

A grammar of Hewramî

Masoud Mohammadirad

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Masoud Mohammadirad

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Abbreviations

General abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic	NK.	Northern Kurdish
Av.	Avestan	P.	Persian
CK.	Central Kurdish	SK.	Southern Kurdish
H.	Hewramî	Tr.	Turkish

Grammatical abbreviations

1	first person	EP	epenthesis
2	second person	EXIST	existential particle
3	third person	EZ	ezafe linker
A	agent-like argument of a transitive clause	EZ.ATTR	attributive ezafe
ADD	additive	EZ.CMPD	ezafe compound
ADJ	adjective	EZ.GEN	genitive ezafe
ADJZR	adjectivizer	F	feminine
ADP	adposition	HORT	hortative
ADV	adverbial	IMP	imperative
AUG	augment	IND	indicative
AUX	auxiliary	INDF	indefinite
CLF	classifier	INF	infinitive
CMPR	comparative	INTJ	interjection
COMPL	completive	INTR	intransitive
CONJ	conjunctive	LOC	locational
COP	copula	M	masculine
DEF	definite	NC	non-canonical subject
DEIC	deictic	N.F	feminine noun
DEM	demonstrative	N.M	masculine noun
DIR	direct	NEG	negative
DISC.PTCL	discourse particle	NMLZ	nominalizer
DIST	distal	O	direct object of a transitive verb
EMPH	emphatic	OBL	oblique

Abbreviations

ORD	ordinal	R	recipient-like argument
P	patient-like argument of a transitive clause	R	in ditransitive clauses non-core arguments of intransitive and transitive clauses
PL	plural	RECP	reciprocal base
PN	proper noun	REFL	reflexive
POST	postposition	S	single argument of an intransitive verb
POVB	post-verb	SBJV	subjunctive
PRO	pronoun	SBRD	subordinate particle
PROH	prohibitive	SG	singular
PROX	proximal	SUPR	superlative
PRS	present	T	theme-like argument in ditransitive clauses
PRSV	presentative	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
PSR	possessor	TR	transitive
PST	past	VOC	vocative
PTCL	particle		
PTCP	participle		
PVB	preverb		
Q.PTCL	question particle		

Codes of example sources

Main text corpus (Mohammadirad 2025c)

BP	Oral history	KŞ	Folktale
DG	Local anecdote/myth	PM	Local anecdote/myth
DP	Oral history	RE	Process narrative
HB	Local anecdote/myth	ŞC	Local anecdote, recent history
JE	Process narrative	ZB	Local anecdote/myth
JH	Folktale	ZP	Oral history
JM	Autobiography	ZQ	Local anecdote/myth
JP	Oral history		

Codes of examples from the folktale corpus (Mohammadirad in prep[c])

BB	Folktale	MF	Folktale
BM	Folktale	MM	Folktale
ÇH	Folktale	MP	Folktale
ÇK	Folktale	MR	Folktale
DB	Folktale	PK	Folktale
ED	Folktale	PP	Folktale
HJ	Folktale	PW	Folktale
HM	Local anecdote	SH	Folktale
HS	Folktale	SK	Folktale
HW	Folktale	ŞE	Folktale
JC	Folktale	ŞŞ	Folktale
JF	Folktale	WL	Folktale
JL	Folktale	XŞ	Local anecdote
KK	Folktale	XX	Folktale
KT	Folktale	YX	Local anecdote
ME	Folktale		

1 Introduction

The mountainous Zagros regions of northwestern Iran and northern Iraq are characterised by rich linguistic diversity. Varieties of Kurdish are spoken across much of the area, along with remaining varieties of Gorani and Neo-Aramaic. Over the last two decades, there has been a growing interest in documenting peripheral Gorani varieties, leading to the publication of a few sketch grammars of these endangered languages (see Mahmoudveysi et al.'s 2012 description of the Gewrecû variety, Mahmoudveysi & Bailey's 2013 description of the Zerde variety). Despite these welcome documentation efforts, the more conservative Hewramî varieties of Gorani have lacked a decent monograph-length description since MacKenzie's (1966) seminal sketch grammar of the Luhon variety of Hewramî.

This book aims to fill this gap by providing a comprehensive grammar of the Tekht variety of Hewramî, one of the most conservative Hewramî varieties spoken in the high mountainous region of Hewraman Tekht straddling Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan. The grammar is accompanied by a Hewramî-English glossary, an English-Hewramî glossary, and a verb list.

This chapter is structured as follows: §1.1 provides a general description of Hewramî and its varieties. §1.2 discusses the place of Hewramî within Iranian languages. Then, I move on to give a brief description of Hewraman Tekht (§1.3), followed by the affiliation of the Tekht variety within Hewramî dialectology (§1.4). In §1.5, I give an overview of the literature on Gorani varieties. §1.6 summarises the fieldwork behind producing this grammar. The chapter ends with information about the main corpus of narrative texts (§1.7) behind this study, followed by an additional corpus of folktales used to back up the description of morphosyntactic features (§1.8).

1.1 Hewramî and its varieties

Hewramî is an Iranian language spoken in the remote mountainous region at the heart of the Kurdish-speaking region along the western border of Iran and neighbouring areas in Iraqi Kurdistan. Hewramî is a name used by Hewramî people

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to refer to themselves and their language. Published references to the language appear in the following forms: Awromānî (Christensen & Benedictsen 1921); Auramānî (Mann & Hadank 1930); Hawrāmî (MacKenzie 1966, Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2018); Hawrami (Holmberg & Odden 2008, Haig 2008, Stilo 2019). The exonyms *maço* ‘he/she says’ and *maço zuwan* ‘maço language’ are sometimes used by neighbouring Kurdish-speaking people to refer to the language. In addition, in some linguistic studies, e.g., Khan & Mohammadirad (2024a, 2024b), the cover term Gorani has been used interchangeably with Hewramî.

MacKenzie (1987) classifies the Hewraman region into four main divisions: Luhon (in the south), Tekht (in the centre), Dizlî (in the north), and Razaw (around Sarv Abad). The last one could include the Jawero and Gawero sub-regions (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2018).¹ Hewramî varieties are traditionally divided into three major groupings: Tekht, Luhon, and Jawero. Geographically speaking, these varieties are spoken in the centre, south, and east of the greater Hewraman region, respectively. The Tekht region is linked to Jawero through a stretch of valleys, while the Luhon region is located in the western valley. Within Iran, the most significant concentration of Hewramî speakers is in the cities of Mariwan, Pawa, and Sarv Abad, though Kurdish is also spoken in these three cities. In Iraqi Kurdistan, Hewramî speakers can be found in cities such as Khurmal and Halabja. Figure 1.1 shows the region of Hewraman according to the mentioned divisions.² The list of localities was partly updated based on a recent atlas of language distribution in Kordestan province (see Anonby et al. 2019). As can

¹It has yet to be determined whether these geographical divisions match linguistic subdivisions, especially in the Dizlî and Razaw regions.

²The villages in each part are as follows. The local name has appeared in the Latin Kurdish alphabet for each locality, followed by the official name in the transcription common in Iranian philology. The localities in Iraqi Kurdistan have been transcribed only in the Kurdish alphabet.

Dizlî region: (1) Dizlî (Dezli); (2) Qelacê (Qal’eh Jî); (3) Baramawa (Bahrām Ābād); (4) Tiffî (Tefli); (5) Tazawa (Tāzeh Ābād); (6) Bindol (Bendowl); (7) Deymeyo (Demayo); (8) Derokî (Daraki); (9) Gorgeyî (Ebrāhim Ābād); (10) Zelke (Zalkeh); (11) Dere (Darreh); (12) Zelm; (13) Ehmewawa; (14) Hanew Qulî.

Tekht region: (1) Hewraman Tekht (Owrāmān Takht); (2) Weysiyan (Veysiān); (3) Biḡber (Belbar); (4) Serû Pîrî (Sar Pir); (5) Jiwar (Zhivār); (6) Silên (Selin); (7) Espeîz (Aspeh Riz); (8) Del (Dal); (9) Nwên (Nevin); (10) Kelci (Kalji); (11) Naw (Nav); (12) Dalemertz (Daleh marz); (13) Zom (Zom); (14) Kemaḡe (Kamāleh); (15) Bennen (Bannan); (16) Wergewîyare (Vargeh Vir); (17) Rûwar (Ruvār); (18) Hewasawa (Abbās Ābād).

Luhon region: (1) Nodşe (Nodsheh); (2) Newsû (Newsud); (3) Pawe (Pāveh); (4) Keymne (Keymneh); (5) Zaver (Zāvar); (6) Hane Geṛmeḡe (Hāneh Garmaleh); (7) Hecic (Hajij); (8) Nerwe (Narveh); (9) Şoşme (Shushmeh); (10) Şêxan (Sheykhān); (11) Xaneqa (Khaneqā); (12) Deremûr (Darreh Mur); (13) Giraḡ (Gerāl); (14) Neysane (Naysāneh); (15) Sosekan; (16) Tewêḡe; (17) Biyare; (18) Baxe Kon; (19) Serget; (20) Dere Mar; (21) Gulp; (22) Dega Şêxan.

be seen, most Hewramî-speaking localities are mainly located on the Iranian side of the border.

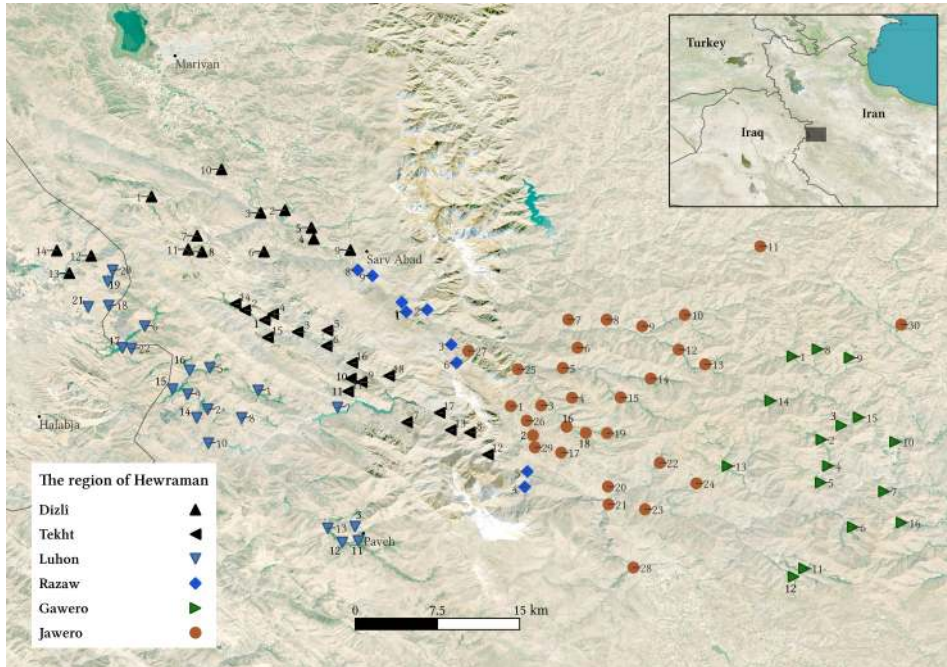


Figure 1.1: The region of Hewraman and its divisions

There are no precise figures on the number of Hewramî speakers. MacKenzie (1987) puts the number of speakers at around 10,000. More recently, Mo-

Razaw region: (1) Ĥazaw (Raz Āb); (2) Keřawa (Karr Ābād); (3) Degaga (Degāgāh); (4) Dêwez-naw (Divaz Nāv); (5) Coľandê (Jowlān Deh); (6) Nawe (Nāveh); (7) Xaneqay Ĥazaw (Khāneqāhe Raz Āb); (8) Dořû (Dorud); (9) Mehmûawa (Mahmud Ābād).

Jawero region: (1) Serûmaľ (Sar o Māl); (2) Dêwer (Divar); (3) Çemşiyer (Chashmidar); (4) Nese-nar (Nasanār); (5) Hersîn (Harsin); (6) Xwaşt (Khovāsht); (7) Sipîbin (Sefid Ben); (8) Nice (Nijeh); (9) Saľiyan (Sāliān); (10) Ewêheng (Avihang); (11) Sê Pîran (Seh Pirān); (12) Hoye (Howyeh); (13) Ser Hoye (Sar Howyeh); (14) Bêsaran (Bisārān); (15) Jan (Zhān); (16) Aryan (Āryān); (17) Sûretifî (Sureh tefî); (18) Jinên (Zhenin); (19) Paygelan (Pāygalān); (20) Tifên (Tefin); (21) Paľin-gan (Palangān); (22) Gowaz (Govāz); (23) Dejin (Dazhen); (24) Ser Rêz (Sar Riz); (25) Borîyer (Boridar); (26) Jiriĵe (Zherizheh); (27) Mazîbin (Māzi Ben); (28) Tengîwer (Tangi Var); (29) Kanî Hoseyn Beg (Kani Hossein Bag); (30) Kêľane (Kilāneh).

Gawero region: (1) Heşemêz (Hashemiz); (2) Gelên (Galin); (3) Xaneqay Gelên (Khāneqāhe Galin); (4) Wesê Jûro (Vasi-ye Olyā); (5) Wesê Xwaro (Vasi-ye Soflā); (6) Doľaw (Dowlāb); (7) Bizľane (Bezlāneh); (8) Heľwan (Halvān); (9) Texte (Takhteh); (10) Suweryan (Sovāriān); (11) Ta (Tāy); (12) Farsawa (Fāres Ābād); (13) Niyer (Nier); (14) Şiyan (Shiān); (15) Derwêşan (Darvishān); (16) Dêr Moľi (Dir Mowli).

hammadirad et al. (2022) estimated the number of speakers to be about 120,000 in Kordestan province (western Iran) following a survey of linguistic distribution in the province. The population of Hewraman Tekht in the 2011 census was 2,761. The speakers refer to their language as *Hewramî*, a term used by neighbouring Kurdish speakers to refer to the Hewramî vernacular. In addition, Hewramî-speaking people self-identify as Kurds in a more socio-cultural and historical sense of the term Kurd, a sense which Kurds also employ to characterise Hewramîs and Kurds alike.³

Although it is spoken by a small community, Hassanpour (1992: 289) reports that the Iranian government broadcast two-hour daily radio programmes in Hewramî from 1977 to 1979. There was also broadcasting in Hewramî after the Islamic revolution on Radio Sanandaj. These broadcasting programmes, however, did not result in the promotion of Hewramî. Instead, the goal has been the political integration of the Hewramî-speaking community. In Iraqi Kurdistan, broadcasting in Hewramî has been boosted in recent years following the proliferation of TV channels. In neither of the sovereign states is Hewramî promoted as an official language. More recently, the autonomous region of Iraqi Kurdistan has agreed that education be carried out in Hewramî in localities with a significant Hewramî population.

1.2 The place of Hewramî within Iranian dialectology

Hewramî (ISO 639-3 hac) is a language that belongs to the Gorani language cluster of the Iranian languages (Indo-European: Iranian: Central Iranian: Northwestern Iranian: (Adharic:) Gorani: Hewramî).

Gorani varieties are scattered in the heart of Kurdish parts of Iran and Iraq, shaded in Figure 1.2. In Iran, there are Gorani-speaking communities south of the Hewraman region. The Gorani languages in Iraq are mostly placed to the west of the Hewraman region, from where they stretch as far as the Mosul plain to the north, where they are the vernacular of such communities as Kaka'î, Şabak, Sarlî, or Bâjâlânî.

Gorani languages are characterised by preserving features dating back to the Old Iranian period. Within traditional Iranian philology, Gorani is considered a member of the Northwestern branch of Iranian languages along with Zazaki, Taleshi, and Kurdish. Together with Zazaki, Gorani varieties are shown to have preserved Northwestern phonological features par excellence (Paul 1998).

³See also Hassanpour (1992: 25).

1.2 The place of Hewramî within Iranian dialectology

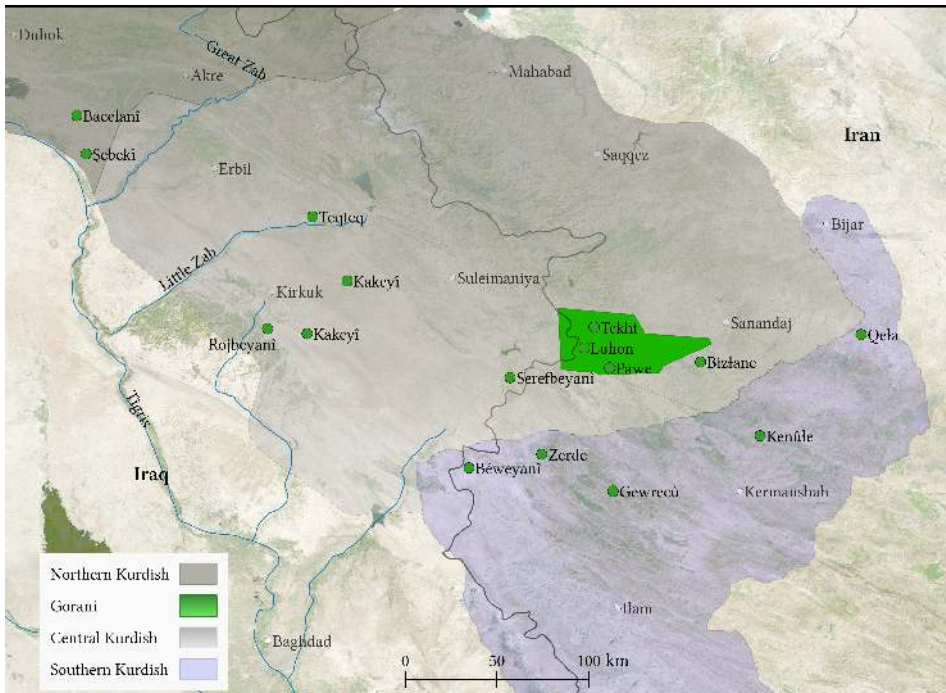


Figure 1.2: Existing Gorani varieties

Hewramî is generally considered “the best preserved and most archaic dialect” within the Gorani language cluster (see MacKenzie 1966: 4 and MacKenzie 1987). The nominal morphology has preserved the fusional case, gender, and number affixes on nouns. In the verbal morphosyntax, ergativity is retained in verbal agreement and the nominal case marking. Though note that 1st and 2nd person pronouns have lost case distinctions. Copula endings are distinguished for gender in the 3sg. The progressive aspect is expressed by a constituent resembling an infinitive before the inflected form of the verb. Many of these features have been weakened or lost in the peripheral Gorani languages.

Varieties of Gorani were once spoken widely in the region. Gorani flourished as the literary language at the court of Ardalan principality (14th–19th centuries CE).⁴ Gorani also serves as the language of the religious texts of the heterodox Yarsan community in western Iran.

⁴Gorani was also the court language of the neighbouring Baban principality, based in Suleimaniyya, up until the early 18th century when it was later replaced by Sorani Kurdish (Leezenberg 1992).

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Gorani varieties have been long in contact with vernaculars of Kurdish and are assumed to predate Kurdish in the region (MacKenzie 1961). The current distribution of varieties scattered across the Kurdish zone gives evidence of a once-vibrant language, which gave way to Kurdish over time (MacKenzie 1966, Leezenberg 1992). There are accounts of language shift to Kurdish in some Gorani communities in the 19th and 20th centuries (see Christensen & Benedictsén 1921, Kurdistānī 1930, Leezenberg 1992, Mahmoudveysi 2016). For example, Mahmoudveysi (2016: 3) reports that speakers of Bēwānījī, Rijābī, and Gāhwārāi localities around Kerend (Iran), which were investigated by Mann & Hadank (1930) as Gorani varieties, have now shifted to vernaculars of Southern Kurdish.

Recent scholarship has shown that the Gorani substrate within Kurdish and other local languages is most visible within the immediate Hewramî zone of influence. Khan & Mohammadirad's (2024a) study of language contact in Sanandaj reveals that the impact of Hewramî is far greater than Kurdish on the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect spoken there, suggesting that Hewramî was once more widely spoken in this now dominantly Kurdish-speaking town. A more recent study by the authors highlights the impact of Gorani on the Neo-Aramaic dialect in Sanandaj and neighbouring Neo-Aramaic varieties (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024b). Mohammadirad (2024c) is a case study of the Gorani substrate in the Southern varieties of Central Kurdish, e.g., CK Sanandaj, bordering the Hewramî speech zone. In other publications, the author illustrates the Gorani substrate in the Southern varieties of Central Kurdish in the areas of bound inflectional morphology (Mohammadirad forthcoming[a]), and word order (Mohammadirad 2024d). The picture that emerges from these most recent studies is that the morphosyntactic and phonological differences between the Northern varieties of Central Kurdish and Southern varieties of Central Kurdish can be understood by reference to a Gorani/Hewramî substrate in the Southern varieties.

In recent years, a new line of scholarship has emerged that studies Gorani/Hewramî varieties within the bigger Kurdish dialectology e.g., Öpengin & Mohammadirad (2022), Mohammadirad & Öpengin (2024). The use of the term Kurdish/Kurdic to refer to Gorani/Hewramî varieties follows from the importance of Gorani in understanding the history of Kurdish language and Gorani being part of Kurdish in the larger socio-historical and cultural sense of the term Kurdish. This latter sense is also reflected in the perceptual identity of Hewramî/Gorani speakers.

1.3 Hewraman Tekht

Tekht Hewramî is a variety of Hewramî, spoken at the centre of the greater Hewraman region (see Figure 1.3). The term Tekht comes from the name of the region whose administrative centre is the city of Hewraman Tekht (Orāmān-e Takht). The town has a population of around 5,000. The inhabitants of the city are all Hewramî-speaking. The Hewraman region was registered as a cultural heritage by UNESCO in 2021.⁵ This has led to an influx of tourists coming to the region both from within Iran and abroad and will undoubtedly have a bearing on the town's vernacular.



