpreted as singular or plural. General number applies to nouns with animate referents, as in the following examples, and possibly to those with inanimate referents too:

(1751) kuṛa hāma
 young.man come.PST
 'the young man came' [9:32]

(1752) kuṛa aḏ ya ḵā
 young.man in one place
 'the young men in another place' [7H:79]

7.1.4 Singular number constructions

Singularity is conveyed by several constructions. In some instances, there is overlap of meaning with indefiniteness, and the sense is ambiguous. In other instances, the sense of singularity is clear.

A frequently attested construction indicating singular number on a noun phrase is with *ya(k)* 'one (or: a)' (quasi-indefinite article or numeral) preceding the head noun. Examples with clear singular meaning include:

- (1753) ya sâfat
one hour
'one hour' [1:40]
- (1754) dwān ma-řaw-ē, ya žan=u ya piyā
two.PL IND-go.PRS-3SG one woman=and one man
'two (people) go, one woman and one man' [7N:154]

In such constructions with *ya(k)*, a classifier or some type of measure word may also be used, preceding the head noun. In these constructions, a reading with singular number appears to be primary:

- (1755) ya gila šēr
one unit lion
'one lion' [3:111]
- (1756) ya gila guř
one unit flower
'one flower' [7N:106]
- (1757) ya das zün = im
one set Kurdish.dress = 1SG
'one set of 'zün' (Kurdish-style dress)' [7N:135] (The enclitic pronoun is not relevant here.)

The use of *ya(k)* preceding the noun phrase appears with nouns with both animate and inanimate referents. It is not attested, however, with proper names or abstract nouns.

In this construction, there can also be other morphemes added onto the head noun. The construction still indicates singular number, but there is also a possible indefinite reading as well. The following examples show noun phrases marked with both *ya* and the addition of the marker *-ī* 'INDF_3' and expressing a sense of singular number:

- (1758) ya řüž-ī
one day-INDF_3
'one day' [5:131]
- (1759) ya gaz-ī = š
one square.meter-INDF_3 = 3SG
'one square meter' [6:70]
- (1760) ya dāna seka-yī
one unit coin-INDF_3
'one coin' [7N:105]

But there are also examples of *-ī* in the texts in which indefiniteness seems to be expressed:

- (1761) ya qūr-ī
 one jug-INDF_3
 ‘a (or: one?) jug’ [3:85]

In the construction with *ya(k)*, the morphemes *-ēk* and *-ē* can also be attached to the noun phrase. The construction then appears to primarily express indefiniteness, though singularity is also possible:¹⁶⁵

- (1762) ya šār-ēk
 one town-INDF_1
 ‘a (or: one?) town’ [3:5]
- (1763) ya ǰwān-ē
 one young.man-INDF_2
 ‘a (or: one?) young man’ [3:74]

7.1.5 Unity

A construction that expresses a sense of a unity consists of a quantifier *har* ‘each, every’, a numeral *dü* ‘two’ or *sē* ‘three’ as the head, followed by *-ēk* (and once with *-a* ‘NA’, though not analyzed). This construction is attested only rarely, however.¹⁶⁶ Examples include:

- (1764) har_dü-k
 both-INDF_1
 ‘both’ [5:157]
- (1765) har_dü-k = šān ma-š-in = a dunbāt kār
 both-INDF_1 = 3PL IND-go.PRS-3PL = DIR after work
 ‘both of them go (looking) for work’ [3:2]
- (1766) ina har šē-k = iš
 PROX_4 each three-INDF_1 = 3SG
 ‘this is all three of them’ [3:52]

A similar sense of unity can be expressed by a construction employing the quantifier *gišt* ‘all’ and a head noun followed by *-ēk* ‘INDF_1’:

¹⁶⁵ This construction is only found in the texts by the narrator Arūs. The construction is not common, and it alternates with the construction of *ya* with a noun phrase and no ending.

¹⁶⁶ There is also one unusual example of a collective sense with a number and noun followed by the definite marker: *ī čwār sāt-aka* ‘PROX.DEM.ADJ four year-DEF’ (‘these four years’) [6:106].

- (1767) giš(t) tišt-ĕk = iš m-āwird
 all thing-INDF_1 = 3SG IPFV-bring.PST
 ‘it was bringing all things’ [6:132]

7.1.6 Plural

An unmarked noun phrase can be interpreted with plural sense, according to context:

- (1768) tifang řiř-īs
 rifles distribute.PST-PASS.PST
 ‘rifles were distributed’ [6:81]

But more frequently, noun phrases show plural number with the addition of the suffix *-ān* (introduced in Section 4.1.5).

- (1769) mināt-ān ‘child-PL’ [11:50]

Plural number is also occasionally encoded by forms shared with other varieties and languages. The form *-ayl* is attested only three times; similar forms are found in Bāĵaĵānī (and Šabakī) as well as in Southern Kurdish.¹⁶⁷

Plural number can also be indicated with a loan suffix and occasional vowel change, only attested in the text corpus in a few words of ultimately Arabic origin. Another rare plural form, shared with Persian, is *-hā*. The various Gawraĵūyī forms that are possibly due to contact influence are exemplified here:

- (1770) ĵwān-ayl ‘young.people-PL_2’ [7N:46] (attested three times)
 (1771) ĵawāherāt ‘jewelry’ [6:106] (loan suffix with vowel change, Arabic loanword)
 (1772) bār-hā ‘time-PL_3’ (i.e., ‘several times’) [9:28] (rare, attested once)

Certain nouns can be considered to refer to a number of entities, as ‘semantic plurals’, and do not usually take additional grammatical plural marking. These nouns include:

- (1773) kū ‘mountain(s)’ [2:34]
 (1774) čaš ‘eye(s)’ [9:11]
 (1775) pā ‘foot/feet’ [4:21]

¹⁶⁷ Fattah (2000:248–252) notes Southern Kurdish forms *-ayl*, also: *-el*, *-al*, *-yal*, *-gal*, *-ġal*, for collective plural, (though there are also other uses, see p. 249), *-ān* for indefinite plural, and *-agān* (also: *-aġān*, *-akān*) for definite plural. The form *-gal* is found in Bāĵaĵānī (and Šabakī) (MacKenzie 1956:420; Magin, Abdul Basit & Bailey 2008).

Two other nouns appear to be semantic plurals, though they are also attested with plural marking: *didān* ‘tooth/teeth’ [1:19] (but also: *didān-ān* ‘tooth/teeth-PL’ [2:80]) and *šāx* ‘horn(s)’ [2:42] (but also: *šāx-ān* ‘horn(s)-PL’ [2:76]).

The plural form *-ān* only marks number and does not express case, definiteness, or any other category. A noun phrase that is only marked for plural is rarely attested, however. Examples with a noun and only plural marking include:

- (1776) *ābādī-yān*
village-PL
‘the villages’ [7N:71]
- (1777) *ǰwān-ān*
young.people-PL
‘the young people’ [8:18]
- (1778) *sitāra-šinās-ān*
star-knower-PL
‘the astrologists/astronomers’ [5:18]
- (1779) *hašt sāt-ān*
eight year-PL
‘eight years’ [5:127]

Much more frequently, plural marking on a noun phrase occurs with other marking, particularly of definiteness. Examples are shown here of plural marking *-ān* and some expression of definiteness (definiteness marking, demonstrative marking, or marking that signals a following restrictive relative clause):

- (1780) *kūza-k-ān*
vase-DEF-PL
‘the vases’ [3:56]
- (1781) *dita* *ǰwān-ak-ān*
young.woman young-DEF-PL
‘the young women’ [7N:112] (Note that the markers occur at the end of the phrase.)
- (1782) *ī* *dawlat-ān = a*
PROX.DEM.ADJ country-PL = DEM
‘these countries’ [5:57]
- (1783) *kas-ān = ē* *ka* *kumak* *pišī-yaka = šan* *kard = ē*
person-PL = NA? COMP help cat-DEF = 3PL do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
‘the people who have helped the cat’ [1:108]

Plural marking can occur on nouns with animate referents as well as inanimate referents:

(1784) pāsabān-ān
guard-PL
‘the guards’ [6:14]

(1785) kawš-ak-ān
shoe-DEF-PL
‘the shoes’ [1:95]

7.1.7 Numeral noun phrases

A noun modified by a numeral in a phrase construction can be optionally marked with the plural suffix *-ān*. The following illustrates the presence of the plural suffix:

(1786) dwānza sāt-ān
twelve year-PL
‘twelve years’ [7N:55]

The next examples show the absence of the plural suffix:

(1787) da sāt dwānza sāt
ten year twelve year
‘ten years, twelve years’ [8:61]

(1788) sē ābādī
three village
‘three villages’ [6:51]

The plural marker can be absent when the noun is preceded by a classifier or another noun in apposition:

(1789) dū gila řafīq
two unit friend
‘two friends’ [3:1]

(1790) ya dū pākat šīrīnī
one two packet sweet.pastry
‘one, two packets of sweet pastries’ [6:13]

Plural marking is also absent on a noun that is modified by an indefinite quantifier, such as *čan* ‘some, a few, several’:

(1791) čan sāt
some year
‘some years’ [8:37]

Most numerals are not marked in a further manner for plural number, with the exception of *dū* ‘two’ and the plural form *dwān*. The addition of the plural marker may indicate the use of the numeral as a nominal form:¹⁶⁸

- (1792) dwān ma-řaw-ē
two.PL IND-go.PRS-3SG
‘two (people) go’ [7N:154]

7.1.8 Numerative

The form *-a* is attested on perhaps eleven noun phrases in the text corpus. As noted in Section 4.1.5.12, this form might be regarded as a numerative marker.¹⁶⁹ It appears as a suffix on a head noun that refers to a time measurement such as *řüž* ‘day’, *māng* ‘month’, and *sāt* ‘year’. The head noun is modified by a numeral (*dū* ‘two’, *sē* ‘three’, *čwār* ‘four’, *pañj* ‘five’, *nu* ‘nine’) or rarely, a quantifier (*har čī* ‘every’ or *čan* ‘several’).

An identical suffix is found in Zardayāna and also appears on certain time nouns when that noun is preceded by a numeral (see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:25–26). It is found as well in Bāǰaǰānī on nouns modified by cardinal numbers and some numerative adjectives (see MacKenzie 1956:420).

Gawraǰūyī examples include:

- (1793) tā čwār řüž-a, pañj řüž-a
until four day-NUM five day-NUM
‘up to four days, five days’ [3:72]
- (1794) īna tu pañj sāt-a
PROX_4 2SG five year-NUM
‘this (is) so, for five years you’ [6:113]
- (1795) aw_šün sē řü(ž)-a
after three day-NUM
‘after three days’ [3:91]

The numerative is not consistently manifested, however, as shown in the following example, where it appears on the first noun (*māng* ‘month’) but not the second (*řü(ž)* ‘day’):

¹⁶⁸ In Hawrāmī (Luhōn), a numeral used as a noun takes the oblique marking (MacKenzie 1966:23).

¹⁶⁹ The numerative was suggested by Nicholas Sims-Williams in a review of an early draft of Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012). In a study of Sogdian (a Middle East Iranian language), Sims-Williams (1989:183) notes that the old dual forms of Old Iranian came to be used in Sogdian on ‘nouns immediately following a numeral’, and that the numeral can be two or greater (hence the term ‘numerative’, rather than ‘dual’), also referring to Sims-Williams (1979:339–342).

- (1796) baʔd nu māng-a=u nu řü(ž)
 after nine month-NUM=and nine day
 ‘after nine months and nine days’ [5:123]

7.1.9 Partitive relations in noun phrases

There are several constructions that encode a partitive relationship between noun phrase referents. In all instances, the quantifying element precedes the quantified element. The quantifying element is typically composed of a numeral plus a numeral classifier or other type of noun indicating a measure (see Section 4.1.7.3). This construction is illustrated here:

- (1797) ya das libās
 one set clothing
 ‘one set of clothing’ [7N:128]
- (1798) yak das zün=im hē
 one set zün=1SG exist.3SG
 ‘I have one set of ‘zün’ (Kurdish-style dress)’ [7N:135]
- (1799) ya čika war-aka
 a bit sun-DEF
 ‘a bit of the sunlight’ [2:20]
- (1800) dū kiṭū xāk
 two lump earth
 ‘two lumps of earth’ [3:17]
- (1801) dū pākat širīnī
 two packet sweet.pastry
 ‘two packets of sweet pastries’ [6:13]

In the preceding set of examples, no ezāfe linking particle is found between the two elements. In one instance in the text corpus, however, the noun phrases are linked with a compound marker:

- (1802) ya luqm=a nān
 one morsel=COMP bread
 ‘one morsel of bread’ [3:5]

A simple preposition can occur before the quantified noun phrase:

- (1803) ya tik až xūn-aka=šān
 one drop from blood-DEF=3PL
 ‘one drop of their blood’ [2:51]

In partitive constructions, an enclitic pronoun can serve as the quantified element:

- (1804) yo = šān
one = 3PL
'one of them' [7H:71]
- (1805) dwān = šān
two.PL = 3PL
'two of them' [6:43]
- (1806) baʔzē-k = šān
some-INDF_1 = 3PL
'some of them' [7N:42]
- (1807) har_kām = mān
whoever = 1PL
'whoever of us' [2:11]

7.1.10 Similitive plural

The plural forms described to this point can also be considered to be 'referentially homogenous', which means that all members referred to with the plural marking belong to a single set. There is another complex construction in Gawraǰūyī which can be termed a 'similitive plural', in that it names one referent but 'denotes a class of objects that share similar features' (Daniel & Moravcsik 2011, also citing Colin Masica, p.c.).

As mentioned in Section 3.3.5.2, this construction consists of a noun that is repeated in a sequence. The repeated element begins with *m-*, which replaces an initial consonant of the noun or is added before a stem-initial vowel).¹⁷⁰ The conjunction =*u* 'and' can link the two elements. Examples include:

- (1808) qāqaz_māqaz
paper.and.such
'paper and such things' [5:13]
- (1809) dawā = u_mawā
medicine = and.such
'medicine and such' [5:159]

¹⁷⁰ There is also another construction that can express a sense of similitive plural, though it is attested only one time. This construction is composed of a noun phrase followed by =*u* 'and' plus the indefinite term *fiṭān* followed by the indefinite marker *-ēk*: *qaṭā-yēk = u fiṭān-ēk* 'castle-INDF_1 = and such-INDF_1' ('a castle and such') [5:54].

- (1810) nān_mān-aka = š = ič
bread.and.such-DEF = 3SG = ADD
'also the bread and such' [3:14]
- (1811) libās = u_mibās = šān
clothing.and.such = 3PL
'their clothes and such things' [1:110]
- (1812) taxt = u_maxt = iš
throne.and.such = 3SG
'his throne and such things' [5:49]

7.2 Number and pronouns

Number on Gawraǰūyī pronouns reflects what has been termed the 'Animacy Hierarchy' (Corbett 2000:55–57). This hierarchy outlines the tendency in which distinctions in number marking correlate with distinctions in animacy, with the claim: 'The singular-plural distinction in a given language must affect a top segment of the Animacy Hierarchy' (Corbett 2000:56). That is, the speaker and the addressee are considered to be higher on this scale than third person.

The Gawraǰūyī data shows some formal differences between encoding of the 'speaker, addressee' number distinctions and 'third person'. The independent forms of first and second person pronouns show singular and plural distinctions as separate forms:

- (1813) min '1SG' [3:44]
- (1814) ēma '1PL_2' [7H:107] (variant: īma '1PL_3' [5:67])
- (1815) tu '2SG' [7H:121]
- (1816) šima '2PL' [6:162]

In third person, however, the roots (*īn*, *ān*) of the singular and plural pronouns (demonstratives) are not themselves distinguished for number. Instead, they pattern in the same manner as a noun. That is, the base forms are used to indicate singular, while plural number is indicated by the addition of the marker *-ān* 'PL':

- (1817) īn 'PROX_1' [3:29] (also: īna, īnī)
- (1818) īnān 'PROX.PL_1' [6:85] (also: īnāna, īnānī)
- (1819) ān 'DIST_1' [3:66] (also: āna, ānī, ānā, aw)
- (1820) ānān 'DIST.PL_1' [7H:45] (also: ānāna, ānānī)

Enclitic pronouns distinguish singular and plural in all persons. The plural forms appear to be a combination of a base form and *-ān* 'PL':

- (1821) = im ‘= 1SG’ [11:61]
 (1822) = mǎn ‘= 1PL’ [1:63]
 (1823) = it ‘= 2SG’ [3:78]
 (1824) = tǎn ‘= 2PL’ [1:111]
 (1825) = iǝ ‘= 3SG’ [3:96]
 (1826) = šǎn ‘= 3PL’ [1:110]

7.3 Number and verb agreement

There is plural number marking on verbs when the subject is expressed by a plural noun phrase, specifically, in a present tense clause or in a past tense intransitive clause. (Past tense transitive clauses exhibit a more complicated pattern and are discussed in Section 9.2.) A few examples are shown (all present tense clauses):

- (1827) māmīr-ak-ǎn m-war-in
 chicken-DEF-PL IND-eat.PRS-3PL
 ‘the chickens eat’ [1:93]
- (1828) xǎnawādǎn ka saxt ma-yr-in
 family.PL COMP strict IND-bring.PRS-3PL
 ‘the families that act strictly’ [9:1]
- (1829) īwǎra gurg=u šēr=u paṭang m-ǎ-yin=wa
 evening wolf=and lion=and leopard IND-come.PRS-3PL=PTCL#
 ‘in the evening the wolf and the lion and the leopard return’ [3:114]
- (1830) īnǎn=i(č) ma-š-in=a ku
 PROX.PL_1=ADD IND-go.PRS-3PL=DIR mountains
 ‘these ones go to the mountains’ [2:36]
- (1831) ī dawṭat-ǎn=a hay čing=iǝ ma-kut-in
 PROX.DEM.ADJ country-PL=DEM always open.hand=3SG IND-cut?.PRS-3PL
 ‘these countries always interfere (lit., scratch)’ [6:155]

Occasionally, there is singular indexing on the verb.¹⁷¹ (It does not appear to be influenced by animacy features of the subject, as both are shown in the following examples):

¹⁷¹ There are a few instances in the text corpus of a first person singular pronoun expressing subject (agent) and a verb ending of first person plural. There is also a rare occurrence of the second person plural pronoun and a verb ending of third person singular: *šima ča m-wǎy* ‘2PL what IND-say.PRS.3SG’ (‘What do you say?’) [5:23]. (Further study is needed.)

- (1832) kuřa-k-ān = mān zütir tā dita-k-ān ma-řaw-ē
 young.man-DEF-PL = 1PL earlier than young.woman-DEF-PL IND-go.PRS-3SG
 ‘the young men go earlier than the young women’ [7N:59]
- (1833) giš(t)ī šār-ān = a biya bi-kuš bi-kuš
 all city-PL = DEM? COP.PRF.3SG SBJV-kill.PRS SBJV-kill.PRS
 ‘all these cities were becoming (places like) kill, kill’ [6:79]
- (1834) ināna xo řaft = a řā
 PROX.PL_3 well go.PST = DIR way
 ‘these (things), well, they happened (lit., went on way)’ [6:58]

There is also singular indexing on the verb when subject is expressed by a noun modified by a numeral and a numeral classifier:

- (1835) agara masan čwār gila kuřa bi-niš-ē
 if for.example four unit young.man SBJV-sit.PRS-3SG
 ‘if, for example, four young men are sitting (somewhere)’ [7N:6]

The same pattern of singular indexing of subject also appears in past tense clauses with a copula (existential) verb:

- (1836) dü sē gila řarūsī = š bē
 two three unit wedding = 3SG COP.PST.3SG
 ‘there were two-three weddings’ [7H:66]
- (1837) sē mālik bē
 three landowner COP.PST.3SG
 ‘there were three landowners’ [6:39]
- (1838) sē kūza xasrawānī wan = ay bē
 three vase royal in.location = POSTP#_1 COP.PST.3SG
 ‘there were three royal vases in it’ [3:42]

The form *dwān*, as a nominal type of the cardinal number *dū* ‘two’, when expressing subject, is also indexed by singular agreement on the verb (in two attested instances), though there is also one instance of plural agreement (third example below):

- (1839) dwān = šān fra nār(āh)at bī
 two.PL = 3PL very sad COP.PST.3SG
 ‘two of them were (singular) very sad’ [6:45]
- (1840) dwān ma-řaw-ē
 two.PL IND-go.PRS-3SG
 ‘two (people) go’ [7N:154]
- (1841) dwān = šān fra nār(āh)at bisin
 two.PL = 3PL very sad COP.PST.3PL
 ‘two of them were very sad’ [6:43]

8. CHAPTER 8. NOUN PHRASE: POSSESSION, ATTRIBUTION, APPPOSITION

This chapter presents information about two common types of noun phrase constructions used to express possession and attribution. These types are described in terms of the formal elements and semantic aspects. The apposition construction is also briefly discussed.

8.1 Possessive constructions on the noun phrase level

There are four basic noun phrase constructions that express possession (a clause level possessive construction is described in Section 5.6.7). In each construction, the head element (which may be a noun, a noun phrase, or the pronominal *hīn*) refers to the possessed entity, and the dependent element refers to the possessor. These four constructions are summarized here:

Table 72. Possessive constructions on the noun phrase level

| Head (possessed entity) | | Dependent (possessor) |
|-------------------------|---------|-----------------------|
| NP | = ezāfe | NP |
| NP | — | NP |
| N or NP | | = enclitic pronoun |
| Pronominal <i>hīn</i> | | NP |

8.1.1 Possessive construction: Noun phrase = ezāfe + noun phrase

The most frequently attested possessive construction involves the ezāfe linking particle. In this construction, the head noun phrase, which occurs first and refers to the possessed entity, is followed by a noun phrase expressing the possessor. They are linked by means of the ezāfe particle =e (=y). Examples include:

(1842) xun = e sīyāwaxš
 blood = EZ Sīyāwaxš
 ‘the blood of Sīyāwaxš’ [5:76]

(1843) ka = y bāwka
 house = EZ father
 ‘the house of the father’ [7H:147]

(1844) gaya = y gurg
 belly = EZ wolf
 ‘the belly of the wolf’ [2:76]

- (1845) dāyka = y čīman
 mother = EZ Čīman
 ‘the mother of Čīman’ [1:39]
- (1846) ĵwāw = e dita
 answer = EZ young.woman
 ‘the answer of the daughter’ [8:168]
- (1847) kāsa = u kučafa = y mināṭ = im
 bowl = and small.bowl = EZ child = 1SG
 ‘the bowls and small bowls of my children’ [2:58]
- (1848) ka = y īma
 house = EZ 1PL_3
 ‘our house’ [7H:7]

More complex examples (with embedded ezāfe phrases) include:

- (1849) mü = y sar = e luxt
 hair = EZ head = EZ uncovered
 ‘the hair of an uncovered head’ [7H:4]
- (1850) fāmīl = e nezīk = e dit-aka
 relative = EZ close = EZ young.woman-DEF
 ‘a close relative of the young woman’ [8:11]

8.1.2 Possessive construction: Noun phrase + noun phrase

The head noun phrase, which occurs first and refers to the possessed entity, is linked to a noun phrase in simple juxtaposition, without an ezāfe particle:

- (1851) dim pišī-yaka
 tail cat-DEF
 ‘the tail of the cat’ [1:105]
- (1852) qāpī ā qaṭā
 gate DIST.DEM.ADJ castle
 ‘gate of that castle’ [4:27]
- (1853) bira-k-ān kuřa-ka
 brother-DEF-PL young.man-DEF
 ‘the brothers of the young man’ [8:175]
- (1854) didān tu = yč
 tooth 2SG = ADD
 ‘your teeth too’ [2:81]

8.1.3 Possessive construction: Head noun or noun phrase = enclitic pronoun

When an enclitic pronoun expresses the possessor, it attaches to the head noun if there is no additional modifying phrase. But when there is an additional modifying phrase, the enclitic attaches according to the order of enclitics in the noun phrase structure (see Table 46).

- (1855) *bāwka* = t
 father = 2SG
 ‘your father’ [5:2]
- (1856) *kuřa* = š
 son = 3SG
 ‘his son’ [5:31]
- (1857) *xānawāda* = mān
 family = 1PL
 ‘our family’ [8:178]
- (1858) *kuřa* = y *dileřāsīn* = im
 son = EZ middle = 1SG
 ‘my son in the middle (i.e., my middle son)’ [6:1]
- (1859) *ā* *kuřa* *gawrā-ka* = m = ič = a
 DIST.DEM.ADJ son older-DEF = 1SG = ADD = DEM
 ‘that older son of mine too’ [6:4]

8.1.4 Possessive construction: Antecedent, pronominal *hīn* + noun phrase

Another possessive construction is only attested a few times. In this construction, the head, expressing the possessed entity, consists of a pronominal form, *hīn* ‘that of’, which is coreferential with an antecedent. The possessor is expressed by a noun phrase. Examples include:

- (1860) *ī* *mantaqa* = y *qałxānī* = ya, *hīn* *dāfāhu* = wa
 PROX.DEM.ADJ area = EZ Qałxānī = DEM that.of Dāfāhu = DEM
 ‘this area of the Qałxānī, that of the Dāfāhu’ [6:162]
- (1861) *wasīla* = š *har_čī* *hē*, *hīn* *dawriš* *nīya*
 belongings = 3SG all exist.3SG that.of dervish NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ‘his belongings, everything that he has, they are not of a dervish (or: things of a dervish)’
 [4:31]

8.2 Inherent possession

Certain nouns are frequently attested in possessive constructions. These especially include nouns referring to kinship relations. Such nouns are typically ‘inherently possessed’, in that the referents are typically considered to have a relation to a possessor; that is, a mother is always someone’s mother, or a father is someone’s father (Payne 1997:105). These types of

nouns are commonly found in the possessive constructions with a head noun as the possessed element and a noun phrase as the possessor. The nouns *birā* ‘brother’, *xwār* ‘sister’, *dāyka* ‘mother’, and *bāwka* ‘father’ are usually found in a possessive construction, though not when used as a term of address. The nouns *kuřa* ‘son’ and *dita* ‘daughter’ are also frequently found in possessive constructions, but they can also be used with non-relational meanings, for example, *kuřa* ‘boy, young man’ and *dita* ‘girl, young woman’.

Some of the kinship nouns are primarily expressed as a head noun followed by an enclitic pronoun (*bāwka* ‘father’ only with an enclitic pronoun, *birā* ‘brother’ and *xwār* ‘sister’ almost always with an enclitic pronoun). A few examples of kinship nouns in possessive constructions are presented here:

(1862) kuřa = y xasraw
son = EZ Xasraw
‘the son of Xasraw’ [4:186]

(1863) dāyka = y ēma
mother = EZ 1PL
‘our mother’ [2:42]

(1864) xwār-aka = y iřtan = im
sister-DEF = EZ RFL = 1SG
‘my own sister’ [9:2]

(1865) kuřa = y iřtan = iř
son = EZ RFL = 3SG
‘his own son’ [5:151]

(1866) bāwka = šān
father = 3PL
‘their father’ [7N:48]

(1867) birā-ka = m
brother-DEF = 1SG
‘my brother’ [8:93]

(1868) dāyka = š
mother = 3SG
‘her mother’ [11:84]

Other types of nouns that are typically possessed, such as those referring to body parts, can appear alone (without any enclitic pronoun) as well as in possessive constructions.

8.3 Attribution in noun phrases

Attribution in a noun phrase is expressed in a similar manner to possession. Note that there can be optional modifiers before and after the head noun phrase in these construction (see Section 5.1). The basic constructions are summarized here:

Table 73. Noun phrase level attribution

| | |
|--|---|
| N + ezāfe + adjective phrase | A head noun (N) is linked to an adjective phrase by the ezāfe. |
| N + adjective phrase | A head noun (N) is linked to an adjective phrase by juxtaposition (no ezāfe). |
| N + compound marker + adjective phrase | A head noun (N) is linked to an adjective phrase by the compound marker. |

8.3.1 Attributive construction: Noun + ezāfe + adjective phrase

This construction is not common in the text corpus. The head noun can be definite or indefinite:

(1869) āw = e sīya = u kuwa
 water = EZ black = and dark.blue
 ‘the black and dark blue water’ [11:78]

(1870) ya ǰang = e sāda
 one fight = EZ simple
 ‘a simple fight’ [8:102]

8.3.2 Attributive construction: Noun + adjective phrase

The next example shows a head noun (*šawī* ‘dress’) modified by an adjective phrase (the adjective *kurdi* ‘Kurdish’):

(1871) šawī kurdi
 dress Kurdish
 ‘a Kurdish dress’ [7N:133]

8.3.3 Attributive construction: Noun + compound marker + adjective phrase

The compound marker is infrequently attested, almost always in attributive constructions. The construction with a compound marker =*a* appears to most often occur with a head noun expressed with a sense of definiteness (marked by *-aka* ‘DEF’ or unmarked).

(1872) mīš = a šal
 ram = COMPD lame
 ‘the lame ram’ [2:2]

- (1873) baš = a naxt-aka = š
 part = COMPD worthy-DEF = 3SG
 ‘the worthy (i.e., best) part’ [5:15]
- (1874) dim = a kuł-aka = m
 tail = COMPD short-DEF = 1SG
 ‘my (i.e., the cat) short tail’ [1:14]

8.4 Apposition

Two nouns can be described as being in apposition when they refer to the same entity and are not in a dependent relationship, for example, as in subordination (Payne 2006:322). The two examples here of apposition both involves a noun functioning as a proper name. In the first example, the proper name is followed by a noun (as a title):

- (1875) ĩriǰ šā
 Īriǰ king
 ‘King Īriǰ’ [5:11]

In another example, the proper name ‘Wolf’ is preceded by a noun:

- (1876) kā gurg
 Mister wolf
 ‘Mr. Wolf’ [2:29]

8.5 Notes on the presence and absence of the ezāfe

As illustrated in the above sections, the ezāfe particle plays an important role in noun phrase constructions. It can link a head noun and another element in a possessive or attributive construction. In other instances, however, the ezāfe is absent, and elements are linked instead by simple juxtaposition. These instances of the presence or absence of the ezāfe can be characterized as follows.

First, the ezāfe particle appears to be frequently retained on the basis of phonological conditioning (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:16). It is frequently present following words ending with the vowel *-a*. For example:

- (1877) gaya = y gurg
 belly = EZ wolf
 ‘belly of the wolf’ [2:88]

Second, its presence or absence does not appear to be conditioned by the type of noun phrase construction, whether it is possessive or attributive. In other Gūrānī varieties, however, such as Hawrāmī (Luhōn) and Zardayāna, there are distinct forms of the ezāfe that appear in the possessive (genitive) construction and in the attributive construction.

Third, it occurs in some instances in constructions that appear to be due to contact influence (see Section 15.2.2 for examples).

9. CHAPTER 9. GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS: ALIGNMENT OF CLAUSE ARGUMENTS

Grammatical relations are defined here as the relations between the core argument nominals and the predicate in a clause. The nominal arguments can express three roles, abbreviated and defined as the following:¹⁷²

- S The core argument of a canonical, intransitive predicate (i.e., ‘subject’ of an intransitive clause).
- A The more ‘agent-like’ argument of a transitive predicate (i.e., ‘agent’ of a transitive clause).
- O The more ‘patient-like’ argument of a canonical, transitive predicate (i.e., ‘object’ of a transitive clause).

Across languages, the roles of these arguments are typically identified by forms within three domains of grammar: case marking, participant reference marking on the verb, and clause constituent order (Payne 1997:129).

Patterns of treatment of roles are the basis for grouping the arguments and regarding them as exhibiting a particular type of ‘alignment’. That is, two roles are ‘treated’ in the same way if a particular role, for example, ‘S’, is expressed by the same form as another role, for example, ‘A’. Across languages, there are five possibilities for types of alignment (Comrie 2011, 1978):

| | | |
|----|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. | S and A are treated the same, whereas O is treated differently. | a ‘nominative-accusative’ system |
| 2. | S and O are treated the same, whereas A is treated differently. | an ‘ergative-absolutive’ system |
| 3. | S and A and O are all treated differently. | a ‘tripartite’ system |
| 4. | S and A and O are all treated the same. | a ‘neutral’ system |
| 5. | A and O are treated the same, whereas S is treated differently. | a ‘double oblique’ system |

A language may exhibit one pattern of alignment or it may also show different patterns of alignment, as a ‘split’, in distinct domains of grammar. For example, it is well known that

¹⁷² See Comrie (1978) (with P instead of O) and Dixon (1979, 1994) for the early use of the abbreviations S, A, and O. For the use of these abbreviations in a more recent work, for example, see Haig (2008). The definitions here especially follow Comrie (2011). For these definitions, see also Payne (2006:216–217; 1997:74–75, 133–134).

some Iranian languages have different patterns of alignment depending on the tense and aspect of the clause. For example, Northern Kurdish varieties generally exhibit a nominative-accusative system for intransitive and transitive verbs in present tense clauses, but an ergative-absolutive system for transitive verbs in past tense clauses.¹⁷³ The patterns of alignment can also be restricted to certain types of nominals, with noun phrases exhibiting marking in one way, and pronouns exhibiting a different pattern.

Gawraǰūyī also exhibits complicated patterns of alignment. These patterns can be described at several levels of grammar. The most general characteristic is that the patterning in present tense clauses differs from that in past tense clauses.

Then within these two tense domains, there are differences depending on the type of nominal form expressing the argument. The full (lexical) noun phrases have different distribution than pronouns. Within the category of pronouns, the independent pronouns pattern differently than enclitic pronouns. The verb suffixes, that is, the endings that refer to person and number on the verb, also pattern in a particular way.

In this chapter, the different nominal forms expressing S, A, and O and their distribution are surveyed. These nominals are described as full noun phrases, independent pronouns, enclitic pronouns, and verb suffixes. These are first examined in terms of their distribution in present tense clauses and then in past tense clauses.

9.1 Present tense clauses

9.1.1 Full noun phrases expressing arguments of present tense clauses

In present tense clauses, full (lexical) noun phrases are attested as expressing the roles of S, A, and O. There is no regular case marking, however, on these noun phrases to mark these roles (for case, see also Section 6.3.1). In this respect, the configuration of elements can be characterized as a ‘neutral’ system, in that the arguments are treated in the same way.

The next sections illustrate full noun phrases expressing S, A, and O in present tense clauses.

9.1.1.1 S in present tense clause

- (1878) *bizin m-āy = wa*
 goat IND-come.PRS.3SG = PTCL#
 ‘the goat comes back’ [2:52]

¹⁷³ See Haig (2008) for a comprehensive treatment of alignment and historical development in Kurdish and other Iranian languages, including material from Gūrānī; see also Bailey (2005) for a description of synchronic systems of grammatical relations in three Northern Kurdish varieties.

- (1879) sinderelā ma-wram-ē
Sinderelā IND-cry.PRS-3SG
'Sinderelā cries' [12:13]
- (1880) mināṭ-ān pādšā m-ā-yin
child-PL king IND-come.PRS-3PL
'the children of the king come' [11:50]
- (1881) dita-k-ān m-ā-yin = wa
girl-DEF-PL IND-come.PRS-3PL = PTCL#
'the girls come back' [12:22]

9.1.1.2 A in present tense clause

- (1882) jā širīn ina ma-wīn-ē
then Širīn PROX_4 IND-see.PRS-3SG
'then Širīn sees this' [4:131]
- (1883) bāwažan-aka = š walē ma-wīn-ē = š
stepmother-DEF = 3SG but IND-see.PRS-3SG = 3SG
'her stepmother however sees her' [11:48]
- (1884) kaywānū m-wāy
lady IND-say.PRS.3SG
'the lady says' [11:78]

9.1.1.3 O in present tense clause

- (1885) dita ma-wīn-ē
young.woman IND-see.PRS-3SG
'he sees a young woman' [4:13]
- (1886) gūra ma-lawřn-ē
calf IND-cause.to.graze.PRS-3SG
'she causes the calf to graze' [11:7]
- (1887) āw m-ār-ē
water IND-bring.PRS-3SG
'she brings water' [11:72]

9.1.1.4 A and O in the same present tense clause

There are only a few examples attested in the text corpus with both A and O expressed as full noun phrases in the same present tense clause:

- (1888) řarūs hanā ma-gardin-ē
bride henna IND-pass.around.PRS-3SG
'the bride passes around the henna' [7N:103]

- (1889) bizin āw ma-yar-ē = š
 goat water IND-take.PRS-3SG = 3SG
 ‘(as for) the goat, the water takes her away’ [2:16] (Note: The O argument is positioned here in a marked constituent order.)

9.1.2 Independent pronouns expressing arguments of present tense clauses

An independent pronoun can also express the roles of S and A in a present tense clause. Only a few examples of an independent pronoun expressing O are attested, and these independent pronouns are limited to third person singular, with no examples of first or second person forms. In comparison to the independent pronouns, it is the enclitic pronouns that are more frequently attested in this function of expressing O (see Section 9.1.5.1).

In general, the group of pronominals thus tend to pattern as a nominative-accusative system, in that S and A are treated in the same way (mainly as independent pronouns) and O in another way (mainly as enclitic pronouns). The first and second person forms are attested in following this pattern consistently (independent forms only expressing S or A, enclitic forms only expressing O). The independent forms of third person singular pattern distinctly, in that there is some evidence of a tendency towards a neutral system.

The pronominals are described here as independent forms, with first and second person forms shown first, then the third person forms. Then the enclitic pronouns are described.

9.1.3 First and second person independent pronouns expressing arguments of present tense clauses

The examples below show the independent first and second person pronouns expressing S and A in present tense clauses. As mentioned, no instances are attested of these forms expressing O:

9.1.3.1 S in present tense clause

- (1890) min ma-š-im = a řā = m
 1SG IND-go.PRS-1SG = DIR way = 1SG
 ‘I will go on my way’ [5:114]
- (1891) tu masan ma-š-ī
 2SG for.example IND-go.PRS-2SG
 ‘you for example go’ [8:138]
- (1892) ēma bi-niš-ām
 1PL_2 SBJV-sit.PRS-1PL
 ‘we may sit’ [7H:33]

9.1.3.2 A in present tense clause

- (1893) min āw b-wār-im
1SG water SBJV-drink.PRS-1SG
'I may drink water' [1:24]
- (1894) tu pal-aka bi-škin-i
2SG leaf-DEF SBJV-break.PRS-2SG
'you may break off the leaves' [1:25]
- (1895) ēma m-wāž-ām
1PL_2 IND-say.PRS-1PL
'we say' [7H:107]
- (1896) šima m-wāž-a
1PL IND-say.PRS-1PL
'you say' [7H:108]

9.1.3.3 O in present tense clause

(Not attested.)

9.1.4 Independent demonstrative pronouns expressing arguments of present tense clauses

The demonstratives used as third person pronouns are also attested in present tense clauses expressing the roles of S, A, but they are only rarely found expressing O.

The form *ān*, however, is attested expressing O, while the proximal forms *īn* or *īnī* are not found in this function.

The distal form *ānī* is frequently found expressing A, but it is not clearly attested expressing S.

Examples of demonstrative pronouns (proximal and distal, singular and plural) are shown:

9.1.4.1 S in present tense clause

- (1897) īnī m-āy
PROX_2 IND-come.PRS.3SG
'she (this one) comes' [11:46]
- (1898) īn ma-š(u)=wa mā_ʕasal
PROX_1 IND-go.PRS.3SG=DIR honeymoon
'he (this one) goes on the honeymoon' [7H:159]
- (1899) ānī m-āy = a, m-āy = a lā = y lālo pāyar
DIST_2 IND-come.PRS.3SG=DIR IND-come.PRS.3SG=DIR presence=EZ Lālo Pāyar
'she (that one) comes, she comes to the presence of Lālo Pāyar' [2:75]

- (1900) *īnān* = *ī(č)* *ma-š-in* = *a* *kū*
 PROX.PL_1 = ADD IND-go.PRS-3PL = DIR mountain
 ‘these ones also go to the mountains’ [2:36]

9.1.4.2 A in present tense clause

- (1901) *īnī* *řaxm* *pāṭawānī* *ma-püş-ē*
 PROX_2 armor heroic IND-wear.PRS-3SG
 ‘he puts on heroic armor’ [5:63]
- (1902) *ānī* *nān* = *u* *tūša* *ařā* = *y* *īštan* = *iš* *m-ār-ē*
 DIST_2 bread = and victuals for = EZ RFL = 3SG IND-bring.PRS-3SG
 ‘he simply brings bread and victuals’ [3:6]
- (1903) *ān* *m-wāy*
 DIST_1 IND-say.PRS.3SG
 ‘he says’ [4:148]
- (1904) *ānān* *ma-zān-in*
 DIST.PL_1 IND-know.PRS-3PL
 ‘they know’ [7H:45]

9.1.4.3 O in present tense clause

The third person singular distal form *ān* is only attested once expressing O, while the proximal forms are not found in this function.

- (1905) *šīrīn* *wa* *xāw(ē)* *ān* *ma-wīn-ē*
 Šīrīn in dream DIST_1 IND-see.PRS-3SG
 ‘Šīrīn in dreams sees him’ [4:6]

9.1.5 Enclitic pronouns expressing arguments of present tense clauses

In present tense clauses, the enclitic pronouns are almost exclusively attested expressing O, as illustrated below.¹⁷⁴

As mentioned in Section 9.1.2, with respect to first and second person forms, there is thus a strong tendency towards complementary distribution in the use of enclitic and independent forms. That is, first and second person independent pronouns are only attested expressing S and A, while first and second person enclitic pronouns are only attested expressing O. The

¹⁷⁴ More study is needed to analyze the following: *bāyad* (*bike?*) *nayrū* *bi-kīš-ī=t=a* *dayšt* ‘you must pull the forces out (i.e., withdraw)’ [6:117]. In this clause, the verb *bi-kīš-ī=t=a* is glossed as ‘SBJV-pull.PRS-2SG = 2SG = DIR’. That is, an enclitic pronoun *=t* expresses A, in addition to the normal verb suffix *-ī*.

third person independent pronouns show a slightly different patterning, however, and at least one form, *ān*, can express O, too.

The enclitic pronouns are introduced in Section 4.2.3, but are repeated here to aid comparison. The forms in parentheses are allomorphs following vowels:

Table 74. Enclitic pronouns

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|-------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1 | = im ‘= 1SG’ | = mān ‘= 1PL’ |
| 2 | = it ‘= 2SG’ | = tān ‘= 2PL’ |
| 3 | = iš ‘= 3SG’ Rare: = y ‘= 3SG_1’ | = šān ‘= 3PL’ |

9.1.5.1 S in present tense clause

(Not attested.)

9.1.5.2 A in present tense clause

(Not attested.)

9.1.5.3 O in present tense clause

The next examples show the various person-number forms of the enclitic pronouns expressing O in present tense clauses. In the text corpus, there are no examples of first person singular or second person plural forms expressing O in present tense clauses, but this may be due to the limited text material:

- (1906) ma-xwāz-im = it
IND-marry.PRS-1SG = 2SG
‘I will marry you’ [5:113]
- (1907) ma-wīn-ī = mān
IND-see.PRS-2SG = 1PL
‘you see us’ [10:33]
- (1908) m-ār-ē = š = a bān
IND-take.PRS-3SG = 3SG = DIR upstairs
‘she takes it upstairs’ [1:3]
- (1909) b-wār-ē = š
SBJV-eat.PRS-3SG = 3SG
‘that she may eat it’ [1:16]

- (1910) āw ma-yar-ē = mān
 water IND-take.PRS-3SG = 1PL
 ‘the water will take us’ [2:13]
- (1911) m-war-im = šān
 IND-eat.PRS-1SG = 3PL
 ‘I will eat them’ [2:34]
- (1912) m-wan-ē = šān = wa
 IND-recite.PRS-3SG = 3PL = PTCL#
 ‘he recites them’ [4:70]

9.1.5.4 Notes on the position of enclitic pronoun expressing O in present tense clauses

The position of the enclitic pronoun as an enclitic in these clauses can vary. In the examples in the preceding section, the enclitic pronoun expressing O is attached to the end of the verb. The enclitic pronoun never attaches to elements outside of the predicate.

A different pattern occurs when the verb is a complex construction involving a preverb or compound verb element. In such an instance, the enclitic pronoun expressing O attaches to that element. Examples include:

Enclitic pronoun attached to preverb

- (1913) kuřa haw = iř ma-yr-ē
 boy up = 3SG IND-pick.up.PRS-3SG
 ‘the boy picks him up’ [5:144]

Enclitic pronoun attached to compound verb element

- (1914) durus = iř ma-kar-in
 prepare = 3SG IND-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘they make it’ [7N:39]

9.1.6 Verb suffixes in present tense clauses

There is a set of verb suffixes used in present tense clauses. In these clauses, the suffixes express agreement with S and A, but not with O. They thus pattern as a nominative-accusative system. (The suffixes are described in more detail in Section 4.7.5, but they are repeated here to aid comparison.)

Table 75. Present tense verb suffixes

| | | |
|------|-----|---|
| -1SG | -im | (-m following vowels <i>ī</i> , <i>ā</i> , <i>a</i> , <i>o</i> ; also -yim following <i>ā</i>) |
| -2SG | -ī | (-y following vowel) |
| -3SG | -ē | (-ī or -y preceding = a morpheme), rare variants: -a, -o; various fused forms |
| -1PL | -ām | (-yām following vowel), rare variants: -ymē; or -īm (-ym following vowel) |
| -2PL | -a | rare variant: -ān |
| -3PL | -in | (-n following vowel) rare variant: -ān |

The following examples present a selection of verb suffixes showing agreement with S and A in present tense clauses.

9.1.6.1 S in present tense clause

- (1915) ma-š-im
IND-go.PRS-1SG
'I am going' [5:118]
- (1916) ma-š-ām
IND-go.PRS-1PL
'we go' [2:12]
- (1917) ma-řam-ē
IND-run.PRS-3SG
'she runs' [11:67]
- (1918) m-ā-yin
IND-come.PRS-3PL
'they come' [11:106]

9.1.6.2 A in present tense clause

- (1919) ma-zān-ī
IND-know.PRS-2SG
'you know' [9:36]
- (1920) ma-wīn-ē
IND-see.PRS-3SG
'he sees' [11:101]

- (1921) šima m-wāž-a
2PL IND-say.PRS-2PL
'you (plural) say' [7H:108]
- (1922) ma-kar-im
IND-do.PRS-1PL
'we do' [3:107]

9.2 Past tense clauses

Past tense clauses are those clauses in which the main finite verb contains a past stem. This includes the finite forms such as the Past Perfective, Past Imperfective, the Present Perfect, and the Past Perfect, and also the subjunctive forms (see Chapter 11 for a description of the forms and details).

9.2.1 Full noun phrases expressing arguments of past tense clauses

In past tense clauses, full noun phrases can express the roles of S, A, and O. There is no regular or consistent case marking on the full noun phrases in these roles. In terms of this absence of morphological marking, they are thus treated the same and could be regarded in this way as patterning as a 'neutral' system.

The next examples show full noun phrases expressing S, A, and O in present tense clauses.

9.2.1.1 S in past tense clause

- (1923) řarūs hāma
bride come.PST
'the bride came' [7N:115]
- (1924) řafiq = iř řaft = ē
friend = 3SG go.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'his friend has gone' [3:14]

9.2.1.2 A in past tense clause

There are relatively few examples attested of this use:

- (1925) xalsaw wan wāt
Xalsaw to.goal say.PST
'Xosrow said to him' [6:147] (Note: There is no enclitic pronoun in resumptive reference.)
- (1926) amrikā kiřt = iř
America do.PST = 3SG
'America made it' [6:125] (Translation is provisional.)

9.2.1.3 O in past tense clause

There are many instances attested of a full noun phrase expressing O:

- (1927) xāk = im war(d)
earth = 1SG eat.PST
'I ate earth' [3:106]
- (1928) naxša = šān kīšt
plan = 3PL make.PST
'they made plans' [6:67]
- (1929) šāyerēk = iš kīšt = wa
plane.tree.INDF_1 = 3SG pull.PST = PTCL#
'he pulled up a plane tree' [4:143]
- (1930) tu ištān = it nān-aka = t dizī
2SG RFL = 2SG bread-DEF = 2SG steal.PST
'you yourself stole the bread' [3:104]
- (1931) tā šün řaxš = iš hāwird = a ħasār
until after Raxš = 3SG bring.PST = DIR courtyard
'until he brought Raxš to the courtyard' [5:103]
- (1932) nwār-ak-ān = iš šiknī
cassette-DEF-PL = 3SG cause.to.break.PST
'she broke the cassettes' [8:163]

9.2.1.4 A and O in the same past tense clause

- (1933) gařā das šīrīn girt
Gařā hand Šīrīn take.PST
'the Gařā took the hand of Šīrīn' [4:126]
- (1934) birā-(k)-ān naxša = šān kīst-a = wē
brother-DEF-PL plan = 3PL pull.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG
'the brothers had made plans' [5:26]

9.2.2 Independent pronouns expressing arguments of past tense clauses

With some limitations, independent pronouns can be used to express the roles of S, A, and O in past tense clauses, and thus could be regarded as forming a 'neutral system'.

There are only a few examples found in the text corpus of independent pronouns expressing S in past tense clauses, and they are limited to certain forms. There are no examples attested of second singular or second plural forms used in this function. Also not attested in this function are third person singular and plural proximal forms *īn*, *īnī*, *īnānī*, *īnakānī* (including the probable proximal forms *āyšān* and *āyakān*), or the distal forms *ān*, *ānā*, *āna*, *ānānī*, or *ānān*.

There are, however, instances attested of *ānāna*, *āna* (these occur with the past copula), *īnāna*, and *īnān*.

9.2.2.1 S in past tense clause

- (1935) min man-a = yim
1SG remain.PST-PART = COP.PRS.1SG
'I have remained' [4:192]
- (1936) ima ǰraft-īm
1PL_3 go.PST-1PL_5
'we went' [8:146] (variant verb suffix)
- (1937) ēma man = yām = a
1PL_2 remain.PST = COP.PRS.1PL = DIR
'we have remained' [2:10]
- (1938) ānī ya mudat-ē mawu
DIST_2 one time-INDF_2 be.PRS.3SG
'he was there a while' [5:53]
- (1939) īnāna ǰraft-a = yē
PROX.PL_3 go.PST-PART = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'these ones have gone' [7N:118]
- (1940) īnān = ī(č) hāma = n
PROX.PL_1 = ADD come.PST = COP.PRS.3PL_3?
'they also have come (or: came)' [6:97]

9.2.2.2 A in past tense clause

Independent pronouns expressing A in past tense clauses display more complexity in their distribution. An independent pronoun can be used, but then, in almost all instances, an enclitic pronoun corresponding in person and number also occurs in the clause and repeats the reference. The next examples mostly show the distribution of the independent pronoun, but they also show this use of the enclitic pronoun in this reference.

There are also limited instances of independent pronouns expressing A in the Gawraǰūyī texts. The first singular and plural, and the second person singular are attested, but the second person plural is not attested. Only some of the third person forms are found, such as *ānā*, *āna*, *īn*, *ān*, and *īnān*.

- (1941) min tu = m nāsī
1SG 2SG = 1SG recognize.PST
'I recognized you' [3:101]

- (1942) tu min = it kušt
2SG 1SG = 2SG kill.PST
'you killed me' [5:153]
- (1943) tu išan = it nān-aka = t dizi
2SG RFL = 2SG bread-DEF = 2SG steal.PST
'you yourself stole the bread' [3:104]
- (1944) ānā wāt = iš
DIST_3 say.PST = 3SG
'that one (i.e., the other one) said' [6:48]
- (1945) in wāt-a = wē = š
PROX_1 say.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF = 3SG
'this one had said' [5:129]
- (1946) ān = ič ha zür = iš kard = wē
DIST_1 = ADD always force = 3SG do.PST = COP.PST.PRF.3SG
'She (i.e., the mother) also always had forced (the young woman) against her will' [8:123]
- (1947) ān wāt-a = wē = š
DIST_1 say.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG = 3SG
'that one had said' [5:129]
- (1948) ēma hāya = mān dā wan
1PL_2 egg = 1PL give.PST to.goal
'Did we give her eggs?' [1:63]
- (1949) inān = i(č) hīn = šān ka(rd)
PROX.PL_1 = ADD thing = 3PL do.PST
'they (or: these) too did thing' [6:67]

An example is also shown here illustrating an independent pronoun expressing A, but it is unusual in that there is no repetition of reference by an enclitic pronoun:

- (1950) āna dī tāriḫ = e jahānī wan(i)-ya = y
DIST_4 then history = EZ world read.PST-PART = COP.PRS.3SG_1?
'that one (who) has read the history of the world' [5:6] (no repeated reference with enclitic pronoun)

9.2.2.3 O in past tense clause

There are limited examples of independent pronouns expressing O, only attested with the first and second singular forms *min* '1SG' and *tu* '2SG'.

There are no examples found of the third person singular or plural pronouns in this use, either, and only one example of *ān* as a demonstrative adjective in a full noun phrase.

- (1951) min tu = m nāsī
 1SG 2SG = 1SG recognize.PST
 ‘I recognized you’ [3:101]
- (1952) tu min = it kušt
 2SG 1SG = 2SG kill.PST
 ‘you killed me’ [5:153]

9.2.3 Enclitic pronouns expressing arguments of past tense clauses

9.2.3.1 S in past tense clause

In past tense clauses, there are no examples of enclitic pronouns expressing S. This function is instead performed by an independent element (full noun phrase or pronoun) and obligatorily indexed by a verb suffix (see Section 9.2.4).

9.2.3.2 A in past tense clause

There are, however, many examples of enclitic pronouns expressing A in a past tense transitive clause. In such a clause, there are two additional conditions in which some variation is observed.

The first has to do with the presence or absence of an independent nominal (or pronominal) that is coreferent with the enclitic pronoun. The enclitic pronoun almost always appears in the clause, while the presence or absence of the independent element depends on factors in the context (such as those discussed in Chapter 14). The examples below show clauses both with and without an independent element.

The second area of variation involves the position of the enclitic pronoun, and it is discussed in more detail below in Section 9.2.3.3.

The examples are presented according to the following sequence of person-number forms, as 1SG, 2SG, 3SG, 1PL, 2PL, 3PL:

- (1953) wāt = im
 say.PST = 1SG
 ‘I said’ [8:153]
- (1954) min = ī wāt = im
 1SG = ADD? say.PST = 1SG
 ‘I said’ [8:140]
- (1955) min tu = m nāsī
 1SG 2SG = 1SG recognize.PST
 ‘I recognized you’ [3:101]

- (1956) min har_čī = m wāt = ē
1SG whatever = 1SG say.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'whatever I have said' [4:203]
- (1957) šīrkat = im na-kard = ē
part = 1SG NEG_2-do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'I have not taken part' [7N:118]
- (1958) min ward-a = m = ē
1SG eat.PST-PART = 1SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'I have eaten them (lit., singular)' [2:70]
- (1959) řūṭa-k-ān = iš = im = ič ward = ē
dear.child-DEF-PL = 3SG = 1SG = ADD eat.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'I have eaten her dear children, too' [2:80]
- (1960) tu = m ni-ma-yašt
2SG = 1SG NEG_1-IPFV-allow.PST
'I was not allowing you' [5:85]
- (1961) tu min = it kušt
2SG 1SG = 2SG kill.PST
'you killed me' [5:153]
- (1962) aṛā dāyka = y ēma = t kušt = ē
why mother = EZ 1PL_2 = 2SG kill.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'Why have you killed our mother?' [11:8]
- (1963) gaṛā = š girt
Gaṛā = 3SG grab.PST
'he grabbed a Gaṛā' [4:135] (no independent pronoun)
- (1964) gišt = šān = (i)š kušt
all = 3PL = 3SG kill.PST
'he killed all of them' [4:140]
- (1965) wāt = iš
say.PST = 3SG
'she said' [8:137]
- (1966) fiṭān xānim = mān dī = ya
certain lady = 1PL see.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_3?
'we have seen that certain lady' [9:67]
- (1967) ēma hāya = mān dā wan
1PL_2 egg = 1PL give.PST to.goal
'Did we give her eggs?' [1:63]

- (1968) a(ž) ka=y lālo ča=tān hāwir(d)
 from house=EZ uncle what=2PL bring.PST
 ‘What did you bring from the uncle’s house?’ [2:91]
- (1969) kušt=šān
 kill.PST=3PL
 ‘they killed him’ [6:105]
- (1970) wāt=šān
 say.PST=3PL
 ‘they said’ [4:144]
- (1971) wāt=šān=it
 say.PST=3PL=2SG
 ‘Did they tell it to you?’ [5:124]
- (1972) hüč=šān na-hīšt
 anything=3PL NEG_2-leave.PST
 ‘they did not leave anything’ [4:207]
- (1973) birā-(k)-ān daʿwat=šān kard=ē
 brother-DEF-PL invite=3PL do.PST=COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘the brothers have invited him’ [5:17]
- (1974) musadiq=šān taslīm ka(rd), girt=šān
 Musadiq.(Mosaddeq)=3PL hand.over do.PST arrest.PST=3PL
 ‘they handed over Mosaddeq, they arrested him’ [6:25]
- (1975) be=šān saxt ma-girt-i=šān
 with=3PL strict IND-take.PST-NA=3PL
 ‘they were being strict with them’ [8:19]
- (1976) dī na-tānis=šān zendegī bi-kar-in
 then NEG_2-can.PST=3PL live SBJV-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘then they could not live’ [8:80]

9.2.3.3 Notes on the position of enclitic pronoun expressing A in past tense clauses

There are various elements in a past tense clause to which the enclitic pronoun expressing A may attach. (Some of these examples also appear in the preceding section.)

Attachment to O

In a clause in which there is an element expressing the object, the enclitic pronoun usually attaches to this element:

- (1977) min tu=m nāsī
 1SG 2SG=1SG recognize.PST
 ‘I recognized you’ [3:101]

This attachment to direct object also applies in a clause with negation:

- (1978) tu = m ni-ma-yašt
 2SG = 1SG NEG_1-IND-allow.PST
 ‘I did not allow you’ [5:85]

The enclitic pronoun attaches to the direct object, including when the direct object is expressed by a more complex element such as a coordinated noun phrase:

- (1979) dwāra šīrīn = u šawdīz = iš girt = a šān = wa
 again Šīrīn = and Šawdīz = 3SG get.PST = DIR shoulder = PTCL#
 ‘again he put Šīrīn and Šawdīz on his shoulders’ [4:141]

When attached to the direct object, the enclitic pronoun expressing A follows any noun phrase morphology on the object, such as another enclitic pronoun expressing possessor (here, = *iš* expresses possessor, while = *im* expresses A). (It does not attach to the enclitic = *ič*):

- (1980) rūta-k-ān = iš = im = ič ward = ē
 dear.child-DEF-PL = 3SG = 1SG = ADD eat.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘I have eaten her dear children, too’ [2:80]

Attachment to verb

In the case where no direct object is included in the clause, the enclitic pronoun attaches directly to the verb:

- (1981) kušt = šān
 kill.PST = 3PL
 ‘they killed him’ [6:105]

A rarely attested instance, however, occurs the enclitic pronoun attaches to the verb even when a direct object is available in the clause:

- (1982) šīr-aka ward = iš
 milk-DEF drink.PST = 3SG
 ‘it drank the milk’ [1:9]

In a combination of the modal auxiliary and dependent clause, the enclitic pronoun attaches to the modal auxiliary verb:

- (1983) di na-tānis = šān zendigī bi-kar-in
 then NEG_2-can.PST = 3PL live SBJV-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘then they could not live (together)’ [8:80]

In the Perfect construction, the enclitic pronoun attaches to the participle element of the verb, rather than to the copula element:

- (1984) min ward-a = m = ē
 1SG eat.PST-PART = 1SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘I have eaten them (lit., singular)’ [2:70]

9.2.3.4 O in past tense clause

There are no examples of enclitic pronouns expressing O in past tense clauses. (There are also no examples of O expressed with a verb suffix, apart from a zero marking.) Instead, O in a past tense clause is normally attested as expressed by a full noun phrase or an independent pronoun. (See the next section for discussion of verb suffixes in this function.)

9.2.4 Verb suffixes in past tense clauses

The set of verb suffixes appearing on past tense clauses is introduced in Section 4.7.5, but repeated here to aid comparison.¹⁷⁵

Table 76. Past tense verb suffixes

| | | |
|------|------------|--|
| -1SG | -im | (-m following vowel, or rarely -yim following vowel) |
| -2SG | -ī | (-y following vowel) |
| -3SG | (unmarked) | |
| -1PL | -yām | rare variants: -ymē, -īm |
| -2PL | -īa | (not attested in texts, but elicited) ¹⁷⁶ |
| -3PL | -in | (-n following vowel) |

9.2.4.1 S in past tense clause

These verb suffixes are obligatory and refer to the person and number of S in past tense clauses:

- (1985) min = ič řaft-im
 1SG = ADD go.PST-1SG
 ‘I also went’ [8:153]

¹⁷⁵ Note that for first person singular, there is also a rare variant of the past verb suffix: *-īm* [8:147]. It is also found in another example *min = ič řaft-īm* ‘1SG = ADD go.PRS-1SG?’ (‘I also went’) [6:37]. It should also be noted that the third person singular is not an overt form and could be alternately glossed as ‘zero’ (‘Ø’). The bare past stem, however, is the only element glossed here. Regarding first person plural, there is also the suffix *-ymē*, which is identical to first person plural in Zardayāna.

¹⁷⁶ For this form, see Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:27).

- (1986) řasī-m = a
reach.PST-1SG = DIR
'I reached' [4:155]
- (1987) řaft-ī
go.PST-2SG
'you went' [3:104]
- (1988) tu hāma-y
2SG come.PST-2SG
'you came' [6:149]
- (1989) baʿd řaft
then go.PST
'then she went' [8:161]
- (1990) īma řaft-īm
1PL_3 go.PST-1PL_5
'we went' (variant verb suffix)
- (1991) hāma-ymē dāwā = š
come.PST-1PL request = 3SG
'we came to request her (hand)' [8:95]
- (1992) nīšt-in
sit.PST-3PL
'they sat (i.e., 'were engaged in')' [6:40]

9.2.4.2 A in past tense clause

There are no clear examples of the verb suffixes attested to express A in a past tense clause. The enclitic pronouns are used for this function instead.

9.2.4.3 O in past tense clause

The verb suffixes are not attested expressing O in a past tense clause. There is an absence of marking for third person singular, however, which could be analyzed as 'zero'. In instances of a third person singular referent to O, this absence of marking on the verb signals the reference (the enclitic pronouns in this examples refer to A):

- (1993) dā = š wa zamīn, kwān = iš wa huwā
give.PST = 3SG to ground throw.PST = 3SG in air
'he knocked him to the ground, he threw him violently into the air' [4:136]
- (1994) kušt = šān
kill.PST = 3PL
'they killed him' [6:105]

Instead, the most frequently attested expression of O in past tense clauses is by means of a full noun phrase or an independent pronoun.

9.3 Constituent order and ambiguity

There are some contexts in which the identities of the A and O arguments can be ambiguous. One possible means of identifying an argument as A or O is by typical patterns in constituent order, though there are many complications. The basic constituent order in Gawraǰūyī is S/A O V. In principle, if A and O were to occur together in the same present or past tense clause, it would be expected that A would precede O, as illustrated below:

- (1995) ʃarūs hanā ma-gardin-ē
 bride henna IND-cause.to.pass.around.PRS-3SG
 ‘the bride passes around the henna’ [7N:103]
- (1996) gařā das šīrīn girt
 Gařā hand Šīrīn take.PST
 ‘the Gařā took Šīrīn’s hand’ [4:126]
- (1997) birā-(k)-ān naxša = šān kīst-a = wē
 brother-DEF-PL plan = 3PL pull.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG
 ‘the brothers had made plans’ [5:26]

Nevertheless, there can be permutations of this constituent order, depending on patterns of left-detachment and other factors relating to information structure (see Chapter 14). A few examples of these different orders are shown:

- (1998) min řūta-k-ān = im ī gurg = a
 1SG dear.child-DEF-PL = 1SG PROX.DEM.ADJ wolf = DEM
 ward-a = š = ē
 eat.PST-PART = 3SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘me (?) my dear children, this wolf has eaten them’ [2:76]
- (1999) bizin āw ma-yar-ē = š
 goat water IND-take.PRS-3SG = 3SG
 ‘(as for) the goat, the water takes her away’ [2:16] (marked constituent order with left-detachment)

Thus, it is not always possible to clearly disambiguate argument roles when they are expressed by full noun phrases in the same clause simply on the basis of tendencies of constituent order. More details about constituent order and argument roles are presented in Chapter 14.

9.4 Notes on the presence and absence of arguments and cross-reference

The tendencies for the presence and absence of arguments and cross-reference (or indexing) can be summarized:

In present tense clauses

- S present: Necessarily indexed as a verb suffix. The additional expression of an independent nominal expressing S is not obligatory.
- A present: Necessarily indexed as a verb suffix. The additional expression of an independent nominal expressing A is not obligatory.
- O present: Usually expressed as a full noun phrase or enclitic pronoun, but only rarely attested as an independent pronoun (only third person singular).

In past tense clauses

- S past: Necessarily indexed as a verb suffix. The additional expression of an independent nominal expressing S is not obligatory.
- A past: Almost always expressed as an enclitic pronoun. The additional expression of an independent nominal expressing A is not obligatory.
- O past: Normally expressed with a full noun phrase or independent pronoun. Not attested as expressed with enclitic pronouns or indexed with verb suffixes (except in analysis with ‘zero’ for third person singular).

9.5 Summary charts of systems of grammatical relations

The following tables summarize the attested forms and possibilities for their distribution to express or cross-reference clause arguments. The next table outlines the full noun phrases and their attested use expressing the arguments of S, A, and O in both present and past tense clauses:

Table 77. Full noun phrases and attested expressions of arguments

| | Present tense clauses | Past tense clauses |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------|
| S | full NP | full NP |
| A | full NP | full NP |
| O | full NP | full NP |

The next table summarizes the attested use of independent pronouns and enclitic pronouns in expressing S, A, and O. As noted in Section 4.2, the enclitic pronouns appear in functions

typical of an oblique case, whereas the independent pronouns appear in functions typical of either direct or oblique case.

Table 78. Independent and enclitic pronouns and attested expressions of arguments

| | Present tense clauses | | Past tense clauses | |
|----------|--|--------------|--|---|
| | Indep. pn. | Enclitic pn. | Indep. pn. | Enclitic pn. |
| S | indep. pn. | — | indep. pn. (limited examples) | — |
| A | indep. pn. | — | indep. pn. with resumption by enclitic pn. (almost always resumed) | usually enclitic pn., with or without co-occurring NP or indep. pn. |
| O | (exceptionally, indep. pn., only third person distal form) | enclitic pn. | indep. pn. rare, only attested with first and second singular | — |

The final table summarizes the different types of argument indexing patterns in present tense and past tense clauses:

Table 79. Verb agreement and cross-reference patterns of arguments

| | Present tense clauses | Past tense clauses |
|----------|-----------------------------|--|
| S | present tense verb suffixes | past tense verb suffixes |
| A | present tense verb suffixes | enclitic pronouns |
| O | — | No verb suffixes attested (though there is potential ambiguity with ‘zero’ marking for third person singular or second singular on <i>-ī</i> verb stem). (There are instead typically full noun phrases or independent pronouns.) ¹⁷⁷ |

9.6 Patterns of alignment

There are thus differing types of alignment depending on the grammatical domain of present versus past tense clauses. Then, within each of these domains, there are further alignment patterns depending on the type of nominals and their distribution as expressions of the argument roles.¹⁷⁸ The next table outlines this distribution:

¹⁷⁷ This note is based on observations from the texts; further testing with native speakers is needed.

¹⁷⁸ This summary does not include discussion of constituent order.

Table 80. Distribution of forms and patterns in present and past tense clauses

| | Present tense clause | Past tense clause |
|----------|---|--|
| S | (full NP) + vb. suffix.PRS (indep. pn.) + vb. suffix.PRS vb. suffix.PRS | (full NP) + vb. suffix.PST (indep. pn.) + vb. suffix.PST vb. suffix.PST |
| A | (full NP) + vb. suffix.PRS (indep. pn.) + vb. suffix.PRS vb suffix.PRS | (full NP) + enclitic pn. (indep. pn.) + enclitic pn. enclitic pn. no vb. suffix |
| O | full NP indep. pn. (limited) enclitic pn. | full NP indep. pn. (though only attested as 1SG, 2SG) vb. suffix.PST (only if suffix is assumed as Ø 3SG or as 2SG on <i>-ī</i> stem) |

The distribution of the nominals can be also described as follows:¹⁷⁹

In present tense clauses

- Full noun phrases pattern as a neutral system: They can express S, A, and O.
- Pronominals (independent and enclitic) pattern as a nominative-accusative system: Independent pronouns express S and A, while enclitic pronouns express O.
- Verb suffixes pattern as a nominative-accusative system: The suffixes can index S and A, but they are not attested expressing O.

In past tense clauses (irregular patterning and with limitations)

- Full noun phrases pattern as a neutral system: They can express S, A, and O.
- Independent pronouns pattern as a mixed (or partially neutral) system: The independent pronouns can express S and A. They can also express O with limits (i.e., only attested with O as first and second person singular forms).
- Enclitic pronouns pattern as a limited ergative-absolutive system. The bound pronouns can express A, but they are not attested expressing S or O.
- Verb suffixes pattern as a mixed system. They can reference S, but not A. They can only be assumed to reference O if the analysis includes the possibility of ‘zero’

¹⁷⁹ The possible systems are presented in Comrie (1978:332). See also Payne (1997:134–135) for the background for this description of ‘nominative-accusative’ and ‘ergative-absolutive’.

marking of third person singular (and likewise of the ‘zero’ marking of second person singular on a past stem ending in *-ī*, in which case the usual second person singular *-ī* would not be apparent).

10. CHAPTER 10. VALENCE

In this chapter, the operations of valence are described within the larger system of Gawraǰūyī grammar. An earlier section introduces the morphological forms manifesting these operations (see Section 4.7), while this chapter presents additional forms and more detail about the functions. The chapter presents information on operations that increase valence, such as causative formation. It also describes operations that decrease valence, such as passive formation, impersonal expressions, reflexivity, and reciprocal constructions.

10.1 Semantic and grammatical valence

Valence can be defined at two levels, as a semantic notion and as a grammatical one.¹⁸⁰ Semantic valence generally refers to the particular mental picture or ‘scene’ depicted by the verb, and specifically, to the number of participants present in the scene. For example, the verb ‘walk’ in English has a semantic valence of one participant (someone who is walking). The verb ‘write’ depicts a scene with two participants (one who does the action of writing and the thing itself that is written). The verb ‘give’ has a semantic valence of three participants, referring to a scene in which there is one participant who gives, another participant or thing which is given, and another participant who receives.

Grammatical (or syntactic) valence refers to the actual surface structure of a particular clause and to the number of clause arguments that can be potentially present in that clause. The grammatical structure of the clause thus refers to the semantic scene, but may differ from it in that one or more participants depicted in the semantic scene may not be consistently expressed in the grammatical structure.

There are various constructions in Gawraǰūyī which are formed with a change in the way the semantic participant roles relate to the grammatical clause arguments. For example, in a causative construction, there is an increase in valence: The speaker adds a participant into a semantic scene (one who ‘causes’) and thus adds an argument to the clause. In a passive construction, there is a decrease in valence: The speaker takes a participant out of a semantic scene (an ‘agent’) and thus reduces the number of core arguments in the clause.

Terms

The terms ‘agent’ and ‘patient’ are used here to describe the semantic roles of valence, while the symbols ‘A’, ‘S’, and ‘O’ continue to be used to describe the grammatical arguments of a clause (see Chapter 9).

¹⁸⁰ This background about voice and valence is found in Payne (1997:169–173; 2006:237–275). As a model for the description of causatives, I have also referred to the study by Baart (1999:87–88).

10.2 Valence and transitivity

Valence corresponds in many ways with the notion of transitivity, as they both concern the number of participants associated with a verb. An intransitive verb involves reference to one participant, a transitive verb involves two participants, and a ditransitive verb refers to a scene with three participants. Valence, however, is considered to be a more general notion than transitivity, as it takes into account all possibilities in the number of arguments in a clause and the increase or decrease of this number.