Figure 1.3: Hewraman Tekht (photo credit: © Hamid Binaei Faa / UNESCO World Heritage Sites)

The administrative region of Hewraman Tekht consists of 19 localities (see Figure 1.1). It is unclear if the vernacular of all these localities can be grouped under the Tekht variety, especially localities like Naw and Deġemerz, located close to the Luhon and Jawero regions, respectively.

⁵<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1647/>

The inhabitants of the region are generally bilingual in Central Kurdish. This is most notably the case for men. Women over the age of 40 are usually monolingual in Hewramî. The region's inhabitants also have some knowledge of Persian, though it seems that competence in Persian is higher among men than women. The situation for the younger generation is different since they all learn Persian through schooling. It could be the case that the younger generation who has never left Hewraman does not speak any Kurdish but knows Persian through schooling.

The inhabitants of Hewraman generally engage in an agropastoral lifestyle, which is semi-nomadic with vertical migration. During warm seasons, people migrate to the highlands, where they plant cereals, tend livestock, and migrate back to the lowlands during cold seasons. However, this lifestyle is waning, and the agropastoral lifestyle has given way to urbanism in Hewraman Tekht and increasingly in the surrounding villages.

The Hewramî people are well known for their craftsmanship. Woodwork, stonework, and weaving shoes are still practised in Hewraman. The first two jobs are traditionally associated with men, while women generally weave shoes. The people of Hewraman traditionally engage in gardening. Mulberries and walnuts are common products in the region.

1.4 The affiliation of Tekht Hewramî and its status within Hewramî dialectology

Tekht Hewramî is one of the most conservative varieties of Hewramî. It is nearest in its morphosyntax to the Luhon variety studied by MacKenzie (1966). A general characteristic of Gorani varieties is that the more distance they are from the core mountainous Hewraman region, the less conservative they are. For instance, ergativity and nominal gender marking, belonging to the class of “mature features” (Dahl 2004), tend to get lost in Gorani varieties outside Hewraman.

Within Hewramî, major varieties have notable morphosyntactic differences. While these differences await a thorough study, provisionally, the following features distinguish Tekht Hewramî from the neighbouring Luhon variety. The gender system of the two varieties exhibits some variation, as seen in the native lexicon below:

(1)	Tekht H.	Luhon H.	
	<i>masaw</i> (M)	<i>masawî</i> (F)	‘fish’
	<i>asaw</i> (M)	<i>asawî</i> (F)	‘mill’
	<i>çiraw</i> (M)	<i>çirawî</i> (F)	‘lamp’

In some loanwords, while the gender assignment is identical, the endings differ across Tekht and Luhon.

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| (2) | Tekht H. | Luhon H. | | |
| | <i>hêleke</i> | <i>hêlekî</i> | ‘fine sieve’ (F) | cf. Turkish <i>elek</i> |

In nominal morphology, the two varieties differ in the use of the oblique case on past transitive subject (A-past) arguments. According to MacKenzie (1966: 51), in Luhon, the oblique case is limited to inanimate agents of past transitive verbs (A’s). In Tekht, by contrast, oblique marking is additionally available for non-human animate A’s (3b) and human A’s (3c). In other words, the ergative case marking in Luhon is limited to the lowest agents in the animacy hierarchy. The Tekht variety retains an earlier stage of oblique marking on a broader range of agents, including human and non-human.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|--|---------------|----------|
| (3) | a. | <i>îse cawê kerdêne çêro.</i> | | |
| | | <i>îse caw(e)-ê kerdê=ne</i> | <i>çêr=o</i> | |
| | | now road-F.SG.OBL do.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O under=POST | | |
| | | ‘Now, the stone is laid under the road.’ | | [ZP.53] |
| | b. | <i>marêwî gesta.</i> | | |
| | | <i>mar-êw-î gest-a</i> | | |
| | | snake-INDF-M.SG.OBL bite.PST-1SG:O | | |
| | | ‘A snake bit me.’ | | [MP.09] |
| | c. | <i>padşay desûriş dan be min.</i> | | |
| | | <i>padşa-i desûr=iş da=n</i> | <i>be min</i> | |
| | | king.M-SG.OBL order.M=3SG:A give.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O to 1SG | | |
| | | ‘The king has ordered me [to do this].’ | | [JP.209] |

The Tekht variety preserves the gender distinction of predicative adjectives, e.g., in copula clauses. In the Luhon variety, by contrast, the feminine form of the adjective is extended to the singular set. This is shown in (4) for the inflection of *weş* ‘well’.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|----------------|---------------------|
| (4) | Luhon H. | Tekht H. | |
| | | <i>weş=na</i> | ‘I (M) am well.’ |
| | <i>weşe=na</i> | <i>weşe=na</i> | ‘I (F) am well.’ |
| | | <i>weş=nî</i> | ‘You (M) are well.’ |
| | <i>weşe=nî</i> | <i>weşe=nî</i> | ‘You (F) are well.’ |

The two varieties exhibit differences in the stem formation of several verbs.

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(5) Tekht H.		Luhon H.		
PRS	PST	PRS	PST	
<i>wen-</i>	<i>wena-</i>	<i>wan-</i>	<i>wana-</i>	‘read’
<i>piseř-</i>	<i>piseřa-</i>	<i>seř-</i>	<i>seřa-</i>	‘wipe’
<i>cen-</i>	<i>cena-</i>	<i>incen-</i>	<i>incena-</i>	‘mince’
<i>biřfan-</i>	<i>biřfana-</i>	<i>řfan-</i>	<i>řfana-</i>	‘abduct’

Both varieties employ preverbal TAM prefixes (i.e., indicative and subjunctive prefixes) to a limited extent. Phonological factors condition the occurrence of these prefixes, e.g., before vowel-initial verbs in both varieties. However, Luhon H. tends to use these prefixes with more verbs; see (6). For example, w-initial verbs tend to take the indicative prefix in Luhon, but not in Tekht (See Mohamadirad & Karim 2025, for explanation).

(6) Tekht H.		Luhon H.		
<i>wan-o</i>	<i>mi-wan-o</i>			‘he/she reads’
<i>wer-o</i>	<i>(mi)-wer-o</i>			‘he/she eats’
<i>taw-o</i>	<i>mi-taw-o</i>			‘he/she can’
<i>zan-o</i>	<i>mi-zan-o</i>			‘he/she knows’
<i>řem-o</i>	<i>mi-řem-o</i>			‘he/she runs’

1.5 Earlier research

Gorani languages, among them the Hewramî varieties especially, have long intrigued philologists and linguists alike. A first major – and often unnoticed – monograph-length study on a variety of Hewramî was a descriptive grammar of Tekht Hewramî and the Pawe dialect (spoken in the northeast of Kermanshah in the city of Pawe) by Christensen & Benedictsens (1921). This grammar resulted from a field trip to Sanandaj and Hewraman by Åge Meyer Benedictsens in 1901. The Hewramî description comes from a collection of seven texts, four of which were collected from a young speaker of Ruwar dialect (P. Rübār), whom Benedictsens met in Sanandaj. The remaining three texts were collected in Hewraman, in the village of Nawe Sûte, which I have been unable to locate on the map. The Pawe material features one text and four poems.

A second major work on Gorani varieties was carried out by Mann & Hadank (1930). The book contains chapter-long descriptions of eight Gorani varieties, including Kanduali, Auramani, Bajalani, Biwaniji, Gahwarai, Rijabi, Sayyidi, and Zardai. Among these, only Kandulai has been described in detail. Little grammatical description is offered for the rest of the varieties, and the respective sections

consist mainly of lexicon and a few texts. The Auramani sketch deals with the linguistic analysis of proper Hewramî, though, as MacKenzie (1966) notes, it is not evident which dialect of Hewramî is investigated here.

The best-known grammar of Hewramî is MacKenzie's (1966) description of the Luhon dialect of Hewramî. The monograph is based on the speech of a single male Kurdish-Hewramî bilingual whom MacKenzie met in London. The grammar is detailed and remains the only reliable description of a variety of Hewramî ever since. Nonetheless, it is brief and economical. Indeed, the book mainly covers morphology, perhaps in line with the tradition of grammar writing at the time. Less coverage has been given to phonology and especially syntax.

In recent years, several scholars have devoted themselves to describing the most endangered varieties of Gorani, situated outside Hewraman and considered peripheral Gorani varieties. This has resulted in the publication of two sketch grammars of the peripheral Gorani varieties of Gewrecû (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012) and Zerde (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013), spoken in western Iran. Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2018) offer a short grammatical description of the Hewramî dialect of Pawe. The authors have now embarked on preparing a grammatical description of the Shabaki dialect of Gorani spoken in the Mosul Plains.

Despite the recent rising interest in Gorani varieties, MacKenzie's (1966) descriptive grammar is the only standard description of a Hewramî variety to date. Other varieties of Hewramî remain largely under-investigated. This book aims to provide a detailed grammatical description of the Tekht variety of Hewramî, which, as seen in §1.4, differs in many respects from the more southern Luhon variety. The grammar is based on field recordings I collected over the course of several field trips to the Hewraman region over the past seven years. It provides a detailed account of the phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of Hewramî, grounded in current linguistic methods. Despite what is often assumed, there is a high degree of dialectal variation within Hewramî varieties. Indeed, it is unclear whether the vernaculars of Dizlî and Şamyan belong to any known three varieties of Hewramî. Likewise, the morphosyntactic features of the Jawaro variety remain largely unknown to scholars working on Hewramî dialectology. It is hoped that the current monograph will encourage scholars to produce comprehensive descriptions of the remaining Hewramî varieties.

1.6 Fieldwork behind this study

The material for this book was mainly gathered during various rounds of fieldwork conducted in Hewraman Tekht between March 2016 and August 2023. I

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visited the region for the first time in March 2016 and conducted a pilot linguistic fieldwork. On this first field trip, my goal was mainly to get familiar with the speech community and get an idea of patterns of language use on a daily basis. I recorded spontaneous speech and dialogues, and conducted a few elicitation tasks, primarily focusing on verb conjugation. A recording I collected on this trip appears as a glossed text in Khan & Mohammadirad's (2024a: 557–564) study of language contact in Sanandaj.

The second field trip took place in June and July 2017. This trip was conducted as part of my PhD dissertation on pronominal clitics in Western Iranian languages. During this trip, I conducted elicitation tasks using visual stimuli and a questionnaire with native speakers from Hewraman Tekht. In addition, I recorded some spontaneous spoken data and recorded a narration of the *Pear story*. The elicited and spontaneous data collected in this trip formed the basis for the study of argument indexing and syntax of pronominal clitics in Tekht Hewramî (see Mohammadirad 2020b: 365–372), within the context of Western Iranian languages.

The material from these two trips, additional elicited grammar surveys carried out with Hewramî speakers, and further recordings served as the basis for the description of linguistic features of Tekht Hewramî in Khan & Mohammadirad's (2024a) detailed study of language contact in Sanandaj entitled: *Language contact in Sanandaj: A study of the impact of Iranian on Neo-Aramaic*. The documentation of Hewramî began to take shape during the work with Geoffrey Khan on the mentioned book between 2020 and 2023.

The linguistic material for this book comes principally from a field trip to the region in August 2022. During that field trip, which lasted three weeks, I contacted the locals in Hewramî, which greatly facilitated fieldwork and contact with the inhabitants. I made recordings of 15 narratives. The recordings were made using a Zoom H5 Handy Recorder, which produced audio files in WAV format. I conducted my fieldwork mostly in Hewraman Tekht but also visited Serû Pîrî (a village north of Hewraman) and Benen (the summer habitat for the inhabitants of Hewraman Tekht, located in the highlands). During this fieldwork, I transcribed most of the recordings and double-checked my interpretation of recordings with my native assistant, Amir, to ensure that the correct interpretation had been achieved. In addition, I carried out many elicited grammar surveys (including a questionnaire) with Amir and, occasionally, with a few other people in Hewraman Tekht. The questionnaire was developed within the framework of the project “A Linguistic History of Minorities in the Near East” at the University of Cambridge for studying phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical variation

within Kurdish.⁶ The 15 narratives collected in this trip were transcribed and translated and later fully glossed as a text corpus volume representing Hewramî oral narratives (see Mohammadirad 2025c for details).

The fourth field trip took place in July 2023. On this trip, I mainly conducted elicitation tasks on issues I encountered while preparing a first draft of the current grammar. Additionally, I compiled the verb list presented in Appendix C and collected more recordings in Hewraman Tekht. During this trip, I collected further recordings of spontaneous speech in Hewraman Tekht, Serû Pîrî, and Bennen. This trip allowed me to travel to the nearby villages and get a first impression of linguistic diversity within the localities in which Tekht Hewramî is spoken. I was lucky to meet two competent storytellers in Nwên (one of whom was originally from Silên), who narrated some 25 spoken narratives characteristic of the folkloristic tradition in Hewraman. These narratives, as well as a few additional tales that I gathered in Hewraman Tekht in July 2023, constitute a collection of tales, a comprehensive processing of which is planned as a projected publication (Mohammadirad in prep[c]). In discussing the linguistic features of Tekht Hewramî, I sometimes draw on the folkloristic material just discussed (see §1.8) to back up the description of Hewramî features. Still, the main grammatical analysis is based on the glossed text corpus in Mohammadirad (2025c).

1.7 Main text corpus

The 15 narratives collected in August 2022 (see the previous section) comprise the main corpus behind the current book. These narratives yield a total of 96 minutes of running speech. The recordings have been time-aligned with translation using the annotation software ELAN. The recordings, along with the ELAN files, and time-aligned texts, have been archived on the open-access platform Zenodo (see Mohammadirad 2025a), and can be found at <https://zenodo.org/records/15419952>.

The recorded texts belong to different supposed genres: folktales, local anecdotes, myths, oral history of the region, and autobiographies. The resulting texts form the Tekht Hewramî database and are a touchstone for the grammatical description and lexicon. The text corpus behind this study has been entirely glossed in FLE_x, from which the glossed texts were converted into the specific formatting for linguistic examples required by Language Science Press in L^AT_EX, using

⁶<https://www.ames.cam.ac.uk/research/project/echoes-vanishing-voices-mountains-linguistic-history-minorities-near-east>

a Python script. The glossaries at the end of the book were drawn from the TeX file using additional Python scripts.

The narrators who recounted the narratives were all over 60 years old at the time of recording. In many ways, then, this descriptive grammar is indicative of the language as spoken by the older generation. Nonetheless, in a few cases, the grammar highlights the generational difference in language use. As for the linguistic profile of the narrators, except for the narrator of the text JE, who is a monolingual, the rest exhibit some bilingualism in Kurdish. These speakers have a weak bilingualism pattern, with Hewramî as their dominant language and Kurdish as less dominant. In addition, some of these narrators showed weak competence in Persian.

The 15 narratives consist of approximately 10,000 words. Table 1.1 lists the titles of the texts and their identifier codes in Mohammadirad's (2025c) volume. The examples taken from the latter volume are cited in the grammar using the initials of the texts along with an identifier number corresponding to the numbered annotation units—typically a sentence or a clause. For instance, ZB.20 corresponds to sentence number 20 in the ZB text. This guides the readers to the larger linguistic context from which the examples are taken.

There are some glossing and translation conventions worthy of notice. Object language examples are presented in two versions, an orthographic one that corresponds to actual surface realisations, and the morphologically segmented version, which contains representations of the morphemes that are closer to their assumed underlying forms. Example (7) illustrates how the surface form *awekê* 'the water' in the orthographic version can be segmented at the underlying representation, while the second line in example (8) illustrates the underlying analysis for *winû* 'blood of' and *kîselê* 'tortoise (F.SG.OBL)' in the orthographic version.

- (7) *awekê biřo.*
aw(i)-ekê biř-o
 water.F-DEF.F.SG cut.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 'He cut off the water supply.' [DP.34]
- (8) *winû kîselê sawî be...*
win(i)-û kîsel(i)-ê saw-î be
 blood.F-EZ.GEN tortoise.F-OBL.F rub.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A to
 'You may rub tortoise's blood on ...' [DG.47]

A feature of Hewramî narratives is the frequent use of the present tense as the narrative tense to recount past events (see §9.3.1.1). Consequently, all the tales

Table 1.1: The main text corpus (Mohammadirad 2025c)

TITLE	ID	TOPIC
<i>zarote û bizê</i> ‘The baby and the goat’	ZB	Local anecdote/myth about an abandoned baby
<i>zarote û qirólû darî</i> ‘The baby and the tree hollow’	ZQ	Local anecdote/myth about an abandoned baby
<i>herbene</i> ‘The donkey keeper’	HB	Local anecdote/myth about a talking donkey
<i>petê merekuř</i> ‘A swarm of grasshoppers’	PM	Local anecdote/myth, grasshoppers
<i>derde gulî</i> ‘Leprosy’	DG	Local anecdote/myth about a man suffering from leprosy
<i>Şêx Îumer û Cafîr san</i> ‘Sheikh Omar and Jafir San’	ŞC	Local anecdote about recent history
<i>duwê padşe</i> ‘Two kings’	DP	Oral history, two kings claiming Hewraman
<i>jîwayû Pîr Şeliyarî</i> ‘Pir Shaliyar’s life’	JP	Oral history, hagiography
<i>zemawinew Pîr Şaliyarî</i> ‘Pir Shaliyar’s wedding’	ZP	Oral history, hagiography
<i>babaw Pîr Şaliyarî</i> ‘Pir Shaliyar’s grandfather’	BP	Oral history, hagiography
<i>kuřû şuwaney</i> ‘The shepherd’s son’	KŞ	Folktale
<i>jîwayû Heyasî</i> ‘Hayas’s life’	JH	Folktale
<i>řisûmatû ewsayma</i> ‘Our past traditions’	RE	Recollections of traditional life
<i>jîwayû ewsayma</i> ‘Our past life’	JE	Recollections of traditional life, autobiography
<i>jîwayû min</i> ‘My life’	JM	autobiography

and narratives in Mohammadirad (2025c, in prep[c]) – which are the source for linguistic examples in the current book – have been translated into the past tense, including in cases where the narrative present is used to describe past time events (see 7 for an example). Readers are encouraged to keep this in mind when interpreting the examples.

In the translation of linguistic examples, square brackets indicate words and meanings that are implicit or not stated in the text, while round brackets clarify the reference of participants in the text, see (9).

- (9) *maço*, ‘nezanam.’

m-aç-o *ne-zana=m*

IND-say.PRS-3SG:A NEG-know.PST=1SG:A

‘He (the man) said, ‘I didn’t understand [his point].’

[JH.26]

1.8 Folktale corpus

As briefly discussed in §1.7, the morphosyntactic description of Hewramî is further backed up by additional folktales which I gathered at Nwên and Hewraman Tekht in August 2023. These folktales provide a rich source for studying the folkloristic tradition of Hewraman. Once fully processed, they will be published as a collection of folktales from Hewraman. For the current grammar, I have occasionally included example sentences from these tales in the main text. All the examples in the book from the folktale collection come with the initials of the tales and an identifier number, which refers to the place where the examples have been cited within the mentioned tale.

The folktale collection consists of 31 tales, totalling around 25,000 words. Here, it suffices to name each narrative with its initials, with a detailed description awaiting a projected publication of these tales (Mohammadirad in prep[c]).

1. *mûsa û řuwase* (MR) ‘Moses and the fox’
2. *mama mama* (MM) ‘Mama mama’
3. *pîrejenî û kitê* (PK) ‘The old woman and the cat’
4. *dêdê û çwar kinaçê* (ÇK) ‘The stepmother and four girls’
5. *jenê fêlebaze* (JF) ‘A cunning wife’
6. *jenî û lîrewireş* (JL) ‘The woman and the lira-seller’
7. *wîtkê* (WL) ‘Wîtkê’
8. *hacî û jenekêş* (JC) ‘Haji and his wife’
9. *şaw mara û şaw melekuřa* (ŞŞ) ‘The king of snakes and the king of grasshoppers’
10. *jenî û hewt weywê* (HW) ‘A woman and seven daughters-in-law’
11. *patşa û pîrî* (PP) ‘The king and the old man’
12. *kuře keçete* (KK) ‘The bald boy’
13. *hêyasî jîr* (HJ) ‘Heyas the Wise’
14. *sîltan mehmûd û heyasî jîr* (SH) ‘Sultan Mahmoud and Heyas the Wise’
15. *melik ehmed* (ME) ‘Malek Ahmad’
16. *Kinaçêw Talî mexrêbî* (KT) ‘The daughter of Tal from Maghreb’
17. *mar û peyxwmer* (MP) ‘The snake and the Prophet’

18. *meła yoso û meła xidîr* (YX) ‘Mullah Yoso and Mullah Khidr’
19. *şê bayzîdî boystamî* (BB) ‘Sheikh Bayzid Bostami’
20. *çil pałewanê û hezretû feli* (ÇH) ‘Forty warriors and His Highness Ali’
21. *padşa û wezîr* (PW) ‘The king and the vizier’
22. *duwê birayê* (DB) ‘Two brothers’
23. *meła xidîr û şûwane* (XŞ) ‘Mullah Khidr and the shepherd’
24. *xidre xulekêş* (XX) ‘Khidr the Soil Carrier’
25. *ehmedê dize* (ED) ‘Ahmad the Thief’
26. *şa şebas* (ŞE) ‘Shah Abbas’
27. *siyawehş û keyxesrew* (SK) ‘Siyawahsh and Keykhosrow’
28. *hezretû mûsay û fêrson* (MF) ‘Moses and Pharaoh’
29. *hacî mehmûd û rözgarya* (HM) ‘Haji Mahmoud and the Rozgaris’
30. *bêjen û menîje* (BM) ‘Bezhan and Manizha’
31. *heyas û siltan mehmûyî* (HS) ‘Heyas and Sultan Mahmoud’

2 Typological overview

This chapter lays out the major typological features of Tekht Hewramî. This should provide readers with a first-hand touch on the language, though the coverage of features remains concise and eclectic. Defining grammatical properties of Hewramî includes a primary phonological gender assignment system, split-ergative alignment, two-term case system, differential argument flagging, differential argument indexing, disharmonic SOV order, phonemic stress placement, and a complex deictic system.

2.1 Phonology

The consonant inventory includes 29 consonant phonemes, four of which are peripheral phonemes occurring in a few loanwords or limited in their distribution within the syllable or word. These are represented in parentheses in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

	Labial	Lab.-dent.	Alv.-dent.	Postalv.	Pal.	Vel.	Uv.	Phar.	Glott.
Stop	p b		t d			k g	q		(ʔ)
Affricate				tʃ dʒ					
Nasal	m		n			(ŋ)			
Fricative		f	s z	ʃ ʒ		x (χ)		ħ ʕ	h
Tap			r						
Trill			r						
Lateral			l	(ɭ)					
Approx.	w				j				

The vowel inventory consists of nine phonemic vowels: four front vowels <î> /i/, <ê> /e/, <ɛ> /ɛ/, <e> [ɛ~æ]; three back vowels <û> /u/, <o> /o/, <a> /a/; and two central vowels <i> /i/ and <u> /ʊ/. Of these, /i, e, ɛ, u, a, o/ and [ɛ~æ] are long vowels, while /i/ and /ʊ/ are short. The vowel phonemes are distinguished by height and backness, as well as by their phonetic realisation (see §3.1.1.2).

2 Typological overview

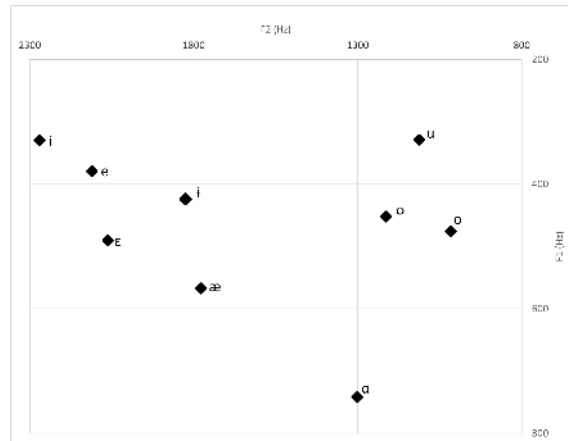


Figure 2.1: Hewramî vowel inventory

A syllable in Hewramî consists minimally of a vowel and maximally of a vowel flanked by two consonants, yielding (C)(C)V(C)(C). Consonant clusters in the syllable structure are broken up by the epenthetic vowels *i* and *u*, depending on the quality of the adjacent consonants.

Hewramî is a language with predictable stress placement. Masculine nouns follow what may be considered the general rule of word-final stress placement, whereas feminine nouns generally have penultimate stress (except nouns ending in *ê*). Similarly, in past tense verbal categories, the stress is penultimate. Hewramî is a language with phonemic stress placement: for most verbs, stress is the only mechanism to distinguish between subjunctive and indicative moods in present tense verbs. Figure 2.2a and 2.2b exhibit different stress patterns associated with the verbs *beró* ‘he/she takes’ and *béro* ‘that he/she takes’. For each verb, the higher intensity peak highlights the stressed vowel.

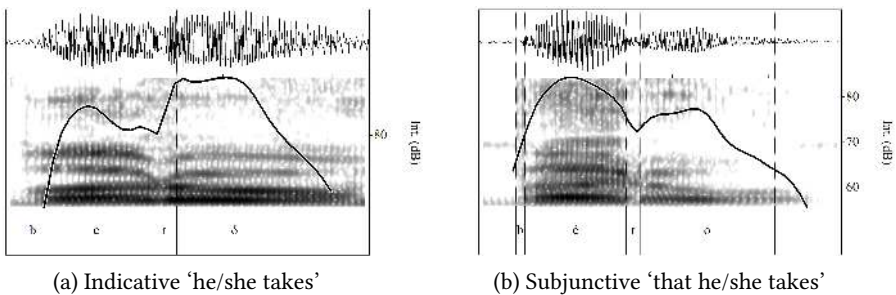


Figure 2.2: The stress position for the verb ‘he takes’

The most important morphophonemic processes are metathesis and assimilation. Many disyllabic loans from Arabic containing a pharyngeal consonant in the coda of the second syllable are subject to metathesis, illustrated in (1). The metathesis occurs following the restriction against the rise of sonority across syllable boundaries (Gouskova 2001).

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|------------|----------------------|-------------|
| (1) | <i>seʃbe</i> | [sæʃ.bɛ] | cf. Ar. <i>sabāḥ</i> | ‘morning’ |
| | <i>wɛʃze</i> | [wæʃ.zɛ] | cf. Ar. <i>wazʃ</i> | ‘situation’ |
| | <i>cuʃme</i> | [dʒʊh.ʹmɛ] | cf. Ar. <i>jomʃa</i> | ‘Friday’ |

The assimilation processes, both progressive and regressive, have the effect of creating geminate consonants. Total progressive assimilation is seen in *çinne* where /d/ fully assimilates to the preceding nasal sound. On the other hand, *kulle* features total regressive assimilation with /ř/ in *kuř* assimilating to the following lateral phoneme.

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-------------|------------------|----------------------|
| (2) | <i>çinne</i> | ‘how much’ | < * <i>çinde</i> | cf. CK. <i>çende</i> |
| | <i>kulle</i> | ‘small boy’ | < * <i>kuřle</i> | |

2.2 Morphology

Hewramî morphology is largely concatenative, though some fusional patterns are attested. Nouns are morphologically marked for case, number, and gender. These categories are expressed by fusional inflectional affixes on the noun. All three represent a two-way distinction: singular and plural for number, masculine and feminine for gender (only in the singular), and DIRECT and OBLIQUE for case. Direct and oblique are Iranian-internal terms roughly equivalent to ‘nominative’ and ‘non-nominative’ cases, respectively.

There is one underlying nominal inflectional class in Tekht Hewramî. The inflection of a noun is predictable from the phonological shape of the base and from its gender. The underlying fusional suffixes are included in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Nominal inflectional suffixes–underlying forms

	SG.DIR	SG.OBL	PL.DIR	PL.OBL
M	-Ø	-î	-ê	-a
F	-Ø	-ê		

The oblique case is a continuation of the functions expressed by old non-nominative case endings. It expresses, among other things, direct objects of

present tense verbs, transitive subjects of past tense verbs, possessors, and complements of prepositions. The direct case expresses intransitive subjects, transitive subjects of verbs derived from the present stem, and direct objects of past tense verbs (see §4.1.3).

Nouns are overtly marked for the category of gender. Hewramî has two genders, masculine and feminine. Gender is assigned to nouns primarily based on the ending the nouns take. Nouns which in their citation form end in a consonant or stressed *-é*, *-î*, *-û*, and *-ó* are masculine. In addition, a subset of nouns ending in stressed *-á* are masculine. On the other hand, nouns ending in *-ê* (whether stressed or not) and those ending in unstressed *-e* and *-î* are feminine. The class of feminine nouns also includes a subset in stressed *-á*. In other words, the language has a phonological gender assignment system (according to the typology in Corbett 1991). It is notable that semantic and morphological factors also have a role in gender assignment (see §4.1.1).

Case distinctions are lost in the speech act pronouns. Third-person pronouns mark case and gender distinctions in the singular and case distinctions in the plural (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Case distinctions in pronouns

	DIR	OBL
1SG		<i>min</i>
2SG		<i>to</i>
3SG.M	<i>ađ</i>	<i>ađî</i>
3SG.F	<i>ađe</i>	<i>ađeê</i>
1PL		<i>ême</i>
2PL		<i>êşme</i>
3PL	<i>ađeê</i>	<i>ađîşa</i>

Gender is a morphosyntactic category in Hewramî since it is involved in agreement. At the level of noun phrases, agreement in gender can be found on (i) adjectives and (ii) definite suffixes. At the clause level, agreement targets for the category of gender are predicative adjectives, 3SG copula markers (3SG.M *=n/ =a*; 3SG.F *=ne*), and 3SG inflectional person suffixes in past stem verbs (3SG.M *-Ø*; 3SG.F *-e*) (see §4.1.1.4). In (3), the predicative adjective, the participle, and the 3SG copula agree with the topicalised NP in gender:

- (3)
- î dega toş vîî çote bîyêne.*

î dega to=ş vîî-î çot-e
 DEM.PROX village.F 2SG=3SG:O see.PRS.IND-2SG:A deserted-F

bîyê=ne

be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S

‘This village, which you see, was deserted.’

[JE.4]

Similarly, number is a morphosyntactic category in Hewramî. Typical agreeing elements for the category of number are adjectives and some classifiers (see §4.1.2).

- (4)
- yerê danê hêlê*

yerê dan(e)-ê hêl(e)-ê
 three CLF.PL egg.M-PL.DIR

‘three eggs’

[JH.81]

Adjectives feature gender and number agreement with head nouns when used attributively and predicatively. When substantivised, adjectives inflect for case as well. In light verb constructions, the adjective complement of a light verb carries number and gender agreement with S and O. In (5), the predicate is *neweş kewtey* ‘fall ill’. In (6), the predicate is *zamdar kerdey* ‘injure’. In both predicates, the adjective complement exhibits agreement with clausal arguments.

- (5)
- kinaçêw padşaw misrî neweşe gino.*

kinaçê-û padşa-û misr-î neweş-e
 daughter.F.DIR-EZ.GEN king.M-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL ill-F

gin-o

fall.PRS.IND-3SG:S

‘The king of Egypt’s daughter fell sick.’

[ZP.25]

- (6)
- ême zamdarê nekero*

ême zamdar-ê ne-ker-o
 1PL wounded-PL NEG.SBJV-do.PRS-3SG:A

‘He should not injure us.’

[DG.64]

As a reflection of it being spoken in a high mountainous area, Hewramî features a complicated demonstrative system. In addition to the third person forms in Table 2.3, which are unmarked anaphoric pronouns, the language has two sets of anaphoric demonstratives, distinguished based on distance, and two sets of demonstrative pronouns.

Table 2.4: Anaphoric demonstratives

	Proximal		Distal	
	DIR	OBL	DIR	OBL
M	<i>îd</i>	<i>îdî</i>	<i>ew</i>	<i>ewî</i>
F	<i>îd(e)</i>	<i>îdê</i>	<i>ewe</i>	<i>ewê</i>
PL	<i>îdê</i>	<i>îdîşa</i>	<i>ewê, ewêşa</i>	<i>ewîşa</i>

Table 2.5: Demonstrative pronouns

	Proximal		Distal	
	DIR	OBL	DIR	OBL
M	<i>îne</i>	<i>îney</i>	<i>ane, ûne</i>	<i>aney</i>
F	<i>îne, îni</i>	<i>înê</i>	<i>anê</i>	<i>ane</i>
PL	<i>înê, îni</i>	<i>îna, înişa</i>	<i>anê</i>	<i>ana, anişa</i>

The different sets of third-person pronouns express diverse, sometimes overlapping, functions. Unmarked anaphoric pronouns track participants that are established as topics. Anaphoric demonstratives may reactivate a referent that has occurred with some distance in the previous discourse. They are also used to establish new discourse topics (see §6.1.2). The choice between unmarked personal pronouns and anaphoric demonstratives is evident in the following excerpt. The former tracks an already-established topic. The latter expresses a topic shift and new information.

- (7) *mila ew kuřekey yoyşa bera. aneşa zilterû şalter bo ađi bera. ewî minya qiroťû darêwe.*
mi-l-a ew kuř-ekey yo-î=şa
 IND-go.PRS-3PL:S DEM.DIST SON.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL one.M-SG.OBL=3PL:PSR
ber-a ane=şa zil-ter=û
 take.PRS.IND-3PL:A DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR=3PL:PSR big-CMPR=and
şal-ter b-o ađi ber-a ewî
 good-CMPR be.PRS.IND-3SG:S 3SG.OBL.M take.PRS.IND-3PL:A 3SG.OBL.M
mi-ny(e)-a qiroť-û dar-êwe
 IND-put.PRS-3PL:A hollow.M-EZ.GEN tree.M-INDF
 ‘They went away [and took] that son. They took one of them (i.e., of the

boys), the one who was bigger and healthier; they took **him**. They left **him** (i.e., the other one) in the hole in the tree.’ [ZB.40]–[ZB.41]

The demonstrative pronouns can have exophoric use, anaphoric use, discourse presentative use, and emphatic use (see §6.3.1). Local adverbial demonstratives distinguish between visible from the deictic centre and invisible from the deictic centre (see §6.3.3).

Nouns are marked for definiteness by way of the suffixes *-eke* and *-e*. The former inflects for gender, case, and number. Unlike known definiteness systems, the definite suffix is not used with all nouns with identifiable referents. Rather, once a noun has been identified with a definite status, it is no longer necessary to mark it by the definite suffix. This means that bare nouns can have a definite reading. In the following excerpt, *kinaçê* has a definite reference by virtue of its appearance with the demonstrative *î*. In the continuation of the discourse, the same referent occurs in its bare form.

- (8) a. *be mezebû wêşa î kinaçêşa pey nîkah kerew. narîşo!*
be mezeb-û wê=şa î kinaç(ê)=e=şa pey
 by religion-EZ.GEN REFL=3PL:PSR DEM.PROX girl.F=DEM=3PL:R to
nîkah kër-e=û
 marriage.M do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=and
n(e)-ar-î=ş=o
 NEG.SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL
 ‘Marry the girl to him according to [the customs of] their religion.
 May you not bring her back!’ [JP.165]
- b. *lalo gino gelû kinaçê.*
lalo gin-o gel-û kinaçê
 maternal_uncle.M fall.PRS.IND-3SG:S with-EZ.GEN girl.F
 ‘The uncle set off on the road with the girl.’ [JP.166]

The simple verb has two verbal forms divided into PRESENT and PAST stems. The two-stem system is divided into two tense-based categories roughly equivalent to present and past tenses. The most productive tool for forming new verbs is light verb constructions consisting of a light verb and a non-verbal element. Verbs inflect for the morphological and morphosyntactic features of number, person, gender (only in 3SG, in verbs derived from past stem), tense, mood, and aspect. Verbal categories are built by present and past stems combined with inflectional person suffixes and modal prefixes. Table 2.6 exemplifies the inflection of the suppletive verb *witey* ‘sleep’ in 1SG across different TAM forms.

2 Typological overview

Table 2.6: The inflection of *witey* ‘sleep’ in 1sg across different TAM categories

Present indicative	<i>m-ûs-û</i>	[IND-sleep.PRS-1SG:S]
Present subjunctive	<i>b-ûs-û</i>	[SBJV-sleep.PRS-1SG:S]
Present progressive	<i>m-ûs-ay m-ûs-û</i>	[IND-sleep.PRS-NMLZ IND-go.PRS-1SG:S]
Past progressive	<i>wis-ay wis-ên-a</i>	[sleep.PRS-NMLZ go.PRS-AUG-1SG:S]
Habitual past	<i>wis-ên-a</i>	[sleep.PRS-AUG-1SG:S]
Irrealis past	<i>wis-ên-a</i>	[sleep.PRS-AUG-1SG:S]
Past perfective	<i>wit-a</i>	[sleep.PST-1SG:S]
Past conditional	<i>wit-ên-ê</i>	[sleep.PST-COND.AUG-1SG:S]
Perfect	<i>wite=na</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S]
Perfect progressive	<i>wit-î wite=na</i>	[sleep.PST-NMLZ sleep.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S]
Irrealis perfect	<i>wite=b-û</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-1SG:S]
Conditional perfect	<i>wite=bî-ên-ê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST-COND.AUG-1SG:S]
Past perfect	<i>wite=b-ên-ê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be-AUG-1SG:S]
Perfect pluperfect	<i>wite=bîye=na</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S]

The verb forms with present-time reference fall broadly into four classes. In all verb classes, the negation of the indicative is identical to the prohibitive, as opposed to the negation of the subjunctive. Class 1 features the majority of verbs, as exemplified by the verb *berdey* ‘take’. Here, indicative, subjunctive, and imperative verb forms are prefix-less. The verbs beginning with *m* in this class exceptionally have the prohibitive prefix *ne-*. Class 2 is specific to verbs with a C(V) structure, with the exception of *bîyey* ‘be, become’ (PRS *b-*; PST *bî-*), which belongs to class 1. The verb forms in this class regularly take the TAM prefixes, except the imperative prefix is occasionally dropped. Class 3 is limited to low-vowel-initial verbs, with the negative prefixes for both the indicative and prohibitive being *nime-*, unlike the verbs in classes 1 and 2. Class 4 is limited to high back-vowel and mid-vowel-initial verbs. Like the verbs in class 3, the verb forms in this class feature vowel coalescence of the TAM prefixes with the stem. However, unlike in class 3, the verb forms in class 4 use the negation forms *mé-*. An exception is the verb *êşay* ‘to hurt’, for which the negative of the indicative can be expressed by either *mé-* or *nimé-* (see §9.1).

Hewramî has a mixed adpositional typology, which reflects its structure being affected by both OV languages like Turkish, and VO languages like Arabic, and Aramaic (Stilo 2009). Additionally, adpositions exhibit applicative-like properties when taking pronominal arguments (see §10.1.4). Example:

Table 2.7: Verb classes with present time reference, inflected in 2sg

			IND	SBJV	IMP/PROH
1	<i>ber-</i> ‘take’	AFF	<i>ber-î</i>	<i>bér-î</i>	<i>bér-e</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-ber-î</i>	<i>né-ber-î</i>	<i>mé-ber-e</i>
2	<i>de-</i> ‘give’	AFF	<i>mi-dē-î</i>	<i>bi-dē-î</i>	<i>(bi)-d(e)-é</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-dē-î</i>	<i>né-dē-î</i>	<i>mé-d(e)-e</i>
3	<i>az-</i> ‘let’	AFF	<i>m-az-î</i>	<i>b-áz-î</i>	<i>b-áz-e</i>
		NEG	<i>nim(e)-áz-î</i>	<i>n-áz-î</i>	<i>nim(e)-áz-e</i>
4	<i>ûs-</i> ‘sleep’	AFF	<i>m-ûs-î</i>	<i>b-ûs-î</i>	<i>b-ûs-e</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-ws-î</i>	<i>né-ws-î</i>	<i>mé-ws-e</i>

- (9)
- xway ketê pey kîyasen.*

*xwa-î ket-ê **pey** kîyase=n*

God.M-SG.OBL bed-INDF to send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:R

‘[As if] God had sent him a bed.’

[JP.69]

2.3 Syntax

The basic order of modifiers within the NP is DEM NUM N ADJ POSS, exemplified in (10). Hewramî uses two different head linkers in the structure of the NP, dubbed *ezafe*/*ezafeh* in Iranian linguistics, depending on the category of the modifier: *-î* marks attributive *ezafe*, whereas *-û* marks genitive *ezafe*. Additionally, an *ezafe compound -e* is used in the language with tightly-knit compound NPS, e.g. *nan-e taz(e)-êwe* [bread.M-EZ.CMPD fresh-INDF] ‘a fresh [loaf of] bread’.

- (10)
- a duwe kuře řalew emîrî*

a duwe kuř-e řal-e-û emîr-î

DEM.DIST two son.EZ.CMPD good-DEF-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL

‘those two good sons of Emir’

Case marking and *ezafe* marking interact in the structure of the noun phrase. When two possessors follow the head noun, only one formative is retained. In the following example, the expected construction would be *qefesû řîne-y-û minne* [cage.M-EZ.GEN chest.M-SG.OBL-EZ.GEN 1SG=POST]. However, in competition for the slot on the first possessor, only the oblique suffix remains, and the *ezafe* gets deleted.

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- (11) *qefesû sîney minne*
qefes-û sîne-y min=ne
cage.M-EZ.GEN chest.M-SG.OBL 1SG=POST
‘in my chest [lit. in the cage of my chest]’ [DP.38]

2.3.1 Word order

Hewramî has a default SOV order. This ordering is characterised by the subject not carrying the nuclear stress. The immediate pre-verbal slot is associated with the basic place of the focus in the clause, illustrated in (12). Occasionally, the subject constituent comes between the verb and its direct object (13). This typically occurs when the subject constituent is in focus. The focality of the A argument in past constructions can trigger the absence of indexing of the A argument on the verb (see §2.3.3.1).

- (12) *çêrhur zarôteke şot wero.*
çêr=hur zarôte-(e)ke şot wer-o
under=POST child-DEF.M.SG.DIR milk.M eat.PRS.IND-3SG:A
‘The baby drank [its] milk from below.’ [ZB.45]

- (13) *heywane awê berde.*
heywane awê berd-e
animal.F.SG.DIR waterF.SG.OBL take.PST-3SG.F:O
‘The flood [lit. water] took away the animals.’ [ZB.21]

Post-verbal objects are rare. If they occur at all, they are limited to nominals with definite reference evoked in the previous discourse. They seem to be limited to certain clause types, e.g., interrogatives (14) and imperatives (15).

- (14) *maça, ‘şanat tomeke?’*
m-aç-a şana=t tom-eke
IND-say.PRS-3PL:A scatter.PST.3SG:O=2SG:A seed-DEF.M.SG.DIR
‘They would say, ‘Did you plant the seeds?’’ [JP.39]

- (15) *mekojdê a kabray!*
me-koj-dê a kabra-î
PROH-kill.PRS-2PL:A DEM.DIST fellow-M.SG.OBL
‘Do not kill that man!’ [SH.268]

Despite having OV order, Hewramî exhibits several head-initial configurations, including Noun-Adjective, Possessed-Possessor, Matrix clauses-complement clause, Verb-Goal, and Verb-Recipient, running against the predictions of head-directionality hypothesis (Dryer 1992).

As for non-core arguments, goals of verbs of motion (16), recipients (17), and addressees (18) are overwhelmingly realised in the post-verbal position, representing Hawkins's (2008) SOVX type, where X is the non-core argument. Though note that Hawkins (2008) uses the notation 'X' to refer to all kinds of non-core arguments, including also comitatives, instrumentals, place, etc. These latter arguments tend to be realised pre-predicatively in Hewramî.