The distinction of intransitive and transitive verbs is especially significant in the patterning of grammatical relations and alignment types. This topic is discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

The forms of intransitive and transitive verbs are introduced in Section 4.7.7.1. Clauses with these verbs are shown here:

Clause with an intransitive verb (one argument):

- (2000) min ma-š-im
 1SG IND-go.PRS-1SG
 ‘I go’ [5:89]

Clause with a transitive verb (two arguments):

- (2001) min ganim b-war-im
 1SG wheat SBJV-eat.PRS-1SG
 ‘I eat the wheat’ [1:67]

Clause with a ditransitive verb (three arguments):¹⁸¹

- (2002) hāya bi-tī-m = a tu
 egg SBJV-give.PRS-1SG = DIR 2SG
 ‘(that) I may give eggs to you’ [1:67]

10.3 Causative formation

The most frequently attested causative in Gawraǰūyī is formed by morphological means (introduced in Section 4.7.2.2 and summarized here). The formation takes place with the addition of the morpheme *-n* to the end of a present stem or as an infix *-n-* to a past stem, as illustrated here:

- (2003) řas ‘reach.PRS’ [3:20] > řas-n ‘cause.to.reach.PRS’ [8:53]

¹⁸¹ For further study, there is also the process of object incorporation, which could account for compound verb elements, such as *nīšān* ‘sign’ with the verb *tī* ‘give.PRS’ in the following example:

kū bīsītūn nīšān = iš ma-tī-n ‘mountain Bīsītūn show = 3SG IND-give.PRS-3PL’ (‘they show the mountain of Bīsītūn to him’) [4:64].

(2004) sūz ‘burn.PRS’ [5:46] > sūz-n-ī ‘cause.to.burn.PST’ [8:106]

The lexical causatives in Gawraǰūyī are transitive verbs. The instances of causatives in the text corpus mainly show derivation from intransitive verbs (as shown in the preceding examples). There is also a causative based on what appears to be a nominal form:

(2005) lawiř ‘grazing’ [2:23] > lawrīn- ‘cause.to.graze’ [11:7]

In semantic terms, this causative formation adds a participant to the scene depicted by the verb, an agent who makes something happen. The scene can be analyzed as having four components: causer, causee, cause, and effect (Payne 2006:258). The components can be observed in this example with a causative *gardin* ‘cause to go around’:

(2006) řarūs hanā ma-gardin-ē
 bride henna IND-cause.to.go.around.PRS-3SG
 ‘the bride causes the henna to go around (i.e., to be distributed)’ [7N:103]

The causer is řarūs ‘bride’, while the causee is the hanā ‘henna’. The cause is that it is made to happen, while the effect is that the henna ‘goes around’ (i.e., is distributed).

Other causative constructions are more complex in that they involve an additional participant:

(2007) řeřq-i=řān wa tareqa kas=e tir=wa
 love-EU=3PL by means? person=EZ other=POSTP#_3
 wa dit-aka ma-řasn-in
 to young.woman-DEF cause.to.reach.PRS-3PL
 ‘they cause their love to reach the young woman (i.e., they make their love known to the young woman) by means of another person’ [8:53]

The causer is ‘they’, expressed by person-number marking on the verb. The causee is řeřq-i=řān ‘their love’. The cause is that this is made to happen, and the effect is that their love reaches the young woman. There is an additional participant, however, expressed by an adpositional phrase *wa tareqa kas=e tir=wa* ‘by means of another person=PTCL#’, who could be considered an intermediate causer.

There are certain semantic features also associated with the additional participant as ‘causer’. In the text corpus, the causatives most frequently involve an animate causer with an inanimate causee (as can be viewed in the preceded two examples).

It is not clear from the Gawraǰūyī text material if causatives can also be formed in Gawraǰūyī by analytic means, though the verb *kar* ‘do.PRS’ (*kard* ‘do.PST’) appears with an element indicating a caused effect in a complex verb constructions:

(2008) āzād ka(rd) ‘free do.PST (i.e., make free, release)’ [6:118]

(2009) melī ka(rd) ‘national do.PST (i.e., make national, nationalize)’ [6:87]

10.4 Passive formation

In Gawraǰūyī, valence of a verb can be decreased by formation of a passive construction. In semantic terms, the verb scene still contains two participants, an agent and a patient, and it is expressed as a transitive verb. But the semantic roles are adjusted in the grammatical expression, with a decrease in valence. A passive is characterized by three properties (Payne 2006:250):

- The grammatical agent (A) is omitted or expressed in a ‘demoted’ or non-core argument role.
- The original patient (O) becomes the grammatical subject (S).
- The verb becomes grammatically intransitive.

The Gawraǰūyī passive constructions are described in the next sections. They can be described in terms of a personal construction, having a specific agent that is implied and not expressed. It is formed by morphological means and constructed on the basis of the present and past stems. The forms are introduced in Section 4.7.2.2.

An impersonal construction is also described below, involving an impersonal or non-specific agent.

10.4.1 Present Passive construction: Present stem with *-ya*

The Present Passive construction is formed with the morpheme *-ya* added to the present stem. As with other finite verb constructions formed from the present stem, the prefix *ma-* is included. The use of the prefix typically signals indicative mood with finite verb constructions, but in two out of its three instances in the text corpus, there is a sense of irrealis or hypothetical action. The construction is illustrated here:

(2010) mutʔaqan ma-kuš-ya-yim
 definitely IND-kill.PRS-PASS.PRS-1SG
 ‘definitely I would be killed’ [8:88]

The patient, as ‘I’, is expressed as S on the verb by person-number marking of first person singular *-yim*.

The agent is neither expressed as an argument of the verb nor by means of an adpositional phrase (‘by X, I would be killed’). The identity of a possible agent is only implied in the context.

In the following example, the Present Passive involves the present stem *kuš* ‘kill.PRS’. The agent is not expressed. The patient, as ‘someone’, would be expected to be indicated by the third person singular ending *-ē*, but for an unknown reason, it is not expressed on the verb:

- (2011) yā aḷ xānawāda=y kuṛa ma-kuš-ya
 either from family=EZ young.man IND-kill.PRS- PASS.PRS
 ‘either someone from the young man’s family would be killed’ [8:48]

10.4.2 Past Passive constructions

10.4.2.1 Past Passive construction: Past stem with *-yā*

Another morpheme, *-yā*, is attested on a few past stems. More study of this form is needed to describe its function. A formally identical morpheme is also found in Hawrāmī (Luhōn) (see MacKenzie 1966:48) and in Southern Kurdish (see Fattah 2000:502–503). An example of the Gawraḷyūyī construction is shown here:¹⁸²

- (2012) xūn = iṣ ḷūš-yā
 blood = 3SG boil.PST-PASS.PST
 ‘his blood boiled (active sense, but literally, was boiled?)’ [4:135]

It is also found in the text corpus within a section of poetic material from Southern Kurdish:

- (2013) dam = im sūz-yā
 mouth = 1SG burn.PST-PASS.PST
 ‘my mouth was burned’ [2:94]

10.4.2.2 Past Passive construction: Past stem with *-īs*

Another Past Passive construction can be formed by the addition of the morpheme *-īs* to the past stem.¹⁸³ It could also be regarded as part of the past stem for certain verbs. With transitive verbs, it has the sense of passive, as the agent is not expressed, and the patient is expressed in the role of grammatical subject (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:46). In this example, the semantic patient, ‘rifles’, is expressed as S:

- (2014) tifang řiš-īs
 rifle distribute.PST-PASS.PST
 ‘rifles were distributed (or: spilled?)’ [6:81]

The form of a past stem with *-īs* has similarities to a participle (see Section 4.7.4). It can occur as a past stem of a transitive verb (thus with passive sense), followed by a third singular (present tense) form of the copula, =ē. As noted by Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:46), the participle and its frequent occurrence with the copula suggests similarities to the ‘traditional perfect participles’; there is also a ‘resultative’ sense. As a construction, the combination is close in form and meaning to the more common type of Present Perfect construction (past

¹⁸² An alternative analysis of this ending is that it belongs to the intransitive verb stem itself.

¹⁸³ See Paul (2007:291–292) for a description of the etymology of this morpheme.

participle in *-a* + present tense copula). A few examples of the *-īs* construction with the present tense copula are presented here:

- (2015) šīr-aka = š ya kuč = iš wiř-īs = ē
 milk-DEF = 3SG one portion = 3SG consume.PST-PASS.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ya kuč = iš řiř-īs = ē
 one portion = 3SG spill.PST-PASS.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘her milk, one portion of it has been consumed, one portion of it has been spilled’ [1:4]
- (2016) ī qul asp = a šik-īs = ē
 PROX.DEM.ADJ leg horse = DEM break.PST-PASS.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘this leg of the horse has been broken’ [4:96]

A few sentences from elicited material also illustrate:

- (2017) šawī-yaka = m dūr-īs = ē
 dress-DEF = 1SG tear.PST-PASS.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘my dress has been torn (is torn)’ [H:24]]
- (2018) dafr-ak-ān šūr-īs = ē
 dish-DEF-PL wash.PST-PASS.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘the dishes are washed (i.e., are clean now)’ (elicited)¹⁸⁴

The participle can also be followed by a Past Perfect form of the copula:

- (2019) šawī-yaka = m dūr-īs-a = wē
 dress-DEF = 1SG tear.PST-PASS.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG
 ‘my dress had been torn’ [H:25]
- (2020) dafr-ak-ān šūr-īs-a = wē
 dish-DEF-PL wash.PST-PASS.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG
 ‘the dishes had been washed’ (elicited)

Another elicited example shows the past stem in *-īs* in a noun phrase, functioning as an adjectival modifier, a use that is typical of a participle (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:47):

- (2021) dafir šūr-īs-ak-ān
 dish wash.PST-PASS.PST-DEF-PL
 ‘the washed dishes’ (elicited)

10.5 Impersonal expressions

Another adjustment in valence is found in impersonal expressions. In an impersonal expression, there is no specific agent that can be identified in the context. The verb only involves third person singular marking or third person plural.

¹⁸⁴ This and the following two elicited examples are found in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:47).

Although the agent is impersonal and non-specific, it occurs with verbs that normally are used with animate agents.

10.5.1 Third person singular

Examples of impersonal expressions are common with the verb of speech *wā(ž)* ‘say.PRS’ (*wāt* ‘say.PST’), marked only as third person singular:¹⁸⁵

- (2022) *m-wāy* *buwa il dawr bīsitūn*
 IND-say.PRS.3SG nomad NA around Bīsitūn
 ‘one says (or: it is said), there are nomads around Bīsitūn’ [4:152]
- (2023) *m-wāy* *hamřāy naqš = ē*
 IND-say.PRS.3SG still indentation = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘one says (or: it is said), the indentation (on the surface of the rock face) is still (there)’
 [4:172]
- (2024) *wāt,* *gařā das řirīn girt*
 say.PST Gařā hand řirīn take.PST
 ‘one said (or: it was said), the Gařā took the hand of řirīn’ [4:126]

Other verbs can also be employed in such an impersonal expression:

- (2025) *ya taři = u* *xurīya ma-tī = ya* *wa das dita-ka = wa*
 one yarn = and spindle IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR to hand girl-DEF = POSTP#_3
 ‘one gives a yarn and spindle to the girl’ [11:6]

10.5.2 Third person plural

Other impersonal expressions are formed with third person plural marking. The agent is not identified in any other way than this marking:

- (2026) *ma-tī-n = a* *ħaft sāz = u* *ħaft dahot*
 IND-give.PRS-3PL = DIR seven stringed.instrument = and seven drum

řašn *ma-yr-in*
 celebration IND-take.PRS-3PL
 ‘they play seven stringed instruments and seven drums, they hold a celebration’ [3:95-96]
- (2027) *eřdām = iš* *bi-kar-in*
 hang = 3SG SBJV-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘let them hang him’ [4:56]

¹⁸⁵ Such an impersonal expression is sometimes used to introduce scenes in the traditional epic narrative, such as in Text 4, about řirīn and Farād: *m-wāy ān = ič tā nizīk ānā mawu* ‘IND-say.PRS.3SG DIST.3SG = ADD until near DIST_3 be.PRS.3SG’ (‘it is said, when she also is close to there/that place’) [4:162].

10.6 Reflexivity

The valence of a verb can also be decreased in the reflexive construction. In this construction, the referent of the agent argument (A) is identical to the referent of the patient argument (O).¹⁸⁶ Thus, the semantic valence is decreased by involving only one participant in the verb scene as both agent and patient. The grammatical valence, however, still consists of two core arguments, A and O (Payne 1997:198; lexical reflexives, as certain verbs with reflexive sense, such as ‘wash’, are not discussed in the present chapter.)

The reflexive construction in Gawraǰūyī is composed of a clause with a transitive verb. The argument A can be implied (not expressed) or expressed by a full noun phrase, and O (with the identical referent as A) is expressed by the reflexive form *ištan*. This reflexive form takes an enclitic pronoun that reflects the person and number of the antecedent or ‘controller’ (A) (see Dixon 2012:138).

The reflexive form *ištan* is a separate word and not part of the verbal morphology. This can thus be considered an analytic expression (Payne 1997:200). Another reflexive form, *wē*, is also attested in a few instances, but only in a possessive construction (as coreferential possession; see Section 10.6.1).

Examples of the reflexive construction are shown here:

- (2028) *ištan* = im ma-sūzn-im
RFL = 1SG IND-cause.to.burn.PRS-1SG
‘I will burn myself’ [8:159]
- (2029) *ištan* = iš sīyā ma-kar-ē = u
RFL = 3SG black IND-do.PRS-3SG = and
‘he makes himself black and’ [2:47]
- (2030) *ištan* = iš ma-šār-ē = wa
RFL = 3SG IND-hide.PRS-3SG = PTCL#
‘he hides himself’ [3:22]
- (2031) *ištan* = it āmāda bi-ka(r)
RFL = 2SG ready SBJV-do.PRS
‘make yourself ready’ [2:71]

It is noteworthy that in the preceding examples, the argument A is not expressed in the same clause. It is only attested once that A is overtly expressed in the same clause with *ištan* expressing O:

¹⁸⁶ This definition is also based on that for the reflexive situation, presented in Dixon (2012:146): ‘when two arguments of a verb have identical reference’ and on Payne (1997:198): ‘a prototypical reflexive construction is one in which subject and object are the same entity’.

- (2032) farā(d) ištān = iš kušt
 Farād RFL = 3SG kill.PST
 ‘Farād killed himself’ [4:183]

10.6.1 Coreferential possession use with reflexive

An extended use of the reflexive form is ‘coreferential possession’ (Payne 2006:245). It is a use in which the reflexive form appears as the possessor in a noun phrase possessive construction and ‘co-refers’ to an element expressing an argument of the clause such as A, S, O, or an indirect object (or ‘goal’). In Gawraǰūyī, the reflexive form *ištān* in this construction can be coreferential not only with these types of clause arguments but also with elements outside of the clause, such as a participant in an earlier clause, a participant in a left-detached construction, the speaker, or the addressee (illustrated below). The coreference can be identified by the enclitic pronoun that is always attached to *ištān*.

In the Gawraǰūyī text corpus, *ištān* is most frequently attested in this function of coreferential possession rather than as simple clause argument reflexivity.

The meaning expressed with the addition of *ištān* to a possessive construction is not yet clear, in comparison to other types of possessive constructions without it. It may include some contrast or clarification about the reference (though this possibility must be confirmed by further study).

The following examples show *ištān* in its range of types of coreference in this construction.

In this example, *ištān = iš* shows coreference with a subject argument, S, in a present tense clause (here, as person-number marking ‘3SG’ on verb):

- (2033) ma-šu = wa ka = y ištān = iš
 IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR house = EZ RFL = 3SG
 ‘she goes to her own home’ [8:70]

In the following example, *ištān = im* shows coreference with an A argument in a present tense clause (here, person-number marking ‘1SG’ on verb):

- (2034) alān masaṭan xwār-aka = y ištān = im b-wā-m
 now for.example sister-DEF = EZ RFL = 1SG SBJV-say.PRS-1SG
 ‘now, for example, I may speak about my own sister’ [9:1]

In the next example, *ištān = iš* shows coreference with an A argument in a past tense clause (third person singular as ‘zero’ marking on verb):

- (2035) bāwka = š dā = š = a birāzā = y ištān = iš
 father = 3SG give.PST = 3SG = DIR nephew = EZ RFL = 3SG
 ‘her father gave her to his nephew (in marriage)’ [8:109–110]

The form *ištan* as possessor may also show coreference with O, here in a past tense clause (third person singular as ‘zero’ marking on verb):

- (2036) dā = w = šān = a pesarxāla = y ištān = išt
 give.PST = COP.PST.PRF.3SG = 3PL = DIR cousin = EZ RFL = 3SG
 ‘they had given her to her cousin’ [8:141]

The form can also have coreference with the clause argument expressing the indirect object (‘goal’) (enclitic pronoun = *t* ‘2SG’ following directional):

- (2037) sī sang ištān = it taḷā ma-tī-im = a = t
 thirty stone RFL = 2SG gold IND-give.PRS-1SG = DIR = 2SG
 ‘I will give you thirty times your own weight (lit., thirty stones) in gold’ [4:148]

The reflexive form is also observed as coreferential with the speaker of the discourse, who is not expressed as a core argument of the clause but instead found in a left-detached independent pronoun *mi(n)* ‘1SG’.

- (2038) mi(n) xwār-aka = y ištān = im
 1SG sister-DEF = EZ RFL = 1SG
 waš = (i)š = a kas-ē b-āy
 pleasant = 3SG = DIR someone-INDF_2 SBJV-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘(as for) me, if my own sister loves someone’ [9:27]

In the next example, the reflexive form (*ištān = mān*) occurs inside of a left-detached phrase, and thus appears to be coreferential with the speaker:

- (2039) až_dile gawraǰū ištān = mān
 in Gawraǰū RFL = 1PL
 ‘in our own Gawraǰū (village)’ [8:15]

In the following copula clause, it is coreferential not with the speaker, but rather with the addressee in a narrated speech situation (as second person singular, = *t* ‘2SG’):

- (2040) nazar ištān = it = ē
 view RFL = 2SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘it is (i.e., depends on) your own view’ [7H:103]

The next two examples are more complicated and show the reflexive form as coreferential with an entity that is not exactly the same as that in the clause itself.

In the first example below, the reflexive refers to the A argument in an extended sense, as the speaker refers to herself not as singular ‘I’ in the possessive construction but as plural ‘we’ (*ištān = mān*), as a member of the Yārsān community:

- (2041) yānī yakē jūr min alāna hüč_mawqeʿ
 that.is someone like 1SG now never
- sar až daftar iřtan = mān bar ni-m-āwr-im
 head from sacred.texts.and.books RFL = 1PL out NEG_1-IND-bring?.PRS-1SG
- ‘that is, someone like me now will never understand completely our sacred texts and books’ [7H:41]

In the second example, which is formed with two clauses, the reflexive in the noun phrase possessive construction (*āmūzā iřtan = im* ‘my own cousin’) does not show coreference with an entity within its immediate clause. Instead, it is coreferential with *min* ‘1SG’, the non-canonical subject of the clause that precedes it.

- (2042) min ya birā = m hē [...] [...]
 1SG one brother = 1SG exist.3SG
- āmūzā iřtan = im ařā = š āwird = ē
 cousin RFL = 1SG for = 3SG bring.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- ‘I have a brother [...] I have brought my own cousin for him’ [7N:82–83]

In this example above, it is also noteworthy that in the clause in which the reflexive occurs, there is actually no overt expression of A, which would be expected in a past transitive clause. It is possible that the enclitic pronoun *= im* ‘1sg’ is performing two tasks in this clause, both to specify the person-number of the possessor and also to express A (more study is needed)

10.6.2 Reflexive in an adpositional phrase

In several instances, the reflexive does not itself occur in a noun phrase possessive construction (as in the preceding section), but rather in an adpositional phrase that expresses indirect object or goal within the clause.¹⁸⁷ It is coreferent, however, with a possessor in a noun phrase possessive construction in that clause.

In the following example, the reflexive occurs in an adpositional phrase expressing an indirect object (*wa iřtan = im* ‘to me’). The reflexive and enclitic pronoun do not refer exactly

¹⁸⁷ As residue for further study, several more instances are mentioned here of the reflexive in an adpositional phrase: *až bayn iřtan* ‘between RFL’. In one instance, the reflexive refers to the text topic of Širīn and Farād, also referred to as the third plural enclitic pronoun *wan = šān* ‘to.it = 3PL’, as shown here: *jūr yak zāt-ē ya xwiyā řasī wan = šān, ya čiřte biya, až bayn iřtan = šān* ‘as one/a essence = EZ NA God reach.PST to.it = 3PL, one/a thing be.PST, between RFL = 3PL’ (‘like something from God’s essence reached them; there was something, between them’) [4:7–8]. A similar example occurs with the reflexive referring to *tir = šān* ‘other-3PL’: *ni-ma-zān-im čiřt-ān-e tir = šān až bayn iřtan = šān* ‘NEG-IND-know.PRS-1SG thing-PL = EZ other = 3PL between RFL = 3PL’ (‘I don’t know [about] other things of theirs, between themselves’) [6:129].

to A but rather to the possessor of A expressed by the preceding noun phrase (*birā-ka = m* ‘my brother’):

- (2043) *birā-ka = m* *wa ištan = im b-wāy*
 brother-DEF = 1SG to RFL = 1SG SBJV-say.PRS.3SG
 ‘my brother may say to me’ [7H:143]

In the next example, the reflexive is found in an adpositional phrase expressing the syntactic goal (*ištan = it* ‘to yourself’). It is coreferential with the possessor (*= t* ‘2SG’) in a preceding noun phrase possessive construction (*tāj = u taxt-aka = t* ‘your crown and throne’). It is also noteworthy that it refers to the addressee:

- (2044) *tāj = u* *taxt-aka = t* *pīškaš wa ištan = it*
 crown = and throne-DEF = 2SG gift to RFL = 2SG
 ‘(may) your crown and throne be a gift to yourself’ [3:80]

10.6.3 Emphatic use with reflexive

The reflexive form *ištan* has another important extended use, which is to express emphasis of various types. It seems to be used in the Gawraǰūyī texts in various ways according to information structure conditions, such as a switch to a new topic, to express a sense of contrast, or provide clarification relative to other referents.¹⁸⁸

In the emphatic use, the reflexive form *ištan* occurs in apposition with the subject argument, immediately following it. This argument is attested in the text corpus as either an independent first or second person pronoun. The reflexive form itself always takes an enclitic pronoun, expressing the person and number of the antecedent.

Examples are shown here:

- (2045) *tu ištan = it nān-aka = t dizī = u*
 2SG RFL = 2SG bread-DEF = 2SG steal.PST = and
 ‘you yourself stole the bread and’ [3:104]

The coreferential element can also be in the preceding discourse context, that is, outside of the immediate clause, as illustrated here:

- (2046) *ča min ma-zān-im, ištan = im = i(č) ma-zān-im*
 what 1SG IND-know.PRS-1SG RFL = 1SG = ADD IND-know.PRS-1SG
 ‘what, I know, I myself also know’ [5:25]

¹⁸⁸ The concept of ‘emphasis’ is complex and deserves more study. It might also include expression of a strong emotion. Another possibility is noted by Givón (1990:639–640) for English ‘possessive-reflexives’, as he describes their use in ‘emphatic situations’, which can be also viewed as ‘counter-normative’, in that the speaker is framing the situation as contrary to what the hearers might expect as a normal scenario.

This coreferential element can also be the speaker in a speech situation:

- (2047) *tā* *ištan = im* *m-ā-ym = wa*
 until RFL = 1SG IND-come.PRS-1SG = PTCL#
 ‘until I myself come back’ [2:39] (I myself, not anybody else)

Another reflexive form, rarely attested *wē*, is also found in this emphatic use:

- (2048) *wē = m* *bīsitūn* *řaft-ēm*
 RFL = 1SG Bīsitūn go.PST-NA
 ‘I myself have gone to Bīsitūn’ [4:173]

The use of the reflexive is attested several times in apposition with a first person singular independent pronoun (though also once with a third person singular pronoun) functioning as the non-canonical subject in possessive constructions formed with the verb of existence or copula forms (see Section 5.6.7).

- (2049) *min* *īsa* *ištan = im* *yak* *das* *zūn = im* *hē*
 1SG now RFL = 1SG one set zūn = 1SG exist.3SG
 ‘I now myself have one set of ‘zūn’ (Kurdish-style dress)’ [7N:135]
- (2050) *īsa* *min* *ištan = im* *ya* *zanřamū = m* *sunni = ya*
 now 1SG RFL = 1SG one aunt = 1SG Sunni = COP.PRS.3SG_3
 ‘now I myself, an aunt of mine is Sunni (or: I have an aunt (who) is Sunni)’ [7N:88]
- (2051) *min* *ištan = im* *ya* *řafiq = im* *bē*
 1SG RFL = 1SG one friend = 1SG COP.PST.3SG
 ‘I myself had a friend’ [8:134]
- (2052) *ištan = iř = i(č)* *dū* *gila* *dita = ř* *mawu*
 RFL = 3SG = ADD two unit daughter = 3SG be.PRS.3SG
 ‘she herself also has two daughters’ [12:2]

10.6.4 Idiomatic use of reflexive *ištan*

The form *ištan* is also frequently attested together with *ařā* ‘for, to’, as an idiom expressing ‘simply’ or ‘just’, with no adjustment to valence:

- (2053) *ařā = y* *ištan = it* *mařu = wa* *ya* *otāq = wa*
 to = EZ RFL = 2SG IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR one room = POSTP#_3
 ‘you simply go into a room’ [11:45]

10.7 Reciprocal constructions

The reciprocal construction also affects valence. It typically involves two participants (or sets of two or more participants) that act upon each other in the scene depicted by the verb. Thus, the participants function both as the agent and patient in terms of semantic valence. In terms of grammatical valence, there are still two arguments in the clause.

The reciprocal is expressed analytically by means of a separate word *yak* ‘one another’ (with another sense as the numeral ‘one’), which can appear in non-subject roles, including as a complement in an adpositional phrase, the goal of a verb, or a dependent element in an attributive noun phrase. The reciprocal word always appears with plural S or A arguments and plural marking on the verb. The construction is not frequently attested, however, and the reciprocal function with a verb tends to be idiomatic.

Some examples of the construction are presented here:

- (2054) wa yak ma-řas-in
to one IND-reach.PRS-3PL
‘they reach each other (i.e., get together as a couple)’ [8:44]
- (2055) až yak āškārā mawin
from one recognized be.PRS.3PL
‘they recognize each other (or: they are recognized by each other)’ [4:94]
- (2056) hedyā ka dā = šān-ī yak
gift COMP give.PST = 3PL-NA one
‘the gifts that they gave each other’ [8:125]
- (2057) ya gila dit = u kuřa = šān
one unit young.woman = and young.man = 3PL
entezār yak ma-kīš-in
wait one IND-pull.PRS-3PL
‘one young woman and young man, they are waiting for each other’ [8:61]
- (2058) sar-ān = e yak bīsin
head-PL = EZ one COP.PST.3PL
‘they were chiefs of each other’ [6:154]

The form *yak* can also have a sense of ‘together’ in some contexts such as in the following, with more than two sets of participants:

- (2059) kuřa = u pīyā = u dita = u žan = u,
boy = and man = and girl = and woman = and
gišt = šān wa gard yak = ay das ma-yr-in
all = 3PL with one = POSTP#_1 hand IND-take.PRS-3PL
‘boys and men and girls and women, all of them hold hands with one another (i.e., together)’ [7H:77]

11. CHAPTER 11. TENSE, ASPECT, AND MOOD

This chapter presents a description of the Gawraǰūyī system of tense, aspect, and mood. It builds on the description of the individual morphological forms and the structure of the finite verb introduced in Section 4.7. Copular forms or the verb of existence are not discussed here (see Sections 4.7.8 and 5.6).

The description here especially relies on studies on tense by Comrie (1985), aspect by Comrie (1998), and mood by Palmer (2001). It also includes information from Payne (1997, 2006).

11.1 Background and terms

Tense has to do with the way that speakers describe situations in relationship to time and how they order them according to other situations in time. It refers to the grammatical system that expresses how situations are located in time (Comrie 1999:363).

Aspect involves the way in which speakers describe the ‘internal structure’ of a situation (Comrie 1998:3). For example, a situation can be viewed as unlimited or with bounds, as changing or unchanging (Comrie 1999:363). It can be expressed in both the grammar and lexicon.

Mood expresses the attitude and perspective a speaker holds regarding a particular situation, such as about its actual occurrence and truth value (Payne 1997:244). It too can be expressed in both the grammar and lexicon. In the current study, we also use the term ‘mood’ as defined in Palmer (2001:4) to refer to a binary system of indicative and subjunctive marking. The terms ‘indicative’ and ‘subjunctive’ are also used to describe the Gawraǰūyī system, since these terms are common in Iranian language studies, while in many linguistic typology studies, the terms ‘realis’ and ‘irrealis’ can be found.

These three categories are closely related to each other and overlap in many ways, namely, that they are based on the concept of time and how people experience it. Tense has to do with concepts of time as sequential or linear, aspect has to do with time as bounded, with limits, and mood has to do with time as the setting within which some situation is believed to actually exist or not (Givón 1984:272).

This close relationship of tense, aspect, and mood can be seen in their expressed forms and meanings. A form that primarily expresses an aspectual meaning may include or entail a meaning from another area, such as tense. For example, the use of a perfective aspect (viewing a situation as a whole) may also include a meaning of past tense in that a situation has already taken place. The use of a future tense often involves a speaker’s attitude towards the possibility of the situation taking place, which involves mood (J. Lyons 1977:677).

A term that often appears in this chapter is ‘situation’. A situation assumes ‘a cognitive representation which may or may not correspond to some real-world state of affairs’ (Lehmann 2012:n.p.). It can be used in a general sense to subsume other situation types, such as states, processes, and events (Comrie 1985:5) and actions (Comrie 1999:363). For a given situation, there is a core (typically a verb) and participants, which are related to each other in degrees of control (such as an agent) or affectedness (a patient). A situation can be understood as having an inherent structure regarding its potential for change over time.

In this chapter, certain conventions are used as in Comrie (1998:10). Names for semantic distinctions that are defined across languages, as language-independent concepts, are written with lower case letters (for example, perfective, present, continuous), while names for language-specific categories are written with an initial capital (for example, the Gawraǰūyī Imperfective, the Kurdish Perfective, the Persian Present).

11.2 The tense, aspect, and mood system: summary and constructions

There are two categories of tense in Gawraǰūyī, which are past and present. These tenses are manifested by the two stems, past and present, of each verb.

There are also two perfect constructions based on these tenses, the Present Perfect and the Past Perfect.

Two main categories of aspect are found, as perfective and imperfective. Perfective aspect is expressed by the unmarked past stem form. The most general meanings of imperfective aspect are manifested with the prefix *ma-* attached to the verb stem. A more specific sense within imperfective, that is, progressive, is expressed by a construction involving a particle *hē*. There is also a sense of continuous (translated as ‘keep on’) expressed by a rare construction, restricted to one verb form (see below in Section 11.2.9.1).

The Gawraǰūyī system exhibits two categories of mood, as indicative (realis) and subjunctive (irrealis).

The past and present stems form the basis for the specific tense, aspect, and mood constructions. A summary is given in the following table of the constructions and component elements.

Table 81. Summary of tense, aspect, and mood constructions

| Present stem based | |
|---|--|
| Present Indicative | Present stem, prefix <i>ma-</i> |
| Present Progressive | Present stem, prefix <i>ma-</i> + <i>hē</i> particle |
| Present Subjunctive | Present stem, prefix <i>bi-</i> (optional with compound verbs) |
| Past stem based | |
| Past Perfective ('Simple Past') | Past stem |
| Past Imperfective | Past stem, prefix <i>ma-</i> (relatively rare: <i>mi-</i>) |
| Past Continuous | Special form <i>wāč̣</i> , only with verb 'say' |
| Past Subjunctive | Past stem, prefix <i>bi-</i> , suffix <i>-ā</i> (<i>-tā</i> following vowel) |
| Past and Present stem combinations (Perfect constructions) | |
| Present Perfect | Present Perfect Past stem (+ participle ending <i>-a</i>), followed by present tense copula |
| Past Perfect | Past stem + participle ending <i>-a</i> , followed by special past tense form of copula (= <i>w-</i>) |

The following sections treat the constructions individually. Those based on the present stem are described first, and then those based on the past stem (also introduced in Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:28–46).

11.2.1 Present Indicative

The Present Indicative construction is composed of the prefix *ma-*, the present stem of a transitive or intransitive verb, and the corresponding present tense person-number endings.

In terms of tense, this construction can denote various types of situations as located in present time, which includes the moment of speech, and it can also be used to denote situations located in future time.

In terms of aspect, the Present Indicative also expresses a general imperfective sense, denoting situations not yet completed but ongoing. Another specific use of this form is to convey habitual meaning, indicating situations that are occurring at regular periods of time. It is also anticipated that the Present Indicative would denote generic or gnomic situations ('cats eat mice'), though no examples to support this use are found in the Gawraḷūyī text corpus

In terms of mood, this construction is used to denote a situation as an actual event, as realis, and thus labeled as ‘indicative’. The construction can also be used, however, to depict certain situations that are not prototypically realis, such as those in future time, thus not yet taking place, and habitual situations, which are treated as a type of situation with the actual instances not occurring at a particular moment but rather at intervals (see Payne 1997:240).

The Present Indicative is described and illustrated below according to these aforementioned meanings as combinations, namely: 1) present time, general and ongoing at moment of speech; 2) habitual; and 3) future. It is also noted as occurring with certain discourse uses.

11.2.1.1 Present time, ongoing at moment of speech, general, and progressive

As pointed out above, the Present Indicative commonly denotes a variety of situations that hold at the present moment (i.e., the moment of speech) and that are ongoing with no clear end point. This use includes reference to a general, ongoing situation, such as in the following example with the verb *zān* ‘know’:

- (2060) birā-k-ān = im ma-zān-in
 brother-DEF-PL = 1SG IND-know.PRS-3PL
 ‘my brothers know (i.e., they know how to play the tamür instrument)’ [7H:45]

The construction can also be used to denote a situation that is ongoing at the moment of speech, as in the ‘here and now’. It has a progressive sense (though such progressive sense can be more specifically expressed by means of an analytic construction, as described in Section 11.2.2 below). Examples include:

- (2061) alāna aǰ ī bāx-ān = a ka ma-wīn-ī
 now in PROX.DEM.ADJ garden-PL = DEM COMP IND-see.PRS-2SG
 ‘now, in these gardens you see’ [7H:79]
- (2062) aǰā heǰāb tu ka qisa ma-ka-y
 about heǰāb 2SG COMP speech IND-do.PRS-2SG
 ‘you are talking (now) about the heǰāb (dress code)’ [7H:5]
- (2063) m-wā(y) aǰ_ānā ma-řaw-ē aǰ_ānā ma-nīš-ē
 IND-say.PRS.3SG there IND-go.PRS-3SG there IND-sit.PRS-3SG
 ‘one says: ‘There he goes, there he sits’’ [6:110]

11.2.1.2 Habitual

The Present Indicative also denotes habitual situations, which refer to situations that take place at points within a span of time. According to Comrie (1998:39), the habitual is used to indicate a general characterization of a situation rather than each event within that period. Examples with the Present Indicative include:

- (2064) har_čī řüž-a ī žan = a hay m-āy
all day-NA PROX.DEM.ADJ woman = DEM always IND-come.PRS.3SG
'every day this woman always comes' [5:162]
- (2065) ya org ma-nī-n
one keyboard IND-put.PRS-3PL
'they set up a keyboard' [7H:81] (description of what happens at a typical wedding celebration)
- (2066) hawpiřkī ma-kar-in, ma-niš-in
hawpiřkī.dance IND-do.PRS-3PL IND-sit.PRS-3PL
'they dance, they sit down' [7H:82]
- (2067) až_ānā m-ā-yin, až_īna das žan ma-yr-in
there IND-come.PRS-3PL here hand woman IND-take.PRS-3PL
'they come there, they marry the women here' [7H:93]

11.2.1.3 Future time

As already mentioned, besides indicating situations in the present time, the Present Indicative can also denote a situation located in future time, which would occur after the moment of speech and is thus not yet actualized. In denoting future time, the Present Indicative appears in two types of contexts. First, it can express the speaker's intention of action in the future:

- (2068) m-ā-yim maydān-aka, ĵang ma-kar-ām
IND-come.PRS.1SG town.square-DEF fight IND-do.PRS-1PL
'I will come to the town square, we will fight' [2:74]
- (2069) dāna = u ĵawāhir ma-tī-m = a = t
precious.item = and jewel IND-give.PRS-1SG = DIR = 2SG
'I will give you precious jewels' [4:148]
- (2070) min šaxs = e iřtan = im ma-řān-im
1SG person = EZ RFL = 1SG IND-drive.PRS-1SG
'I personally myself will drive it' [6:148]

Second, it can be used to describe a clause expressing a future situation and qualified by a dependent clause containing a condition:

- (2071) wa řüž bizin-aka bi-šu = wa kū m-ā-yim
by day goat-DEF SBJV-go.PRS.3SG = DIR mountain IND-come.PRS-1SG
piřt bar-aka wan = šān m-wīn-im, m-wār-im = šān
back door-DEF on.goal = 3PL IND-close.PRS-1SG IND-eat.PRS-1SG = 3PL
'by day, when the goat goes to the mountains, I will come, I will close the door on them, I will eat them' [2:34]

- (2072) har_kam = mān bē_qisa mēz-aka = mān kaf = iš na-girt
 whoever = 1PL without.speech urine-DEF = 1PL froth = 3SG NEG_2-take.PST
- āw ma-yar-ē = mān
 water IND-take.PRS-3SG = 1PL
- ‘whoever of us, excuse me, (if) our urine does not have froth, (then) the water will take us away’ [2:13]

11.2.1.4 Discourse use

The Present Indicative (and to a lesser extent, other present constructions) can be used in certain types of discourse to primarily express situations that are interpreted as taking place in real world past time.¹⁸⁹ It is observed in this use in Texts 1, 2, 3, 11, 12 (folktales) and together in alternation with past forms in Texts 4 and 5 (longer narratives retelling episodes of the Shah-Nameh). In the other Gawraǰūyī texts in which the narrators recount events from their lives, past forms are primarily used. The difference in use of forms may involve issues of inferentiality and evidentiality, noted in various Iranian languages, and which is an area in Gawraǰūyī that deserves further research.¹⁹⁰

11.2.2 Present Progressive

An analytic construction is the Present Progressive (see also Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:43). This construction is formed with the Present Indicative and the particle *hē*, glossed here as ‘currently’, which is identical in form to the verb of existence *hē*. The agent is expressed with an enclitic pronoun attached to the particle. The construction is not attested as negated.

This construction is used to express a specific sense of an ongoing situation that includes the moment of speech.¹⁹¹ It highlights the aspectual meaning of the situation as occurring at that moment. It thus coexists with the Present Indicative function described above (‘here and now’), but there may be a further meaning as well. Windfuhr (1989b:256) notes that in many

¹⁸⁹ Öpengin (2016:76) notes that it is common in the Mukri variety of Central Kurdish to employ the ‘Indicative present’ for narrating past events.

¹⁹⁰ For a study of discourse with relevant discussion of evidentiality and the use of past and non-past forms and eye-witness involvement in Wakhi, see Obrtelová (2017:39–51). For inference mentioned with regard to New West Iranian dialects, see Windfuhr (1989b:257) and for evidential forms in Modern Standard Persian and Tajik, see Windfuhr & Perry (2009:461, 463–464).

¹⁹¹ An elicited example is given of the construction involving *bi-* and the past stem that indicates future sense (more study is needed to confirm form and use): *hīzyaka bēm nān = im wa(rd)* ‘tomorrow I will be eating food (?)’ [H:89].

West Iranian languages, there is innovation of a progressive that contrasts with a general present.¹⁹² The Gawraǰūyī construction can be translated into Persian by the progressive formed with *dāštan* (+ conjugated verb). Examples of this construction in Gawraǰūyī are shown here:

- (2073) alāna = yč = a (hēya) hē = šān entezār ma-kīš-in
 now = ADD = DEM (NA) currently = 3PL wait IND-pull.PRS-3PL
 ‘now too they are in the process of waiting’ [8:168]

Several examples of this construction from elicited material include:

- (2074) min hē = m nān m-war-im
 I currently = 1SG food IND-eat.PRS-1SG
 ‘I am now eating food’ [H:79]
- (2075) min hē = m qisa ma-kar-im
 1SG currently = 1SG speech IND-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘I am now speaking’ [H:78]
- (2076) ēma hē = mān ma-gard-ām
 1PL_2 currently = 1PL IND-walk.PRS-1PL
 ‘we are now walking (around)’ [H:96]

11.2.3 Present Subjunctive

Another construction formed with the present stem is the Present Subjunctive. This construction is composed of the subjunctive prefix *bi-*, the present stem, and the appropriate person-number endings for present tense verbs. (The prefix *bi-* is optional on some compound verb constructions.) The Present Subjunctive is used to denote a variety of ‘irrealis’ situations. As described by Payne (1997:244), the situations depicted as irrealis have ‘no claims with respect to the actuality’ of a particular situation. These situations can be hypothetical, a wish or suggestion, an obligation, or found in complex constructions following a particle that denotes obligation (‘must’) or following the modal auxiliary verb that denotes ability (‘can’).¹⁹³

¹⁹² The form is also attested with a copula verb in co-occurrence not typical of a progressive: *(h)ē pā = y dār-aka = ya* ‘currently foot = EZ tree-DEF = COP.PRS.3SG_3’ (‘they are at that moment at the foot of the tree’) [3:9].

¹⁹³ In Kurdish (Sōrānī of Sulaimania), for example, the subjunctive can be used in a context with indefinite antecedents (McCarus 2009:608) (further study is needed for Gawraǰūyī).

11.2.3.1 Hypothetical

The Present Subjunctive is commonly used to denote a hypothetical situation. The hypothetical meaning may be conveyed by simply the use of the construction or it may also be supported by context, such as with *masan* (or *masaʔan*) ‘for example’, or *ayar* ‘if’. Examples are presented here:

- (2077) xānawāda bi-zān-ē
family SBJV-know.PRS-3SG
‘if the family knows (finds out)’ [8:48]
- (2078) kuřa=y pādšā čaš=iš bi-kat-ē ina,
son=EZ king eye=3SG SBJV-fall.PRS-3SG PROX_4
dī šima=š garak nīya
no.longer 2PL=3SG want NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
‘when (or: if?) the king’s son sees this one, he will no longer want you’ [12:21]
- (2079) ayar gharība=yč b-āy=a dile=mān
if stranger=ADD SBJV-come.PRS.3SG=DIR among=1PL
‘even if a stranger comes among us’ [7N:125]
- (2080) ayar šū bi-kar-im, šū ma-kar-im
if marry SBJV-do.PRS-1SG marry IND-do.PRS-1SG
‘if I get married, I get married’ [9:87]
- (2081) masan aǰ_dile ya ǰam b-āy, bi-niš-ē
for.example in one gathering SBJV-come.PRS.3SG SBJV-sit.PRS-3SG
‘for example, he may come in the midst of a (small) gathering, he may sit’ [7H:115]
- (2082) masan isa bi-twāym
for.example now SBJV-want.PRS.1PL
‘for example, now, we may want’ [7H:4]

The Present Subjunctive can also indicate hypothetical sense in a dependent clause:

- (2083) kuřa=mān eǰāza=š hē
son=1PL permission=3SG exist.3SG
masan bi-řaw-ē šeřa b-wāz-ē
for.example SBJV-go.PRS-3SG Shi‘ite SBJV-marry.PRS-3SG
‘our son has permission, for example, he may go, he may marry a Shi‘ite’ [7N:85]
- (2084) aǰ_dile zwān=mān piš nāma=yē ka
in language=1PL forth NEG_2-come.PST=COP.PRS.3SG_1 COMP
b-wāž-ām ba gawraǰūi šeřr b-wāž-ām
SBJV-say.PRS-1PL in Gawraǰūyī poetry SBJV-say.PRS-1PL
‘in our language it has not happened that we sing in Gawraǰūyī, that we recite poetry’ [7H:133]

- (2085) ařā min gunāhbārī = ya bi-řaw-im
for 1SG wrong = COP.PRS.3SG_3 SBJV-go.PRS-1SG
'for me it is wrong if I go' [8:143]
- (2086) tu řānanda = t hē, fāntum bi-řān-ē
2SG driver = 2SG exist.3SG Phantom SBJV-drive.PRS-3SG
'Do you have a driver, (one who) may drive the Phantom (jet)?' [6:147]

11.2.3.2 Wish or suggestion

The use of the Present Subjunctive can express the sense of a wish or suggestion. The sentence in which it occurs is occasionally introduced with the particle *bā* 'let':

- (2087) bi-čič-ām = iš na sar mīmānī
SBJV-call.PRS-1PL = 3SG to on gathering
'let us call him to a gathering' [5:16]
- (2088) masařan xwār-aka = y iřtan = im b-wā-m
for.example sister-DEF = EZ RFL = 1SG SBJV-say.PRS-1SG
'for example, let me speak about my own sister' [9:1]
- (2089) bā b-āy = a bān
let SBJV-come.PRS.3SG = DIR upstairs
'let him come upstairs' [3:75]
- (2090) bā wa yak bi-řas-in
let to one SBJV-reach.PRS-3PL
'let them reach each other' [9:19]

11.2.3.3 Obligation

The construction can also convey a sense of obligation (deontic modality):

- (2091) ča bi-kar-im
what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
'what should I do?' [4:201]
- (2092) šima b-wāž-a
2PL SBJV-say.PRS-2PL
'you must say' [3:71]

11.2.3.4 Following a modal particle of obligation or modal auxiliary verb of ability

The Present Subjunctive is frequently attested in clauses that follow a modal particle (expressing obligation) or modal auxiliary verb (expressing ability):

- (2093) bāyad b-wā-m wan = šān
must SBJV-say.PRS-1PL to.goal = 3PL
'I must say to them' [8:90]

- (2094) ma-tān-im wa birā-k-ān = im b-wā-m
 IND-can.PRS-1SG to brother-DEF-PL = 1SG SBJV-say.PRS-1SG
 ‘I can say to my brother’ [8:85]

When following a modal particle or modal auxiliary verb, the Present Subjunctive is used with all dependent verbs:

- (2095) mawu bi-š-ī, kawš aṛā = šān bi-san-ī
 must SBJV-go.PRS-2SG shoe for = 3PL SBJV-buy.PRS-2SG
 ‘you must go buy shoes for them’ [1:43]

- (2096) ma-tān-im b-ā-ym = a dile zamīn
 IND-can.PRS-1SG SBJV-come.PRS-1SG? = DIR to field
 tamāta bi-čin-im = wa, gizg būř-ām,
 tomatoes SBJV-pick.PRS-1SG = PTCL# broom SBJV.cut.PRS-1PL
 kūy bi-yař-ām = wa
 zucchini SBJV-bring/tear?.PRS-1PL = PTCL#
 ‘I can come into the fields, I pick tomatoes, we make brooms, we bring in the zucchini,’
 [7H:26–27]

11.2.4 Past Perfective (‘Simple Past’)

The Past Perfective construction is composed of a past stem, with appropriate person-number marking as a verb suffix or as an enclitic pronoun in the verbal complex, conditioned by the transitivity of the verb stem. The Past Perfective is used to denote a situation that is generally located in past time, that is, before the moment of speech, and as perfective in aspect, that is, denoting a single situation as completed and bounded in time. Besides this general use, it commonly appears in narrative discourse to depict past time situations; it can be used in questions or negated statements in the past; and it can be used to depict a situation as definitely taking place in future time and serving as a condition for another situation. Examples of these uses are given below.

11.2.4.1 General past time situation completed at moment of speech

- (2097) ā jür = t = a ka(rd)
 DIST.DEM.ADJ manner = 2SG = DEM do.PST
 ‘you acted in that manner’ [8:69]
- (2098) ya ka = šān sanī
 one house = 3PL buy.PST
 ‘they bought a house’ [10:50]

11.2.4.2 Discourse use

The next examples show the Past Perfective as depicting completed situations in past time in narrative discourse:

- (2099) piši-k hāma, sar qulīn-a(k)a = š = iš lā dā = u
 cat-INDF_1 come.PST top basket-DEF = 3SG = 3SG side give.PST = and
 dam = iš nīyā šīr-aka,
 mouth = 3SG put.PST milk-DEF
 tā tānis = iš šīr-aka ward = iš = u
 until can.PST = 3SG milk-DEF drink.PST = 3SG = and
 bāqī = š = ī(č) řišnī
 rest = 3SG = ADD cause.to.pour.PST
 ‘a cat came, pushed the lid off the basket, and put its mouth to the milk, drank as much as it could, and also poured the rest of it out’ [1:8–9]
- (2100) gišti dā bā-yī řaft = a bān = e qawr-aka = š čila tēx,
 all give.PST wind-OBL go.PST = DIR top = EZ grave-DEF = 3SG forty NA
 makīna-yēk = iš dā war gīs = iš
 razor-INDF_1 = 3SG give.PST upon braid = 3SG
 ‘she gave everything to the wind, she went to his grave on the fortieth day, she cut off her braid with a razor’ [4:215–216]

11.2.4.3 Assumed past time

The Past Perfective can be used in questions or negated statements in which past time is assumed:

- (2101) ča wana hāma, ča ward = iš, xirs ward = iš
 what to.goal come.PST.3SG what eat.PST = 3SG bear eat.PST = 3SG
 ‘What happened to them? What ate them? Did a bear eat them?’ [2:54]
- (2102) īna = m = a ařā = t na-wāt
 PROX_4 = 1SG = DEM to = 2SG NEG_2-say.PST
 ‘I did not tell you this (yet)’ [4:187]

11.2.4.4 Situation in future time, in relationship to another situation

The Past Perfective can also be used to express a situation which is predicted in future time and functions as a condition for another situation:

- (2103) ī kuřa = t = a dī b-wā
 PROX.DEM.ADJ young.man = 2SG = DEM see.PST SBJV-say.PRS
 ‘(when) you see (lit., saw) this young man, tell (me)’ [8:139]
- (2104) har_ka hāma piš(t) bar-aka,
 whoever come.PST.3SG back door-DEF
 bar-aka ařā = š wāz na-kar-a
 door-DEF to = 3SG open NEG_2-do.PRS-2PL
 ‘whoever comes (lit., came) to the door, do not open the door for him’ [2:38]

- (2105) ayar dā-y,
if give.PST-NA
bāwka = t dā-y = š wan = a = m
father = 2SG give.PST-NA = 3SG to.goal = DIR? = 1SG
xo ma-xwāz-im = it
good IND-marry.PRS-1SG = 2SG
'if he gives (lit., gave), (if) your father gives (lit., gave) you to me, good, I will marry you' [5:113]

11.2.5 Past Imperfective

The Past Imperfective construction is composed of the imperfective prefix *ma-* (relatively rare *mi-*), the past stem, and the appropriate person-number marking, conditioned by transitivity as in other constructions based on the past stem. It is used to denote a situation as ongoing in the past, and possibly relative to another ongoing event. It is commonly used to denote habitual situations in the past. It can perhaps be analyzed as describing plural situations, depending on the aspectual character of the verb and number expressed in the clause arguments. It can also express a sense of counterfactual of a condition in the past.

11.2.5.1 Ongoing and non-completed situation in past time

- (2106) ma-raft = a pā = y bīsitūn
IPFV-go.PST = DIR foot = EZ Bīsitūn
'he was going to the foot of Bīsitūn mountain' [4:79]
- (2107) be = šān saxt ma-girt = šān
with = 3PL strict IPFV-get.PST = 3PL
'they were being strict with them' [8:19]
- (2108) zāḷa = šān ma-ṛa(ft)
gall = 3PL IPFV-go.PST
'they were afraid (lit., their gall was going)' [6:7]

11.2.5.2 Habitual situation in past time

The Past Imperfective is most frequently used to depict multiple instances of a situation in the past, as occurring habitually:

- (2109) hamīša wan = im m-wāt = (i)š = a
always to.goal = 1SG IPFV-say.PST = 3SG = DIR
'she was always saying to me' [8:136]
- (2110) aw sāt = a m-wāt = šān
DIST time = DEM IPFV-say.PST = 3PL
'at that time they used to say' [8:36]

- (2111) wa kuna āw = mān ma-kīšt
with goatskin.container water = 1PL IPFV-pull.PST
'we would bring up water with the goatskin container' [10:27] (habitually)
- (2112) māngāw-ak-ān = mān ma-wšī
cow-DEF-PL = 1PL IPFV-milk.PST
'we would milk the cows' [10:37] (habitually)

In some contexts, the Past Imperfective occurs with a plural object or subject, and thus appears to express habitual action and also imply a plurality of situations:

- (2113) ʃask = šān ma-gir(t)
photo = 3PL IPFV-take.PST
'they would take photos' [6:142]
- (2114) amrīkāyī fra wa ī jāda = y
American a.lot on PROX.DEM.ADJ street = POSTP#_1

m-ām-in ma-raft-in
IPFV-come.PST-3PL IPFV-go.PST-3PL
'The Americans would come (and) go a lot on these roads' [6:140]

11.2.5.3 Counterfactual

The Past Imperfective is attested in the apodosis of a conditional sentence in the past:

- (2115) bīyā-tā-yim = wa,
give.PST-PST.SBJV-1SG? = PTCL#

ī dār = ič = a dī bar = iš ma-girt
PROX.DEM.ADJ tree = ADD = DEM then fruit = 3SG IPFV-get.PST
'if I would have found (it), this tree too would have then borne fruit' [3:44]

11.2.6 Past Subjunctive

The Past Subjunctive is formed with the subjunctive prefix *bi-*, the past stem, and the suffix *-ā* (*-tā* following a vowel). Person-number indexing occurs on the verb as a suffix or in the verbal complex as an enclitic pronoun, according to the transitivity of the verb, as mentioned already for other constructions based on the past stem.

The Past Subjunctive is used in counterfactual situations, that is, to describe a situation that did not happen, but could have happened if certain conditions had been fulfilled ('if X would have happened, then Y would have happened').

It only appears a few times in the text corpus. In these instances, the clauses with the Past Subjunctive follow the particle *xozgā* 'I wish' or *xozū* 'I wish' (as illustrated below).

In the following example, the Past Subjunctive is used in the protasis, which consists of a string of clauses. The Present Indicative appears in the apodosis, which is the final clause in

this sentence. The string of clauses also include various types of verbs, including the copula, and their forms as the Past Subjunctive:

- (2116) xozgā min āyamizāya biyātā-yim
 I.wish 1SG human.being.offspring COP.PST.SBJV-1SG
- ā tūta=y gard gala=m=a bi-kušt-ā
 DIST.DEM.ADJ dog=EZ with flock=1SG=DEM SBJV-kill.PST-PST.SBJV
- maghz-aka=š=im bar b-āwird-ā
 brain-DEF=3SG=1SG out SBJV-bring.PST-PST.SBJV
- bi-nyā-tā=m=a war war
 SBJV-put.PST-PST.SBJV=1SG=DIR before sun
- wišk=wa biyātā
 dry=PTCL# COP.PST.SBJV
- bi-hařyā-tā=m=wa bi-yardā=m
 SBJV-ground.PST-PST.SBJV=1SG=PTCL# SBJV-bring.PST.SBJV=1SG
- dam=im bi-kard-ā
 steam=1SG SBJV-do.PST-PST.SBJV
- bīyā-tā=m=awa dita=y pādša
 SBJV.give.PST?-PST.SBJV=1SG=NA daughter=EZ king
- xās xās=wa mawu
 well well=PTCL# be.PRS.3SG

‘if only (or: I wish) I were a human being, I would have killed that dog with the flock, I would have taken out its brain, I would have left it out in the sun, it would have become dry, I would have ground it up, I would have brought it, I would have made an infusion, I would have given it to the daughter of the king, she becomes completely well again’ [3:33–35]

11.2.7 Present Perfect

The Present Perfect construction is formed with a past stem, a participle ending *-a* (frequently omitted or possibly assimilated to the final vowel of the stem) (or *-ī*, rarely), and the Present Indicative form of the copula (see Section 4.7.10). The person-number referencing is dependent on the transitivity of the stem of the participle (see details below).

The Present Perfect has two uses, namely, 1) to express a present state as the ‘continuing relevance of a past situation’ (Comrie 1998:52); and 2) occasionally, to express a completed state in recounting of events in narration, instead of what might be expected to be the Past Perfective (more research is needed to explain this).

In the next sections, a few examples are first given to generally illustrate the form of the construction and some of its variation. Then, examples are given to more specifically illustrate the construction formed with intransitive and transitive verbs. After that, examples are given to illustrate the aforementioned uses.

11.2.7.1 Present Perfect with and without participle ending

- (2117) min man-a = yim
1SG remain.PST-PART = COP.PRS.1SG
'I have remained' [4:192]
- (2118) řaft = ē
go.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'he has gone' [4:194] (no participle suffix *-a*)
- (2119) min ward-a = m = ē
1SG eat.PST-PART = 1SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'I have eaten them' [2:70]

The variant copula form = *an* (identical to the Zardayāna form) appears, though relatively infrequently:

- (2120) bāwa = u birā-ka = m wāt = an
father = and brother-DEF = 1SG say.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_2
'my father and brother have said' [9:31] (no participle suffix *-a*)

11.2.7.2 Present Perfect and intransitive verbs

For a construction involving an intransitive verb stem, the S argument is referenced as the person-number marking of the copula form:

- (2121) řaft-a = y
go.PST-PART = COP.PRS.2SG
'Have you gone?' [4:100]
- (2122) ništ = ē
sit.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'she has waited (or: has resided)' [9:74] (no participle suffix *-a*)
- (2123) ya dawriš-a hāma = y
one dervish-NA come.PST = COP.PRS.3SG?
'a dervish has come' [4:37]
- (2124) řaft = yām
go.PST = COP.PRS.1PL
'we have gone' [2:90] (no participle suffix *-a*)

The intransitive verb *hāma* 'come.PST', presents some irregularities. It is not clear if the form includes a participle ending or if the ending has assimilated to the final vowel of the stem. In this case, it is sometimes difficult or impossible to distinguish the Present Perfect with a first or second person singular ending from the Past Perfective with the same person-number ending. The ambiguity is illustrated here:

- (2125) min hāma-yim (or: hāma=yim)
 1SG come.PST-1SG? come.PST=COP.PRS.1SG?
 ‘I came (or: I have come)’ [3:67]
- (2126) waš hāma-y (or: hāma=y)
 well come.PST-2SG? come.PST=COP.PRS.2SG?
 ‘you came well (or: you have come well)’ (i.e., ‘welcome’) [11:14]

There is also some irregularity in the position of the first person singular copula form with the verb *raft* ‘go.PST’. This copula form =*m* follows the still unanalyzed morpheme =*ē* (identical to the third person singular copula) (perhaps due to contact with Southern Kurdish):

- (2127) wē=m bīsītūn raft=ē=m
 RFL=1SG Bīsītūn go.PST=NA?=1SG
 ‘I myself have gone to Bīsītūn’ [4:173]
- (2128) fra na-raft-a=yē=m
 much NEG_2-go.PST-PART=COP.PRS.3SG_1=1SG
 ‘I have not gone much’ [7N:118]

11.2.7.3 Present Perfect and transitive verbs

In a Present Perfect construction containing a past stem of a transitive verb, the A argument is indexed as an enclitic pronoun and attaches to the leftmost element of the verbal complex (such as the object) (noted in Section 4.2.3). If there is no expressed object, it attaches to the past stem or participle. It does not attach to the copula element:

- (2129) řūsam wāt-a=š=ē
 Řūsam say.PST-PART=3SG=COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘Řūsam has said’ [5:84]
- (2130) řang-aka=šān=ī lā bard=ē
 fight-DEF=3PL=NA side take.PST=COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘they have set the fight aside’ [8:103] (no participle suffix *-a*)
- (2131) min ward-a=m=ē
 1SG eat.PST-PART=1SG=COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘I have eaten them’ [2:70]

11.2.7.4 Completed action with presently relevant results

As introduced in Section 11.2.7, the first use of the Present Perfect is to express a present state resulting from a completed action in the past:

- (2132) tu mār = it kard = ē dār-ī,
1SG snake do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 wood.beam-OBL
min čü taw ma-kar-im
1SG how swing IND-do.PRS-1SG
'you have put snakes in the wood, how can I swing?' [11:68]
- (2133) labās-ak-ān = im = šān kut_kut kard = ē
clothing-DEF-PL = 1SG = 3PL tore do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
min dī až_kā ma-tān-im bi-š-im = a
1SG then how IND-can.PRS-1SG SBJV-go.PRS-1SG = DIR
jašn = u ča = u fiṭān
celebration = and what = and such
'they have torn my clothes to pieces, how then can I go to the celebration and this and that?' [12:27]
- (2134) ya kam haṭwā = m kard = ē,
one little sweet.pastry = 1SG make.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
bi-zān-a haṭwā-ka = y min waš = ē
SBJV-know.PRS-2PL sweet.pastry-DEF = EZ 1SG good = COP.PRS.3SG_1
tā ina = y bāwažan = it
than PROX_4 = EZ stepmother = 2SG
'I have made a little sweet pastry, find out, is my sweet pastry delicious or this of your stepmother?' [11:30]

11.2.7.5 Completed action in recounting of events and narration

- (2135) kat = ē = ya marīzxāna až tērān
enter.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 = DIR hospital in Tehran
'he entered the hospital in Tehran' [6:36] (sense of simple past)
- (2136) ĩriĵ šā = yč,
Īriĵ King = ADD
šā = y ĩ ĩrān = š = a kard = ē
king = EZ PROX.DEM.ADJ Iran = 3SG = DEM make.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'and King Īriĵ, he ruled this Iran' [5:12] (sense of simple past)

11.2.8 Past Perfect

The Past Perfect consists of a past stem, the participle ending *-a* (sometimes omitted or possibly assimilated to the final vowel of the stem) and a past form of the copula verb. It is noteworthy that this form of the copula always appears with initial *w-* instead of *b-*.¹⁹⁴ In the examples below, this copula form is simply glossed as a unit (for example, as = *wim*, rather

¹⁹⁴ The initial plosive *b-* typically found on the independent past form of the copula is assumed to have undergone lenition in the intervocalic environment, and is manifested as *w-* instead.

than = *w=im*. The person-number marking is conditioned by the transitivity of the stem of the participle, as already mentioned for other constructions based on the past stem. This construction is used in various contexts to denote a situation that has been completed prior to another situation.

The examples below first show the form of the construction, and then show its use.

11.2.8.1 Past Perfect and intransitive verbs

The Past Perfect construction is attested once with an intransitive verb, *řaft* ‘go.PST’, in the Gawraǰūyī texts. With an intransitive verb stem, the S argument is referenced as the person-number marking of the copula form:

- (2137) *yārū řaft-a = wē*
 gal *run.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG*
 ‘the gal had run away’ [8:123]

11.2.8.2 Past Perfect and transitive verbs

In a Past Perfect construction with a transitive verb stem, the A argument is referenced as an enclitic pronoun. The enclitic pronoun attaches to the first element of the verbal complex, such as the O argument (object). If there is no expressed object, the enclitic pronoun is attached to the end of the construction, that is, to the end of the copula. This position of the enclitic pronoun contrasts with the position of the enclitic pronoun in the Present Perfect, as illustrated here (first Past Perfect, then Present Perfect):

- (2138) *ǰā šā wāt-a = wē = š*
 then Shah say.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG = 3SG
 ‘then the Shah had said’ [6:145]
- (2139) *řūsam wāt-a = š = ē*
 Řūsam say.PST-PART = 3SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘Řūsam has said’ [5:84]

A rare instance of the Past Perfect and position of the enclitic pronoun is shown here, for which it must be noted, however, that the actual copula form + person marker is provisionally interpreted as including an enclitic pronoun, though it might be possibly regarded as a verb suffix (further testing is needed):

- (2140) *min řinaft-a = wim*
 1SG hear.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.1SG
 ‘I had heard’ [5:5]

11.2.8.3 Time prior to another situation

As mentioned above, the Past Perfect is used to denote a situation that has been completed prior to another completed situation (expressed as a Past Perfective). This relationship of the Past Perfect to the Past Perfective is illustrated in the following example:

- (2141) kār-aka = š šēwnī
 work-DEF = 3SG dissolve.PST
 ʔaqdi = šān-ī kard-a = wē
 engagement = 3PL-NA do.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG
 ‘she dissolved the matter (the engagement), they had been engaged’ [8:155–156]

11.2.9 Less common and analytic constructions

11.2.9.1 Past (and Present?) Continuous of speech verb

Less common constructions include the Past Continuous *wāčā* and the Present Continuous *wāčē*. The form *wāčē* is also attested as referring to a past situation with the imperfective prefix *m(a)-* (see third example below). These forms are based on the speech verb *wāž* ‘say.PRS’, *wāt* ‘say.PST’. A similar construction, *wāčē*, is also attested in Zardayāna (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:212) and in Hawrāmī (Luhōn) (MacKenzie 2002:2). Another form, *vāčī*, is noted for Kandūlayī, and regarded as having imperfect sense, corresponding to forms with *-ēnē* in Hawrāmī (Mann & Hadank 1930:143, also referring to data in Benedictsen & Christensen 1921:35).

The Present Continuous seems to convey a sense similar to English ‘keeps on saying’, while the Past Continuous expresses ‘kept on’ (though this analysis is tentative). Such interpretations imply that multiple instances of situations are actually taking place. Examples include:

- (2142) wāča waš = (i)m = a pesarxāla = m-a ni-māy = u
 kept.saying?.3SG pleasant = 1SG = DIR cousin = 1SG-NA NEG_1-come.PRS = and
 ‘she kept on saying, ‘I do not like my cousin’ and’ [8:154]
- (2143) pīyā-ka až sar-ī čīrya = š-ī wāčē
 man-DEF from above-NA call = 3SG-NA keep.saying?.3SG
 ‘the man from called from above, he keeps on/kept on saying’ [11:56]
- (2144) m-wāčē so_sob b-wār-ē,
 IPFV-keep.saying?.3SG early.morning SBJV-rain.PRS-3SG
 kī ī bān bar = a
 who PROX.DEM.ADJ roof front = DEM
 ‘She kept saying: ‘If in the near future, it snows, who will use the roller on this roof front (?)’ [10:56]

11.2.9.2 Inceptive aspect sense with verb *ā* ‘come.PRS’ and *hawmayz* ‘get up.PRS’

There are other types of tense-aspect-mood constructions expressed by analytic means rather than by grammatical marking.¹⁹⁵ A pair of verbs can function as a unit to express the starting point of a situation. In this use, the verb *ā* ‘come.PRS’ (also possibly, *haw ayz* ‘get up.PRS’) directly precedes another verb (for example, *š* ‘go.PRS’, *řaw* ‘go.PRS_1’, or *kat* ‘fall, enter.PRS’). With these verbs, the construction conveys a similar sense to English ‘set off’. (In one instance, though, the aspectual meaning of the combination is unclear.¹⁹⁶) The two verbs are spoken in close succession with no intervening elements, and there is no pause or change in intonational pattern. It is attested only in a few instances in the texts. Examples include:¹⁹⁷

(2145) m-āyē ma-šū = wa bān ka = y xirs
 IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR roof house = EZ bear
 ‘she sets off for the roof of the bear’s house’ [2:56]

(2146) m-āyē ma-kat-ī = ya ī řāsā
 IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-fall.PRS-3SG = DIR PROX.DEM.ADJ road
 ‘she sets off down this road’ [2:53]

(2147) tu ina m-āy ma-řaw-ī
 2SG PROX_4 IND-come.PRS.2SG? IND-go.PRS-2SG
 ‘you, you set off (from) this (place)’ [5:59]

An instance with the verb *haw ayz* ‘get up.PRS’ is also attested once with possibly a similar function, though the use is not entirely clear (more study is needed):

(2148) haw ma-yz-in ma-řaw-in = a
 up IND-get.up.PRS-3PL IND-go.PRS-3PL = DIR
 ‘they get up (or: set off?), they go to’ [8:216]

11.2.10 Tense-aspect-mood constructions in sequences of clauses

As mentioned above, a few constructions (such as the Past Perfect and Past Imperfective) are used in relationship to the tense, aspect, and mood of other clauses in context. There are also other constructions that are consistently found in clause sequences.

¹⁹⁵ A rare instance is attested of what might be an analytic progressive construction, composed of the verb *nīšt* ‘sit.PST’ and the Past Imperfective: *nīšt-in dardit = šān ma-ka(rd)* sit.PST-3PL trouble = 3PL IPFV-do.PST (‘they were engaged in sharing their troubles’) [6:40]. See Fattah (2000:505–506) for such a construction in Southern Kurdish and a possible source in Iraqi Arabic.

¹⁹⁶ There is also an instance of an unclear aspectual meaning, as *māyē ma-wīn-ē* ‘she comes, sees’ [2:31].

¹⁹⁷ The verb *ā* ‘come.PRS’ appears in an idiomatic use expressing inceptive sense: *hānī-yaka m-āy = a qisa* ‘spring-DEF IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR speech’ (‘the spring starts to speak, lit. comes to speech’) [1:29].

11.2.10.1 Conditional sentences in present

Conditional sentences in the present tense exhibit a pattern with the protasis expressed by a Present Subjunctive and the apodosis expressed by a Present Indicative:

- (2149) ayara dit-aka bi-tī-n wan,
if young.woman-DEF SBJV-give.PRS-3PL to.goal
nazrī dwā ma-tī-n
nazr NA IND-give.PRS-3PL
'if they give the young woman to him, they celebrate a nazr wedding' [7N:65]
- (2150) ayar šü bi-kar-im, šü ma-kar-im
if marry SBJV-do.PRS-1SG marry IND-do.PRS-1SG
'if I get married, I marry' [9:87]

The apodosis can also be expressed as a present tense modality construction with *mawu* 'must':

- (2151) ayar min tašī = u xuriya-ka = t
if 1SG yarn = and spindle-DEF = 2SG
bi-tī-m wan = it = u bi-yar-ī = wa
SBJV-give.PRS-1SG to.goal = 2SG = and SBJV-take.PRS-2SG = PTCL#
dö sē kār mawu ařā = m bi-kar-ī
two three work must for = 1SG SBJV-do.PRS-2SG
'if I give your yarn and spindle to you and you take them away, you must first do two or three tasks for me' [11:16–17]

Another pattern consists of the protasis expressed by a Past Perfective and the apodosis expressed by a present form, such as the Present Indicative, or Prohibitive and Imperative, illustrated in the following:

- (2152) ayar dā-y,
if give.PST-NA
bāwka = t dā-y = š wan = a = m
father = 2SG give.PST-NA = 3SG to.goal = DIR? = 1SG
xo ma-xwāz-im = it
good IND-marry/want?-1SG = 2SG
'if he gives (lit., gave), (if) you father gives (lit., gave) you to me, good, I will marry you' [5:113]

- (2153) ayar aḥyānan dī = t,
 if accidentally see.PST = 2SG

 ča qisa = š wa_gard = (i)t = ay kard,
 what speech = 3SG with = 2SG = POSTP#_1 do.PST

 nārāhat nawī
 insulted NEG.be.2SG
 ‘if he accidentally sees (lit., saw) you, speaks (lit., spoke) with you, don’t be insulted’
 [8:55]
- (2154) agar āw = e sīya = u kuwa hāma
 if water = EZ black = and dark.blue come.PST

 das bi-nya qay = m = o
 hand SBJV-put.PRS on = 1SG = POSTP#_2?
 ‘if the black and dark blue water comes (lit., came), put your hand on me’ [11:78]

11.2.10.2 Conditional sentences in past

The Past Subjunctive is used in the protasis of a past conditional sentence, while the Past Imperfective is used in the apodosis:

- (2155) xwozū min āyam biyātā-yim,
 I.wish 1SG human.being COP.PST.SBJV-1SG

 biyātā = yim = wa,
 give.PST.SBJV = 1SG = PTCL#

 ī dār = ič = a dī bar = iš ma-girt
 PROX.DEM.ADJ tree = ADD = DEM then fruit = 3SG IPFV-get.PST
 ‘If only I were a human being; if I would have found (it), this tree too would have then borne fruit’ [3:44]

11.2.10.3 Past Imperfective as background for Past Perfective

In another context, the Past Imperfective is used to express distant past with habitual aspect, while the next clause is a Past Perfective (supported with a time adverb, *ya dafayī* ‘suddenly’):

- (2156) artaš kumak = iš ma-ka(rd), ya_dafayī šā hām = wa
 army help = 3SG IPFV-do.PST suddenly Shah come.PST.3SG = PTCL#
 ‘the army was helping, suddenly the Shah returned’ [6:28–29]

11.2.10.4 Following verbs of speech

A complement clause introduced by a verb of speech usually contains a Present Indicative or Present Perfect construction. The speech verb itself can be Present Indicative or Past Perfective. Examples include:

- (2157) m-wāy āy ī bizin=a dāwu
 IND-say.PRS.3SG oh PROX.DEM.ADJ goat=DEM Dāwu
 gīyān ma-kan-ē
 life IND-give.up.PRS-3SG
 ‘he says: ‘Oh, this goat, by Dāwu, it is dying’’ [2:18]
- (2158) m-wāy min ward-a=m=ē
 IND-say.PRS.3SG 1SG eat.PST-PART=1SG=COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘he says: ‘I have eaten them’’ [2:70]
- (2159) wāt bi-nūs min irān=im wa ǰang=wa girt=ē
 say.PST SBJV-write.PRS 1SG Iran=1SG by war=POSTP#_3 take.PST=COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘he said: ‘Write: ‘I have taken Iran in war’’’ [6:102]

11.2.10.5 Following verbs of perception

A complement clause introduced by a verb of perception (for example, *wīn* ‘see.PRS’) contains a Present Perfect or a Present Indicative (of the copula) construction:

- (2160) ma-wīn-ē,
 IND-see.PRS-3SG
 paŋǰ šaš gila mār=iš kard=ē dār=ay
 five six unit snake=3SG do.PST=COP.PRS.3SG_1 wood=POSTP#_1
 ‘she sees (that) she has hung five-six snakes in the beams’ [11:19]
- (2161) ya_dafayī ma-wīn-ē tītīla=u bībīla bar hāma=n
 suddenly IND-see.PRS-3SG Tītīla=and Bībīla out come.PST=COP.PRS.3SG_2?
 ‘suddenly she sees Tītīla and Bībīla come out’ [2:89]
- (2162) aǰ_āna ma-wīn-ē dāṭagīǰān=ē
 there IND-see.PRS-3SG vultures=COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘there, he sees there are vultures’ [4:180]

11.3 Location and direction (spatial grounding)

Besides tense, aspect, and mood, there can also be marking of location and direction. This type of marking can be regarded as ‘spatial grounding’ in that it appears on a verb to relate it to a particular setting of space (Payne 1997:248–249). The two main types of markers of direction associated with Gawraǰūyī verbs are the preverbs and the directional particle.