- (16) *êtir milo law ađî.*
êtir mi-l-o la-û ađî
 DISC.PTCL IND-go.PRS-3SG:S to-EZ.GEN 3SG.OBL.M
 'Anyhow, he went to him.' [JP.13]
- (17) *nanîç miđa to.*
nan=îç mi-ď(e)-a to
 bread.M=ADD IND-give.PRS-3PL:A 2SG
 'They will give you a meal.' [HB.40]
- (18) *maço be xanî.*
m-aç-o be xan-î
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A to chief.M-SG.OBL
 'He said to the chief.' [KŞ.97]

2.3.2 Alignment

Hewramî features a tense-based split ergative system both in verbal argument indexing and argument case marking. The alignment system is nominative-accusative for verbs derived from the present tense and ergative-absolutive for verbs derived from the past stem, though note that ergative alignment is most consistently evident in the pattern of argument indexing. This system of tense-sensitive alignment depends not on the transitivity of the clause in a semantic sense but on the lexical transitivity of individual verbs. That is, a verb is lexically specified as either transitive or intransitive, and that will determine how it inflects in TAM constructions based on the past stem of the verb. Whether a verb has an overt object or not is irrelevant.

In terms of verbal argument indexing, Hewramî uses verbal affix person markers to index A and S in verbs derived from the present stem, while O is expressed

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via person clitics. The indexing of S and A is obligatory, whereas the indexing of O is contingent on the absence of the coreferent nominal.

- (19) *mi-lo.*
mi-l-o
 IND-go.PRS-3SG:S
 ‘It (a tortoise) went.’ [DG.61]

- (20) *beroş.*
ber-o=ş
 take.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3SG:O
 ‘He took him.’ [DG.17]

In verbs derived from the past stem, O and S are indexed by verbal affixes (or copula person endings in perfect tenses), whereas clitic pronouns index the A argument. Only indexing of S is obligatory. O-indexing (see §11.1.2.2) and A-indexing (see §11.1.2.1) are nearly obligatory.

- (21) *amaymê.*
ama-îmê
 come.PST-1PL:S
 ‘We came.’
- (22) *berdîmêşa.*
berd-îmê=şa
 take.PST-1PL:O=3PL:A
 ‘They took us.’

In terms of case marking, in clauses where the verb is derived from the present stem, S (23) and A (24) are marked in the direct case, whereas O (25) is marked in the oblique case.

- (23) *sefbê wiłaxdarê mila.*
sefbê wiłaxdar-ê mi-l-a
 morning.F.SG.OBL stableman-PL.DIR IND-go.PRS-3PL:S
 ‘In the morning, the horse grooms went.’ [ŞC.66]
- (24) *îse dêwê xeber zana*
îse dêw-ê xeber zân-a
 now ogre-PL.DIR news know.PRS.SBJV-3PL:A
 ‘If the ogres find out [about you] now’ [SK.100]

- (25) *yewayç bero.*
yew(e)-a=iç ber-o
 barley.F-PL.OBL=ADD take.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘He took the barley seeds, too.’ [JP.29]

In clauses with verbs derived from the past stem, S (26) and O (27) are marked in the direct case, whereas A (28) is marked in the oblique case.

- (26) *karewanîyê amêyanê serere.*
karewanî-ê amêya=nê sere=re.
 caravan_people-PL.DIR come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3SG.PL:S top=POSTP
 ‘Some passers-by had stayed there.’ [DB.15]

- (27) *hewarêşa wişkinênê.*
hewar-ê=şa wişkinê=nê
 summer_habitat.M-PL.DIR=3PL:A scour.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O
 ‘They scoured the summer habitats [searching for food etc.]’ [JE.3]

- (28) *ênne palewana zorşa kerden*
ênne paewan-a zor=şa kerde=n
 so_much warrior-PL.OBL pressure=3PL:A do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:O
 ‘The warriors put much pressure [on the skin]’ [SK.132]

2.3.3 Grammatical relations

2.3.3.1 Differential A indexing

Hewramî features tense-sensitive indexing of the transitive subject A argument: in clauses based on the present stem of the verb, verbal person/number suffixes index the A argument, whereas in clauses derived from the past stem of the verb, the historical clitic pronouns index the A argument. Unlike the verbal affixes, the clitic pronouns indexing the A-past argument are mobile. Furthermore, while indexing of A-PRS through inflectional suffixes is obligatory, the person clitics indexing A-past arguments are sometimes missing. They may be, at least partially, in complementary distribution with an overt oblique case-marked A argument. In (29a), the oblique-marked A *padşa* is the sole way to express the A argument. In (29b), the 3SG clitic *=iş*, resumes the coreferent absent A argument.

- (29) a. *min taze padşay kerdena wekêl.*
min taze padşa-i kerde=na wekêl
 1SG anyway king.M-SG.OBL do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:O advocate.M
 ‘I—the king has put me in charge.’ [ZP.107]

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- b. *watenîçiş, mişyo neberûşo.*
wate=n=iç=iş *mişyo*
 say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=ADD=3SG:A AUX
ne-ber-û=ş=o
 NEG.SBJV-take.PRS-1SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL
 ‘He (the king) has said [to me], “You shall not take her back.”’
 [ZP.108]

This optional indexing of A-past arguments is triggered by the A argument displaying properties related to focus (Mohammadirad & Haig forthcoming). A focused A argument in Hewramî can be in non-contrastive or contrastive focus. The non-contrastive focus is further divided into wh-focus and completive focus (see §11.1.2). By way of example, in (30), the A argument has nuclear focus, and the A-indexing person clitic =ş is missing:

- (30) *î zeře çermeme kê berden eçêge?*
î zeře çerme=m=e kê
 DEM.PROX money-EZ.CMPD white=1SG:PSR=DEIC who
berde=n eçêge
 take.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O here
 ‘Who has taken my white money [that is now] here?’
 [PK.29]

When the A argument is in completive focus, it is not indexed via mobile person clitics. In (31), in response to the wh-question, the focused 2SG A argument is not indexed.

- (31) *maço ‘milk ehmed! î dijenême kê kuştênê? to kuştênê!’*
m-aç-o milk ehmed î dijen-e-m=e kê
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A PN PN DEM.PROX enemy-PL.DIR=1SG=DEIC who
kuştê=nê tò kuştê=nê
 kill.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O 2SG kill.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O
 ‘He (the king) said, Oh Milk Ahmad! Who has killed my enemies? You have killed them!?’
 [ME.150]

By contrast, when the oblique-marked A NP is in the topic position and not focused, the person clitic resumes it. This explains the co-occurrence of the subject indexing clitic and the oblique-marked A argument in (32). Similarly, oblique-marked A argument in the post-verbal position co-occurs with the co-indexing person clitic (33). The clitic indexing here follows from the fact that the topical A argument is placed in the non-focal post-verbal position as an afterthought.

- (32) *î pîyay tawaş î kinaçêşe kerde be qerarê weşêş kerdewe...*
î piya-î tawà=ş î kinaçê=ş=e
 DEM.PROX man.M-SG.OBL can.PST=3SG:A DEM.PROX girl.F.SG=3SG:A=DEM
kerd-e be qerarê weş-e=ş kerd-e=we
 do.PST-3SG.F:O to settlement-INDF well-F=3SG:A do.PST-3SG.F:O=COMPL
 ‘[And if] the man has been able to cure the girl...’ [ZP.45]
- (33) *gotê aman. asawekeş bînan qotekey.*
got(e)-ê ama=n asaw-eke=ş
 box-INDF come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S mill.M-DEF=3SG
bîna=n got-ekey
 block.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O box-DEF.OBL.M
 ‘A box came [floating on the water]. The box blocked the (water) mill.’
 [MF.75]–[MF.76]

2.3.3.2 Differential P indexing

As seen in §2.3.2, P arguments are indexed by clitic pronouns in present tense constructions but via inflectional person/number suffixes in past transitive constructions. Here, differential P indexing means a deviation from the canonical ergative construction whereby the object is not indexed on the verb. Verbal affixes are obligatory indexes of direct objects in canonical ergative constructions, illustrated by the following example.

- (34) *to minit quî kerdaw.*
to min=it quî kerd-a=û
 2SG 1SG=2SG:A pierced do.PST-1SG:O=and
 ‘You disabled me.’ [PW.30]

In clauses with OAV order, the verb tends to agree with the topical O.

- (35) *werêsekê min wardêne.*
werê(e)-ekê min wardê=ne
 rope-DEF.F.SG 1SG eat.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
 ‘[The lion said], ‘I have eaten the rope.’ [ÇH.85]

The expected P indexing is sometimes absent with inanimate Ps that are plural. In the following examples, the verb has a default 3SG.M inflection and does not agree with the plural object.

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- (36) *penc çemçeşâ nîyanre.*
penc çemçe(e)-ê=şa nîya=n=re
 five spoon.M-PL.DIR=3PL:A put.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=POVB
 ‘They (my family) had set five spoons [on the tablecloth].’ [JE.46]
- (37) *ewêş nîya biraw wêş.*
ewê=ş nîya bira-û wê=ş
 3PL.DIR=3SG:A put.PST.3SG.M brother.GEN.EZ REFLX=3SG:PSR
 ‘He made them (the ogres) his brothers.’ [ME.99]

O-past indexing may also be absent due to affix co-optation by a higher-ranked argument in terms of animacy. In the following example, the expected 3PL O-agreement suffix is absent on the verb because its slot has been taken over by the 3SG suffix indexing the oblique argument.

- (38) *kîyast sênze danê heserêşâ da pene.*
kîyast sênze danê heser(e)-ê=şa da-Ø pene
 send.PST thirteen CLF.PL mule.F-PL.DIR=3PL:A give.PST-3SG:R to
 ‘He [the king] sent [his men]. They [his men] gave him (Imam Ali) thirteen mules.’ [ÇH.69]

2.3.3.3 Differential A flagging

The alignment system licenses case marking for A arguments. In TAM constructions derived from the present stem of the verb, A is marked in the direct case, realised as a zero suffix in the singular and *-ê* in the plural. By contrast, in verbal categories derived from the past stem of the verb, the A argument should be, by default, accompanied by the oblique case suffixes. The split alignment is only relevant for third-person nouns and pronouns. Speech act pronouns have lost the case distinction (see §2.3). The following example illustrates the oblique case marking on the A-past argument.

- (39) *cafir sanî fermawan, ‘lodê!’*
cafir san-î fermawa=n lo-dê
 PN PN-M.SG.OBL say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O go.PRS.IMP-2PL:S
 ‘Jafir San said, ‘Go [and bring him]!’’ [ŞC.36]

In reality, not all A-past arguments are oblique-marked. A token frequency count of overt As reveals that a quarter of the third person As are not oblique-marked (see §11.2.1). The data suggest that information prominence triggers

oblique case marking on A-past arguments. The latter operates at two levels: “local” and “global” (Chappell & Verstraete 2019). In Hewramî, the former is generally associated with oblique marking and the latter with direct case marking. “Local” prominence is associated with the A argument being in narrow focus and contrastive focus. In (40), the case marking on *her* ‘donkey’ is triggered by its contrast with *min*.

- (40) *î her-î zûwaniş zana min hîçim nezanan.*
î her-î zûwan=iş zana-Ø
 DEM.PROX donkey-SG.OBL.M language.M.SG.DIR=3SG:A know.PST-3SG.M:O
min hîç=im ne-zana=n
 1SG nothing=1SG:A NEG-know.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘The donkey knew the [Sheikh’s] language; I didn’t know a thing!’
 [HB.71]

Case marking on the A argument can also be triggered by global prominence. According to McGregor’s (2006) “expected actor principle”, in episodes of discourse with an expected actor, the actor can be left unmarked after its introduction. Any deviation from the expected actor is marked in the ergative case. One of the factors conditioning differential subject marking seems to be topic continuity. In the following excerpt, the established direct-marked topic of the intransitive clause in (41a), is repeated with the transitive clause in (41b), even though the oblique form *adişa* is expected with the latter clause.

- (41) a. *tenya adê luwenê.*
tenya adê; luwe=nê
 only 3PL.DIR go.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘Only they_i (Baba Khwada, Hama the Invisible, and Little Hama) went [to Iraq].’
 b. *êtir adê watenşa, ‘ême diruwê meyeymê.*
êtir adê; wate=n=şa ême diruwê
 DISC.PTCL 3PL.DIR say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3PL:A 1PL lie.F
me-de-îmê
 NEG.IND-give.PRS-1PL:A
 ‘They_i said, ‘We are not going to lie.’ [BP.116]–[BP.117]

In terms of information structure, non-oblique marked overt A-past arguments tend not to carry the nuclear stress. In other words, they behave like topics and contain given information (see §11.2.1 for discussion).

2.3.3.4 Differential P flagging

Direct objects in clauses based on present stem verbs exhibit differential P flagging. The basic pattern is that direct objects which are definite-marked (42), proper nouns (43), inanimate direct objects with definite reading (44), and direct objects modified by demonstrative pronouns (45) are marked in the oblique case.

- (42) *zeřekey bere.*
zeř-ekey *bér-e*
 money.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A
 ‘Take the money.’ [JP.104]
- (43) *hêyasî bizindê!*
hêyas-î *bi-zin-dê*
 PN-M.SG.OBL IMP-take_out.PRS-2PL:A
 ‘Throw Heyas out!’ [HS.15]
- (44) *muxteserû kelamî, yaney yozawe.*
muxteser-û *kelam-î* **yane-î**
 summary.M-EZ.GEN speech-M.SG.OBL house.M-SG.OBL
yoz-a=we
 find.PRS.IND-3PL:A=COMPL
 ‘To cut a long story short [lit. gist of speech], they found the house.’ [JP.205]
- (45) *a esbî zînî kere peym.*
a **esb-î** *zînî* *kér-e* *pey=m*
 DEM.DIST horse-M.SG.OBL saddle do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A for=1SG:R
 ‘Saddle up the horse for me.’ [ŞC.52]

Similarly, nouns whose referents have been mentioned in the previous discourse tend to carry case marking. In the following example, the case marking on *yewe* is triggered by its referent being evoked in previous discourse.

- (46) *werû mecbûrî yewayç bero.*
wer-û *mecbûrî-(î)* **yew(e)-a=îç**
 out_of-EZ.GEN obligation-M.SG.OBL barley.F-PL.OBL=ADD
ber-o
 take.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘Out of obligation, he took the barley seeds, too.’ [JP.29]

Similarly, in principle, indefinite-marked direct objects with specific reference can get oblique case marking. In (47), the indefinite-marked direct object has been previously mentioned and is possessed.

- (47) *her salê meyo kuřêwît bera.*
her sal(e)-ê m-e-y-o kuř-êw-î=t
 each year.F-INDF IND-come.PRS-EP-3SG:S son-INDF-M.SG.OBL=2SG:PSR
ber-a
 take.PRS.IND-3PL:A
 ‘[With] each year that comes, they take one of your sons.’ [ÇH.26]

On the other hand, indefinite-marked direct objects (48), indefinite-inspecific direct objects (49), and generic nominals (50)–(51), are not oblique-marked.

- (48) *çolekêwe gêro minyo baxelêş.*
çolek(e)-êwe gêr-o mi-ny(e)-o
 sparrow.F-INDF take.PRS.IND-3SG:A IND-put.PRS-3SG:A
baxel-ê=ş
 embrace-INDF=3SG:PSR
 ‘[He] grabbed a sparrow [and] put it on his chest [under his clothing].’
 [DP.36]

- (49) *ađ dastanê zano.*
ađ dastane-ê zan-o
 3SG.M.DIR tale-PL.DIR know.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘He knows tales.’

- (50) *toyş nan werî.*
to=îç nan wer-î
 2SG=ADD bread.DIR.M eat.PRS.IND-2SG:A
 ‘You will eat your meal.’ [HB.41]

- (51) *meła mara mareş biřa peyş.*
meła m-ar-a mare=ş biř-a
 mullah.M IND-bring.PRS-3PL:A marriage=3SG:O cut.PRS.IND-3PL:A
pey=ş
 for=3SG:R
 ‘They fetched a Mullah [and] married her (the girl) to him (the shepherd’s son).’ [KŞ.88]

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There are also morphosyntactic constraints on differential P flagging. Quantified direct object entities are not oblique-marked, regardless of the information prominence. This apparent anomaly seems to be caused by the fact that numerals and quantifiers, by default, trigger direct case marking on the nominal heads.

- (52) *jenêç nîşore duwê zarotê wîno.*
jen(i)-ê=ç nîş-o=re duwê zarot(e)-ê
 woman.F.SG.OBL=ADD sit.PRS.IND-3SG:S=POVB two child-PL.DIR
wîn-o
 see.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘The wife gave birth to two babies. [Lit. She sat down [and] saw two babies.]’ [ZB.24]

2.3.3.5 Differential case marking on non-core arguments

Hewramî also features differential case marking on non-core arguments. This means that not all non-core arguments are marked in the same case. The relevant arguments are recipients, goals, beneficiaries, comitatives, etc. Differential case marking on non-core arguments depends partly on the type of adpositions used to flag non-core arguments. The oblique case marking tends to be absent when the non-core argument is flagged by a postposition (53) or bare (54).

- (53) *jenekê m qomyaş venî kelekewe.*
jen(i)-ekê=m qomya=ş venî
 woman.F-DEF.F.SG=1SG:PSR happen.PST.3SG:S=3SG:R at
kel-eke=we
 mountain-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST
 ‘My wife was about to deliver a baby in the mountain.’ [ZQ.14]
- (54) *melowe yane.*
me-l-o=we yane
 NEG.IND-go.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL house.M
 ‘He didn’t go back home.’ [JH.109]

On the other hand, except for preposition *ta* ‘until’ (55), other prepositions can, in principle, trigger oblique marking on the non-core arguments (56).

- (55) *ta meřeb er ame.*
ta meřeb er ame
 until PN come.PST.3PL:S
 ‘They came as far as Marabar.’ [BP.114]

(56) *luwewe pey yaney!*

lu-e=we

pey yane-i

go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S=COMPL to house.M-SG.OBL

‘[Now] go back home!’

[JH.118]

In §11.2.3, I outline other factors that are important in differential case marking on non-core arguments, including animacy, role, etc.

3 Phonetics, phonology, and morphophonology

3.1 Phoneme inventory

This section presents the inventory and realisation of consonants and vowels in Tekht Hewramî. The language has 26 consonants and nine vowels in its phoneme inventory.

3.1.1 Vowel phonemes

3.1.1.1 Description of vowels

Tekht Hewramî has nine vowel phonemes: four front vowels <î> /i/, <ê> /e/, <ε> /ɛ/, <e> /ɛ~æ/; three back vowels <û> /u/, <o> /o/, <a> /ɑ/; and two central vowels <i> /ɨ/ and <u> /ʊ/. Of these, /i, e, ɛ, u, ɑ, o/ and /æ/ are realised as long vowels, while /ɨ/ and /ʊ/ are short. The vowel phonemes are distinguished by height and backness, as well as by phonetic realisation (see §3.1.1.2). Vowel length is notphonemically distinctive, e.g., in distinguishing between <ε> and <e> (see §3.1.1.2.4).

The circumflex in the grapheme <î> marks the front vowel /i/ in contrast to <i> /ɨ/. The circumflex in <ê> distinguishes the front vowel /e/ from the front vowel [ɛ~æ] <e>. For back vowels, the circumflex distinguishes u/ <û> from the short central /ʊ/ <u>.

The following examples illustrate the vowels in syllable-medial and syllable-final positions in monosyllabic words. Syllable-initially, vowels are generally preceded by glottal stop [ʔ] because of the restriction against empty onsets.

/i/ <î> is a close front unrounded vowel:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------|--------|----------|
| (1) | <i>îḏ</i> | [ʔiɾʰ] | ‘this’ |
| | <i>pîr</i> | [pʰiɾ] | ‘old’ |
| | <i>sî</i> | [si] | ‘thirty’ |

/i/ is glided following /o/:

3 Phonetics, phonology, and morphophonology

- (2) *toyç* /t^ho.i.t̪/ > [tojt̪] ‘you too’

/e/ <ê> is a close-mid front unrounded vowel:

- (3) *êş* [ʔeʃ] ‘pain’
şêr [ʃer] ‘lion’
kê [k^he] ‘who’

/i/ <i> is a close-central unrounded vowel. This vowel has restricted distribution. Word-initially, it appears to be occurring with disyllabic or trisyllabic words, e.g., *iti* ‘any more.’ Word-finally, it only appears with clitic particles, that is, elements that cannot stand by themselves as a free word, e.g., *gi* ‘each.’

- (4) *iti* [ʔi.ti] ‘any more’
çil [t̪il] ‘forty’
gi [gi] ‘each’

/i/ is used as an epenthetic vowel to break up some consonant clusters syllable-initially, especially in careful speech (see §3.4.4).

- (5) *bira* ~ *bra* ‘brother’

/i/ may also be used to break up complex consonant clusters in the syllable coda, e.g.,:

- (6) *gerim* < *germ* ‘warm’

/ε/ <ε> is an open-mid front unrounded vowel. /ε/ is the result of the contraction of /a/ and /ê/. When realised in open syllables, it is very close in phonetic realisation to a near-open front unrounded vowel /æ/, the difference being that /ε/ is more front and has a shorter length than /æ/ (see §3.1.1.2.4).

- (7) *ame* [ʔamε] ‘they came’
watet [ʔwatet] ‘[if] you had said’

/æ/ <e> is a near-open front unrounded vowel. Its realisation approaches /ε/ in open syllables (see §3.1.1.2.3).

- (8) *esb* [ʔæsb] ‘horse’
ber [bær] ‘door’
ce [dʒæ] ‘in, from’

/ɑ/ <a> is an open back unrounded vowel:

- (9) *ađ* [ʔɑɾʏ] ‘he’
par [p^hɑɾ] ‘last year’
ça [t̪ɑ] ‘there’

/o/ <o> is an open-mid back rounded vowel. It does not occur word-initially in monosyllabic words.

- | | | | |
|------|------------|----------|-------------|
| (10) | <i>oge</i> | [ʔo.ˈgɛ] | ‘there’ |
| | <i>kor</i> | [kʰor] | ‘blind’ |
| | <i>to</i> | [tʰo] | ‘you (sg.)’ |

/ʊ/ <u> is a near-close near back rounded vowel. It is limited to word-medial position in monosyllabic words in the text corpus.

- | | | | |
|------|------------|-------|-----------------|
| (11) | <i>gul</i> | [gʊl] | ‘bad’ |
| | <i>kul</i> | [kʊl] | ‘blunt (knife)’ |

/u/ <û> is a close back rounded vowel. Like other back-rounded vowels, /û/ is excluded word-initially, except occasionally in disyllabic words.

- | | | | |
|------|------------|----------|-----------|
| (12) | <i>ûne</i> | [ʔu.ˈnæ] | ‘that’ |
| | <i>dûr</i> | [dur] | ‘far’ |
| | <i>şû</i> | [ʃu] | ‘husband’ |

3.1.1.2 Phonetic realisation of vowels

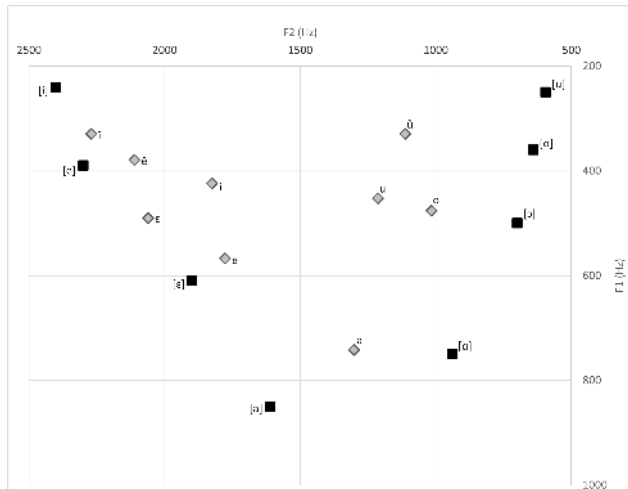


Figure 3.1: Phonetic realisation of vowels

This section describes the phonetic realisation of individual vowels plotted in vowel charts. The quality of the allophonic realisation of vowels was measured using the acoustic analysis software Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2015). The

3 Phonetics, phonology, and morphophonology

F1 and F2 frequencies for each vowel were plotted on the vowel chart. F1 has an inverse relationship with vowel height: the higher the vowel, the lower the F1. On the other hand, F2 has an inverse relationship with the backness of the vowel, such that back vowels are characterised by lower F2 than front vowels. Diagram 3.1 maps the average realisation of vowels onto the cardinal vowel diagram. Square brackets represent cardinal vowels. The realisation of vowels is based on analysing the acoustic properties of vowels averaged out for at least ten words per vowel. A 20-year-old male speaker of Tekht Hewramî produced the words.

3.1.1.2.1 /i/

As seen in Figure 3.2, the allophones of the close front unrounded vowel /i/ are generally scattered in the area between cardinal vowels [i] and [e]. The allo-

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>metîye</i> ‘aunt’ | 8. <i>pêştî</i> ‘back’ |
| 2. <i>hêzî</i> ‘yesterday’ | 9. <i>tirazûyî</i> ‘balance’ |
| 3. <i>gicî</i> ‘shirt’ | 10. <i>tifî</i> ‘mulberry’ |
| 4. <i>hêvîcî</i> ‘carrot’ | 11. <i>avîr</i> ‘fire’ |
| 5. <i>tûtî</i> ‘parrot’ | 12. <i>jîr</i> ‘sage’ |
| 6. <i>gôşî</i> ‘ear’ | 13. <i>tarîk</i> ‘dark’ |
| 7. <i>mêkî</i> ‘salt’ | 14. <i>keteşîr</i> ‘rooster’ |
| | 15. <i>qeyîm</i> ‘old’ |

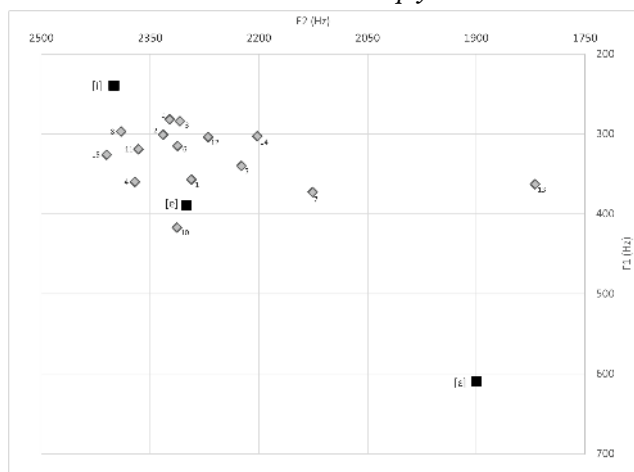


Figure 3.2: Phonetic realisation of /i/ <î>

phones have a tendency to become more back, especially in the environment of an unvoiced obstruent, e.g., *méki* ['mɛ.ki] 'salt', *tarík* [tʰɑ.'rik] 'dark'.

3.1.1.2.2 /e/

The positional variants of the close-mid front unrounded vowel /e/ show a relatively narrow scatter; see Figure 3.3. The sample consists of stressed /e/ (1–7) and their non-stressed counterparts (8–10). The allophones of /e/ are primarily positioned close to the cardinal vowel [e] marked by the square. An exception is the unstressed /e/ in *namê* 'name', which has a more central realisation, possibly due to the effect of the preceding nasal consonant.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>qijê</i> 'hair' | 6. <i>hêzmê</i> 'firewood (PL.DIR)' |
| 2. <i>birê</i> 'eyebrow' | 7. <i>yagê</i> 'place' |
| 3. <i>kinaçê</i> 'daughter, girl' | 8. <i>pêrê</i> 'the day before yesterday' |
| 4. <i>sêté</i> 'husband's sister' | 9. <i>námê</i> 'name' |
| 5. <i>dêyé</i> 'stepmother' | 10. <i>eyâlê</i> 'mother (vocative)' |

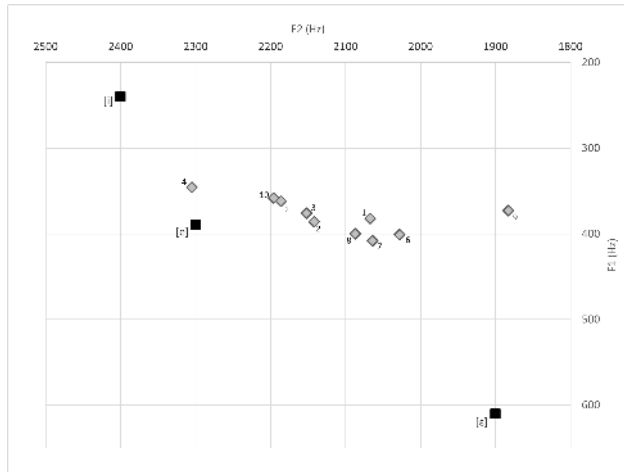


Figure 3.3: Phonetic realisation of /e/ <ê>

3.1.1.2.3 /æ/

Figure 3.4 shows the allophonic realisation of /æ/ in closed syllables. It can be seen that /æ/ is scattered in an area corresponding to the realisation of the cardinal vowel [ɛ] in most cases, e.g., *tejnê* 'thirsty'. In addition, some allophonic

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stressed /æ/ in closed syllables	unstressed /æ/ in closed syllables
1. <i>kérge</i> ‘hen’	11. <i>texté</i> ‘wood’
2. <i>péşti</i> ‘back’	12. <i>tersáy</i> ‘fear’ (INF)
3. <i>řénge</i> ‘colour’	13. <i>heştalúî</i> ‘plum’
4. <i>çérme</i> ‘white’	14. <i>kerđéy</i> ‘do’ (INF)
5. <i>kéşki</i> ‘dried whey’	15. <i>berđéy</i> ‘take’ (INF)
6. <i>yehér</i> ‘liver’	16. <i>merđéy</i> ‘die’ (INF)
7. <i>pél</i> ‘leaf’	17. <i>pencéw pay</i> ‘heel’
8. <i>çép</i> ‘left’	18. <i>jenbirá</i> ‘brother of wife’
9. <i>hévr</i> ‘cloud’	19. <i>tejné</i> ‘thirsty’
10. <i>héşt</i> ‘eight’	20. <i>nemdár</i> ‘known’

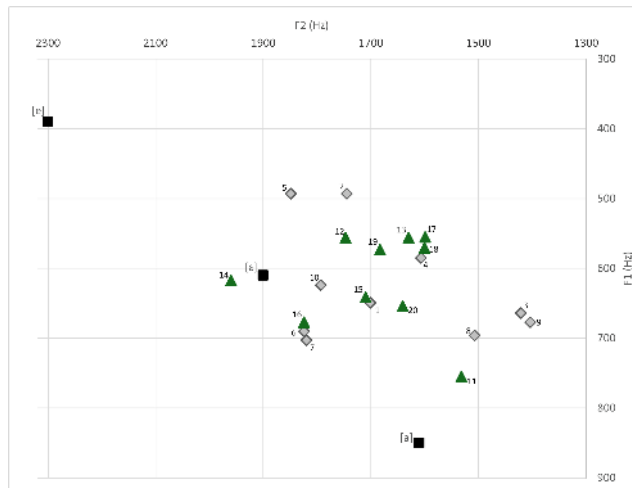


Figure 3.4: Phonetic realisation of /æ/ <e> in closed syllables

variants of /æ/ come close to the realisation of [æ], e.g., *pél* ‘leaf’. Figure 3.5 demonstrates the allophonic variation of /æ/ in open syllables.

As can be seen, allophones of /æ/ in open syllables are predominantly scattered in an area between the cardinal vowels [ɛ] and [e], regardless of whether they are stress-bearing or not. Comparing Figure 3.4 to Figure 3.5, it can be said that allophones of /æ/ occupy a considerable phonetic space. Notably, the allophonic realisation of /æ/ shows more raising in open syllables than in closed ones.

stressed /æ/ in open syllables

21. *taté* ‘father’
22. *çénî* ‘needle’
23. *méki* ‘salt’
24. *jénî* ‘woman’
25. *îsé* ‘now’
26. *tazé* ‘new’
27. *tûté* ‘dog’
28. *kité* ‘cat’
29. *pêré* ‘the day after tomorrow’
30. *m[é]ye* ‘sheep’

unstressed /æ/ in open syllables

31. *lûte* ‘nose’
32. *vérvé* ‘snow’
33. *tîre* ‘arrow’
34. *táce* ‘crown’
35. *bíze* ‘goat’
36. *çóge* ‘knee’
37. *şéve* ‘night’
38. *séye* ‘shade’
39. *léme* ‘belly’
40. *tevérg[e]* ‘hail’

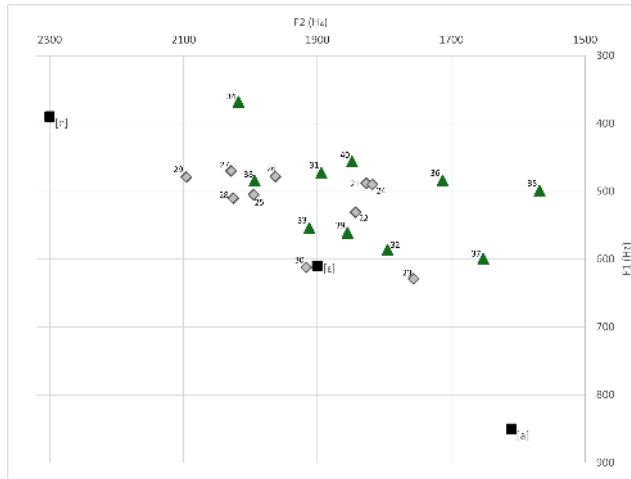


Figure 3.5: Phonetic realisation of /æ/ <e> in open syllables

3.1.1.2.4 /ɛ/

Figure 3.6 represents the phonetic realisation of /ɛ/. As seen in Table 3.1, the average realisation of /ɛ/ is phonetically very close to the average realisation of /æ/ in open syllables. One difference is that /ɛ/ is more front, i.e., it has a relatively higher F2. The other difference is that /æ/ is longer than /ɛ/. Investigating the average length of these vowels per two words yields the following figures. /ɛ/ has a length of 90 ms, whereas the figure is 170 ms for unstressed /æ/ and 150 ms for stressed /æ/.¹

¹Our phonetic analysis of /ɛ/ and /æ/ in Luhon H. shows that the same tendency holds for the difference between /ɛ/ and /æ/, running contrary to MacKenzie's (1966: 8) description of the vowel system in Luhon, which presents /ɛ/ as a long vowel and /æ/ as a short vowel.

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1. *lúwε* ‘they went’

2. *néλε* ‘they didn’t go’

3. *luwénî* ‘you (F) have gone’

4. *luwéne* ‘she has gone’

5. *luwénê* ‘they have gone’
6. *zanábîyem* ‘(if) I had known’

7. *yáwε* ‘they arrived’

8. *yáwε* ‘if they arrived’

9. *wátet* ‘[if] you had said’

10. *wáteş* ‘if he/she had said’

11. *píyε* ‘men’

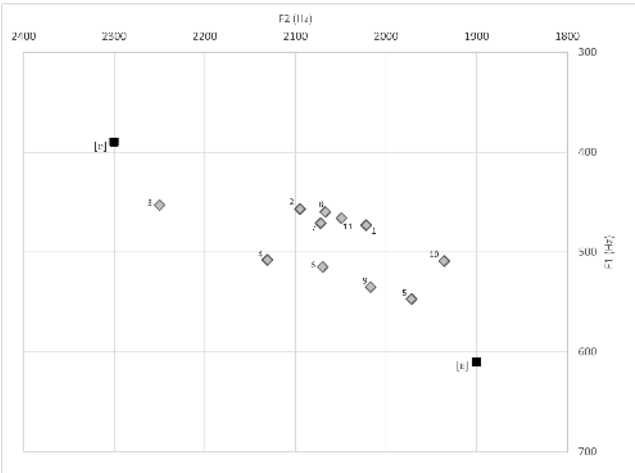


Figure 3.6: Phonetic realisation of /ε/ <ε>

Table 3.1: Phonetic realisation difference between /ε/ and /æ/

vowel	F1	F2
/ε/	490	2061
stressed /æ/ in open syllables	519	1927
unstressed /æ/ in open syllables	506	1824

The distinction between /ε/ and /e/ <ê> is phonemically distinctive, as shown by the following pairs.

- (13)

bíyê ‘they were’
luwénê ‘they were going’

bíyε ‘if they had been’
luwénê ‘they have gone’

3.1.1.2.5 /a/

As shown in Figure 3.7, the allophonic realisation of /a/ shows a wide scatter between cardinal vowels [a] and [ɑ]. It can be seen that /a/ has a back realisation in the environment of back consonants, e.g., *qurwáqî* ‘frog’, and velarised consonants (caused by the spread of pharyngealisation), e.g., *gemát* ‘male dog’. The great diversity in the positioning of /a/ seems to have triggered the raising of [æ] to [ɛ] (see the preceding sections) as an instance of a push chain, meaning that the diversity in the phonetic positioning of /æ/ could have potentially made the distinction between [æ] and [ɑ] difficult and this, in turn, resulted in the raising of [æ] to [ɛ].

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>babá</i> ‘grandfather’ | 8. <i>walé</i> ‘sister’ |
| 2. <i>xuyá</i> ‘God’ | 9. <i>yagê</i> ‘place’ |
| 3. <i>qurwáqî</i> ‘frog’ | 10. <i>eçá</i> ‘there’ |
| 4. <i>gáve</i> ‘cow’ | 11. <i>hamsá</i> ‘neighbour’ |
| 5. <i>degá</i> ‘village’ | 12. <i>gîváv</i> ‘plant’ |
| 6. <i>laló</i> ‘maternal uncle’ | 13. <i>xás</i> ‘good’ |
| 7. <i>taté</i> ‘father’ | 14. <i>varán</i> ‘rain’ |
| | 15. <i>gemát</i> ‘male dog’ |

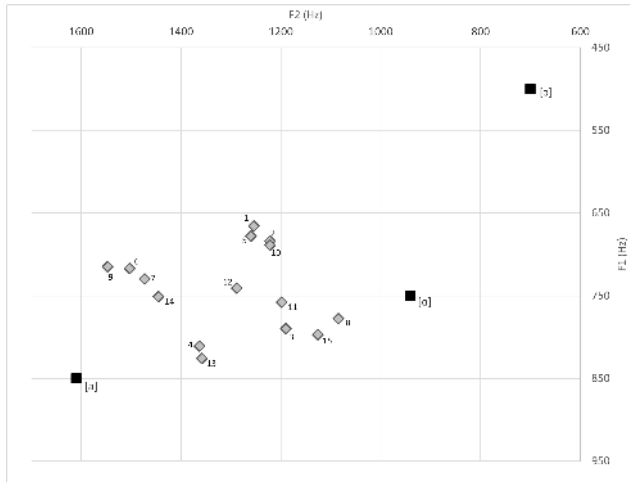


Figure 3.7: Phonetic realisation of /a/ <a>

3 Phonetics, phonology, and morphophonology

3.1.1.2.6 /o/

The allophonic realisation of /o/ is mainly scattered between cardinal vowels [o] and [ɔ]; see Figure 3.8. /o/ tends to have a more back realisation in the environment of the velarised consonant /ɫ/, e.g., *zotfê* ‘hair (collective)’, the voiceless velar plosive /k/, e.g., *çiko* ‘from where’, and in closed syllables, e.g., *sot* ‘it burnt’; *qot* ‘deep’.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>góşê</i> ‘ear’ | 8. <i>sawró</i> ‘cow’s dung’ |
| 2. <i>laló</i> ‘maternal uncle’ | 9. <i>séro</i> ‘on top’ |
| 3. <i>nîmeró</i> ‘midday’ | 10. <i>aró</i> ‘today’ |
| 4. <i>çikó</i> ‘from where’ | 11. <i>sot</i> ‘it burnt’ |
| 5. <i>dóga</i> ‘village’ | 12. <i>pos</i> ‘skin’ |
| 6. <i>cûcótê</i> ‘chicken’ | 13. <i>çot</i> ‘vacant, empty’ |
| 7. <i>zótɬê</i> ‘hair (collective)’ | 14. <i>kor</i> ‘blind’ |
| | 15. <i>qot</i> ‘deep’ |

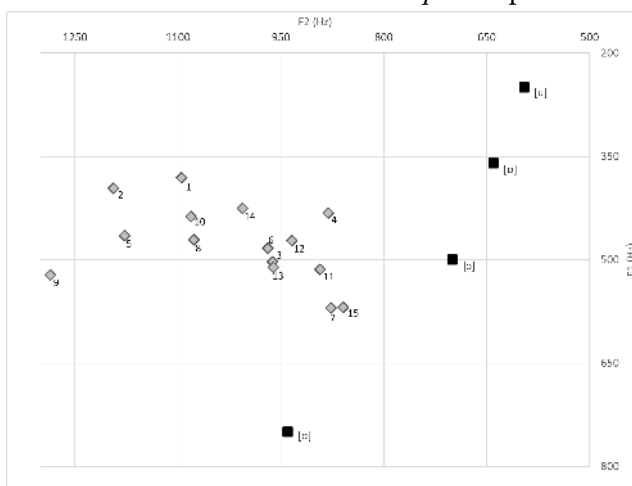


Figure 3.8: Phonetic realisation of /o/ <o>

3.1.1.2.7 /u/

Like other vowels, the allophones of the close back rounded vowel /û/ exhibit a wide scatter; see Figure 3.9. It is particularly interesting that the realisation of /û/ is close to the cardinal vowel [o], especially in the environment of velar consonants, e.g., *hangûrî* ‘grape’, but also in closed syllables, e.g., *sûr* ‘red’.

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>lûte</i> ‘nose’ | 6. <i>hengûrî</i> ‘grape’ |
| 2. <i>kilû</i> ‘kilo’ | 7. <i>dûr</i> ‘far’ |
| 3. <i>tûté</i> ‘dog’ | 8. <i>sûk</i> ‘light’ |
| 4. <i>zû</i> ‘early’ | 9. <i>sûr</i> ‘red’ |
| 5. <i>şû</i> ‘husband’ | 10. <i>berûş</i> ‘I will take it’ |

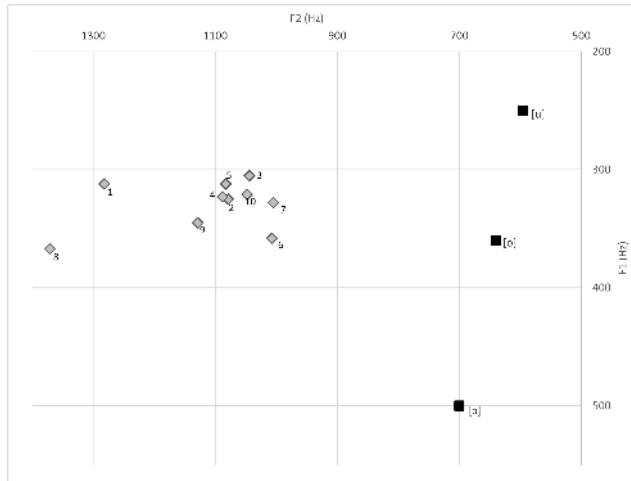


Figure 3.9: Phonetic realisation of /u/ <û>

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3.1.1.2.8 /ʊ/

The allophones of /u/ occupy a large horizontal phonetic space. In most environments, they are realised as a central variant, e.g., *xuya* ‘God’. /u/ is maximally back in the environment of voiceless obstruents, e.g., *puxte* ‘clean’. It is also noticeable that /u/ gets fronted when followed by liquid consonants, e.g., *kul* ‘blunt’.