11.3.1 Direction and preverbs

The preverbs can indicate limited types of direction. The forms are introduced in Section 4.7.2.2. They occur as an independent particle preceding a verb and are not phonologically attached. Three preverbs are attested:

- (2163) haw ‘up, out, forth’ [4:9]

(2164) hay ‘down’ [9:88]

(2165) wā ‘down’ [3:10]

The point of reference, or center of deixis, tends to be the location of the subject referent of the verb. The base verb (that is, without the preverb) indicates motion, such as *nīs* ‘sit.PRS’ or *yr* ‘bring.PRS’. The preverb adds a sense of specifying the direction of the action.

Examples of these verbs in sentences are shown here:

(2166) quṭang = a haw ma-nāy
pickaxe = DEM up IND-put.PRS.3SG
‘he tosses the pickaxe up (lit., put up)’ [4:169]

(2167) kuṛa haw = iṣ ma-yr-ē
boy up = 3SG IND-take.PRS-3SG
‘the boy picks him up’ [5:144]

(2168) sar wā ma-nī-n
head down IND-put.PRS-3PL
‘they put (their) heads down’ [3:10]

(2169) haw m-ayz-in, hay ma-nīš-im
up IND-get.up.PRS-3PL down IND-sit.PRS-1SG
‘we stand up, we sit down’ [9:88]

With the posture verb *nīš* ‘sit.PRS’, which typically describes a state, the addition of the preverb changes the sense to that of an event, in which an action takes place and is completed:

(2170) sar-a řē-k aṛā = y iṣtan = šān haw ma-nīš-in
upon-NA way-INDF_1 for = EZ RFL = 3PL down IND-sit.PRS-3PL
‘on a way, they simply sit down’ [3:7]

11.4 Direction and goals

Direction towards a goal can be expressed by the particle =*a* or the preposition *wa*. Direction is occasionally marked as well with the preposition *aṛā* ‘to’. It is also possible that morphological marking is absent, and that the direction is simply indicated by a goal positioned after the verb.

The directional particle =*a*, glossed as DIR (‘directional’), is introduced in Section 4.12 (see also Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:57). It is most frequently attested as an enclitic attached to the end of a verbal complex. It is not attested as attached to a noun phrase.

This enclitic could be described as a result of grammaticalization of the preposition *wa* ‘to’ (see also Section 4.12.1.3). It appears that the preposition is still used in some similar environments, specifically, following an enclitic pronoun attached to a verb (as in a past transitive clause). For example:

- (2171) kwān = iš wa huwā
 throw.PST = 3SG in air
 ‘he threw him into the air’ [4:136]

The form *wa* also appears when following the vowel *a* (that is, without phonological assimilation):

- (2172) šima b-wāž-a wa pādšā
 2PL SBJV-say.PRS-2PL to king
 ‘you (plural) must say to the king’ [3:71]

The directional particle indicates an agent’s intentional or unintentional movement towards a goal or destination of some type. The movement can be physical, from one location to another. It can also be metaphorical, in that it involves movement from one state to another, as a change of state or result of an action (Nicholas Bailey, p.c.). The goal itself can be a physical entity or an abstract one, and it can be animate or inanimate. The goal can be expressed as a noun phrase (including pronominals) or an adpositional phrase.

The directional particle is frequently found on verbs describing some kind of motion. The most common of these verbs include (only present stems are listed here): *ā* ‘come.PRS’, *kat* (*kawt*) ‘fall.PRS’, *š* ‘go.PRS’, and *tī* ‘give.PRS’. Other verbs include: *ār* ‘bring.PRS’, *girt* ‘get/take.PRS’, *kar* ‘do.PRS’, *nā* ‘put.PRS’, *nūr* ‘look.PRS’, *řas* ‘reach.PRS’, *řiš* ‘spill.PRS’, *řo* ‘go.PRS_2’, *wāž* ‘say.PRS’ (rare), and *yas* ‘tie.PRS’ (also Kurdish *bird* ‘take.PST’ and *kird* ‘do.PST’).

11.4.1 Directional and physical goals

The following examples show the enclitic form of the directional attached to a verb and linking it with an element expressing a physical goal. This element can be a noun phrase:

- (2173) māy = a ka = y bāwka = š
 IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR house = EZ father = 3SG
 ‘she comes to her father’s house’ [8:211]
- (2174) min ma-řo-m = a maydān
 1SG IND-go.PRS-1SG = DIR battlefield
 ‘I will go to the battlefield’ [5:137]
- (2175) ma-tī-n = a ĥaft sāz = u ĥaft dahot
 IND-give.PRS-3PL = DIR seven stringed.instrument = and seven drum
 ĥašn ma-yr-in
 celebration IND-take.PRS-3PL
 ‘they play seven stringed instruments and seven drums, they hold a celebration’ [3:95-96]

- (2176) cišt = e fra ma-řišnī = ya irān = u
 thing = EZ much IPFV-cause.to.pour.PST = DIR Iran = and
 ‘they were bringing many things to Iran and’ [6:130]
- (2177) řü ma-kar-ī = ya dargā = y xwā
 face IND-do.PRS-3SG = DIR gateway = EZ God
 ‘he turns to the gateway of God’ [5:102]

The goal element can be an enclitic pronoun (infrequently attested):

- (2178) dāna = u ǰawāhir ma-tī-m = a = t
 precious.item = and jewel IND-give.PRS-1SG = DIR = 2SG
 ‘I will give you precious jewels’ [4:148]

The goal element can also be an adpositional phrase:

- (2179) ma-řo = wa bar qāpī ā qaṭā
 IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR before gate DIST.DEM.ADJ castle
 ‘he goes up to the gate of that castle’ [4:27]
- (2180) ma-ř-in = a sar zimkān
 IND-go.PRS-3PL = DIR upon Zimkān
 ‘they go to the Zimkān (River)’ [2:6]
- (2181) ma-ř-in = a dile āsyāw-aka = wa
 IND-go.PRS-3PL = DIR in mill-DEF = POSTP#_3
 ‘they go into the mill’ [2:35]

11.4.2 Directional and metaphorical goals

The next examples show the directional enclitic linking a verb to an element expressing a metaphorical goal:

- (2182) ya ǰang = e sāda kat = a bayn = šān
 one fight = EZ simple fall.PST = DIR between = 3PL
 ‘a simple fight happened between them’ [8:102]
- (2183) pīšnahād = iš dā = ya wan = im
 proposal = 3SG give.PST = DIR to.goal = 1SG
 ‘he gave a proposal to me’ (i.e., he proposed to me) [8:91]

The directional can also link certain verbs, such a copula, *mawu* copula, or *kar* ‘do.PRS’, *kard* ‘do.PST’, with a metaphorical goal as change of state:

- (2184) ī diwār = a mawu = a čarmawua
 PROX.DEM.ADJ black.tent = DEM be.PRS.3SG = DIR white.NA
 ‘this black tent will become white’ [5:163]

- (2185) min bū-m = a šü = y tu
 1SG SBJV.COP.PRS-1SG = DIR husband = EZ 2SG
 ‘I would become your husband’ [5:112]
- (2186) mwa = ya mustafmera = y engelis
 be.PRS.3SG = DIR colony = EZ England
 ‘it became a colony of England’ [6:104]
- (2187) čing ma-kar-ī = ya kiṭū xāk-ak-ān
 open.hand IND-do.PRS-3SG = DIR lump earth-DEF-PL
 ‘he makes lumps of earth with his open hand’ [3:17]

The directional is also attested in a few instances with a meaning of purpose, as movement towards a metaphorical goal:

- (2188) ma-niš-in = a pāsūr-ān karda
 IND-sit.PRS-3PL = DIR card-PL doing
 ‘they sit down to play cards (to card playing)’ [11:50]
- (2189) ka = y pādšā m-ā-yin = a dāwā = y mīnā
 house = EZ king IND-come.PRS-3PL = DIR request = EZ Mīnā
 ‘the king’s household comes to request (the hand of) Mīnā (i.e., in marriage)’ [11:90]

Some constructions with idiomatic meanings also appear to contain a metaphorical goal (further study is needed):

- (2190) m-āy = a zwān
 IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR language
 ‘it (i.e., a fictional pickaxe) comes to speech (i.e., it begins to speak)’ [4:170]
- (2191) šēr-aka ma-kar-ī = ya ĵwāw
 lion-DEF IND-do.PRS-3SG = DIR answer
 ‘the lion answers’ [3:46]
- (2192) pišī-yaka = yč ma-kar-ī = ya dād = u hāwār
 cat-DEF = ADD IND-do.PRS-3SG = DIR appeals.for.help
 ‘the cat also made calls for help’ [1:13]
- (2193) dī šü ma-kar-(i)m = a tu
 then marry IND-do.PRS-1SG = DIR 2SG
 ‘then I will marry you’ [4:200]

11.4.3 Verb of speech and directional and goals

There are infrequently attested instances of a speech verb *wāž* ‘say.PRS’, *wāt* ‘say.PST’ followed by a goal constituent indicating an addressee. The directional particle is used in some of these instances to link the verb to the goal. In rare occurrences, the directional is absent, and instead, the preposition *wa* ‘to, on’ or the absolute adposition *wan* (‘to.goal’) are

found (discussed with examples in Section 11.4.3). Such variation in expression is illustrated by the following. The first example shows the verb *wāt* ‘say.PST’, with the directional, while the second example only has the preposition. The third example shows the verb with *wan*, the absolute adposition:

(2194) wāt = iṣ = a dāyka
say.PST = 3SG = DIR mother
‘she said to (her) mother’ [8:157]

(2195) wāt = iṣ wa ṣā
say.PST = 3SG to Shah
‘he said to the Shah’ [6:100]

(2196) wāt-im wan
say.PST-1SG to.goal
‘I said to him’ [8:146]

There is also an instance of both the directional and *wan* ‘to.goal’ with *wāž* ‘say.PRS’:

(2197) har_čī bāwažan-ka = š m-wāy = a wan
whatever stepmother-DEF = 3SG IND-say.PRS = DIR to.goal
‘whatever her stepmother says to her’ [11:47]

It is rare that the verb of speech is followed by a goal that is not linked by means of a directional. This configuration needs further study and confirmation, but one example is given here:

(2198) m-wāy = š
IND-say.PRS.3SG = 3SG
‘she says to him’ [4:30]

There may be variation in the constituent order of the goal:

(2199) kuřa-ka wan = im wāt = iṣ
young.man-DEF to.goal = 1SG say.PST = 3SG
‘the young man said to me’ [8:148]

11.4.4 The verb ‘give’ and variation in directional marking

With the verb *tī* ‘give.PRS’, the directional particle can appear in a variety of ways, depending on the person-number marking of the verb.

For example, the directional can link the finite verb (*matīm*) to an enclitic pronoun that indicates the goal (recipient) (here = *t* ‘2SG’):

(2200) dāna = u ǰawāhir ma-tī-m = a = t
precious.item = and jewel IND-give.PRS-1SG = DIR = 2SG
‘I will give you precious jewels’ [4:148]

The directional can also be found after a finite verb, glossed below as an unanalyzed form together with third person singular. The directional links it to a full noun phrase expressing goal (recipient):

- (2201) ma-tī=ya usā-ka
 IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR master.tradesman-DEF
 ‘he gives (them) to the master tradesman’ [1:94]

As noted earlier in Section 4.12.1.3, this third person singular form can also be followed by the preposition *wa* ‘to’ or the absolute adposition *wan* ‘to.goal’:

- (2202) bizbal šir ma-tī=ya wa dāya_kaywānū
 Bizbal milk IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR to old.lady
 ‘Bizbal gives milk to the old lady’ [1:100]
- (2203) ya tašī=u xurīya ma-tī=ya wa das dita-ka=wa
 a yarn=and spindle IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR to hand girl-DEF=POSTP#_3
 ‘she gives a yarn and spindle to the hand of girl’ [11:6]
- (2204) māmīr-aka hāya ma-tī=ya wan
 chicken-DEF egg IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR to.goal
 ‘the chicken gives eggs to her’ [1:64]

The third person singular form with the directional following it occasionally occurs when there is no postverbal element that would express the goal. Instead, the element expressing the goal (recipient) appears attached as an enclitic pronoun =*iš* to the compound verb element *ǰwāw*, as shown here:

- (2205) bāwk=im ǰwāw=iš ma-tī=ya
 father=1SG answer=3SG IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR
 ‘my father gives him the answer (or: answers to him?; i.e., rejects his request)’

This verb form with the directional, though lacking an element expressing goal, is also found in certain idioms:

- (2206) eǰāza ni-ma-tī=ya
 permission NEG_1-IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR
 ‘(those ones) do not give permission’ [7N:11]
- (2207) lang ma-tī=ya
 leg IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR
 ‘he stretches out his legs’ [8:183]

When this verb form is used in a light verb construction, the goal constituent may also be absent:

(2208) gūš ma-tī=ya
 ear IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR
 ‘he listens’ [3:28]

(2209) čiz ma-tī=ya
 barb IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR
 ‘it stabs’ [11:22]

In a few instances of this verb form, it appears that a further person-number ending is attached to it, here as third person plural:

(2210) kādusī ma-tī=ya-n
 gift IND-give.PRS = DIR-3PL
 ‘they give gifts’ [8:223]

(2211) ma-tī=ya-ymē wan(=it)
 IND-give.PRS = DIR-1PL to.it(=2SG)
 ‘we will give one (to you)’ [6:149] (rare, only one instance)

(2212) jwāw ma-tī=ya-n=a wa das-yay
 answer IND-give.PRS = DIR-3PL = DIR to hand-NA
 ‘they will give him a (negative) answer’ [9:34] (rare, only one instance)

This verb form can also be followed by an additional preposition, as illustrated here with *wan* ‘to.goal’ and with *wa* ‘to’:

(2213) šīr-aka=š ma-tī=ya wan=šān
 milk-DEF = 3SG IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR to.goal = 3PL
 ‘she gives her milk to them’ [2:28]

(2214) ya gūnī ganim ma-tī=ya wa pišī-yaka
 one sack wheat IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR to cat-DEF
 ‘he gives a sack of wheat to the cat’ [1:92–93]

11.4.5 Directional marking with *ařā*

Direction towards a goal can also be marked with the preposition *ařā* ‘to’ occurring in postverbal position. It is difficult to determine from the limited data if there is any assimilation of the initial vowel of the preposition with a directional particle =*a* (more study is needed). The use of *ařā* and a goal is illustrated here:

(2215) dita-ka m-ār-in ařā ka=y ištan=šan=u
 girl-DEF IND-bring.PRS-3PL to house=EZ RFL = 3PL = and
 ‘they bring the girl to their house’ [8:216]

12. CHAPTER 12. CLAUSE COMBINATIONS

This chapter describes the various types of clause combinations in Gawraǰūyī. The constructions to be treated first are those with a high degree of grammatical integration between the verbs, such as two verbs in close succession and complement clauses. Then, those constructions with a relatively lower degree of integration are presented, such as adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and coordinated clauses (following the order in Payne 2006:289).

12.1 ‘Come-go’ construction

One type of construction is only attested a few times but it is noteworthy in that it is made up of what appear to be two clauses in close succession. The clauses contain particular verbs of movement, which in this combination, convey a sense of inception, such as in English ‘set off’ or ‘get up’ (see Section 11.2.9.2). The first verb in this pattern is typically a Present Indicative form of *ā* ‘come.PRS’, while the second verb is a Present Indicative form of the verb *šu* ‘go.PRS’, as illustrated here:

- (2216) m-āy ma-šu = wa lā = y falā
 IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR presence = EZ farmer
 ‘(the cat) sets off, goes to the farmer’ [1:69]

12.2 Complement clauses

A complement clause can be described as one that serves as an argument of another clause, termed the main or ‘matrix’ clause.¹⁹⁸ The argument can be the subject or the object. In Gawraǰūyī, the complement clause follows the matrix verb and is usually introduced with the complementizer *ka*, though it can also occur without a complementizer.

The relationship between the matrix clause and the complement clause can involve different degrees of integration and finiteness. A complement clause can be closely integrated with the matrix verb, showing such features as the same subject and the same tense-aspect-mood marking. A complement clause can also be less integrated with the matrix verb, in which case it is more independent and exhibits such features as a different subject than that of the matrix verb, and a different type of tense-aspect-mood marking.

There are various types of verbs in Gawraǰūyī that can take complements:

- Modality verbs and constructions: *tān* ‘can.PRS’, *garak* ‘want’ construction

¹⁹⁸ For background in this section, see Payne (1997:306–315; 2006:288), Givón (1990:515–519), and Dixon (2010b:370–417).

- Verbs of cognition, perception, want, and utterance: *zān* ‘know.PRS’, *wīn* ‘see.PRS’, and *wā(ž)* ‘say.PRS’ (and perhaps others)

The semantics of each of these types of verbs tend towards taking complements with varying degrees of integration into the matrix clause. The modality types are attested with some less finite complement clauses, while the cognition/perception/utterance types tend to have finite complements.

12.2.1 Subject complement clauses

Subject complement clauses are attested in only a few instances. They are especially found in impersonal constructions. A matrix clause consists of a verb with an impersonal subject, that is, one that is not expressed explicitly, though it is typically translated as ‘it’ in the English gloss. The complement clause serves as the subject argument, and it may or may not be introduced by the complementizer *ka*.

The types of matrix verbs include the idiom *pīš ā* ‘happen.PRS’ (or: ‘forth.come.PRS’), the copula verb and verb of existence, and the modality construction of *garak*, enclitic pronoun, and the copula, expressing ‘want’.

The complement clause exhibits some degree of finiteness. Its mood marking is usually subjunctive, though indicative is also attested. The tense corresponds in that the matrix verb can be a Present Indicative or Present Perfect, and the complement verb is also a present form. The following examples, listed according to the matrix verb, show the subject complement clauses with underlining:

With *pīš ā* ‘happen.PRS (or: ‘forth.come.PRS)’:

- (2217) muttaqan kam pīš m-āy xānawāda bi-zān-ē
 definitely less forth IND-come.PRS.3SG family SBJV-know.PRS-3SG
 ‘definitely it rarely happens that the family knows’ [8:47]

The subject complement clause can also be in indicative mood:

- (2218) bīštir = ī(č)-ī pīš m-āy
 more = ADD-NA forth IND-come.PRS.3SG

nāmzadī ma-kar-ē = u
 pre-engagement IND-do.PRS-3SG = and
 ‘it often happens (that) one has the pre-engagement and’ [8:204]

The subject complement can be also be introduced with the complementizer *ka*, as shown here:

- (2219) aḷ_dile zwān = mān pīš n-āma = yē
 in language = 1PL forth NEG_2-come.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- ka b-wāḷ-ām ba gawraḷyūyī šeʿr
 COMP SBJV-say.PRS-1PL in Gawraḷyūyī poetry
- b-wāḷ-am = u bi-zān-ām
 SBJV-say.PRS-1PL = and SBJV-know.PRS-1PL
- ‘in our language it has not happened that we sing in Gawraḷyūyī, recite poetry and know’
 [7H:133]

With the copula:

- (2220) wazīfa = š = a ka ārāyeš na-kar-ī
 duty = 3SG = COP.PRS.3SG_3 COMP makeup NEG_2-do.PRS-3SG?
 ‘it is her duty that she does not use makeup’ [7H:14]
- (2221) yānī ī orza = š = a nīya
 that.means PROX.DEM.ADJ authority = 3SG = DEM NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
- dita-ka ī qisa bi-kar-ē
 young.woman-DEF PROX.DEM.ADJ speech SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
- ‘that means, she has no such authority (or: courage?) that the young woman may say this’
 [9:57]

With *garak* + enclitic pronoun and copula ‘want’:

- (2222) garak = it bo aḷ īnahā bi-l-ī bar
 want = 2SG SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG from PROX_3 SBJV-go.PRS-2SG out
 ‘if you want to go outdoors from here’ [7H:7]

12.2.2 Object complement clauses

In the Gawraḷyūyī texts, an object complement clause always follows the matrix verb. The object complement clause is only occasionally introduced with the complementizer *ka*.

Matrix verbs typically include *zān* ‘know.PRS’ (also ‘know how to’ or ‘find out’) or *tān* ‘can.PRS’ (*tānis* ‘can.PST’), *fīkr kar* ‘think.PRS’, and *wāz* ‘want.PRS’.

12.2.2.1 High degree of integration

Object complement clauses can exhibit a high degree of integration with the matrix clause, in that the two clauses share the same subject. In these types of complement clauses, there is only infrequent use of the complementizer *ka*.

Object complement clauses are exemplified here, presented according to the various matrix verbs.

With *zān* ‘know.PRS’ (here with the sense of ‘know how’):

- (2223) masan īma ni-ma-zān-ām
for.example 1PL_3 NEG_1-IND-know.PRS-1PL
fra b-wāz-ām = iš
much SBJV-sing.PRS-1PL = 3SG
‘for example, we do not know (how to) sing much’ [7N:123]
- (2224) ānā ka bāwka = šān dawriš = ē, ma-zān-in
DIST_3 COMP father = 3PL dervish = COP.PRS.3SG_1 IND-know.PRS-3PL
bi-žan-in
SBJV-play.PRS-3PL
‘those whose father is a dervish, they know how to play (the instrument)’ [7N:48]

With *tān* ‘can.PRS’:

- (2225) walē birā-ka = m ma-tān-ē
but brother-DEF = 1SG IND-can.PRS-3SG
bi-raw-ē das dita = šān b-ir-ē
SBJV-go.PRS-3SG hand young.woman = 3PL SBJV-take.PRS-3SG
‘but my brother can go, take the hand of (i.e., marry) their young women’ [7H:100]
- (2226) ni-ma-tān-ē ka b-wāy
NEG_1-IND-can.PRS-3SG COMP SBJV-say.PRS.3SG
‘she cannot say this’ [9:5] (With *tān*, it is rare that *ka* occurs in the complement clause.)
- (2227) ma-tān-im wa dāyka = m b-wā-m
IND-can.PRS-1SG to mother = 1SG SBJV-say.PRS-1SG
‘I can say to my mother’ [8:85]

An example, here with *wāz* ‘want.PRS’, is provided that also illustrates the possibility of further embedding within the object complement clause:

- (2228) dī ni-m-wāz-ē ka bi-zān-ē
of.course NEG_1-IND-want.PRS-3SG COMP SBJV-know.PRS-3SG
ka wāqeʿan min ča m-wā-m
COMP truly 1SG what IND-say.PRS-1SG
‘of course, he does not want to know what I really say’ [7H:99]

12.2.2.2 Tense, aspect, and mood in subject and object complement clauses

The tense-aspect of the matrix verb can be present or past. The tense of the complement verb is only attested as a present tense form or the Present Perfect:

- (2229) dī na-tānis = šān zendegī bi-kar-in
then NEG_2-can.PST = 3PL live SBJV-do.PRS-3PL
‘they could not live (together) anymore’ [8:80]

As also apparent in the earlier sets of examples, the mood of the matrix verb is generally indicative, while the mood of the complement verb is subjunctive.

The mood of the matrix verb and of the complement verb can also be conditioned by other contextual factors (see next section for examples), such that the mood of the matrix verb can be in subjunctive (conditioned by *tā* ‘so that’), while the mood of the complement clause is indicative.

12.2.2.3 Low degree of integration

Object complement clauses can also have a relatively low degree of integration with the matrix clause. Such constructions tend to exhibit different subjects.¹⁹⁹ These object complement clauses involve the verb *zān* ‘know.PRS’, which tends to occur with the sense of ‘find out’. The object within the complement clause is expressed with *ča* ‘what’. There is no use of the complementizer *ka*. The mood of the matrix verb is subjunctive (conditioned by contextual factors), while the mood of the complement verb is indicative (not dependent on the matrix verb):

(2230) bi-zān-im ča m-wā-n
 SBJV-know.PRS-1SG what IND-say.PRS-3PL
 ‘I should find out what they are saying’ [3:28]

(2231) bi-zān-im qismat ča ma-kar-ē
 SBJV-know.PRS-1SG destiny what IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘let’s find out what destiny does’ [9:14]

(2232) dī tā aw ka bi-zān-ī
 really until DIST_5 COMP SBJV-know.PRS-2SG
šün čila ča ma-kar-in
 after fortieth.day what IND-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘you really should know what they will do after the fortieth day’ [7H:72]

The matrix clause can also contain the cognition verb *fīkr kar* ‘think do.PRS’:

(2233) waṭā fīkr ma-kar-ām ardašīr ni-m-āy = wa
 by.God think IND-do.PRS-1PL Ardašīr NEG_1-IND-come.PRS.3SG = PTCL#
 ‘by God we think Ardašīr will not come back’ [5:23]

¹⁹⁹ The clauses may also have the same subject in rare instances: *tā bi-zān-im ča ma-ka-m* ‘so SBJV-know.PRS-1SG what IND-do.PRS-1SG’ (‘so I may know what I should do’) [5:89].

12.2.2.4 Permission

Another complement clause includes the matrix verb *eǰāza tī* ‘give permission.PRS’. The mood of the matrix verb is indicative, while that of the complement verb is subjunctive. The complementizer *ka* also occurs:

- (2234) baǰd eǰāza ma-tī = ya ka bi-niš-ām
 then permission IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR COMP SBJV-sit.PRS-1PL
 ‘then one gives permission that we sit’ [7N:11]

12.2.2.5 Perception verb *wīn* ‘see’

It is noteworthy that an object complement clause following the perception verb *wīn* ‘see.PRS’ is not attested with a complementizer:²⁰⁰

- (2235) ma-wīn-ē
 IND-see.PRS-3SG
až žir libās-ak-ān = iš musala = yē = u libās = e
 under clothing-DEF-PL = 3SG armored = COP.PRS.3SG_1 = and clothing = EZ
řazm = iš püšī = ya
 suit.of.armor = 3SG wear.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_3
 ‘he sees that under his clothes (Siyāwaxš) is armed and he is wearing his suit of armor’
 [5:68]
- (2236) ma-wīn-ē baǰē dü wačka = š = ič = iš hē
 IND-see.PRS-3SG yes two offspring = 3SG = ADD = 3SG exist.3SG
 ‘he sees, yes, she also has two offspring’ [2:31]
- (2237) ma-wīn-ē baǰē mard xāw kawt = ī = ya wan = ay
 IND-see.PRS-3SG yes Mard sleep fall.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1? = DIR on.goal = POSTP#_1
 ‘he sees, yes, Mard also has fallen asleep’ [3:11]²⁰¹
- (2238) ma-wīn-ē baǰē řafiq = iš
 IND-see.PRS-3SG yes friend = 3SG
řaft = ē řā = wa = u
 go.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 way = POSTP#_3 = and
 ‘he sees that yes, his friend has gone and’ [3:14]

²⁰⁰ It is not clear in some instances if the element following the matrix clause is actually a complement clause or if consists of simply an object, perhaps with an elided copula verb: *ma-wīn-ē ī dawriš = a* ‘IND-see.PRS-3SG PROX dervish = DEM’ (‘she sees this dervish’) [4:30].

²⁰¹ The gloss of *-ī* here is provisional and might instead be *-3SG*.

12.2.3 Complementation strategies

There are a few other constructions that function in a similar way to a complement clause. These constructions are also termed ‘complementation strategies’ (Dixon 2010b:408, 375). One strategy is that a complement is expressed by means of a participle as a nominalization. There are only a few attested instances in the texts. In the following example, the participles (*nīštin* ‘sitting’, *šūxi karday* ‘joking’) serve as subject complements of a negated copula/existence verb construction that refers to events of ‘sitting’ and ‘joking’. The subject reference is made clear through contextual information:

(2239) wa_sar sifra nīštin = iš nīya,
upon dining.cloth sitting = 3SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

masan bi-řaw-ām = a ĵamāfat-ē
for.example SBJV-go.PRS-1PL = DIR gathering-INDF_2

nīštin šūxi karday = š nīya
sitting joke doing = 3SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

‘there is no sitting around the ‘sofra’ (i.e., dining cloth); for example, if we go to a gathering, sitting (?), there is no making jokes’ [7N:12]

In the example below, the participle *xanista* ‘laughing’ appears to function as a type of object complement. It is found here in a marked position after the verb:

(2240) čün as(†)an ānān qayaxa ma-ka(r)-in xanista
because completely DIST.PL_1 forbid IND-do.PRS-3PL laughing

‘because they completely forbid it, laughing’ [7N:14]

12.2.4 Reported speech

Reported speech consists of a matrix clause with a speech verb and a complement clause functioning as the object (see Payne 2006:295 for background). The complement clause is only rarely introduced with *ka*. The subjects in the matrix and the complement clauses can be the same or different. The complement clause could be regarded as having a very low degree of integration with the matrix clause. It might not even be strictly considered a complement, in that the clause is grammatically independent (Kroeger 2005:226, noted by Nicholas Bailey, p.c.).

Reported speech consists of two types, direct and indirect speech.

12.2.4.1 Direct speech

The most common type of reported speech in Gawraǰūyī is direct speech. Such quotation of a person’s speech is introduced by the matrix verb *wā(ž)* ‘say.PRS’ (*wāt* ‘say.PST’). This

verb can also express extended senses of ‘think’ and ‘wonder’.²⁰² The agent of the matrix clause functions as the center of orientation (‘deictic center’) for the complement clause in terms of person. The tense of the speech verb is usually oriented to the present time frame (‘here and now’). Examples of direct speech include:

- (2241) kuř m-wāy min ma-řo-m=a maydan
 boy IND-say.PRS.3SG 1SG IND-go.PRS-1SG=DIR battlefield
 ‘the boy says: ‘I will go to the battlefield’’ [5:137]
- (2242) m-wāy min gurisna = m = ē
 IND-say.PRS.3SG 1SG hunger = 1SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘he says: ‘I am hungry’’ [1:52]
- (2243) m-wāy min tu = m nāsī
 IND-say.PRS.3SG 1SG 2SG = 1SG know.PST
 ‘he says: ‘I recognized you’’ [3:101]
- (2244) gīw wāt-a = wē min ma-š-im
 Gīw say.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG 1SG IND-go.PRS-1SG
 ‘Gīw had said: ‘I will go’’ [5:89]
- (2245) wāt-a = wē = š tu řānanda = t hē
 say.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG = 3SG 2SG driver = 2SG exist.3SG
 ‘he had said: ‘Do you have a driver?’’ [6:147]
- (2246) wāt-a = wē = š
 say.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG = 3SG
min šaxs = e īstan = im ma-řān-im
 1SG personally = EZ RFL = 1SG IND-drive.PRS-1SG
 ‘he had said: ‘I personally will drive it myself’’ [6:148]
- (2247) wāt = šān
 say.PST = 3PL
bāwā až qasir biya wa tazāhurāt
 man in Qasir COP.PRF.3SG by demonstrations
 ‘they said: ‘Man, in Qasir-e Šīrīn there have been demonstrations’’ [6:3]

The complement clause introduced by *wā(ž)* ‘say.PRS’ (*wāt* say.PST) can be followed by a question as well as a command. There are no variation of verbs with related senses (such as English ‘ask’, ‘command’, ‘yell’) found in the text corpus. The following examples show a complement clause as a question and then as a command:

²⁰² An example of the speech verb as referring to thought is: *m-wāy qay=iš niya, xo ni-ma-k(u)š-ē=m*
 IND-say.PRS.3SG problem = 3SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG well NEG_1-IND-kill.PRS-3SG = 1SG (‘she says (thinks),
 no problem, well, may she not beat me’) [11:33].

(2248) m-wāy ma-zān-ī ča
 IND-say.PRS.3SG IND-know.PRS-2SG what
 ‘she says: ‘Do you know what?’’ [4:197]

(2249) wāt = iš tu taqsīm arāzī bi-ka
 say.PST = 3SG 2SG land.reform SBJV-do.PRS
 ‘he said: ‘You carry out the land reform’’ [6:17]

In some instances, the complement consists of a single noun phrase introduced by the speaker as a particular term to be explained. The noun phrase is still treated in the typical way as a complement and follows the matrix verb instead of occurring in the unmarked direct object position preceding the verb. The noun phrases functioning as complements in the following examples are: *darpardāna*, referring to the visit of a newly married woman to her parents’ home; *žāndāmīrī*, as the gendarme; *gařā*, a type of sentry; and *hanā* (*xanā*), referring to henna dye:

(2250) īma m-wāz-ām darpardāna, šīma m-wāž-a ča
 1PL_3 IND-say.PRS-1PL darpardāna 2PL IND-say.PRS-2PL what
 ‘we call it ‘darpardāna’, what do you call it?’ [8:210]

(2251) īsa m-wāž-ām žāndāmīrī, āna m-wā-n gařā
 now IND-say.PRS-1PL žāndāmīrī, DIST_4 IND-say.PRS-3PL gařā
 ‘now we say ‘žāndāmīrī’, they say ‘gařā’’ [4:104]

(2252) ēma ni-m-wāž-ām hanā,
 1PL_2 NEG_1-IND-say.PRS-1PL hanā

 ēma m-wāz-ām hanā, xana
 1PL_2 IND-say.PRS-1PL hanā xana
 ‘we do not say ‘hanā’, we say ‘hanā’, ‘xana’’ [7H:107]

A few other verbs appear in constructions similar to those of direct speech in which the object complement contains quoted material. The matrix verbs include *nūs* ‘write.PRS’ and *eřlāmīya kar* ‘announce.PRS’, as shown in the next two examples (and within a complement clause in the second example):

(2253) eřlāmīya bi-ka, min har čī = m wāt = ē,
 announcement SBJV-do.PRS 1SG whatever = 1SG say.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1

tūmat = im dā = ya ī dita
 slander = 1SG give.PST = COP.PRS.3SG?.DIR PROX.DEM.ADJ girl
 ‘publish an announcement: ‘whatever I have said, I have slandered this girl’’ [4:203]

- (2254) wāt
say.PST
- bi-nūs min īrān = im wa ǰang = wa girt = ē
SBJV-write.PRS 1SG Iran = 1SG by war = POSTP#_3 take.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- ‘he said: ‘Write ‘I have taken Iran in war’’ [6:102]

12.2.4.2 Indirect speech

There is possible evidence for indirect speech in Gawraǰūyī, though more study is needed. Indirect speech is another type of reported speech. With indirect speech, the speaker relates the content of what another person says, but it is not a word-for-word quotation. It is close to direct speech in structure. It is expressed as a matrix clause with a speech verb and an object complement clause, and is only rarely introduced with the complementizer *ka*. The only signals of its status as indirect speech appear as contextual information, such as an impersonal (or non-specific) subject (agent) of the speech verb.

The tense-aspect of the indirect speech material is not necessarily oriented to that of the speech verb. Possible examples of indirect speech are shown here:

- (2255) m-wāy buwa īl dawr bīsītūn
IND-say.PRS.3SG nomad NA around Bīsītūn
- ‘one says (i.e., it is said) nomads (are) around Bīsītūn’ [4:152]
- (2256) m-wāy hüč = šān na-hišt
IND-say.PRS.3SG anything = 3PL NEG_2-leave.PST
- ‘it is said they did not leave anything’ [4:207]
- (2257) wāt, gaṛā das šīrīn girt
say.PST Gaṛā hand Šīrīn take.PST
- ‘it was said (that) the Gaṛā took Šīrīn by the hand’ [4:126]

12.2.4.3 Direct or indirect speech?

The following examples are ambiguous in that they might be regarded as either direct or indirect speech:

- (2258) gištī wa yak-ē ḥasāw ma-kar-ām,
all to one-INDF_2 count IND-do.PRS-1PL
- m-wāž-ām īma dī ya xānawāda = yām
IND-say.PRS-1PL 1PL_3 now one family = COP.PRS.1PL
- ‘we count everyone as one, we say we are now one family’ [7N:127]
- (2259) m-wāž-ām ka ni-ma-kar-ām
IND-say.PRS-1PL COMP NEG_1-IND-do.PRS-1PL
- ‘we say that we will not do it’ [8:72]

- (2260) ina ka niya b-wāž-ām gawraǰū
PROX_4 COMP NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG SBJV-say.PRS-1PL Gawraǰū
- dita-ka = š bāyad hay
young.woman-DEF = 3SG must always
- kuřa = y gawraǰū bi-yar-ē = š
young.man = EZ Gawraǰū SBJV-take.PRS-3SG = 3SG
- ‘it is not that we say: ‘Gawraǰū, the young women—the young men of Gawraǰū always must take them (as brides)’ [7H:94]

12.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses modify an entire clause or verbal complex. They can add information to a clause about time, purpose, cause, reason, conditions, and manner.²⁰³ Adverbial clauses in Gawraǰūyī are outlined according to these categories (see also Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:60, 61 for noting causal and temporal adverbial clauses).

12.3.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

A temporal clause typically precedes a main clause. It can indicate a sense of simultaneous, anterior, or posterior time relative to the time in the main clause, which can be inferred by the context as well as supported by time adverbs.

12.3.1.1 Simultaneity or unspecified time

The temporal clause is usually introduced by a time word or phrase, most commonly *mawqaŕ* ‘time’ or *waxt* (variant: *waqt*) ‘time’ (i.e., ‘when’). It is sometimes followed by the complementizer *ka*, thus: *mawqaŕ ka*, *mawqaŕē ka*, *waxte ka*, or *waxte ka*. The noun is occasionally followed by the form *-e* or *-ē* (not analyzed further in this study). A temporal clause can also be introduced by *ka*, an adpositional phrase, or another type of time phrase.

The following examples show the structure of the temporal adverbial clause:

- (2261) waxte ma-nürya bāt = š = wa, ma-wīn-ē
when IND-look.PRS.3SG.DIR arm = 3SG = POSTP#_3 IND-see.PRS-3SG
‘when he looks at his arm, he sees’ [5:155]

- (2262) mawqeŕe_ka řarūsī ma-kar-in, ma-řaw-ē
when wedding IND-do.PRS-3PL IND-go.PRS-3SG
‘when they have the wedding, she goes (back to her father’s house)’ [8:213]

The following illustrates a temporal clause introduced with a non-specific time phrase, *har dam* ‘whenever’:

²⁰³ For background in this section, see Payne (2006:297–298).

- (2263) har_dam bi-ǰūš-ē, ǰang = ē
 whenever SBJV-boil.PRS-3SG war = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘whenever it boils, it is war’ [5:75]

The subject (agent) of the main clause sometimes occurs before the time reference (here *ka*):

- (2264) baǰz-ē wa ǰarūs-ak-ān-ī ka ǰarūsī ma-kar-in,
 some-INDF_2 as (of?) bride-DEF-PL-NA COMP marry IND-do.PRS-3PL
 wa řas(i)m = e mahalī = e qadīm ma-yr-in = iř
 by tradition = EZ local = EZ old IND-bring.PRS-3PL = 3SG
 ‘some as (of?) brides, when they marry, they follow old local traditions’ [7N:132]

In the next example, the temporal clause follows the word *řaw* ‘night’:

- (2265) řaw waxtē_ka ma-ws-ē,
 night when IND-sleep.PRS-3SG
 yakī m-āya xāw = iř
 someone IND-come.PRS.3SG.DIR sleep = 3SG
 ‘at night, when she sleeps, a person comes in her dream’ [12:9]

In a rare occurrence, the form *kī* ‘who’, which typically functions as the human interrogative, is used as the complementizer instead of *ka*:

- (2266) fařā(d) kī ař xwar hāma, lā = ř kard = wa
 Farād who from sleep come.PST.3SG side = 3SG do.PST = PTCL#
 ‘when Farād woke up, he turned around’ [4:133]

12.3.1.2 Anterior time

Anterior time can be indicated by a temporal clause introduced with a phrase such as *qabl az* ‘before’. In this example, the temporal clause follows the main clause:

- (2267) bāyad āna bū, niřān bi-d-ī qabl_az
 must DIST_4 SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG show SBJV-give.PRS-2SG before
 ina ka bi-ř-ī = ya mā_řasalī
 PROX_4 COMP SBJV-go.PRS-2SG = DIR honeymoon
 ‘that must be so, you must show it before you go on the honeymoon’ [7H:163]

12.3.1.3 Posterior time

Posterior time is indicated by a temporal phrase introduced by *bařd az* ‘after’, though it is rare in the text corpus. It is noteworthy that the temporal clause contains a participle instead of the more usual finite verb:

- (2268) baʔd_az tadrīs kard-a m-ā-yin = wa
 after study do.PST-PART IND-come.PRS-3PL = PTCL#
 ‘after studying, they come back’ [7N:47]

12.3.2 Purpose adverbial clauses

In the Gawraǰūyī texts, purpose adverbial clauses are attested as always following main clauses. A purpose clause can be introduced with *ka* ‘so that’ (the usual complementizer) or *tā* ‘so that’, although it can occasionally occur without any introductory form. A purpose clause in present tense appears as Present Subjunctive, while in past tense, it appears as Past Perfective. Examples include:

- (2269) ī kuřa = t = a dī wan = im
 PROX.DEM.ADJ young.man = 2SG = DEM see.PST to.goal = 1SG
 b-wā ka ī kuřa b-wīn-im
 SBJV-say.PRS COMP PROX.DEM.ADJ young.man SBJV-see.PRS-1SG
 ‘when you see this young man, tell (me) so that I may see this young man’ [8:139]
- (2270) ča = t ka(rd) ka wa ī pāy = a rasī
 what = 2SG do.PST COMP to PROX.DEM.ADJ degree = DEM reach.PST.2SG
 ‘What did you do that you reached this position?’ [3:102]
- (2271) b-ār tā b-war-im
 SBJV-bring so.that SBJV-drink.PRS-1SG
 ‘bring (it) so I may drink’ [11:24]
- (2272) min ma-š-im, tā bi-zān-im ča ma-ka-m
 1SG IND-go.PRS-1SG so.that SBJV-know.PRS-1SG what IND-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘I will go, so that I may know what to do’ [5:89]

In the following example, the purpose clause lacks an introductory element. This structure is similar to that of a complement clause (see Section 12.2):

- (2273) min ni-ma-řaw-im
 1SG NEG_1-IND-go.PRS-1SG
 tasdī(q) duktura-y bīr-im
 certificate doctor-OBL SBJV.bring.PRS-1SG
 ‘I will not go get the doctor’s certificate’ [8:3]

12.3.3 Cause adverbial clauses

Cause adverbial clauses also follow the main clause. The clause is introduced with *čün* or *čünka* ‘because’:

- (2274) kamtir piš m-āy pāxasür = iš bû,
 less forth IND-come.PRS.3SG pāxasür = 3SG SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG
 čü(n)ka řasim na-man = ē
 because tradition NEG₂-remain.PST = COP.PRS.3SG₁
 ‘it happens less that there may be a pāxasür, because the tradition has not remained’
 [7H:160]
- (2275) fra na-xan-ī, čün as(†)an ānān
 much NEG₂-laugh.PRS-2SG because completely DIST.PL₁
 qayaxa ma-ka(r)-in xanista
 forbid IND-do.PRS-3PL laugh.PART
 ‘you may not laugh much, because they completely forbid laughing’ [7N:14]
- (2276) žan-ak-ān bištir zahmat ma-kiš-in
 woman-DEF-PL more effort IND-pull.PRS-3PL
 tā mard-ak-ān, čünka kār = šān saxt = ē
 than man-DEF-PL because work = 3PL difficult = COP.PRS.3SG₁
 ‘the women make more effort than the men, because their work is difficult’ [7N:36]

12.3.4 Reason adverbial clauses

A reason clause can be introduced with *wa xātir* ‘with account, by reason, because’:

- (2277) hē ka = y bāwk = ay, wa_xātir ina
 currently house = EZ father = POSTP#₁ with.account PROX₄
 ka kuřa-ka řasabī = yē
 COMP young.man-DEF mentally.disturbed = COP.PRS.3SG₁
 ‘now she is (back) in her father’s house, on account of this: that the young man is mentally disturbed’ [8:78–79]

12.3.5 Conditional clauses

A conditional clause is most commonly introduced with the conjunction *ayar* (variants: *ar*, *ayara*, *ayarīta*) ‘if’. The clause may lack a conjunction and be marked only by subjunctive mood (indicating potential conditions). A negated conditional clause is introduced with *tā* ‘unless’. The conditional clause (protasis) precedes the main clause (apodosis).

The mood of the protasis and apodosis appear to distinguish the condition as potential or real (a provisional distinction that still must be confirmed).

12.3.5.1 Potential conditions

In a protasis expressing a potential condition, the verb is in Present Subjunctive. In the apodosis, the verb is either Imperative or Present Indicative:

- (2278) ayar dita bī, xarj ařā = š bi-kar-a
 if girl SBJV.COP.PST?.3SG spend for = 3SG SBJV-do.PRS-2PL
 ‘if it is a girl, spend it on her’ [5:120]
- (2279) a(ya)r masan birā-ka = m bi-řaw-ē
 if for.example brother-DEF = 1SG SBJV-go.PRS-3SG
 tahqīq bi-kar-ē,
 investigate SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
 dī ā mawqař muřkel nīya
 then DIST.DEM.ADJ time problem NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ‘if, for example, my brother goes (and) finds out more (about that person), then, at that time, there is no problem’ [8:93]
- (2280) ayar gharība = yč b-āy = a dile = mān,
 if stranger = ADD SBJV-come.PRS.3SG = DIR among = 1PL
 ā gharīb = a dī iřtan = mān = ē
 DIST.DEM.ADJ stranger = DEM then RFL = 1PL = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘even if a stranger comes among us, that stranger is then one of us’ [7N:125]

The next two examples show a potential conditional clause without any introductory conjunction, with simply the Present Subjunctive appearing in the protasis:

- (2281) āyam bi-tān-ē wař = (i)ř = a
 person SBJV-can.PRS-3SG pleasant = 3SG = DIR
 kasē n-āy, xās = ē
 someone NEG_2-come.PRS.3SG good = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘if a person is able not to love someone, it is good’ [8:67]
- (2282) kuřa = y pādřā čař = iř bi-kat-ē īnā,
 son = EZ king eye = 3SG SBJV-fall.PRS-3SG PROX_3
 dī řima = ř garak nīyē
 any.longer 2PL = 3SG want NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ‘if (or possibly: when) the king’s son sees this one, he will no longer want you’ [12:21]

12.3.5.2 Real conditions

A protasis expressing a real condition is in Present Indicative or Past Perfective, while the apodosis is encoded as the Present Subjunctive or Imperative (or Prohibitive):

- (2283) ar xwā = yē, bāyad
 if God = COP.PRS.3SG_1 must
 ī řadāřat = a bū
 PROX.DEM.ADJ justice = DEM SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘if God exists (lit., is), this justice must take place’ [6:47]

- (2284) ayar aḥyānan dī=t ča qisa=š wa_gard=(i)t=ay
 if accidentally see.PST=2SG what speech=3SG with=2SG=POSTP#_1
 kard, nārāhat nawī
 do.PST insulted NEG_2.be.2SG
 ‘if he accidentally sees you, speaks with you, don’t be insulted’ [8:55]
- (2285) ayar masan ī āghā hāma,
 if for.example PROX.DEM.ADJ gentleman come.PST
 wa_har_ǰür=e_buwa, wan=im b-wā
 by.all.means to.goal=1SG SBJV-say.PRS
 ‘when (if?), for example, this gentleman comes, by all means (?), tell me’ [8:137]

12.3.5.3 Negative condition

Negative conditional clauses are introduced with *tā* ‘unless’:

- (2286) tu tā na-š-ī āw haw na-kar-ī,
 2SG unless NEG_2-go.PRS-2SG water out NEG_2-do.PRS-2SG
 āw n-āy=a pā=m,
 water NEG_2-come.PRS.3SG=DIR foot=1SG
 ni-ma-tān-im pal bi-kar-im
 NEG_1-IND-can.PRS-1SG leaf SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘unless you go (lit., not go), take out water, (and) make the water flow to my foot (i.e., base), I cannot grow leaves’ [1:23]

The introductory element can also follow the subject pronominal (*tu* ‘2SG’):

- (2287) tā tu n-ār-imē inā, aǰ_ānā tāqat ni-m-ār-im
 unless 2SG NEG_2-bring.PRS-1PL_8 here then bear NEG_1-IND-bring.PRS-1SG
 ‘unless we bring you here, then we cannot bear it’ [10:52]

12.3.6 Other adverbial clauses

There are no clear examples of a locative adverbial clause found in the text corpus. There is only one possible instance of a manner adverbial clause, here introduced with *tā* ‘until’, with a sense of ‘as much as’:

- (2288) tā tānis=iš šīr-aka ward=iš
 until can.PST=3SG milk-DEF drink.PST=3SG
 ‘as much as it could, it drank the milk’ [1:9]

12.4 Relative clause constructions

Another combination of clauses involves a relative clause. Because of the limited text material, the description here deals only with basic issues and notes a few points for further study.

There are various ways that relative clauses have been described by linguists. A relative clause construction and some of the terms are introduced here (mostly following Payne 2006:301–308). A typical relative clause construction in English is shown here:

(2289) I see the girl who feeds the horses every day.

This construction consists of a main clause, ‘I see the girl’, and a relative clause, ‘who feeds the horses every day’. In syntactic terms, the subject of the main clause is expressed by the pronoun ‘I’. The object of the main clause is expressed by a noun phrase ‘the girl’, which in turn is modified by a clause ‘who feeds the horses every day’. This embedded clause consists of a transitive clause that also has its own subject, the relative pronoun ‘who’ that is coreferential with ‘the girl’. The predicate of the embedded clause is ‘feeds the horses every day’.

The argument ‘the girl’ functions as the object of the main clause and is coreferential with the subject argument of the relative clause. This shared argument is regarded as the ‘common argument’.

In semantic terms, the relative clause in the above example functions to limit the reference of the noun phrase and is thus regarded as a ‘restrictive’ relative clause. Other types of relative clauses are ‘non-restrictive’. Non-restrictive relative clauses provide additional information that is not necessary to identify that referent. For example, in the following sentence, the relative clause ‘who is coincidentally feeding the horse right now’ is not needed to identify ‘the girl’:

(2290) I see the girl, who is coincidentally feeding the horses right now.

The relative clause itself can be described in terms of its elements (see Payne 2006:302). The noun phrase that functions as the modified element is termed the ‘head’ of the relative clause. In the above example from English, the head is ‘the girl’. The morpheme that indicates the clause as relative is the ‘relativizer’. In the example, the relativizer is ‘who’. There are further details of the structure but they are not treated in the following discussion of the Gawraǰūyī relative clause constructions.

12.4.1 Structure of the relative clause

In the Gawraǰūyī text corpus, the form of the head of the relative clause is attested as a full noun phrase (including modifying elements such as a demonstrative adjective or suffixes), a coordinated noun phrase, a personal/demonstrative pronoun (only third person forms), or an indefinite pronoun (‘whoever’, ‘one’). There is one unclear instance of a proper name, and no examples with first or second person pronouns.

The noun phrase can be marked with $-\bar{e}$ or $-e$, or this marking may be absent. The definition of the marker $-\bar{e}$ is not yet clear, though the form is identical to the indefinite

marker. The form *-e* is also identical to the *ezāfe* linking particle *=e* (which might also be compared to the use of the *ezāfe* before a relativizer in Southern Kurdish, see Fattah 2000:249).

There is no use of the marker *-ē* on a pronoun or a noun phrase with the definiteness suffix *-aka*. The marker *-e* is attested once. It is found on a head consisting of a noun phrase modified by a demonstrative adjective.

The complementizer *ka* ‘COMP’ (functioning as a relativizer) follows the head of the relative clause. In rare instances, the (human interrogative) pronouns *kē* or *kī* ‘who’ appear with this function. In other languages, it is possible for the interrogative and relativizer forms to share some functions (see J. Lyons 1977:760–761).²⁰⁴

The relative clause always follows its head, and can thus be characterized as ‘post-nominal’.

The verb of the main clause usually follows the relative clause, with an exception when the relative clause modifies a postverbal Goal/Indirect Object (see Section 12.4.4). Occasionally, in some contexts in the Gawraǰūyī material, relative clauses appear without a main verb, such as when some speakers do not finish sentences or when they change topics in the middle of speech.

The order of elements in most of the relative constructions in the Gawraǰūyī corpus is shown here:

(2291) **Head noun phrase** **Complementizer** **Relative clause** **Verb of main clause**

This order is illustrated in the following:

(2292) **Head noun phrase** **Complementizer** **Relative clause**
kas-ān-ē ka kumak pišī-yaka = šān kard = ē,
people-PL-NA COMP help cat-DEF = 3PL do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1

Verb of main clause

ma-yr-ē
IND-take.PRS-3SG

‘the people who have helped the cat, (the cat) brings (them)’ [1:108–109] (i.e., The cat brings the people who have helped it.)

²⁰⁴ The complementizer transcribed as *ka* seems to be actually realized as *čē* in the following example: *baŷz-ēk = (i)č-i ka xānawāda = šān muxālefāt ma-kar-ē* ‘some-INDF = ADD-NA COMP family = 3PL against IND-do.PRS-3SG’ (‘some too who their families are against it’) [8:44–45].

12.4.2 Various types of relative clause heads

The next examples show the various types of relative clause heads. (In each of these examples, the head is followed by *ka* ‘COMP’ and is coreferential with the object of the main clause.)

With a demonstrative pronoun (*āna*) as head:

- (2293) āna ka masan xānanda-ka ī jūr = a
DIST_4 COMP for.example singer-DEF PROX.DEM.ADJ way = DEM

m-wan-ē = š, īma wa zwān
IND-sing.PRS-3SG = 3SG 1PL_3 by language

xānanda-ka m-wan-ām = iš
singer-DEF IND-sing.PRS-1PL = 3SG

‘that which, for example, the singer sings this way, we sing it in the language of the singer’ [7H:124] (i.e., we sing in the language of the singer that which the singer sings this way.)

With a full noun phrase (*kasān*) as head:

- (2294) kas-ān-ē ka kumak
people-PL-NA COMP help

piši-yaka = šān kard = ē, ma-yr-ē
cat-DEF = 3PL do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 IND-bring.PRS-3SG

‘the people who have helped the cat, (the cat) brings (them)’ [1:108–109] (i.e., The cat brings the people who have helped it.)

With a complex noun phrase (*ya serī libās*) as head:

- (2295) baʿd ya serī libās-ē ka až_ānā be,
then one set clothing-NA COMP there SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG

bi-tān-ē ā libās-ān = a bar b-ār-ē = u
SBJV-can.PRS-3SG DIST.DEM.ADJ clothing-PL = DEM out SBJV-bring.PRS-3SG = and

ā libās-ān = a bi-püš-ē
DIST.DEM.ADJ clothing-PL = DEM SBJV-put.on.PRS-3SG

‘then a set of clothing that should be there, she will be able to bring out those clothes and put on those clothes’ [7H:155] (i.e., Then she can bring out the set of clothes that should be there and put those clothes on.)

12.4.3 Expression of the head within the relative clause

An important issue involves the way in which the head of the relative clause is actually referred to within the relative clause.

Verb marking only

The most frequent type of expression of reference is solely the appropriate person-number marking on the verb as required by the particular verb (depending on transitivity and tense,

see Section 4.7.5). In the following example (repeated from above), there is no expression of the coreferent for ‘one set of clothes’ other than the form of the copula verb *bē* as third person singular:

- (2296) baǰd ya serī libās-ē ka aǰ_ānā bē
 then one set clothing-NA COMP there SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘then a set of clothing that should be there’ [7H:155]

Similarly, in the next example, no overt expression appears other than the verb of existence as third person singular (though it is possible that there is an assimilated form of the copula, and more study is needed).

- (2297) ā dü gila ka hē wa_gard tu = way,
 DIST.DEM.ADJ two unit COMP exist.3SG with 2SG = POSTP#_1
 aǰā = y īma gharība = y(n)
 for = EZ 1PL_3 stranger = COP.PRS.3PL
 ‘those two who are with you, for us they are strangers’ [7N:10]

Enclitic pronoun

Another common way that the head is expressed in the relative clause is by means of an enclitic pronoun. The independent pronouns do not appear in this function.

In the following example (also repeated from above), the relative clause is constructed with a past transitive verb, *kard* ‘do.PST’, and the enclitic pronoun =*šān* ‘3PL’ refers to the agent and is attached to the end of the noun phrase (*kumak pišīyaka = šān*) expressing object, in the same position as in an independent clause:

- (2298) kas-ān = ē ka kumak pišī-yaka = šān kard = ē
 person-PL = NA COMP help cat-DEF = 3PL do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘the people who have helped the cat’ [1:108]

A similar example shows an enclitic pronoun =*šān* ‘3PL’ attached to the relative clause object *tay* ‘agreement’, which is coreferential with the plural head (‘a woman and a man’) and which happens to function as agent of both relative and main clauses.²⁰⁵

- (2299) baǰdan ya žan = u ya piyā ka ištan = šān tay = šān
 then one woman = and one man COMP RFL = 3PL agreement = 3PL
 kard = ē ka = y řarūs ma-niš-ē
 do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 house = EZ bride IND-sit.PRS-3SG
 ‘later, a woman and a man who themselves have made an agreement, they wait at the house of the bride’ [7N:157]

²⁰⁵ There is singular marking on *manišē*, which may indicate collective sense (‘they’).

In a relative clause with a possessive construction employing the copula verb, there is also no overt reference other than the enclitic pronoun = *šān* indicating the possessor:

- (2300) masan ānā ka bāwka = šān dawriš = ē,
 for.example DIST_3 COMP father = 3PL dervish = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ma-zān-in bi-žan-in
 IND-know.PRS-3PL SBJV-play.PRS-3PL
 ‘for example, those whose father is a dervish, they can play (the instrument)’ [7N:48]

12.4.4 The grammatical role of the head in the main clause

In the Gawraǰūyī texts, relative clauses modify noun phrases that express a variety of grammatical roles within the main clause (Agent, Subject, Object, Goal/Indirect Object), though some of the occurrences are complicated and involve left-detachment. The examples here are all of arguments in present tense clauses. (Further study is needed for arguments in past tense clauses.)

Subject of a present copula clause

- (2301) ā dü gila ka hē wa_gard tu = way,
 DIST.DEM.ADJ two unit COMP exist.3SG with 2SG = POSTP#_1
 aǰā = y īma gharība = y(n)
 to = EZ 1PL_3 stranger = COP.PRS.3PL
 ‘those two who are with you, for us they are strangers’ [7N:10]

Subject of a present intransitive clause

- (2302) baǰdan ya žan = u ya piyā
 then one woman = and one man
 ka īštan = šān tay = šān kard = ē
 COMP RFL = 3PL agreement = 3PL do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ka = y ǰarūs ma-niš-ē
 house = EZ bride IND-sit.PRS-3SG
 ‘later, a woman and a man who themselves have made an agreement, they wait at the house of the bride’ [7N:157]

Agent of a present transitive clause

- (2303) masan ānā ka bāwka = šān dawriš = ē,
 for.example DIST_3 COMP father = 3PL dervish = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ma-zān-in bi-žan-in
 IND-know.PRS-3PL SBJV-play(instrument).PRS-3PL
 ‘some of them (i.e., women) know (how to play the instrument; i.e., can play); for instance, those whose father is a dervish, they know how to play’ [7N:48]

Object of a present transitive clause

- (2304) kas-ān-ē ka kumak
 people-PL-NA COMP help
 pišī-yaka = šān kard = ē, ma-yr-ē
 cat-DEF = 3PL do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 IND-bring.PRS-3SG
 ‘the people who have helped the cat, (the cat) brings (them)’ [1:108–109] (i.e., The cat brings the people who have helped it.)

Goal of present transitive clause

- (2305) ma-tī = ya = yš ānān
 IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR = 3SG? DIST.PL_1
 kē muǰaǰad = in
 who unmarried = COP.PRS.3PL
 ‘he distributes them and gives them to those who are unmarried’ [7N:107] (The form *kē* is rare.)

12.4.5 Relative clauses with non-specific heads

A type of relative clause is headed by a form such as *har ka* ‘whoever’, *har čī* ‘whatever’, or a possible loan form, *har kē* ‘whoever’ (only attested once, followed by complementizer *ka*).²⁰⁶ The referent is not specific but rather defined by the relative clause. A few examples include:

- (2306) har_ka hāma piš(t) bar-aka,
 whoever come.PST before door-DEF,
 bar-aka aǰā = š wāz na-kar-a
 door-DEF for = 3SG open NEG_2-do.PRS-2PL
 ‘whoever comes (lit., came) to the door, do not open the door for him’ [2:38]
- (2307) baǰd har masan damad-aka
 then well for.example bridegroom-DEF
 har_kē ka b-(w)in-ē muǰaǰad = ē,
 whoever COMP SBJV-see.PRS-3SG unmarried = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 aǰ_āna ma-tī = ya wan
 then IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR to.goal
 ‘then, well, the bridegroom, whoever he sees who is unmarried, then he gives it to that one’ [7H:112]

²⁰⁶ Background for this description is found in Windfuhr & Perry (2009:506–507), which presents a discussion of such construction types in Persian.

- (2308) org, sāz, dahot
 keyboard stringed.instrument drum
 har_čī bo m-ār-in
 whatever SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG IND-bring.PRS-3PL
 ‘keyboard, stringed instrument, drum, whatever there may be, they bring it’ [7N:71]

12.5 Coordination

Coordination takes place by linking two independent clauses in various semantic and pragmatic relationships. The coordination is described here according to the absence or presence of formal signals appearing between the clauses.²⁰⁷

12.5.1 Juxtaposition

Clauses can be conjoined by juxtaposition, with no conjunction:

- (2309) xulāsa ma-šu, m-wāy = a dāyka = y čīman
 finally IND-go.PRS.3SG IND-say.PRS.3SG = DIR mother = EZ Čīman
 ‘finally she goes, she says to the mother of Čīman’ [1:39]
- (2310) min = ič řaft-im wāt = (i)m = a ān
 1SG = ADD go.PST-1SG say.PST = 1SG = DIR DIST_1
 ‘I also went, I said to that one’ [8:153]

12.5.2 Clause conjoining by =u ‘and’

Clauses can be conjoined by the conjunction =u attached to the final element of the first clause. The conjunction =u is used in the texts to conjoin clauses in significantly fewer instances than it is used to conjoin noun phrases. Examples of conjoined clauses include:

- (2311) kuřa ma-xura = u m-wāy
 boy IND-shout.PRS.3SG = and IND-say.PRS.3SG
 ‘the boy shouts and says’ [5:139]
- (2312) kū bīsitün nīšān = iš ma-tī-n = u m-wāy
 mountain Bīsitün show = 3SG IND-give.PRS-3PL = and IND-say.PRS.3SG
 ‘they show him the mountain of Bīsitün and he says’ [4:64]

²⁰⁷ For background in this section, see Payne (1997:336–341).

- (2313) bīštir = (ī)č-ī pīš m-āy nāmzadī ma-kar-ē = u
 more = ADD-NA forth IND-come.PRS.3SG pre-engagement IND-do.PRS-3SG = and
 baǰd = e ye mudat ʕaqd ma-kar-ē = u
 then = NA one time engagement IND-do.PRS-3SG = and
 ʕarūsī ma-kar-ē
 wedding IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘it often happens that one has the pre-engagement and after a while one becomes engaged and one marries’ [8:204–205]
- (2314) ni-ma-čarx-ē = u durus ni-maw(u)
 NEG_1-IND-proceed/go.PRS-3SG = and right NEG_1-be.3SG
 ‘it does not go well and it does not become right’ [9:79]

12.5.3 Adversative conjoining by *walē* ‘but’

Clauses can be conjoined in an adversative relationship by the conjunction *walē* ‘but’.²⁰⁸ The conjunction appears at the beginning of the second clause.

- (2315) ʕaqd ma-kar-in walē eštibā ma-kar-in
 engagement IND-do.PRS-3PL but mistake IND-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘they become engaged, but they make a mistake’ [8:198]
- (2316) šaš sāt-ān bīm, walē fikr mināṭ-ī tiž = ē
 six year-PL COP.PST.1SG but mind child-INDF_3 sharp = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘I was six years old, but the mind of a child is sharp’ [6:93]
- (2317) wē = m bīsitün ʕaft-ē-m, walē tamāša = m
 RFL = 1SG Bīsitün go.PST-NA-1SG but look = 1SG
 xās na-kard = ē ʕask-ak-ān
 well NEG_2-do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 picture-DEF-PL
 ‘I myself have gone to Bīsitün, but I did not look well at the pictures (inscriptions?)’ [4:173]

12.5.4 Disjunction by *yā* ... *yā* ‘either ... or’

Clauses can be linked in disjunction by means of the forms *yā* ... *yā* ‘either ... or’. In the text corpus, the conjunction *yā* is most frequently attested preceding noun phrases, but there are a few examples of clause disjunction as well, as illustrated here. The conjunctions are positioned at the beginning of each clause:

²⁰⁸ There is also one instance of the conjunction *walēm* ‘but’ (at the beginning of a sentence in [12:8]; more study is needed). Another conjunction also exists with a similar meaning, *baṭka* ‘but, rather’, but it is only attested in a function of linking noun phrases.

- (2318) yā bāyad nān na-tī-n
or must food NEG_2-give.PRS-3PL

yā nān-ē bi-tī-n fra
or food-NA SBJV-give.PRS-3PL a.lot
‘either they must not provide any food (i.e., not invite the guests for food); or (if) they provide food, (they must provide) a lot’ [7H:60]
- (2319) yā libās ʔarūs bū
or clothing bride SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG

yā libās fārsī bi-karya war = iš
or clothing Persian SBJV-do.PRS.3SG.DIR on = 3SG
‘either it may be a wedding dress or she must put on Persian clothing’ [7N:131]
- (2320) masan yā dita-ka zāʔa = š bi-řaw-ē
for.example or young.woman-DEF gall(fearful) = 3SG SBJV-go.PRS-3SG

yā dita-ka b-wāž-ē min ni-ma-řaw-im
or young.woman-DEF SBJV-want.PRS-3SG 1SG NEG_1-IND-go.PRS-1SG
‘for example, if the young woman was either fearful or if the young woman were to say: ‘I will not go’’ [8:3]
- (2321) yānī ya ʔür-ē yā řād = iš ma-kar-in
that.means one way-INDF_2 or send.away = 3SG IND-do.PRS-3PL

yā ya ʔür-ē baʔdan
or one way-INDF_2 later

ʔwāw ma-tī = ya-n = a wa das-yay
answer IND-give.PRS = DIR-3PL = DIR to hand-NA
‘that means, in some way, either they will send him away or in some way, later, they will give him a negative answer’ [9:34]

12.5.5 Negative disjunction by *na ... na* ‘neither ... nor’

Clauses in negative disjunction are introduced with *na ... na* ‘neither ... nor’. These forms are positioned at the beginning of each clause:

- (2322) na dita-ka-y šü ma-kar-ē
NEG young.woman-DEF-NA marry IND-do.PRS-3SG

na kuřa-ka-y das žan ma-yr-ē
NEG young.man-DEF-NA hand woman IND-bring.PRS-3SG
‘neither the young woman marries nor the young man takes the hand of another woman’ [8:62]

12.5.6 Disjunction with comparison by *tā* ‘than, as’

Another construction is disjunction with comparison, though it is only attested with the comparison of entities and possible ellipsis of the verb rather than in fully expressed clauses.

The comparison is expressed by means of the conjunction *tā* ‘than, as’. It is translated as ‘or’ in the free translations.

In the following example, there is only one clause in the construction, but the particle *īna* is also used, possibly taking the place of the copula:

- (2323) haṭwā-ka = y min waš = ē
 sweet.pastry = EZ 1SG good = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 tā īna = y bāwažan = it
 than PROX_4 = EZ stepmother = 2SG
 ‘Is my sweet pastry good or this of your stepmother?’ [11:30]

- (2324) tāw-aka = y min waš = ē
 swing-DEF = EZ 1SG pleasant = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 tā hīn-aka = y dāyka = t
 than thing-DEF = EZ mother = 2SG
 ‘Is my swing pleasant or that of your mother?’ [11:66]

13. CHAPTER 13. NON-DECLARATIVE SPEECH ACTS

Gawraǰūyī non-declarative speech acts can be described as commands, questions, and wishes.²⁰⁹ These types of speech acts differ from declarative types in which a speaker simply makes a statement. With a command, a speaker says something in order to get the addressee to take action of some kind. It can be a positive command, ‘Come here!’, or a negative command, ‘Don’t go there!’. With a question, a speaker makes a request of an addressee. The request can be of various types, according to the speaker’s aims and expectations. It can constitute a ‘polar question’ (also known as a ‘yes-no question’), or a ‘content question’ (‘information question’). There are also a few other subtypes such as the ‘alternative question’, the ‘tag question’, and the ‘rhetorical question’.

13.1 Imperative and prohibitive

In Gawraǰūyī, a speaker can make a command to an addressee by means of the Imperative construction. This construction is typically composed of the subjunctive prefix *bi-* attached to a present stem. In a rare instance with a compound verb, the prefix may also be absent.

The person and number of the addressee is indicated on the construction. There is no ending for second person singular. For second person plural, the ending *-a* is used, which is identical to the second plural ending on finite verbs in declarative speech acts.

The construction can be used with or without an independent pronoun denoting the addressee.²¹⁰

The Imperative is attested fairly frequently. Its use does not appear to be particularly conditioned or supported by polite expressions. Occasionally, a command can be found expressed in the form of a declarative, with the modality particle *bāyad* ‘must’ (also: *bāyasa*) or *mawu* ‘must’ (see Section 4.8).

The Imperative is illustrated below with the addressee as second person singular:

²⁰⁹ The background of this chapter relies on Payne (1997:294–305) and Givón (1990:779–824), with some points regarding questions based on information in Dixon (2012:376–429).