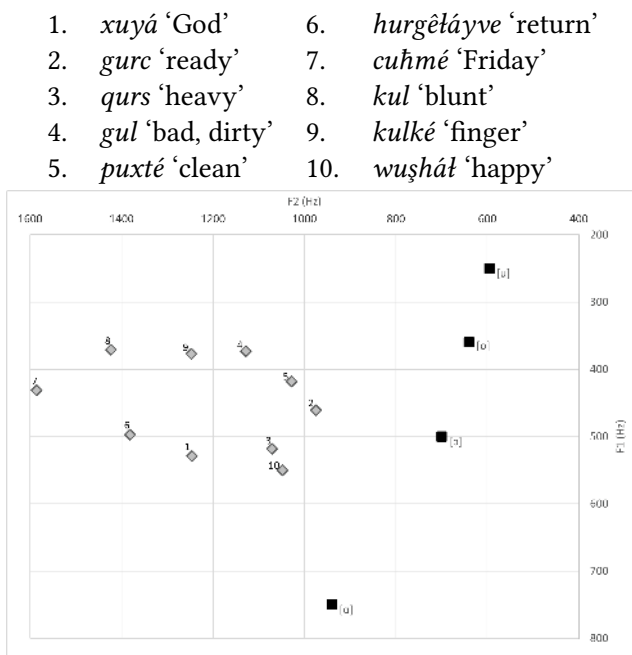


Figure 3.10: Phonetic realisation of /ʊ/ <u>

3.1.1.2.9 /i/

As seen in Figure 3.11, the allophonic realisation of /i/ is scattered particularly to the right of the cardinal vowel [e], e.g., *bíze* ‘goat’, thus exhibiting characteristics of a central vowel. The allophones of /i/ show fronting in the environment of liquids, e.g., *kirmî* ‘worm’, and backing in the environment of glides, e.g., *wînî* ‘blood’.

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>bíze</i> 'goat' | 7. <i>tíṣ</i> 'acid' |
| 2. <i>dívê</i> 'two' | 8. <i>nasík</i> 'gentle' |
| 3. <i>qíjê</i> 'hair' | 9. <i>diréj</i> 'long' |
| 4. <i>gicî</i> 'shirt' | 10. <i>viryá</i> 'attentive' |
| 5. <i>wínî</i> 'blood' | 11. <i>pişqélî</i> 'sheep's dung' |
| 6. <i>kírmî</i> 'worm' | 12. <i>birá</i> 'brother' |

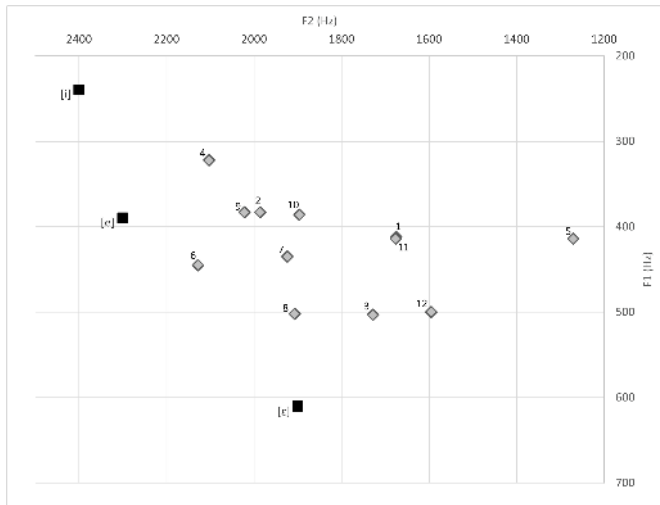


Figure 3.11: Phonetic realisation of /i/ <i>

3.1.2 Consonant phonemes

There are overall 29 consonant phonemes (see Table 3.2). The consonant phonemes put in parentheses are peripheral in that they are restricted to certain positions in the word, or they are limited to loanwords, e.g., /ɣ/.

Table 3.2: Consonant inventory

	Labial	Lab.-dent.	Alv.-dent.	Postalv.	Pal.	Vel.	Uv.	Phar.	Glott.
Stop	p b		t d			k g	q		(ʔ)
Affricate				tʃ dʒ					
Nasal	m		n			(ŋ)			
Fricative		f	s z	ʃ ʒ		x (χ)		ħ ʕ	h
Tap			r						
Trill			r						
Lateral			l			(ɭ)			
Approximant	w				j				

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Minimal pairs or near-minimal pairs distinguish between voiced-voiceless pairs in each set. The sets in (14)–(17) and those in (24)–(28) have the same place of articulation, while the rest differ in their manner of articulation.

(14) Bilabials /p-b-m-w/

<i>pîr</i>	‘old’	[p ^h ir]
<i>bîre</i>	‘well’	[‘bi.rɛ]
<i>mîr</i>	‘prince’	[mir]
<i>wîr</i>	‘memory’	[wir]

(15) Alveolars /t-d-n-s-z-r-l/

<i>tame</i>	‘taste’	[‘t ^h ɑ.mɛ]
<i>dame</i>	‘a type of game’	[da.‘mɛ]
<i>namê</i>	‘name’	[‘na.me]
<i>zame</i>	‘wound’	[‘za.mɛ]
<i>řame</i>	‘egg put under hen’	[‘ra.mɛ]
<i>leme</i>	‘belly’	[‘lɛ.mɛ]

(16) Velars and glottal: /k-g-w-h/. /ŋ/ does not occur word-initially; ʔ occurs word-initially before vowels.

<i>kewe</i>	‘blue’	[k ^h ɛ.‘wɛ]
<i>gawe</i>	‘cow’	[‘ga.wɛ]
<i>wawe</i>	‘again’	[‘wa.wɛ]
<i>hewa</i>	‘weather’	[hɛ.‘wa]
<i>ew</i>	‘he’	[ʔæw]

(17) Affricates /tʃ-dʒ/

<i>ça</i>	‘there’	[tʃɑ]
<i>ca</i>	‘then’	[dʒɑ]

(18) Voiceless stops /p-t-k-q/

<i>peř</i>	‘full’	[p ^h ær]
<i>teř</i>	‘wet’	[t ^h ær]
<i>keř</i>	‘deaf’	[k ^h ær]
<i>qen</i>	‘sugar cube’	[qæn]

(19) Voiced stops /b-d-g/

<i>bar</i>	‘load’	[bær]
<i>dar</i>	‘tree’	[dær]
<i>gaw</i>	‘bull’	[gaw]

- (20) Voiceless fricatives /f-s-ʃ-ħ-h/
fire ‘much, very’ [fi.ˈrɛ]
sere ‘head’ [sɛ.ˈrɛ]
ʃewe ‘night’ [ʃɛ.wɛ]
ħeře ‘mud’ [ħɛ.rˤɛ]
here ‘the donkey’ [hɛ.ˈrɛ]
- (21) Voiced fricatives /z-ʒ-ʎ-ɣ/
zale ‘gall bladder’ [za.ˈɬɛ]
jale ‘apiary’ [ʒa.ˈɬɛ]
ʎale ‘good’ (F) [ˈʎa.lɛ]
teṣare ‘a unit of weight equal to 120 kilos’ [tɛ.ˈɣa.rɛ]
- (22) Nasals /m-n-ŋ/
dem ‘mouth’ [dæm]
deŋ ‘voice’ [dæŋ]
ben ‘woollen string’ [bæn]
- (23) Approximants /w-y/
yeher ‘liver’ [yɛ.hæɾ]
wehar ‘spring’ [wɛ.haɾ]
- (24) Bilabial stops /p-b/
par ‘last year’ [pˣaɾ]
bar ‘load’ [baɾ]
- (25) Alveodental stops /t-d/
taɭ ‘bitter’ [tˣaɭ]
daɭ ‘falcon’ [daɭ]
- (26) Velar stops /k-g/
kul ‘blunt’ [kʊɭ]
gul ‘bad’ [gʊɭ]
- (27) Rhotics /ɾ-rˤ/
ħerˤe ‘mud’ [ħɛ.rˤɛ]
here ‘the donkey’ [hɛ.ˈrɛ]
mere ‘meadow’ [mɛ.rɛ]
merˤe ‘cave’ [mɛ.rˤɛ]

(28) Laterals /l-ł/

kel ‘mountain pass’ [k^hæɫ]

keł ‘mountain goat’ [k^hæɫ]

çil ‘forty’ [tʃ^hil]

çił ‘branch’ [tʃ^hil]

3.1.2.1 Description of consonants

3.1.2.1.1 /p/

$$/p/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [p^h]/\#_ \\ [p]/_ \# \end{cases}$$

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop. It occurs both syllable-initially and in the syllable-final position. In the former position, it is generally aspirated, except when followed by central vowels, where aspiration is weakened. Similarly, aspiration is weakened when /p/ is preceded by a voiceless fricative. /p/ is unreleased word-finally.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| (29) | <i>pîr</i> | [p ^h ir] | ‘old’ |
| | <i>pirđi</i> | [‘pir.ɹ ^h i] | ‘bridge’ |
| | <i>espeřêz</i> | [ʔæs.pɛ.‘rez] | ‘a village in Hewraman’ |
| | <i>çep</i> | [tʃæp] | ‘left’ |

3.1.2.1.2 /b/

$$/b/ \rightarrow [b]$$

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop that occurs in syllable-initial and syllable-final position.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| (30) | <i>bar</i> | [bar] | ‘load’ |
| | <i>qesab</i> | [qɛ.‘sab] | ‘butcher’ |

In peripheral Gorani dialects, e.g., Zerde, and Gewrecû, the post-vocalic /b/ often lenites to /w/. This lenition process is not active in core Hewramî varieties such as Tekht Hewramî (Mohammadirad & Öpengin 2024).

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| (31) | <i>cuwab</i> | cf. G. Zerde <i>cuwaw</i> | ‘answer’ |
| | <i>xirab</i> | cf. G. Gewrecû <i>xiraw</i> | ‘bad’ |

3.1.2.1.3 /t/

$$/t/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [t^h]/\#_ \\ [t]/_ \# \end{cases}$$

/t/ is a voiceless alveodental stop. It has the same phonetic realisations as /p/ syllable-initially and syllable-finally. Similarly, aspiration is weakened when /t/ is followed by central vowels.

(32)	<i>to</i>	[t ^h o]	‘you (sg)’
	<i>tiş</i>	[tiʃ]	‘acid’
	<i>dastan</i>	[das.ˈtan]	‘story’
	<i>xizmet</i>	[xiz.ˈmætʃ]	‘service’

3.1.2.1.4 /d/

$$/d/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [d]/\#_ \\ [ɾ^y] \sim [j] \sim 0/V _ V \\ [ɾ^y]/_ \# \end{cases}$$

/d/ is a voiced alveodental stop. It is realised as /d/ word-initially. Its realisation is not stable in intervocalic position, where it is sometimes lenited as a velarised alveolar approximant [ɾ^y] and sometimes as a palatal approximant [j]. When /d/ is realised as a [ɾ^y], the grapheme <ḏ> is used for its representation; when it is realised as a glide, the grapheme <y> represents it. These two allophones are in free variation with each other. The same speaker may use both allophones in their speech, sometimes for the same word.

Note that /j/ <y> is a separate phoneme in Hewramî. Thus, the distinction between /d/ and /j/ is phonetically neutralised in the intervocalic position.

The lenition of /d/ is a widespread phenomenon across Iranian and non-Iranian languages spoken along the Zagros mountains, and the phenomenon is called “Zagros /d/” (see the chapters in Haig & Khan 2018).

(33)	<i>daresan</i>	[da.ɾɛ.ˈsan]	‘forest’
	<i>mido</i>	[mi.ˈɾ ^y o]	‘He/she gives.’
	<i>xuya</i>	[xʊ.ˈja]	‘God’

In some intervocalic contexts, /d/ tends to be deleted entirely. Similarly, deletion is attested after the flap consonant across the syllable boundary.

(34)	<i>qeyîm</i>	[qɛ.ˈim]	‘old, past’	< cf. Ar. <i>qadim</i>
	<i>bîye</i>	[bi.ɛ]	‘Look!’	< <i>bi</i> + <i>dy</i> (e) + <i>e</i>
	<i>aye, aḏe</i>	[ʔa.jɛ], [ʔa.ɾ ^y ɛ]	‘she’	

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/d/-deletion also occurs in post-consonantal slots, where the relevant consonant is a rhotic, though not deleted in *merd*.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| (35) | <i>kursan</i> | [kʊɾ.ˈsɑn] | ‘Kurdistan’ | < * <i>Kurdisan</i> |
| | <i>zer</i> | [zæɾ] | ‘yellow’ | < cf. CK. <i>zerd</i> |
| | <i>merd</i> | [mæɾɪː] | ‘he died’ | |

Similarly, /d/ often undergoes lenition to a velarised alveolar approximant [ɾː] in post-vocalic position.²

- | | | | |
|------|------------|--------|---------|
| (36) | <i>aḏ</i> | [ʔɑɾː] | ‘he’ |
| | <i>daḏ</i> | [dɑɾː] | ‘shout’ |

3.1.2.1.5 /k/

$$/k/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [k^h]/\#_ \\ [k^ʔ]/_ \# \end{cases}$$

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop. It is usually strongly aspirated syllable-initially, except when followed by central vowels or voiceless fricative consonants. In word-final position, it is unreleased. Therefore, /k/ forms a natural class with the voiceless stops /p/ and /t/.

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------------|---------|
| (37) | <i>keř</i> | [k ^h æɾ] | ‘deaf’ |
| | <i>kinaçê</i> | [ki.nɑ.tʃe] | ‘girl’ |
| | <i>kul</i> | [kʊl] | ‘blunt’ |
| | <i>bêşkê</i> | [beʃ.kɛ] | ‘cot’ |
| | <i>sûk</i> | [sukʔ] | ‘light’ |

3.1.2.1.6 /g/

$$/g/ \rightarrow [g]$$

/g/ is a voiced velar stop which occurs both syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|----------|-------------|
| (38) | <i>gave</i> | [ˈgɑ.vɛ] | ‘cow’ |
| | <i>beg</i> | [bæɡ] | ‘chieftain’ |

²See Mohammadirad & Öpengin (2024) for an overview of the lenition of voiced stops within Kurdic, including in Gorani dialects.

3.1.2.1.7 /q/

/q/ → [q]

/q/ is an unvoiced uvular stop. It occurs both syllable-initially and syllable-finally. Due to its back articulation, /q/ is not generally aspirated in the syllable-initial position.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------|------------|
| (39) | <i>qesab</i> | [qɛ.'sab] | ‘butcher’ |
| | <i>qaqez</i> | [qa.'qæz] | ‘paper’ |
| | <i>teq</i> | [tʰæq] | ‘knocking’ |

3.1.2.1.8 /ʔ/

/ʔ/ → [ʔ]/#__V

/ʔ/ is a voiceless glottal stop. It does not have contrastive phonemic status in Hewramî and only occurs in syllable-initial position. Its occurrence is conditioned by the avoidance of empty onsets in word-initial position.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|-----------|---------|
| (40) | <i>asaw</i> | [ʔa.'saw] | ‘mill’ |
| | <i>avi</i> | [ʔa.vi] | ‘water’ |

3.1.2.1.9 /tʃ̥/

/tʃ̥/ → [tʃ̥ʰ]/#__

/tʃ̥/ is a voiceless post-alveolar affricate, represented as <ç>. It occurs both in syllable-initial and syllable-final position. In the former position, it is generally aspirated.

- | | | | |
|------|------------|----------|--------|
| (41) | <i>çêş</i> | [tʃ̥ʰeʃ] | ‘what’ |
|------|------------|----------|--------|

/tʃ̥/ undergoes assimilation in voicing when preceded by a vowel and followed by alveodental /d/. Here, the stop part of the affricate is deleted and becomes voiced.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------|------------------|------------------|
| (42) | <i>wajdê</i> | [waʒ.'de] | ‘You (pl.) say!’ | cf. <i>waçdê</i> |
|------|--------------|-----------|------------------|------------------|

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3.1.2.1.10 /d͡ʒ/

$$/d͡ʒ/ \rightarrow [d͡ʒ]$$

/d͡ʒ/ is a voiced post-alveolar affricate, represented as <c>. It occurs in syllable-initial and syllable-final position.

- (43) *cîya* [d͡ʒi.ja] 'separate'
bêcge [bêd͡ʒ.gɛ] 'apart from'

Note that /d͡ʒ/ has a low phonemic load in Hewramî. One of the known isoglosses within Iranian is that the Old Iranian palatal approximant /j/ is preserved syllable initially in Gorani while it has shifted to /d͡ʒ/ in Kurdish, e.g.:

- (44) Gorani Kurdish
yewe *co, ceh* 'barely' cf. Av. *yauua*
yeher *cerg, ciger* 'liver'

The low functional load of <c> in Hewramî may explain the realisation of [d͡ʒ] in the Arabic loan *aciz* 'upset' as /d/, hence *adiz* [ʔa.diz].

3.1.2.1.11 /m/

$$/m/ \rightarrow [m]$$

[m] is a voiced bilabial nasal that occurs syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

- (45) *mûso* [mu.'so] 'he/she is sleeping'
kam [kʰam] 'which'

3.1.2.1.12 /n/

$$/n/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [n] \\ [ŋ]/_ C [+sibilant] \end{cases}$$

/n/ is a voiced alveolar-dental nasal that occurs syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

- (46) *namê* [na.me] 'name'
nan [nan] 'food'

/n/ is weakened before the voiced sibilant consonants /z/ and /s/, and sounds like a nasal glide:

- (47) *paŋze* [paŋ.'zɛ] 'fifteen'
sêŋze [sɛŋ.'zɛ] 'thirteen'
paŋsew [paŋ.'sæw] 'five-hundred'

3.1.2.1.13 /ŋ/

$$/\mathfrak{n}/ \rightarrow [\mathfrak{n}]$$

The phoneme /ŋ/ is a voiced velar nasal, represented by the grapheme <ŋ> in words where it always appears, as in *paŋze* ‘fifteen’ (above). In some cases, however, the phoneme is not stable in the current state of the language, and some speakers pronounce it as <ng>. Notably, /ŋ/ only occurs syllable-finally.

- (48) *deng* [dæŋ] 'voice'
ceng [d͡ʒæŋ] 'war'

3.1.2.1.14 /f/

$$/f/ \rightarrow [f]$$

/f/ is a voiceless labio-dental fricative. It occurs syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

- (49) *fire* [fi.'ɾɛ] 'much, very'
sêf [sef] 'potato'

3.1.2.1.15 /s/

$$/s/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [s] \\ [\text{ṣ}]/_\text{—}V \begin{bmatrix} +\text{low} \\ +\text{back} \\ -\text{rounded} \end{bmatrix} \sim V \begin{bmatrix} +\text{low} \\ +\text{back} \\ -\text{rounded} \end{bmatrix} \end{cases}$$

/s/ is a voiceless alveodental fricative. It occurs both word-initially and word-finally.

- (50) *sate* [sate] 'year'
mas [mas] 'yoghurt'

/s/ becomes pharyngealised in the environment of back vowels. This has been shown with acoustic analysis for the following pairs (see Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 24). The greater F1 frequency in the pharyngealised words suggests the lowering of the vowel in the environment of the pharyngeal phoneme. Similarly, the lower F2 for the pharyngealised vowels means that these vowels are realised further back compared to the vowels in non-pharyngealised words.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|--------|---------|------|--------|---------|
| (51) | <i>şes</i> | [ʃasʰ] | ‘sixty’ | /aʃ/ | F1=623 | F2=982 |
| | <i>mes</i> | [mæʃ] | ‘drunk’ | /æʃ/ | F1=589 | F2=1464 |

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(52)	<i>şe</i>	[sʰɑ]	‘hundred’	/ʃɑ/	F1=604	F2=942
	<i>îse</i>	[ʔiːsɛ]	‘now’	/sɛ/	F1=438	F2=1708

3.1.2.1.16 /z/

$$/z/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [z] \\ [j] / V \text{ — } V \text{ (optional)} \end{cases}$$

/z/ is a voiced alveodental fricative that occurs syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

(53)	<i>zînan</i>	[ziːnan]	‘prison’
	<i>payîz</i>	[paːiz]	‘autumn’

/z/ is sometimes lenited to a palatal approximant [j] in intervocalic position.

(54)	<i>meyanû</i>	[mɛ.jaːnu]	‘I don’t know’	cf. <i>mezanû</i>
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3.1.2.1.17 /ʃ/

$$/ʃ/ \rightarrow [ʃ]$$

/ʃ/ is a voiceless post-alveolar fricative, represented as <ş>. It occurs both syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

(55)	<i>şot</i>	[ʃot]	‘milk’
	<i>tiş</i>	[tiʃ]	‘acid’

/ʃ/ undergoes assimilation in voicing when preceded by a vowel and followed by alveodental /d/:

(56)	<i>kujdê</i>	[kʊʒːde]	‘You (PL) kill!’	cf. <i>kuşdê</i>
	<i>gojd</i>	[goʒd]	‘meat’	cf. <i>goşt, goşd</i>

3.1.2.1.18 /ʒ/

$$/ʒ/ \rightarrow [ʒ]$$

/ʒ/ is a voiced post-alveolar fricative, represented as <j>. It occurs both syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

(57)	<i>jenî</i>	[ʒɛ.ni]	‘woman’
	<i>roj</i>	[roʒ]	‘daylight’

3.1.2.1.19 /x/

/x/ → [x]

/x/ is a voiceless velar fricative that occurs syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------|----------|
| (58) | <i>xele</i> | [xɛ.ˈlɛ] | ‘grain’ |
| | <i>xas</i> | [xas] | ‘good’ |
| | <i>puxte</i> | [pʊx.ˈtɛ] | ‘clean’ |
| | <i>bax</i> | [bax] | ‘garden’ |

3.1.2.1.20 /ɣ/

/ɣ/ → [ɣ]

/ɣ/ is a voiced velar fricative, represented as <ḡ>. It only occurs syllable-initially.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|----------|---------------|
| (59) | <i>aḡe</i> | [ʔa.ˈɣɛ] | ‘lord’ |
| | <i>ḡeyb</i> | [ɣæjb] | ‘disappeared’ |

3.1.2.1.21 /ħ/

/ħ/ → [ħ] /#___

/ħ/ is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative. It occurs both in words of Iranian stock and loanwords from Semitic languages. In the native lexicon, the non-etymological /ħ/ has developed through either pharyngealisation of the glottal fricative /h/ or in the environment of back vowels; see *ṣine*.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|---------|-----------|-------------------------|
| (60) | <i>ħot</i> | [ħot] | ‘seven’ | cf. P. <i>haft</i> |
| | <i>ṣine</i> | [ˈʕinə] | ‘buttock’ | cf. CK. /NK. <i>qûn</i> |
| | <i>hîç</i> | [hîç] | ‘nothing’ | cf. P. <i>hîç</i> |

Note that the pharyngealisation of /ħ/ in *hîç* ‘nothing’ seems to be conditioned by information structure, such that when the word is in focus, /ħ/ tends to be pharyngealised. This is likely due to the “perceptual magnet effect” associated with pharyngeals (Blevins 2017).