²¹⁰ It is likely that the addition of an independent pronoun in an Imperative can be conditioned by information structure issues, such as its use in a process of topic ratification (see Section 14.2.4). For example, an independent pronoun is used here in contrast to the topic expression in the preceding clause: *ān har_čī=š=a wāt, tu hūč ma-wā* ‘DIST_1 all=3SG=DEM say.PST 2SG nothing PROH-say.PRS’ (‘that one, all she said, do not say anything’) [11:45].

- (2325) aspāw bi-püş
thing SBJV-put.on.PRS
'put on the things (here: heroic armor)' [5:61]
- (2326) dita-ka = t kil bi-ka
daughter-DEF = 2SG send SBJV-do.PRS
'send your daughter' [1:36]
- (2327) tu wa qawṭ = im bi-ka
2SG by word = 1SG SBJV-do.PRS
'do what I say' [5:62] (here, independent pronoun also refers to addressee)
- (2328) bi-šu aṛā = y ka = y bāwažan = it
SBJV-go.PRS.3SG to = EZ house = EZ stepmother = 2SG
'go to the house of your stepmother' [11:45]
- (2329) až haṭwā-ka b-war
from sweet.pastry-DEF SBJV-eat.PRS
'eat some of the sweet pastry' [11:69]
- (2330) ī kār = a ka
PROX.DEM.ADJ work = DEM do.PRS
'do this' [8:158] (without subjunctive prefix)

A second person plural addressee is indicated with the person-number ending *-a*, as illustrated here:

- (2331) ya takya haṭwā aṛā = m bi-kar-a
one tray sweet.pastry for = 1SG SBJV-do.PRS-2PL
'make (i.e., prepare) me a tray of sweet pastries' [4:159]
- (2332) hēzim ĵam bi-kar-a
firewood gather SBJV-do.PRS-2PL
'gather firewood' [5:42]
- (2333) bi-zān-a eh āyam xās-ēk = ē
SBJV-know.PRS-2PL eh human.being good-INDF_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'find out if he is a good human being' [8:86]
- (2334) bar-aka wāz kar-a
door-DEF open do.PRS-2PL
'open the door' [2:41] (without subjunctive prefix)

Ambiguity of the second person plural: Imperative or Present Subjunctive?

As mentioned above, the ending *-a* is formally identical to the second person plural in declarative present tense clauses. It can be difficult to distinguish an imperative construction

with a second person plural addressee from a declarative with second person plural as subject, with subjunctive. This ambiguity is illustrated here:

- (2335) šima b-wāž-a wa pādšā
 2SG SBJV-say.PRS-2PL to king
 ‘say to the king (or: you must say)’ [3:71]

An area in which the ambiguity is observed is in the apodosis of a conditional sentence:

- (2336) ayar dita bī, xarj ařā=š bi-kar-a
 if girl SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG spend for=3SG SBJV-do.PRS-2PL
 ‘if it is a girl, spend it on her (or: you may spend it on her)’ [5:120]

13.1.1 Prohibitive

A speaker can also forbid an addressee from taking an action by use of the Prohibitive construction. The Prohibitive is formed with the present stem and the person-number ending indicating the addressee, as in the Imperative. There is no ending to mark the addressee as second person singular, whereas the addressee as second person plural is marking with the ending *-a*. Negation is indicated by the prohibitive prefix *ma-* or occasionally *na-* ‘NEG_2’. The prefix *ma-* appears to be a portmanteau (fused form) of *na-* with the subjunctive (irrealis) *bi-*. Thus, negation is closely associated with mood as expressed by inflection.

When *na-* is used as a prefix, it is indistinguishable from a negated subjunctive (a declarative speech act). The sense of prohibitive is only inferred from the context.²¹¹

The examples here show the Prohibitive with a second person singular addressee and use of both *ma-* and *na-*, as follows:

- (2337) tu šü ma-ka
 2SG marry PROH-do.PRS
 ‘you, do not take a husband’ [8:178]
- (2338) ī qāř = a ma-ka
 PROX.DEM.ADJ loud.speech = DEM PROH-do.PRS
 ‘don’t speak this loud way’ [4:117]
- (2339) tu hūč ma-wā
 2SG nothing PROH-say.PRS
 ‘do not say anything’ [11:45]
- (2340) walī wa_šün gūra-k = ay n-āy
 but after calf-DEF = POSTP#_1 NEG_2-come.PRS
 ‘don’t come after the calf’ [11:45] (with *na-* ‘NEG_2’)

²¹¹ It is not yet clear if there is a distinction in meaning between the use of *ma-* and *na-* in these constructions.

More examples of the Prohibitive are shown here, but with a second person plural addressee:

- (2341) ma-tars-a
PROH-fear.PRS-2PL
'do not fear' [4:97]
- (2342) ma-kuš-a
PROH-kill.PRS-2PL
'do not kill' [4:57]
- (2343) bar-aka aǰā=š wāz na-kar-a
door-DEF for=3SG open NEG_2-open.PRS-2PL
'do not open the door for him' [2:38] (with *na-*)

13.2 Exhortation and wishes

A speaker can also express an exhortation or wish by means of the Present Subjunctive. The particle *bā* 'let' also occasionally occurs:

- (2344) bā b-āy=a bān
let SBJV-come.PRS.3SG=DIR upstairs
'let him come upstairs' [3:75]
- (2345) b-ā-yām=a sar nāmard
SBJV-come.PRS-1PL=DIR upon Nāmard
'let us come to (talking about) Nāmard' [3:99]

13.3 Interrogative clauses

Questions are expressed by interrogative clauses. In the world's languages, an interrogative clause is typically marked in a distinct way from a declarative clause. According to Givón (1990:786), the most common means of marking an interrogative clause is by means of a change in intonation pattern. Other types of marking involve the use of special morphology or a particular constituent order of the clause elements.

The types of marking further depend on the categories of question types. These types are namely, 1) a 'polar question', including the subtypes of 'alternative question' and 'tag question'; and 2) a 'content question'.

According to Kroeger (2005:197), both polar and content questions can also function as 'indirect speech acts'. An indirect speech act appears as one form of speech act though with a use corresponding to a different type. Thus, an interrogative clause can also function as a 'rhetorical question', which is formally a question but has the use of making a statement (declarative).

13.3.1 Polar questions

The ‘polar question’, also known as a ‘yes-no question’, is used to request confirmation or denial regarding a proposition or a particular referent. A polar question can also be used to simply express a speaker’s doubt, and no response is expected (J. Lyons 1977:755).

In Gawraǰūyī, there are several formal elements of a polar question. It can be expressed as a simple clause or as a combination of clauses. The mood of a question encoded as a prefix on the main verb is typically indicative and rarely subjunctive. A special question particle is not normally used, though one form appears in rare instances in rhetorical questions (see below in Section 13.3.3). The intonation of a polar question slightly rises on the final element (perhaps the syllable) of the question. It is also possible that the rise in intonation is not significantly marked, depending on the context in which the polar question occurs. For example, in traditional narratives, much material seems to be recited from memory and is presented with a certain speed and rhythm. In such a context, the intonation of a polar question is subsumed by the overall speech contour, and it is thus indistinguishable from that of a declarative clause.

There is no particularly distinct constituent order that characterizes a polar question, and it is generally the same basic Subject-Object-Verb-Goal constituent order as attested in declarative clauses. In a polar question, however, there can be patterns of dislocation of clause constituents that reflect information structure issues, such as topic promotion of a particular referent (discussed in detail in Chapter 14).

In narrative contexts, direct speech containing a polar question is normally introduced by the verb *wā(ž)* ‘say.PRS’ (*wāt* ‘say.PST’). No other verb is attested in this function in the text corpus.

Polar questions in direct speech also involve the deictic center as first person. The speaker of the question addresses a person in direct speech. The addressee is indicated by a second person pronoun.

In the next sections, these features of polar questions are shown in relationship to other aspects of structure and use.

13.3.1.1 Simple clauses and combination of clauses in polar questions

The structure of polar questions can involve simple clauses or combinations of clauses.

An example is shown here of a polar question as a simple clause:

- (2346) gurg ward = iš
 wolf eat.PST = 3SG
 ‘Did a wolf eat them?’ [2:54]

The next examples show a polar question as a combination of clauses, here with the modal auxiliary verb (‘can, able to’) and a dependent verb:

- (2347) ma-tāw-ī āw aǰ nižüwarān
 IND-can.PRS-2SG water from Nižüwarān
 b-ār-ī ī dīm = a-y
 SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG PROX.DEM.ADJ side = DEM-NA
 ‘Can you bring water from Nižüwarān to this side?’ [4:62]

- (2348) xāto alidust ma-tān-ī dāstān
 uncle Alidust IND-can.PRS-2SG story
 zūrāw řūsam ařā = šān b-wāž-ī
 Zūrāw Řūsam to = 3PL SBJV-say.PRS-2SG
 ‘Uncle Alidust, can you tell the story of Zūrāw and Řūsam to them?’ [5:1]

Another combination of clauses in a polar question consists of a main verb and an embedded complement clause, which itself can be a content question (see Section 13.3.2). The part of the question as a matter for confirmation is the main verb of the clause:

- (2349) saddām ĥusayn dī = t ča = š ka(rd)
 Saddām Ĥusayn see.PST = 2SG what = 3SG do.PST
 ‘Saddam Hussein, did you see what he did?’ [6:159]
- (2350) ma-zān-a čī hařāj = š = ē
 IND-know.PRS-2PL what cure = 3SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘Do you know what the cure for her is?’ [3:30] (Wolf first says the king’s daughter has become insane.)
- (2351) ma-zān-ī biži čē
 IND-know.PRS-2SG biži what.COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘Do you know what ‘biži bread’ is?’ [7H:149] (Speaker just mentioned this bread name, then asks this question.)

Some patterns of polar questions are also found as quoted material embedded in discourse:

- (2352) bāyad b-wā-m masan dādāš
 must SBJV-say.PRS-1SG for.example brother
 ī kār = a bi-kar-im
 PROX.DEM.ADJ work = DEM SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 [...] ma-tān-im wa_gard = š = ay řāhat bwim
 [...] IND-can.PRS-1SG with = 3SG = POSTP#_1 relaxed SBJV.be.PRS.1SG
 ma-tān-im qisa wa_gard = š = ay bi-kar-im
 IND-can.PRS-1SG speech with = 3SG = POSTP#_1 SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘I must say, for example, to my brother, ‘Can I do this task? Can I be relaxed with him? Can I speak with him?’ [8:90–92]

13.3.1.2 Negation in polar questions

In a Gawraǰūyī polar question, the main verb of the interrogative clause can be negated, though such constructions are attested only occasionally. A polar question with a negated verb appears to express a speaker's expectation that the question will be answered positively (see Givón 1990:783; J. Lyons 1977:765). Negated questions can be also be found with a rhetorical function (see Section 13.3.3). In the two examples shown here, however, the questions appear to be genuine polar questions, with the addressee also giving a positive answer:

- (2353) das min nīya
 hand 1SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ‘Isn’t it my turn?’ [2:87] (The goat says this, the wolf confirms, yes, it your turn.)
- (2354) ay bāwka = t ni-ma-zān-ē yānī
 well.then father = 2SG NEG_1-IND-know.PRS-3SG to.explain
 ‘Well then, to explain, doesn’t your father know?’ [5:2]

13.3.1.3 Patterns of polar questions involving propositions and constituents

Polar questions can be described in more detail according to their presentation. As described in Givón (1990:784–786), there appear to be two patterns in presenting a polar question, depending on the intent of the speaker to elicit an answer: 1) The speaker presents the polar question so that the entire proposition is considered a matter for affirmation or non-affirmation, with no particular constituent singled out for special treatment; and 2) the speaker uses some device to highlight a specific constituent of the question in order to bring attention to it and elicit a response from the addressee.

The first pattern, that is, to confirm or deny a proposition, is illustrated in the following clause. The context consists of a narrator telling the account of a person, Āraš Kamāngar, who put an arrow in his bow and set the borders of Iran. The narrator pauses, and then asks the addressee:

- (2355) žinaft-a = t = ī
 hear.PST-PART = 2SG = COP.PRS.2SG?
 ‘Have you heard (about it)?’ [5:22] (Addressee confirms.)

The intonation is distinctive as a question and slightly rises over the final syllable. The only morphological clue that it might be a question is the use of a second person form as subject (agent) of the clause. The constituent order is the same as in a declarative clause. The question refers to a simple proposition, expressed as a single verb. The only pronoun is the enclitic form =*it*, which is a minimal form and not set off in any special way.

A similar pattern is illustrated in the next example. The speaker has just finished telling an important part of the story of Āūsam and Zūrāw. He states the name of the story and

slightly pauses. He then asks the addressee the following question, with a rising intonation over the final syllable and slight lengthening of the vowel:

- (2356) wāt = šān = it
 say.PST = 3PL = 2SG
 ‘Did they tell it to you?’ [5:124] (Addressee confirms.)

The second pattern, in which a speaker brings attention to a particular constituent in a question, is illustrated in the following. The constituent to be highlighted appears to be the pronoun *ēma*, encoding subject of the clause. The pronoun is slightly accented, and there is some rising intonation on the final syllable. The constituent order is the same as in a declarative clause:

- (2357) ēma hāya = mān dā wan
 1PL_2 egg = 1PL give.PST to.goal
 ‘Did we give her eggs?’ [1:63] (Addressee corrects: ‘No, my son, the chicken gives her eggs’.)

Some of the polar questions in which a constituent is singled out also involve a difference in constituent order. In these questions, the element is expressed as a full noun phrase and ‘detached’, that is, positioned to the left of the clause core (see Chapter 14 for more details).

In the following example, the noun phrase *ī bān tāqa* ‘this Bān Tāq’ is a coreferent of the goal of the clause, but it is positioned to the left of the main clause:

- (2358) āsā ī bān tāq = a, řaft-a = y
 then PROX.DEM.ADJ Bān Tāq = DEM go.PST-PART = COP.PRS.2SG
 tašrīf bard = ī
 presence take.PST = COP.PRS.2SG
 ‘Then this Bān Tāq, have you gone there, have you been there?’ [4:100] (Addressee answers ‘no’.)

13.3.1.4 Alternative questions

Within this category of polar question, there is also the ‘alternative question’. This type of question is construed as a choice between two alternatives. The alternatives are propositions which can express a quality, for example. The alternatives are linked with *tā* ‘than’ or *yā* ‘or’.

In the Gawraǰūyī texts, the instances of alternative questions all appear as complement clauses and can be translated into English several ways:

- (2359) bi-zān tāw-aka=y min waš=ē,
 SBJV-know.PRS swing-DEF=EZ 1SG pleasant=COP.PRS.3SG_1
 yā tāw-aka=y bāwažan=it
 or swing-DEF=EZ stepmother=2SG
 ‘Find out (if) my swing is pleasant or the swing of your stepmother’ (or: ‘Find out, is my swing pleasant or the swing of your stepmother?’ [11:18])

13.3.1.5 Tag questions

The ‘tag question’ is also a type of polar question in that it involves a request for an affirmative or negative response, but it may also express some doubt by the speaker about a proposition. It is typically structured as a short question that follows a declarative clause.

There is only one instance attested in the Gawraǰūyī texts, as a negated tag question, as *mayar na* ‘or (so to speak), not?’. It is attached to the end of a positive declarative clause. The intonation drops at the end, as in a declarative statement:

- (2360) aǰā ǰejāb tu ka qisa ma-ka-y mayar na
 about ǰejāb 2SG COMP speech IND-do.PRS-2SG or.so.to.speak no
 ‘You are talking about ǰejāb, or not?’ [7H:5]

13.3.2 Content questions

The ‘content question’ (also ‘information question’), is a request to identify particular items of information, which are missing elements in a proposition.²¹² The item of information can be a person, object, event, time, location, manner, or reason, specified by an interrogative word, including such words as ‘what’ or ‘who’.

13.3.2.1 Interrogative words

Gawraǰūyī content question constructions involve an interrogative word. The interrogative word is usually stressed in the clause. The forms are listed here (also introduced in Section 4.4):

- (2361) aǰā ‘why’ [8:189]
 (2362) ča ‘what’ [2:54] (also: čī ‘what’ [3:73])
 (2363) kī ‘who’ [7H:38]
 (2364) čün ‘how’ [4:96] (also: čü ‘how’ [5:166])
 (2365) kay ‘when’ [7H:83]

²¹² The background on content questions is especially based on Payne (1997:300), Givón (1990:793), and Dixon (2012:400).

(2366) k̄ā ‘where’ [4:56]

The constituent order of content questions is the same as in declarative clauses, including some changes due to information structure issues (see Chapter 14). The interrogative word appears in the syntactic position of the missing element in a clause. Examples of its use in various syntactic positions are presented here:

Subject

(2367) k̄ī ma-tān-ē
 who IND-can.PRS-3SG
 ‘Who is able [...]?’ [5:86] (The word *k̄ī* is stressed, and there is a long pause after *matānē*.)

(2368) ī rūṭ-ān min = a ča wan-a hāma
 PROX.DEM.ADJ dear.child-PL 1SG = DEM what to.goal-NA come.PST.3SG
 ‘These dear children of mine, what has happened to them?’ [2:54]

(2369) k̄ī = ya
 who = COP.PRS.3SG_3?
 ‘Who is it?’ [2:43]

(2370) ča b̄ū
 what SBJV?.COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘What may that be?’ [7H:22]

(2371) aṣṣ īnā k̄ī = m̄ān hē
 from PROX_3 who = 1PL exist.3SG
 ‘Who do we have from here?’ [7H:38]

Object

(2372) ča bi-kar-im
 what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘What should I do?’ [4:201]

(2373) min ča wana = t b-wā-m
 1SG what to.goal = 2SG SBJV-say.PRS-1SG
 ‘What shall I say to you?’ [5:81]

In place of a complement clause

(2374) šima m-wāṣ-a ča
 2PL IND-say.PRS-2PL what
 ‘You call it what?’ [8:210]

- (2375) m-wāy ča
 IND-say.PRS.3SG what
 ‘he says: ‘What?’’ [5:67]

As an adverbial modifier

- (2376) čün jwāw xasraw čün bi-tī-m
 how answer Xasraw how SBJV-give.PRS-1SG
 ‘How, how do we give an answer to Xasraw?’ [4:96]
- (2377) ařā jwāw = it dā-y
 why answer = 2SG give.PST-NA
 ‘Why did you give a (negative) answer (i.e., call engagement off)?’ [8:189]

As a noun phrase modifier

- (2378) wa lařāz = e ča m-wāž-ī
 in viewpoint = EZ what IND-say.PRS-2SG
 ‘From what viewpoint are you talking?’ [7N:2]
- (2379) ča farmā = yiš ma-kar-ī
 what command = 3SG IND-do.PRS-2SG
 ‘What command do you make?’ [3:75]

In an adpositional phrase

- (2380) řaft-ī wa kā
 go.PST-2SG to where
 ‘Where did you go?’ [2:90]

13.3.3 Rhetorical questions

A polar or content question can be used as a rhetorical question, that is, a question that has other purposes besides eliciting confirmation or seeking information. This type of question functions to express a speaker’s attitude or emotion. The following illustrates a speaker’s hopeful emotion:

- (2381) xwāyā kay maw(u) yak-ē tir das žin bir-ē
 O.God when be.3SG one-INDF_2 another hand woman_1 SBJV.take.PRS-3SG
 ya řarūsī ya marāsīm tir = iš bo gawraǰū
 one wedding one celebration another = 3SG for Gawraǰū
 ‘O God, when will it happen again that another takes the hand of a bride, that there is another wedding, another celebration for Gawraǰū?’ [7H:83]

The next example illustrates a speaker's emotion of frustration:

- (2382) *ī* *dawriš až kā hāma = y,*
 PROX.DEM.ADJ dervish from where come.PST = COP.PRS.3SG?

ī *šařa*
 PROX.DEM.ADJ damned.one
 'Where has this dervish come from, this damned one?' [4:56]

The following questions express a speaker's attitude of indignation, and are uttered with the expectation that the answer would be negative:

- (2383) *īna* *durus = ē*
 PROX_4 right = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 'Is this right?' [6:52]
- (2384) *īna* *xwā qabūř ma-kar-ē*
 PROX_4 God accept IND-do.PRS-3SG
 'Does God accept this?' [6:52]
- (2385) *īna* *řadāřat = ē*
 PROX_4 justice = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 'Is this justice?' [6:53]

In the next example, the particle *āyā* 'Q.PTCL#' introduces a rhetorical question consisting of a negated question in which a speaker exclaims and does not appear to expect an answer:

- (2386) *āyā* *ni-mawu masařan dū waže_muřtarak = mān*
 Q.PTCL# NEG_1-be.PRS.3SG for.example two common.point = 1PL

bo *wa_gard yak = ay*
 SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG_2 with one = POSTP#_1
 'Don't we have, for example, two points in common with each other?' [9:89]

A rhetorical question can also be used when the speaker wants to bring up a new topic:

- (2387) *īna* *ma-zān-ī ča ma-kar-im*
 PROX_4 IND-know.PRS-2SG what IND-do.PRS-1SG
 'Do you know what it is what I will do?' [2:34] (The speaker answers her own question: When the goat goes to the mountain, I will come and ...)

There are also some instances of questions that are ambiguous in their function as real or rhetorical:

- (2388) *dīya = y = t = ē*
 see.PST = 3SG_1 = 2SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 'Have you seen it?' [5:100]
- (2389) *īsa* *dī-ya = t = ī*
 now see.PST-PART = 2SG = COP.PRS.2SG?
 'Now, have you seen? (i.e., Do you know?)' [6:146]

- (2390) sarbāzxāna = y šāhābāt = t = a dīya
garrison = EZ Šāhābāt = 2SG = DEM see.PST-NA
'Have you seen the garrison of Shahabad?' [6:125]

14. CHAPTER 14. INFORMATION STRUCTURE

This chapter treats information structure and related discourse-pragmatic issues. The chapter begins with a section on background and terminology. Further sections introduce the basic patterns that indicate different types of information structure in Gawraǰūyī grammar. These types are termed ‘predicate-focus’, ‘argument-focus’, and ‘sentence-focus’. Another type, ‘polar-focus’, is also noted.

These patterns, or constructions, of information structure are distinguished and described here according to their formal features conditioned by communicative functions intended by the speaker. Formal features can involve: 1) prosody, such as primary sentence accent and its placement; 2) morphology, such as the use of verb suffixes, enclitic pronouns, independent pronouns, and lexical (‘full’) noun phrases; 3) syntax, such as constituent order changes and detachment constructions, as well as special clause types; and 4) use of certain elements, such as the additive particle =īč and question words.

14.1 Background and terms

Information structure has to do with the systematic use of certain linguistic constructions in order to enable effective communication.^{213 214} In communication, within a particular speech situation, when a speaker prepares to make an utterance, the speaker estimates and assumes something about the ideas and knowledge that the hearer already has. To communicate effectively, the speaker assembles the utterance in such a form that the hearer can interpret it in a relevant way and with the least amount of cognitive effort.

In this act of communication between a speaker and hearer, two main elements can be distinguished. The first element is the ‘common ground’, denoted by what the speaker says. It is that which the speaker assumes is already known and predictable to the hearer. The speaker assumes that the hearer will take this knowledge for granted, or ‘given’. The second element is a contribution to the discourse, something that the speaker believes is ‘new’ in some sense to the hearer. Once it is heard, this idea is then added to the hearer’s store of knowledge. From that point on, it can also be taken for granted in further utterances.²¹⁵

²¹³ The background in this chapter is based on the theory of information structure in Lambrecht (1994; 2000), Lambrecht & Michaelis (1998), and the application of information structure theory to Koine Greek in N. Bailey (2009).

²¹⁴ Background of the definition of information structure is found in Lambrecht (1994:1, 3, 6, 46–50).

²¹⁵ This summary of informing is based on Lambrecht (1994:46), and it also refers to the introduction to Lambrecht’s theory in N. Bailey (2009:3–4).

It is the relationship of these two elements, that is, the common ground and the added idea, evoked in a single sentence, which creates ‘information’.

Across languages, these elements are signaled by various linguistic forms. Some of the forms may be similar from language to language, while other forms may differ and be specific to the particular language. Within a language, the forms are conventionalized (that is, they are used systematically), and thus comprise a part of the grammatical system. The linguistic forms typically involved in indicating information structure are features of prosody, morphology, syntax, and lexicon.

The elements of information structure operate within a particular domain. According to this theory, the proper domain of information structure is the linguistic unit of the sentence. It is not that of general discourse, though the discourse context influences it (Lambrecht 1994:117).²¹⁶

There are three other basic sets of terms to be defined for information structure (Lambrecht 1994:6): 1) presupposition and assertion; 2) identifiability and activation; and 3) topic and focus.

14.1.1 Presupposition and assertion

The ideas of ‘common ground’ and ‘new contribution’, introduced above, can be defined more precisely by their corresponding technical terms, respectively, ‘presupposition’ and ‘assertion’. Presupposition and assertion are notions defined in relationship to the proposition, on the level of pragmatics. These two notions are tied to what a speaker estimates a hearer (or ‘addressee’) knows, or in other words, what type of a mental representation a hearer has of a proposition’s denotatum at the moment of utterance (Lambrecht 1994:52).

These notions are the basis for the way in which the speaker structures the expression of a proposition.

Presupposition is defined as: ‘The set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered’ (Lambrecht 1994:52; Lambrecht & Michaelis 1998:493).

Assertion is defined as: ‘The proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or believe or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered’ (Lambrecht & Michaelis 1998:493).

²¹⁶ For a note on the domain of information structure, see also Bailey (2005:6).

14.1.2 Identifiability and activation

‘Identifiability’ and ‘activation’ are notions that are defined in relationship to referents of a particular discourse. These notions involve the speaker’s assumptions about the way in which referents of a discourse are present in a hearer’s mind at the moment of utterance.

A referent in a discourse can be considered to be ‘identifiable’ if the speaker has a referent in mind, and there is ‘a shared representation’ for that referent already existing in the hearer’s mind at the time of utterance (Lambrecht 1994:77–78, also referring to Chafe 1976 for ‘identifiability’). That is, the speaker assumes the referent has ‘some representation’ in the mind of the hearer and thus assumes that the hearer can identify it.²¹⁷

‘Activation’ refers to the state of the mind and the degree to which the hearer can be expected to be thinking about a particular referent at the time of speech. It involves consciousness and long- and short-term memory (see also Chafe 1987). Specifically, activation concerns the state that a referent has in the consciousness of the hearer at the time of speech (Lambrecht & Michaelis 1998:495, citing Chafe 1987. Activation typically applies to those referents in a discourse that are identifiable (an unidentifiable referent cannot have an activation state).

For the hearer, a referent (idea or concept) in a discourse can have one of three possible degrees of activation: 1) ‘active’, or one that is ‘currently lit up in a person’s focus of consciousness at a particular moment’; 2) ‘semi-active’ (or ‘accessible’), or one that is ‘in a person’s peripheral consciousness, a concept of which a person has a background awareness, but one that is not being directly focused on’; and 3) ‘inactive’, or one that is ‘currently in a person’s long-term memory, neither focally nor peripherally active’ (defined in Lambrecht 1994:93–94, citing Chafe 1987:22ff).

14.1.3 Topic and focus

‘Topic’ and ‘focus’ are terms that are defined on the basis of the relationship a referent (or ‘denotatum’) has to the proposition in which it occurs. These terms are primarily defined in terms of pragmatics and relational meaning, and not as structural or lexical categories.²¹⁸

Nevertheless, even though they are not structural or lexical categories, they typically correlate with certain grammatical and lexical structures in a sentence unit.

²¹⁷ See Lambrecht (1994:78) for this definition and distinction of the presupposition (that a referent exists in the hearer’s mind) and identifiability (that the referent has a certain representation in the speaker’s mind, who assumes it is the same in the hearer’s mind).

²¹⁸ The definitions follow the theory in Lambrecht (1994). See also Lambrecht & Michaelis (1998:495–496) for the background presented here.

14.1.3.1 Topic

Topic is defined in terms of ‘aboutness’: ‘A referent which a proposition is construed to be about in a given discourse situation; a proposition is about a referent if it expresses information which is relevant to, and which increases the hearer’s knowledge of, this referent’ (Lambrecht & Michaelis 1998:494).

Topic is typically expressed as a form, the ‘topic expression’, which bears the relationship of ‘aboutness’ to the proposition that is expressed linguistically as the ‘sentence’. The topic expression tends to correlate with the grammatical subject (S or A) of that sentence, at least in languages that have the subject role. Under some conditions, however, the topic can also correlate with the grammatical object (O) or other constituent.

14.1.3.2 Ratified and non-ratified topics

Topics can be further subcategorized as ‘ratified’ or ‘non-ratified’.²¹⁹ This distinction is made according to the speaker’s assessment of how predictable the referent is to the hearer. A ‘ratified’ topic is defined as ‘a referent whose topic role in a predication is considered predictable to the point of being taken for granted by the hearer at utterance time’ (Lambrecht & Michaelis 1998:495). A ‘non-ratified’ topic has to do with a referent that the speaker estimates that the hearer is not thinking about at the moment, just before the utterance occurs. The speaker assesses that the hearer will not be able to predict that referent as the topic.

These two types of topics are typically signaled by different linguistic forms. The ratified topic has a referent that is of ‘current interest’ in that speech situation (Lambrecht & Michaelis 1998:495). It is highly predictable and expected. It is also thus active in the consciousness.

Across languages, ratified topics are typically expressed by minimal forms. In languages in which sentence accent is significant, the ratified topic is not realized with any prominent sentence accent. It can be signaled by a pronominal form (an enclitic pronoun or a verb agreement suffix), or it is not overtly expressed, as a ‘phonologically null’ form.²²⁰ The speaker typically continues to use that minimal form as long as the topic does not change or there is no need to disambiguate it.

The speaker might assume, however, that the referent is not fully predictable. In that case, the speaker treats the referent as a ‘non-ratified’ topic. It is possible that a referent is not fully predictable, for example, if it has not been active in the short-term memory of the hearer. It may also not be fully predictable if there are more than one possible referent in the discourse,

²¹⁹ ‘Ratified’ and ‘non-ratified’ topics are discussed in Lambrecht & Michaelis (1998:495, 499–500), also explained in N. Bailey (2009:500, also citing Lambrecht & Michaelis 1998:500).

²²⁰ For discussion of topicality along these lines in Northern Kurdish, see Bailey (2005).

which results in ambiguity. But even if the referent is not active, in order for it to qualify as a topic, it normally must still be cognitively accessible by other means. It could have been already introduced in the text, and subsequently been dropped from the short-term memory, or it might be known to the hearer through more general knowledge of the situation, or even inferred. Such a referent must then be ‘promoted’ to a new status and established, before the speaker can assert something about it. This process can take place through the use of a full (lexical) noun phrase, a noun phrase that is linguistically more complex in some way, by a special set of pronouns, or by additional elements such as particles. Another type of topic promotion is with the use of a construction that involves a change from the more common (unmarked) constituent order. Such a change can be observed, for example, in instances where the topical elements in a clause are moved, or ‘dislocated’ to the left of the clause core (see below in Section 14.2.5).

Promoting and establishing a topic can also take place by degrees. An element may be used, and then used again as reference to it is resumed by another element (resumptive reference). Such reference is also mentioned in Section 14.2.5 in the context of left-detachment.

14.1.3.3 Focus

The term ‘focus’ (or the more complete phrase, ‘focus of the assertion’ or ‘focus of the new information’) is also a relational notion and can be defined on the pragmatic level. It is defined as ‘the component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition’ (Lambrecht & Michaelis 1998:494). In other words, the focus is that which is not presupposed in a proposition. Focus is that portion of the proposition which makes it possible for the utterance to add a ‘new contribution’ to the ‘common ground’ between speaker and hearer.²²¹

Focus is not a grammatical or syntactic element in itself. To refer to the formal unit that is focal in a sentence, the term ‘focus domain’ is used. The focus domain refers to the ‘syntactic constituent denoting the focus of the pragmatically structured proposition’ (Lambrecht 2000:615). This syntactic constituent is typically one or more phrases, but it can also be the entire sentence. In a language, it can be signaled by various linguistic forms, including indefiniteness marking, certain particles, use of prosody, or constituent order changes.

²²¹ For this background on defining Lambrecht’s terms, see N. Bailey (2009:8–9). See also Lambrecht & Michaelis (1998:495): ‘the focus of a proposition is that denotatum whose occurrence in a proposition makes an utterance into an assertion’.

14.1.3.4 Identifying topic and focus within a sentence

For analysis, there are several ways to identify the topical element and the focus domain in a sentence. The topical element and focus domain can be identified by signals such as the role of arguments, order of constituents, and prosodic features. Topic, for instance, most often correlates with the grammatical subject (S or A) of a clause. Focus generally correlates with the predicate of the sentence, at least in what is termed the predicate-focus structure (see Section 14.1.5.1). But in some instances, topic and focus are more difficult to identify. A useful way of distinguishing them is by means of paraphrase tests applied to portions of a sentence in a particular context.

One of these paraphrase tests used to identify the topical element consists of the analyst considering a sentence within a specific discourse, taking the contextual information into account, then creating a paraphrase about the referent which answers the question of ‘aboutness’ (see Lambrecht 1994:15). This paraphrase can be created with the phrase ‘As for...’ and applying it to the referent ‘X’ to see if it makes sense in that context. For example, in a discourse about a group of men and women going to the fields to harvest wheat, one might encounter a sentence, ‘The women picked up the baskets.’ The paraphrase test in this sentence would be: ‘As for the women (they picked up the baskets).’ Assuming the paraphrase makes sense, this referent, ‘the women’, is thus revealed as the topical element in the sentence. Similar paraphrases applied to the topical element include ‘X is under discussion’ or ‘X is the current center of interest’ (Lambrecht 1994:150). These paraphrase tests thus clarify the presuppositions about a referent in the sentence.

There is also a test to identify the expression of focus (see Lambrecht 1994:150; Dik 1997a:328). One first considers the sense of the discourse context and then creates a question to which the sentence supplies a logical answer. The question to identify the focus domain would contain a question word asking for information, such as ‘what’ or ‘who’. For a given sentence, ‘the lady fed the horse’ (with a stronger accent on ‘horse’), a paraphrase test might be, ‘What did she feed?’ With consideration of the context, the answer to this particular question (‘the horse’, as the object) can be regarded as the focus domain. The paraphrase test is made after deciding which potential question would provide the correct answer.

14.1.4 Primary sentence accent

As mentioned above, the topic and focus portions of a sentence can be signaled by prosodic means. The most typical prosodic device used to signal such notions of information

structure is ‘primary sentence accent’.²²² This accent is not an absolute type of acoustic phenomenon, but it is relative to the unit in which it occurs. It involves a change in pitch (higher or even lower). It can have an accompanying loud quality or a degree of additional length.²²³

Primary sentence accent is not the same as word stress on a lexical item, but it often coincides. Primary sentence accent also differs from intonational sentence prosody by which a speaker expresses attitudes, types of speech acts, and propositional attitudes.

For the description of the Gawraǰūyī data in this chapter, primary sentence accent is marked by double underlining of a word, for example, gawraǰūyī. A relatively less prominent secondary accent is marked with single underlining, for example, gawraǰūyī.

In the Gawraǰūyī description, sentence accent has only been evaluated according to my own auditory perception and impressions after listening to the recorded material of the Gawraǰūyī texts. The sentence accent was also checked by another linguistic researcher (Nicholas Bailey). Under ideal circumstances, the sentence accent would be measured more precisely with instruments as well as tested with native speakers.

The sentence accent is only symbolized in the Gawraǰūyī examples below in order to provide some idea of the most obvious patterns. In Gawraǰūyī, it is often the case that there is no clearly delineated heavy stress found on any single element in a sentence. Instead, there is a type of word rhyme in which every word carries some accent (noted by Nicholas Bailey, p.c.). In some instances, however, there is a clear sentence accent.

The symbol of a comma in the examples is intended to show a change of pitch only. It often also coincides with a pause.

The primary sentence accent tends to fall on the focus domain. But there are other accents in a sentence as well. An accent can fall on a topic expression, particularly if the topic is non-ratified.²²⁴ Other types of accents can be secondary ones. The analysis can become even more complicated when intonational features of final and non-final units overlap with sentence accent.

²²² For this background on sentence accent, see Lambrecht & Michaelis (1998:480–481). For prosodic ‘prominence’ and ‘intonation units’, see Chafe (1994:60–61). For comments on referents encoded with ‘prosodic prominence’, see Lambrecht (1994:98).

²²³ For the primary accent on an element of an intonation unit (which often corresponds to a grammatical clause) and discussion of the features, see Chafe (1994:60–61).

²²⁴ See Lambrecht & Michaelis (1998 and especially 1998:499–502). Their work describes the complicated nature of the placement of the sentence accent. The complexities also apply to this description of Gawraǰūyī.

In Gawraǰūyī, there are various items that do not typically bear sentence accent (noted by Nicholas Bailey, p.c.). These especially include most clitics, such as the enclitic pronouns and the conjunction =*u*. The additive particle =*ič* is also not usually accented.

Some items tend to consistently bear heavy stress within a syntactic unit, however. For example, the numerals appear to bear a relatively greater degree of stress than other elements in a phrase.

14.1.5 Focus structures

‘Focus structures’ are particular grammatical constructions that express specific information structure relations. They are defined as a ‘conventional association of a focus meaning with a sentence form’ (Lambrecht 1994:222).²²⁵ Each structure has a specific function to enable accurate communication between a speaker and a hearer.

Lambrecht (1994:238) suggests that, across the world’s languages, there are at least three basic focus structures: 1) ‘predicate-focus’; 2) ‘argument-focus’; and 3) ‘sentence-focus’. There is also a fourth type, ‘polar-focus’, briefly described here for Gawraǰūyī.

These structure types differ from each other in their forms and their communicative functions. But in some instances, the structures appear to be ambiguous or homophonous. There can also be combinations or ‘hybrids’ of the structures. One significant formal difference between the structures is found in the extent of the component comprising the focus. This component can encompass the predicate, a particular argument (constituent), or the whole sentence.

It should be noted that the focus structures are not the same as speech acts. Focus structures can appear as any type of speech act, whether it is declarative, interrogative, or imperative.

As already mentioned, these structures typically involve various formal distinctions. These distinctions can involve prosody (such as primary sentence accent), morphology (certain bound or free morphemes can consistently occur in the various focus structures), syntax (constituent order patterns or types of clauses), and lexicon (certain lexical items tend to occur in certain focus structures).

The three focus structure types are listed here together with their communicative functions (see Lambrecht 1994:222):

²²⁵ The summary in the current section also relies on the description of Lambrecht’s types in Van Valin & LaPolla (1997:206–210) and in N. Bailey (2009:9–19).

Table 82. Focus structure types and functions

| Focus structure type | Function | Functional description |
|----------------------|------------------|---|
| Predicate-focus | Topic-comment | Serves to comment ‘on a given topic of conversation’. Most common or ‘unmarked’ structure across languages. |
| Argument-focus | Identificational | Serves to identify ‘a referent’ in a presupposed ‘open’ proposition. Less frequent than other types in discourse. |
| Sentence-focus | Presentational | Serves to ‘report an event or present a new discourse referent.’ |

Examples of focus structure types in English, Italian, and French

As background for the Gawraǰūyī description, the three focus structure types are illustrated below with sentences from English, Italian, and French. Each one is followed by the focus structure analysis. These sentences show that different languages pattern in distinct ways to express the focus structures. All the examples in this section are found in Lambrecht (1994:223), and are presented here following the model in Bailey (2009:11).

In these examples, an English question is also added to provide the type of context that would be most natural for the particular focus structure. The double underlining below a constituent indicates that it bears relatively more prosodic prominence, thus serving as the primary sentence accent on that portion of the focus domain. The square brackets enclose the focus domain (abbreviated as subscript FD), the topic (TOP), and the topical open proposition (TOP’L OP). Parentheses indicate an alternative grammatical form, depending on other factors.

14.1.5.1 Predicate-focus

In the predicate-focus structure, the predicate comprises the focus domain. It functions as the comment, asserting something about the topic. This asserted idea is new to the discourse and thus not normally predictable for the hearer.

The sentence topic comprises the presupposed part of the proposition. It is (or is part of) the common knowledge between the speaker and the hearer. The topic tends to correlate with the grammatical subject (that is, in languages in which subject exists).

Across languages, the predicate-focus structure is the most common of the focus structure types. Within a language, it can be considered the unmarked or default structure, as it is the most frequent and typical form in a discourse (Lambrecht 1994:228). It is illustrated by the following sentences:

(Discourse context sample question: ‘What happened to your car?’)

(Answer...)

English: My car/it broke down. = [My car/it]_{TOP} [broke down]_{FD}

Italian: (La mia macchina) si è rotta. = [(La mia macchina) si]_{TOP} [è rotta]_{FD}

French: (Ma voiture) elle est en panne. = [(Ma voiture) elle]_{TOP} [est en panne]_{FD}

In this sentence, the topic is the speaker’s ‘car’, expressed here as the grammatical subject. The focus domain is the predicate, ‘broke down’. It is the relationship between these referents of the subject and predicate which creates ‘information’.

In all three languages, a part of the predicate bears the primary sentence accent (shown with the double underlining).

In contrast, the grammatical subject ‘my car’, which correlates with topic, would not normally be accented in a strong way.

In the given context imagined by the question ‘What happened to your car?’, the referent of ‘my car’ in English (and ‘la mia macchina’ in Italian and ‘ma voiture’ in French) is assumed to be active. The possessor ‘my’, referring to the speaker, is also active. Depending on the activation status and other factors, the topic ‘my car’ could also have been expressed only as an unaccented pronoun, ‘it’ (‘elle’ in French or ‘si’ in Italian).

In Italian and French, the topic could be instead expressed as a full (lexical) noun phrase. It is also detached to the left of the clause core, as a ‘left-detached’ construction (described in Section 14.2.5).

14.1.5.2 Argument-focus

The argument-focus structure is less common in discourse. It involves a special type of topical element, termed a ‘topical open proposition’. This proposition is to be taken as presupposed, but there is a missing element too. This missing element is to be filled by a variable, which is structurally a constituent of the sentence (termed by Lambrecht as the ‘argument’). The function of this structure is to identify that argument.

Across languages, this structure tends to be most often employed when the speaker wants to identify an argument that contrasts with another argument, or to correct a mistaken assumption or belief of the hearer.

The argument-focus structure is typically found in information questions (see Chapter 13), that is, those which employ a question word, such as ‘what’, ‘who’, ‘when’, or ‘where’. The argument-focus structure is also found in sentences in which the answers to information questions are stated.

In many languages, there are various linguistic signals associated with the argument-focus structure. The main linguistic signal is typically a strong sentence accent on the argument in the focus domain.²²⁶ There can also be a change in the more usual constituent order of sentence constituents. There can be the use of a particle or of a special sequence of clauses, such as a cleft construction. This structure is illustrated by the following sentences:

(Discourse context sample question: ‘I heard your motorcycle broke down?’)

(Answer...)

English: My car broke down. = [My car]_{FD} [broke down.]_{TOP'L OP}

Italian (two possibilities):

a) Si è rotta la mia macchina. = [Si è rotta]_{TOP'L OP} [la mia macchina]_{FD}

b) E la mia macchina che si è rotta. = E [la mia macchina]_{FD} [che si è rotta.]_{TOP'L OP}

French:

C'est ma voiture qui est en panne. = C'est [ma voiture]_{FD} [qui est en panne.]_{TOP'L OP}

In this sentence, the presupposed information (the ‘topical open proposition’) is that ‘speaker’s X broke down’. The assertion (new information) is that ‘X = car’. The focus is expressed by the noun phrase (‘my car’ in the English sentence), which is the syntactic unit comprising the focus domain. It is shown here by the strong sentence accent on the word ‘car’ in English (indicated with the double underline).

In all three languages, some element of the noun phrase that forms the focus domain takes the primary sentence accent. It is the only part of the sentence that is accented.

In English, there is no change in constituent order, while in French, as well as in one of the Italian patterns, there is a cleft construction involving two clauses.

14.1.5.3 Sentence-focus

The sentence-focus structure is characterized by the fact that the subject and predicate together comprise the focus domain. The structure typically functions to introduce a new referent into the discourse or to report that an event has taken place. This structure is illustrated by the following sentences:

²²⁶ This summary of the argument-focus type follows the explanation by N. Bailey (2009:11–12), also based on Lambrecht (1994:228–230; 2000).

(Discourse context sample question: ‘What happened?’)

(Answer...)

English: My car broke down. = [My car broke down.]_{FD}

Italian: Mi si è rotta la macchina. = [Mi si è rotta (rotta) la macchina.]_{FD}

French: J’ai ma voiture que est en panne. = [J’ai ma voiture que est en panne.]_{FD}

In the sentence-focus structure, the whole sentence comprises the focus domain, with the sentence regarded as a syntactic unit consisting of the core arguments together with verb, which express the new contribution to the discourse. It is possible, however, for some non-core elements in the sentence to be outside the focus domain, such as optional locative or temporal phrases, which can function as topical scene-setting elements.

In English, a main linguistic signal of the sentence-focus structure is a primary sentence accent on the subject, as a part of the focus domain. Even though the primary sentence accent is not on the predicate, it is still in the focus domain. No part of the sentence is presupposed.

In Italian, the subject is also accented, as well positioned at the end of the sentence.

In French, the sentence-focus structure is formed as a cleft construction involving two clauses. The sentence-focus structure is expressed by the construction as a whole in its combination of forms.

14.1.5.4 Polar-focus

The polar-focus structure is noted here briefly.²²⁷ The polar focus structure involves the polarity, or the truth value, of a complete proposition. It is used to assert that some presupposed (and thus topical) proposition is true or false.

Several English examples are shown here of asserting the truth or the falsehood of the proposition ‘John went to the market’ (examples here are slightly adapted from N. Bailey 2009:38):

(Discourse context sample question: ‘Did John go to the market?’)

(Possible answers are...)

(a) John went to the market. / He did go to the market. / He did. / It’s true.

(b) John didn’t go to the market. / He didn’t. / It’s not so.

In the answers of (a), the truth of the proposition ‘John went to the market’ is asserted, while in (b), the negated proposition is asserted.

²²⁷ This information about this structure is from N. Bailey (2009:38–39), with references to Dik (1997a:331) (among others). Lambrecht (1994:336) only briefly mentions polarity as a fourth type of focus structure.

In the next sections of this chapter, the focus structures are surveyed as they are found in Gawraǰūyī grammar. They are identified in the text corpus by correspondences between the information in the context and linguistic signals of prosody, morphology, and syntax, including constituent order.

14.2 Predicate-focus

The most common focus structure found in the Gawraǰūyī texts is predicate-focus. In this structure, the focus domain is expressed by the predicate, which conveys the comment about a topic. The topic is typically expressed by the grammatical subject. This description begins with a look at the linguistic features associated with the predicate.

14.2.1 Features associated with the focal predicate

The linguistic features associated with the focal predicate include a more prominent sentence accent on an element within the predicate, though it is not clear in some instances. There is also a typical constituent order, and the predicate, as the focus domain, usually follows the topic (expressed as the subject), though there are also some exceptions to this order.

The predicate-focus structure is illustrated in an example from Text 2, a story involving a ram and a goat. The ram and the goat are introduced at the beginning of the story: ‘There is a goat, there is a ram’. In the subsequent sentences, these two referents as a set comprise the topic, expressed by the grammatical subject. The subject is not overt and can be understood as a phonologically null morpheme, symbolized here by ‘Ø’. In the sentence shown below, the predicate contains the comment about these topics. The predicate consists of the copula-type verb *mawin* ‘be.PRS.3PL’ and an adjectival complement *šal* ‘lame’. There is a sentence accent on the word *šal* ‘lame’ (shown with a double underline):

(Context: There is a goat, there is a ram ... [2:3]):

- (2391) Ø šal mawin
 Ø lame be.PRS.3PL
 ‘they are lame’ [2:3]

The next sentence in the text also illustrates the predicate-focus structure. The predicate contains the copula-type verb *mawin* ‘be.PRS.3PL’ and a locative phrase *wa kaya* ‘at home’. The sentence accent is on *ka* ‘house’:

- (2392) Ø wa ka=ya mawin
 Ø at home=POSTP#_1? be.PRS.3PL
 ‘they are at home’ [2:4]

In another example, there is a predicate composed of a transitive verb and a direct object, and the sentence accent appears on the direct object *gīyā* ‘grass’:

(Context: Then (the goat) goes by day to the mountains ... [2:28]):

- (2393) Ø gīyā m-wār-ē
 Ø grass IND-eat.PRS-3SG
 ‘she eats grass’ [2:28]

The preceding examples show the sentence accent in relatively clear instances. In other instances, however, it is not so clear. The next example illustrates a predicate-focus structure of a sentence including a directional particle (=a) and adpositional phrase (*sar zimkān* ‘to the Zimkān’). It is a non-final sentence in the discourse. In this sentence, it is difficult to distinguish an accent on any particular element. It appears to fall on *zimkān* ‘Zimkān’ but there is also a possible secondary accent (single underline) on the verb *mašīn* ‘they go’.

(Context: They say: ‘Let’s go reach the flock’ ... [2:5]):

- (2394) Ø ma-š-in=a sar zimkān
 Ø IND-go.PRS-3PL=DIR to Zimkān
 ‘they go to the Zimkān (River)’ [2:6]

14.2.2 Topic and basic topicality processes

As mentioned in Section 14.1.5.1, the predicate-focus structure involves a presupposed element and an asserted element. The presupposed element, or the topic, is that component of the sentence about which a speaker asserts something. In making the assertion, the speaker makes assumptions regarding the hearer’s mental state. The speaker considers whether the hearer can predict and identify the referent being talked about. Depending on the assumptions, the speaker then selects an appropriate linguistic form to express the topic.

Topics can be generally described in terms of their predictability and activation states. A topic that is highly predictable and activated is termed as ‘ratified’, while a topic that is not predictable and not activated is ‘non-ratified’.

14.2.3 Ratified topics and minimal linguistic forms

A ratified topic is characterized by a high degree of predictability and activation. It is one that is already established in the discourse as a center of current interest. It is activated in the hearer’s short-term memory, and its referent can be thus predicted by the hearer. For this reason, the ratified topic is typically expressed as a minimal linguistic form.

In Gawraǰūyī, as in many other languages, a ratified topic is not overtly expressed as an independent element. Instead, it is absent or only regarded as a phonologically null morpheme (‘zero’). The referent of the topic, however, is indexed on the verb by means of a person-number ending or by an enclitic pronoun in the verbal complex.

Such minimal encoding of a ratified topic has already been illustrated in the four examples in the preceding section. In the following examples, there are further illustrations of the predicate-focus structure with ratified topics. These examples also show the minimal encoding

in clauses employing various verb types (the copula, intransitive, and transitive) and tense-aspect combinations.

In the first two examples, note that such ratified topics frequently occur in strings of clauses.

(Context: The participant Farhād has been introduced in both the title of the story of Text 4 and then with a clause, ‘Farhād was the son of the Emperor of China’ ... [4:3]):

- (2395) Ø pādšā = y waxt biya
 Ø king = EZ time COP.PRF.3SG

Ø čīnī biya
 Ø Chinese COP.PRS.3SG

‘he was the king of that time; he was Chinese’ [4:4–5]

(Context: In the evening, the goat comes back, she sees that nothing is left of her children ... [2:52]):

- (2396) Ø m-āyē
 Ø IND-come.PRS.3SG

Ø ma-kat-ī = ya ī řāsā
 Ø IND-fall.PRS-3SG = DIR PROX.DEM.ADJ way

Ø ma-šu = wa = u
 Ø IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR = and

‘she comes, she enters (sets off) this straight way, she goes and’ [2:53]

(Context: In Text 4, the referents Šīrīn and Farhād has been introduced as in the title of the story. The name of Šīrīn has been introduced, as ‘Šīrīn is Armenian’ ... [4:1]):

- (2397) Ø až armanisān hāma = ya
 Ø from Armenia come.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_3

‘she has come from Armenia’ [4:2]

(Context: Řūsam goes, it is the time of King Šālyār ... [5:96]):

- (2398) Ø řāw ma-kār-ē
 Ø hunting IND-do.PRS-3SG

‘(Řūsam) goes hunting’ [5:97]

The next examples show past transitive clauses in which there is no overt expression of the topical element (agent) and only an enclitic pronoun that indexes the agent.

(Context: You went on your way, you did not wait for me. I was so hungry ... [3:104–105]):

- (2399) Ø xāk = im war(d)
 Ø earth = 1SG eat.PST

‘I ate earth’ [3:106]

(Context: Farhād is speaking and puts his hand out to the hammer ... [4:118–119]):

- (2400) Ø quřang = iř hāwird
 Ø pickaxe = 3SG bring.PST

‘he brought the pickaxe’ [4:120]

It is possible in certain discourse contexts that more than one referent may be ‘on stage’, and thus there may be more than one potential topic. Nevertheless, one of these may still be treated as more important than others and is thus singled out as the referent under discussion. In the next example, the referents ‘we’ (the speakers), the animals, and the herders are all potential plural sets of topics. It is ‘the herders’, however, which is ‘talked about’ as a ratified topic.

(Context: Narrator describes how they had the cattle and the flocks, then, they would clean the place where the animals stay ... Narrator continues: ‘They had gone to this ‘Ban-a-Wān’ field. We would call it ‘Bān-a-Wān’, they would go (there)’ ... [10:39, 41]):

- (2401) Ø hīn = šān haw dā = y,
 Ø thing = 3PL up/forth give.PST = 3SG_1
- Ø kūmān = šān basī
 Ø tent = 3PL pitch.PST
- Ø pas = šān bard = ē
 Ø sheep = 3PL take.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- ‘they set up a thing, they pitched a tent (‘kūmān’), they have brought sheep (there)’
 [10:41–42]

14.2.4 Non-ratified topics and linguistically complex forms

A non-ratified topic is characterized by a lower degree of predictability and activation. As described by Lambrecht & Michaelis (1998:499), some referents are relatively less predictable than others in a given discourse. Such less predictable referents must then be ‘promoted’ and ‘established’ as more predictable ones. That is, a non-ratified topic must be promoted to a ratified one. This process typically takes place when a topic is changed or when two or more possible topics must be disambiguated.

As mentioned in Section 14.1.3.2, a non-ratified topic is typically expressed by a linguistically more complex form, such as a full noun phrase, a noun phrase modified by additional elements, or an independent pronoun. The noun phrase expressing the non-ratified topic can also be ‘detached’ to the left or right of the clause core (with the clause core defined as the predicate and its arguments; see Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:26–27).

There is often a relatively strong prosodic accent on the non-ratified topic. This accent also typically occurs in addition to the primary sentence accent marking the focus domain.

An example of this process is found in Text 3. Two referents are introduced at the beginning with proper names, *mard* ‘Mard’ and *nāmard* ‘Nāmard’. The two referents are treated as a set. In subsequent clauses, this set is regarded as a ratified topic and therefore expressed as minimal forms (null morpheme, person-number indexing on verb, or use of enclitic pronoun). The set continues to be expressed in this way until there is a need for disambiguation. Then one of the referents, Nāmard, is singled out and must be established as

the sole topic. This topic is non-ratified and thus expressed by a full noun phrase (the proper name *nāmard*).

(Context: The two participants of the story are introduced. They put their heads down and they are sleeping ... [3:10]):

- (2402) nāmard hēz m-ayr-ē
 Nāmard up IND-bring.PRS-3SG
 ‘Nāmard gets up’ [3:11]

The following example from Text 2 also shows a non-ratified topic with a change of topic. In the discourse, a goat and a ram have been introduced as a single set. They are also assumed to belong to a larger flock, which is treated as known to the hearer. In the first sentences of the discourse (here shown as the context), the goat and ram are referred to as ‘they’ as the topic expression. Then, as shown in the example, there is a change of topic to *gala* ‘the flock’, which, as a non-ratified topic, is expressed as a full noun phrase. It also bears an accent, while another strong accent also appears on a part of the predicate (*kū* ‘mountains’), which signals the focus domain.

(Context: There is a goat, there is a ram, they are lame, they are at home, whereas ... [2:3–4]):

- (2403) gala ma-šu = wa kū
 flock IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR mountain
 ‘the flock goes to the mountain(s)’ [2:4]

The next example shows a non-ratified topic expression in a past transitive clause. A full noun phrase is used (*yakī = š* ‘one of them’), and then reference is resumed by means of the enclitic pronoun = *iš* on the first element of the verbal complex.

(Context: Three landowners were talking about their troubles.... Two of them were very sad ... [6:40, 45]):

- (2404) yak-ī(= š) wāt = iš
 one-NA(= 3SG) say.PST = 3SG
 ‘one of them said’ [6:45]

In the following four examples, a non-ratified topic is expressed by an independent pronoun. The independent pronoun is used in contexts in which there is a need for disambiguation or where there is a change of topic. In these examples, there is the use of the independent pronouns: *ānān* ‘DIST.PL_1’, *ānā* ‘DIST_3’, *min* ‘1SG’, *šima* ‘2PL’, and *ēma* ‘1PL’. In these, there is some accent on *ānān* ‘DIST.PL_1’, *ānā* ‘DIST_3’, and *min* ‘1SG’. There is less, if any, accent on *šima* ‘2PL’ and *ēma* ‘1PL’.

(Context: The flock goes to the mountains ... [2:4]):

- (2405) ānān až ka ma-man-in
 DIST.PL_1 at house IND-remain.PRS-3PL
 ‘they (i.e., the goat and the ram) stay at home’ [2:4]

(Context: The landowner has been speaking of his troubles, then the next speaker in the group of the three speaks ... [6:45–47]):

- (2406) ānā wāt = iš
 DIST_3 say.PST = 3SG
 ‘that one (i.e., the other one) said:’ [6:48]

(Context: You stole the bread, you went on your way, you did not wait for me ... [3:104–105]):

- (2407) min āqara āwrā = m bē xāk = im war(d)
 1SG so.much hunger = 1SG COP.PST-3SG earth = 1SG eat.PST
 ‘I was so hungry, I ate earth’ [3:106]

(Context: Speakers are discussing their pronunciation of ‘henna’: ‘We don’t say ‘hanā’, we say ‘hanā, xana’, we ourselves’ ... [7H:107]):

- (2408) šima m-wāž-a hanābanān, ēma m-wāž-ām xanabanān
 2PL IND-say.PRS-2PL hanābanān 1PL_2 IND-say.PRS-1PL xanabanān
 ‘you say ‘hanābanān’, we say ‘xanabanān’ [7H:108]

The non-ratified topic can be expressed by another type of complex linguistic form. In the next example from Text 3, it is illustrated as a full noun phrase with multiple coordinated elements. The two men, Mard and Nāmard, and three animals are in a mill and are telling stories. The non-ratified topic occurs in a context in which the topic is changed from Nāmard to the animals.

(Context: Nāmard is sitting on the top of the stovepipe ... [3:113]):

- (2409) iwāra gurg = u šēr = u paṭang m-ā-yin = wa
 evening wolf = and lion = and leopard IND-come.PRS-3PL = PTCL#
 ‘in the evening the wolf and the lion and the leopard return’ [3:114]

In the next examples, a different construction is illustrated in which a non-ratified topic is expressed by a full noun phrase or independent pronoun and the additive particle = *ič* ‘ADD’. The use of this particle coincides with a change of topic. In this context, the particle conveys a sense of ‘in turn’, which differs from its other additive sense of ‘also, too’ (see Section 14.2.5.2).²²⁸

In these constructions with = *ič*, a pattern can be observed in which the referent is mentioned in a preceding clause as a part of the predicate. That referent is then promoted to topic status in the subsequent clause as a full noun phrase with = *ič*.

²²⁸ The two senses are also described for a similar particle *ǰī* in Northern Kurdish by Bailey (2005:45): ‘[...] A[gent] is also followed with the particle *ǰī* [... while] the common gloss for this particle is ‘also/indeed’, but when it coincides with topic change, it can be translated ‘in turn’ (‘on the other hand, as for X’).’

(Context: The chickens lay eggs, and the cat brings them to the master tradesman (*usāka*) ... [1:94]):

- (2410) usā-ka = yč kawš-ak-ān durus ma-kar-ē
 master.tradesman-DEF = ADD shoe-DEF-PL prepare IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘The master tradesman in turn makes shoes for them’ [1:95]

This pattern with =*ič* ‘ADD’ is similar to that which is found in the left-detached constructions (see Section 14.2.5). Nonetheless, the pattern also differs in that the noun phrases with =*ič* are more syntactically integrated into the clause, and there is no audible pause after the noun phrase and =*ič*.

The next example from Text 1 also shows the construction with =*ič*. The referent in the preceding sentences of the context is ‘the old woman’, a ratified topic occurring as a phonologically null morpheme (not shown here). Then, as shown below, the topic changes to *pišīyaka* ‘the cat’. As in the preceding example, there is no clear pause after the full noun phrase with =*ič*. The non-ratified topic (*pišīyaka* ‘the cat’) is accented as well as part of the predicate (*dād = u hāwar* ‘cry for help’).

(Context: She (the old woman) says to the cat: ‘You don’t have (a chance of) running away.’ She takes a hatchet, brings it down on its tail, cuts its tail off ... [1:12]):

- (2411) pišī-yaka = yč ma-kar-ī = ya dād = u hāwar
 cat-DEF = ADD IND-do.PRS-3SG = DIR appeals.for.help
 ‘the cat in turn calls out for help’ [1:13]

In the next example, there is a change of topic. The topic referent in the preceding context is ‘the cat’, which then changes to the first person referent, expressed by the independent pronoun *min* ‘1SG’. The non-ratified topic expressed by *min* ‘1SG’ also bears an accent.

(Context: The cat says: ‘Send your daughter, so that she may do a dance for one hour for me ...’ [1:36])

- (2412) min = i(č) m-wā-m wa dāwu
 1SG = ADD IND-say.PRS-1SG by Dāwu
 ‘in turn I say: ‘By Dāwu’ [1:37]

14.2.5 Non-ratified topics in left-detachment constructions and clauses with preposed constituents

Non-ratified topics are also signaled by two construction types: 1) clauses with left-detachment; and 2) clauses with preposed constituents (object arguments). They are described in the next sections according to their structural patterns. Both construction types function to promote the status of a non-ratified topic to that of a ratified one.

In a left-detachment construction, the topical element is syntactically ‘detached’ from the clause core. That is, it appears in a constituent position to the left of the clause core. There are various structural signals of left-detachment. One typical signal is a pause after the detached element. The pause is symbolized in the Gawraǰūyī examples by ellipsis, as three

dots (...). This intervening pause can vary in length. The detached element can also correlate with a change of intonation, such as a non-final intonation that is slightly rising in pitch. In the examples here, this intonation pattern is usually marked by a comma.

There can also be an intervening lexical item that similarly functions to separate the preceding element from the clause. The lexical item can occur in place of or in addition to the pause.

The left-detached topical element itself is typically a full noun phrase, though it can be simply an independent pronoun. As a full noun phrase, it tends to be interpreted as definite and can occur with either the presence or absence of the definite ending *-aka*. It is never marked for indefiniteness, however, and in that way it can be distinguished from a noun phrase in a presentational function.²²⁹

There can be various types of resumption of reference of the detached element within the clause core, though this resumption depends on factors of grammatical relations and tense-aspect and transitivity of the verb stem. More notes on resumption of reference are given in the descriptions of the individual constructions below.

Left-detachment is typically used to activate a referent in the hearer's consciousness. In this way, the referent becomes a ratified topic, which is then available ('accessible') and predictable as a topic for the subsequent discourse.²³⁰

This use of left-detachment is thus commonly found in contexts where the topic changes. As Lambrecht (1994:183) points out, 'the left-detachment construction is often used to mark a shift in attention from one to another of two or more already active topic referents.'

It is one of the strategies for indicating contrastive topic, similar to that of a full noun phrase indicating a non-ratified topic (as opposed to an unaccented pronominal indicating a ratified topic).

Another strategy for promoting a non-ratified topic to a ratified one is a construction with a preposed constituent, specifically, one that is coreferential with the object argument. In this construction, the object argument is positioned at the front of the clause core, preceding the subject. The preposing of the constituent results in a marked constituent order, differing from the more usual order of Subject-Object-Verb-Goal.

This preposed constituent construction differs from left-detachment in that there is no pause and the preposed element appears to be more syntactically integrated into the clause

²²⁹ For this distinction between detachment constructions and presentationals, see Lambrecht (1994:184).

²³⁰ For this background on left-detachment (as applied to Koine Greek), see N. Bailey (2009:182). For general background, see Lambrecht (1994:181–184).

core. It functions, however, in a similar manner as left-detachment, which is to activate a topic and promote it to ratified status.

The next sections (14.2.5.1 to 14.2.5.4) describe the left-detachment constructions first, beginning with the simple constructions and then showing the more complex ones. These constructions are:

- Left-detached noun phrase + pause
- Left-detached noun phrase + additive particle = *ĩč*
- Left-detached noun phrase (+ = *ĩč*) and repeated noun phrase
- Noun phrase (+ = *ĩč*) before conditional sentence

After that, the preposed constituent constructions are described in Sections 14.2.5.5 to 14.2.5.6. These constructions are:

- Preposed constituent
- Preposed constituent and quantifier *gišt* + enclitic pronoun = *iš*

14.2.5.1 Left-detached noun phrase + pause

A simple type of left-detachment consists of a full noun phrase set off to the left of the clause core. The detached element is syntactically separated from the clause core. It is also set off by a pause of length that can be perceived. In many instances in the current section, this pause is also measured in the ELAN audio recording of the Gawraǰūyī texts. The full noun phrase is accompanied by a certain type of intonation that is characteristic of non-final elements. The pitch does not drop but has a level contour, and there seems to be a degree of length in the final syllable.

Within the clause core, there can be resumption of reference to the detached noun phrase, depending on the tense-aspect and transitivity of the verb stem and grammatical relations (see Chapter 9). In past transitive clauses, this resumptive reference almost always appears as an enclitic pronoun that is coreferential with the noun phrase in the detached element.

In present tense clauses, for both transitive and intransitive clauses, the person-number ending on the verb is coreferential with a detached noun phrase expressing subject or agent. This verb ending, however, is not necessarily resumption of reference, as it is obligatory for indexing the subject or agent in present tense clauses, even when there is no other overt expression of subject or agent.

In the first example below, the detached element is the proper name *řūsam* ‘Řūsam’. The detachment serves to promote the topic status of the referent from non-ratified to ratified. The proper name is followed by a pause (1.4 seconds). The detached element is uttered with non-final intonation. There is no additional resumptive reference in the core of the present

tense intransitive clause. The person-number ending on the verb is coreferential with the detached noun phrase, and is obligatory in reference to the subject of the clause.

(Context: The narrator has just introduced the participants, *Řūsam* and *Zūrāw*, as the main topics of the story. A person in the audience then comments. The narrator speaks again, and resumes reference to *Řūsam* ... [5:2–3]):

- (2413) řūsam ... ya řü(ž) ma-řoya řāw ... aw kū
 Řūsam (PAUSE) one day IND-go.PRS.3SG.DIR hunting (PAUSE) to mountain
 ‘Řūsam, one day he goes to hunt, to the mountains’ [5:4]

In the next example, the detached element is also the proper name *kaykāwis* ‘Kaykāwis’, which is followed by a pause (0.35 seconds). The pitch contour is level, which is typical of non-final intonation. The detached element is used to promote this non-ratified topic to ratified status. The proper name has a referent that has not been previously mentioned, but it is likely assumed by the speaker to be known to the hearers as an important member of the Kayānī (Kīanyān) dynasty.

(Context: The speaker says that he will tell the story of the Kayānī (dynasty) ... [5:30]):

- (2414) kaykāwis ... čaš=iš až das dā-y
 Kaykāwis (PAUSE) eye=3SG from hand give.PST-NA
 ‘Kaykāwis, he has lost his eye(sight)’ [5:30]

The next example is similar. The detached element is the full noun phrase, *dita-ka = mān* ‘our young women’, set off by a pause (0.45 seconds).²³¹

(Context: The speaker states that the young women of the village are no different in comparison to men in terms of the work they do ... [7N:31]):

- (2415) dita-k-ān = mān ... diraw ma-kar-in
 young.woman-DEF-PL = 1PL (PAUSE) harvesting IND-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘our young women, they do the wheat-harvesting’ [7N:32]

In another example, there is also a change of topic expressed as a detached element of a full noun phrase, *birā-(k)-ān* ‘the brothers’, with a slight pause (0.25 seconds). As typical for a past transitive clause, there is resumption of reference to the detached element, here by means of the third person plural enclitic pronoun = *šān*.

(Context: They also send a messenger and they say: ‘Go invite (Īriǰ), Īriǰ should come...’ [5:17]):

- (2416) birā-(k)-ān ... dařwat = šān kard = ē
 brother-DEF-PL (PAUSE) invite = 3PL do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘the brothers have invited him’ (or: ‘the brothers, they have invited him’) [5:17]

In the left-detachment construction, instead of a pause, there can be an intervening, syntactically separate element that serves to separate the detached element from the clause.

²³¹ In the audio recording of this sentence, two people are speaking simultaneously, and the elements of the construction are not as clearly audible as in the other examples.

In the next example, the proper name *dāwu* ‘Dāwu’ in vocative use (or as an interjection) appears as this intervening word. There is no pause. The sentence accent appears to fall on *gīyān* ‘life’. It is not as prominent on *ī bizin = a* ‘this goat’.

(Context: The goat has been washed down the river and then washes up on shore. A pious man finds her there and says ... [2:17–18]):

- (2417) āy ī bizin = a dāwu gīyān ma-kān-ē
 Oh PROX.DEM.ADJ goat = DEM Dāwu life IND-give.up.PRS-3SG
 ‘oh, this goat, by Dāvud, it is dying’ [2:18]

As shown in the preceding examples, the left-detached element can be coreferent with the subject. It is also possible that it is coreferent with other elements in the clause, such as the object. The next example shows a left-detached element *hanā-ka* ‘the henna’ (referring to a common type of dye), which is repeated as the grammatical object *hanā* ‘henna’. The entity, *hanā*, was introduced several sentences earlier and is also assumed to be under discussion, as a known part of the henna celebration. There is a clear pause (0.32 seconds) after the left-detached element, *hanā-ka* ‘the henna’.

(Context: The bride must offer that henna to all the people ... [7N:95]. Unmarried ones can come to the henna celebration, single women and single men can come ... [7N:100–102]):

- (2418) kuřa mujařad-ak-ān giřt = iř ma-tān-in wa xātir ina-ka
 young.man unmarried-DEF-PL all = 3SG IND-can.PRS-3PL because PROX_4-DEF
 masan hanā-ka ... řarūs hanā ma-gardin-ē ...
 for.example henna-DEF (PAUSE) bride henna IND-cause.to.pass.PRS-3SG (PAUSE)
dāmād-aka-y ... e gereguřā ma-gardin-ē
 bridegroom-DEF-NA (PAUSE) e gereguřā IND-cause.to.pass.PRS-3SG
 ‘all the single young men can (come) because of this that, for example, the henna, the bride distributes the henna, the bridegroom distributes, eh, the gereguřa (bag)’ [7N:103]

The following example also shows a less common pattern in which there is coreference of the detached element and the grammatical object of the clause. The detached element consists of a complex element, *ī fāntumāna, af čwārda = u af nām ča = u giřtiř* ‘these Phantoms, F-14s, and F-whatevers and all of them’. After the first noun phrase of the element, *ī fāntumāna*, there is a pause (0.6 seconds), while after the next noun phrases, the quality or length of the pause is not clear. The entire complex element is separated from the clause core by (perhaps) the atypical position of the adverbial *ā dawra* ‘that time’. It is also separated by the interjection *ā* ‘yes’.

(Context: The narrator describes how Xosrow had given the Shah a Phantom jet as a gift, that Fātamī was the Shah's son-in-law at the time ... Yes, (the Shah) had taken Fātamī as well ... [6:149–152]):

(2419) aǰ ānā ... ī fāntumān = a ... af čwārda = u
then (PAUSE) PROX.DEM.ADJ Phantom-PL = DEM (PAUSE) F. 14 = and

af nām ča = u gišt = iš ... {xxx}
F. name what = and all = 3SG (SLIGHT PAUSE) {BREATH}

ā dawra ā dā = šān wan
DIST.DEM.ADJ time yes give.PST = 3PL to.goal

‘then, these Phantoms, F-14s, and F-whatevers and all of them, at that time, yes, they delivered (them) to him’ [6:153]

14.2.5.2 Left-detached noun phrase + additive particle = *ič*

Another pattern of left-detachment consists of a full noun phrase or a pronoun followed by the particle = *ič* ‘ADD’. In this construction, the particle seems to function with a sense of ‘as for...’ or ‘in turn’, and indicates a change of topic. In other contexts, however, the particle can have a sense of ‘also, too’, which coincides with its use in focus expressions.²³²

In some instances, there is also a clear pause after the detached element, though occasionally there is no pause. The pause is relative rather than absolute in length and can differ from instance to instance. (For instance, in one sample sentence, the pause is measured at 0.5 seconds, while in another sample sentence, it is 1.8 seconds long.)

In this type of construction, the topic referent often appears by means of ‘tail-head linkage’, which is a special order of introduction.²³³ That is, the referent is introduced in a particular position in a preceding clause, for example, as a non-topic argument, such as object or goal of that clause. Then, in the following clause, it is treated as a non-ratified topic, marked with = *ič* ‘ADD’, and thereby promoted to full ratified status.

In the first example below, the initial clause introduces the full noun phrase *īrij šā* ‘King Īrij’ as the goal argument. Then, in the subsequent clause, the same full noun phrase is repeated as the detached element, together with = *yč* (as *īrij šā = yč* ‘King Īrij = ADD’). Then, as typical for a past transitive clause, there is resumptive reference to the topic by means of the enclitic pronoun = (*i*)š ‘= 3SG’, occurring within the clause core. There is no pause immediately following the detached element *īrij šā = yč*, but there is some lengthening of the final vowel. Instead, there is a pause (0.5 seconds) following the word *šā* ‘ruler’.

²³² Noted in discussion with Nicholas Bailey (p.c.).

²³³ The linguistic term ‘tail-head linkage’ first appeared in Thurman (1975) (noted in Enk & de Vries 1997:118).

(Context: The narrator is describing how the world was divided up. He states: ... [5:10]):

- (2420) ī īrān = a kat-ī = ya ... īriḵ šā
 PROX.DEM.ADJ Iran = DEM fall.PST-3SG? = DIR (PAUSE) Īriḵ King
- īriḵ šā = yč šā = y īm ...
 Īriḵ King = ADD king = EZ PROX.DEM.ADJ? (PAUSE)
- īrān = š = a kard = ē
 Iran = 3SG = DEM do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- ‘this Iran was allotted to King Īriḵ. King Īriḵ in turn, he has ruled this Iran’ [5:11–12]

Such a construction is also shown in the next example. There is no clear pause after the detached element, zāṭ = ī(č) ‘Zāṭ = ADD’.

(Context: When Rūsam sees his son’s arm, he sees the band ... Then... [5:155–156]):

- (2421) ḵā ma-kyās-ay lā-ya zāṭ
 then IND-send.PRS-3SG? presence-NA Zāṭ
- zāṭ = ī(č) m-wāy
 Zāṭ = ADD IND-say.PRS.3SG
- ‘then (Rūsam) sends someone to Zāṭ. Zāṭ in turn says:’ [5:156–157]

The following example illustrates tail-head linkage, introducing the proper name *kayānī* ‘Kayānī’ as a non-core argument (*dawra = y kayānī* ‘era of Kayānī’) in the context of [5:27]. In the subsequent clause, the detached element also consists of the proper name *kayānī* followed by = īč ‘ADD’ and a pause (1.8 seconds). This proper name is coreferential with the possessor element in a possessive noun phrase in the object argument, *kayān(i)-yān* ‘Kayānī-PL’.

(Context: The brothers had made plans ... [5:26]):

- (2422) īna, baʿd aw_šün ān dī biya
 PROX_4 then afterwards DIST_1 then COP.PRS.PRF.3SG
- wa masan dawra = y kayānī
 by example era = EZ Kayānī
- kayānī = č ... tā ḵakāyat = e kayān(i)-yān = it bi-kar-im
 Kayānī = ADD (PAUSE) so.that story = EZ Kayānī-PL = 2SG SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
- ‘well, afterwards, it was then, for example, the era of Kayānī. Concerning Kayānī ... Let me tell you the story of the Kayānīs’ [5:27–28]

Another example shows a similar left-detachment construction with = īč ‘ADD’, though it is not tail-head linkage, and the context is more complicated. There are several possible topic referents in the preceding context (‘father’, ‘Īriḵ’, ‘us’), that is, within the complement of the speech verb. When the speech is finished, there is a type of disambiguation of possible topic referents in that the topic is then expressed by the independent third person plural pronoun *ānān* ‘DIST.PL_1’, an independent pronoun and = īč ‘ADD’, followed by a pause:

(Context: There are brothers who have sat down to discuss what their father has done. They talk together, and say: ‘This father of ours, he has betrayed us. He has given the best part (of the world) to Īrij; let us kill him! Let us call him to a gathering and let us have him come.’ ... [5:14–16]):

- (2423) baǰd ... ānān = ič ... čapar ma-kyās-in
 then (PAUSE) DIST.PL_1 = ADD (PAUSE) messenger IND-send.PRS-3PL
 ‘afterwards, they in turn send a messenger’ [5:17]

14.2.5.3 Left-detached noun phrase (+ =ič) and repeated noun phrase

Yet another pattern appears with a full noun phrase as the left-detached element. It is sometimes followed by the additive particle =ič ‘ADD’. There can also be a pause, though in one instance, there is no audible pause. This pattern does not involve tail-head linkage.

What distinguishes this pattern is that it is followed by another full noun phrase referring to the same entity. The noun phrase can be the same or different in form, but there is a related sense. The related meaning may be more specific in identification of the topic referent, such as a proper name. More research is needed to determine the exact meanings conveyed by this construction. It is possible that by means of the repeated noun, the speaker is clarifying the topic or simply making a correction.

In the first example, the left-detached element consists of a full noun phrase *pīyā* ‘the man’ followed by =ič ‘ADD’, then a pause, and the proper name *mard* ‘Mard’. There is little or no pause after *mard*. The compound verb element *gūš* ‘ear’ has a relatively strong accent relative to that of the other elements.

(Context: The leopard has finished telling the last story of a set of three, and says: ‘This is all three of them’ ... [3:52]):

- (2424) birā pīyā = yč ... mard aǰā ištan = iš
 brother man = ADD (PAUSE) Mard for RFL = 3SG
gūš ma-tī = ya tā šawakī řüž = wa mawu
 ear IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR until early.morning day = PTCL# be.PRS.3SG
 ‘Brother, as for the man, Mard, he simply listens until the early morning becomes day’
 [3:53]

In the next example, the detached element consists of the third person distal pronoun *ān* ‘DIST_1’ followed by =ič ‘ADD’, and then a noun phrase with a more specific sense, the proper name *šīrīn* ‘Šīrīn’. This example is atypical, however, in that there is no clear pause. The referent Šīrīn has already been introduced at the beginning of the story. A maidservant has also been introduced.

(Context: The maidservant speaks and says: ‘A dervish has come; he has endless amounts of jewels’ ... [4:37–38]):

- (2425) ān = ič šīrīn māy = a bān sar = iš
 DIST_1 = ADD Šīrīn IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR on head = 3SG
 ‘she too, Šīrīn, comes to (a place) above him’ [4:39]

In the next example, the full noun phrase *xwāraka = y ištān = im* ‘my own sister’ appears before the conditional *ayar* ‘if’. There is no clear pause after the noun phrase, and it is also manifested with non-final intonation. The narrator brings up a new topic of her own sister.

(Context: The narrator has been talking about families who act strictly. She says, ‘Let me speak about my own sister. When she has a suitor,’ ... [9:1–2]):

- (2428) *xwār-aka = y ištān = im-ī ayar waš = iš b-āy*
 sister-DEF = EZ RFL = 1SG-NA if pleasant = 3SG SBJV-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘my own sister, if she likes him’ [9:3]

In the following example, there appear to be two detached elements, *kuř-aka = yč* ‘young man-DEF = ADD’ and *wāqeřan* ‘truly’. There is no clear pause after either element. There is relatively heavy stress on *ayar* ‘if’, as well as heavy stress on *mwāy* ‘he says’. There is a change of topic to the young man.

(Context: The narrator is talking about the situation of a young woman and a suitor. The young woman cannot speak to her family about the person she likes. Her mother and father have not given her permission to be so open with them. Then ... [9:6–8]):

- (2429) *kuř-aka = yč wāqeřan ayar = i(č) waš = iš b-āy,*
 young.man-DEF = ADD truly if = ADD pleasant = 3SG SBJV-come.PRS.3SG
ān m-wāy waš = im m-āy
 DIST_1 IND-say.3SG pleasant = 3SG IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘(as for) the young man, truly, if he also loves (someone), he says: ‘I love her’’ [9:9]

In the next three examples, there is no clear pause and also only non-final intonation of the full noun phrase. There is also a change of topic.

(Context: The narrator is describing the situation of a young woman and a young man and what people can say. In Gawraǰū, people cannot speak openly or comfortably (?) ... [9:22–23]):

- (2430) *dita-ka = y ayar waš = iš b-āy*
 young.woman-DEF = ADD? if pleasant = 3SG SBJV-come.PRS.3SG
ni-ma-tān-ē war čaš
 NEG_1-IND-can.PRS-3SG before eye
bāwk = u dāyka = š = wa b-wāy
 father = and mother = 3SG = POSTP#_3 SBJV-say.PRS.3SG
 ‘the young woman, if she loves (a young man), she cannot say (this) in front of her father and mother’ [9:24] (Topic change from general youth to young woman.)

(Context: The parents of a young woman look into the background of a young man who is her suitor and talk with him about important issues in his life. The parents act strictly ... [9:39–45]):

- (2431) *kuřa ayar pañj sāt = i(č) až ā dūr = wa*
 young.man if five year = ADD at DIST.DEM.ADJ far = POSTP#_3
bi-niš-ē entezār bi-kiš-ē
 SBJV-sit.PRS-3SG wait SBJV-pull.PRS-3SG
 ‘The young man, if he waits for (even) five years, too, from that at a distance, he waits’ [9:46] (Topic change from parents to young man.)

(Context: The narrator says: ‘If I do not get married, she cannot, that means, the young woman does not have this authority (courage?) to say this. ... she cannot, that means, the young woman does not have this authority (courage?) to say this’ ... [9:55–57]):

(2432) kuřa = yč ayar ni-m-āy nwā = wa,
 young.man = ADD if NEG_1-IND-come.PRS.3SG forward = POSTP#_3

wa xātir ā saxtgīr(i)yān
 on.account.of DIST.DEM.ADJ strictness

xānawāda = y ka = y dita = yē
 family = EZ house = EZ young.woman = COP.PRS.3SG_1

‘as for the young man, if he does not come forward, it is because of that strictness of the family of the house of the young woman’ [9:58] (Topic change from the young woman to young man.)

The next example shows the detached element before a conditional introduced by *har ča* ‘however much’ (or ‘if’). There is no pause after the detached element *dita-ka* ‘young woman-DEF’.

(Context: If the family is satisfied with the suitor, then ‘that business must take place’ ... [9:63]):

(2433) dita-ka har ča b-wāy
 young.woman-DEF however.much SBJV-say.PRS.3SG

mi(n) waš = im ni-m-āy
 1SG pleasant = 1SG NEG_1-IND-come.PRS.3SG

a ī kār = a,
 PROX.PTCL PROX.DEM.ADJ work = DEM

mi(n) ī kār = a ni-ma-kar-im
 1SG PROX.DEM.ADJ work = DEM NEG_1-IND-do.PRS-1SG

‘the young woman, however much (or: if) she says: ‘I do not like him, just this, I will not do this ... ’’ [9:64] (Topic change from family to young woman.)

14.2.5.5 Non-ratified topics in preposed constituent constructions

Non-ratified topics appear not only in left-detachment constructions but also in preposed constituent constructions. In left-detachment constructions, the topical element is normally coreferential with the grammatical subject. In the preposed constituent constructions, however, the topical element is usually coreferential with the grammatical object, and in one instance, it is coreferential with the complement of an adpositional phrase.

The preposed constituent consists of a full noun phrase that is positioned to the left of the clause, preceding the grammatical subject. With perhaps one exception, there is no clear pause after the preposed constituent. There is coreference within the clause by means of an enclitic pronoun or a repetition of the noun phrase.

In the first example below, the preposed constituent is the full noun phrase, *bizin-aka-y* ‘goat-DEF-(?)’. There is no pause at all after it. The topical element is resumed by the enclitic pronoun = *iš* expressing the object argument in the clause core.

(Context: The ram crosses the water, goes, and reaches the flock ... [2:14]):

- (2434) bizin-aka-y āw ma-yar-ē=š
goat-DEF-NA water IND-take.PRS-3SG = 3SG
'(as for) the goat, the water carries her away' [2:15]

In the next example, a preposed constituent is illustrated, *řūta-k-ān = im* 'children-DEF-PL = 1SG'. There is no pause after it, though there is some undefined character in the intonation. The reference of the enclitic pronoun =š ' = 3SG' is ambiguous. The analysis of the first word, *min* '1SG', is not yet clear. It might be a topicalized element itself or it could be a false start of the speaker.

(Context: The goat comes to Lālo Pāyar to get her horns sharpened for the coming battle with the wolf. She tells Lālo Pāyar about the past ... [2:75]):

- (2435) min řūta-k-ān = im ī gurg = a
1SG dear.child-DEF-PL = 1SG PROX.DEM.ADJ wolf = DEM
ward-a = š = ē
eat.PST-PART = 3SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
'(the goat) says: 'Me ... (As for) my dear children, this wolf has eaten them' [2:76]

The next example presents a preposed constituent as the pronoun *āna* '3SG.DIST'. There is no pause after it. The reference of the enclitic pronoun =iš ' = 3SG' is not clear, and it might be with the preposed topical element or with a goal/recipient.

The second clause (*hanāka = yč řarūsaka*) is atypical in that there is no overt expression of the verb, and the object, *hanāka = yč* 'the henna in turn', precedes the subject, *řarūsaka* 'the bride'.

(Context: The speaker describes how in a henna celebration before a wedding, there are bags that are placed in a basket and the basket is given to the bridegroom ... [7H:110]):

- (2436) āna dāmād-aka ma-gardin-ē = š
DIST_4 bridegroom-DEF IND-cause.to.pass.PRS-3SG = 3SG
hanā-ka = yč řarūs-aka
henna-DEF = ADD bride-DEF
'that the bridegroom offers (to the guests), the henna in turn the bride (offers)' [7H:110]

The example below shows a preposed constituent as the pronoun *ānāna* 'DIST.3PL'. There is no pause after it. There is coreference of *ānāna* 'DIST.3PL' ('those') with the possessor =šān '3PL' of *bāwka* 'father' (grammatical subject) and as the complement of the adpositional phrase *wa lā* 'by presence (of)' (sentence accent unclear on *lā = šān = wa biya*).

(Context: Discussion of women from the village who can play the stringed instrument ... Women, who do we have from here? From here ... [7H:38–39] (Another speaker: Some of them sing the religious songs ... [7N:50])):

- (2437) āxi(r) ānāna bāwka = šān hamiša wa lā = šān = wa biya
well DIST.PL_3 father = 3PL always by presence = 3PL = POSTP#_3 COP.PRF.3SG
'well, those ones, their father was always with them' [7H:40]

14.2.5.6 Preposed constituent and quantifier *gišt* + enclitic pronoun = *iš*

Another pattern consists of a preposed constituent followed by the quantifier *gišt* ‘all’ and the third person singular enclitic pronoun = *iš*. This construction seems to be associated with the speaker expressing an emphatic attitude about the scope or quantity of the topic referent (noted by Nicholas Bailey, p.c.; see also N. Bailey 2009:40–41 for discussion of ‘emotive emphasis’ and information structure).

In several instances, the constituent is obviously preceding the subject argument of the clause, while in other instances, it is not clear on account of the absence of an overt subject.

In the first example below, two elements are preposed: a pronoun, *āna* ‘3PL.DIST (those ones)’ and a full noun phrase with a demonstrative adjective, *ā jaṅgāna* ‘those fights’. There is no pause after the preposed elements. The adverb *xās* ‘well’ has an especially high pitch, possibly expressing emotional emphasis.

(Context: The narrator is describing the time of turmoil in the Revolution of 1979. He says: ‘[...] the military forces and the army did so much fighting and the people are fleeing and rifles are in everyone’s hands and the air force was defeated in Tehran’ ... [6:80–81]):

- (2438) āna ā jaṅg-ān=a *gišt* = *iš* xās *min* *ma-zān-im*
 DIST_4 DIST.DEM.ADJ fight-PL=DEM all=3SG well 1SG IND-know.PRS-1SG
 ‘I remember (really) well all those fights (or: those, those fights, all of them I remember (really) well’ [6:82]

In the next example, the preposed constituent is a relative clause *ay jaḏāna tu mawīnī* ‘these roads you see’. There is no pause, however, after the preposed constituent. The sentence accent is not clear.

(Context: The Soviet Union, too, and England, too, {xxx}, he became an ally of America ... [6:124]):

- (2439) ay jaḏ-ān=a *tu* *ma-wīn-ī*
 PROX.DEM.ADJ street-PL=DEM 2SG IND-see.PRS-2SG

gišt = *iš* amrikā kīšt = *iš*
 all = 3SG America make.PRS = 3SG
 ‘these roads you see, all of them America made’ [6:125]

Two more examples with *gišt* = *iš* are listed below. In these, there is no overt subject in the clause that would otherwise indicate a change in constituent order.

In the following example, *gišt* bears the most prominent accent.

(Context: The wolf goes to Lālo Pāyar and requests that he sharpen his teeth so he can tear the goat to pieces. Lālo Pāyar says: ‘This is not fair, all right, I will sharpen your teeth, too’ ... [2:80–81]):

- (2440) didān *gurg-aka* gišt = *iš* *ma-kīš-ē*
 tooth wolf-DEF all = 3SG IND-pull.PRS-3SG
 ‘(so) he sits down and pulls out the wolf’s teeth, all of them’ [2:81]

In the next example, however, *gišt = iš* does not seem to bear a prominent accent.

(Context: Saddam did terrible things to the Kurds ... [6:160–161]):

(2441) *ī* mardim = a haṭabja = y *šima = š = a*
 PROX.DEM.ADJ people = COMPD Haṭabja = EZ 2PL = 3SG = DEM

gišt = iš bambāwārān ka(rd)
 all = 3SG bomb do.PST

‘these people of your Halabja: all of them, (Saddam) bombed (them)’ [6:162]

14.2.6 Constructions with post-predicate elements

There are also constructions or expressions that consist of an element (usually a full noun phrase) following the predicate.²³⁴ The predicate is assumed here to be expressed by the verbal complex, with or without a goal argument. The element can also follow the entire clause, in which case it is still regarded here as ‘post-predicate’. Such a constituent order differing from the more common order of Object-Verb also can be found in the languages in the wider area, such as Persian, Northern Kurdish, and Turkish.²³⁵

These types are referred to by terms such as ‘Right dislocation’ (‘R-dislocation’) (for example, Givón 1990:760) and the ‘Tail pragmatic function’ (Dik 1997b:401, 1978:19, 130).²³⁶ Another term is ‘antitopic’ (Chafe 1976:53, Lambrecht 1994:202).²³⁷ It should be noted that the way these authors use the various terms may not exactly correspond to the same types of utterances, including those found in the Gawraǰūyī examples; more details are discussed below.

The constructions or expressions that are described in this section all share the feature of an unusual constituent order relative to the predicate. But the constructions can be further specified with regard to their relationship to the predicate, as found in three patterns. These types with ‘clause’ and ‘tail’ outlined are shown below. The example sentences are found in Dooley & Levinsohn (2008:70–71), who present these sentences originally from Dik

²³⁴ Nicholas Bailey (p.c.), provided helpful discussion about these constructions.

²³⁵ For Persian, see Lazard (1992a:211), who describes it as ‘inversion of subject and verb’. For Turkish, see Erguvanlı (1984:51–63), where post-predicate noun phrases are discussed in detail. For Northern Kurdish (Armenia), a similar construction also appears (Nicholas Bailey and Nadir Ozmanyān, p.c.).

²³⁶ This construction type is also noted by Roberts (2009:75–76, referring to Dooley & Levinsohn 2001, also to Givón 1990 and Dik 1978), with a description of the three uses listed here.

²³⁷ Other terms for similar constructions are ‘right-detachment’ and ‘antitopic’ (both mentioned by Lambrecht 1994:202; he prefers ‘antitopic’ for the grammatical construction he describes). We have not used ‘right-detachment’ here, as ‘detachment’ would assume that there some kind of syntactic distance between the clause core and the post-predicate noun phrase.

(1978:153–154). Dik discusses these as the ‘Tail function’, while Dooley & Levinsohn refer to them as ‘Tail’, though describing the second sentence as ‘afterthought’ and the third as ‘repair’. I have used these labels along with Lambrecht’s ‘antitopic’ for the first sentence:

Lambrecht’s ‘antitopic’

(2442) [Clause] [Tail]
[He’s a nice chap,] [your brother.]

Afterthought

(2443) [Clause] [Tail]
[John gave that book to a girl,] [in the library.]

Repair

(2444) [Clause] [Tail]
[John won’t even be invited, eh ...] ... [Bill I mean.]

The sentences are illustrations of various types, according to Dooley & Levinsohn (2008:70–71). They note that the first sentence illustrates a ‘noun phrase tail’, found in many languages, which is a ‘regular, deliberate construction type’ (citing Givón 1990:760–762). This type of sentence also appears to illustrate that which is described as ‘antitopic’ by Lambrecht (1994:202, following Chafe 1976), as one in which ‘a lexical topic NP is positioned AT THE END of the clause containing the information about the topic referent’ (see also Lambrecht 1994:202–205 for discussion). The full noun phrase follows the focus domain expressed in the predicate, with the predicate as the element containing the comment about the topic referent.

The second sentence may be described as an ‘afterthought’, in which the post-predicate element adds something that was not uttered by the speaker in the clause. It is added only on second thought (Dik 1978:154). The example sentence here appears to differ from the previous example sentence in that the afterthought element does not have the same referent as the topic expression.

The third sentence can be described as a ‘repair’. The tail element can be interpreted as ‘a further specification or modification of (parts of) the predication’, of which the modification can be some kind of ‘correction’ (Dik 1978:154). In this example sentence, there appears to be a longer pause between the clause and the tail. The referent of the noun phrase (‘Bill’) differs from that of the noun phrase in the preceding clause (‘John’).

14.2.6.1 Structural and semantic features of the antitopic in Gawraǰūyī

Most of the examples of post-predicate elements in the Gawraǰūyī texts seem to be of the ‘antitopic’ type. These instances consistently show certain structural as well as semantic and pragmatic features.

One of the structural features is that the post-predicate element consists of a single form. This single form is typically a full (lexical) noun phrase (never a pronoun). (There is only one exceptional instance in which two elements are added. Furthermore, one of these is not a noun phrase but an adverbial phrase; it is discussed further below as a more complex example.)

The head of the noun phrase consists of a noun from any subclass of (lexical) nouns. This noun can be a proper name, or else it can be a common noun, in which case it is often marked for definiteness by means of *-aka* ‘DEF’. In one instance, the common noun is not marked, though it can still be interpreted as conveying definite sense (and is identifiable in the discourse context).

The antitopic construction also involves prosodic features. The post-predicate noun phrase is uttered with a lower relative pitch than the preceding element; it also bears an intonation contour with dropping pitch, a characteristic of utterance-final elements in general. There is also an optional pause. In some instances, there is no pause between the verb and the post-predicate element. In a few instances, there is a very slight pause, and in one instance, a very long pause. These pauses may provide clues to distinctions in uses. For example, the absence of a pause could reflect a close syntactic connection between the elements, while a pause could indicate the use as an afterthought.

There are also semantic and pragmatic features. The post-predicate noun phrase is always identifiable from the discourse context. It is presupposed and has a degree of ‘givenness’; it is thus marked as definite or encoded by a noun that is inherently definite.²³⁸ The referent of the post-predicate noun phrase has been already introduced into the discourse and then established as a topic, but at this point in the discourse, it may not be assumed to be fully active in the short-term memory of the hearer (Lambrecht 1994:203–205). In some instances, the topic of the clause and the referent of the post-predicate noun phrase are the same as a topic referent in a preceding clause. In other instances, the topic of the clause and referent of

²³⁸ The post-predicate noun phrase in Gawraǰūyī thus displays consistency with the cross-linguistic observation by Lambrecht (1994:204) that this element refers to an entity that is already ‘highly salient’ in the discourse context.

the post-predicate noun phrase are different, but it is not yet clear if the use of the post-predicate element indicates a contrast between these.²³⁹

Another semantic and pragmatic feature is that the post-predicate noun phrase is coreferential with another element in the clause. The other element in the clause can be: 1) the subject (expressing a sentence topic), or 2) a possessor (referring to a topic in the discourse context). Such an element is typically expressed in the clause as an unaccented form, characteristic of an active (i.e., ‘given’) referent.²⁴⁰ For the subject, there is only a verb ending, and no other independent noun phrase. The possessor is only expressed by an enclitic pronoun in the attested instances.

14.2.6.2 Possible uses

The function of the antitopic construction in *Gawraǰūyī* is not yet clear, though there are several possibilities. Lambrecht (1994:203) treats a similar phenomenon in spoken French and German. He writes that the antitopic is used as ‘an implicit request from the speaker to the hearer to put the propositional information “on hold” until the antitopic is uttered’. A speaker is assuming that the hearer needs further specification ‘about who or what the proposition is about.’ Although it is a type of specification, it does not seem to be a correction, however, which could coincide with signals such as interjections, a pause, or other intonational clues of repair.

In some instances, however, it could indeed provide some type of ‘correction’ by the speaker, who wants to be sure that the hearer understands precisely which entity is under discussion or should be activated in the short-term memory.

Another function might be that it is a way to highlight the focal element in the preceding clause by downplaying the topic or removing any full lexical reference to it in the usual position (Nicholas Bailey, p.c.).²⁴¹

Dik (1997b:401) describes a similar construction as a pragmatic function, ‘tail’, used in ‘characterizing constituents which present information meant to clarify or modify (some

²³⁹ Lambrecht (1994:183) notes that the right-detachment construction he has studied ‘is never used in a contrastive function.’

²⁴⁰ Erguvanlı (1984:56) points out this condition of ‘givenness’ as defined by Chafe (1976). In another publication, Chafe (1994:72) defines ‘givenness’ such that the referent is ‘already active at this point in the conversation’.

²⁴¹ A note in this direction is also mentioned by Erguvanlı (1984:60) for a similar construction in Turkish: ‘When the speaker wants to emphasize the action or state expressed by the predicate, all the constituents may be placed after the verb’.

constituent contained in) the unit to which they are adjoined.’ For the English example: ‘He’s a nice chap, your brother’, Dik notes that such constituents as ‘your brother’ adds a further specification to a term in the clause. He regards the tail constituent occurring after the clause as an ‘extra-clausal constituent’.

Another possible use, introduced above in conjunction with a type of construction, is that of ‘afterthought’. This term is presented by Erguvanlı (1984:51) with reference to ‘any material remembered after a sentence has been uttered.’ Chafe (1994:142) describes an ‘afterthought’ as a way to ‘supplement the information already conveyed’.

Erguvanlı (1984:60–63), however, considers a function of post-predicate elements in a similar construction in Turkish to be that of ‘backgrounding’.

Givón (1990:761) notes that ‘right dislocation’ could signal ‘the end of a thematic paragraph’. He also suggests such a function as the change from one referent to another, as ‘cataphoric discontinuity’. Givón discusses independent pronouns in this function rather than the full noun phrase as in Gawraǰūyī, but his observations might still apply (more study is needed).

14.2.6.3 Examples of antitopic

In the next sections, the Gawraǰūyī examples are presented here along with comments about the features of the post-predicate noun phrase, its coreferent within the clause, the activation status of the referent of the post-predicate noun phrase, and its possible use.

In the first example, the full noun phrase *bizin-aka* ‘goat-DEF’ appears after the verb. The noun phrase has the definiteness marking *-aka* ‘DEF’. The noun phrase is coreferential with the subject of the preceding verbs *m-war-ē* ‘IND-eat.PRS-3SG’ and *mawu* ‘be.PRS.3SG’. The subject is not expressed as an independent form but simply indexed on the verb (as third person singular).

There is thus no change of topic or contrast of the referent in the post-predicate element. The referent can be assumed to already have ‘active’ status in the short-term memory of the hearer.

In terms of prosody, the verb *mawu* ‘be.PRS.3SG’ bears final intonation. It is not entirely clear from the audio recording, but there may be a very slight pause or a slight change in intonation in the transition from *mawu* to the post-predicate element. The full noun phrase *bizin-aka* ‘goat-DEF’ is also uttered with an intonation contour typical of final elements, but it bears an even lower relative pitch than *mawu*.

The use of this construction might be to ‘set off’ or ‘highlight’ the information conveyed in the predicate that the goat becomes pregnant (*āwis mawu*).

(Context: The goat had been washed away down the river, she is rescued, and she gains strength and comes back to life. She looks around and ... [2:20]):

- (2445) yak qayr giž_giyā m-war-ē = u
 one bit various.grasses IND-eat.PRS-3SG = and
- dī āwis mawu bizin-aka
 then pregnant be.PRS.3SG goat-DEF
- ‘she eats a little (of) the various kinds of grass; then she becomes pregnant, the goat’
 [2:21]

In the next example, the full noun phrase *damād-aka* ‘bridegroom-DEF’ appears after the verb. It is marked for definiteness. It is also coreferential with the subject of the preceding verb *ma-gardin-ē* ‘IND-cause.to.pass.PRS-3SG’. The subject of the verb is only expressed as the third person singular verb ending *-ē*. The referent has been mentioned in the preceding discourse context ‘the bridegroom distributes the bags...’, so it has already been introduced. But another potential topic, ‘the bride’, has also been already referred to, so the speaker might be assuming there is a need for disambiguation.

In terms of prosody, there is no pause after the finite verb of the clause core (*magardinēš*). The full noun phrase bears a lower pitch with a falling contour, typical of final intonation.

(Context: Unmarried young men can come to the henna celebration, the bride distributes the henna, the bridegroom distributes the bags with sweets, a few lollipops are put into a bag, also a coin ... [7N:103–105]):

- (2446) ya gila guṭ tazʔin = iš ma-kar-in
 one unit flower decorate = 3SG IND-do.PRS-3PL
- ma-gardin-ē = š dāmād-aka
 IND-cause.to.pass.PRS-3SG = 3SG bridegroom-DEF
- ‘they decorate it (i.e., the bag) (with) one flower, (and) he, the bridegroom, distributes it (i.e., the bags to the guests)’ [7N:106]

In the example below, the full noun phrase *kaywānū* ‘woman/lady’ appears after the verb. It has no morphological marking of definiteness, though it can still be interpreted as definite in this context. The noun phrase is also coreferential with the subject of the verb *ma-tī=ya* ‘IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR’. There is no other form expressing subject apart from the third person singular indexing on the verb.

The woman has already been introduced in the preceding discourse context, though two other participants, Farhād and the pickaxe, have also been mentioned. It is possible that the speaker sees a need for some disambiguation of topics. Another possible use is that the speaker is highlighting the focal element of the predicate, ‘is lying’, by adding the noun phrase after the verb.

There is no pause after the finite verb of the clause core, *matīya*, and the noun phrase *kaywānū* ‘woman’ bears final intonation of the utterance.

(Context: A woman has been lying to Farhād about the death of Širīn. Farhād throws his pickaxe in the air and the pickaxe speaks ... [4:166–170]):

- (2447) drū ma-tī=ya kaywānū
 lie IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR woman
 ‘she is lying, the woman!’ [4:170]

In the following example, the full noun phrase *sinderelā* ‘Sinderelā’ occurs after the verb. As a proper name, the noun phrase is inherently definite. It is coreferential with the possessor in the immediately preceding clause, *hāwār=iš ... ni-ma-ras-ē* ‘cry.for.help=3SG ... NEG_1-IND-reach.PRS-3SG’ (‘her cry for help’). The referent has already been introduced earlier in the discourse and expresses the subject of the preceding clause (*ma-qīžin-ē* ‘IND-shout.PRS-3SG’). Another participant, the stepmother, is the topic in the discourse context before that clause.

In this example, there is no pause before the noun phrase. It is uttered with a lowered pitch and a falling intonation typical of final elements.

(Context: She brings Sinderelā, she imprisons her in the cellar, ties something over her mouth and ... [12:39]):

- (2448) xulāsa har_čī ma-qīžn-ē,
 in.summary however.much IND-shout.PRS-3SG
 dī hāwār=iš wa hūčkā ni-ma-řas-ē sinderelā
 at.all cry.for.help=3SG to nobody NEG_1-IND-reach.PRS-3SG Sinderelā
 ‘in summary, however much she shouts, her cry for help does not reach anybody at all, Sinderelā’ [12:40]

In the following example, *dita* ‘girl’ appears after the verb. It is not morphologically marked for definiteness, though it still has definite sense. It is coreferential with the subject of the preceding verb *niq ni-ma-kay* ‘murmur IND-do.PRS.3SG’. The expression of that subject represents a change of topic from that of the preceding clause *řay mawu* ‘pass be.PRS.3SG’, which is not expressed but refers to the water, *āw*. The use of this construction may be to either clarify or perhaps ‘promote’ the topic.

This full noun phrase *dita* ‘girl’ is uttered with a falling intonation contour. There is no pause between it and the preceding verb *mawu* ‘be.PRS.3SG’.

(Context: The lady says: ‘O you!’ The girl says: ‘Yes?’ She (i.e., the lady) says: ‘If the water of gold and silver and gold coins comes, passes, do not murmur; if the water of thing comes, if the black and dark blue water comes, put your hand on me, may it not be your concern (i.e., leave it for me).’ She (i.e., the girl) says: ‘All right’ ... [11:78–79]):

- (2449) āw tařa=u līra m-āy, birīqa=š m-āy,
 water gold=and gold.coin IND-come.PRS.3SG glow=3SG IND-come.PRS.3SG
 řay mawu niq ni-ma-kay dita
 pass be.PRS.3SG murmur NEG_1-IND-do.PRS.3SG girl
 ‘the water of gold and gold coins comes, it glows, it passes, she does not murmur, the girl’ [11:79]

14.2.6.4 More complex examples with exceptional features

The following Gawraǰūyī sentences might be viewed as involving repair or afterthought rather than antitopic. The examples also involve some exceptional features and are relatively complex.

In the first example, the full noun phrase *gunka čāyira* ‘Gunka Čāyira’ appears after the verb. It consists of a proper name and is thus definite. The noun phrase is coreferential with the subject of the preceding verb *ma-ǰāwo* ‘IND-chew.PRS.3SG’, only indexed as third person singular on the verb.

The earlier clause has a different topic expression, however, which is *ya gina gūšta* ‘one piece of meat’. The referent of the proper name, *gunka čāyira* ‘Gunka Čāyira’ is already assumed to be active, though, as it is introduced yet earlier in the discourse context (subject of *mi-nāy* ‘IND-put.PRS.3SG’).

There is a relatively long pause (1.2 seconds) between the post-predicate noun phrase and the preceding element. The full noun phrase is treated in a way as a separate utterance.

(Context: The dirty and bloody water comes, she (stepmother?) puts her (the girl?) into it ... [11:80])

(2450) *mi-nāy* = š = a *dile* = š, *ya* *gina gūšt-a*
IND-put.PRS.3SG = 3SG = DIR into = 3SG one round.rotten.piece_meat-NUM?

ī *lā* = y *dam* = i š = a *sawz mawu*,
PROX.DEM.ADJ side = EZ mouth = 3SG = DEM grow be.PRS.3SG

hay *ma-ǰāwo* = š ... *gunka čāyira*
always IND-chew.PRS.3SG = 3SG (PAUSE) Gunka.Čāyira

‘she puts her into it, one round, rotting piece of meat from this side of her mouth grows up, she chews it all the time.... Gunka Čāyira’ [11:81–82]

In the following example, a full noun phrase appears after the verb and a goal (with the goal expressed by the adpositional phrase *dile āsyāwaka* ‘into the mill’). There is a pause (0.45 seconds) and then a noun phrase consisting of conjoined proper names, *tītīla = u bibīla* ‘Tītīla and Bibīla’, which is definite in sense. This noun phrase is coreferential with subject of the verb, *ma-š-in* ‘IND-go.PRS-3PL’, only indexed on the verb. The referents have already been introduced into the discourse context but the subject of the preceding clause is actually ‘the wolf’, so there is a change of topic here.

There is also a pause (0.26 seconds) after this noun phrase, followed by the adverbial phrase *wa řižana* ‘daily’. Both the full noun phrase and the adverbial phrase bear final intonation and a dropping pitch contour.

(Context: The mother goat brings two kid goats into the world, Tītīla and Bībīla. The wolf comes and says that he will come and eat them ... [2:32–34]):

(2451) ma-š-in = a dile āsyāw-aka = wa ...
IND-go.PRS-3PL = DIR into mill-DEF = POSTP#_3 (PAUSE)

tītīla = u bībīla ... wa řüzāna
Tītīla = and Bībīla (PAUSE) by day

‘they go into the mill, Tītīla and Bībīla daily’ [2:35]

Another exceptional instance involves a full noun phrase, *gala-ka* ‘flock-DEF’, appearing after the verb. It shows definiteness marking with *-aka*. The noun phrase *galaka* is coreferential with the enclitic pronoun =š marking possessor within a noun phrase, *gušt-aka* =š ‘meat-DEF = 3SG’ in the preceding clause. The referent of the post-predicate element is not coreferential with the subject, however.

On this noun phrase, there is final intonation, reduced loudness, and a dropping pitch contour.

(Context: The man finishes telling a story, then the wolf speaks. It says: ‘If only I were a human being, I would have killed the dog with the flock, I would have taken out its brain, I would have made it like tea and given it to the king’s daughter so that she becomes well again’ ... [3:33–35]):

(2452) min = ič sīr = im až gūšt-aka = š b-wardā gala-ka
1SG = ADD full = 1SG from meat-DEF = 3SG SBJV-eat.PST.PST.SBJV flock-DEF

‘(the wolf says:) ‘As for me, I would eat, be full with its meat, (of the) flock’’ [3:36]

14.3 Argument-focus

As defined in Section 14.1.5, the argument-focus structure is composed of two parts: an argument (or ‘constituent’) comprising the focus domain, and an ‘topical open proposition’, expressing the presupposed portion of the proposition. In the topical open proposition, there is a missing variable, ‘X’. The argument-focus structure functions to identify the referent of this missing variable.

In Gawraǰūyī, there are various grammatical forms that correlate with the argument-focus structure. The constituent comprising the focus domain can be a full noun phrase, and it typically bears a relatively strong sentence accent. In some instances, however, this constituent can be an independent pronoun, with only a slight accent. The focus domain is not expressed by an enclitic pronoun.

The constituent can express any clause argument, that is, the subject, the object, or goal/beneficiary.

In terms of constituent order, the constituent comprising the focus domain does not appear to be associated with a change in clause position. It appears ‘in situ’, that is, in its usual position within the clause. In other words, a constituent as subject remains in the subject position, preceding object and verb, while an object also remains in the preverbal position.

There is no instance of a clause-initial object or of a subject moved to preverbal position in an argument-focus structure in Gawraǰūyī. In information questions, the constituent as the question word also remains in situ.

The argument-focus structure in Gawraǰūyī is described below, with first, the focus constituent functioning as subject, and then as object or another argument.

Argument-focus is the main type of focus structure in information questions ('WH-questions'). These questions have certain characteristics and are discussed below in Section 14.3.4.

14.3.1 Argument-focus and subject

The argument-focus structure is shown here in sentences in which the constituent comprising the focus domain is a full noun phrase expressing the subject of a clause. It is common across languages, including Gawraǰūyī, that the subject most typically is correlated with the expression of topic rather than with focus. Nevertheless, there can be a correlation of subject and focus if the speaker assumes it is necessary to identify the referent of that constituent in relation to an open proposition.

In the first example presented below, the sentence functions to identify a referent, 'the wolf'. The sentence has argument-focus structure and answers an implicit question in the context, 'Who ate the kid goats?' A linguistic cue coinciding with the focus domain includes the use of the independent pronoun, *min* '1SG', though the sentence accent on this pronoun is not strong. If the subject had simply encoded a ratified topic, no independent pronoun would have been expected, and subject marking would have been a minimal form, such as the enclitic pronoun =*im* ' = 1SG'.

(Context: The bear says: 'I haven't eaten them'. The mother goat goes to the fox's house. The fox says: 'I haven't eaten them'. The mother goat goes to the wolf's house and states, 'Whoever has eaten my children, I'm declaring war on him'. The wolf says ... [2:61–69]):

- (2453) min ward-a = m(= ē)
 1SG eat.PST-PART = 1SG(= COP.PRS.3SG_1)
 '(the wolf) says: 'I have eaten them'' [2:70]

The next example, also from Text 2, shows a similar argument-focus structure. An independent pronoun comprises the focus domain and expresses the subject of the clause. The discourse context involves a mother goat and a wolf who are about to begin fighting. The wolf asks the goat a question in order to identify which one of them will begin the battle. The

goat answers with an independent pronoun *tu* ‘2SG’ preceding the imperative form.²⁴² The sentence accent occurs on the pronoun.

(Context: The wolf and the goat are about to fight. The wolf says: ‘First, who should hit whom?’
The goat answers: ... [2:83–84]):

- (2454) awał tu das bi-šan
 first 2SG turn SBJV-strike.PRS
 ‘you strike first’ [2:84]

In the following example, the argument-focus structure is a reply to a question that identifies ‘who’. The intonation is typically final, with a dropping pitch contour. There is a relatively strong sentence accent on the name *gīw* ‘Gīw’. It is assumed that Gīw is the missing constituent in the implicit ‘topical open expression’, that is, ‘X is able to bring out this child together with his mother for me’.

(Context: Kaykāwis asks: ‘Who is able to bring out this child together with his mother for me?’
The heroes answer: ... [5:85–87]):

- (2455) mara gīw
 perhaps Gīw
 ‘perhaps (only) Gīw’ [5:87]

14.3.2 Argument-focus and object

The argument-focus structure also can involve a full noun phrase as the constituent comprising the focus domain and expressing the object of the clause. The constituent seems to bear the primary sentence accent. This structure is found when only the object comprises the focus domain and is then identified as the constituent under consideration by means of linguistic signals. It differs from the predicate-focus structure that has a larger focus domain of both the object and predicate.

The following example consists of two clauses from Text 3. The context involves a king asking the visitor, Mard, if he can cure the king’s daughter, and the king offers him a reward. The king and Mard have a dialogue in which Mard asks the information question, ‘What will you give me?’ In the two subsequent clauses, the king provides the answer to ‘what’ and identifies the referents. The two clauses in the example contain the full noun phrases, *ditakam* ‘my daughter’ and *ī tāǰ=u taxt(i)m=ič=a* ‘this crown and throne too’. In the first clause, *ditakam* bears an accent, while *piškaš* ‘gift’ has an even stronger accent. In the second clause, the final element of the noun phrase, *taxt(i)m=ič=a* ‘throne too’, bears the strong sentence accent. The noun phrase is marked with the particle *=ič*, here with the sense of ‘too’, appropriate in this context coinciding with the focus domain (also in contrast to its other sense

²⁴² Generally, in Gawraǰūyī, imperatives can occur with or without an independent pronoun. The occurrence appears to depend on information structure as in this example and other contextual factors.

as ‘in turn’, found in contexts coinciding with a topic change, for example, mentioned in Section 14.2.5.2).

(Context: The king says: ‘If you cure my daughter, do you know what I will give you?’ [3:78].
Mard says: ‘What will you give me?’ The king says: ... [3:79a]):

(2456) dita-ka = m pīškaš ma-tī-m wan = it ...
daughter-DEF = 1SG gift IND-give.PRS-1SG to.goal = 2SG (PAUSE)

ī tāj = u taxt = m = ič = a
PROX.DEM.ADJ crown = and throne = 1SG = ADD = DEM

ma-tī-m wan = it
IND-give.PRS-1SG to.goal = 2SG

‘I will give you my daughter; I will give you this crown and throne, too’ [3:79]

In the next example from Text 7, the speaker employs a focus structure identifying *biži* ‘biži type of bread’, which expresses the object of the clause. With this, the speaker is making both a correction and a contrast with *kulēra* ‘kulēra type of bread’. The word *biži* takes the primary sentence accent.

(Context: The narrator is discussing ‘kulera’ bread and telling about how it is put in the suitcase of the young woman going from her father’s house on her wedding day, and that there are several pieces ... [7H:147–148]):

(2457) bařz-ĕk = iš = ī(č) kulēra ni-ma-kar-ĕ,
some-INDF_1 = 3SG = ADD kulēra NEG_1-IND-do.PRS-3SG

biži ma-kar-ĕ
biži IND-do.PRS-3SG

‘and some of them (in turn) do not make kulēra bread; (instead), they make ‘biži’ (i.e., another special type of bread)’ [7H:149]

In an example from Text 2, the argument-focus structure is illustrated by a reply to a question in which the constituent in the focus domain is the object. The topical open proposition, ‘they prepared X in the house of the uncle’, is not expressed.

(Context: ‘She says: ‘What did you prepare in the house of your uncle, what did you bring?’
They say: ... [2:91]):

(2458) ganim = a šir = a
wheat = COMPD milk = DEM

‘(the dish of) milk and wheat’ [2:91]

14.3.3 Argument-focus as clause goal or other

The constituent comprising the focus domain of an argument-focus structure can also express the goal of the clause. In the following example from Text 2, the adpositional phrase, *ařā ka = y lālom* ‘to the house of my uncle’, appears as the clause goal and comprises the

focal domain. It serves to identify this referent as the answer to ‘where’ in a preceding question. The sentence accent falls on multiple elements of the focus domain here.^{243 244}

(Context: ‘Where did you go?’ ... [2:90]):

- (2459) řaft-yām ařā ka=y lālo=m
 go.PST-1PL to house = EZ uncle = 1SG
 ‘we went to the house of my uncle’ [2:90]

In the next example, the speaker uses an argument-focus structure to correct herself and identify the possessor of the house as the *řuwās* ‘fox’. The primary sentence accent occurs on this constituent.

(Context: The bear says: ‘I haven’t eaten them.’ ... [2:62]):

- (2460) m-āy ma-šū = wa bān ka=y ... gurg,
 IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR roof house = EZ (PAUSE) wolf
 čū zān-im řuwās
 what know.PRS-1SG fox
 ‘(the goat) sets off for the roof of the wolf’s house; what do I know, the fox’ [2:63]

14.3.4 Argument-focus and information questions

As already mentioned in Section 14.3, the argument-focus structure is also found in information questions. In simple information questions, the question word itself normally comprises the focus domain. These questions are a particular type of argument-focus structure in that the question word refers to the missing element in a proposition.

Common question words are: *ča* ‘what’, *kī* ‘who’, and *ka* ‘where’. Certain linguistic features tend to be associated with these words. A primary feature is sentence accent. For example, most of the instances of the question word *ča* ‘what’ bear a relatively strong sentence accent. Another typical feature is the position of the question word in the sentence. The question word tends to occur in situ, that is, in the position of the clause in which the focal element in the answer also occurs.

The following example illustrates two questions with *ča* ‘what’, functioning in both questions to express subject. Both instances of *ča* bear the primary sentence accent and occur in situ. (The answers are supplied later in the discourse by the sentence *min ward-a = m = ē* ‘I have eaten them’ [2:70].)

²⁴³ This example also represents a hybrid of a predicate-focus structure with a ratified topic (‘we’) and an argument-focus structure.

²⁴⁴ It is possible for some elements within a focus domain to have a stronger accent when the speaker intends to communicate their relative importance or express them with strong emotion (see N. Bailey 2009:40, 42–43 for discussion of ‘salient’ elements and ‘emotive emphasis’ in relationship to focus in information structure).

(Context: The mother goat is upset and wondering what happened to her kid goats. She says: ‘These children of mine, what happened to them?’ ... [2:52–54])

(2461) ča ward=iš, xirs ward=iš, gurg ward=iš ...
 what eat.PS=3SG bear eat.PST=3SG wolf eat.PST=3SG (PAUSE)

kamtār ward=iš, ča ward=iš
 vulture eat.PST=3SG what eat.PST=3SG

‘What ate them? Did a bear eat them? Did a wolf eat them? Did a vulture eat them? What ate them?’ [2:54–55]

In the next example, *kī* ‘who’, as subject, occurs in the normal position before the verb *ma-tān-ē* ‘IND-can.PRS-3SG’. (A further sentence, *mara gīw* ‘perhaps (only) Gīw’ [5:87], supplies the answer to this question.)

(Context: Kaykāwis says: ... [5:86]):

(2462) kī ma-tān-ē ... ī mināt=a wa_gard=e
 who IND-can.PRS-3SG (PAUSE) PROX.DEM.ADJ child=DEM with=EZ

ī dāy=š=a=y ...
 PROX.DEM.ADJ mother=3SG=DEM=NA (PAUSE)

bar bi-kar-ē ař(ā=y) min
 out SBJV-do.PRS-3SG for(=EZ) 1SG

‘Who is able (pause) to bring out this child together with this mother of his for me?’ [5:86]

The next two examples are included to illustrate the possibility of exceptional constituent order, though the reason for this order is not yet clear. In the first sentence, the question word *ča* ‘what’ could be assumed to be in the typical constituent order if it a copula had been elided. In the answer, however, the constituent *mard* ‘Mard’ is positioned in a different order.

(Context: The king says ... [3:77]):

(2463) nām=it ča?
 name=2SG what

‘What is your name?’ [3:77]

(2464) mard nām=im=ē
 Mard name=1SG=COP.PRS.3SG_1

‘Mard is my name’ [3:77]

14.4 Sentence-focus

As introduced in Section 14.1.5, the sentence-focus structure has a focus domain comprised of a sentence, that is, the core arguments and the predicate (and not including optional locative and temporal phrases). This sentence-focus structure has two functions in discourse: 1) to introduce a referent into the discourse (‘entity-central’ or ‘presentational’ subtype; see Lambrecht 1994); and 2) to report that an event has taken place (‘event-reporting’ subtype; see Lambrecht 1994).

When a sentence-focus structure is used to introduce a referent into the discourse, the referent is activated and asserted to exist in the world or in a specific scene. It is then available for a comment in the subsequent discourse (see Lambrecht 1994:177–178). A sentence-focus structure is thus typically followed by a predicate-focus structure. As shown in the next example, a sentence-focus structure, as *ya ǰwānē hāmē* ‘a young man has come’ is followed by a predicate-focus structure containing a comment about the newly-established entity, here referred to as a ratified topic and thus indicated by third person singular indexing (phonologically null) on the verb *mwāy* ‘he says’:

(2465) *ya* *ǰwān-ē* *hām = ē* Ø *m-wāy*
 one young.man-INDF_1 come.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 Ø IND-say.PRS.3SG
 ‘a young man has come, he says’ [3:74]

The sentence-focus structure has certain formal characteristics (see Lambrecht 1994:233–235). The most important of these is that the grammatical subject is marked in some way as a ‘non-topic’ (Lambrecht 1994:234). There is also no pragmatic presupposition of the predicate. Furthermore, there is no topical open proposition, as in the argument-focus structure.

Across languages, for the entity-central sentence-focus structure, a limited set of verbs are typically employed in the predicate. According to Lambrecht (1994:180), such verbs (and their equivalents) include ‘be’, ‘be at’, ‘live’, ‘arrive’, ‘have’, and ‘see’. These verbs also involve a sense of location and express the presence of a referent in the discourse. It is also typical in languages for a sentence-focus structure to employ a special construction, for example, as found in English with ‘there is’ or with an existential type of verb (see Lambrecht (1994:178–179)).

With the entity-central sentence-focus structure, the referent is typically treated as indefinite (more often than definite in the Gawraǰūyī text corpus). The constituent that expresses the referent tends to bear primary sentence accent. As a rule, the referents are never encoded as pronouns, which would entail a topical relation.

The above characteristics of the sentence-focus structure are also observed in the Gawraǰūyī texts. Two common types of sentence-focus structures are: 1) subject and the copula;²⁴⁵ and 2) subject and no copula, with instead the demonstrative particle *īna* (proximal) or *āna* (distal). Other types involve the *mawu* copula, the verb of existence, the intransitive verbs *ā* ‘come.PRS’, *hāma* ‘come.PST’, and *kat* ‘enter.PST (or: happen)’.

²⁴⁵ In these constructions with the copula, the copula does not function as a prototypical copula in that it does not join a subject and complement (predicate nominal, adjective, or locative) (noted by Nicholas Bailey, p.c.).

The focal referents being introduced into the discourse are encoded as full noun phrases with either indefiniteness marking or indefinite sense. The full noun phrases can be modified by a numeral (if modified with *ya* ‘one’, then the suffix *-ēk* occasionally follows the noun phrase). The full noun phrase can be indefinite, but unmarked, if the head noun refers to an abstract or collective entity.

The referent can also appear as the possessed element in a possessive construction.

The attested constructions are described in the next sections:

- Indefinite noun phrase + the *mawu* copula
- Indefinite noun phrase + copula
- Indefinite noun phrase + the verb of existence *hē*
- Indefinite (or unmarked) noun phrase + verb ‘come’ (or other verb)
- Possessive construction (with the *mawu* copula, copula, or verb of existence)

Also discussed below are hybrid constructions, the use of demonstrative particles, and true existentials.

14.4.1 Indefinite noun phrase + the *mawu* copula

A common construction consists of an indefinite full noun phrase and the *mawu* copula. In this construction, the full noun phrase usually precedes the *mawu* copula, though it is also found following it.

The indefinite full noun phrase in this pattern is always attested as modified with the numeral *ya* (and possibly *yak*) ‘one, a’. The noun phrase is only attested with an indefinite suffix in one instance.

In the Gawraǰūyī texts, this construction is only attested as introducing an entity and never as reporting events. It is frequently found introducing main or secondary participants in a traditional narrative.

In the first example below, an indefinite full noun phrase *ya dāya kaywānū* ‘an old lady’ introduces a new referent. There seems to be only a slight relative accent on the noun phrase. The sentence exhibits the most common constituent order, with the noun phrase preceding *mawu*.

(Context: Narrator states: ‘The tale of Bizbal’ ... [1:1]):

(2466) *ya* *dāya kaywānū* *mawu*
 one old.lady be.PRS.3SG
 ‘there is an old lady’ [1:2]

The next example is the first sentence of a text and thus has no preceding context. There is a full noun phrase *dita* ‘girl’ marked with both the numeral *ya* ‘one, a’ and the indefinite

suffix *-ēk*. The sentence exhibits an exceptional constituent order with the noun phrase occurring after the verb *mawu*. Both *mawu* and *ya ditayēk* appear to bear some stress, though it is possible that the stress on *mawu* accompanies the first word of the utterance. Both elements also have non-final intonation with rising pitch and some lengthening of the final syllable. It is non-final as the speaker continues in the subsequent sentence to make a comment about the newly-introduced referent, the girl.

- (2467) mawu ya dita-yēk
 be.PRS.3SG one girl-INDF_1
 ‘there was a girl’ [11:1]

14.4.2 Indefinite noun phrase + copula

The sentence-focus construction with an indefinite noun phrase and copula functions to introduce both entities and events. The indefinite noun phrase can be modified by a numeral or remain unmarked.

In the next example, the subject is expressed by an indefinite full noun phrase modified with the numeral *sē* ‘three’. The subject and the copula comprise the focus domain. There is an accent on the numeral and on the final element of the noun phrase, *xasrawānī* ‘royal’.²⁴⁶ The locative phrase, *wanay* ‘in it’, is not considered to be part of the focus domain, as it expresses a topical location, which is already presupposed.

(Context: The lion is talking about a tree outside the mill, and if he could find a way for the tree to spread its roots ... [3:39, 41]):

- (2468) sē kūza xasrawānī wan = ay bē
 three vase royal in.location = POSTP#_1 COP.PST.3SG
 ‘there were three royal vases in it’ [3:42]

In the next two examples, the subjects are expressed by full noun phrases. These noun phrases refer to abstract entities (events) and are thus indefinite in sense even though they are unmarked (that is, without *ya(k)* ‘one, a’ or an indefinite suffix). The accent appears to fall on the subject noun phrases. Both of these sentences function to report events (a demonstration happened, oppression happened).

(Context: The speaker talks about events during the time of Mosaddeq ... [6:27]):

- (2469) až kirmāšān tazāhurāt bī
 in Kirmāšān demonstration COP.PST.3SG
 ‘in Kermānšāh there was a demonstration’ [6:28]

²⁴⁶ In the complex noun phrases, the accent tends to fall on the final element in Gawraǰūyī and also on numerals (noted by Nicholas Bailey, p.c.).

(Context: The landowners are talking about land reform and events ... [6:55]):

- (2470) zuřim biya
 oppression COP.PRF.3SG
 ‘there was oppression’ [6:56]

The sentence-focus structures with the copula are also found as complements of perception reports. The following example illustrates the sentence-focus structure as a complement of *mawīnē* ‘he sees’. Though unmarked, the sense of the noun phrase *dāřagīřān* ‘vultures’ is indefinite.

(Context: Xasraw and others had a mirror and threw it and pieces of gold in the hollow of Sarāb Nilufar ... [4:175–178]):

- (2471) ař ānā ... ma-wīn-ē dāřagīřān = ē
 at there (PAUSE) IND-see.PRS-3SG vultures = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ‘there he sees there are vultures’ [4:180]

14.4.3 Indefinite noun phrase + the verb of existence *hē*

A further pattern with sentence-focus involves an indefinite noun phrase and the verb of existence *hē*. The verb only rarely occurs in this use, however. The full noun phrase can be modified by a numeral (see first example below) or remain unmarked. It is indefinite or generic in sense.

In the following example, the subject is expressed as *panř řiř gila kuřē* ‘five (or) six young men’. The sentence accent is difficult to distinguish but seems to fall on elements of the noun phrase. The subsequent clause exemplifies a predicate-focus structure that is closely connected semantically, serving as a comment about the newly-introduced referents, the young men.

(Context: Speaker is discussing weddings and that a man died in the village, so the village did not celebrate weddings. After the fortieth-day remembrance ceremony, the ‘čila’, it could be that most people celebrate (the wedding) ... [7H:67–70]):

- (2472) panř řiř gila kuřē hē
 five six unit young.man.INDF_2 exist.3SG
řarūsī ma-kar-ē ař īnā
 wedding IND-do.PRS-3SG from PROX_3
 ‘there are five (or) six young men who will marry from here’ [7H:71]

The next example consists of two sentence-focus structures. In the first, the subject is expressed by a full noun phrase, *kār bān = u wān* ‘work in the Bān-u-Wān field’, which refers to a generic (not specific or definite) sense of work in that field. In the second clause, the subject referent *řansāzī* ‘sickle-making’ also appears with a generic sense. Both the noun phrases are unmarked. In both of these clauses, the subject and predicate bear the accent.

(Context: The men do the wheat-harvesting, they do the legume-harvesting, they go do labor ... [7N:37]):

(2473) kār bān = u_wān hē,
work Bān.u.Wān exist.3SG

šansāzī hē
sickle-making exist.3SG

‘there is work in the Bān-u-Wān field, there is sickle-making’ [7N:37]

14.4.4 Indefinite (or unmarked) noun phrase + verb ‘come’ (or other verb)

Another pattern of the sentence-focus structure involves an indefinite or unmarked noun phrase and the verb ‘come’, as illustrated in the following examples:

(Context: The goat has been swept away by the water in the river. She goes (down the river), she is eventually stranded at the edge of a river ... [2:16–17]):

(2474) ya xwāparast-ēk m-āy až lā = wa
one pious.man-INDF_1 IND-come.PRS-3SG from side = POSTP#_3

‘a pious man comes along’ [2:18]

(Context: Šīrīn’s maidservant looks and sees the dervish. She describes his belongings, his bag, and his staff decorated with precious items and jewels. She says: ... [4:30–34]):

(2475) šīrīn, ya dawrīš hāma = y
Šīrīn one dervish come.PST = COP.PRS.3SG?

‘Šīrīn, a dervish has come’ [4:35]

This pattern with the intransitive verb ‘come’ appears in several instances as the complement of a perception report with the matrix verb *mawīnē* ‘he/she sees’ and the particle *baṭē* ‘yes, indeed’, as in the next two examples:

(Context: The old lady hides, puts the milk under a basket ... [1:7]):

(2476) ma-wīn-ē baṭē ... pišī-k hāma
IND-see.PRS-3SG yes (PAUSE) cat-INDF_1 come.PST.3SG

‘she sees, yes, a cat came’ [1:7–8]

(Context: Mard hides himself in the mill ... [3:22]):

(2477) mawīnē, baṭē iwāra xirs = u ... gurg = u ...
IND-see.PRS-3SG yes evening bear = and (PAUSE) wolf = and (PAUSE)

ya šēr m-ā-yin = wa
one lion IND-come.PRS-3PL = PTCL#

‘he sees that yes, in the evening (a) bear and (a) wolf and a lion come back’ [3:22–23]

The next two examples show the sentence-focus structure as introducing two entities, *wā* ‘wind’ and *bū = y āyamizāya* ‘scent of human being’.

(Context: A girl must go to the mountains and work spinning wool and letting the calf graze. She cries and calls her mother, she says: ‘O God, why have you killed our mother, in this way (consequently) I should suffer this much hardship?’ ... [11:7–8]):

- (2478) ya řūž-ĕk ... wā m-āy
 one day-INDF_1 (PAUSE) wind IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘one day, (the) wind comes’ [11:9]

(Context: The man is hiding in the mill up on the stovepipe. In the evening, the wolf and the lion and the leopard return, they say ... [3:113–114]):

- (2479) bū=y āyamizāya m-āy
 scent=EZ human.being IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘(the) scent of a human being comes (i.e., here’s (the) scent of a human being)’ [3:115]

A different intransitive verb can appear in this pattern, as in the next example with *kat* ‘fall, enter, happen.PST’. The subject referent is an event, *ya jaṅg=e sāda* ‘a simple fight’.

- (2480) ya jaṅg=e sāda kat=a bayn=šān
 one fight=EZ simple fall.PST=DIR between=3PL
 ‘a simple fight happened between them’ [8:102]

14.4.5 Possessive construction (with the *mawu* copula, copula, or verb of existence)

A common pattern of a sentence-focus structure involves a possessive construction. The new referent is introduced as an indefinite noun phrase in the subject role. The possessed element is presented in relationship to a possessor who is already established and topical. That topic referent is activated and identifiable, expressed as an enclitic pronoun. The entire sentence, excluding the topical element (here the possessor), comprises the focus domain.

In the first example (with the *mawu* copula), the new referent is expressed as an indefinite noun phrase, *ya bizin* ‘a goat’. The possessor in the construction is indicated by *=iš*, referring to the old lady who was previously introduced.

(Context: There is an old lady ... [1:2]):

- (2481) ya bizin=iš mawu
 one goat=3SG be.PRS.3SG
 ‘she has a goat’ [1:2]

In the next example, a new referent is expressed by an indefinite noun phrase, *ya lūla buxwārī* ‘a stove pipe’, while the possessor is expressed by the enclitic pronoun *=šān* ‘3PL’, referring to the animals in the context.

(Context: Mard tells Nāmard to go into a mill, a leopard, a dog, and a lion come back there, Nāmard should listen to what they say. Nāmard goes at once ... [3:109–112]):

- (2482) ya lūla buxwārī=šān mawu
 one pipe stove=3PL be.PRS.3SG
 ‘they have a pipe for the stove’ [3:113]

This pattern of sentence-focus structure can appear in a succession of clauses. In the first clause, the referent is introduced as an indefinite noun phrase, a possessed element. In the subsequent clause, another referent is introduced as a possessed element, with the possessor of the first clause as the previous referent. In the following example, a new referent is introduced as *bāwažan* ‘stepmother’, a possessed element. The possessor is expressed as the enclitic pronoun =*iš*, referring to the topic element, the pronoun *ān* ‘DIST_1’. Then, in the subsequent clause, another new referent is introduced as *ya dita tir* ‘another daughter’. The possessor is the stepmother, expressed by the enclitic pronoun =*iš* ‘3SG’.

(Context: There was a girl ... [11:1]):

(2483) *ān* = *ič* *ha* *dwāra* *bāwažan* = *iš* *mawu* ...
DIST_1 = ADD just again stepmother = 3SG be.PRS.3SG (PAUSE)

ya *dita* *tir* = *iš* *mawu*
one daughter other = 3SG be.3SG

‘She in turn just again had a stepmother. She (the stepmother) had another daughter.’
[11:1–2]

The next example involves the possessive construction with a copula verb:²⁴⁷

(Context: Before Kayānī, Iran was united ... [5:7]):

(2484) *sām* = *u* *tür* = *u* *nām* *ča*,
Sām = and Tür = and name what

čwār *kuřa* = *š* *biya*
four son = 3SG COP.PRF.3SG

‘Sām and Tur and what’s his name, he had four sons’ [5:8]

The possessive construction with the verb of existence *hē* is illustrated in the next three examples:

(Context: There, they behead Siyāwaxš, but ... [5:78]):

(2485) *walē* *ya* *kuřa* = *š* *hē*
but one son = 3SG exist.3SG

‘he has a son’ [5:78]

Such a sentence-focus structure is often followed by a predicate-focus structure. In such instances, there is a slight change in the intonational contour at the end of the first clauses (indicated here with a comma), but no pause between the two clauses.

(Context: Šīrīn’s maidservant sees a dervish, but his things are not those of a dervish ... [4:31]):

(2486) *yak* *kaškūt* = *iš* *hē*, *piř* (= *š*) *dāna* = *u* *ǰawāhir* = *ē*
one bag = 3SG exist.3SG full(= 3SG) precious.item = and jewel = COP.PRS.3SG_1

‘he has a bag, it is full of precious items and jewels (or: he has a bag (that) is full of precious items and jewels)’ [4:32]

²⁴⁷ It is not entirely clear if Kayānī is the name of the referent of the enclitic pronoun in these clauses.

(Context: The speaker says: ‘We are both single’ ... [7N:81]):

- (2487) min ya birā=m hē, žan=iš wāzī=ya
 1SG one brother=1SG exist.3SG wife=3SG married=COP.PRS.3SG_3
 ‘I have a brother: he is married (or: I have a brother who is married)’ [7N:82]

A possessive construction with the verb of existence is also found as the complement of a perception report:

(Context: The wolf is following the goat and sees that the goat has kids ... [2:31]):

- (2488) ma-wīn-ē, baṭē, dü wačka=š=ič=iš hē
 IND-see.PRS-3SG yes two offspring=3SG=ADD=3SG exist.3SG
 ‘he sees (that) yes, she also has two offspring’ [2:31]

14.4.6 Hybrid constructions with sentence-focus

Sentence-focus structures can also occur as ‘hybrids’, that is, in combination with other types of focus structure. In the following example, a sentence-focus structure (possessive), *ya řafiq=im bē* ‘I had a friend’, is embedded in a larger structure. The larger structure can be described as ‘topic-comment’, in which the topic is expressed by the detached phrase *min iřtan=im* ‘I myself’ and the comment (that which is asserted about that topic) is expressed by the sentence-focus structure:

(Context: The speaker says she is speaking about herself, ‘I am not speaking about anyone else, because a person speaking about someone else is speaking sinfully’ ... [8:133]):

- (2489) min iřtan=im ... ya řafiq=im bē
 1SG RFL=1SG (PAUSE) one friend=1SG COP.PST.3SG
 ‘as for myself, I had a friend’ [8:134]

14.4.7 Sentence-focus and special uses of demonstrative particles/pronouns *ina* and *āna*

A particular type of sentence-focus structure involves the demonstrative particles (or pronouns) *ina* (proximal) (glossed ‘PROX_4’) and *āna* (distal) (‘DIST_4’). These forms can function as deictic adverbials (similar to ‘here’, ‘there’) in introducing something into the discourse, occasionally in the participant’s field of perception, or sometimes in an abstract, imagined scene or discourse world (Nicholas Bailey, p.c.). The sentence-focus structure with these particles does not involve a copula.

According to MacKenzie (1966:57), in Hawrāmī (Luhōn), there are two ‘independent adverbs’ *inā* (our transcription), which is a proximal form, and *ānā*, a distal form; these two forms function similarly to French *voici* and *voilà* respectively. He notes that these forms are frequently used in clauses in place of a copula. He provides an example: *mārewiš inā čana* ‘there (is) a snake inside it’.

The next example shows a similar deictic use of *ina* ‘PROX_4’ in Gawraǰūyī. The participant sees something (the city):

(Context: He sets off on his way, he goes. He goes ... [3:63]):

(2490) ma-řasī=ya šār-aka ka
IND-reach.PRS.3SG=DIR city-DEF COMP

ma-wīn-ē batē īna
IND-see.PRS.3SG yes PROX_4

‘He reaches the city, where he sees that, yes, there (it is)!’ (lit., ‘this’) [3:63]

In the following two examples, there are two possibilities for analysis. The particles either function as pronouns expressing the (focal) subject arguments; or they function as deictic adverbs (Nicholas Bailey, p.c.). The referents of the forms seem to be a stretch of discourse.

(Context: (Speaker has told three stories and just finished the last of them...) ‘If the owner would come to attend to this mill, he would put it to work, it would start to work’ ... [3:51]):

(2491) īna har sē-k=iš
PROX_4 every three-INDF_1=3SG

‘this (is) all three of them’ (or: ‘here’s all three of them’) [3:52]

(Context: She says: ‘First give me full power. Publish an announcement (and write): ‘Whatever I (i.e., Xasraw) have said, I have slandered this girl.’ ... [4:202–203]):

(2492) āna yak
DIST_4 one

‘that (was) the first (thing)’ (or: ‘there (was) the first (thing)’) [4:204]

14.4.8 Sentence-focus with presentational function versus true existentials

Sentence-focus structures have a presentational function, in that they ‘present’ (i.e., introduce) an entity into a discourse. They typically refer to a location into which the entity comes or is placed. Such a function is distinguished from that of a true existential, in which a speaker makes an assertion of whether an entity actually exists in reality. A true existential typically involves a definite referent.²⁴⁸

In the next example, the statement *ar xwā=yē* ‘if God is’, is likely an idiomatic expression, but it might also be described as a true existential. It is not introducing a new entity into the discourse. It instead assumes that an entity actually exists.

(Context: Several landowners are discussing land reform and very sad. One says: ‘It must be God’s justice. But really, I must not be sad (about this reform), because I too am a landowner. It is right, it must be so ... [6:45–46]):

(2493) ar xwā=yē, bāyad ī řadāřat=a bū
if God=COP.PRS.3SG_1 must PROX.DEM.ADJ justice=DEM SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG

‘if God exists (lit., is), this justice must take place’ [6:47]

²⁴⁸ See N. Bailey (2009:82) for this background on true existentials.

In the following example, the sentence-focus structure is formed with the existential verb *hē*. The structure does not introduce a new entity into the discourse, but it asserts the existence of the cassettes.

(Context: There is discussion of the henna celebration and who sings at this celebration. Some sing in Kurdish, some play Persian cassettes. The young women sing, but it may not be as common among young men ... Eh, for example, among the young men, it happens less often ... [7N:110, 112, 7H:119]):

- (2494) *čünka* *nwār-aka* *hē*
 because cassette-DEF exist.3SG
 ‘because there are the cassettes’ [7H:119]

14.5 Polar-focus

Polar-focus is used when a speaker affirms or denies the truth value of a presupposition. Linguistic features correlating with this type include a tendency for the verb in the construction to bear a strong sentence accent. There is no change in constituent order. A speaker agreeing with the truth of the presupposition may use a particle such as *čirā* ‘yes, indeed’ or *batē* ‘yes’. A speaker denying the truth value of the presupposition uses the negation particle *na* ‘no’ and a verb prefix signaling negation.