/ħ/ is preserved in loanwords from Arabic, where it occurs mainly syllable-initially. The syllable-final position of /ħ/ results either from the retention of /ħ/ from the source word, e.g., *nikah* (see below) or from shifting the originally syllable-initial voiced pharyngeal [ʕ] to the syllable coda through metathesis and

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then devoicing it to [h], see *cuħme*. Note that variation exists between speakers for devoicing [ʕ] syllable-finally. Therefore, no categorical rule can be posited here.

(61)	<i>heywan</i>	[hæj.'wan]	'animal'	
	<i>ħukm</i>	[hʊkm]	'rule'	
	<i>nikaħ</i>	[ni.'kaħ]	'marriage'	
	<i>cuħme</i>	[dʒʊh.'mɛ]	'Friday'	cf. Ar. <i>jomʕa</i>
	<i>ħegał</i>	[ħɛ'gał]	'scarf'	cf. Ar. <i>ʕiqal</i>

3.1.2.1.22 /ʕ/

$$/ʕ/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [ʕ] \\ [h]_{\#} \text{ (optional)} \end{cases}$$

/ʕ/ is a voiced pharyngeal fricative. It is loaned from Arabic and can occur only syllable-initially. [ʕ] sometimes undergoes devoicing to [h].

(62)	<i>ʕal</i>	[ʕal]	'good'	cf. Ar. <i>ʕaliya</i>
	<i>temaʕe</i>	[tʰɛ.'ma.ʕɛ]	'greed'	cf. Ar. <i>ʕamaʕiyya</i>
	<i>cuħme</i>	[dʒʊh.'mɛ]	'Friday'	cf. Ar. <i>jomʕa</i>
	<i>deħʕe</i>	[dæħʕɛ]	'exclusion'	cf. Ar. <i>daʕʕa</i>

3.1.2.1.23 /h/

$$/h/ \rightarrow [h]$$

/h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative that occurs only syllable-initially.

(63)	<i>her</i>	[hæɾ]	'each, every'
	<i>hamin</i>	[ha.'min]	'summer'

/h/ is regularly deleted from the syllable-final position in cognate words.

(64)	<i>mêman</i>	[me.'man]	'guest'	cf. P. <i>mehmān</i>
	<i>ʕa</i>	[ʕa]	'king'	cf. P. <i>ʕāh</i>

3.1.2.1.24 /ɾ/

$$/ɾ/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [ɾ] / \sigma_, _ \sigma & \text{(not word-initial)} \\ [ɾ] / \# _ \\ [ɾ^s] / \sigma _ \end{cases}$$

There is a three-way distinction of rhotics in Tekht Hewramî. The rhotics can be realised as a tap /ɾ/, alveodental trill /r/, or an emphatic /rˤ/.

/ɾ/ is a voiced alveodental tap, represented as <r>. It occurs syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

(65)	<i>hesere</i>	[hɛ.ˈsɛ.rɛ]	‘mule’
	<i>here</i>	[hɛ.ˈrɛ]	‘the donkey’
	<i>pîr</i>	[pʰir]	‘old’
	<i>şar</i>	[ʃar]	‘city’

/ɾ/ is excluded word-initially, where voiced alveodental trill /r/, represented as <ř>, is used instead. In other words, the contrast between /r/ and /ɾ/ is neutralised word-initially. /r/ occurs syllable-initially and syllable-finally. In the latter position, it usually appears with low and back vowels.

(66)	<i>řas</i>	[ras]	‘correct, right’
	<i>kuř</i>	[kʊr]	‘boy’
	<i>keř</i>	[kʰæɾ]	‘deaf’

Hewramî also has the emphatic /rˤ/, which occurs word-internally but is limited to the syllable initial position.

(67)	<i>merˤe</i>	[ˈmɛ.rˤɛ]	‘cave’
	<i>herˤe</i>	[ˈhɛ.rˤɛ]	‘mud’

The distinction between these rhotic consonants has been measured by instrumental acoustic analysis in Khan & Mohammadirad (2024a: 30). The pharyngealised /rˤ/ has lower F2 than /ɾ/ and /ř/, suggesting its back articulation in the vocal cavity. The adjacent vowels also show lower F2 in the environment of pharyngealised /rˤ/, suggesting flat resonance. Similarly, F1 is higher in the environment of pharyngealised /rˤ/, meaning that the tongue is closer to the bottom of the oral cavity. It can also be seen that F2 is lower for the alveolar trill /ř/ in *beř* ‘product’ in comparison to the flap /ɾ/ in *here* ‘donkey’, reflecting flatter resonance.³

(68)	<i>mere</i>	[ˈmɛ.rɛ]	‘grassland’	/e/	F1=523	F2=1526
				/ɾ/	F1=427	F2=1542
				/e/	F1=490	F2=1562
	<i>merˤe</i>	[ˈma.rˤɛ]	‘cave’	/e/	F1=725	F2=1119
				/rˤ/	F1=637	F2=1036
				/e/	F1=643	F2=1131

³As the pharyngealised /rˤ/ has a very low functional load in Hewramî, and indeed there is considerable cross-speaker variation in its production, I use the trilled <ř> to represent it.

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(69)	<i>here</i>	[hɛ.ˈrɛ]	‘donkey’	/e/	F1=559	F2=1526
				/ɾ/	F1=486	F2=1525
				/e/	F1=515	F2=1561
	<i>her^ɛ</i>	[ˈhɑ.r ^ɛ]	‘mud’	/e/	F1=668	F2=1145
				/r ^ɪ /	F1=634	F2= 1049
				/e/	F1=637	F2=1164
(70)	<i>ber</i>	[bær]	‘product’	/æ/	F1=528	F2=1403
				/r/	F1=447	F2=1469
	<i>ber^ɪ</i>	[bær ^ɪ]	‘dried’	/æ/	F1=653	F2=1112
				/r ^ɪ /	F1=705	F2=1143

3.1.2.1.25 /l/

/l/ → [l]

/l/ is a voiced alveodental lateral. It occurs both syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

(71)	<i>lalo</i>	[la.ˈlo]	‘maternal uncle’
	<i>çil</i>	[tʃil]	‘forty’

3.1.2.1.26 /ɬ/

$$/ɬ/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [l]/\#_ \\ [ɬ]/_ \# \end{cases}$$

/ɬ/ is a post-alveolar lateral phoneme. It occurs mostly syllable-finally. It can sometimes occur syllable-initially; for instance, when the feminine suffix *-e* is added to masculine nouns and adjectives with /ɬ/ in their coda, resyllabification occurs and /ɬ/ ends up as the onset of the final syllable. Unlike its plain counterpart, /l/, /ɬ/ cannot occur word-initially.

(72)	<i>laɬe</i>	[ˈla.ɬɛ]	‘deaf’ (F)
	<i>saɬe</i>	[ˈsa.ɬɛ]	‘year’

3.1.2.1.27 /j/

/j/ → [j]

/j/ is a palatal approximant represented as <y>. It occurs syllable-initially and syllable-finally.

(73)	<i>yerê</i>	[ˈjɛ.re]	‘three’
	<i>berzepey</i>	[bær.zɛ.ˈpæj]	‘standing’

3.1.2.1.28 /w/

$$/w/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [v] \sim [w]/\#_ \\ [w]/_ \# \\ [v]/V_V \text{ (optional)} \end{cases}$$

/w/ is a bilabial approximant. It is usually realised as a labiodental fricative [v] syllable-initially.

- (74) *watiş* [ˈvat.ɪʃ] ‘he/she said’
wînu [vi.ˈnu] ‘I see’

In syllable-final position, realisation as /w/ is more common.

- (75) *asaw* [ʔa.ˈsaw] ‘mill’
masaw [mas.ˈaw] ‘fish’

The sound is sometimes lenited in intervocalic position and realised as a labiodental approximant [v].

- (76) *aweyanî* [a.vɛ.ja.ˈni] ‘prosperity’
miro kenêwe [mi.ˈro kɛ.ˈne.vɛ] ‘pear-picking’

3.1.3 Phoneme-grapheme associations

The transcription system used in this book follows the ‘Hawar’ standard Kurdish script (*Kurdish Roman (Hawar) Orthography* 2012). Table 3.3 exhibits how the graphemes in the Hawar script correspond to IPA symbols.

The Standard Kurdish transcription system used in this book differs from MacKenzie’s (1966) transcription system used for Luhon Hewramî and, more broadly, the transcription systems in Iranian philology in the following aspects; see Table 3.4.

3.2 Phonotactics

The phonotactics of vowels and consonants have been described separately for each phoneme in §3.1.1.1 and §3.1.2.1. Here, I present the distribution of vowels and consonants in separate tables. The most frequent syllable structures are CV, CVC, and CVCC.

Table 3.3: Phoneme-grapheme associations

phoneme	grapheme	phoneme	grapheme
p	p	ʏ	ÿ
b	b	ħ	ħ
t	t	ʎ	ʎ
d	d	h	h
k	k	r	r
g	g	r	ř
q	q	l	l
(tʃ)	ç	ł	ł
(dʒ)	c	w	w
m	m	j	y
n	n	i	î
ŋ	ŋ	e	ê
f	f	ɛ~æ	e
s	s	ɛ	ɛ
z	z	i	i
ʃ	ş	u	û
ʒ	j	ʊ	u
x	x	o	o
		ɑ	a

3.2.1 Phoneme distribution

3.2.1.1 Phonotactics of Consonants

There are some restrictions on the co-occurrence of consonants. All consonants can occur syllable-initially except /ŋ/. The liquid consonants /r/ and /l/ can occur syllable-initially but are excluded in word-initial position. In coda position, <ř> and /ʎ/ are excluded word-finally, see Table 3.5.

Sequences of two consonants may appear across syllable boundaries, e.g., *herben* [hɛr.'bɛn] ‘donkey keeper’. Table 3.6, inspired by Visser (2022), summarises the most frequent combinations resulting from such sequences. Compounding and derivational suffixes are also considered in these combinations. The most frequent consonants in the coda of the first syllable are <r>, <n>, <m>, <ş>, <s>, <w>, <y>, and <k>, respectively (also taking into account the combinations

Table 3.4: Correspondences between Standard Kurdish orthography and the transcription system used in Iranian philology

IPA	Standard Kurdish	MacKenzie (1966)
$\widehat{tʃ}$	ç	č
$\widehat{dʒ}$	c	ǰ
ʃ	ş	š
ʒ	j	ž
i	î	i
e	ê	e
ɛ~æ	e	a
u	û	û
i~ɪ	i	ɪ
ɑ	a	ā

Table 3.5: Phonotactics of consonants

#-initial #-final			#-initial #-final		
p	+	+	z	+	+
b	+	+	ʃ	+	+
t	+	+	ʒ	+	+
d	+	+	x	+	+
k	+	+	ɣ	+	–
g	+	+	ħ	+	+
q	+	+	ʕ	+	+
ʔ	+	–	h	+	+
$\widehat{tʃ}$	+	–	r	–	+
$\widehat{dʒ}$	+	–	r	+	+
m	+	+	l	+	+
n	+	+	ɭ	–	+
ŋ	–	+	w	+	+
f	+	+	j	+	+
s	+	+			

not appearing in Table 3.6). The most common consonants in the onset of the second syllable are <m>, <l>, <y>, <r>, <t>, <k>, <d>, <s>, <n>, and .

Table 3.6: The most frequent combinations of consonants across syllable boundaries

coda \ onset											
	b	t	d	k	m	n	s	r	l	w	y
t	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
k	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
m	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
n	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
s	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
ʃ	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
w	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+
y	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+

It is known that syllable boundaries are sensitive to the sonority hierarchy, so sonority must not rise across syllable boundaries (Gouskova 2001). This could explain the lack of sequences such as <kn>, <kr>, <nr>, <nl>, and so on in the text corpus across syllable boundaries.

In some cases, the onset after the syllable boundary undergoes deletion. The consonant in the coda is generally a coronal. The effect of this deletion is that disyllabic CVC.CVC breaks up into CV.CVC.

- (77) *zînan* [zi.'nan] 'prison' < **zîndan*
mezeb [mɛ.'zæb] 'religion' < **mezheb*
desûr [dɛ.'sur] 'order' < **destûr*

3.2.1.2 Phonotactics of vowels

Vowels cannot start a syllable. When appearing word-initially, they are preceded by the glottal stop /ʔ/. Excepting /a/, other back vowels do not generally occur word-initially. The same is true for the central vowels /i/ and /u/, which do not appear initially in (especially monosyllabic) words.

Table 3.7: Vowel distribution in monosyllabic words

	#-initial	#-final
i	+	+
e	+	+
ɛ	+	+
ɑ	+	+
u	–	+
o	–	+
ʊ	–	+
ɨ	–	–

3.2.2 Syllable structure

A syllable in Tekht Hewramî consists minimally of a vowel and maximally of a vowel flanked by two consonants, yielding (C)(C)V(C)(C). Note that according to the automatic phonetic rule of glottal stop insertion, empty onsets are avoided, which would contradict the statement just made. The glottal stop insertion in this sense is a rule that shapes the actual surface form, not the underlying assumption of a syllable structure. Given that one vowel is allowed per syllable maximally, the number of vowels is equal to the number of syllables in a word.

The syllable pattern containing only V is often avoided due to the condition that avoids empty onsets. Empty onsets require a glottal stop /ʔ/ to occupy the onset position of vowel-initial syllables. However, /ʔ/ is often deleted in casual speech.

V *êge* [e.'gɛ] ~ [ʔe.'gɛ] ‘here’

The most frequent syllabic patterns are listed below:

VC	<i>ađ</i>	[ɑɾʰ]	‘he’	<i>êş</i>	[eʃ]	‘pain’
CV	<i>wa</i>	[wa]	‘wind’	<i>ça</i>	[tʃɑ]	‘there’
CVC	<i>pos</i>	[pos]	‘skin’	<i>herben</i>	[hæɾ.'bæn]	‘donkey keeper’

The CCV pattern is the second most frequent. This syllabic pattern can be broken up into a disyllabic CVCV, through the insertion of an epenthetic <i>. The epenthetic <i> occurs often when the word is stressed and in careful speech. Thus, *fre* ‘much, very’ can be either monosyllabic [fɾɛ] or disyllabic [fi.'ɾɛ] depending on context.

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CCV	<i>fre</i>	[frɛ]	‘much, very’
	<i>bra</i>	[bra]	‘brother’
	<i>knaçê</i>	[kna.tʃɛ]	‘girl’

The first segment in the CCV cluster is generally an obstruent, while the second is often a sonorant, i.e., a liquid, an approximant, or a nasal. There is also the CCVC structure, where the second consonant in the onset is an approximant.

CCVC	<i>çwar</i>	[tʃwar]	‘four’
	<i>křêł</i>	[kreɫ]	‘key’
	<i>qřoł</i>	[qroɫ]	‘tree hollow’

CVCC and CCVCC are other permitted syllable patterns. The consonant cluster in the coda usually consists of a sibilant or an approximant as the first segment and an obstruent as the second segment.

CVCC	<i>merď</i>	[mɛɾɻ]	‘died’
	<i>hešt</i>	[hæʃt]	‘eight’
	<i>pilt</i>	[pɪlt]	‘short’
	<i>qułf</i>	[qʊɫf]	‘locked’
	<i>fewtno</i>	[fæwt.no]	‘he kills’
CCVCC	<i>drext</i>	[dræxt]	‘tree’

3.3 Stress position

Stress at the level of individual words and phrases is marked by an acute accent (´). Lexical stress is only marked when the stress position is discussed. On the other hand, in presenting linguistic examples, the most prominent word within an intonation group is sometimes marked by a grave accent (`). In such cases, the word is said to take nuclear stress. This is only marked when the role of nuclear stress is discussed.

Hewramî is a language with phonemic stress placement: for the majority of verbs, stress is the only cue to distinguish between subjunctive and indicative verbs derived from the present tense (see §3.3.4). In Hewramî, there is variability in the positioning of stress in the words. In most cases, this is determined by the lexical category of the words and the interaction between syntax and discourse. The following sections review stress placement for the major word classes.

Lexical stress is associated with high intensity. Figure 3.12 shows the stress pattern for the feminine noun *héşe* ‘bear’. The stressed syllable has a higher amplitude than the unstressed syllable.

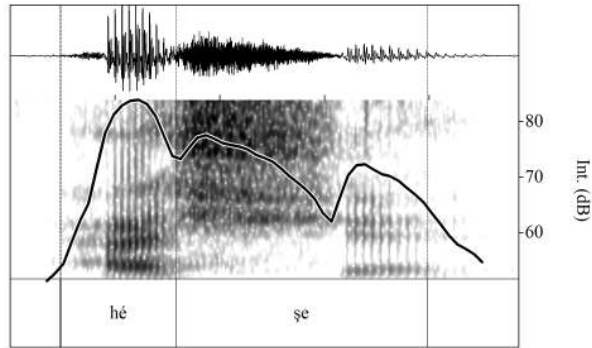


Figure 3.12: Spectrogram, intensity and waveform for *héşe* ‘bear’ (F)

3.3.1 Nouns

There is some variation in stress placement in nouns and pronouns. Masculine nouns follow what may be considered the general rule of word-final stress placement, which applies when nouns are pronounced in the citation form.

- (78) *pîyá* ‘man’
sawró ‘cow’s dung’
gicî ‘shirt’
texté ‘wood’
avîr ‘fire’

Similarly, the word-final stress pattern applies to a subset of feminine nouns ending in *-ê* and nouns ending in *-a*:

- (79) *sêtê* ‘husband’s sister’
dêyé ‘stepmother’
yagê ‘place’
qelâ ‘castle’
febâ ‘robe’

However, the stress falls on the penultimate syllable in most feminine nouns, including those ending in the unstressed vowels *î*, *e*, *ê*.

- (80) *wînî* ‘blood’
séye ‘shadow’
yêrê ‘three’

Nominal formatives such as definite suffixes, the singular masculine oblique case suffix, and the infinitive receive word stress.

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- (81) *degakê* ‘the village’
 kuří ‘boy (OBL.M)’
 berděy ‘to take’

The derivational suffixes *-î* and *-gerî* are also stress-bearing.

- (82) *wişkesatî* ‘drought’
 gewregerî ‘grandeur’

However, the direct plural affix *-ê* and the indefinite suffixes *-êw* / *-êwe* / *-ê* are not stress-bearing. The stress thus remains penultimate.

- (83) *hêzmê* ‘firewood’
 řôê ‘days’
 kúřêw ‘a boy’
 kinaçêwe ‘a girl’

Nouns in the vocative have the stress on the penultimate syllable:

- (84) *tâte*[|] ‘Father!’
 èďa[|] ‘Mother!’
 kinàçê[|] ‘Girl!’

Pronominal clitics are not stress-bearing and thus do not cause a change in the stress pattern of nouns they attach to.

- (85) *yané=ta* ‘your house’
 wé=ma ‘ourselves’
 yó=ša ‘one of them’

Likewise, the additive clitic *=îç* is not stress-bearing.

- (86) *mín=îç* ‘I too’

3.3.2 Adjectives

The stress placement pattern in adjectives is similar to that in nouns. Thus, their stress pattern is not completely predictable. Masculine adjectives follow the basic syllable-final stress pattern. On the other hand, the stress is on the penultimate syllable in feminine and plural adjectives.

- (87) *řaqıl* ‘wise (M)’
 řaqıte ‘wise (F)’
 řaqîtê ‘wise (PL)’

The comparative and superlative suffixes *-ter* and *-terín* receive word stress.

- (88) *zil-tér* 'bigger'
zil-terín 'biggest'

3.3.3 Adverbs

Adverbials, like masculine nouns, follow the syllable-final stress pattern.

- (89) *égé* 'here'
îsé 'now'
ití 'any more, any way'

In some adverbials, the stress falls on the penultimate syllable:

- (90) *wélê* 'but'
pérê 'the day before yesterday'
bécge 'except for'
péwkî 'for the reason'

3.3.4 Verbs

Most verbs derived from the present tense stem have no morphological distinction between the subjunctive and imperfective verb forms (see §9.1). Stress positioning is the only way to distinguish between identical subjunctive and imperfective moods for such verbs. In the imperfective, the stress is placed on the syllabic inflectional person suffix (91). In the subjunctive, the stress is placed on the first syllable of the verb (92).

- (91) *yaw-û* 'I arrive'
yaw-î 'you arrive'
yaw-ó 'he/she arrives'
yaw-mé 'we arrive'
yaw-dé 'you arrive'
yaw-á 'they arrive'
- (92) *yáw-û* 'that I arrive'
yáw-î 'that you arrive'
yáw-o 'that he/she arrives'
yáw-mê 'that we arrive'
yáw-dê 'that you arrive'
yáw-a 'that they arrive'

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Figure 3.13a and 3.13b exhibit different stress patterns associated with the verbs *beró* ‘he takes’ [JP.29] and *béro* ‘that he takes’ [HB.11]. For each verb, the higher intensity peak highlights the stressed vowel.