Polar-focus structure can occur as hybrids with other focus-structure types. In the following example, a predicate-focus structure is shown with a presupposed ratified topic, included in the gloss as phonologically null (‘Ø’) though referring to ‘she’, and with a predicate (*binışē* ‘may sit’) that comprises the focus domain. There is a positive polar assertion affirming the truth value. The context for this sentence is a discussion by two speakers about the acceptable behavior of women at gatherings of men and gatherings of women. The question under discussion is whether women sit in gatherings and participate in socializing. One speaker states that gatherings of men and gatherings of women are separate, and the other speaker answers with the following correction:

(Context: Only with familiar relatives, for example, all of our relatives, we are the same together ... [7N:25]):

- (2495) *xo*, ... *tātī* {n} Ø *bi-niř-ē* ...
 all.right (PAUSE) Tātī N. Ø SBJV-sit.PRS-3SG (PAUSE)
ni-maw(u) *ka* *na-niř-ē*
 NEG_1-be.3SG COMP NEG_2-sit.PRS-3SG
 ‘all right, Tātī N., she may (indeed) sit ... it is not the case that she does not join (them) ...’ [7H:21]

The next example is a hybrid with the sentence-focus type. By means of the sentence-focus structure, the speaker gives a positive answer to a polar question about the existence to weddings. The speaker is agreeing with the presupposition that there are weddings and emphasizes this by means of the particle *čira* ‘actually’:

(Context: Discussion of weddings in Gawraǰū, various issues, it is the young man's family who pays expenses and not often that the young woman's family pays ... [7H:64–65]):

(2496) aǰ ī dawr = a, čirā ǰarūsī bē,
in PROX.DEM.ADJ vicinity = DEM actually wedding COP.PST.3SG

dū sē gila ǰarūsī = š bē
two three unit wedding = 3SG COP.PST.3SG

‘in this area, there was actually a wedding, there were two or three weddings’ [7H:66]

In the following example, the speaker does not agree with the truth value of the proposition that ‘in Gawraǰū, (we say that) there is no love’ (which assumes ‘there is no love in G.’).

(Context: ‘Now, too, in Gawraǰū, for example, we say there is no love, (but) ... [8:42]):

(2497) na, aǰ_dile ǰwān-ān dūstdāstan
no among young.people-PL love

lā na-raft = ē
side NEG_2-go.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1

‘no, among young people, love has not disappeared’ [8:43]

14.6 Summary

In this chapter, an introduction to information structure in Gawraǰūyī has been presented by illustrating the grammatical features and discourse-pragmatic conditions for three main types of focus structures, that is, predicate-focus, argument-focus, and sentence-focus. Also discussed in relationship to predicate-focus have been the features and conditions for two topic structures, that is, ratified and non-ratified topics. The various grammatical signals associated with these types are summarized in this table:

Table 83. Typical linguistic signals associated with focus domains

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| Predicate-focus | Some element of the focal predicate tends to have a relatively strong accent; in terms of constituent order, the predicate is usually positioned after the topic, though there are exceptions. |
| Argument-focus | The argument (constituent) can be a full noun phrase or an independent pronoun but not an enclitic pronoun. There is typically a strong sentence accent on the constituent comprising the focus domain, but the accent can be ambiguous when other elements are accented as well. There is no change in the position of the constituent within the clause. The additive particle = <i>ič</i> tends not to correlate with the focus domain in this structure. |
| Sentence-focus | There is often a relatively strong accent on the focal subject, which sometimes occurs on the verb too. Subject referents are most typically expressed as full noun phrases and indefinite; they do not appear as pronouns. There is also use of special verbs such as the <i>mawu</i> copula and verb of existence <i>hē</i> . There is also a special deictic use with particles <i>ina/āna</i> and no copula. |

Table 84. Typical linguistic signals associated with topic expressions

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Ratified topics | ‘Phonologically null’ morphemes in present tense sentences, enclitic pronouns in past tense sentences, no sentence accent on ratified topics. |
| Non-ratified topics | Independent pronouns and full noun phrases, frequent use of the additive particle = <i>ič</i> , left-detachment, preposed constituents, possible sentence accent. Antitopic constructions involve a full noun phrase occurring after the predicate. |

PART IV. GAWRAJŪYĪ IN CONTEXT

15. CHAPTER 15. NOTES ON LANGUAGE CONTACT

Gawraĵūyī has been in contact with various languages throughout history. This language contact can be assumed to have influence in various ways. In this chapter, a few types of contact effects are described as they appear in some areas of grammar and lexicon.²⁴⁹ Notes are included on the related areas of code-switching and language vitality and endangerment.

15.1 Overview of contact languages

Gūrānī has been spoken in several different locations throughout history (see Section 1.8). MacKenzie (2002:n.p.) suggests that ‘The cradle of all Gurānī dialects [...] was probably in the Caspian provinces’. It is assumed that the Gūrānī communities then migrated out of area to their current locations of the Hawrāmān mountains, other regions of the southern Zagros, and to the regions north-east of Mosul (see MacKenzie 1956:419, also 2002). During the periods of migration and settlement in the different regions, contact has taken place between Gūrānī and other languages. These contact languages can be posited as the following (see also Section 1.11.2):²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ Contact influence on phonology is not included here (comments are found instead in Section 2.6).

²⁵⁰ For these contact languages of Persian, Kurdish (Southern and Central), see Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:1-2).

Table 85. Contact languages

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| Modern Standard Persian | National language of the Islamic Republic of Iran, used in education and media. |
| Colloquial Persian | Standard of spoken communication in Iran. |
| Regional varieties of Persian | For example, Persian as spoken in Kermānšāh. |
| Southern Kurdish (Kalhorī) | Language of wider communication in region, also spoken in Gahvāre. |
| Central Kurdish (Sōrānī) | Used in regional media in Kurdistan. |
| Other Gūrānī varieties | Other varieties within the Yārsān (Ahl-e Haqq) community. |
| Literary Gūrānī | Recitation of older literary works and presence in oral tradition. |
| Other languages with indirect contact | Literary Arabic, ²⁵¹ Turkic languages, ²⁵² North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic, some European languages (through borrowings in Persian), and also closely-related Iranian languages that have not yet been clearly identified. ²⁵³ |

15.2 Effects in grammar

Contact effects in the domain of grammar are difficult to trace to a particular source, but some evidence for change can be found in the comparison of Gawraǰūyī material with material from other Gūrānī varieties and Southern Kurdish. In many instances, however, it is only possible to state that the features are shared by Gawraǰūyī and particular contact languages.

²⁵¹ For general facts of contact with Arabic, see Windfuhr (2009c:17). Arabic contact with Persian is well documented. According to Windfuhr & Perry (2009:529), there is fifty percent of Arabic-origin vocabulary in the literary language and about twenty-five percent in the spoken language.

²⁵² For Turkic contact with Persian in the eleventh century, see Windfuhr (2009c:15, 17). See also Windfuhr & Perry (2009:419–420), who note that dynasties of ‘Turkic or Turko-Mongol origin ruled in Iran from the late tenth century to the twentieth century’, and that there has been immigration of Turkic speakers to certain regions in Iran.

²⁵³ A possibility of contact is noted by Paul (2007:293), who points out that Gawraǰūyī contains certain lexical items which are neither found in other Gūrānī varieties nor in Persian or Kurdish, but may be traced to North-West Iranian dialects of the Central (northern) plateaus.

The contact effects consist of several types.²⁵⁴ There can be the loss of an inherited element or distinction. There can be replacement of an old feature by a new feature from the contact language. There can also be a change in the use of an inherited form, patterned after the use of a foreign element.²⁵⁵ Another type is the addition ('loan', 'transfer' or 'borrowing') of grammatical morphemes.²⁵⁶ The morphemes can be bound or free. The free forms include such 'grammatical words' as pronouns, reflexives, conjunctions, adpositions, and modal words. Some of these morphemes are used as the sole form in Gawraǰūyī, while others are infrequently or rarely attested, and exist alongside more widely-used Gūrānī morphemes. In some cases, the appearance of these morphemes in Gawraǰūyī could simply be the result of code-mixing, in which case they would only be considered as temporary and not affecting Gawraǰūyī over the long term.

15.2.1 Grammatical gender distinction

A process of loss is evident in the domain of gender. In certain North-West Iranian groups, for example, Zāzākī, Northern Kurdish, Tālešī, Tātī, groups of the Semnān area, and northwestern Central dialects, there is a distinction of masculine and feminine gender in various areas of grammar (see Windfuhr 2009c:22; 1989b:258). In other Gūrānī dialects, such as Hawrāmī (Luhōn), there is also a distinction of grammatical gender that involves marking for masculine and feminine on nouns and adjectives. In Gawraǰūyī, however, the distinction must have been lost at some point. There is no evidence of a distinction in noun or verb morphology, for example. In this category, Gawraǰūyī shows similarities to Southern Kurdish and Persian.

15.2.2 Ezāfe particle

Two ezāfe forms are found in Gūrānī varieties such as Hawrāmī (Luhōn) (see MacKenzie 1966:17) and Zardayāna (see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:26). The form =*i* links a noun

²⁵⁴ The background for these categories of change is especially based on Weinreich (1968), Hock & Joseph (1996), Thomason (2001), and selected articles in Matras & Sakel (2007a). Specific sources are also noted in relevant sections.

²⁵⁵ Weinreich (1968:7) distinguishes between simple transfer and interference as a result of 'interlingual identification'. Sakel (2007:15–16) similarly describes different types of loans and discusses 'matter-borrowing' and 'pattern-borrowing', and the possibility of combining these. Matter-borrowing occurs when linguistic material (the actual forms of morphology and phonology) from the source language is simply 'replicated' in the other language. 'Pattern-borrowing' occurs when the forms are not replicated, but only the 'patterns' of the source language are replicated, that is, patterns of distribution or the 'mapping' of the grammatical function.

²⁵⁶ For loss, addition, and replacement as effects, see Thomason (2001:85).

phrase and adjective in an attributive relationship, while another form, =*u*, is used to link two nominals in a genitive relationship.

In contrast, Gawraǰūyī has one common form, =*e* (=y following vowel), which can occur in either an attributive or genitive relationship (see Section 4.1.5.14 for examples). (There is also a rare instance of the form =*yē*, which is used to link two noun phrases, but it is not discussed here.) Persian also exhibits one form, the enclitic = *ē*, which is used to link a noun phrase in various relationships to other elements. It is possible that Gawraǰūyī is patterning after Persian in employing the single ezāfe form to link a noun phrase. The Gawraǰūyī ezāfe often appears with loanwords, as illustrated by these examples:

- (2498) fas(t)=e tāwsān
 season = EZ summer
 ‘season of summer’ [7N:30]
- (2499) tāq=e nīm tāq
 recess = EZ half recess
 ‘the half tāq (niche)’ [4:126]
- (2500) jām=e jhānnimā
 mirror = EZ world
 ‘mirror of the world’ [4:176]
- (2501) tahqīqāt=e kāmīṭ
 investigation = EZ complete
 ‘complete investigation’ [9:37]

The Gawraǰūyī ezāfe also appears to be undergoing a process of loss (see also Section 8.5). The ezāfe is frequently absent in the constructions of a noun phrase linked to another noun phrase, and also in a construction linking an adjective. The ezāfe may be missing in a range of phonological environments, such as the position following consonants and stem-final vowels.

The ezāfe tends to be present, however, in certain environments. It is often found following vowels *a* and *ā* (and rarely *ū*).

In Southern Kurdish (Kalhorī), there are similarities in the sporadic occurrences of the ezāfe. The ezāfe =*i* is realized as =y following *ā*, or it can occur as in a fused form with *e* when following *a*. It is not found after other vowels, however (Fattah 2000:265).

15.2.3 Oblique case marking

In Gawraǰūyī, there is only one form of the oblique, -*ī*. It appears only in rare instances and is attested on only a few nouns, illustrated here in an ezāfe construction consisting of nominal elements in a genitive relationship (see also Section 6.3.1):

- (2502) bāwka = y min-ī
 father = EZ 1SG-OBL
 ‘my father’ [7H:32]

Other Gūrānī varieties preserve the direct and oblique case distinction to a greater degree. This fact points to the assumption that the oblique case also existed in an earlier stage of Gawraǰūyī. In Hawrāmī (Luhōn), for example, there is an extensive system of case marking (see MacKenzie 1966:13). There is a regular distinction of direct and oblique case on full noun phrases and the third person singular and plural pronouns, as well as on adjectives. Direct case is not marked on singular nouns, but it is marked on plural nouns by *-e*. Oblique case is expressed on masculine singular nouns by the suffixed form *-ī* (*-y* following vowel), on feminine singular nouns by *-e*, and on plural nouns by *-ā*.

In Zardayāna, there is a more limited system with an irregular distinction of direct and oblique case (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:23). Direct case is not marked, while oblique case can be indicated on a singular noun phrase by *-ī* or *-a* (conditioning factors for the choice of these forms is not yet clear). The form *-ī* is found in a moderate number of instances, such as on proper names, though it does not consistently occur in all possible contexts. The form *-a* is only infrequently attested. The forms are also limited in that they are not found on full noun phrases indicated as plural or indefinite. Furthermore, the form *-a* is not found on proper names or full noun phrases marked with a definiteness suffix. On pronouns, the form *-ī* is only observed in a few rare instances, on first singular (once), first plural (several times), and second singular (once). The forms *-ī* and *-ā* are only observed a few times on some of the third person singular pronominals.

In Kandūlayī, a suffix *-ī* also expresses singular oblique. As described by Mann & Hadank (1930:100–104), it is used to mark a genitive, such as in the phrase *lič bânî* ‘edge of the roof’ (‘Rand des Daches’). It is also described as expressing ‘accusative’ and ‘dative’ senses. It is not distributed in a regular way, however, and is missing in some constructions. According to MacKenzie (2002:5), Kandūlayī also employs the oblique suffix *-ī* on personal pronouns (except for one form of third person singular).

There is no case distinction in either Southern Kurdish (see Fattah 2000:238) or Persian. It is possible that these contact languages have served as a model for the process of loss in Gawraǰūyī, but there could instead be a parallel process taking place in the languages, influenced by factors other than contact.²⁵⁷ More study is needed.

²⁵⁷ A parallel process of loss of case distinctions in these languages is noted by Geoffrey Haig (p.c.), who suggests that it may be a more likely possibility.

15.2.4 Independent pronoun set

In other Gūrānī varieties, such as Zardayāna, there are two sets of demonstrative pronouns, also functioning as third person singular pronouns (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:30–31). The first set is used to indicate third person, and the forms distinguish for proximal and distal:²⁵⁸

Table 86. Set I: Independent demonstrative pronouns

| | Proximal | Distal |
|----------|----------|--------|
| Singular | ēd | ād |
| Plural | ēdšān | ādšān |

A second set also exists with a proximal and distal distinction:

Table 87. Set II: Independent demonstrative pronouns

| | Proximal | Distal |
|----------|----------|---------|
| Singular | īn(a) | ān(a) |
| Plural | īnān(a) | ānān(a) |

It is possible that of these two sets in Zardayāna, one set represents older forms, while the other represents an additional borrowed set. In Gawraǰūyī, only the second set exists (that is, forms that are based on this set, see Section 4.2.1 for a complete list).

15.2.5 Third person enclitic pronoun

In Gawraǰūyī, the most common form of the third person singular enclitic pronoun appears as =*iš* (illustrated in the first of the following examples). There is also the infrequent or rare appearance of another form, =*y* (illustrated in the second example), which is commonly found in Southern Kurdish. Examples of this form in Gawraǰūyī are shown here:

(2503) kawš aǰā=š durus kar-ī
 shoe for=3SG prepare do.PRS-2SG
 ‘(you must go) make shoes for her’ [1:41]

(2504) ya tāqča aǰā=y durus kar(d)
 one small.tāqča for=3SG_1 prepare do.PST
 ‘he built a ‘tāqča’ for him’ [4:123]

²⁵⁸ In Zardayāna, the pronoun *ēd* also has occasional variants *ē* (singular), *ēšān*, *išān* (plural); the pronoun *ād* has variants: *ā* (singular), *āšān* (plural).

15.2.6 Reflexive forms

In Gawraǰūyī, the most common reflexive form is *īštan*, as shown here:

- (2505) *ǰā* = y *īštan* = it
 sleeping.place = EZ RFL = 2SG
 ‘your bed’ [5:112]

There is another form of the reflexive, *wē*, which occurs only in a few instances. This form is also shared by Hawrāmī and Zardayāna. A similar form *wij* (and *vij*) is also found in a few Southern Kurdish varieties associated with Lakī (however, not in Kalhorī, in which the usual form is *xwa*). Examples of *wē* in Gawraǰūyī are shown here.²⁵⁹

- (2506) *nām* *wē* = t
 name RFL = 2SG
 ‘your name’ [5:139]
- (2507) *wē* = m *bīsitün* *řaft-ē*-m
 RFL = 1SG *Bīsitün* go.PST-NA-1SG
 ‘I have gone to Bīsitün’ [4:175]

In the Gawraǰūyī texts, there is also one occurrence of the Persian reflexive form *xud*, possibly with an emphatic use, though its translation in the context is not yet clear:

- (2508) *až* *xud* = e *řüstā-yān* *tir*
 from RFL = EZ village-PL other
 ‘from even (?) other villages’ [8:57]

15.2.7 Demonstrative enclitic particle

The most common demonstrative enclitic particle in Gawraǰūyī is =*a* ‘DEM’, attached to the end of the noun phrase qualified by a demonstrative adjective:

- (2509) *ī* *ǰür* = a
 PROX.DEM.ADJ way = DEM
 ‘this way’ [1:42]

There is also a rare occurrence of the enclitic =*ē* ‘DEM_2’ attached to a noun phrase. The enclitic is identical to the Hawrāmī form =*ē* that occurs at the end of a feminine noun phrase

²⁵⁹ For the reflexive *wē* in Hawrāmī (Luhōn), see MacKenzie (1966:27). For the reflexive *wē* in Zardayāna, see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013:77). For the form *xwa* in Kalhorī (Southern Kurdish), and *wij/vij* in several other Southern Kurdish varieties and Laki, see Fattah (2000:291).

modified by a proximal demonstrative adjective (Parvin Mahmoudveysi, p.c.; see also MacKenzie 1966:16).²⁶⁰ Examples in Gawraǰūyī are shown here:

- (2510) ī žan = ē
 PROX.DEM.ADJ woman = DEM.PTCL#_2
 ‘this woman’ [4:44]
- (2511) ī mināṭ = ē
 PROX.DEM.ADJ child = DEM.PTCL#_2
 ‘this child’ [5:140]

15.2.8 Distal demonstrative adjective

In Gawraǰūyī, the most common form of the distal demonstrative adjective is *ā*, as in this example:

- (2512) ā jür = a
 DIST.DEM.ADJ manner = DEM
 ‘that manner’ [4:219]

In the Gawraǰūyī texts, there is also a relatively rare use of a form *aw*. An identical form is also found in Southern Kurdish (see Fattah 2000:314):

- (2513) aw jür = a
 DIST_5 manner = DEM
 ‘that way’ [6:138]

15.2.9 Verb suffixes, present tense

Most of the Gawraǰūyī verb suffixes, indicating person and number on verbs in present tense clauses, are not common to other Gūrānī varieties. Most are shared by Southern Kurdish,

²⁶⁰ The full clause with this example includes the copula =*na* (following the phrase), which is the third person singular, feminine form, following a vowel (see MacKenzie 1966:34).

however, and might have entered Gawraǰūyī through contact influence.^{261 262} In language contact situations, it is not usual, however, that such morphemes are transferred. As Weinreich (1968:35) notes, ‘the fuller the integration of the morpheme, the less likelihood of its transfer’.

The next table lists the person-number endings on present tense verbs (usually following stem-final consonants):^{263 264}

²⁶¹ The Kurdish forms were brought to my attention by Parvin Mahmoudveysi (p.c.). Kurdish influence on these verb endings in Gawraǰūyī is also noted by Paul (2007:291), who further cites Mann & Hadank (1930:74), who point out Kurdish influence of endings on certain dialects.

²⁶² Other areas for further study of contact effects include these instances of irregular forms. For example, the typical Gawraǰūyī Present Perfect is constructed with a past stem plus the participle marker *-a* (or a fused form with a vowel-final verb stem), followed by the appropriate person-number ending: *man-a=yim* ‘remain.PST-PART=COP.PRS.1SG’ (‘I have remained’) [4:192]; *řaft=ē* ‘go.PST=COP.PRS.3SG_1’ (‘they (collective, singular) have gone’) [5:99]. But there is an irregular form appearing in the following examples, in which the first person singular ending *-m* is attached to *-ē*, third person singular: *wē=m bīsitiün řaft-ē-m* ‘RFL=1SG Bīsitiün go.PST-3SG?-1SG’ (‘I myself have gone to Bīsitiün’) [4:173].

Another irregular form for further study is an instance of the Present stem of the verb *wāy* ‘want’ preceded by a borrowed (?) Present Indicative (Imperfective) morpheme *t-*. Then a further affix, the Gawraǰūyī Subjunctive form *bi-* (also in Southern Kurdish) is added: *bi-twāy-m* ‘SBJV-want.PRS-1PL’ (‘we may want’) [7H:4].

²⁶³ Southern Kurdish (Kalhorī) examples are from Fattah (2000:466); see also Fattah (2000:476) for 1PL *-ym*. The Zardayāna examples are from Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013:43); see also page 50 for Imperative forms.

²⁶⁴ With some verbs, however, Gūrānī third person singular ending is preserved in Gawraǰūyī, such as in *mašu*, though the *-u* ending could also be regarded as part of the original stem. This verb is frequently followed by the directional particle *=a* or *=wa*, which has perhaps supported the preservation of the ending *-u* and not allowed the replacement with *-ē*, thus: *ma-šu=wa wār* ‘IND-go.PRS.3SG=DIR down’ (‘she goes down’) [11:13].

Table 88. Comparison of present tense verb suffixes

| | Gawraǰūyī | Zardayāna | Southern Kurdish |
|-----|--|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1SG | -im | -ī rare variant: -im | -im |
| 2SG | -ī | -ī | -ī(d), -īd |
| 3SG | -ē rare variants: -a, -o, fused forms | -o rare variant: -ē | -é [ei], -é(d) (past tense form: -Ø) |
| 1PL | -ām rare variants: -ymē, -īm | -mē rare variant: -im | -ym (following vowel) |
| 2PL | -a rare variant: -ān | -dē | -īn |
| 3PL | -in rare variant: -ān | -ān rare variant: -ānē | -in |

There is also one instance in Gawraǰūyī attested of *-ad*, which is also found as a Persian third person singular ending:

- (2514) bi-mān-ad
 SBJV-remain.PRS-3SG
 ‘it should remain’ [9:36]

15.2.10 Copula

15.2.10.1 Copula and the Present Indicative

In Gawraǰūyī, the common forms of the Present Indicative copula are for the most part identical to the verb suffixes described in the section above. Most of the forms are also shared by Southern Kurdish and are assumed to be borrowed.

A comparison of the forms is presented in the next table, with Zardayāna forms from Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013:53), and Southern Kurdish forms from Fattah (2000:514–518). The forms shown are those following consonants unless noted otherwise:

Table 89. Comparison of copula forms

| | Gawraǰūyī | Zardayāna | Southern Kurdish |
|-----|--|--|---|
| 1SG | = im | = anān | = im |
| 2SG | = ī | = anī | = īd, = ī(d) variant: = īdin |
| 3SG | = ē variants: = an, = a | = an | = a (allomorph following vowel: = s) |
| 1PL | = yām rare variant: = ām, maybe = īm | = anmē | = īm variant: = īm(in) |
| 2PL | (not attested) | = andē (not attested but predicted) | = in |
| 3PL | = in | = anē rare variant: = in | = in |

Examples from Gawraǰūyī are shown below:

- (2515) fra xirāw = an
very bad = COP.PRS_2
'it is very bad' [6:157]
- (2516) mutṭaqan wazīfa = š = a
definitely duty = 3SG = COP.PRS.3SG_3
'it is absolutely her duty' [7H:14]
- (2517) dar_kul masaṭan saxt = a
on.the.whole for.example difficult = COP.PRS.3SG_3
'on the whole, for example, it is difficult' [7H:97]

15.2.10.2 Copula and the Present Perfect

In the Gawraǰūyī Present Perfect construction, there are a few instances of the third person singular copula =*(a)n*, which are also found in Zardayāna and Hawrāmī. There is also a rare occurrence of =*ya*, which can be compared to Southern Kurdish =*a* (see Fattah 2000:515).

These forms are illustrated below. The first three examples show the more common Gawraǰūyī =*ē* for comparison, while the subsequent examples illustrate the forms found in other languages:

With Gawraǰūyī = ē

- (2518) hām = ē
come.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
‘he has come’ [3:74]
- (2519) wāt-a = š = ē
say.PST-PART = 3SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1
‘he has said’ [4:84]
- (2520) ya čika haṭwā = m kard = ē
a bit sweet.pastry = 1SG do.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1
‘I have made some sweet pastry’ [11:69]

With = (a)n

- (2521) na-hāma = n
NEG_2-come.PST.PART = COP.PRS.3SG_2
‘it has not happened (lit., it has not come)’ [8:100]
- (2522) wāt = an = iš
say.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_2 = 3SG
‘he has said’ [5:71]
- (2523) na-hešt = an = šān
NEG_2-allow.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_2 = 3PL
‘they have not allowed it’ [8:103]

With = (y)a

- (2524) aṣ armanisān hāma = ya
from Armenia come.PST.PART = COP.PRS.3SG_3
‘she has come from Armenia’ [4:2]
- (2525) tūrān ǰang = iš kard-a = ya
Tūrān war = 3SG do.PST-PART = COP.PRS.3SG_3
‘Tūrān has waged war’ [5:132]

15.2.11 Participle

The common form of the participle in Gawraǰūyī is composed of a past stem followed by the suffix *-a* (see Section 4.7.4). There is also a rare occurrence in the text material of a non-finite form shared by Southern Kurdish, which consists of a past stem followed by the suffix *-in* (see Fattah 2000:508).

- (2526) nīšt-in
sit.INF (or: PART)
‘sitting’ [7N:12]

- (2527) qurs xwārd-in
pill eat.PST-INF (or: PART)
'taking pills' [8:35]

15.2.12 Derivational morphemes: Diminution and adverbial

Certain derivational morphemes appear to be shared by Gawraǰūyī and contact languages. It is not clear if these morphemes are productive in Gawraǰūyī or if they have simply been transferred as a unit with other material. One example is the Persian diminutive *čē* (see Windfuhr & Perry 2009:527) and also Southern Kurdish *ča* (see Fattah 2000:785). A similar form, *č(a)*, appears in Gawraǰūyī:

- (2528) tāq-ča
recess-small
'small (stone) recess (or: niche)' [4:123]
- (2529) darwa-č
door-small
'small door' [11:11]

Another example is the morpheme, *-āna*, which derives an adjective from a noun. This morpheme is also found in Persian (see Windfuhr & Perry 2009:527). It is not yet clear if it is a borrowed or inherited form in Gawraǰūyī:

- (2530) dūst-āna
friend-ADJ
'friendly (way)' [9:25]
- (2531) engelīs-yāna
England-ADJ
'English' [6:111]

15.2.13 Prepositions

A number of prepositions are shared by Gawraǰūyī and various contact languages:

- (2532) az 'from, of' [8:175] (Persian; while Gawraǰūyī form is *az̄*)
- (2533) ghayr az 'except' [7H:109] (Persian, ultimately Arabic, see Windfuhr & Perry (2009:528)
- (2534) aṛā 'to' [9:73] (Southern Kurdish, Fattah 2000:616)
- (2535) aw 'to' [4:15] (Southern Kurdish, Fattah 2000:588)
- (2536) bē 'without' [5:139] (Southern Kurdish, Fattah 2000:624)
- (2537) bēdūn 'without' [8:22] (Persian)
- (2538) bo 'for' [7H:83] (Central Kurdish *bō* 'for', MacKenzie 1990a:121)

- (2539) wa gard ‘with’ [5:86] (Southern Kurdish, Fattah 2000:620)
- (2540) wa tē=y ‘in it’ [5:106] (*tē* appears in Central Kurdish, MacKenzie 1990a:123; =*y* is third person singular enclitic pronoun in Central and Southern Kurdish.)
- (2541) waraw ‘towards’ [5:88] (Southern Kurdish, Fattah 2000:627)
- (2542) warja ‘before’ [5:7] (Southern Kurdish, Fattah 2000:625, who notes it is originally found in Gūrānī)

15.2.14 Modality words

There are other free grammatical words (or morphemes) in Gawraǰūyī which are shared by contact languages. Several of these appear in modality constructions (see Section 4.8). The morpheme *garak* ‘want’ is ultimately of Turkish origin, while *maǰbūr* is ultimately of Arabic origin (Mahmudweyssi & Haig 2009:7):

- (2543) ayar garak=iš bū
if want=3SG SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG
‘if she wants’ [7N:131]
- (2544) maǰbūr=i
must=COP.PRS.2SG
‘you must’ [8:3]

15.2.15 Conjunctions and adverbs

There are also a number of other grammatical function words that can be identified with Arabic as an ultimate source, transferred to Gawraǰūyī through Persian or Kurdish. The function words include conjunctions and various adverbs.²⁶⁵ Examples include:

- (2545) baǰd ‘afterwards, then’ [4:51]
- (2546) mawqeʿe ‘when’ [7H:134]
- (2547) walē [3:81] ‘but’
- (2548) waqte ‘when’ [4:188] (Persian pronunciation), waxte ‘when’ [4:107] (Kurdish pronunciation)²⁶⁶

There is a considerable number of adverbs in Gawraǰūyī which end in *-an*. These adverbs appear to be ultimately attributed to Arabic and are found in Persian (see Windfuhr & Perry

²⁶⁵ There is also a complex adverbial form, *az ānā* ‘there’ [4:151], which might be in alternation with the more frequently attested Gawraǰūyī form *až ānā* [4:218]. The adverbial *az ānā* has an initial element as a borrowing from Persian and a second element as Gawraǰūyī.

²⁶⁶ Noted by Parvin Mahmoudveysi (p.c.).

2009:445). It is not clear how they have been transferred to Gawraǰūyī, but possibilities include contact with Persian or Kurdish. These adverbs include:

- (2549) aḥyānan ‘accidentally’ [9:32]
- (2550) aṣṭan ‘absolutely’ [9:26]
- (2551) baʿdan ‘afterwards, later’ [9:34]
- (2552) daqīq(an) ‘exactly’ [8:16]
- (2553) hatman ‘definitely’ [7H:165]
- (2554) maxsan ‘particularly’ [7N:118]
- (2555) mutṭaqaṅ ‘definitely’ [7H:10]
- (2556) qablan ‘earlier’ [7N:9]

15.2.16 Interjections

Several interjections also appear to have Arabic origin:

- (2557) waṭā ‘by God’ [3:91]
- (2558) elā wa belā ‘by any means’ [5:34]
- (2559) ʿalāy ḥaq ‘by God’ [2:27]
- (2560) alḥamdulēḥ ‘thanks to God’ [12:50]
- (2561) inšāṭāḥ ‘if God wills’ [12:33]

15.3 Effects in the lexicon

The Gawraǰūyī lexicon also shows effects of language contact, though only a few areas are mentioned here.²⁶⁷ The most common effect involves the transfer of lexical items as borrowings or loanwords. The lexical items can be simple or complex forms. They also represent various word classes, including nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and numerals.

15.3.1 Borrowing or code-mixing?

An issue in describing the lexical items involves evaluating a particular item as an instance of borrowing or of code-mixing (that is, a single item of code-switching), as described in Matras & Sakel (2007b:9). The difference is that borrowed items can be regarded as more permanent members of the lexicon and are often adapted in phonology and semantics. Instances of code-mixing, however, are temporary and in an early stage of introduction to the

²⁶⁷ See also Paul (2007:292–293) for certain borrowings in the lexicon of Gūrānī varieties.

community of speakers. Items from code-mixing can also be identified as they are typically limited to the speech of certain speakers who also speak other languages and may easily use items from other languages in their speech.

It is not yet possible to clearly distinguish each lexical item from a foreign source as a borrowing or an instance of code-mixing. The Gawraǰūyī material must be tested further with more speakers.²⁶⁸

15.3.2 Domains of the lexicon, ease of borrowing, and basic vocabulary

Another issue involves the types of lexical items and the relative ease or resistance of borrowing (see Hock & Joseph 1996:257). Although any type of lexical item can be borrowed under particular conditions, certain types of lexical items tend to be borrowed more easily than others. As described by Hock & Joseph (1996:258), the most easily borrowed items are nouns. Nouns typically refer to time-stable objects that can be identified consistently and named. Furthermore, some types of nouns are more easily borrowed than others. These include nouns that are limited in their use in speech, such as those referring to abstract political or technological concepts, or to artifacts that are newly invented.

Verbs can also be borrowed, but it is a less common process than with nouns, generally speaking. Hock & Joseph (1996:257) point out that in many languages, verbs tend to be borrowed as constructions with a foreign nominal element and a common native verb such as ‘do’ or ‘make’. This process is also found in Gawraǰūyī, detailed further below.

Another area of the lexicon that is regarded as relatively stable and less susceptible to borrowing is that of ‘basic vocabulary’ (Hock & Joseph 1996:257). Basic vocabulary is defined as a core set of words referring to the most common objects and activities in the universe of human beings, as concepts found in every language and not limited to one culture. A typical list includes items such as basic kinship terms (‘mother’, ‘father’), body parts (‘eye’, ‘hand’), common terms of nature (‘sky’, ‘tree’), and actions (‘speak, say’, ‘go’). It also includes basic pronominal terms and numerals.

Basic vocabulary in lists of varying length are found in work by Morris Swadesh in the mid-1900s for his comparative study of different languages (see Thomason 2001:71–74; Wikipedia 2015g, citing Swadesh 1971; see reprint as Swadesh 2006). Another list is found on *The Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire* (n.d.). A relatively recent and well-developed work is the Leipzig-Jakarta 100-word list of basic vocabulary (Haspelmath &

²⁶⁸ Areas of language contact that need further study include issues of ‘borrowing’ in comparison to ‘imperfect learning’ (see Thomason 2001:68), and questions regarding intensity of contact and its correlation to linguistic effects, according to the model of Thomason (2001:70–74, with an earlier version in Thomason & Kaufman 1988:74–76).

Tadmor 2009b:69–71), which was made on the basis of a typological study of 1,000 to 2,000 words in forty-one languages from many language families around the world. For that list, composite scores were calculated for lexical items which would qualify as ‘basic vocabulary’ according to 1) stability (age of item in the language); 2) universality (degree of representation in the language); 3) simplicity (degree of analyzability); and 4) resistance to borrowing (their score as ‘unborrowed’) (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009b:68).

The next sections present a short discussion of lexical borrowing of basic vocabulary, followed by a sample of lexical items according to selected semantic domains and notes on verb borrowing.

15.3.3 Selected items of Gawraǰūyī basic vocabulary

Certain lexical items in the Gawraǰūyī basic vocabulary can show variation from items with the same or similar meaning in other Gūrānī varieties. It is possible that there has been influence from contact, and this contact has resulted in differences in vocabulary. The comparison of a sample material may provide some clues for further study.

In the following chart, a brief comparison is presented of selected lexical items from several lists. These sources are indicated by initials after the English gloss: ‘L’ = ‘Basic Vocabulary. The Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire’; ‘S’ = Swadesh word list; ‘L-J’ = Leipzig-Jakarta list of basic vocabulary. Items marked with an asterisk are those which are also found on the list in Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009b:67) of words most resistant to borrowing.

Table 90. Sources of Gūrānī language material for selected basic vocabulary comparison

| | | |
|----|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| G | Gawraǰūyī (Gawraǰū, Iran) | Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012) |
| Z | Zardayāna (Zarda, Iran) | Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013) |
| HP | Hawrāmī (Pāwa, Iran) | Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2004) |
| HT | Hawrāmī (Tawēṭa, Iraq) | Magin & Kocher (2008) |
| ŠŠ | Šabakī (Šālālāt, Iraq) | Magin & Ali (2008a) |
| KW | Kākayī (Wardak, Iraq) | Mahmoudveysi (2009) |

Items are transcribed here with most symbols as in the Gawraǰūyī orthography. Other symbols include ə [ə] (mid central vowel), ε [ɛ] (open mid front unrounded vowel), and ḏ [ð] (vd. alveolar approximant/fricative) for simple comparison. Stress is not marked.

Table 91. Comparison of selected basic vocabulary

| English | G | Z | ŠŠ | KW | HP | HT |
|--|--|---|--|------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| ‘ashes’ (L, S, L-J) | xuṭ [5:46] | xuṭ ‘dirt’ [4:141] | biləko [Š:50] | (?) | būṭ [HP:50] | būṭē [HT:50] |
| ‘belly’ (L, S) | gaya [2:76] | lam [6:41] | gədə [Š:18] | gaya [KW:18] | ləm [HP:18] | ləm [HT:18] |
| ‘big’ (L, S, L-J) | gawrā [7N:73] gawra [5:127] | gawra [3-2:84] gawrā [2-1:32] (rare) | gowra [Š:83] | gawra [KW:80] | zil [HP:83] gowra [HP:84] | zile [HT:80] |
| ‘burn (intransitive)’ (L, S, L-J)* | masūzē [5:46] ‘it burns’ | sūzn ‘cause.to.burn.PRS’ [7:58]) | sīčə, sīča (tense unclear) [Š:130] | (?) | masūčo ‘it burns’ [HP:130] | sočo (tense unclear) [HT:130] |
| ‘child’ (L, L-J) | mināt [6:93] rūṭa [2:38] ‘dear child’ wačka [2:31] ‘child/offspring’ | mināt [1-1:176] rūṭa [6:14] ‘dear child’ | ʔawel [Š:199] | āyil [KW:199] | (?) | zārolə [HT:199] |
| ‘dog’ (L, S, L-J) | tūta (tūta?) [3:59] | tūta [4:38] | sipə [Š:36] | sipa [KW:36] | tūtə [HP:36] | tūtə [HT:36] |
| ‘eye’ (L, S, L-J) | čaš [9:11] čaw [2:60] (only in SK poetry) čam [5:88] (only in proper name) | čam [2-2:27] čaw [6:43] (rare) | čəm [Š:11] | čam [KW:11] | čəm [HP:11] | čəm [HT:11] |
| ‘fall’ (L, S, L-J)* | makatīya [5:73] makatē [2:17] (rare) | mikafo [8:66] | məgno [Š:241] | (?) | məgno [HP:241] | gənorē wār (tense unclear) [HT:241] |
| ‘father’ (L) | bāwk [8:76] bāwa [5:129] bāwā [4:194] (rare) | bāwka [7:40] bāwk [7:54] bāwa [1-1:74] bāw [7:12] (rare) | bāvo [Š:28] | (?) | bābə [HP:28] | tāte [HT:28] |
| ‘goes’ (pres., 3SG) (L, L-J)* | mašu [11:11] mašē [5:45] (rare) | milo [2-2:22] | məljo [Š:240] | (?) | məlo [HP:239] | milo [HT:239] |

| English | G | Z | ŠŠ | KW | HP | HT |
|--|--|--|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|---|
| | mařawē [11:104] mařo [5:51] (infrequent) bi-l-i ‘SBJV-go. PRS-2SG’ [7H:7] (rare) | | řē makaro [Š:239] | | | |
| ‘leaf’ (L, S, L-J) | pal [1:25] | gařā [3-2:13] pal [3-2:13] | welig [Š:44] | walig, palig [KW:44] | kāghəz [HP:44] | geřā [HT:44] |
| ‘many’ (L) | fra [7H:47] | fra [3-1:66] | fira [Š:108] xēylo [Š:109] | fra [KW:108] | firē [HP:108] | čimdānē [HT:108] firē [HT:109] |
| ‘mother’ (L) | dāyka [2:38] dāya [5:9] mādar [8:27] (rare) | dāyka [6:58] dāya [8:95] mādar [8:69] (rare) | dāko [Š:29] | dāya [KW:29] | āđā [HP:29] | ā (lengthened) [HT:29] |
| ‘mountain’ (L, S) | kū [7H:24] küh [10:40] (rare) kaš-kū [10:5] (rare, 1x) | kaš [7:42] kū [3-1:97] ko [4:25] (rare) jawař [8:32] (rare) | ko [Š:51] | čiā [KW:51] | kəš [HP:51] | keři [HT:51] |
| ‘old’ (L, L-J) | qadīm [8:144] kūna [9:84] (rare) pīr [5:30] (rare) | qadīm [6:18] qadīmī [3-1:132] | konə [Š:91] | (?) | konə [HP:91] | konē [HT:91] |
| ‘one’ ²⁶⁹ (L, S, L-J) | yak [5:106] ya [5:131] | yak [1-1:234] ya [1-1:214] | ?ikyū [Š:297] | yakē [KW:96b] | yo [HP:298] | yūwē [HT:297] |
| ‘says’ (pres., 3SG) (L, S, L-J)* | mwāy [1:102] | māčo [1-2:7] | māčo [Š:240] | (?) | mūāčow [HP:240] | māčo [HT:240] |

²⁶⁹ The variation in some forms of numerals in the Gawraǰūyī text corpus may be effects of contact. Instead of the usual Gawraǰūyī *ya(k)*, there are several instances of *ye* (Persian and Kurdish): *ye sāt* ‘one year’ [8:199]. Instead of the Gawraǰūyī form *šiř* ‘six’, some speakers use *šař* (the Kurdish form): *šař sāt-ān* ‘six year-PL’ [6:93] (noted by Parvin Mahmoudveysi, p.c.).

| English | G | Z | ŠŠ | KW | HP | HT |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 'small' (L, S, L-J) | büčik [8:97] | bičkaṯāna [1-1:179] (rare) toz [4:29] (rare) | hūrđi [Š:82] | wirdi [KW:82] | wirdi [HP:82] | gulānē [HT:82] |
| 'three' (L, L-J) | sē [2:86] | sē [1-1:213] | sə [Š:98] | sa [KW:97] | yerē [HP:98] | yerē [HT:98] |
| 'wind' (L, L-J) | wā [1:77] bā [4:215] (rare) | wā [1-1:52] | wā [Š:66] | wā [KW:66] | vā [HP:66] | vwā [HT:66] |

The following items are common words in Gūrānī that also show similarities and differences, which in some cases might indicate contact influence:

Table 92. Comparison of a few common words in Gūrānī

| English | G | Z | ŠŠ | KW | HP | HT |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| ‘bear’ | xirs [2:54] ²⁷⁰ | xirs [5-1:28] | hūrč [Š:37] | ħurč [KW:37] | ħəšə [HP:37] | həšē (fem.), həš (masc.) [HT:304] |
| ‘daughter, girl’ | dita [3:67] | kirāčē [2-2:3] kirāča [8:9] | kināčə [Š:32] | kināca (?)/ kināča) [KW:32] | kənāčē / kināčē [HP:32] | kināčē [HT:32] |
| ‘house’ | ka [8:52] manziṭ [5:49] (rare) | yāna [4:10] | yānə [Š:59] | (?) | yānə [HP:59] | yānē [HT:59] |
| ‘sister’ | xwār [8:95] | wātē [2-1:36] wāṭa [2-1:56] | wālə [Š:34] | wālē [KW:34] | wālē [HP:34] | waṭē [HT:34] |
| ‘six’ | šaš [6:18] šiš [7H:71] (rare) | šaš [1-1:261] | šiš [Š:101] | šiš [KW:101] | šiš [HP:101] | šiš [HT:101] |
| ‘wolf’ | gurg [2:81] | guri, gurg [4:163] | wərig [Š:197] | wariga, warga, gurg [KW:197] | werg [HP-M:201] | wərig, werg [HT:197] |

15.3.4 Lexical items in specialized semantic domains

There are a number of instances of lexical items in Gawraǰūyī that are also found in other languages. A number of these belong to specialized semantic domains. These domains are limited to the themes of the Gawraǰūyī texts, and the lexical items are found only rarely or infrequently in the speech of a few people. Only a few instances of these types of words are presented here as a sample. As mentioned above, it is not yet clear if these items are instances of actual borrowing or code-mixing.

²⁷⁰ The term *xirs* ‘bear’ is listed as New Persian by Paul (2007:292).

Semantic domain of kinship

Some kinship terms are attested once or only a few times. The terms are shared with Persian and assumed to be borrowed. The attested items mostly include those referring to a relation in a stage removed from the closest sibling and parent generation:

- (2562) dādāš ‘brother’ [8:90] (Persian)
 (2563) dāyī ‘brother of mother’ [7N:7] (Persian) (Gawraǰūyī: lālo [2:91])
 (2564) duxtarʕama ‘daughter of father’s sister’ [7H:144] (Persian)
 (2565) duxtardāyī ‘daughter of mother’s brother’ [7H:144] (Persian)
 (2566) duxtarxāla ‘daughter of mother’s sister’ [7H:143] (Persian)
 (2567) pesarxāla ‘son of mother’s sister’ [8:170] (Persian)

Semantic domains of marriage and related concepts

A number of lexical items from these domains also are found in Persian:

- (2568) ʕaqd ‘engagement, vows’ [8:197]
 (2569) ʕarūs ‘bride’ [7N:95]
 (2570) dāmād ‘bridegroom’ [7N:94]
 (2571) hanābandān ‘henna party’ [7N:92] (also: hanābanān ‘henna party’ [7H:108])
 (2572) nāmzadī ‘engagement’ [7N:69] (Persian) (Kurdish and Hawrāmī: dasgīrān)
 (2573) sawqāt ‘bride gift’ [7N:139]

Semantic domains of artifacts and technology

- (2574) buṭdūziṭ ‘bulldozer’ [10:45] (English: bulldozer)
 (2575) dawā ‘medicine’ [3:87] (Classical Arabic: dawāʔ ‘remedy, medicine’, WOLD)²⁷¹
 (2576) gārāǰ ‘bus station’ [6:38] (English: garage)
 (2577) hwāpaymā ‘airplane’ [6:149] (Persian: havāpaymā ‘airplane’)
 (2578) kārt ‘military service papers’ [9:42] (English: card)
 (2579) org ‘keyboard’ [7H:81] (English: organ)

²⁷¹ In this chapter, the words in parentheses marked as ‘WOLD’ refer to those found in the World Loanword Database (WOLD), edited by Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009a).

- (2580) qatā ‘castle’ [5:54] (Turkish: qala ‘fortress’, WOLD)
 (2581) šürt ‘shorts’ [6:141] (English: shorts)
 (2582) tarāka ‘cassette track/song’ [7H:126] (English: track)
 (2583) telazyün ‘television’ [6:101] (English: television)

15.3.1 Verbs

Several simple verbs also appear to be due to contact:

- (2584) řaft ‘he went’ [6:36] (Persian)
 (2585) dīrē ‘he says’ [4:38] (rare, Southern Kurdish)

A few examples are presented here of compound verbs, with a Gawraǰūyī element as the ‘light’ (or base) verb, together with a compound verb element that appears to be ultimately from Arabic and probably transferred through contact with Persian or Kurdish:

- (2586) tazǰīn makarin ‘they decorate’ [7N:106]
 (2587) qabūł makarē ‘he accepts’ [6:52]
 (2588) řurū maw(u) ‘it begins’ [7N:92]
 (2589) řam makarin ‘they gather’ (‘make gathering’) [7N:93]
 (2590) řasāw makarām ‘we count’ [7N:127]

15.4 Code-switching

An area for further study is the investigation of code-switching as one of the main mechanisms by which the linguistic effects of contact take place. This process takes place when material found in code-switching eventually transitions into permanent items of change, as borrowings. Code-switching is defined as ‘the use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation’ (Thomason 2001:132). According to Hock & Joseph (1996:380–381), it takes place as a speaker switches between languages within an utterance, changing portions from one language to another, and back again. The portions can be short, such as single words inserted into speech (‘code-mixing’), or long, such as phrases, clauses, sentences, and groups of sentences within a discourse.

Thomason (2001:133–135) notes a few ways to compare instances of code-switching and ‘interference features’ (borrowed material): 1) Code-switching is found in the speech of bilingual speakers, while borrowing is the foreign material found in the speech of a monolingual (who does not speak the second language); 2) material from code-switching tends to occur in the same form as its source and is not adapted in phonology or morphology,

while material that is borrowed tends to be adapted or ‘nativized’; and 3) material from code-switching tends to occur only once, while material from borrowing appears more frequently.

In the Gawraǰūyī texts, various instances of code-switching can be observed. The main secondary language in this code-switching is Southern Kurdish. There are also a few instances that resemble code-switching, such as the insertion of poetic material. The code-switching does not appear to be spontaneous but is typically triggered when another person in the speech setting asks a question or comments in another language. The most frequent interaction is with the interviewer, who is speaking a variety of Kurdish close to that of the Southern Kurdish. As noted by Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini (p.c.), Gawraǰūyī speakers switch to Kurdish when a speaker with Kurdish as a primary language is present, or to Persian when a speaker with Persian as primary language is present.

In these contexts, a Gawraǰūyī speaker may switch into Southern Kurdish and continue for a varying length of time, which coincides with the length of one or more syntactic units. These units can be a single phrase or sometimes a sentence combining several clauses or a combination of several sentences. At the end of a syntactic unit, the speaker returns to speaking Gawraǰūyī. The change back to Gawraǰūyī is sometimes triggered by a reminder from someone in the speaker’s audience to speak Gawraǰūyī (as the purpose of the interviews), though it also can happen without any other verbal interaction.

A number of instances of code-switching are found in the speech of the young female speakers in Texts 7 and 8, while there are also a few instances of code-switching in the speech of the older male speaker, Alī Dūst, in Text 5.

One example appears in Text 7. The speaker uses in Gawraǰūyī to describe marriage customs. The interviewer then asks a question in Kurdish about a type of dance at the wedding. This question triggers the speaker to code-switch into a stretch consisting of mostly Southern Kurdish (SK), with which she continues for one sentence. Then, without hesitation or an obvious trigger, the speaker switches back into Gawraǰūyī (G):

(2591) (SK) *irā řasim* (G) *nayřē* (SK) *bičim wa řiya_řiya,*
 - here custom - not? - we.go to separately

(G) *giř(t)=řān wa_gard=e yak-ē*
 - all=3PL with=EZ one-INDF_2

‘It is not the custom here that we go separately, everyone goes together’ [7H:76]

15.4.1 Poetic material

A phenomenon with similarities to code-switching is the recitation of poetic material within the Gawraǰūyī narratives. It resembles it in that it involves the speaker’s switch to another style while employing distinct lexical items and grammatical features.

There are two types of poetic material that appear in the text corpus. The first type is rhymed prose that is based on Gawraǰūyī grammar and some vocabulary, but it also includes elements from Southern Kurdish. This rhymed prose is illustrated in the following example from Text 2, in which the Southern Kurdish elements are *kird* ‘do.PST’, *čaw* ‘eye’, and *bird* ‘take.PST’:

- (2592) *kird* = m = a *das* = im,
do.PST = 1SG = DIR *hand* = 1SG
- das* = im *sūz-yā*
hand = 1SG *burn.PST-PST.PASS*
- kird* = m = a *čaw* = im,
do.PST = 1SG = DIR *eye* = 1SG
- čaw* = im *sūz-yā*
eye = 1SG *burn.PST-PST.PASS*
- kird* = m = a-y *šawī-yaka* = m,
do.PST = 1SG = DIR-NA *shirt-DEF* = 1SG
- šawī-yaka* = m *sūz-yā*
shirt-DEF = 1SG *burn.PST-PST.PASS*
- xulāsa* *kird* = m = a-y *dam* = im,
finally do.PST = 1SG = DIR-NA *mouth* = 1SG
- dam* = im *sūz-yā*
mouth = 1SG *burn.PST-PST.PASS*
- nā* = m = a-y *tāq* = wa
put.PST = 1SG = DIR-NA *niche* = POSTP#_3
- pišī* *bird* = y = a *bāx* = wa
cat take.PST = 3SG = DIR *garden* = POSTP#_3
- ‘I put it in my hand, my hand was burned; I put it in my eye; my eye was burned; I put it in my shirt; my shirt was burned; finally, I put it in my mouth; my mouth was burned; I put it in the recess in the wall; the cat took it away to the garden’ [2:92–94]

A similar example is found in a combination of Gawraǰūyī and Southern Kurdish elements in verse form apparently intended for children. The Southern Kurdish elements consist of: *xā* ‘egg’ (instead of Gawraǰūyī *hāya*), *dē* ‘give’ (instead of Gawraǰūyī *bitīya*), *bo* ‘for’, *kič* ‘girl’ (instead of Gawraǰūyī *dita*), *kay* ‘do’ (instead of Gawraǰūyī *makarē*), *la* ‘at’ (instead of Gawraǰūyī *wa*), and *kānī* (instead of Gawraǰūyī *hānī*):

- (2593) māmīr xā dē
 chicken egg give
- xā = y usā dē
 egg = EZ master gives
- usā kawš dē, kawš bo kič-ē
 master shoe gives shoe for girl
- kič samā kay la sar kānī
 girl dance do at head spring
- ‘O chicken, give eggs, give eggs to the master tradesman, the master tradesman give shoes, shoes for the girl, the girls do a dance at the head of the spring’ [1:56–59]

Another type of poetic material is interspersed throughout the long traditional narratives of Texts 4 and 5. The poetic material contains normal Gawraǰūyī grammatical features, but has differences as well, which serve to identify it as a special style. Some of these distinctions involve verse in doublets, rhyme in the final syllable or word of the doublet lines, distinct vocabulary, and unusual constituent order.

The example below illustrates the insertion of poetic material in a section from Text 4, a retelling of an episode about Šīrīn and Farād, of the Shah-Nameh, an epic of Iranian history. There is a short dialogue between the young lady Šīrīn and Farād, who has disguised himself as a wanderer, a dervish. Šīrīn first addresses Farād, and then he answers. The features include rhyming of the final vowel in the words *bwā* ‘come in’ and *tamāšā* ‘look’, of *dawrišān* ‘dervishes’ and *qawm = u xišān* ‘family and kin’, and there is also a change in the normal constituent order, with the object (or compound verb element) *tamāšā* positioned at the end of the clause, rather than the usual order before the verb *bika* ‘do’.

- (2594) dawriš bifarmā bwā
 dervish please come.in
- bāfā = y xasraw bi-ka tamāšā
 Greatness = EZ Xasraw SBJV-do.PRS look
- ānī m-wāy
 DIST_2 IND-say.PRS.3SG
- tu ča = š = it [...] ča = š = it garak = ē
 2SG what = 3SG = 2SG what = 3SG = 2SG want = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- až hāl dawriš-ān,
 from situation dervish-PL
- dawriš ma-gard-ē bē qawm = u_xišān
 dervish IND-go.about.PRS-3SG without family.and.kin
- ‘(Šīrīn says): ‘Dervish, please come in, behold the Greatness of Xasraw’. He (Farād) says: ‘What do you {what ...} what do you want from the situation of dervishes? A dervish wanders about, without family and kin’ [4:46–48]

Another speech of Šīrīn is also quoted with poetic language. In this material, there is rhyming of the final words, *šāyī* and *bāyī*:

- (2595) šart bo farā(d),
pledge SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG Farhād
- až_sün = it na-niš-im wa šāyī
after = 2SG NEG_2-sit.PRS-1SG in joy
- ganj = u_xazāna = t bi-tī-m wa bā-yī
treasure.and.fortune = 2SG SBJV-give.PRS-1SG to wind-NA
- ‘A pledge for Farhād; after you, I will never again be joyful! Your treasure and fortune I will bequeath to the wind!’ [4:184–185]

15.5 Questions about vitality and endangerment

As noted above in Section 15.1, Gawraǰūyī has contact with Persian, Kurdish, and other Gūrānī varieties. People from the community are multilingual in these languages to differing degrees and use the languages in various domains.

In 2004, the entire population of Gawraǰū was speaking Gawraǰūyī (Paul 2007:287). However, by 2016, it was reported that only the older generations were actively using it in daily life (Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini, p.c.).

Many people, both young and old, are also proficient in a second language, the variety of Southern Kurdish as spoken in the nearby town of Gahvāre.

Young people and children who have attended school are also proficient in Persian, the national language. Persian is not commonly used among older people, particularly those who have not attended school.

The linguistic effects of contact, which have been described in this chapter for Gawraǰūyī, can be a sign of a larger change of language use in the community. There are several potential scenarios involving either ‘vitality’ or ‘endangerment’. In one scenario, the speakers maintain use of their language, but they also incorporate large numbers of features from the source languages of Southern Kurdish and Persian. In another scenario, the speakers shift completely to the use of a different language.

A language can be considered to be ‘in danger when its speakers cease to use it, use it in an increasingly reduced number of communicative domains, and cease to pass it on from one generation to the next. That is, there are no new speakers, adults or children’ (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages 2003:2).

The most extreme situation is that of ‘language death’. Language death takes place when a language ‘ceases to be used for any purposes of regular spoken communication within a speech community’ (Thomason 2001:224).

According to Simons & Lewis (2013:10–11), from an estimated 7,480 languages of the world, there are 2,384 languages that can be described as undergoing a process of loss (that is, rated as ‘threatened’, ‘shifting’, ‘moribund’, ‘nearly extinct’, or ‘dormant’).

15.5.1 Areas for future assessment with the UNESCO 2003 document

The document on vitality and endangerment of languages by the UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (2003) (also simply referred to as the ‘UNESCO document’) presents a number of areas that can be analyzed in order to evaluate a language situation and estimate the degree of its endangerment. These degrees can range from a high score, as ‘stable’, to a low score, as ‘extinct’. The areas are presented briefly below.

The remarks below are brief and only based on general information, which includes some from the content of the texts and some from personal communication in 2010 from Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini and Parvin Mahmoudveysi. The remarks below are included here simply as a step towards outlining variables and defining questions for further research.²⁷²

Intergenerational language transmission

The most important area in language use and assessing its status has to do with ‘intergenerational language transmission’ (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages 2003:7, citing Fishman 1991). If the language is used by members of all generations and also used in all domains, and also actively passed on to the children in the community, then the language is considered stable. But, even if the children are learning it, the language is still considered ‘stable yet threatened’ if there are some important domains in which the language is not used, and other, more dominant languages are used instead.

Gawraǰūyī is still spoken by almost all the children of the community, though there are clearly some domains in which it is not used, such as education. In the future, if use of Gawraǰūyī is restricted to even fewer social domains, and if fewer children use it, then the status would be regarded as ‘unsafe’. If it is not being passed on to the children and only used by the parents’ generation, it would be considered ‘definitely endangered’.

Absolute number of speakers

Another important area to analyze is the ‘absolute number of speakers’. As noted in the UNESCO document (2003:8):

²⁷² For example, it would be beneficial to assess language use in Gawraǰūyī with the set of questions in the expanded version of ‘GIDS’ (Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale), as presented in Lewis & Simons (2010). The expanded version also integrates factors from the UNESCO scale.

A small speech community is always at risk. A small population is much more vulnerable to decimation [...] than a larger one. A small language group may also merge with a neighbouring group, losing its own language and culture.

The Gawraǰūyī speech community can be regarded as small. Its size of about eighty to ninety families is much smaller than the larger surrounding community of Southern Kurdish, estimated at about three million speakers (Fattah 2000:4). Even though Gawraǰūyī can be regarded as part of the wider Gūranī community with an estimated population of 200,000–300,000 speakers (Paul 2007:285), it still represents a unique linguistic situation with a relatively small population.

Proportion of speakers within the total population

A further question has to do with the proportion of speakers within the total population. The factor of the proportion of speakers in relation to the total population is based on a continuum in which if all members of a group speak a language, then it is regarded as ‘safe’, but if only some of the members speak a language, it is ‘critically endangered’.

In the Gawraǰūyī village community group, it is estimated that ‘nearly all’ speak the language, but it is reported as being less actively used by younger people and more actively by people of the older generations.

Trends in existing language domains

Another area for analysis involves the ‘trends in existing language domains’. The domains include the people with whom the language is used, the locations or institutions in which it is used, and the topics for which it is used (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages 2003:9). The variety of domains is important in that the degree of language use in them is considered a way to predict how the language will be passed on to subsequent generations.

In the Gawraǰūyī community, the language is not used in all domains. There are other languages used in official domains, such as Persian in schools and government offices, and also Kurdish in communication with people outside the village. Gawraǰūyī is evidently still used, however, in the home domain and also in the religious and social functions within the community. But it is becoming more and more limited to use by older people, as the younger people tend to use other languages, depending on where they are living. It is reported that one can visit one home and hear three languages spoken: Gawraǰūyī among the older people, Kurdish among the young people, and then Persian by the children. The use of these different languages presents a complex situation. If the different languages remain limited to different domains, then it might be said that there is a degree of ‘diglossia’. In this case, Gawraǰūyī would be considered to have a status of ‘multilingual parity’ and would be regarded as

relatively safe. When Gawraǰūyī begins to be spoken less within the home in favor of the other languages, and when everyday communication is in another language, there is more danger that it will be lost.

Response to new domains and media

A further way to predict future use of a language is by evaluating how it is used to express ideas in new domains and media. For example, the language may be used in those areas and develop new areas of the lexicon. It can also become obsolete, however, as speakers shift to another language (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages 2003:11). There is still an open question regarding the degree in which Gawraǰūyī is used in these areas.

Materials for language education and media

The question of educational materials and media in the language can be assessed by the presence and extent of use of things such as an accepted orthography, grammars, dictionaries, texts, and other literature and media, and who uses them. A high degree of vitality is predicted if these materials are available and widely used, whereas endangerment is predicted if there is no orthography and little or no material available.

For the variety of Gawraǰūyī itself, there very little material available, though there is an extensive body of literature in the language of the wider group of Gūrānī, and some modern written materials are available in especially Hawrāmī. In Gawraǰūyī, there is a beginning orthography for use by linguists, as developed in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012), which could be adapted to Persian script. There is also a grammar sketch, a limited number of texts, and a small lexicon.

Attitudes

The question of attitudes towards the language is also listed in the UNESCO document. The attitudes include those held by the community itself, as well as those held by the government and institutions. Attitudes of the community towards the language is also noted by Sasse (1992:13–14), where it is regarded as important for the prospects of a language's vitality or endangerment.

15.5.2 Prospects for Gawraǰūyī language vitality

The Gawraǰūyī community is facing a significant number of external pressures that can lead to the loss of their language. Main pressures result from situations such as the out-migration from the village, which means that many speakers of Gawraǰūyī are no longer living near each other and not able to keep up the same degree of regular communication in Gawraǰūyī. There is also a pressure related to economic factors, since Gawraǰūyī speakers need to use other languages for trade and marketing.

Without this type of everyday communication, there is the likelihood of language death, as the ‘cessation of regular communication in the language’ (Sasse 1992:18). This loss can also take place through a gradual process, in which the dominant language in the area is used in an increasing number of domains. Nevertheless, there are also counterpressures that can lead to the continued use of Gawraǰūyī and to efforts in revitalization. A strong factor leading to maintenance of Gawraǰūyī is the community’s identity as Yārsān and the close association of language and the values of the religion.²⁷³ The community has positive attitudes towards the use of the language. Another factor is the connection to Gūrānī with its very significant historical role as a prestigious literary language, recognized by people within and outside the community. Finally, the structure of close family networks, which exist even when members leave the physical environment of the village, can facilitate language maintenance.

There is awareness and interest in preserving and revitalizing Gawraǰūyī.²⁷⁴ Its active use within the family and with others has been well encouraged and supported by the Yārsān leadership. The highest leader of the Yārsān, Seyed Nasredin Haidari, has especially encouraged the community to speak the language with children and other people. Many people have responded positively. It is reported that some speakers are collecting and documenting older vocabulary items before they are forgotten. There is hope that Gawraǰūyī will continue to be a living language for generations to come.

²⁷³ More study is needed on the relationship of identity as the Yārsān and use of language. For example, language use and group identity are very closely associated for the Yezidi community in Armenia and Russia, who speak Northern Kurdish (see Bailey 2008).

²⁷⁴ Noted by Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini (p.c.).

16. CHAPTER 16. A PRELIMINARY COMPARISON OF FEATURES WITHIN GŪRĀNĪ

In this chapter, some items from Gawraǰūyī grammar and its lexicon are compared with items from Gūrānī as spoken in several different areas, identified in main linguistic studies and unpublished field notes. These forms of speech have been selected on account of the language material available to study and do not represent the entire Gūrānī group. The comparison is only intended to serve as a starting point for further investigation of internal variation of Gūrānī (see also Section 1.1).

16.1 Background on variation within Gūrānī

16.1.1 Hawrāmī

An important area of the Gūrānī speech zone consists of the mountainous region of Hawrāmān (Awromān) in western Iran and eastern Iraq. In studies on Hawrāmī, two main areas are mentioned, distinguished by geography. The first of these is the high mountain region, Hawrāmān-i Taxt (or Awromān-e-Taxt), with the center at Bahrāmābād (Benedictsen & Christensen 1921:5). The second section is the region of valleys, Hawrāmān-i Luhōn, with the center of Nawsūd (Nousūd); Hawrāmī is also identified as spoken in and near the town of Pāwa (see MacKenzie 1966:4; Paul 2007:285). Hawrāmī is also spoken in a number of other towns and villages in Kurdistan (Iraq), including the towns of Tawēḷa and Bīyāra (Fattah 2000:64).

Hawrāmī is described by Mahmoudveysi (2016:5) as the main dialect of Gūrānī and with the most speakers. According to MacKenzie (1966:4), it is considered to be ‘probably the most archaic and best preserved of the group’.

16.1.2 Kandūlayī

Gūrānī is also spoken in Kandūla (Kandūle), a complex of three villages (see map in Section 1.2.1), located about fifty kilometers north of Kermānšāh (Fattah 2000:63). These villages are Kandūla village itself, Pariān, and Sharafābād (Mann & Hadank 1930:85). Paul (2007:289) notes that, as of 2004, the inhabitants were still speaking Gūrānī. The speech of Kandūla is regarded as linguistically close to that of Pāwa and Nousūd (Paul 2007:285).

16.1.3 Zardayāna

Gūrānī is also spoken in Zarda village and the surrounding settlements of Sayd Māma and the pilgrimage sites of Bābā Yādīgār and Dar Dāwud. Zarda is located about twelve kilometers north-east of Sar Pol-e Zahāb, and about one hundred kilometers west of Kermānšāh (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:1). It is located further west of Gawraǰū.

The speech used here, termed Zardayāna, is described in Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013) and also earlier by Mann & Hadank (1930) (as Zārdāi).

16.1.4 Bāǰaṭānī and Šabakī

Gūrānī as spoken by the communities of the Bāǰaṭān (Bāǰalān), the Šabak (Šebek, Shebek), and possibly of the Kākayī and the Sārli (see next section), appears to be relatively close in terms of linguistic relationship, even though the communities appear to also have certain distinguishing features in their social structures, and ethnic and religious identities.

There has been some discussion of these communities in linguistic works. Fattah (2000:63) includes the names of the Šabak and the Sārli in association with Bāǰaṭānī and mentions that their varieties are close to that of the Bāǰaṭān. He further notes that Sārli is part of the tribal federation of the Kākayī. MacKenzie (1956:418) treats Bāǰaṭānī (his spelling: Bāǰalānī) and Šabakī together and notes that people of the area are generally identified by their neighbors as Šabak. In another study, Leezenberg (1997) focuses on especially the Šabak and the Kākayī, with their associations with the Bāǰaṭān and Sārli, and presents information about their ethnicity, identity, and language. The study by Mahmoudveysi (2016) offers details about the dialects and locations of Bāǰaṭān and Šabakī and also the other groups in Iraqī Kurdistan according to recent fieldwork.

Bāǰaṭānī

The Bāǰaṭān group is identified as a tribe with a number of locations (Mann & Hadank 1930:33–43; see also MacKenzie 1956:418). The group's traditional main location is the Zohāb region, but communities are also found in other areas, especially Xāneqīn, the area of Kirkūk, Erbil, and as far north as the vicinity of Mosul. There is also a historical presence of some of the Bāǰaṭān much further south, in Luristān. The distance between the communities is significant, and the background for this difference in locations is still not clear. At some earlier point, there must have been some migration from the main Gūrānī communities in Iran to Mosul.²⁷⁵ According to information in Rawlinson (1839:107, noted in Oberling 1988a:n.p.), another movement took place in the 1700s when a branch of this group moved south again from Mosul to the region of Zohāb (‘Dohāb’) near Qasr-e Šīrīn.

²⁷⁵ Leezenberg (1997:158) notes that the Bajalan came to Mosul in the eighteenth century. Regarding the length of time the Shabaki have lived in north-western Iraq, Bruinessen (1998:8) observes: ‘The fact that the Shabak’s major places of pilgrimage are all in the environs of their present habitat shows that they long ago struck root there and no longer retain attachments to a region of origin.’

Šabakī

The Šabak is a community closely associated with the Bājaṭān (see MacKenzie 1956:418). As described by Omarkhali (2014b:xxx, with reference to her informant), as of 2013, people of the Šabak community were living in an area east of Mosul on the Nineveh plains, in sixty villages in the areas of Bashik, Bertile, Nemrud, Kelek, and Tilkef. There are also other communities in the wider area, such as Christians, Arabs, and to the north, Yezidis (Leezenberg 1997:159), with some Turkoman tribes along with the Sārli and Bājaṭān (Vinogradov 1974:208). The populations of this area, however, have continued to suffer much displacement (see below), and locations as of 2018 must be confirmed.

Estimates of the population of the Šabak vary widely, from 15,000 (Vinogradov 1974:208, according to the Iraqi census of 1960) to 100,000 (Leezenberg 1997:159), 200,000 (Miziri 2005:129), 500,000 (Kakeyi 2008b:n.p.), and 250,000 to 400,000 (al-Lami 2014:n.p.).

The speech of the Šabak and the Bājaṭān in the Mosul area is reported to be generally very similar and easily understood by members of the respective communities in different localities. It is also reported that speakers of Šabakī can understand and communicate easily with speakers of Bājaṭānī from more southern areas, such as Xāneqīn, Panjwīn, and Zohāb (see Magin & Abdul Basit 2008).

According to Leezenberg (1997:160), some early studies claimed that the language of the Šabak community was close to Turkish or that it involved some mixing of Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Kurdish, though Leezenberg regarded it to be is a ‘Gorani or Hawrami variety’. This characterization of Šabakī as belonging to *Gūrānī* is also supported by data from our sources (Magin & Ali 2008a, Magin, Abdul Basit & Bailey 2008, MacKenzie 1956, and Leezenberg 1997).

The Šabak communities have greatly suffered in the upheavals in Iraq in past decades (see Section 1.2.1). Massive displacement and destruction of these communities have taken place during numerous periods from the 1970s to the 1990s (see Leezenberg 1997:163), and more recently in the 2000s, along with other minorities such as the Yezidis, Kākayī, Christians, and Turkmen, and also including many Kurds and Arabs (see UNAMI-OHCHR 2014).

16.1.5 Kākayī

Kākayī (Kākeyī) is the name given to the Ahl-e Haqq (Iran: Yārsān) community in Iraq and also used in reference to a tribal federation (Kreyenbroek 2010:n.p.). Many people from this community speak *Gūrānī*, which is also termed Kākayī, or specifically, Māčo. They live in many locations, including around Tōpzāwa, near Kirkūk, Xānaqīn, and Arbil (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:6). Estimates of Kākayī range widely, as noted by Leezenberg (1997:166), varying from ‘several tens of thousands to over two million’.

The name ‘Sārli’ is also sometimes associated with the Kākayī. The Sārli community is identified in MacKenzie (1956:418–419), Edmonds (1957:195), Blau (1989b:336), and Leezenberg (1997:167). Members of this community have traditionally lived in the same general area as the Šabak, east of Mosul (Vinogradov 1974:208; see also MacKenzie 1956:419, who notes the Sarli are located slightly to the south). According to Leezenberg (1997:167), ‘Sārli’ is the name given to the Kākayī population by their Sunni neighbors. There is little information available about this name and community.

16.1.6 Other possible varieties

There are several other names found in the linguistic literature about Gūrānī, but these are not included in the comparison tables. More study is needed to learn about the type of variation they might represent within Gūrānī, and also their history and vitality.

For example, Mann & Hadank (1930) also note several varieties besides Hawrāmī, Kandūlayī, Zardayāna, and Bāǰaṭānī. These are: 1) Bīwānīǰī (Mann & Hadank 1930:425, their spelling: Bīwānīǰī), spoken south-west of Riǰāb and north-west of Kirind, and considered to be similar to Gahvāreyī (Mann & Hadank 1930:73), and treated by Fattah (2000:63) as close to Riǰābī; 2) Gahvāreyī, (Mann & Hadank 1930:436–455, their spelling: Gāhwārāī), in the past spoken in the town of Gahvāre, with similarities to Gawraǰūyī, though no longer used, with a shift to Southern Kurdish (Paul 2007:286); and 3) Riǰābī (Mann & Hadank 1930:456, their spelling: Riǰābī), east of Sar Pol-e Zahāb, with similarities to Zardayāna (Mann & Hadank 1930:458–459, their spelling: Zārdāī). Mahmoudveysi (2016:3) notes that, however, according to her fieldwork in 2007 and 2008, the varieties listed in Mann & Hadank (1930) as Bīwānīǰī, Gāhwārāī, and Riǰābī, are no longer in existence, with the people of the communities instead using varieties of Southern Kurdish.

Another name, Sayyidī, is included by Mann & Hadank (1930:464–470, their spelling: Sāyyidi/ī), as that which is spoken by the religious leaders in the region of the Gūrān.²⁷⁶ As noted by Seyed Fereidoun Hosseini (p.c.), there was a dialect in Gahvāre that was called ‘Sayiane’ and was spoken by the religious leaders (Gawraǰūyī: *sayī*) who moved from Zarda village to Gahvāre. It is not known if it is still spoken.

In other linguistic studies, there are several more names besides all those mentioned above, with reference to possible variation within Gūrān or primarily identification with a tribe or community. They are located in Iraq: Rōǰbayānī (Leezenberg 1997; Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:7; Mahmoudveysi 2016:5), Šaraf Bayānī (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:7), Šēxānī,

²⁷⁶ There are also two other names of possible varieties briefly noted (mentioned once) in Mann & Hadank (1930:465), referred to by Mann’s language consultant as ‘Bīâmā’ and ‘Bībīyân (?)’.

Bēwyānī, and Jimur (Mahmoudveysi 2016:5), and Zengana (Zangana) (Leezenberg 1993; 1997; Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:7; Mahmoudveysi 2016:5).

16.2 Preliminary comparison tables

Some preliminary observations about Gawraǰūyī and its relationship to Gūrānī varieties from other communities are made here on the basis of limited grammatical data. Several categories have not been included at this stage, such as the imperfect and the future constructions.

The comparative material is presented in the tables below. For ease of comparison, the material transcribed here has been generally adapted to the symbols used in the Gawraǰūyī orthography (see Section 1.14). Stress is not marked, even if it is included in the source. Diphthong diacritics are also omitted. Many allomorphs are not included.

A question mark within parentheses ‘(?)’ is used when a form is not attested or when it is not certain that the form exists. The null symbol ‘Ø’ is used when a form is unmarked.

16.2.1 Sources

The sources of the material in the comparison tables are listed below.

It should be noted that the material presented for Gawraǰūyī from the 2012 publication and also for Zardayāna from the 2013 publication may show a few minor differences here due to revisions. For Hawrāmī (Luhōn), a few items employ *ǧ* as a symbol defined as a ‘half-close central continuant’ (MacKenzie 1966:8). For Kandūlayī, the material transcribed here from Mann & Hadank (1930) may be slightly modified for purposes of comparison, particularly in terms of diacritics, symbols, and the listing of third person pronouns and demonstratives. For Bāǰaṭānī/Šabakī, the vowel symbol <a> in the morphological material usually represents [ə] (mid central vowel).

Table 93. Sources of language material for grammatical and lexical features comparison

| Name | Source of material |
|---------------------|--|
| Gawraǰūyī | Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012) |
| Hawrāmī (Luhōn) | MacKenzie (1966) |
| Kandūlayī | Mann & Hadank (1930) |
| Zardayāna | Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013) |
| Bāǰalānī | a) MacKenzie (1956): Ārpačī variety, Mosul. b) Some lexical items are also found in MacKenzie (1966, from Mann & Hadank 1930). |
| Bāǰaṭānī and Šabakī | a) Magin & Ali (2008a): Šabakī of Šālālāt. Language consultant: Ali. b) Magin, Abdul Basit & Bailey (2008): Grammar items from Šabakī/Bāǰaṭānī (Iraqi Kurdistan, no other location specified); the grammar items are noted by the language consultant to be the same for Šabakī and Bāǰaṭānī; any distinctions are indicated. Language consultant: Abdul Basit. |
| Kākayī | Mahmoudveysi (2009): Word list for Kākayī of Wardak. Language consultant: Bāwa Kamāl. Abbreviated as KW. |

16.2.2 Tables

Table 94. Noun phrase morphology

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰalānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|--|----------------------------------|---|---|----------------------------------|------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| Grammatical gender distinction | No | Yes | Yes | No | Yes (rare) | (?) | (?) |
| Definiteness suffix | -aka [æɣæ] [ægæ] [æ:] | -aka (masc.) -akē (fem.) -akē (pl.) | -aka (masc.) -akī (fem.) -akān (pl.) | -aka | (?) | -ak (?) | (?) |
| Indefiniteness / singularity suffix | -ēk -ē -ī | -ēw (masc.) -ēwa (fem.) | -ī | -ēk -ē -ī | (?) | (?) | (?) |
| Plural number suffix | -ān -ayl (rare) -āt (rare) | -ē (pl.dir.) -ā (pl.obl.) | -ān -ā (rare) -yal (rare) -āt (rare) | -ān -hān (rare) -āt (rare) | -gal | -gal -šā (pl.obl. on pn.) | -akān (?) |
| Oblique case suffix | -ī (irreg.) | -ī (masc.sg.obl.) -ē (fem.sg.obl.) -ā (pl.obl.) | -ī (irreg.) -a (irreg.) | -ī -a (irreg.) | -ī | -ī | (?) |
| Numerative suffix | -a (irreg.) | (?) | (?) | -a (irreg.) | -a | -a | (?) |
| Ezāfe particle | = e | = ī = ū | = a = e = ī | = e = u = ī (rare) | = ī (?) | = ī = ē (?) | (?) |
| Compound marker | = a | = a | (?) | = a | (?) | (?) | (?) |

Table 95. Enclitic pronouns

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰalānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|------------|--------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|----------|------------------|--------|
| 1sg | = im | = im | = im | = im | = im | = im = am (?) | = im |
| 2sg | = it | = it | = it = et | = it | = it | = it | (?) |
| 3sg | = iš = y (rare) | = iš | = iš = aš | = iš | = iš | = iš | = iš |
| 1pl | = mān | = mā | = imān = emān | = mān | = mā(n) | = mā | = mān |
| 2pl | = tān | = tā | = etān | = tān | = tā(n) | (?) | (?) |
| 3pl | = šān | = šā | = išān | = šān | = šā(n) | = šā(n) | (?) |

Table 96. First and second person pronouns (direct case)²⁷⁷

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|-----|------------|--------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|----------|-------------|-------------|
| 1SG | min | min | amin | min amin (rare) | amin | amin | min amin |
| 2SG | tu | to | tu tū tū ta (rare ?) | tu to | atū | ato atū | tī tū |
| 1PL | ēma īma | ēma | īma | ēma | hēma | ēma | ēma |
| 2PL | šima | šima | šümā šüma | šima | ēšma | ēšma | šima |

Table 97. Set I, *ēd* / *ād* demonstratives / third person pronouns

| | | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|----------------------------|--------|-----------|---|-----------|-------------------------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| P R O X | S G | (None) | ēḏ (masc.dir.) ēḏī (masc.obl.) ēḏa (fem.dir.) ēḏē (fem.obl.) | (?) | ēḏ ē | ēḏ | ēḏ | (?) |
| | P L | (None) | ēḏē (dir.) ēḏišā (obl.) | (?) | ēḏšān ēšān (rare) išān (rare) | ēšān | ēšān | (?) |
| D I S T A L | S G | (None) | ād (masc.dir.) ādī (masc.obl.) āḏa (fem.dir.) ādē (fem.obl.) | (?) | ād ā ādī (rare obl.) | (?) | (?) | (?) |
| | P L | (None) | ādē (dir.) ādīšā (obl.) | (?) | ādšān āšān | (?) | (?) | (?) |

²⁷⁷ Oblique case forms are not included here.

Table 98. Set II, *in* / *ān* demonstratives / third person pronouns

| | | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰatānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|----------------------------|--------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| P R O X | S G | īn | īna (masc.dir.) | īna (dir.?) | īna | īna | īna | (?) |
| | | īnī | īnaya (masc.obl.) | īnaya (obl.) | īn + = a | | | |
| | | īna | īnē (fem.dir.) | | īn | | | |
| | | īnā | īnē (fem.obl.) | | | | | |
| | P L | īnān | īnē (pl.dir.) | īnān (dir.?) | īnāna | īnagala | īnagal | (?) |
| īnānī | | īnīšā (pl.obl.) | īnāna (obl.) | īnān + = a | īnagla | | | |
| īnāna | | | | īnakān (rare) | | | | |
| īnakānī (rare) | | | | | | | | |
| D I S T A L | S G | ān | āna (masc.dir.) | (?) | āna | ūna | ūna | āna |
| | | ānī | ānaya (masc.obl.) | | | | | |
| | | ānā (also locative) | ānē (fem.dir.) | | | | | |
| | | āna | ānē (fem.obl.) | | | | | |
| | | ānana (? , rare) | | | | | | |
| | P L | ānān | ānē (pl.dir.) | (?) | ānān + = a | (?) | ūnagal | (?) |
| ānānī (rare) | | ānīšā (pl.obl.) | | ān + = a | | | | |
| ānāna (rare) | | | | āna | | | | |
| āna | | | | | | | | |

Table 99. Set III, other demonstratives / third person pronouns

| | | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰatānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|----------------------------|--------|---------------|--------------|--|-----------|----------|-------------|--------|
| P R O X | S G | (None) | (None) | ī (?) | (None) | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | P L | āyšān (rare) | (None) | išān | (None) | | | |
| | | āyakān (rare) | | | | | | |
| D I S T A L | S G | aw (rare) | (None) | ā (only listed as 3SG. pn, dir.) aw (also as 3SG, dir.?) awī, āwī auwīna aūī ū (rare) | (None) | aw | aw | aw |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | P L | (None) | (None) | awšān | (None) | | owšān | awšān |
| | | | | | | | | |

Table 104. Verb suffixes on present tense, intransitive and transitive verbs

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|-----|--|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 1SG | -im | -ū | -ū -ū (rare) | -ī -im (rare) | -ī | -ī | -ī |
| 2SG | -ī | -ī | -ī | -ī | -ī | -ī | -ī |
| 3SG | -ē -a (rare) -o (rare) (fused forms, rare) | -o | -ū | -o -ē (rare) | -ō | -o | -o |
| 1PL | -ām -ymē (rare) -im (rare) | -mē | -im | -mē -im (rare) | -mē | -mē | -im |
| 2PL | -a -ān (rare) | -dē | -dī | -dē | -ē | -ē | -dē |
| 3PL | -in -ān (rare) | -ā | -ān | -ān -ānē | -ān | -āy | (?) |

Table 105. Verb suffixes on past tense, intransitive verbs

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|-----|--|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 1SG | -im | -ānē -ā | -n | -nē | -im | (?) | -nā |
| 2SG | -ī | -ī | -ī | -y | -īt | (?) | -y |
| 3SG | ∅ | ∅ (masc.) -a (fem.) | -ī (also: ∅) | ∅ | ∅ | (?) | ∅ |
| 1PL | -yām -ymē (rare) -imē (rare) -im (rare) | -imē | -imī -im (rare) | -ymē -ym (rare) | -imān | (?) | -ymē |
| 2PL | -ia (elicited) | -idē | -idī | -ydē | -itān | (?) | -ydē |
| 3PL | -in | -ē | -ī, -n | -y -in (rare) | -išān | (?) | -ya |

Table 106. Imperative verb suffixes

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|-----|------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 2SG | ∅ | -a | -a | -a | -a | -a | (?) |
| 2PL | -a -ān (rare) | -dē | -dī | -dē | -ē | (?) | (?) |

Table 107. Passive morphemes

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|----------------|------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|---|-------------|--------|
| Present | -ya | -īa | -īā | -y | -y -iny | (?) | (?) |
| Past | -yā -īs | -īā | (?) | -yā | -īm (1SG) -īmē (1PL) (?) (2SG) (?) (2PL) Ø (3SG) -(y)ē (3PL) (also 'passive auxiliary') | (?) | (?) |

Table 108. Causative morphemes

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-------------|--------|
| Present | -n | -(i)n- | -n | -n | -n (?) | (?) | (?) |
| Past | -n- | -(i)nā- | (?) | -n- | (?) | (?) | (?) |

Table 109. Copula ('be'), present tense, indicative²⁷⁸

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|------------|----------------------------|---|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|--------|
| 1SG | = im | = anā | = anān | = anān | = nī | = nī = (y)ēnī (?) | (?) |
| 2SG | = ī | = anī | = anī | = anī | = nī | = nī = (y)ēnī (?) | (?) |
| 3SG | = ē = an = na = a | = ā (masc.) = n (masc.) = na (masc.) = ana (fem.) = na (fem.) | = an = n = yan | = an = na (rare) | = an = n | = an = n = a | (?) |
| 1PL | = yām = īm (?) | = anmē | = animī | = anmē | = inmē = nmē | = anmē = nimē | (?) |
| 2PL | (?) | = andē | = ndī | = andē (?) | = nē | = anē = nē | (?) |
| 3PL | = in | = anē | (?) | = anē = in (rare) | = anē = nē | = anā = nā = na (fem. ?) | (?) |

²⁷⁸ This table includes several allomorphs.

Table 110. Copula ('*mawu*-type'), present tense, indicative

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|-----|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 1SG | (?) | (?) | (?) | (?) | mabī | (?) | (?) |
| 2SG | mawī | (?) | (?) | (?) | mabī | (?) | (?) |
| 3SG | mawu | (?) | moū | mwo | mabō | (?) | (?) |
| 1PL | (?) | (?) | (?) | (?) | (?) | (?) | (?) |
| 2PL | (?) | (?) | (?) | (?) | (?) | (?) | (?) |
| 3PL | mawin | (?) | mouwān | mwān | (?) | (?) | (?) |

Table 111. Copula ('be, become'), past tense

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 1SG | (?) | bīān(nē) | bīyān, bīān | bīyānē | bīm | bīm (bīn?) | (?) |
| 2SG | (?) | bīay | (?) | bī (?) | bīt | bīt | (?) |
| 3SG | bī bē | bī (masc.) bīa (fem.) | bī bū bīē | bē | bī | bī | (?) |
| 1PL | bīsyām | bīaymē | bīmī | bēmē | bīmān | bīmā | (?) |
| 2PL | (?) | bīaydē | (?) | bēdē (?) | bītān | bītā | (?) |
| 3PL | bīsin | bīē | bīnī | bīn (?) bēnē (?) | bīšān | bīšā | (?) |

Table 112. Verb of existence (only 3SG and 3PL forms included here)

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|-----|-----------|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-------------|--------|
| 3SG | hē | han (masc.) hana (fem.) | han | han | (?) | (?) | (?) |
| 3PL | (?) | hanē | hanāī | hanān | (?) | (?) | (?) |

Table 113. Common interrogative words

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|---------|-----------|--|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--|-------------|--------|
| ‘who’ | kī | kē | kī | kī | kē | kē | kē |
| ‘what’ | ča či | češ | čiš či | čiš češ či ča (rare) | češ | češ | češ |
| ‘when’ | kay | (?) | kai | ka kay (rare) | (?) | kangī | kay |
| ‘where’ | kā | ko koga čiko čikowa (‘whence’) | či kū ana či kū kū | ko | čikaṭa (location, also ‘whence’) kaṭa (goal, ‘whither’) | kando | kulā |

Table 114. Other common forms

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Bāǰ./Šabakī | Kākayī |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|--------|
| Additive | = ič = iš | = ič | = či = či | = ič = iš (rare) | ham | (?) | (?) |
| Verbal particle | = wa = awa (rare) | = awa = wa | = awa | = awa | ō- (prefix) | (?) | (?) |
| Postverbal directional | = a | (?) | (?) | = a | (?) | (?) | (?) |

Table 115. Selected lexical items

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Šabakī (Šālālāt) | Kākayī |
|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|--|---|---------------------|--------------------|
| ‘blood’ | xūn [11:39] xūn [5:75] | winī [1966:118] | winī [1930:291] | xūn [6:21] xūn [2-1:40] (rare) | hūn [1966:118] | hūn [2008a:b] | xūn [KW:19] |
| ‘daughter, girl’ | dita [3:67] | kināčē [1966:121] | kināči kanāči [1930:260] | kirāča [1-1:71] kirāčē [1-1:251] kirāči [8:81] (rare) | kullakī [1966:121] kināča [1956:435] | kināčə [2008a:g] | kināča [KW:32] |
| ‘dry’ | wišk [3:62] | wušk [1966:122] | wišk [1930:291] | wišk [3-2:149] bař [1-1:132] (rare) | ħišk (1956:435) | ħišk [2008a:d] | wišk [KW:216] |
| ‘egg’ | hāya [1:53] | hēṭa [1966:122] | hīṭa [1930:255] | (?) | (?) | xāyə [2008a:e] | |
| ‘evening’ | ēwāra [11:5] | weragā [1966:122] | wērai [1930:291] | ēwāra [4:6] | (?) | ērāgā [2008a:e] | yaragā [KW:206] |

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Šabakī (Šālālāt) | Kākayī |
|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| ‘fall’ (Pres. Ind. 3SG) | makatiya [5:73] makatē [12:12] (rare) | gin- [stem only listed in 1966:100] | makafū [1930:180] mangū [1930:180] | mikafo [8:86] | magnō [1956:422] | məgno [2008a:hʃ] | (?) |
| ‘from’ | až [11:37] az [2:6] (less common) ǰa [4:86] (less common) la [8:113] (rare) na [5:98] (rare) | ǰa ... -awa [1966:124] | ǰa [1930:236] | ǰi [1-1:304] ǰa [2-1:72] (less common) la [6:11] (less common) az [3-1:43] (rare) | až [1966:124] | či [2008:16] | (?) |
| ‘house’ | ka [8:52] | yāna [1966:126] | yāna [1930:291] | yāna [2-1:100] | yāna [1966:126] | yānə [2008a:h] | yāna [KW:59] |
| ‘leaf’ | pal [1:25] | gaṭā [1966:127] | giṭā [1930:249] | gaṭā [3-2:13] giṭā [2-2:16] (rare) pal [3-2:52] | (?) | welig [2008a:l] | walig palig [KW:44] |
| ‘one’ | yak [11:25] ya [1:4] yo [7H:71] (rare) ye [8:205] (rare) | yo [1966:130] | yak ya yū [1930:292] | ya [3-1:22] yak [1-1:15] | ikkē [1956:434] | ikjū [2008a:o] | yakē [KW:96] |
| ‘rain’ | (?) | wārān [1966:132] | vārān [1930:288] | wārān [2-1:91] | warān [sic, 1956:435] (wārān?) | wārān [2008a:r] | wārān [KW:64] |
| ‘say’ (Pres. Ind. 3SG) | mwāy [11:86] | māčo [1966:70] | māčū [1930:221] | māčo [6:15] | māčō [1956:431] | māčo [2008a:h] | (?) |
| ‘say’ (Pres. Ind. 3PL) | mwān [12:28] mwāžin [7H:56] (rare) mwāžān [11:93] (rare) | (?) | māčān [1930:221] | māčān [8:20] nimwāčān [8:28] (rare with w-, only negated ex.) | māčān [1956:431] | (?) | (?) |
| ‘son, boy’ | kuṛa [11:58] | kuṛ [1966:135] | kuṛ [1930:262] | kuṛa [7:48] | kuṛ [1966:135] | kuṛə [2008a:s] | kur (ʔ ?) [KW:200] |
| ‘sun’ | war [3:62] | war [1966:136] | war [1930:290] | war [7:58] | hur [1966:136] | xor [2008a:text] | hor [KW:52] |
| ‘three’ | sē [2:86] | yarē [1966:137] | yarī [1930:157] | sē [5-1:24] | sa [1966:137] | sə [2008a:t] | sa [KW:97] |
| ‘tooth’ | didān [1:19] (with lenition of intervocalic d) | didān [1966:138] | (?) | didān [6:39] | (?) | didān [2008a:t] | digān [KW:17] |

| | Gawraǰūyī | Hawrāmī (L.) | Kandūlayī | Zardayāna | Bāǰaṭānī | Šabakī (Šalālāt) | Kākayī |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---|---------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ‘twenty’ | bīs [8:226] | wīs [1966:138] | (?) | bīs [3-1:48] | bīs(t) [1966:138] | wīst [2008a:t] | (?) |
| ‘wind’ | wā [1:76] bā [4:215] (rare) | wā [1966:140] | vā [1930:288] | wā [1-2:13] | wā [1956:435] | wā [2008a:w] | wā [KW:66] |
| ‘wolf’ | gurg [2:81] | warg [1966:140] | varya [1930:289] | guri [4:163] | | wərig [2008a:w] | wariga warga gurg [KW:197] |
| ‘bear’ | (?) | hašša [1966:117] | haš [1930:255] xirs [1930:255] | xirs [5-1:28] | (?) | hūrč [2008a:b] | ħurč [KW:37] |

APPENDIX. THREE TEXTS WITH INTERLINEAR MORPHEMIC GLOSSING

In this appendix, three previously unpublished texts are presented along with interlinear morphemic glossing and free translation into English. The abbreviations are listed in the section immediately following the Table of Contents. Notes on the transcription, orthography, and conventions are given in Section 1.14. For summary information about these texts and the entire corpus, see Table 2.²⁷⁹

The three texts are numbered as subsequent to the nine texts in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012). Each text is divided into numbered units corresponding to the annotation units of the original transcribed versions in the ELAN software program. These annotation units sometimes contain more than one clause or sentence.²⁸⁰

Audio recordings of the texts are found in the Language Archive for the Dokumentation Bedrohter Sprachen (DoBeS) program at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, the Netherlands. The recordings can be accessed at:

<http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/gorani/>

Text 10. A short account of life and work in the village

Text 10 was recorded in 2007 by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in Gawraǰū village. The narrator, Ama Rangīna, was perhaps about sixty-five years old at that time. She grew up in the village and was considered to be a very good speaker of Gawraǰūyī. Her text occasionally shows the use of a few lexical items and grammatical features that are not found in other texts (see relevant footnotes).

The narrator first describes her earlier years as a young woman and then her present life in the village. She describes her farming work, especially the growing of tobacco, and her care of the livestock.

²⁷⁹ These texts and recordings have been graciously provided for my study by Parvin Mahmoudveysi. She selected these texts and supplied the initial transcriptions, translations, and many of the comments. We then worked in collaboration to produce the final transcriptions, translations, and analyze the grammatical and lexical forms. I have focused on the grammatical and lexical analysis, entered the data in the Fieldworks Language Explorer software program, and developed the interlinear morphemic glossing of the texts.

²⁸⁰ The individual printed lines below are presented in a format with a maximum number of elements in the space available and thus do not always correspond to a single grammatical clause or sentence.

(1) {no text}

—

{no text}

(2) ā dawra=y ima dawra=y xirāwī-k bī,
DIST.DEM.ADJ time=EZ_1 1PL_3 time=EZ_1 bad-INDF_1 COP.PST.3SG_2

ha dita-k-ān bī, sawād=šān nīya
just girl-DEF-PL_1 COP.PST.3SG_2 education=3PL NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

That time of us, it was a bad time, they were just girls, they have (i.e., had) no education.²⁸¹

(3) aǰā=y baybaxtī ha hawḥi zendegī=mān bē,
for=EZ_1 bad.luck just attempt life=1PL_1 COP.PST.3SG_1

m-wāt=mān ha kār bi-kar-ām
IPFV-say.PST=1PL_1 just work SBJV-do.PRS_1-1PL_4

For bad luck, it was just an attempt (i.e., working) for life, we used to say (i.e., we thought), we should just work.²⁸²

(4) pīyā-ka=mān nīya tanyā bē,
man_2-DEF=1PL_1 NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG alone COP.PST.3SG_1

tamākū kāḥi=mān ma-ka
tobacco_1 cultivation=1PL_1 IPFV-do.PST_1

(It was because) our (i.e., my) husband is not there, (?) was alone, we would plant tobacco.

(5) ma-ǰaft-ī-yām=a daskana aw kaš_kū
IPFV-go.PST-NA-1PL_4=DIR legume.harvesting to_3 mountains

We would go to reap (i.e., legumes by hand) to ... the mountains.

(6) pawčī hič=mān aǰā=y ištan=iš, sawād
therefore nothing=1PL_1 for=EZ_1 RFL_1=3SG_3 education

ī čišṭ-ān=a
PROX.DEM.ADJ thing_2-PL_1=DEM.PTCL#_1

Therefore, none of us simply²⁸³ (had the opportunity of) education, these things.

²⁸¹ The words written here as *xirāwīk* and *sawādšān* were originally transcribed as *xrāwīk* and *swādšān*, which reflect reduction of a short vowel in the syllable preceding a stressed syllable.

²⁸² The speaker has been asked about her work and the time it takes to grow tobacco.

²⁸³ This phrase (and variants), *aǰā=y ištan*, is rendered in the free translation as ‘simply’ (here and elsewhere).

- (7) tamākū, tūla = mān ma-nīyā
tobacco_1 small.plant = 1PL_1 IPFV-put.PST_2
Tobacco? We would put the small plants (in the ground).
- (8) ē, awaṭ gūl = mān haw ma-yā,
eh_2 first_4 small.hole_1 = 1PL_1 out IPFV-give.PST
jā awaṭ tūla-ka = mān ma-šan
then_1 first_4 small.plant-DEF = 1PL_1 IPFV-embed.PST
Eh, first we would dig out a small hole, then first we would embed the small plants.²⁸⁴
- (9) {#gū, gū gūlš} gūl = iš = mān haw ma-yā
{xxx} small.hole_1 = 3SG_3 = 1PL_1 out IPFV-give.PST
{xxx} We would dig out a small hole.²⁸⁵
- (10) jā tūla = mān ma-kan(d), tūla-ka = mān
then_1 small.plant = 1PL_1 IPFV-dig.PST small.plant-DEF = 1PL_1
ī jūr ma-nīyā {xxx}
PROX.DEM.ADJ way_2 IPFV-put.PST_2 {xxx}
Then we would dig the small plant (or: hole in ground), we would put the small plant (in the ground) this way {xxx},
- (11) aw, dilē
to_3 into
to, into
- (12) {#š} gūl-aka = y = u
{xxx} small.hole_1-DEF = POSTP#_1 = and
šaṭṭ-aka = š = mān ma-čūqnī = u
shoot-DEF = 3SG_3 = 1PL_1 IPFV-cause.to.plant.PST = and
{xxx} the small hole and we would plant its shoots and ...
- (13) jā ī, ina ma-zān-ē, say faraydūn
then_1 PROX.DEM.ADJ PROX_4 IND-know.PRS-3SG_8 Sayyid Faraydūn
Then this, this one knows, Say Faraydūn.

²⁸⁴ The preverb transcribed here and in the next sentence as *haw* seems to be pronounced as *ho*.

²⁸⁵ The term *gūl* refers to a small hole with a width of several centimeters.

- (14) inān ya dawra az gāwāra = y biya-n,
 PROX.PL_1 one_1 time in_3 Gāwāra.(Gahvāre) = POSTP#_1 COP.PRF.3SG-3PL_1

tamāko kāḥī = šān kar(d) = ē
 tobacco_1 cultivation = 3PL do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

They, one time, they have been in Gahvāre, they have planted tobacco.²⁸⁶

- (15) tūla = mān ma-nīyā = u āw = mān ma-yā = u
 small.plant = 1PL_1 IPFV-put.PST_2 = and water = 1PL_1 IPFV-give.PST = and

We would plant the small plants and we would water them and ...

- (16) ĵā {#way = č = iš} way = č = mān ma-ka = u
 then_1 {xxx} care = ADD_1 = 1PL_1 IPFV-do.PST_1 = and

aw_šün = iš ma-wī = mān = u
 after_1 = 3SG_3 IPFV-cut.PST_2 = 1PL_1 = and

Then we also would take care (of them), and after that we would cut (them) and ...

- (17) haw = mān ma-nā {#taw}, ĵā {xxx} ma-šiknī = u
 out = 1PL_1 IPFV-lay.PST {xxx} then_1 {xxx} IPFV-break.PST = and

we used to lay {xxx} out (i.e., to dry), then {xxx} we would break it and ...

- (18) zāmat, fra-y fra-y zāmat = iš bē,
 effort/trouble much-NA much-NA effort/trouble = 3SG_3 COP.PST.3SG_1

way way war tāwsān = ay
 woe woe in.front.of summer = POSTP#_1

trouble, it had (i.e., with it?) much, much trouble, woe, woe, in front of summer (i.e., facing the hot summer)!

- (19) tā, e, sē māng, ā tā sē māng
 up.to eh three month yes_3 up.to three month

tūl ma-kēš-ē, tā bi-ny-ē = š = u
 prolong/last IND-pull.PRS_2-3SG_8 until SBJV-put.PRS_2-3SG_8 = 3SG_3 = and

tā būr = iš = u āw = iš bīya-y = u
 until SBJV.cut.PRS = 3SG_3 = and water = 3SG_3 SBJV.give.DIR-2SG = and

Up to, eh, three months, yes, it takes up to three months, until one plants it and until one cuts it and you give it water and ...

²⁸⁶ The word transcribed as *tamāko* appears to be a variant of the more frequent *tamākū*.

- (20) *ĵā* *haw = iŝ* *bi-nāy = u* *wišk = wa* *mawu*
 then_1 out = 3SG_3 SBJV-set.PRS = and dry = PTCL# be.PRS.3SG
 {#qa} *āqa* *zāmat = mān* *bē,* *ma-řa(ft)*
 {xxx} so.much_3 effort/trouble = 1PL_1 COP.PST.3SG_1 IPFV-go.PST
ča *ī* *bān = a*
 here_2 PROX.DEM.ADJ upper.area = DEM.PTCL#_1
 Then one sets it out, and it becomes dry, {xxx} we had so much trouble, he (i.e., we) would go here to this upper area,²⁸⁷
- (21) *daskana = mān* *ma-ka*
 legume.harvesting = 1PL_1 IPFV-do.PST_1
 we would harvest legumes.
- (22) *ā,* {#ĵü} *ĵür* *daskana* *kir-yā-y*
 yes_3 {xxx} like legume.harvesting do.PST_2-PASS.PST_2-NA
 Yes, {xxx} like, it was harvested (i.e., by hand).²⁸⁸
- (23) *ay* *čü* {#das} *wa* *xwā* *das = mān = iŝ* *zaxm* *ma-ka,*
 oh_1 how_2 {#hand_2} by God_2 hand_2 = 1PL_1 = 3SG_3 wound IPFV-do.PST_1
ya *gaz* {#za}, *ya* *das* *xün*
 one_1 square.meter {xxx} one_1 hand_2 blood
ma-ništ = a *bān* *sar = mān,* *dözaq*
 IPFV-sit.PST = DIR on head = 1PL_1 hell
 Oh, how, {xxx} by God, it would wound our hands, one meter (i.e., so tall) {xxx}, (like) one hand of blood, it was sitting on our heads (i.e., our hands bled), (it was like) hell.
- (24) *fra* *fra* {#lo, hīn} *maynat = mān* *bē*
 much much {xxx, thing_4} hardship = 1PL_1 COP.PST.3SG_1
 We had much, much {xxx} hardship.
- (25) *ha* *čimā,* *ha* *hüč* *kār = mān* *ni-ma-ka*
 just as.if just no_1 work = 1PL_1 NEG_1-IPFV-do.PST_1
 (But) it (was) just as if, just we were not doing any work (i.e., we were not tired).

²⁸⁷ The word transcribed as *wišk = wa* ‘dry = PTCL’ seems to be pronounced here as *wišk = wā*.

²⁸⁸ The speaker has been asked about harvesting legumes and if they actually did the work by hand.

- (26) a ī kiddān = mān = a mi-nā,
 PROX.PTCL# PROX.DEM.ADJ {?} = 1PL_1 = DEM.PTCL#_1 IPFV-put.PRS_3

ī kiddān = mān = a mi-nārd
 PROX.DEM.ADJ {?} = 1PL_1 = DEM.PTCL#_1 IPFV-send.PST_2

We would place exactly this ‘kiddān’, we would send this kiddān.

- (27) gišt = iš wa ya kuna = y, kuna = y qawī
 all = 3SG_3 with a_1 goatskin.sack = EZ_1 goatskin.sack = EZ_1 strong

qawī = mān bē, wa kuna āw = mān ma-kīšt
 strong = 1PL_1 COP.PST.3SG_1 with goatskin.sack water = 1PL_1 IPFV-pull.PST

All of it with a ‘kuna’ of, we had a strong, strong ‘kuna’ goatskin (or sheepskin) water container, we would pull up (or: bring) water with the goatskin water container.

- (28) na ī šēr āw = a nawē,
 NEG PROX.DEM.ADJ faucet water = DEM.PTCL#_1 NEG.COP/exist.PST.3SG

ma-raft-yām až āw, sirāw qawī = t = a
 IPFV-go.PST-1PL_4 from water water.source strong = 2SG = DEM.PTCL#_1

dī = ya, (ī) jūr = a bān = iš
 see.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_3(?) (PROX.DEM.ADJ) way_2 = DEM.PTCL#_1 top = 3SG_3

na-gir-īs-a = wē,
 NEG_2-cover.PST-PASS.PST_1-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3SG

až ā sirāw = a = mān m-āwir(d)
 from DIST.DEM.ADJ water.source = DEM.PTCL#_1 = 1PL_1 IPFV-bring.PST_2

No, this faucet (for) water did not exist, we would go (bring) from the water (source), have you seen (?) this strong source of water? (It was not this) way, (i.e., how it seems today), the top of it was not covered (i.e., as it is now), we would bring (water) from that source of water.²⁸⁹

- (29) wa kuna, ā wa dāwu
 with goatskin.sack yes_3 by Dāwu

With the goatskin water container, yes, by Dāwu.

- (30) ā māngāw = mān bē, pas = mān bē,
 DIST.DEM.ADJ cow_1 = 1PL_1 COP.PST.3SG_1 sheep = 1PL_1 COP.PST.3SG_1

xwā šāhat = ē, dirw-ān ni-ma-tī-m
 God_2 witness = COP.PRS.3SG_1 lie/falsehood-PL_1 NEG_1-IND-give.PRS_2-1SG

Yes, we had cows, we had sheep, God is (my) witness, I am not lying.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ The word transcribed in this sentence as *nagirīsawē* seems to be pronounced as *nayirīsawē*.

²⁹⁰ The speaker has been asked about her livestock.

- (31) gišt, gi(rd)(?) jür-ēk = mān bē,
all every type-INDF_1 = 1PL_1 COP.PST.3SG_1
ya {# dü} da pas = mān biya, da bizin biya,
one_1 {#two_2} ten sheep = 1PL_1 COP.PRF.3SG ten goat COP.PRF.3SG
da mēš = im biya, māngāw = im biya
ten ram = 1SG COP.PRF.3SG cow_1 = 1SG COP.PRF.3SG
We had all, every kind, we had one {xxx} ten sheep, ten goats, I had ten rams, I had cow(s?).
- (32) tažu wa xizmat = (tān) naw,
comparable by service = 2PL NEG.SBJV.be.PRS.3SG
har = u gāw = mān biya, fra,
donkey = and cattle/oxen(?) = 1PL_1 COP.PRF.3SG many
ha čimā kār = im ni-ma-ka
just as.if work = 1SG NEG_1-IPFV-do.PST_1
May it not be impolite in (your) presence: we had donkeys and cattle (oxen?), many, just as if I was not doing any work.
- (33) ā qar = a kār = mān ma-ka, ha šakat
DIST.DEM.ADJ amount = DEM.PTCL#_1 work = 1PL_1 IPFV-do.PST_1 just tired
ni-ma-wīs-yām, isa ma-wīn-ī = mān
NEG_1-IPFV-COP.PST-1PL_4 now_6 IND-see.PRS-2SG = 1PL_1
We would do that much work, we were not tired at all, now you see us.²⁹¹
- (34) a isay bi-š-im tā ā dilē
PROX.PTCL# now_5 SBJV-go.PRS-1SG up.to DIST.DEM.ADJ inside
āwāyī = ya, čimā ma-tī-m = a mila-ka = y
village_5 = DEM.PTCL#_1 as.if IND-give.PRS_2-1SG = DIR top.of.mountain-DEF = POSTP#_1
Just now when I go up to that middle of the village, (it is) as if I am going to the top of the mountain.²⁹²
- (35) ā haw ma-istī-yām,
yes_3 up IPFV-get.up.PST-1PL_4
swāna haywān-ak-ān = mān ma-māfi
in.mornings animal-DEF-PL_1 = 1PL_1 IPFV-clean.PST
Yes, we would get up, in the mornings we would clean out the animals (i.e., the place where they stay).

²⁹¹ The speaker has been asked about how she managed to do her work during a day.

²⁹² The form *dilē* ‘in, inside’ is a variant of *dile*.

- (36) aw_šün = iš, awaṭ pas = mān ma-wšī
 after_1 = 3SG_3 first_4 sheep = 1PL_1 IPFV-milk.PST

After that, first, we would milk the sheep.

- (37) pas-ak-ān = mān ma-wšī, māngāw-ak-ān = mān ma-wšī = u
 sheep-DEF-PL_1 = 1PL_1 IPFV-milk.PST cow_1-DEF-PL_1 = 1PL_1 IPFV-milk.PST = and

We would milk the sheep, we would milk the cows and

- (38) aw_šün = iš, jā ma-ka(r)d = mān = a dayšt,
 after_1 = 3SG_3 then_1 IPFV-do.PST_1 = 1PL_1 = DIR outside_2

ma-raft = a gāw-ān = u gala-ka
 IPFV-go.PST = DIR cattle-PL_1 = and flock-DEF

after that, then we would send them out, they would go to the cattle (herds) and the flocks,

- (39) gāw-ān = u gala = mān bē, aw_šün = iš jā,
 cattle-PL_1 = and flock = 1PL_1 COP.PST.3SG_1 after_1 = 3SG_3 then_1

hīn, pačak = mān ma-māḥī
 thing_4 enclosure = 1PL_1 IPFV-clean.PST

we had the cattle and the flocks. After that, then, thing, we would clean the place where the animals stay.

- (40) na ni-ma-raft-i-yām = a kūh,
 NEG NEG_1-IPFV-go.PST-NA-1PL_4 = DIR mountain

ha īna ka = mān bē, dawra = y īma,
 exactly PROX_4 house_1 = 1PL_1 COP.PST.3SG_1 time = EZ_1 1PL_3

ya dawra, ā dawra = y hasūra = m = a
 one_1 time DIST.DEM.ADJ time = EZ_1 mother.in.law = 1SG = DEM.PTCL#_1

No, we would not go to the mountains, just here we had a house, in our time, one time, that time of my mother-in-law.²⁹³

²⁹³ The speaker has been asked if they always have stayed in Gawraǰū or if they went to the mountain pastures to spend the summer seasons there. The speaker explains that during her life, they would stay in the village all year long, but during the lifetime of her mother-in-law, the family would go to the mountain pastures for the summer.

- (41) řaft-a = wīn = a
go.PST-PART = COP.PST.PRF.3PL = DIR

ī bān-a_wān = a, m-wāt = mān bān-a_wān,
PROX.DEM.ADJ Bān.a.Wān = DEM.PTCL#_1 IPFV-say.PST = 1PL_1 Bān.a.Wān

ma-řaft-in = u hīn = šān haw dā = y,
IPFV-go.PST-3PL_1 = and thing_4 = 3PL up give.PST = 3SG_1

kūmān = šān basī
tent_2 = 3PL pitch.PST

They had gone to this ‘Bān-a-Wān’ (field). We would say ‘Bān-a-Wān’, they would go (there) and they set up a thing, they pitched a tent.

- (42) pas = šān bard = ē,
sheep = 3PL take.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1

īsata dawra čü jár-ān nīya,
now_7 time like time_9-PL_1 NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

dawra gi jūr-ē gūr-īs = ē
time all way_2-INDF_2 change.PST-PASS.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

They have taken sheep (there), now the time is not like (those) times, the time has changed in all ways.

- (43) {#da} dawra = y diz-ī, zā† = šān ma-šo,
{xxx} time = EZ_1 thief-NA gall = 3PL IND-go.PRS.3SG

dī hūčka ni-ma-tān-ē dī,
any.longer nobody NEG_1-IND-can.PRS-3SG_8 any.longer

hīn bān = u_wān bi-nīš-ē
thing_4 Bān.u.Wān SBJV-sit.PRS-3SG_8

{xxx} (It is) the time of thieves, they are afraid, no longer, nobody can stay anymore in thing, Bān-u-Wān.

- (44) ā, ha aǰ_īnā zendegī = mān ma-ka,
 yes_3 just here_1 life = 1PL_1 IPFV-do.PST_1
- ī dayšt = a dīya = t = a = y,
 PROX.DEM.ADJ outside_2 = DEM.PTCL#_1 see.PST.(?) = 2SG = COP.PRS.3SG_3 = 3SG_1
- ǰā bi-nūr-ī, a ī qar = a
 when_4 SBJV-look.PRS-2SG PROX.PTCL# PROX.DEM.ADJ amount = DEM.PTCL#_1
- bāx = u zamīn = u, gi ī jūr = a bī
 garden_2 = and field = and all PROX.DEM.ADJ way_2 = DEM.PTCL#_1 COP.PST.3SG_2
- Yes, we were living just here. This plain, have you seen it, when you look out, just this many gardens and fields and, all (here) was like this?^{294 295}
- (45) īsa gišt-i = šān hīn ka(r)d = ē,
 now_6 all-EU = 3PL thing_4 do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- ī dawlat = a, {#bud} wa buǰdūziǰ
 PROX.DEM.ADJ government = DEM.PTCL#_1 {xxx} with bulldozer
- gišt-i = šān haw gardnī pār-aka, ā
 everything-EU = 3PL up cause.to.turn.PST last.year-DEF yes_3
- Now they have made all of it thing, this government, {xxx} with a bulldozer they dug up everything, last year, yes.
- (46) {xxx} wan m-wāǰ-ān bāx,
 {xxx} to.goal IND-say.PRS_1-3PL_2 garden_2
- ī dilē, dilē bāx-ān, ā
 PROX.DEM.ADJ in in garden_2-PL_1 yes_3
- {xxx} For it they say garden, this in, in gardens, yes.

²⁹⁴ The speaker is talking about gardens.

²⁹⁵ The gloss of *dīya = t = a = y* in this sentence is provisional.

- (47) ay ima ya bāx = mān bē,
 but.still 1PL_3 a_1 garden_2 = 1PL_1 COP.PST.3SG_1
 yačka dār girdakān = u šaftalū = u ha ī ya zardalū,
 a.few tree walnuts = and peach = and just PROX.DEM.ADJ one_1 apricot
 inān = č = a bē,
 PROX.PL_1 = ADD_1 = DEM.PTCL#_1 COP.PST.3SG_1
 ā ina dü sāt-a hām = ē = ya bar
 yes_3 PROX_4 two_2 year-NA come.PST_2 = COP.PRS.3SG_1 = DIR forth

But still we had a garden, a few walnut trees and peaches and just this one apricot, there were also these things, yes, it is two years that they have borne fruit.²⁹⁶

- (48) ina dü sāt-a bar m-āy
 PROX_4 two_2 year-NA forth IND-come.PRS.3SG

This (is) two years that it bears fruit.

- (49) dī, isay, mināt-ak-ān = iš hīn = a šāhābāt-ē = u
 so.then now_5 child-DEF-PL_1 = ADD_2 thing_4 = NA Šāhābāt-NA = and

Then, now, the children are (in) that of (or thing of?) Šāhābād and ...

- (50) dāyaka = šān, yā xātir mināt-ak-ān, ina dü sāt-ya dī,
 mother_4 = 3PL either benefit child-DEF-PL_1 PROX_4 two_2 year-NA so.then

ān ma-šo āna, ya ka = šān sanī,
 DIST_1 IND-go.PRS.3SG DIST_4 a_1 house_1 = 3PL buy.PST

ka-ka-y fra xās nīya wa dāwu
 house_1-DEF-NA very_2 good NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG by Dāwu

Their mother, either for the sake of the children, this (is) two years, then, she goes there, they bought a house. The house is not very good, by Dāwu.

- (51) walī, dī min ĥa ĵa awaṭ, pār-aka = w
 but_1 so.then 1SG always from_1 beginning last.year-DEF = POSTP#_2

wa lā = y bīsīm,
 by presence = EZ_1 COP.PST.1SG

wa ĥa dilē āwāyī bīsīm
 by always in village_5 COP.PST.1SG

But, then I was always from the beginning, from (?) last year I was here, I was always in the village.

²⁹⁶ The speaker has been asked if she has a garden (orchard). She then talks about her own children and that they have moved away from the village to live in the city. She also speaks about her present life in the village.

- (52) {#na} isata dī imsāṭ, dita-ka wāt = iš,
 {xxx} now_7 so.then this.year daughter-DEF say.PST = 3SG_3
- {#di} dita dileṛāsīn = a āma wāt = i(š) wa xwayā,
 {xxx} daughter middle = DEM.PTCL#_1 come.PST_1 say.PST = 3SG_3 by God_3
- tā tu n-ār-imē inā,
 until 2SG NEG_2-bring.PRS-1PL_8 PROX_3
- až_ānā tāqat ni-m-ār-im
 then patience NEG_1-IND-bring.PRS-1SG
- {xxx} Now, then, this year, the (my) daughter said, {xxx} the middle daughter, she came, she said: “By God, unless we bring you here, then I cannot bear it (i.e., I miss you so much).”
- (53) pūṭ ma-yā = t = u to čü tanyā
 money IPFV-give.PST = 2SG = and 2SG how_1 alone
- She was giving money to you, and (the daughter says:) “How (can) you (be) alone?”²⁹⁷
- (54) hay ya ūtāq, dū ūtāq = a,
 just.only one_1 room two_2 room = COP.PRS.3SG_3
- dū ūtāq-aka hamsā-ka = m-ī,
 two_2 room-DEF neighbor-DEF = 1SG-OBL
- birārzā = m bē, ānī ka = š ṛaft = a šāhābāt
 child.of.brother = 1SG COP.PST.3SG_1 DIST_2 house_1 = 3SG_3 go.PST = DIR Šāhābāt
- Just one room, it is two rooms, the two rooms of (?) my neighbor, he (she?) was my brother’s child, that one, his (her) house(hold) went to Šāhābād.
- (55) ka = š ṛaft = a šāhābāt, īsta aṛā = y ištan = iš,
 house_1 = 3SG_3 go.PST = DIR Šāhābāt now_7 for = EZ_1 RFL_1 = 3SG_3
- dī min = i(č) tāq_tānyā bīsīm,
 so.then 1SG = ADD_1 completely.alone COP.PST.1SG
- ṛast = it garak = ē
 reality/truth = 2SG want = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- His house(hold) went to Šāhābād, now for himself (or: simply?). So then I was also completely alone, if you want (to know) the reality.

²⁹⁷ The subject referent of the first clause is not clear.

- (56) m-wāčē so_sob b-wār-ē,
 IND-kept.saying.3SG near.future SBJV-rain/snow.PRS-3SG_8
 kī ī bān bar = a,
 who_2 PROX.DEM.ADJ roof front = DEM.PTCL#_1
 bān gilē ma-tī-yē wafir = iš m-ā(y),
 roof roof.roller IND-give.PRS_2-3SG_8 snow = 3SG_3 IND-come.PRS.3SG
 jā wafir m-āy
 then_1 snow IND-come.PRS.3SG

She kept saying: “If in the near future, it snows, who will use the roller on this roof front (?), roof, it snows. Then, it snows (here).”²⁹⁸

- (57) {zi} hīn = ē, xirāw = ē,
 {xxx} thing_4 = COP.PRS.3SG_1 bad = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ēṭāx = ē,
 high.summer.pastureland = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ī gawrajū = wa ēṭāx = ē
 PROX.DEM.ADJ Gawrajū = DEM.PTCL#_1 high.summer.pastureland = COP.PRS.3SG_1
 {xxx} It is thing, it is bad, it is high summer pastureland, this Gawrajū is high summer pastureland.

- (58) so_sob, {#aw qa} ī qa wafir ma-nya
 near.future {xxx} PROX.DEM.ADJ amount snow IND-put.PRS_3.3SG
 In the near future, {xxx} it puts down this much (i.e., a lot of) snow.

- (59) jā m-wār-ē, {#tika} tika = š hay m-āy,
 then_1 IND-rain/snow.PRS-3SG_8 {#drop_2} drop_2 = 3SG_3 always IND-come.PRS.3SG
 īnāna xās = ē, bān = iš qīl gūnī = yan
 PROX.PL_3 good = COP.PRS.3SG_1 roof = 3SG_3 asphalt sack = COP.PRS.3SG_2
 Then it snows (rains?), {xxx} its drops always come (down from the roof), these (houses of people) are good, the roofs have (i.e., are covered with) asphalt (and) sacks.

- (60) ī ka-yān {#kay?} īna
 PROX.DEM.ADJ house_1-PL_1 {xxx} PROX_4
 These houses here (?).

²⁹⁸ A very heavy roller made of stone is used to pack down the earthen roof after it rains, to seal the roof.

(61) īsa ina qīl gūnī = ya,
 now₆ PROX₄ asphalt sack = COP.PRS.3SG₃(?)

ī ka-yān = a min hay = m wan-ē,
 PROX.DEM.ADJ house₁-PL₁ = DEM.PTCL#₁ 1SG just = 1SG at.goal-NA

bān māhī-ya = yš ni-mawu
 roof clean.PST-PART = NA NEG₁-be.PRS.3SG

Now this is asphalt and sack, these houses, I am in just now, roof-cleaning (of it?) is not needed.

(62) a ī ya čik = ič = a,
 PROX.PTCL# PROX.DEM.ADJ a₁ bit₂ = ADD₁ = DEM.PTCL#₁

ya bānjīla = yč = a hīn,
 a₁ upstairs.porch = ADD₁ = DEM.PTCL#₁ thing₄

hayda {#mamā} ma-māṭ-ē = š
 Hayda {xxx} IND-roll/clean.PRS-3SG₈ = 3SG₃

Exactly this small piece too, an upstairs porch (or: landing) too, thing, Hayda {xxx} cleans it (i.e., pulls the roller on it).

Text 11. The story of *Mīnā* and *Gunka Čāyira*

Text 11 was recorded in 2007 by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in Gawraǰū village. The narrator, Arūs, is a very good speaker of Gawraǰūyī. At the time of recording, she was about thirty-five years old. Her daughter was also present at the recording.

The story is a traditional narrative (*dāstān*) about a girl who endures great misfortune but finds her reward in the end.

- (1) mawu ya dita-yēk,
be.PRS.3SG a_1 daughter/girl-INDF_1

ān = ič ha dwāra bāwažan = iš mawu
DIST_1 = ADD_1 just again_3 stepmother = 3SG_3 be.PRS.3SG

There is a girl, she also just again has a stepmother.

- (2) ya dita tir = iš mawu
a_1 daughter/girl another = 3SG_3 be.PRS.3SG

She has another daughter.

- (3) dita-ka bē dāyka-ka mīnā esm = iš mawu
daughter/girl-DEF without_3 mother_4-DEF Mīnā name_1 = 3SG_3 be.PRS.3SG

The girl without the mother, *Mīnā* is her name.

- (4) bāwažan-aka = š ya dita = š mawu,
stepmother-DEF = 3SG_3 a_1 daughter = 3SG_3 be.PRS.3SG

gunka čāyira = š esm = iš mawu
Gunka.Čāyira = 3SG_3 name_1 = 3SG_3 be.PRS.3SG

(As for) her stepmother, she has a daughter, *Gunka Čāyira* is her name.²⁹⁹

- (5) šawakī řūž = wa-w mawu, tā ēwāra ya gūra = šān mawu
early.morning day_3 = PTCL#-NA be.PRS.3SG until evening_2 a_1 calf = 3PL be.PRS.3SG

It is from early in the morning (?), until evening, they have a calf.

²⁹⁹ The function of = *iš* on *gunka čāyira* is not clear.

- (6) ya tašī=u xurī-ya ma-tī=ya wa das dita-ka=wa
 a_1 yarn=and spindle-NA IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR to_6 hand_2 girl-DEF=POSTP#_3
 ka mīnā esm=iš=ē,
 COMP Mīnā name_1=3SG_3=COP.PRS.3SG_1
 bāwažan-aka, m-wāy bi-řaw tā ēwāra
 stepmother-DEF IND-say.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS_1 until evening_2
 ī tašī=ya mawu bi-řs-ī,
 PROX.DEM.ADJ yarn=DEM.PTCL#_1 be.PRS.3SG SBJV-spin.PRS-2SG
 piř=iš b-ār-ī=wa, bandřasī isa,
 full_2=3SG_3 SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG=PTCL# spinning now_6
 gūra-ka=yš sēr bi-kar-ī
 calf-DEF=ADD_2 full_1 SBJV-do.PRS_1-2SG

One gives a yarn and spindle to the girl whose name is Mīnā, the stepmother, she says: “Go, until evening, you must spin this yarn, (you must) bring it back full, spinning now, as for the calf, (you must) feed it full.”

- (7) mīnā=yč šawakī ma-šu tā ēwāra, bēčāra
 Mīnā=ADD_1 early.morning IND-go.PRS.3SG until evening_2 poor.one_2
 dī wa_qay kū=wa, tašī ma-řs-ē=u
 then_2 upon_4 mountain=POSTP#_3 yarn IND-spin.PRS-3SG_8=and
 gūra ma-lawřn-ē
 calf IND-cause.to.graze-3SG_8

As for Mīnā, early morning she goes until evening, poor child, then upon the mountain, she spins the yarn and has the calf graze.

- (8) ma-wram-ē=u dāya ma-ka-y, m-wāy
 IND-cry.PRS-3SG_8=and mother_5 IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8 IND-say.PRS.3SG
 xwā, ařā dāyka=y ēma=t kušt=ē,
 God_2 why mother_4=EZ_1 1PL_2=2SG kill.PST=COP.PRS.3SG_1
 ī jūr=a min {#bēčāra}
 PROX.DEM.ADJ way_2=DEM.PTCL#_1 1SG {hardship}
 ī hamka-y bēčāra=ya bi-kēš-im
 PROX.DEM.ADJ much-NA hardship=DEM.PTCL#_1 SBJV-pull.PRS_2-1SG

She cries and calls her mother, she says: “O God, why have you killed our mother, in this way {#hardship} I should suffer this much hardship?”

- (9) ya řūž-ēk wā m-āy, ma-tī=ya
 one_1 day_3-INDF_1 wind_2 IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR
 wa tašī-yaka=š=ay, ma-yar-ē=š
 to_6 yarn-DEF=3SG_3=POSTP#_1 IND-take.PRS-3SG_8=3SG_3

One day, the wind comes, it hits her yarn, it takes it (away).

- (10) inī bēčāra wa_šün taši=u xurī-yaka=ya
 PROX_2 poor.one_2 after_2 yarn=and spindle-DEF=POSTP#_1

ha ma-řam-ē, ha ma-řam-ē, ha ma-šu
 always IND-run.PRS-3SG_8 always IND-run.PRS-3SG_8 always IND-go.PRS.3SG

She, poor child, always runs after the yarn and spindle, she always runs, she always goes.

- (11) kam ma-šu fra ma-šu, ma-wīn-ē,
 little IND-go.PRS.3SG much IND-go.PRS.3SG IND-see.PRS-3SG_8

xurī=u taši-yaka=š ya_dafayī, ya darwač wāz bē,
 spindle=and yarn-DEF=3SG_3 suddenly a_1 small.door open COP.PST.3SG_1

řaft=a dile wā
 go.PST=DIR into in.it

She goes little (i.e., a little ways), she goes a lot (i.e., a long ways), she sees, her spindle and yarn, suddenly, a small door was open, she went into it.

- (12) řaft=a dile wā, inī ma-šu=wa wār
 go.PST=DIR into in.it PROX_2 IND-go.PRS.3SG=DIR down

She went into it, she (also?) goes down.

- (13) ma-šu=wa wār, ma-wīn-ē yak kaywānū qař,
 IND-go.PRS.3SG=DIR down IND-see.PRS-3SG_8 a_1 lady big(?)

hām=wa dam=iř=wa
 come.PST_2=DIR close.presence=3SG_3=POSTP#_3

She goes down, she sees a big (?) lady, she came up to her (i.e., to welcome her).

- (14) {#wiřisa}, m-wāy wař hāma=y, ā mīnā,
 {xxx} IND-say.PRS.3SG well come.PST_1=COP.PRS.2SG oh Mīnā

wa xayr b-āy, ina čü hāma=y irā,
 with goodness SBJV-come.PRS.3SG PROX_4 how_1 come.PST_1=COP.PRS.2SG here

kā ma-š-ī, m-wāy wařā,
 where IND-go.PRS-2SG IND-say.PRS.3SG by.God_2

wa_šün taši=u xurī-yaka=yim hāma=ym
 after_2 yarn=and spindle-DEF=1SG come.PST_1=COP.PRS.1SG

{xxx}. She says: “You are welcome, O Mīnā, may you come with blessing (i.e., welcome), so it is, how have you come here? Where are you going?” She says: “By God, I have come after my yarn and spindle.

- (15) bāwažan-ka = m ma-k(u)š-ē = m,
stepmother-DEF = 1SG IND-kill.PRS-3SG_8 = 1SG

das = it dar(d) na-ka-y,
hand_2 = 2SG pain NEG_2-do.PRS_1-NA

tašī = u xurī-yaka = m bīya tā
yarn = and spindle-DEF = 1SG SBJV.give.PRS.DIR so.that

bi-yar-m = iš = u bi-š-im = wa
SBJV-take.PRS-1SG = 3SG_3 = and SBJV-go.PRS-1SG = PTCL#

My stepmother beats (lit., kills) me, thank you, give me my yarn and spindle so that I may take them and I may go back.”

- (16) inī m-wāy, ayar min tašī = u xurī-yaka = t
PROX_2 IND-say.PRS.3SG if_7 1SG yarn = and spindle-DEF = 2SG

bi-tī-m wan = it = u bi-yar-ī = wa
SBJV-give.PRS_2-1SG to.goal = 2SG = and SBJV-take.PRS-2SG = PTCL#

She says: “If I give your yarn and spindle to you and you take them away,

- (17) {# ē} dö sē kār mawu ařā = m bi-kar-ī
{eh_2} two three task must_2 for = 1SG SBJV-do.PRS_1-2SG

āsā ma-tī-m = iš wan = it, m-wāy bāšad,
then IND-give.PRS_2-1SG = 3SG_3 to.goal = 2SG IND-say.PRS.3SG all.right

tu har_čī b-wāy, ařā = t anĵām ma-tī-m
2SG all SBJV-say.PRS.2SG for = 2SG fulfillment IND-give.PRS_2-1SG

you must (first) do {xxx} two (or) three tasks for me, then I give them to you.” She says: “All right, everything you say, I will fulfill for you.”

- (18) m-wāy bi-řaw až ā ka
IND-say.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS_4 in_2 DIST.DEM.ADJ house_1

tāw = im haw nāt = ē = u,
swing = 1SG up hang.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 = and

dö sē gila tāw bi-kar = a ařā iřtan = it,
two three unit_1 swing SBJV-do.PRS_1 = DIR for RFL_1 = 2SG

b-awrāw bi-zān tāw-aka = y min waš = ē,
SBJV-(?) SBJV-find.out.PRS swing-DEF = EZ_1 1SG pleasant = COP.PRS.3SG_1

yā tāw-aka = y bāwažan = it
or swing-DEF = EZ_1 stepmother = 2SG

She says: “Go, in that house, I have hung up a swing and swing two (or) three times, simply (lit., for yourself), come back (?), find out, is my swing pleasant or the swing of your stepmother?”

- (19) waxtē m-āy ma-šū
when IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-go.PRS.3SG
- ma-šū = wa dile otāq = wa ma-wīn-ē,
IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR into room = POSTP#_3 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8
- panj šaš gila mār = iš kard = ē dār = ay
five six_2 unit_1 snake = 3SG_3 do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1 wooden.beam = POSTP#_1
- When she sets off (lit., comes, goes), she goes into the room, she sees (that) she has hung five (or) six snakes in the beams.
- (20) xulāsa dita-ka wa_qay dah bīs daqa ma-nīš-ē,
in.short girl-DEF upon_4 ten twenty minute IND-wait.PRS-3SG_8
- m-āy ma-šū = wa, m-wāy ā mīnā,
IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR IND-say.PRS.3SG oh Mīnā
- m-wāy baṭē, m-wāy
IND-say.PRS.3SG yes IND-say.PRS.3SG
- tāw-aka = y min waš bē,
swing-DEF = EZ_1 1SG pleasant COP.PST.3SG_1
- tā ina-ya = y bāwažan = it
than PROX_4-NA = EZ_1 stepmother = 2SG
- In short, the girl waits in there ten (or) twenty minutes, she comes, goes back. She says: “O Mīnā!” She says: “Yes?” She says: “Was my swing (more) pleasant than this one of your stepmother?”
- (21) m-wāy tāw-aka = y tu waš bē dāya,
IND-say.PRS.3SG swing-DEF = EZ_1 2SG pleasant COP.PST.3SG_1 mother_5
- tāw-aka = y tu narm bē,
swing-DEF = EZ_1 2SG soft COP.PST.3SG_1
- pūs = e guṭ_guṭi = u qašang = šān bē
skin = EZ_1 flowered = and beautiful = 3PL COP.PST.3SG_1
- She says: “Your swing was pleasant, Mother, your swing was soft, they had a flowered and beautiful skin.
- (22) walī tāw-aka = y bāwažan = im, řisan = ē,
but_1 swing-DEF = EZ_1 stepmother = 1SG spun = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- bū bāzig = ē, wa kār ni-m-āy,
smell bad(?) = COP.PRS.3SG_1 at_4 work NEG_1-IND-come.PRS.3SG
- čiz ma-tī = ya
barb IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR
- But the swing of my stepmother, it is spun, it is (i.e., has) a bad (?) smell, it is not practical, it stabs (i.e., it has barbs).”

- (23) xulāsa kaywānū-waka dī hūč ni-m-wāy,
in.short lady-DEF else nothing NEG_1-IND-say.PRS.3SG

m-wāy ā minā, m-wāy baṭē
IND-say.PRS.3SG oh Mīnā IND-say.PRS.3SG yes

In short, the lady does not say anything else, she says: “O Mīnā!” She (Mīnā) says: “Yes?”

- (24) m-wāy bi-řaw
IND-say.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS_4

ya kam āw až koṭangadān-aka ařā = m hay bi-kaš,
a_1 little water in_2 goatskin.bucket-DEF for = 1SG just SBJV-pull.PRS_3

kuna-ka, b-ār tā b-war-im
goatskin.sack-DEF SBJV-bring.PRS so.that SBJV-eat/drink.PRS-1SG

She says: “Go, just draw a little water in the goatskin bucket for me, the goatskin (water) sack, bring (it) so I may drink.”

- (25) waxtē ma-šu, ma-wīn-ē, āw haw bi-kar-ē,
when IND-go.PRS.3SG IND-see.PRS-3SG_8 water up SBJV-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

ma-wīn-ē baṭē, ī koṭangān = š = a
IND-see.PRS-3SG_8 indeed PROX.DEM.ADJ goatskin.bucket = 3SG_3 = DEM.PTCL#_1

fra tārik = ē wahšatnāk,
much darkness = COP.PRS.3SG_1 dreadful

āna = š = a wa jā = y išan = iš,
DIST_4 = 3SG_3 = DEM.PTCL#_1 at_4 place_3 = EZ_1 RFL_1 = 3SG_3

bar kuna-ka = š-ī
front goatskin.sack-DEF = 3SG_3-NA

dubāra yak gila mār = iš bast = ē wāna
again_1 one_1 unit_1 snake = 3SG_3 tie.PST_2 = COP.PRS.3SG_1 to.it

When she goes, she sees, she may pull up water, she sees, indeed, this goatskin bucket has much darkness, dreadful, there in its own place, in front of the (opening of the?) goatskin sack, she has tied one snake to it again.

- (26) m-wāy xwāyā
IND-say.PRS.3SG O.God_1

min či jūr bar ī kuna wāz kar-im,
1SG what_2 manner_2 front PROX.DEM.ADJ goatskin.sack open do.PRS_1-1SG

ī āw = a ařā = y ī žan = a
PROX.DEM.ADJ water = DEM.PTCL#_1 for = EZ_1 PROX.DEM.ADJ woman_2 = DEM.PTCL#_1

a(ž) ī kuna bi-yar-im
from PROX.DEM.ADJ goatskin.sack SBJV-take.PRS-1SG

She says: “O God, how can I open the front (or: top?) of this goatskin sack, take this water for this woman from this goatskin sack?”

- (27) xulāsa wa har jūr-ē mawu
 in.short by every way₂-INDF₁ be.PRS.3SG
 dī xwāyā kūmak=iš ma-kar-ē,
 so.then God₄ help=3SG₃ IND-do.PRS₁-3SG₈
 wa tuk čukul-ēk mār-aka hay ma-nā
 with head stick-INDF₁ snake-DEF just IND-put.PRS₃
 až bar kuna-ka āw-aka=š hay ma-kar-ē
 from front goatskin.sack-DEF water-DEF=3SG₃ bit.by.bit IND-do.PRS₁-3SG₈
 piř ya jām až nō, bar kuna-ka dwāra
 full₂ a₁ bowl₁ from anew front goatskin.sack-DEF again₃
 wa {#mā} mār-aka m-ār-ē qay=š-ī wa čū-waka
 at₄ {xxx} snake-DEF IND-bring.PRS-3SG₈ on₅=3SG₃-NA with wood₃-DEF

In short, it is in any way, so God helps her, with the end of a stick she just puts (i.e., removes) the snake from the front of the goatskin sack, bit by bit she fills a bowl with the water, again, (from) the front of the goatskin sack, again she brings (out) {xxx} the snake, upon it with the wood (i.e., in order to remove it from the front of the hole).

- (28) bar-aka=š ma-yas-ē=u m-āy=a bān
 front-DEF=3SG₃ IND-close.PRS₂-3SG₈=and IND-come.PRS.3SG=DIR upstairs
 āw ma-tī=ya wan, m-wāy
 water IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR to.goal IND-say.PRS.3SG
 das=it dar(d) na-ka-y sīr āw=im wa(rd),
 hand₂=2SG pain NEG₂-do.PRS₁-NA full₁ water=1SG drink.PST
 m-wāy nūš=e gīyan=it dāya
 IND-say.PRS.3SG suitability=EZ₁ body₂=2SG mother₅

She closes its front (or: its top?), and she comes upstairs, she gives the water to her, she says: “Thank you, I drank my fill of water.” She says: “May it bless (suit) your body, Mother.”

- (29) m-wāy hay řūta, m-wāy bařē, m-wāy
 IND-say.PRS.3SG O dear.child IND-say.PRS.3SG yes IND-say.PRS.3SG
 bi-řaw ya čika qazā=m=iš durus kard=ē,
 SBJV-go.PRS₄ a₁ bit₁ food=1SG=ADD₂ prepare do.PST₁=COP.PRS.3SG₁
 až ā ka=ya
 in₂ DIST.DEM.ADJ house₁=DEM.PTCL#₁

She says: “O dear child!” She says: “Yes?” She says: “Go, I have cooked a bit of food, in that house.

- (30) ya kam haṭwā = m kard = ē, bi-zān-a
a_1 little sweet.pastries = 1SG do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1 SBJV-find.out.PRS-2PL_1

haṭwā-ka = y min waš = ē
sweet.pastries-DEF = EZ_1 1SG delicious = COP.PRS.3SG_1

tā ina = y bāwažan = it
than PROX_4 = EZ_1 stepmother = 2SG

I have made a little sweet pastry, find out, is my sweet pastry (more) delicious than this of your stepmother?”

- (31) {no text}

—

{no text}

- (32) waxtē m-āyē ma-šū
when IND-come.PRS.3SG_8(?) IND-go.PRS.3SG

timāšā = y haṭwā ma-kar-ē, ma-wīn-ē
look = EZ_1 sweet.pastries IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8

ī haṭwā hay sifid sifid = ē,
PROX.DEM.ADJ sweet.pastries however white white = COP.PRS.3SG_1

aṣṭan surx = iš = wa na-kard = ē
at.all fry = 3SG_3 = PTCL# NEG_2-do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

When she comes, goes, she looks at the sweet pastry, she sees (that) this sweet pastry is however very white, she has not fried it at all.

- (33) xulāsa ya zaṛa wa xātir diṭ kaywānū-ka ažin
in.short a_1 slightest.bit to_6 benefit heart lady-DEF from.source

m-war-ē, m-wāy qay = iš nīya,
IND-eat/drink.PRS-3SG_8 IND-say.PRS.3SG problem_2 = 3SG_3 NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

xo ni-ma-k(u)š-ē = m
all.right NEG_1-IND-kill.PRS-3SG_8 = 1SG

In short, she eats a little bit of it because of the lady’s heart (i.e., feelings?), she says (i.e., thinks): “No problem, all right, it does not kill me.”

- (34) ya zařa ařin m-war-ē,
a_1 slightest.bit from.source IND-eat/drink.PRS-3SG_8
- m-āy ī dīm,
IND-come.PRS.3SG PROX.DEM.ADJ side_2
- m-wāy hařwā-ka = y min wař bē
IND-say.PRS.3SG sweet.pastries-DEF = EZ_1 1SG delicious COP.PST.3SG_1
- tā hīn-aka = y tu,
than thing_4-DEF = EZ_1 2SG
- m-wāy hīn-aka = y tu fra wař bē,
IND-say.PRS.3SG thing_4-DEF = EZ_1 2SG very delicious COP.PST.3SG_1
- dāya (h)īn-a = y bāwařan = im wa kār ni-m-āy
mother_5 that.of-NA = EZ_1 stepmother = 1SG with work NEG_1-IND-come.PRS.3SG

She eats a little bit of it, she comes to this (other) side, she says: “Is my sweet pastry (more) delicious than the (sweet pastry) belonging to you?” She says: “The (sweet pastry) belonging to you was very good (i.e., delicious), Mother! That (sweet pastry) belonging to my stepmother was not suitable.”

- (35) ma-řu m-wāy ni-ma-zān-im,
IND-go.PRS.3SG IND-say.PRS.3SG NEG_1-IND-know.PRS-1SG
- ča = y tir m-wāy
what_4 = EZ_1 other IND-say.PRS.3SG

She goes, she says {narrator says to herself}: I do not know what else she says.

- (36) ārē hay ī qar = a kār,
yes_1 just.only PROX.DEM.ADJ amount = DEM.PTCL#_1 work
- m-wāy xo, hīn, mīnā, m-wāy bařē,
IND-say.PRS.3SG all.right thing_4 Mīnā IND-say.PRS.3SG yes
- m-wāy ayar min witi-m,
IND-say.PRS.3SG if_7 1SG sleep.PST-1SG
- āw hīn-ay m-āy řay mawu
water thing_4-NA IND-come.PRS.3SG pass be.PRS.3SG

Yes, just this much work, she says: “All right, thing, Mīnā!” She says: “Yes?” She says: “If I sleep (lit., slept), the water of thing comes, it passes by.”

- (37) waxtē āw-ak-ān hāma řay bisin,
 when water-DEF-PL_1 come.PST_1 pass COP.PST.3PL
 āw tařā=u nuqra-ka ař dile=ř nīřt,
 water gold=and silver-DEF in_2 inside=3SG_3 sit.PST
 hāma řay bē, das bi-nya
 come.PST_1 pass COP.PST.3SG_1 hand_2 SBJV-put.PRS_2
 qay=ř=o ař xāw=im bi-ka,
 on_5=3SG_3=POSTP#_3 from sleep=1SG SBJV-do.PRS_1
 na-yz-ī řay bo
 NEG_2-allow.PRS-2SG pass SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG_2

When the waters come (lit., came), (when) they pass (lit., passed), (when) the water of gold and silver stay (lit., stayed) in it, (when) it comes (lit., came), (when) it passes (lit., passed), touch that, wake me up! Do not let it pass by.”

- (38) m-wāy bāřad, wa_bān čař
 IND-say.PRS.3SG all.right upon_3 eye_1

She says: “All right, it will be done (lit., upon the eyes).”

- (39) ma-wīn-ē āw sīya, āw xūn,
 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8 water black water blood
 āw čitk ināna giř m-āy řay mawu
 water dirty PROX.PL_3 all IND-come.PRS.3SG pass be.PRS.3SG

She sees black water, the water of blood, the dirty water, this all comes, it passes by.

- (40) ař_řūn=iř ma-wīn-ē
 after_7=3SG_3 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8
 āw tařā=u līra=u nuqra m-āy
 water gold=and lira.gold.coin=and silver IND-come.PRS.3SG

After that she sees, the water of gold and gold coins and silver comes.

- (41) inī das ma-nya qay kaywānū-ka m-wāy
 PROX_2 hand_2 IND-put.PRS.3.3SG.DIR(?) on_5 lady-DEF IND-say.PRS.3SG
 dāya dāya, m-wāy bařē, m-wāy
 mother_5 mother_5 IND-say.PRS.3SG yes IND-say.PRS.3SG
 āw tařā=u nuqra hām=ē,
 water gold=and silver come.PST_2=COP.PRS.3SG_1
 haw b-ayz-a=w, kār=it ča bē
 up SBJV-get.up.PRS-2PL_1=NA work=2SG what_4 COP.PST.3SG_1

She touches the lady, she says: “Mother, Mother!” She says: “Yes?” She says: “The water of gold and silver has come, get up, what was your work (i.e., what did you want)?”

- (42) haw m-ayz-ē = u
up IND-get.up.PRS-3SG_8 = and

īnī ha až sar-ī ma-nam-ē dita-ka,
PROX_2 just from head-OBL IND-grab.PRS-3SG_8 girl-DEF

ma-ny-ē = š = a dile āw taḷā = u nuqra
IND-put.PRS_2-3SG_8 = 3SG_3 = DIR into water gold = and silver

She gets up and she grabs the girl just from the head, she puts her into the water of gold and silver.

- (43) waxtē ka m-āy = a dayšt,
when COMP IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR out

mīnā wišk = e taḷā = u lira mawu
Mīnā dry = EZ_1 gold = and lira.gold.coin be.PRS.3SG

When she comes out, Mīnā becomes dry (gilded?) with gold and gold coins.

- (44) yānē dī ī qar = a qašang mawu,
it.means so.then PROX.DEM.ADJ amount = DEM.PTCL#_1 beautiful be.PRS.3SG

āyam waš = iš m-āy, timāšā = š bi-kar-ē
person pleasant = 3SG_3 IND-come.PRS.3SG look = 3SG_3 SBJV-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

It means, then, she becomes this beautiful, (such that) a person (i.e., everybody) is pleased to look at her.

- (45) xulāsa kār = im nīya tašī = u xurī-yaka
 in.short concern = 1SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG yarn = and spindle-DEF
 ma-tī = ya das = š = o = u m-wāy
 IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR hand_2 = 3SG_3 = POSTP#_3 = and IND-say.PRS.3SG
 bi-šu aǰā = y ka = y bāwažan = it
 SBJV-go.PRS.3SG to_7 = EZ_1 house_1 = EZ_1 stepmother = 2SG
 walī wa_šün gūra-ka = y n-āy,
 but_1 after_2 calf-DEF = POSTP#_1 NEG_2-come.PRS.3SG
 aǰā = y ištan = it ma-šu = wa ya otāq = wa,
 for = EZ_1 RFL_1 = 2SG IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR a_1 room = POSTP#_3
 qisa = y wa_gard bāwažan = t = ay ni-ma-kar-ī,
 speech = EZ_1 with_4 stepmother = 2SG = POSTP#_1 NEG_1-IND-do.PRS_1-2SG
 ān har_čī = š = a wāt, tu hūč ma-wā,
 DIST_1 all = 3SG_3 = DEM.PTCL#_1 say.PST 2SG nothing PROH-say.PRS_1
 dar ka-ka = t kilīl ka = u bi-niš-a ažin
 door_3 house_1-DEF = 2SG key do.PRS_1 = and SBJV-sit.PRS-2PL_1 in.location

In short, it is not my concern (i.e., I leave this aside).³⁰⁰ She gives the yarn and spindle to her and says: “Go to the house of your stepmother, but do not come after the calf, you simply go in a room, you do not talk with your stepmother, that (one?) all she said, do not say anything, lock the door of your house and sit (or: wait) in it.”

- (46) īnī m-āy ma-šu ya otāq = wa
 PROX_2 IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-go.PRS.3SG a_1 room = POSTP#_3
 a ī jūr = a = u aǰā = y ištan = iš,
 PROX.PTCL# PROX.DEM.ADJ way_2 = DEM.PTCL#_1 = and for = EZ_1 RFL_1 = 3SG_3
 dī až ā otāq = a zendegī ma-kar-ē
 so.then in_2 DIST.DEM.ADJ room = DEM.PTCL#_1 life IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

She comes, goes in a room, just this way and simply (lit., for herself), so then, she lives in that room.

- (47) har_čī bāwažan-ka = š m-wāy = a wan,
 whatever stepmother-DEF = 3SG_3 IND-say.PRS.3SG = DIR to.goal
 m-wāy ni-m-āy-im = a dayšt
 IND-say.PRS.3SG NEG_1-IND-come.PRS.3SG-1SG = DIR out

Whatever her stepmother says to her, she says: “I am not coming out.”

³⁰⁰ The narrator refers to herself in this clause.

- (48) bāwažan-aka=š walē ma-wīn-ē=š
stepmother-DEF=3SG_3 but_1 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8=3SG_3

ka wišk taḡā=u nuqra=yē
COMP dry gold=and silver=COP.PRS.3SG_1

Her stepmother, however, sees her, that she is dry (i.e., gilded? with) gold and silver.

- (49) dī fra nārāhat mawu,
so.then very insulted be.PRS.3SG

har řūž dita-ka=y ištan=iš ma-k(u)š-o,
every day_3 daughter-DEF=EZ_1 RFL_1=3SG_3 IND-kill.PRS-3SG_7

taši=u xurī-yaka ma-tī=ya das=š=o,
yarn=and spindle-DEF IND-give.PRS.3SG=DIR hand_2=3SG_3=POSTP#_3

m-wāy tu bi-řo, tā bi-zān-im,
IND-say.PRS.3SG 2SG SBJV-go.PRS_3 so.that SBJV-know.PRS-1SG

tu=yč jür mīnā,
2SG=ADD_1 like Mīnā

ī jür bū=y taḡā=u līra b-āy=wa
PROX.DEM.ADJ like scent=EZ_1 gold=and lira.gold.coin SBJV-come.PRS.3SG=PTCL#

So then she becomes very upset, every day she beats (lit., kills) her own daughter, she gives her the yarn and spindle, she says: “You go, so that I may know if you too like Mīnā, this way you come back (with) the scent of gold and gold coins.”

- (50) xulāsa mināḡ-ān pādšā m-ā-yin, masan kuřa=y pādšā
in.short child-PL_1 king_2 IND-come.PRS-3PL_1 for.example_2 son=EZ_1 king_2

wa_gard čan kuřa tir=ay m-āyē
with_4 some young.man other=POSTP#_1 IND-come.PRS.3SG_8(?)

až bān ka=y dita-ka ma-niš-in=a
on_6 roof house_1=EZ_1 girl-DEF IND-sit.PRS-3PL_1=DIR

pāsūr-ān kard-a
card(s)-PL_1 do.PST_1-PART

In short, the children of the king come, for example, the son of the king comes with some other young men on the roof of the house of the girl (Mīnā), they sit to play (lit., do) cards.

- (51) bāzī kard-a
play do.PST_1-PART

To play.

- (52) waxtē ka yak waraq aǰ pāsūr-ak-ān = šān
 when COMP one_1 sheet.card of_2 card(s)-DEF-PL_1 = 3PL

ma-kat-ī = ya dile ka-ka
 IND-fall.PRS-3SG_8 = DIR into house_1-DEF

When one sheet (i.e., card) of their cards falls (down) into the house,

- (53) {#ē} īnī m-wāy, aǰ sar-ī yak kunāwajā mawu
 {eh_2} PROX_2 IND-say.PRS.3SG from top-NA a_1 small.ceiling.hole be.PRS.3SG

{xxx} he says: “From above there is a small hole.

- (54) qadīm āsā m-wāč-ān kunāwajā,
 old.times at.that.time IPFV-keep.saying(?) -3PL_2 small.ceiling.hole

bān ka ya kunā = š biya
 roof house_1 a_1 hole = 3SG_3 COP.PRF.3SG

In the old times, at that time they would call it the ‘kunāwajā’, the roof of the house had a hole.”

- (55) {xxx}
 {xxx}
 {xxx}

- (56) waraq pāsūr-aka, piyā-ka aǰ sar-ī čirya = š = ī
 sheet.card card(s)-DEF man_2-DEF from top-NA call.PST = 3SG_3 = NA

wāčē har_ka hē ī ka = ya
 kept.saying.3SG whoever_2 exist.3SG PROX.DEM.ADJ house_1 = DEM.PTCL#_1

das = iš dar(d) na-kar-ē,
 hand_2 = 3SG_3 pain NEG_2-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

waraq pāsūr-aka hēz bi-tī = ya
 sheet.card card(s)-DEF NA SBJV-give.PRS.2SG = DIR

tā min aǰ das = iš bi-san-im = iš
 so.that 1SG from hand_2 = 3SG_3 SBJV-buy.PRS-1SG = 3SG_3

The sheet (i.e., single card) of the card(s), the man called from above, he kept (or: keeps?) saying: “Everyone who exists (or: is) in this house, thank you, pick up a card of the card(s) so that I can take it from your hand.”

- (57) *inī waxtē ja dile kunā-ka = wa ma-nüř-ē,*
 PROX_2 when from.within hole-DEF = POSTP#_3 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8
- ma-wīn-ē ya dita-ē dile ī ka = ya,*
 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8 a_1 girl-INDF_1 in PROX.DEM.ADJ house_1 = DEM.PTCL#_1
- arē xwayā na b-war-ī, na bi-nüř-ī*
 yes_1 God_3 NEG SBJV-eat/drink.PRS-2SG NEG SBJV-look.PRS-2SG
- faqat tamāšā = y sāq = e gardan = e ī dita*
 only_2 look = EZ_1 straight = EZ_1 neck = EZ_1 PROX.DEM.ADJ girl
- bi-kar-ī*
 SBJV-do.PRS_1-2SG

He, when he looks from within (?) the hole, he sees a young woman in this house, yes, O God! You do not need to eat, not to look, only look upon the straight-necked (beauty) of this girl.

- (58) *kuřa = y pādšā āšiq dita-ka mawu*
 son = EZ_1 king_2 in.love girl-DEF be.PRS.3SG

The son of the king falls in love with the girl.

- (59) *xulāsa waraq pāsūr až das = iř ma-san-ē = u*
 in.short sheet.card card(s) from hand_2 = 3SG_3 IND-get.PRS-3SG_8 = and
- m-āy = a wār,*
 IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR down
- dī bāzī = ř ni-ma-kar-ē,*
 any.longer play = 3SG_3 NEG_1-IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8
- m-āy = a wār ařā ka-yaka = u*
 IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR down to_7 house_1-DEF = and
- dam = a nixūn ma-řamiya*
 mouth = COMPD down IND-lay.down.PRS.3SG.DIR

In short, he gets the card from her hand and comes down, he does not play any longer, he comes down to the (i.e., his) house and lays (?) down.

- (60) bāwka = š m-wāy ā řūta, m-wāy baṭē,
 father_4 = 3SG_3 IND-say.PRS.3SG oh dear.child IND-say.PRS.3SG yes
- m-wāy
 IND-say.PRS.3SG
- ařā ī jür = a wana = t hām = ē,
 why PROX.DEM.ADJ way_2 = DEM.PTCL#_1 to.goal = 2SG come.PST_2 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- har_čī tu b-wāy ařā = t tahya ma-kar-im,
 whatever 2SG SBJV-say.PRS.3SG for = 2SG prepare IND-do.PRS_1-1SG
- har_čī = t = ē garak = it bo,
 whatever = 2SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1 want = 2SG SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG_2
- ařā = t ma-san-im
 for = 2SG IND-buy.PRS-1SG

His father says: “O dear child!” He (i.e., the son) says: “Yes?” He (i.e., the father) says: “Why has it happened to you like this? Whatever you say, I will prepare for you, whatever it is (that) you may want, I will buy for you.”

- (61) m-wāy hüč = im garak nīya,
 IND-say.PRS.3SG nothing = 1SG want NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
- faqat fiṭān-a dita = y ā ka = ya
 only_2 a.certain-NA girl = EZ_1 DIST.DEM.ADJ house_1 = DEM.PTCL#_1
- min garak = im bo
 1SG want = 1SG SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG_2

He says: “I do not want anything, I only want a certain girl of that house.

- (62) walē hā
 but_1 take.note
- īna dī ī qa qisa ařā = t bi-kar-im
 PROX_4 then_2 PROX.DEM.ADJ amount speech to_7 = 2SG SBJV-do.PRS_1-1SG
- až_īnā bi-man-ē,
 here_1 SBJV-remain.PRS_2-3SG_8
- tā bi-š-ām = a sar dita = y žan-aka
 until SBJV-go.PRS-1PL_4 = DIR about girl = EZ_1 woman_2-DEF
- bi-zān-a ča wan m-āy
 SBJV-find.out.PRS-2PL_1 what_4 to.goal IND-come.PRS.3SG

But take note, so it is then, I tell you this much, let us stay here, until we go to the (matter) of the girl of the woman, find out what is happening to her.”

- (63) dita = y žan ha ā firm = a
 girl = EZ_1 woman_2 exactly DIST.DEM.ADJ manner = DEM.PTCL#_1
 dwāra wā ma-tī = ya wa taši = u xurī-yaka = š-ī
 again_3 wind_2 IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR at_4 yarn = and spindle-DEF = 3SG_3-NA
 ma-yar-ē = š-ī = u
 IND-take.PRS-3SG_8 = 3SG_3-NA = and
 ma-šu = wa ařā kunā {#wāja masan} darwač-aka
 IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR to_7 hole {xxx for.example_2} small.door-DEF

The girl of the woman, exactly (in) that manner, again the wind beats the yarn and spindle, it takes it and goes to the hole {xxx for example} the small door.

- (64) ma-šu lā = y kaywānū-waka
 IND-go.PRS.3SG presence = EZ_1 lady-DEF

She goes to the lady.

- (65) kaywānū-waka m-wāy řūta, m-wāy baťē
 lady-DEF IND-say.PRS.3SG dear.child IND-say.PRS.3SG yes

The lady says: “O dear child!” She says: “Yes?”

- (66) gunka čāyir, m-wāy baťē, m-wāy bi-řo,
 Gunka.Čāyira IND-say.PRS.3SG yes IND-say.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS_3

ya čika tāw = im haw nāt = ē, tāw bi-ka,
 a_1 bit_1 swing = 1SG up hang.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 swing SBJV-do.PRS_1

bi-zān tāw-aka = y min waš = ē
 SBJV-find.out.PRS swing-DEF = EZ_1 1SG pleasant = COP.PRS.3SG_1

tā hīn-aka = y dāyka = t
 than thing_4-DEF = EZ_1 mother_4 = 2SG

“Gunka Čāyir!” She says: “Yes?” She says: “Go, I have hung up a bit of a swing, swing! Find out, is my swing (more) pleasant than the one belonging to your mother?”

- (67) m-āy = a, timāšā ma-kar-ē
 IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR look IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

ma-wīn-ē mār = ē,
 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8 snake = COP.PRS.3SG_1

ma-řam-ē ma-šu = wa ařā lā dāya_kaywānū
 IND-run.PRS-3SG_8 IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR to_7 presence old.lady

She comes to (it), she looks, she sees it is a snake, she runs, she goes to the old lady.

- (68) m-wāy waš bē tāw-aka,
 IND-say.PRS.3SG pleasant COP.PST.3SG_1 swing-DEF
- m-wāy ča = u fiṭān-a bāwka hāma = ya,
 IND-say.PRS.3SG what_4 = and such-NA father_4 come.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_3
- tāw = it bē, tu mār = it kard = ē dār-ī,
 swing = 2SG COP.PST.3SG_1 2SG snake = 2SG do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1 tree-OBL
- min čü tāw ma-kar-im, biṭa-bit zwān = šān bē,
 1SG how_1 swing IND-do.PRS_1-1SG flicking tongue = 3PL COP.PST.3SG_1
- waxta bē bi-tī-n wan = im,
 almost COP.PST.3SG_1 SBJV-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 to.goal = 1SG
- āxir = iš = im b-ūř-o
 end = 3SG_3 = 1SG SBJV-cut.PRS-3SG_7

She says: “Was the swing pleasant?” She says: “Something and such has come to (your) father (i.e., expletive)! What a swing you had! You have put snakes in the tree, how can I swing? Their tongues were flicking (all the time) (or: they had flicking tongues?), they almost bit me, destroyed me!”

- (69) dī qisa wa kaywānū-ka ma-ka-y,
 so.then speech to_6 lady-DEF IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8
- kaywānū-waka hüč ni-m-wāy, m-wāy
 lady-DEF nothing NEG_1-IND-say.PRS.3SG IND-say.PRS.3SG
- ay bi-řaw, ya čika haṭwā = m kard = ē,
 well.then SBJV-go.PRS_4 a_1 bit_1 sweet.pastries = 1SG do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- až haṭwā-ka b-war
 from sweet.pastries-DEF SBJV-eat/drink.PRS

So then she says (bad) words to the lady, the lady does not say anything, she says: “Well then, go, I have made a bit of sweet pastry, eat (some) of the sweet pastry.”

- (70) ma-šu m-wāy
 IND-go.PRS.3SG IND-say.PRS.3SG
- ča = u fiṭān wan hāma = ya
 what_4 = and such to.goal come.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_3
- ha ārd-aka = š kard = a kinār mangat-aka m-wāy bi-řaw
 just flour-DEF = 3SG_3 do.PST_1 = DIR edge bowl_3-DEF IND-say.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS_4
- ažin b-war, āna kay haṭwā = n
 from.source SBJV-eat/drink.PRS DIST_4 when_2 sweet.pastries = COP.PRS.3SG_2

She goes, says: “(The bad woman) something and such has come to (?) (i.e., expletive), she just put the flour next to the bowl, she says: “Go, eat from that”. (But) that, when is (that) sweet pastry?”

- (71) {xxx} xirāw aṛā iṣṭan = it = u aṛā haṭwā-ka = t,
 {xxx} destroyed₄ for RFL₁ = 2SG = and for sweet.pastries-DEF = 2SG
 dī qisa wa kaywānū-ka ma-kar-ē
 anyways speech to₆ lady-DEF IND-do.PRS_{1-3SG_8}
 {xxx} destroy (?) for yourself and for your sweet pastry.” Anyways (?), she says bad things
 to the lady.³⁰¹

- (72) xulāsa m-wāy bi-šu āw aṛā = m b-ār,
 in.short IND-say.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS.3SG water for = 1SG SBJV-bring.PRS
 ma-šu āw m-ār-ē ma-wīn-ē
 IND-go.PRS.3SG water IND-bring.PRS-3SG₈ IND-see.PRS-3SG₈
 bar kunā-ka wajē ina tik āw ni-m-ār-ē,
 front hole-DEF NA PROX₄ drop₁ water NEG₁-IND-bring.PRS-3SG₈
 m-āy = wa m-wāy
 IND-come.PRS.3SG = PTCL# IND-say.PRS.3SG

In short, she says: “Go, bring water for me.” She goes, she brings water, she sees, (the snake) in front of the small hole, so it is, she does not bring a drop of water, she comes back, she says:

- (73) ča = u fiṭān wana hāma = y ya mār = iṣ
 what₄ = and such to.goal come.PST₁ = COP.PRS.3SG₃ a₁ snake = 3SG₃
 basī = ya bar kunā-ka aṛā ina bi-tī = ya
 tie.PST = DIR front hole-DEF for PROX₄ SBJV-give.PRS.3SG = DIR
 wa das = im = wa
 at₄ hand₂ = 1SG = PTCL#

(The bad woman) something and such has come (?) (i.e., expletive), tied a snake in front of the hole, in order for this, it may bite my hand.”

- (74) m-wāy pas tu,
 IND-say.PRS.3SG then₄ 2SG
 tu = š {#lā} liyāqa = t = e hūč = it nīya,
 2SG = 3SG₃ {xxx} deserving = 2SG = EZ₁ nothing = 2SG NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
 ha īsa mawu jūr mīnā tu = š bi-yar-m = a tafā, naxayr
 just now₆ be.PRS.3SG like Mīnā 2SG = 3SG₃ SBJV-take.PRS-1SG = DIR gold no₂

She says: “Then you, you (too?) do not {xxx} deserve anything, is it just now possible that I take (fool you) you (too?) like Mīnā with gold? No!”

³⁰¹ It is not clear if the woman’s speech ends in sentence 70 or 71.

- (75) xulāsa {xxx, child speaks:} šīr nīya
in.short {xxx} milk NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

In short {child speaks: xxx} “There is no milk.

- (76) {Child speaks:} m-wāy aǰā=t b-ār-im ya gila
{xxx} IND-say.PRS.3SG for=2SG SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG one_1 unit_1

{Narrator speaks:} na kuǰa-ka=m, das=it dard na-kar-ē
{xxx} NEG son-DEF=1SG hand_2=2SG pain NEG_2-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

{Child speaks:} (one?) says: “(Do you want) that I bring one (packet) for you?” {Narrator speaks:} “No, my son, thank you.”

- (77) baǰd, aw_šūn=iš, sar=it wa dard n-ār-im
afterwards after_1=3SG_3 head=2SG to_6 pain NEG_2-bring.PRS-1SG

Afterwards, after that, may I not cause pain to your head ...³⁰²

- (78) kam_kam {# dita m-wāy ā} kaywānū m-wāy ā,
little.by.little {girl IND-say.PRS.3SG oh} lady IND-say.PRS.3SG oh

dita m-wāy baǰē, m-wāy
girl IND-say.PRS.3SG yes IND-say.PRS.3SG

agar āw {#ta} taǰā=u nuqra=u līra hāma
if_8 water {xxx} gold=and silver=and lira.gold.coin come.PST_1

ǰay bī, niq ma-ka, agar āw=e čīšt hāma
pass COP.PST.3SG_2 murmur PROH-do.PRS_1 if_8 water=EZ_1 thing_2 come.PST_1

agar āw=e sīya=u kuwa hāma
if_8 water=EZ_1 black=and dark.blue come.PST_1

das bi-nya qay=m=o kār=it naw
hand_2 SBJV-put.PRS_2 on_5=1SG=POSTP#_3 work=2SG NEG.SBJV.be.PRS.3SG

Little by little {#the girl says: “O (you)!”, the lady says: “O (you)!” The girl says: “Yes?” She (i.e., the lady) says: “If the water of {xxx} gold and silver and gold coins comes (lit., came), passes (lit., passed), do not murmur; if the water of thing comes (lit., came), if the black and dark blue water comes (lit., came), put your hand on me, may it not be your concern.

- (79) m-wāy bāšad, āw taǰā=u līra m-āy,
IND-say.PRS.3SG all.right water gold=and lira.gold.coin IND-come.PRS.3SG

birīqa=š m-āy, ǰay mawu niq ni-ma-kay dita
glow=3SG_3 IND-come.PRS.3SG pass be.PRS.3SG murmur NEG_1-IND-do.PRS.3SG girl

She says: “All right.” The water of gold and gold coins comes, it glows, it passes, she does not murmur anything, the girl.

³⁰² The narrator directs this comment to her audience.

- (80) āw čitk=u xūn m-āy, mi-nāy=š=a dile=š
 water dirty=and blood IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-put.PRS_2=3SG_3=DIR inside=3SG_3

The dirty and bloody water comes, she puts her into it.

- (81) mi-nāy=š=a dile=š, ya gina_gūšta
 IND-put.PRS_2=3SG_3=DIR into=3SG_3 one_1 round.rotten.piece.of.meat
 ī lā=y dam=iš=a sawz mawu,
 PROX.DEM.ADJ side=EZ_1 mouth=3SG_3=DEM.PTCL#_1 green be.PRS.3SG
 hay ma-ǰāw-o=š
 always IND-chew.PRS-3SG_7=3SG_3

She puts her into it, one round, rotting piece of meat from this side of her mouth grows up, she chews it all the time.

- (82) gunka_čāyira
 Gunka.Čāyira

Gunka Čāyira.

- (83) birā xulāsa m-āy=wa, m-āy=wa, ya_dafayī
 brother_1 in.short IND-come.PRS.3SG=PTCL# IND-come.PRS.3SG=PTCL# suddenly

Brother, in short, she comes back, she comes back, suddenly.

- (84) dāyka=š m-wāy ā řūta, m-wāy baṭē,
 mother_4=3SG_3 IND-say.PRS.3SG oh dear.child IND-say.PRS.3SG yes

m-wāy
 IND-say.PRS.3SG

ařā ī jūr=t=a pana hām=ē,
 why PROX.DEM.ADJ way_2=2SG=DEM.PTCL#_1 to come.PST_2=COP.PRS.3SG_1

māṭ řimīsa, min wāt-a=m=ē
 house/household destroyed_5 1SG say.PST-PART=1SG=COP.PRS.3SG_1

Her mother says: “O my child!” She says: “Yes?” She says: “Why has it happened to me in this way, may your house be destroyed, I have said.”

- (85) {Narrator speaks with her daughter xxx.}
 {xxx}

{Narrator speaks with her daughter xxx.}

- (86) m-wāy wāt-a=m=ē
 IND-say.PRS.3SG say.PST-PART=1SG=COP.PRS.3SG_1

She says: “I have said ...”

- (87) mašyo ǰür, ǰür-e mīnā wišk taḫā mawī m-āy = wa,
 should like like-NA Mīnā dry gold be.PRS.2SG IND-come.PRS.3SG = PTCL#
 na-wāt-a (= m = ē),
 NEG_2-say.PST-PART (= 1SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1)
 You should, like, like Mīnā become dry from gold (i.e., gilded?), (then you) come back, I have not said.”
- (88) {Background talk xxx}
 {xxx}
 {Background talk xxx}
- (89) baǰd m-wāy āw = e {#čišt-e wan-ē, kuḫa}
 then IND-say.PRS.3SG water = EZ_1 {thing_2-NA to.goal-NA young.man}
 wa taḫā na-yrīs-i = u hāma = y = wa,
 to_6 gold NEG_2-reach.PRS-2SG = and come.PST_1 = COP.PRS.2SG = PTCL#_1
 ya gila gūšt = išt = it lā = y dam = it sawz biya,
 one_1 unit_1 meat = ADD_2 = 2SG side = EZ_1 mouth = 2SG green COP.PRF.3SG
 hanāsā = y sard = im = u dī hūčka wa patī = š
 breath = EZ_1 cold = 1SG = and any.longer nobody by naked_2 = 3SG_3
 ni-ma-yr-ē = t = u xulāsa aḫ ināna
 NEG_1-IND-bring/take.PRS-3SG_8 = 2SG = and in.short in_2 PROX.PL_3
 Then she says: “The water of ... {#thing to it, the young man}. You did not reach for the gold and you have come back, you have a piece of meat in your mouth, it has grown, my cold breath and nobody else wants you any longer even if he does not have anything (to give), and” in short, in these (words).³⁰³
- (90) birā, ka = y pādšā m-ā-yin = a
 brother_1 house_1 = EZ_1 king_2 IND-come.PRS-3PL_1 = DIR
 dāwā = y mīnā, m-ā-yin = a dāwā = y mīnā = u
 request_1 = EZ_1 Mīnā IND-come.PRS-3PL_1 = DIR request_1 = EZ_1 Mīnā = and
 Brother, they come from the house of the king to request (the hand) of Mīnā, they come to request Mīnā and ...
- (91) žan-aka = yč {#dita-ka-y} qawḫ
 woman_2-DEF = ADD_1 {daughter-DEF-NA} promise
 dita-ka = y ištān = išt ma-tī = ya wana = šān
 daughter-DEF = EZ_1 RFL_1 = 3SG_3 IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR to.goal = 3PL
 The woman {#the daughter} also gives the promise of her own daughter to them.

³⁰³ The placement of the closing quotation marks here is provisional.

- (92) mīnā ma-nya wa pišt=e ya gila kanü
Mīnā IND-put.PRS_3.3SG at_4 back_2=EZ_1 one_1 unit_1 flour.storage.place
She puts Mīnā in back of one (a) storage place for flour.
- (93) kanü ka ma-zān-ī wa ča m-wāž-ān
flour.storage.place COMP IND-know.PRS-2SG to_6 what_4 IND-say.PRS_1-3PL_2
(The word) ‘kanü’, that you know, they say for what ...
- (94) baʔd, mīnā ma-nī-n=a
then Mīnā IND-put.PRS_1-3PL_1 = DIR
pišt=e yak kanü {#ya_dafayī}
back_2=EZ_1 a_1 flour.storage.place {suddenly}
Then, they put Mīnā in back of a storage place for flour {#suddenly}.
- (95) gunka_čāyir ma-tī-n=a šü
Gunka.Čāyira IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 = DIR husband
They give Gunka Čāyir for marriage.
- (96) gunka_čāyir ma-tī-n=a šü,
Gunka.Čāyira IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 = DIR husband
ma-tī-n=a haft sāz=u haft dahot
IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 = DIR seven stringed.instrument = and seven percussion.instrument
ka=y pādšā ʔarūsī ařā kuřa-ka=šān ma-kar-in
house_1=EZ_1 king_2 wedding for son-DEF=3PL IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1
They give Gunka Čāyir for marriage, they beat on seven stringed instruments and seven drums, the (members of the) house of the king have a wedding for their son.
- (97) waxtē ka m-ā-yin ʔarūs bi-yar-in, ma-wīn-ē
when COMP IND-come.PRS-3PL_1 bride SBJV-take.PRS-3PL_1 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8
baʔē, ʔarūs-aka ha qawča=y dam=š m-āy
indeed bride-DEF always so.much_2=EZ_1 mouth=3SG_3 IND-come.PRS.3SG
When they come (so that) they may take the bride, they (lit., sg.) see, indeed, the bride always chews so much (i.e., all the time).

- (98) kašašēr-ēk = ič dile pača-ka = šān mawu,
 rooster-INDF_1 = ADD_1 in small.place.for.animals-DEF = 3PL be.PRS.3SG
 ma-qūln-ē m-wāy, qūqūlī qūqū,
 IND-cause.to.crow-3SG_8 IND-say.PRS.3SG crowing.sound.of.rooster
 danük = e pādšā wa gū, gunka čāyira = š dā-n = a šü,
 beak = EZ_1 king_2 at_4 dung Gunka.Čāyira = 3SG_3 give.PST-NA = DIR husband
 zangoł = a ziřa hā pišt = e kanü
 bell = COMPD swinging take.note back_2 = EZ_1 flour.storage.place

There is also a rooster in their place (or: stall) for animals, it crows, it says: “Qūqūlī qūqū, the beak of the king in dung, one (or: they?) gave Gunka Čāyira for marriage, the swinging bell, hey, is in the back of the storage bin of flour.”

- (99) qūqūlī qūqū, dü sē dafa tīkrār = iš ma-kar-ē,
 crowing.sound.of.rooster two_2 three time_4 repetition = 3SG_3 IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8
 kuřa = y pādšā-y ha gūš ma-tank-ē,
 son = EZ_1 king_2-NA just ear IND-listen(?).PRS-3SG_8
 m-wāy yānē ča ī qisa
 IND-say.PRS.3SG it.means what_4 PROX.DEM.ADJ speech

“Qūqūlī qūqū”, two (or) three times (the rooster) repeats it, the son of the king just listens, he says: “What does it mean, this speech?”

- (100) ya qayr-ē xās {#timāšā} gūš = e kašašēr ma-tī = ya
 a_1 bit-INDF_2 well_4 {look} ear = EZ_1 rooster IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR
 ka baṭē ī suāl = a tīkrār ma-kar-ē
 COMP indeed PROX.DEM.ADJ question = DEM.PTCL#_1 repetition IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

For a bit, he listens {#look} well to the rooster, that indeed, it repeats this question.

- (101) {#nūr} timāšā = y žan-aka ma-kar-ē,
 {xxx} look = EZ_1 woman_2-DEF IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8
 ma-wīn-ē baṭē ina ān-ē nīya
 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8 indeed PROX_4 DIST_1-NA NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

{xxx} He looks at the woman, he sees (i.e., realizes), indeed, this is not that one.

- (102) ānī ha aḷ_ānā ma-nam-ē taḷā=u ḷawāhir-ē
DIST_2 just there_3 IND-get.PRS-3SG_8 gold=and jewel-NA

ka aḷā=y mil ḷarūs-aka san-a=š=ē
COMP for=EZ_1 neck bride-DEF buy.PST-PART=3SG_3=COP.PRS.3SG_1

bar=iš m-ār-ē,
forth=3SG_3 IND-bring.PRS-3SG_8

ma-kar-ē=š=a mil kaḷašēr-aka
IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8=3SG_3=DIR neck rooster-DEF

He just there (then?) gets the gold and jewels that he has bought for the neck of the bride, he brings them forth, he puts them on the neck of the rooster.

- (103) m-wāy das=it dar(d) na-kar-ē
IND-say.PRS.3SG hand_2=2SG pain NEG_2-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

ka kūmak=im=it {#kar} kard=ē, kaḷašēr qirmiz
COMP help=1SG=2SG {do.PST_1} do.PST_1=COP.PRS.3SG_1 rooster red

He says: “Thank you that you {xxx} have helped me, red rooster.”

- (104) xulāsa āna dī, āna ma-ḷaw-ē ḷā=wa,
in.short DIST_4 then_2 DIST_4 IND-go.PRS_4-3SG_8 way=POSTP#_3

ma-š-ē ḷā=wa, dī ya_dafayī
IND-go.PRS-3SG_8 way=POSTP#_3 so.then suddenly

In short, he then, he goes on the way, he goes on the way, then suddenly ...

- (105) dita ma-rz-ē yāga, ma-šu=wa,
girl IND-leave.PRS-3SG_8 place_4 IND-go.PRS.3SG=DIR

ma-šu=wa m-wāy ī dita=m=a
IND-go.PRS.3SG=DIR IND-say.PRS.3SG PROX.DEM.ADJ girl=1SG=DEM.PTCL#_1

garak nīya min, īna
want NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG 1SG PROX_4

īna ā dita nīya min garak=m=ē
PROX_4 DIST.DEM.ADJ girl NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG 1SG want=1SG=COP.PRS.3SG_1

He leaves the girl in her place, he goes, he goes, he says: “I do not want this girl, this one, this one is not that girl I want.”

- (106) m-ā-yin ka = y pādšā, žan-aka ka masan,
 IND-come.PRS-3PL_1 house_1 = EZ_1 king_2 woman_2-DEF COMP for.example_2

bāwažan-aka = y mīnā-y wa_gard dita-ka = y
 stepmother-DEF = EZ_1 Mīnā-NA with_4 daughter-DEF = EZ_1

īštan = š = ay ma-tī-n = š = a-y
 RFL_1 = 3SG_3 = POSTP#_1 IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 = 3SG_3 = DIR-NA

dim qātir = a šēt = wa
 tail mule = COMPD insane = PTCL#

har tīka-yēk-i = šān wana (a?) sar ya jāda
 each little.piece-INDF_1-EU = 3PL to.goal (?) on a_1 street_4

They come to the house of the king, the woman that, for example, the stepmother of Mīnā with her own daughter, they tie (lit., give) them to the tail of the crazy mule, each piece of them falls on a street (i.e., they are cut in pieces).

- (107) baǰd pišt sar = a āna ma-tī-n = a
 afterwards after_5 head = COMPD DIST_4 IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 = DIR

ħaft sāz = u ħaft dahoǰ
 seven stringed.instrument = and seven percussion.instrument

Afterwards, after that, they beat on seven stringed instruments and seven drums.

- (108) řarūsī mīnā ařā kuřa-ka = šān ma-kar-in
 wedding Mīnā for son-DEF = 3PL IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1

They do the wedding of Mīnā for their son.

- (109) čapa = y guǰ = u čapa = y nargiz,
 bouquet = EZ_1 flower = and bouquet = EZ_1 narcissus.flower

marg = it na-wīn-im hargiz-ā = y hargiz
 death = 2SG NEG_2-see.PRS-1SG never_3-NA = EZ_1 never_3

A bouquet of flowers and a bouquet of narcissus, may I not see your death, never, never.

Text 12. The story of Sinderelā

Text 12 was recorded in 2007 by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in Gawraǰū village. At that time, the narrator, Arūs, was about thirty-five years old. This young woman is a very good speaker of Gawraǰūyī.

The story is known as Cinderella in English. In a conversation before the recording, the narrator Arūs mentioned that she had read the story in a Persian book. She then recounted the story from memory for this recording.

- (1) ya dita mawu, dāyka = š ni-mawu,
a_1 girl be.PRS.3SG mother_4 = 3SG_3 NEG_1-be.PRS.3SG

bāwažan = iš mawu
stepmother = 3SG_3 be.PRS.3SG

There is a girl, she does not have a mother, she has a stepmother.

- (2) šawakī řūž = wa mawu tā ēwāra {#ī dita}
early.morning day_3 = PTCL# be.PRS.3SG until evening_2 {PROX.DEM.ADJ girl}

ī bāwažan = a har_čī kār = iš = ē
PROX.DEM.ADJ stepmother = DEM.PTCL#_1 whatever work = 3SG_3 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

wa ī dita ma-kar-ē,
to_6 PROX.DEM.ADJ girl IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

īštan = iš = ī(č) dū gila dita = š mawu
RFL_1 = 3SG_3 = ADD_1 two_2 unit_1 daughter = 3SG_3 be.PRS.3SG

It is from early morning by daybreak, until evening, {#this girl} this stepmother, whatever work she has, she gives (?) to this girl, she herself also has two daughters.

- (3) {#ē} sinderelā nām dita-ka mawu
{eh_2} Sinderelā name_2 girl-DEF be.PRS.3SG

{#ē} Sinderelā is the name of the girl.

- (4) sinderelā šawakī tā ēwāra
Sinderelā early.morning until evening₂
- har_čī kār = u giš čī ma-kar-ē,
all work = and everything thing₅(?) IND-do.PRS_{1-3SG_8}
- ēwār-ān = ay dī aǰā ištan = iš, bēčāra,
evening_{3-PL_1} = POSTP#₁ so.then for RFL₁ = 3SG₃ poor.one₂
- bāwažan-a = š ya tika nān,
stepmother-NA = 3SG₃ one₁ little.piece bread
- wa das ma-nāy = a war = u
to₆ hand₂ IND-put.PRS.3SG = DIR in.front.of = and
- m-wāy = a aǰā = y ištan = it bi-ǰaw b-war
IND-say.PRS.3SG = DIR for = EZ₁ RFL₁ = 2SG SBJV-go.PRS₄ SBJV-eat/drink.PRS
- Sinderelā, from early morning until evening, does all tasks and everything, in the evenings, then, simply, the poor (child), her stepmother gives one little piece of bread to her, and says to (her): “Simply go, eat (it).”
- (5) nān čāy-i ma-kar-ē, zarf ma-šūr-ē,
bread tea-INDF₃ IND-do.PRS_{1-3SG_8} dishes IND-wash.PRS-3SG₈
- dile ka ǰam ma-kar-ē, tamīs ma-kar-ē,
inside house₁ gather IND-do.PRS_{1-3SG_8} clean IND-do.PRS_{1-3SG_8}
- har_čī kār = a xulāsa dī ma-kar-ē
whatever task = DEM.PTCL#₁ in.short then₂ IND-do.PRS_{1-3SG_8}
- She makes bread and tea, she wash dishes, she tidies the inside part of the house, she cleans, whatever task, in summary, then, she does (it).
- (6) dita-k-ān ištan = iš = i(č)
daughter-DEF-PL₁ RFL₁ = 3SG₃ = ADD₁
- faqat hāyna fikr īna = ya
only₂ be.PRS.3PL(always?) thought₁ PROX₄ = COP.PRS.3SG₃
- libās xās = u tāza = u tamīs bi-kar-in = a war = u
clothing good = and new = and clean SBJV-do.PRS_{1-3PL_1} = DIR on = and
- qiř bi-tī-n wānā
flirting SBJV-give.PRS_{2-3PL_1} (?)
- As for her own (i.e., the stepmother’s) daughters, only their thoughts are always (?) this, to put on good and new and clean clothes, and to be flirts with them (i.e., wearing these clothes).
- (7) sinderelā bēčāra aǰā ištan = iš, har_čī kār-ē ma-kar-ē,
Sinderelā poor.one₂ for RFL₁ = 3SG₃ everything work-3SG₈ IND-do.PRS_{1-3SG_8}
- ya šaw sinderelā aǰā ištan = iš, ma-ws-ē
one₁ night₂ Sinderelā for RFL₁ = 3SG₃ IND-sleep.PRS-3SG₈
- Poor Sinderelā simply does everything, one night Sinderelā simply sleeps.

- (8) walēm sinderelā wa_gard har_čē haywānāt-ēk = ay
 but_2 Sinderelā with_4 all animals.PL-INDF_1 = POSTP#_1

gišt-ē mērabān mawu
 all-INDF_2 kind be.PRS.3SG

But Sinderelā with all the animals, all (of them) are kind.

- (9) šaw waxtē ka ma-ws-ē,
 night_2 when COMP IND-sleep.PRS-3SG_8

yak-ī m-āy = a xāw = iš, m-wāy sinderelā,
 one_1-INDF_3 IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR dream = 3SG_3 IND-say.PRS.3SG Sinderelā

m-wāy ā, m-wāy
 IND-say.PRS.3SG yes_3 IND-say.PRS.3SG

kuřa = y pādšā mina = y žan ma-kar-ē,
 son = EZ_1 king_2 search_3 = EZ_1 wife IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8

tu = š garak = ē
 2SG = 3SG_3 want = COP.PRS.3SG_1

At night, when she sleeps, a person comes in her dream, he says: “Sinderelā!” She says: “Yes?” He says: “The son of the king is searching for a wife, he wants you.”

- (10) *sinderelā* = y ma-xan-ē, m-wāy
Sinderelā = ADD_1(?) IND-laugh.PRS-3SG_8 IND-say.PRS.3SG
- min bēčāra = yim, min badbaxtī = im,
 1SG poor.one_2 = COP.PRS.1SG 1SG misfortune = COP.PRS.1SG
- na dāyka = m = ē, na {#bāwka},
 neither mother_4 = 1SG = COP.PRS.3SG_1 nor {father_4}
- bāwka = m = ī mard = ē, hüčkām nīya,
 father_4 = 1SG = ADD_1 die.PST = COP.PRS.3SG_1 none NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
- hay ī bāwažan = m = a = ya,
 just.only PROX.DEM.ADJ stepmother = 1SG = DEM.PTCL#_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_3
- wa_gard = im = ay xās nīya,
 with_4 = 1SG = POSTP#_1 good NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
- drü ma-tī = ya-y wa_gard = im = ay,
 lie IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR-NA with_4 = 1SG = POSTP#_1
- m-wāy wa xwayā drü ni-ma-tī-m
 IND-say.PRS.3SG by God_3 lie NEG_1-IND-give.PRS_2-1SG

Sinderelā also laughs, she says: “I am poor, I am unfortunate, I have neither mother nor {#father}, my father also has died, I have nobody, I have only this stepmother, she is not good with me, you are lying to me.” He says: “By God, I am not lying.”³⁰⁴

- (11) īna wāqayat = iš = ē, ba har sū bi-zān,
 PROX_4 truth = 3SG_3 = COP.PRS.3SG_1 with every tomorrow_2 SBJV-find.out.PRS
- sū jašn = ē,
 tomorrow_2 celebration_2 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- tu bi-šu = wa dile ā jašn = a,
 2SG SBJV-go.PRS.3SG = DIR into DIST.DEM.ADJ celebration_2 = DEM.PTCL#_1
- ī kawš = a ma-tī-m wan = it
 PROX.DEM.ADJ shoe = DEM.PTCL#_1 IND-give.PRS_2-1SG on.goal = 2SG
- bi-kar = a pā = t
 SBJV-do.PRS_1 = DIR foot = 2SG

This is the truth (or?: this is so, it is the truth), in any case (or?: just by) tomorrow find out, tomorrow is the celebration, go into that celebration, I give these shoes to you, put (them) on your feet.

³⁰⁴ The final *-y* on *sinderelā* is tentatively assumed to be the additive particle (= *īč*). The transcription of *drü* ‘lie’ might instead be *diro* (or *diru*).

- (12) *ī* ling kawš = it = a až {#kay} pilakān
 PROX.DEM.ADJ shoe.unit shoe = 2SG = DEM.PTCL#_1 on_6 {xxx} stairs
 ka = y pādšā hay ma-kat-ē, gum mawu,
 house_1 = EZ_1 king_2 just IND-fall.PRS-3SG_8 lost be.PRS.3SG
 kuřa = y pādšā ma-wīn-ē = š = wa, āšiq = it mawu
 son = EZ_1 king_2 IND-see.PRS-3SG_8 = 3SG_3 = PTCL# love_3 = 2SG be.PRS.3SG

This one of your shoes will just fall off on {xxx} the stairs of the king's house, it will become lost, the son of the king will find it, he will fall in love with you.”

- (13) xulāsa, kawš ka ma-tī = ya wan, sinderelā ma-wram-ē,
 in.short shoe COMP IND-give.PRS.3SG = DIR to.goal Sinderelā IND-cry.PRS-3SG_8
 m-wāy ay labās až kā b-ār-im
 IND-say.PRS.3SG oh_1 clothing from where SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG

In summary, as soon as he gives her the shoes, Sinderelā cries, she says: “Oh, where should I get (lit., bring) clothes?”

- (14) ya_dafayī ā haywānāt = a
 suddenly DIST.DEM.ADJ animals.PL = DEM.PTCL#_1
 ka wa_gard = š = ay dūst mawin,
 COMP with_4 = 3SG_3 = POSTP#_1 friend_1 be.PRS.3PL
 labās = iš ařā = š tahya ma-kar-in
 clothing = 3SG_3 for = 3SG_3 prepare IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1

Suddenly those animals that are friends with her, they prepare clothing for her.

- (15) īnī labās-ak-ān = iš ma-kar-ī = ya war = u
 PROX_2 clothing-DEF-PL_1 = 3SG_3 IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8 = DIR on = and
 kawš-aka ma-kar-ī = ya pā = u, ma-řaw-ē
 shoe-DEF IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8 = DIR foot = and IND-go.PRS_4-3SG_8
 ka bi-šu = wa dile jašn ka = y pādšā
 COMP SBJV-go.PRS.3SG = DIR into celebration_2 house_1 = EZ_1 king_2

She puts on the clothes and she puts the shoes on (her) feet and, she goes, that she may go into the celebration of the house of the king.

- (16) bāwažan-aka = š = u har_dü-k xwār-aka = š = ič
 stepmother-DEF = 3SG_3 = and both-INDF_1 sister-DEF = 3SG_3 = ADD_1

wa xayāṭ {#xwār} xwār-ak-ān = iš
 with thought_2 {sister} sister-DEF-PL_1 = 3SG_3

ka xwār = e tanī ni-mawin,
 COMP sister = EZ_1 one.body NEG_1-be.PRS.3PL

ārē až bāwka = wa xwār = iš mawin
 yes_1 from father_4 = POSTP#_3 sister = 3SG_3 be.PRS.3PL

{other speaker, Ama Iran:} dita-ka mawu, až bāwka = wa xwār = iš
 {xxx} girl-DEF be.PRS.3SG from father_4 = POSTP#_3 sister = 3SG_3

mawu, až dāyka = wa ni-mawin
 be.PRS.3SG from mother_4 = POSTP#_3 NEG_1-be.PRS.3PL

Her stepmother and both sisters too in (her) thought, {xxx} her sisters who are not sisters of the same mother and father, yes, they are her sisters from (the side of) the father {Other speaker, Ama Iran speaks:} The girl is, she is her sister from the father's side, they are not (her sisters) from the mother's side.

- (17) ānān ma-řaw-in, īnī wa pišsar = šān {background speech }
 DIST.PL_1 IND-go.PRS_4-3PL_1 PROX_2 with after_8 = 3PL {xxx}

They go, she after them {#background speech}.

- (18) baṭd ya_dafayī wa_šün = iš ma-řaw-ē
 then suddenly after_2 = 3SG_3 IND-go.PRS_4-3SG_8

Then, suddenly, she goes after that (after them?).

- (19) bāwažan-aka = š lāwa ma-kar-ē ka ma-wīn-ē
 stepmother-DEF = 3SG_3 look.back IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8 COMP IND-see.PRS-3SG_8

sinderelā hay šün = šān = awa wa labās mijahaz = wa = u
 Sinderelā just after_4 = 3PL = POSTP#_3 with clothing gorgeous = POSTP#_3 = and

kawš = e qašang-ēk = wa hā šün = šān = wa
 shoe = EZ_1 beautiful-INDF_1 = POSTP#_3 (?) after_4 = 3PL = POSTP#_3

Her stepmother looks back as she sees Sinderelā is just (coming) after them with gorgeous clothes and with beautiful shoes, (just?) after them.

- (20) *inī* {#mařa} *ma-řaw-in,* *ma-čir-ē* *dita-k-ān*
 PROX_2 {xxx} IND-go.PRS_4-3PL_1 IND-call.PRS-3SG_8 daughter-DEF-PL_1
m-wāy *b-āy = a* *bi-zān-a*
 IND-say.PRS.3SG SBJV-come.PRS.3SG = DIR SBJV-find.out.PRS-2PL_1
sinderelā *či* *tīp-ēk = iš* *kard = ē*
 Sinderelā what_2 type.of.person-INDF_1 = 3SG_3 do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
wa_šün = mān-ī *hām = ē*
 after_2 = 1PL_1-NA come.PST_2 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

They {xxx} go, (the stepmother) calls her daughters, she says: “Come to, find out (i.e., see) Sinderelā, what a good-looking type she has made herself, she has come after us.

- (21) *kuřa = y* *pādšā* *čaš = iš* *bi-kat-ē* *inā,*
 son = EZ_1 king_2 eye_1 = 3SG_3 SBJV-fall.PRS-3SG_8 PROX_3
dī *šima = š* *garak* *nīya*
 any.longer 2PL = 3SG_3 want NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

When the king’s son sees this one, he will no longer want you.”

- (22) *xulāsa* *dita-k-ān* *m-ā-yin = wa* *ma-yr-in = iš*
 in.short girl-DEF-PL_1 IND-come.PRS-3PL_1 = PTCL# IND-grab.PST-3PL_1 = 3SG_3
ā *qar = a* *ma-k(u)š-in = iš = u*
 DIST.DEM.ADJ amount = DEM.PTCL#_1 IND-kill.PRS-3PL_1 = 3SG_3 = and
ma-tī-n = a *wan,* *labās-ak-ān = iš* *kut_kut* *ma-kar-in*
 IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 = DIR at.goal clothing-DEF-PL_1 = 3SG_3 torn.up IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1

In summary, the girls come back, they grab her, they hit and beat (lit., kill) her so much, they tear her clothes to pieces.

- (23) {Child speaks} *kī*
 {xxx} *who_2*
 {Child speaks:} Who?

- (24) {Narrator speaks} *hīn* *sinderelā*
 {xxx} *that.of* *Sinderelā*
 {Narrator speaks:} That (i.e., clothing) belonging to Sinderelā.

- (25) {Child speaks} *kām* *mināt*
 {xxx} *which* *child*
 {Child speaks:} Which child?

- (26) {Narrator speaks} xwār-ak-ān = iš,
sister-DEF-PL_1 = 3SG_3

xwār = a nātani-yak-ān = iš
sister = COMPD not.of.one.body-DEF-PL_1 = 3SG_3

{Narrator speaks:} Her sisters, her stepsisters.

- (27) baǰd aw_šün = iš ka ma-k(u)š-in = iš,
then after_1 = 3SG_3 COMP IND-kill.PRS-3PL_1 = 3SG_3

labās-ak-ān = iš kut_kut ma-kar-in, kam kam
clothing-DEF-PL_1 = 3SG_3 torn.up IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1 little.by.little

dita-ka sēr sēr ma-wram-ē, sēr sēr ma-wram-ē,
girl-DEF full_1 full_1 IND-cry.PRS-3SG_8 full_1 full_1 IND-cry.PRS-3SG_8

m-wāy labās-ak-ān = im = šān kut_kut kard = ē
IND-say.PRS.3SG clothing-DEF-PL_1 = 1SG = 3PL torn.up do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

min dī až kā ma-tān-im
1SG so.then from where IND-can.PRS-1SG

bi-š-im = a jašn = u ča = u fiṭān
SBJV-go.PRS-1SG = DIR celebration_2 = and what_4 = and such

Then, after that, that they beat (lit., kill) her, they tear her clothes to pieces, little by little, the girl cries so much, she cries so much, she says: “They have torn my clothes to pieces, how then can I go to the celebration and this and that.”

- (28) ānān ma-š-in, ānān ma-š-in,
 DIST.PL_1 IND-go.PRS-3PL_1 DIST.PL_1 IND-go.PRS-3PL_1
- baʿd sinderelā dubāra ā qar = a ma-wram-ē = u
 then Sinderelā again_1 DIST.DEM.ADJ amount = DEM.PTCL#_1 IND-cry.PRS-3SG_8 = and
- nārāhat mawu, ayzan dubāra {#čišt mawu, kuřa, haywān}
 sad be.PRS.3SG again_2 again_1 thing_2 be.PRS.3SG son animal
- haywān m-wā-n qay nīya sinderelā
 animal IND-say.PRS_1-3PL_1 problem_2 NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG Sinderelā
- nārāhat mawa,
 sad PROH.be.PRS.2SG
- dubāra labās-ak-ān = išt tika tika m-ār-in
 again_1 clothing-DEF-PL_1 = 3SG_3 little.piece little.piece IND-bring.PRS-3PL_1
- wast = išt ma-kar-in = a yak = ara
 bind = 3SG_3 IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1 = DIR one_1 = together_2
- ařā = š ma-tī-n
 for = 3SG_3 IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1

They go, they go, then Sinderelā cries again that much and is (so) sad, again {#something was, the son, animal} the animals say: “It is no problem, Sinderelā, do not be sad!” Again, they bring her clothes piece by piece, they bind them together into one (piece), they give (them) to her.

- (29) ma-kar-ē = š = a war = išt = u
 IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8 = 3SG_3 = DIR on = 3SG_3 = and
- kawš-ak-ān ma-kar-ī = ya pā, dubāra ma-šu
 shoe-DEF-PL_1 IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8 = DIR foot again_1 IND-go.PRS.3SG

She puts them on and she puts the shoes on (her) feet, she goes again.

- (30) dubāra ma-šu {#až},
 again_1 IND-go.PRS.3SG {from}
- waxtē ka ma-šu = wa ka = y pādšā = u
 when COMP IND-go.PRS.3SG = DIR house_1 = EZ_1 king_2 = and
- garak = išt = ē až pilakān b-āy = a wār,
 want = 3SG_3 = COP.PRS.3SG_1 from stairs SBJV-come.PRS.3SG = DIR down
- ya_dafayī kuřa = y pādšā m-āy = a wa pilakān-ī
 suddenly son = EZ_1 king_2 IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR at_4 stairs-NA
- wa šün = š = ay m-āy = a wār
 after_2 = 3SG_3 = POSTP#_1 IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR down

She goes again {#from}, when she goes to the house of the king and she wants to come down from the stairs, suddenly the son of the king comes on the stairs, he comes down after her.

- (31) m-āy = a wār, ya_dafayī, ma-wīn-ē
 IND-come.PRS.3SG = DIR down suddenly IND-see.PRS-3SG_8
- {#ē} ling kawš-aka = š aǰ haywatī-yē ma-man-ē yāga
 {eh_2} leg_2 shoe-DEF = 3SG_3 in_2 fearsome-NA IND-remain.PRS_2-3SG_8 place_4
- sinderelā, m-wāy yēho na-y-wīn-in = im,
 Sinderelā IND-say.PRS.3SG suddenly_2 NEG_2-NA-see.PRS-3PL_1 = 1SG
- min bi-daw-im bar bi-řaw-im,
 1SG SBJV-run.PRS-1SG out SBJV-go.PRS_4-1SG
- bāwazañ-aka = m = u xwār-ak-ān = im na-y-wīn-in = im
 stepmother-DEF = 1SG = and sister-DEF-PL_1 = 1SG NEG_2-NA-see.PRS-3PL_1 = 1SG

She comes down, suddenly, she sees one of her shoes remains in place from fear. Sinderelā, she says (i.e., thinks): “Suddenly, may they not see me, I must run, I must run out. May my stepmother and my sisters not see me.”

- (32) xulāsa ya_dafayī bar ma-š-in, m-āy = wa,
 in.short suddenly out IND-go.PRS-3PL_1 IND-come.PRS.3SG = PTCL#
- m-āy = wa ling kawš-aka = š
 IND-come.PRS.3SG = PTCL# shoe.unit shoe-DEF = 3SG_3
- ma-man-ē yāga
 IND-remain.PRS_2-3SG_8 place_4

In summary, suddenly they (or: she?) goes away, she comes back, (when) she comes back, one of her shoes remains in place.

- (33) ling kawš-aka ma-man-ē yāga
 leg_2 shoe-DEF IND-remain.PRS_2-3SG_8 place_4
- ī až ferešta = wa
 PROX.DEM.ADJ from angel = POSTP#_3
- ā kawš = a ma-tī wan = iš,
 DIST.DEM.ADJ shoe = DEM.PTCL#_1 IND-give.PRS.3SG to.goal = 3SG_3
- qayb = wa {#ferešta m-wāy} m-wāy
 other.world = POSTP#_3 angel IND-say.PRS.3SG IND-say.PRS.3SG
- kawš-aka = m m-wāy {xxx} gum kard = ē,
 shoe-DEF = 1SG IND-say.PRS.3SG {xxx} lost do.PST_1 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- ī yak-ī-yaka = š = ē,
 PROX.DEM.ADJ one_1-NA-DEF = 3SG_3 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- m-wāy xo ī ařā = y iřtan = it,
 IND-say.PRS.3SG all.right PROX.DEM.ADJ for = EZ_1 RFL_1 = 2SG
- inšātāh ka piyā mawu
 if.God.wills COMP find be.PRS.3SG

One of her shoes remains in place, this, from the angel (who) gives that shoe to her, from the other world. {#the angel says} She says {xxx}: “My shoes.”³⁰⁵ She says: “{xxx} I have lost (them), this (one) is one of them.” She (i.e., the angel) says: “All right, this for you yourself, if God wills, that (the other one) will be found.”

- (34) xulāsa kuřa = y pādšā, ma-namiya
 in.short son = EZ_1 king_2 IND-takes.up.PRS.3SG.DIR
- kawš ma-yar-ē = š = a = wa, m-wāy
 shoe IND-take.PRS-3SG_8 = 3SG_3 = DIR = PTCL# IND-say.PRS.3SG
- elā wa {xxx kalī}, min har sāhew ī kawš = im = a
 {xxx} by {xxx} 1SG just owner_2 PROX.DEM.ADJ shoe = 1SG = DEM.PTCL#_1
- garak = ē
 want = COP.PRS.3SG_1

In summary, the son of king takes up the shoe, he takes it up, he says: “In any case {xxx}, I just want the owner of this shoe.”

³⁰⁵ It is not yet clear if the first person singular enclitic pronoun on *kawš-aka = m* ‘shoe-DEF = 1SG’ is actually functioning as possessor (as provisionally translated here, ‘my’) or as the agent of the clause (‘I have lost (them)’).

- (35) waxtē ka ma-řaw-in wa_šün=š=ay=u
when COMP IND-go.PRS_4-3PL_1 after_4=3SG_3=POSTP#_1=and

kawš-aka piyā ma-kar-in, m-wāy
shoe-DEF find IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1 IND-say.PRS.3SG

bāyad ka wa ka bi-gard-a
must_4 COMP at_4 house_1 SBJV-look.around.PRS-2PL_1

wa_gard wazīr=u wakīl=ay bi-gard-a,
with_4 minister=and lawyer=POSTP#_1 SBJV-search.PRS-2PL_1

bi-zān-a ī kawš=a kawš
SBJV-find.out.PRS-2PL_1 PROX.DEM.ADJ shoe=DEM.PTCL#_1 shoe

kī=ya hē pā=š=ay
who_2=COP.PRS.3SG_3 exist.3SG foot=3SG_3=POSTP#_1

When they go after her and find the shoe, he says: “You must search, (you must) search in the house with the lawmakers and ministers, find out this shoe is the shoe of whom, it is currently on her foot.

- (36) wa_qay pā=y kī=ya,
upon_4 foot=EZ_1 who_2=COP.PRS.3SG_3

ānī īn ma-š-ē pāy=a
DIST_2 PROX_1 IND-go.PRS-3SG_8 degree=NA

It fits whose foot? That one, this (shoe) goes on (her) foot.”

- (37) īnānī m-ā-yin ma-gard-in
PROX.PL_2 IND-come.PRS-3PL_1 IND-search.PRS-3PL_1

These ones (also?) come, they search.

- (38) {#ē} čišť m-wāy, {#dāy} bāwažan-aka=š,
{eh_2} thing_2 IND-say.PRS.3SG {mother_2} stepmother-DEF=3SG_3

bāwažan-aka=š m-wāy
stepmother-DEF=3SG_3 IND-say.PRS.3SG

īna agar īsa b-āy=u
PROX_4 if_8 now_6 SBJV-come.PRS.3SG=and

ī kawš=a b-ār-in
PROX.DEM.ADJ shoe=DEM.PTCL#_1 SBJV-bring.PRS-3PL_1

bi-kar-in=a pā=y sinderelā,
SBJV-do.PRS_1-3PL_1=DIR foot=EZ_1 Sinderelā

dita-k-ān min dī garak=šān niya
daughter-DEF-PL_1 1SG any longer want=3PL NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

{#ē} Thing says, {#mother} her stepmother, her stepmother says: “This, if now it happens and they bring this shoe, they put it on the foot of Sinderelā, they will not want my daughters any longer.”

- (39) sinderelā ma-yar-ē, žērzamīn-ī zendānī = š ma-kar-ē,
 Sinderelā IND-take.PRS-3SG_8 cellar-NA imprison = 3SG_3 IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8
 bān dam = š hay ma-yas-ē = u
 over mouth = 3SG_3 just IND-tie.PRS-3SG_8 = and

She takes Sinderelā, she imprisons her in the cellar, she just ties (something) over her mouth and ...

- (40) xulāsa har_čī ma-qīžn-ē, dī hāwār = iš
 in.short whatever IND-cause.to.shout.PRS-3SG_8 at.all appeal.for.help_2 = 3SG_3
 wa hüčka ni-ma-řas-ē sinderelā
 to_6 nobody NEG_1-IND-reach.PRS-3SG_8 Sinderelā

In summary, whatever (however much?) she shouts, her cry for help does not reach anyone at all, Sinderelā ...

- (41) mawqaŕ-ē ka {xxx} m-ā-yin = a bar ka = y ānān
 time-NA COMP {xxx} IND-come.PRS-3PL_1 = DIR front house_1 = EZ_1 DIST.PL_1

When {xxx} they come to the door of the house of those ones,

- (42) ma-tī-n = a bar ka-ka = šān-ī,
 IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 = DIR door_2 house_1-DEF = 3PL-OBL

ya_dafayī žan-aka ma-šu
 suddenly woman_2-DEF IND-go.PRS.3SG

darwāza-ka wāz ma-kar-ē = u m-wāy
 gate_3-DEF open IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8 = and IND-say.PRS.3SG

bifarmāyīn, waš hāma-y, min dö gila dita = m hē,
 please.come.in pleasant come.PST_1-2SG 1SG two unit_1 daughter = 1SG exist.3SG

b-āy-a kawš-ka bi-kar-a pā = šān
 SBJV-come.PRS.3SG-2PL_1 shoe-DEF SBJV-do.PRS_1-2PL_1 foot = 3PL

they knock on the door of their house, suddenly the woman goes, she opens the gate and says:
 “Come in please, you are welcome, I have two daughters, come in, put the shoes on their feet.”

- (43) {Child speaks} mān, āna č = ē
 {xxx} Mama DIST_4 what_4 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

{Child speaks:} “Mama? What is that?”

- (44) {Narrator speaks} āna dūrbīn-aka = š = ē
 {xxx} DIST_4 camera-DEF = 3SG_3 = COP.PRS.3SG_1
- {Child speaks} na, āna
 {xxx} NEG DIST_4
- {Narrator speaks} ni-ma-zān-im {xxx ābāǰī} parī
 {xxx} NEG_1-IND-know.PRS-1SG {xxx} Parī
- {Narrator speaks} “That is her camera.” (Or?: “It belongs to the camera.”) {Child speaks}
 “No, that?” {Narrator speaks} “I do not know, it belongs to {xxx} Pari.”

- (45) baǰd, xulāsa, ya_dafayī wa_šün = iš, ka
 then in.short suddenly after_2 = 3SG_3 COMP

Then, in summary, suddenly after that, that ...

- (46) m-ā-yin = a {#ma-š-in = a ka}
 IND-come.PRS-3PL_1 = DIR {IND-go.PRS-3PL_1 = DIR house_1}
- kawš-ak-ān ma-kar-in = a pā = y har_dō-k dita-ka,
 shoe-DEF-PL_1 IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1 = DIR foot = EZ_1 both-INDF_1 girl-DEF
- ma-wīn-in andāza = y pā = y ānān nīya
 IND-see.PRS-3PL_1 size = EZ_1 foot = EZ_1 DIST.PL_1 NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

They come {#they go to the house}, they put the shoes on the feet of both girls, they see it is not the size of the feet of those ones.

- (47) m-wāy āyā {#wazīr} wazīr-aka = mān,
 IND-say.PRS.3SG Q.PTCL# {minister} minister-DEF = 1PL_1
- āyā kas-ē dita-y dīr-ī,
 Q.PTCL# someone-INDF_2 daughter/girl-INDF_3 have.PRS-2SG
- qasre zendegī ni-ma-kar-ē, nīyan,
 palace life NEG_1-IND-do.PRS_1-3SG_8 NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG
- yān m-wā-n nīyan
 NA IND-say.PRS_1-3PL_1 NEG.COP/exist.PRS.3SG

He says: “Well then,” {#wazīr} our wazir (says): “Well then, does anybody (nobody?) have any other girl (daughter) who does not live in the palace?” There is not, or (?) they say: “There is not.”

- (48) har_dö dita-y = na,
both daughter-NA = COP.PRS.3SG_2

ya_dafayī haywān-ak-ān dūbāra kumak = iš, sinderelā ma-kar-in,
suddenly animal-DEF-PL_1 again_1 help = 3SG_3 Sinderelā IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1

baʿd bar ka aʿā = š wāz ma-kar-in
then door_2 house_1 for = 3SG_3 open IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1

(She says): “There are only two (of her?) daughters.” Suddenly, the animals again help Sinderelā, then they open the door of the house for her.

- (49) {#ē} pārča-ka-y bān dam = š = iš lā ma-yar-in,
{eh_2} cloth-DEF-NA over mouth = 3SG_3 = ADD_2 side IND-take.PRS-3PL_1

ma-yr-in (?)
IND-bring.PRS-3PL_1 (?)

waxtē kawš-ak-ān ma-kar-in = a pā = š,
when shoe-DEF-PL_1 IND-do.PRS_1-3PL_1 = DIR foot = 3SG_3

ma-wīn-in andāza = y pā = š = ē
IND-see.PRS-3PL_1 size = EZ_1 foot = 3SG_3 = COP.PRS.3SG_1

{#ē} They take away the cloth over her mouth too, they bring her (?), when they put the shoes on her feet, they see, they are the size of her feet.

- (50) xulāsa ka = y pādšā ma-tī-n = a haft
in.short house_1 = EZ_1 king_2 IND-give.PRS_2-3PL_1 = DIR seven

sāz = u haft dahoʿ, ʿarūsī aʿā kuʿa-ka = šān
stringed.instrument = and seven percussion.instrument wedding for son-DEF = 3PL

ma-yr-in, sinderelā = yč xušbaxt mawu, alhamduleʿāh
IND-bring/take.PRS-3PL_1 Sinderelā = ADD_1 fortunate be.PRS.3SG thank.God

In summary, in the house of the king, they beat on seven stringed instruments and seven drums, they make (?) the wedding for their son. Sinderelā also becomes fortunate, thanks to God.

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die vorliegende Arbeit besteht aus einer detaillierten grammatischen Beschreibung des Gūrānī wie es im Dorf Gawraǰū in der Nähe der Stadt Gahvāre in der Provinz Kermānšāh, Iran, gesprochen wird. Gūrānī wird genetisch klassifiziert als eine nordwestiranische Sprache des indoiranischen Zweigs der indogermanischen Sprachfamilie. Es wird in etlichen Sprachgebieten und Enklaven im westlichen Iran gebraucht, sowie auch in manchen Enklaven im nordöstlichen Irak. Gūrānī ist von besonderer historischer Bedeutung als Hofsprache des kurdischen Fürstentums Ardalān (14–19 Jahrhundert) und galt als wichtige Literatursprache in einem grossen Gebiet. Gūrānī diente auch als Hauptsprache der religiösen Überlieferungen der Yārsān (Ahl-e Haqq) Gemeinschaft. In jüngster Zeit scheint es, dass viele Sprecher der Gūrānī-Varietäten ihre Sprache weniger pflegen aufgrund unterschiedlicher externer Faktoren, die typischerweise zu Sprachverlust führen können.

Diese grammatische Beschreibung des Gawraǰū Gūrānī ('Gawraǰūyī') basiert auf gesprochenem Material aus einem Korpus von zwölf Texten. Darüber hinaus werden manche Bemerkungen über sprachliche Variationen des Gūrānī in verschiedenen geographischen Gebieten gemacht. Die Arbeit wird hauptsächlich nach der Theorie der funktionalen-typologischen Grammatik geschrieben. Sie besteht aus vier Teilen, mit insgesamt sechzehn Kapiteln und einem Anhang.

Teil I gibt Informationen über das Gūrānī im Allgemeinen und speziell über das Gawraǰūyī. Kapitel 1 macht Bemerkungen über Sprachgebiet, Schätzungen der Sprecherzahl, Namen, Umgebung, Geschichte, Religion, schriftlich und mündliche Überlieferungen und genetische und areale Klassifizierungen.

Teil II behandelt die Strukturen des Gawraǰūyī. Kapitel 2 behandelt Phonologie. In Kapitel 3 wird ein Überblick über Fragen der Typologie der Sprache, sowie über Morpheminventar, Prozesse, Fragen zur 'Head-marking/dependent-marking', Wortstellungsmuster und Konstituentenstruktur gegeben. Kapitel 4 behandelt Wortklassen mit ihren semantischen und grammatischen Eigenschaften. Die Wortklassen umfassen Nomen, Pronomina, Demonstrativadjektiva, Fragepronomina, Reflexiva, Verben, Modalpartikeln, Adjektive, Präpositionen und Postpositionen, Konjunktionen und Partikeln. Kapitel 5 beschreibt die Phrasen- und Satzstruktur.

Teil III diskutiert eine Auswahl von funktionellen Systemen und den Gebrauch einzelner Strukturen. Kapitel 6 behandelt das Nomen und syntaktische Operationen in Nominalphrasen. Kapitel 7 präsentiert einen Überblick über das Numerus-System, während Kapitel 8 Nominalphrasen und Possession, Attribution und Apposition beschreibt. Kapitel 9 behandelt grammatischen Relationen, Kapitel 10 Valenz. Kapitel 11 gibt einen Überblick über Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität sowie Ortsbestimmung, Richtungs- und Zielangaben. Kapitel 12

behandelt Satzgefüge. Die grammatikalische Realisierung nicht-deklarativer Sprechakte wird in Kapitel 13 beschrieben, und Kapitel 14 diskutiert Fragen der Informationsstruktur.

In Teil IV (Kapitel 15–16) werden verschiedene Aspekte des Gawraǰūyī in einem grösseren Kontext untersucht. Kapitel 15 befasst sich mit Sprachkontakt und gibt einen Überblick über mögliche Sprachkontaktphänomene im Gawraǰūyī. Kapitel 16 behandelt Variationen innerhalb des Gūrānī und präsentiert vergleichendes Material aus sechs Varietäten des Gūrānī.

Der Anhang enthält drei bisher unveröffentlichte Texte mit interlinearen morphologischen Glossen und eine englische Übersetzung.