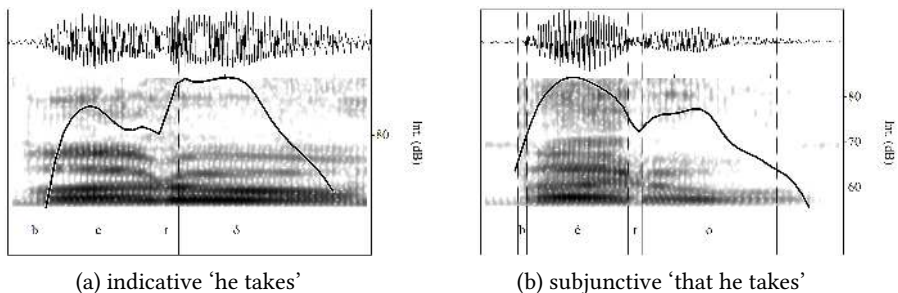


Figure 3.13: The stress position for the verb ‘he takes’

With disyllabic present stems in the subjunctive, the stress is on the first syllable.

- (93) *gírino* ‘that he/she boils’

If the vowel of the inflectional person affix becomes a glide following a vowel-final verb stem, the stress is placed on the last syllable of the stem (see 94). Note additionally that ‘give’ is one of the few verbs that take the indicative prefix (see §9.1.1).

- (94) *mi-dé-y* ‘you (SG) give’

In verb forms derived from the past stem, the stress is placed on the last syllable of the verb stem. The bound person markers used to inflect past stem verbs do not bear stress. These include inflectional person affixes, used to inflect past intransitive verbs, and clitic pronouns, used to inflect past transitive verbs (see §9.1.7). Inflectional person affixes in past intransitive do not take stress because historically they originate from the enclitic copula, which underwent univerbation with the past participle verb.

- (95) Past intransitive
- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>yawá-nê</i> | ‘I arrived’ |
| <i>yawá-y</i> | ‘you arrived’ |
| <i>yawá-Ø</i> | ‘he/she arrived’ |
| <i>yawá-ymê</i> | ‘we arrived’ |
| <i>yawá-ydê</i> | ‘you arrived’ |
| <i>yawé</i> | ‘they arrived’ |

- (96) Past transitive
- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| <i>wát=im</i> | ‘I said’ |
| <i>wát=it</i> | ‘you said’ |
| <i>wát=iş</i> | ‘he/she said’ |
| <i>wát=ma</i> | ‘we said’ |
| <i>wát=ta</i> | ‘you said’ |
| <i>wát=şa</i> | ‘they said’ |

Similarly, in past imperfective forms, the stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

- (97) *yaw-én-ê* ‘I was arriving’
yaw-én-mê ‘we were arriving’

The stress pattern of the imperative/subjective prefixes depends on the syllable structure of the verb. The formative is stressed with stems starting with a consonant cluster or if the stem consists solely of a consonant. However, the stress shifts to the stem in verb stems with CVC structure (see §9.1.2 for details).

- (98) Imperative/subjunctive
- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| <i>bí-nvîs-e</i> | ‘Write!’ |
| <i>bí-l-a</i> | ‘that they go’ |
| <i>b-zán-mê</i> | ‘that we know’ |
| <i>p-sán-û</i> | ‘that I know’ |

The negative prefixes are stress-bearing.

- (99) Negative/prohibitive
- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| <i>mé-don-e=m</i> | ‘do not talk to me!’ |
| <i>né-ker-mê</i> | ‘let’s not do (it)’ |
| <i>né-yaw-ên-mê</i> | ‘we were not arriving’ |

As shown, stress retraction applies to the subjunctive form of the verb, even when the subjunctive prefix is absent. Historically, the loss of the subjunctive prefix led to shift of stress to the stem (see Karim & Mohammadirad forthcoming, Mohammadirad & Karim 2025).

- (100) *yáw-û* ‘(if) I arrive’
yáw-î ‘(if) you arrive’
yáw-o ‘(if) he/she arrives’
yáw-mê ‘(if) we arrive’
yáw-dê ‘(if) you arrive’
yáw-a ‘(if) they arrive’

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The completive particle =*we*/*o* is not stress-bearing.

- (101) *amá=we* ‘he came back’
 ker-û=we ‘I will open’

3.3.5 Copula

Present copulas are not stress-bearing. The stress is thus realised on the predicate. Note that feminine and plural adjectives do not take syllable-final stress, as is the case with nominals (see §3.3.1).

- (102) *xás=na* ‘I (M) am well’
 xáe=na ‘I (F) am well’
 xás=a ‘he is well’
 xásê=nmê ‘we are well’

Similarly, past copula suffixes do not receive word stress.

- (103) *xas b-ên-ê* ‘I (M) was well’
 xase b-ên-ê ‘I (F) was well’
 xasê b-ên-mê ‘we were well’

3.4 Major morphophonemic processes

3.4.1 h-initial insertion

As discussed in §3.2.2, vowel-initial words are preceded by a glottal stop [ʔ] due to the restriction against onsetless syllables. Sometimes, word-initial [ʔ] is realised as a glottal fricative /h/. A survey of the text corpus reveals that /h/ is initially inserted primarily before the front vowels <e> and <ê>, both in the native lexicon and in loanwords.

- (104) Before /e/
- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| <i>hetîm</i> | ‘orphan’ | cf. Tr. <i>etim</i> |
| <i>helbet</i> | ‘of course’ | cf. Ar. <i>albatte</i> |
| <i>hesere</i> | ‘mule’ | cf. NK. <i>êstir</i> |
| <i>hesare</i> | ‘star’ | cf. CK. <i>estêre</i> |
| <i>henar</i> | ‘pomegranate’ | cf. P. <i>anār</i> |
| <i>heke</i> | ‘if, well’ | cf. P. <i>agar</i> ‘if’ |

In some cases, /h/ alternates freely with /ʔ/:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------|---|------------|---------|--------------------|
| (105) | <i>hesp</i> | ~ | <i>esb</i> | ‘horse’ | cf. P. <i>asb</i> |
| | <i>hême</i> | ~ | <i>ême</i> | ‘we’ | cf. CK. <i>ême</i> |

Less commonly, /h/ is added before words starting with vowels other than <e>:

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| (106) | <i>hêteke</i> | ‘fine sieve’ | cf. Tr. <i>elek</i> |
| | <i>hardî</i> | ‘flour’ cf. P. <i>ārd</i> | |
| | <i>hiłoşe</i> | ‘sour plum’ | cf. P. <i>ālûçe</i> |

3.4.2 Inversion in the voicing of pharyngeals

A pharyngeal phoneme is sometimes borrowed, but its voicing is inverted in Hewramî.

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------------|
| (107) | <i>seʃbe</i> | [ˈsæʃ.bɛ] | ‘morning’ | cf. Ar. <i>sʕabāḥ</i> |
| | <i>deḥfe</i> | [ˈdæḥ.fɛ] | ‘expulsion’ | cf. Ar. <i>daffʕ</i> |
| | <i>cuḥme</i> | [dʒʊḥ.mɛ] | ‘Friday’ | cf. Ar. <i>jomʕa</i> |
| | <i>hegał</i> | [hɛ.ˈgał] | ‘scarf’ | cf. Ar. <i>ʕiqāl</i> |

3.4.3 Glide insertion

An epenthetic glide is inserted between syllable-initial vowel sequences to avoid hiatus. /w/ is used following [u]; elsewhere /j/ is used.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------|---------------|---------------------|
| (108) | /pia/ | > [pi.ˈja] | ‘man’ |
| | /guine/ | > [gu.wi.ˈnɛ] | ‘sickly’ |
| | /dɛ.ga.ɑ/ | > [dɛ.ga.ˈja] | ‘villages (PL.OBL)’ |

3.4.4 Anaptyctic vowel insertion

In Hewramî and other regional languages, the vowel generally employed to break up illegal consonant clusters is <i> (IPA [i]) or <u> (IPA [ʊ]) depending on the quality of adjacent consonants. These vowels may break up consonant clusters in the onset of the syllable.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------|----------------|------------|
| (109) | <i>bira</i> | < <i>bra</i> | ‘brother’ |
| | <i>şuwane</i> | < <i>şwane</i> | ‘shepherd’ |

The anaptyctic *i* and *u* may also break up consonant clusters in the coda. The clusters that allow breaking up by <i> include *rm*, *łm*, *sk*, *rs*, *řk*, *wr*. As can be seen, the first segment in the cluster is a sibilant or a liquid, whereas the second segment is usually an occlusive (nasals and obstruents) and less frequently a rhotic.

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(110)	<i>zolim</i>	< <i>zołm</i>	‘tyranny’
	<i>gerim</i>	< <i>garm</i>	‘warm’
	<i>nasik</i>	< <i>nask</i>	‘thin (stick)’
	<i>biřik</i>	< <i>biřk</i>	‘thick (stick)’
	<i>quris</i>	< <i>qurs</i>	‘heavy’
	<i>hewir</i>	< <i>hewr</i>	‘cloud’

The clusters that allow breaking up by *u* appear to be less common. The first segment in such clusters is often a back consonant, e.g., /k/, /q/.

(111)	<i>řukur</i>	< <i>řukr</i>	‘praise’
	<i>nuqut</i>	< <i>nuqt</i>	‘candy’

3.4.5 Metathesis

Many disyllabic loans from Arabic containing a pharyngeal consonant in the onset of the second syllable or in the code of the second syllable are subject to metathesis in Hewramî. These loans are typically treated as feminine, with an unstressed *-e* added if the loan does not already end in a *-e*. Therefore, in the loan word the pharyngeal phoneme would occur in the onset (or the coda of) the second syllable, but when metathesis is applied, it ends up as the coda of the first syllable.

(112)	<i>seřbe</i>	[sæř.bε]	cf. Ar. <i>s‘abāh</i>	‘morning’
	<i>wεřze</i>	[wæř.zε]	cf. Ar. <i>wazř</i>	‘situation’
	<i>cuřme</i>	[dʒoř.mε]	cf. Ar. <i>jomřa</i>	‘Friday’
	<i>dehře</i>	[dæh.řε]	cf. Ar. <i>dařř</i>	‘expulsion’
	<i>meřsûd</i>	[mæř.sud]	cf. Ar. <i>masřûd</i>	‘Masoud’

The metathesis occurs to avoid non-permitted consonant clusters across syllable boundaries (see §3.2.1.1 for consonants phonotactics). The motivation behind the metathesis here is that following the sonority hierarchy, the coda of the first syllable should be more sonorant than the onset of the second syllable. In other words, sonority must not rise across syllable boundaries (Gouskova 2001). The non-permitted patterns in Table 3.8 all result in a rise of sonority in the syllable boundary. Therefore, the metathesis occurs to resolve the issue.

In the following pairs, onset metathesis is attested across multiple CV syllable structures; the onset of the second syllable is metathesised with the onset of the third syllable.

(113)	<i>heteqî</i>	[hε.te.‘qi]	‘truly’	vs.	<i>heqetî</i>	[hε.qε.‘ti]
	<i>kiřête</i>	[ki.re.‘tæ]	‘key’	vs.	<i>klêře</i>	[ki.řε.‘rε]

Table 3.8: Non-permitted consonant sequences across syllable boundaries leading to metathesis

permitted cluster across σ -boundaries	non-permitted cluster across σ -boundaries	Gloss
<i>seʃbe</i> [sæʃ.bɛ]	*[sæb.ʃɛ]	‘morning’
<i>wɛʃze</i> [wæʃ.zɛ]	*[wæz.ʃɛ]	‘situation’
<i>cuʃme</i> [dʒʊʃ.mɛ]	*[dʒʊm.ʃɛ]	‘Friday’
<i>dehfe</i> [dæh.fɛ]	*[dæf.hɛ]	‘expulsion’
<i>meʃsûd</i> [mæʃ.ʃud]	*[mæs.ʃud]	‘Masoud’

Coda metathesis is only attested with CVCV structures:

- (114) *nûrî* [nu.'ri] ‘force’ vs. *nîrû* [ni.'ru]

Less commonly, metathesis occurs within the consonant clusters in the coda.

- (115) *tîʃ* [tiʃ] ‘child’ vs. *tift* [tifi]

3.4.6 Vowel hiatus

Vowel hiatus is generally avoided across or within word boundaries. There are several strategies to resolve hiatus. The first is that the second vowel is glided, yielding a rising diphthong, e.g., /oy/, /ay/:

- (116) *toyç* ‘you too’ < [tʰo.itʃ]
pîyay ‘man (M.SG.OBL)’ < [pʰi.'ai]

The second strategy is to add an epenthetic glide /j/ or /w/ between vowels (see §3.4.3):

- (117) *gûwînê* /gu.i.nɛ/ > [gu.wi'nɛ] ‘sickly’
degaya /dɛ.ga.a/ > [dɛ.ga.'ja] ‘villages (PL.OBL)’

Another strategy is to omit the first vowel, which is generally unstressed:

- (118) *kîselê* ‘tortoise (F.SG.OBL)’ < *kîsêlî* + -ê (F.SG.OBL)
miðo ‘he/she gives’ < *mi-ðe* + -o
jena ‘women (PL.OBL)’ < *jênî* + -a
jenû ‘wife of’ < *jenî* + -û

Yet another strategy is to coalesce the two vowels into one:

- (119) *pîyɛ* ‘men (PL.DIR)’ < *pîya* + -ê
mê ‘he/she comes’ < *m-e-o*

3.4.7 Assimilation

Assimilation is a process in which a pair of adjacent segments become similar. There are two kinds of assimilation: progressive and regressive. These assimilation processes have the effect of creating geminate consonants which are otherwise not attested in the language. Total progressive assimilation is seen in the following words, where /d/ fully assimilates to the preceding nasal sound:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (120) | <i>çinne</i> | ‘how much’ | < * <i>çinde</i> | cf. CK. <i>çende</i> |
| | <i>inne</i> | ‘this much’ | < * <i>inde</i> | cf. CK. <i>ewende</i> |

Regressive assimilation takes place in the following example, where the rhotic /ř/ assimilates to the following liquid.

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------------|------------------|
| (121) | <i>kulle</i> | ‘small boy’ | < * <i>kuřle</i> |
|-------|--------------|-------------|------------------|

4 Nouns and nominal morphology

Nouns are marked for gender, number, and case, though gender is not expressed in the plural. These categories are represented on nouns via fusional suffixes. The inflection of a noun is predictable from the phonological shape of the base and from its gender.

4.1 Nominal inflection

The categories case, number, and gender can be marked morphologically on nouns. Each category involves two distinctions, thus singular and plural for number, masculine and feminine for gender (only in singular number), and **DIRECT** and **OBLIQUE** for case.

The gender assignment is phonologically based (see §4.1.1). For now, it suffices to say that the nouns ending in a consonant, stressed *-é*, *-í*, *-ú*, and *-ó* are masculine. Additionally, some nouns ending in stressed *-á* are masculine. On the other hand, all the nouns ending in *-ê*, whether stressed or not, and nouns ending in unstressed *-e* and *-î* are feminine. The class of feminine nouns also includes a subset in stressed *-â*.

As remarked, the inflection of a noun is predictable from the phonological shape of the base and from its gender. Masculine and feminine nouns are in their base form when singular and in the direct case. Masculine nouns end in *-î* and feminine nouns in *-ê*, when singular and in the oblique case. In the plural, gender distinction is lost. The relevant inflectional suffixes are *-ê* in the direct case, and *-a* in the oblique case, see Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Nominal inflectional suffixes—underlying forms

	SG.DIR	SG.OBL	PL.DIR	PL.OBL
M	-Ø	-î	-ê	-a
F	-Ø	-ê		

4 Nouns and nominal morphology

As seen in Table 4.1, Feminine nouns feature syncretism in SG.OBL and PL.DIR, though some extend it to SG.DIR, too (see below). Table 4.2 illustrates the surface form of the inflectional suffixes when combined with the base-final segment.

Table 4.2: Nominal inflection–surface forms

	masculine						feminine			
Base-final segment	-C	-í	-û	-o	-é	-a	-a	-ê	-e	-î
SG.DIR	-Ø									
SG.OBL	-î	-(î)	-y				-ε	-(ê)	-ê	-î/ -ê
PL.DIR	-ê					-ε		-(ê)	-ê	-î/ -ê
PL.OBL	-a					-ya		-a		

The analysis of the inflectional morphology proposed in this book is different from that of MacKenzie (1966: 14–16) proposed for the neighbouring Luhon Hewramî. MacKenzie suggests that there are three classes of nouns in Hewramî. His classification is based on the surface forms of the suffixes when combined with the base-final segment. However, as remarked, the form of the suffix is predictable from the base-final segment, which would suggest that the suffixes are phonologically conditioned allomorphs and that there is one underlying inflectional class.

In what follows, we look at different citation forms of nouns and describe major morphophonemic processes that each citation form may undergo when combined with the nominal inflectional suffixes. For masculine nouns ending in a consonant, the underlying suffixes are used without any change in the citation form of the nouns:

- (1) *kuř* ‘boy, son’
- | | | |
|--------|--------------|---------|
| SG.DIR | <i>kuř-Ø</i> | [ZQ.45] |
| SG.OBL | <i>kuř-î</i> | [ZB.35] |
| PL.DIR | <i>kuř-ê</i> | [ZB.9] |
| PL.OBL | <i>kuř-a</i> | [JM.16] |

Masculine nouns ending in *-î* are inflected the same as consonant-final nouns, except the identical vowel in the SG.OBL is deleted following the base-final segment *î*:

- (2) *mizgî* ‘mosque’
- | | |
|--------|----------------|
| SG.DIR | <i>mizgî-Ø</i> |
|--------|----------------|

SG.OBL	<i>mizgî</i> (< <i>mizgî-î</i>)
PL.DIR	<i>mizgî-ê</i>
PL.OBL	<i>mizgî-a</i>

Masculine nouns ending in *û*, and *-ô* have identical inflection. Their inflection is the same as that of consonant-final nouns, except that the underlying SG.OBL *-î* is glided following the base-final segment.

(3)	<i>şû</i> ‘husband’	<i>řo</i> ‘day’
SG.DIR	<i>şû-Ø</i>	<i>řo-Ø</i>
SG.OBL	<i>şû-y</i>	<i>řo-y</i>
PL.DIR	<i>şû-ê</i>	<i>řo-ê</i>
PL.OBL	<i>şû-a</i>	<i>řo-a</i>

For masculine nouns ending in *é*, the underlying SG.OBL *-î* is glided following the base-final segment. Additionally, the final vowel of the base is dropped before the inflectional suffixes in the plural.

(4)	<i>yané</i> ‘house’	
SG.DIR	<i>yane-Ø</i>	[ZP.85]
SG.OBL	<i>yane-y</i>	[ZP.85]
PL.DIR	<i>yanê</i> (< <i>yane</i> + <i>-ê</i>)	
PL.OBL	<i>yana</i> (< <i>yane</i> + <i>-a</i>)	

The inflection of masculine nouns ending in their base form in *a* feature gliding of the SG.OBL *-î*, merging of the base-final segment and the PL.DIR *-ê* into *-ε*, and glide insertion in the PL.OBL.

(5)	<i>zema</i> ‘groom’	<i>pîya</i> ‘man’	
SG.DIR	<i>zema-Ø</i>	<i>pîya-Ø</i>	
SG.OBL	<i>zema-y</i>	<i>pîya-y</i>	[JP.262]
PL.DIR	<i>zeme</i> (< <i>zema</i> + <i>-ê</i>)	<i>pîye</i> (< <i>pîya</i> + <i>-ê</i>)	[JE.78]
PL.OBL	<i>zema-ya</i>	<i>pîya-ya</i>	[HM.39]

Feminine nouns ending in *a* are inflected the same as their masculine counterparts, except the underlying SG.OBL merges with final-base segment *a*, resulting in *ε* or *e*.

(6)	<i>eya/eđa</i> ‘mother’	<i>dega</i> ‘village’	
SG.DIR	<i>eya</i> [JH.2]	<i>dega</i> [ZP.46]	
SG.OBL	<i>eye, eyε</i> (< <i>eya</i> + <i>-ê</i>) [KŞ.1]	<i>degε</i> (< <i>dega</i> + <i>-ê</i>), <i>dege</i> [KŞ.59]	
PL.DIR	<i>eyε</i> (< <i>eya</i> + <i>-ê</i>)	<i>degε</i> (< <i>dega</i> + <i>-ê</i>)	
PL.OBL	<i>eya-ya</i>	<i>dega-ya</i>	

4 Nouns and nominal morphology

In the inflection of feminine nouns ending in *-ê*, the underlying SG.OBL and PL.DIR *-ê* are merged into the identical base-final vowel. In the PL.OBL, the base-final vowel is dropped before *-a*.

(7)	<i>kinaçê</i> ‘girl’	<i>qisê</i> ‘word’
SG.DIR	<i>kinaçê</i> [KŞ.92]	<i>qisê</i> [ZP. 46]
SG.OBL	<i>kinaçê</i> (< <i>kinaçê</i> + <i>-ê</i>) [RE.49]	<i>qisê</i> (< <i>qisê</i> + <i>-ê</i>) [JP.150]
PL.DIR	<i>kinaçê</i> (< <i>kinaçê</i> + <i>-ê</i>) [JH.21]	<i>qisê</i> (< <i>qisê</i> + <i>-ê</i>) [HB.46]
PL.OBL	<i>kinaça</i> (< <i>kinaçê</i> + <i>-a</i>) [JM.16]	<i>qisa</i> (< <i>qisê</i> + <i>-a</i>) [HB.44]

In the inflection of feminine nouns ending in *-e*, the base-final segment is dropped before the inflectional suffixes for SG.OBL, PL.DIR, and PL.OBL.

(8)	<i>bize</i> ‘goat’	<i>yéwe</i> ‘barley’
SG.DIR	<i>bize-Ø</i> [KŞ.28]	<i>yewe-Ø</i>
SG.OBL	<i>bizê</i> (< <i>bize</i> + <i>-ê</i>)	<i>yewê</i> (< <i>yewe</i> + <i>-ê</i>)
PL.DIR	<i>bizê</i> (< <i>bize</i> + <i>-ê</i>) [ZB.27]	<i>yewê</i> (< <i>yewe</i> + <i>-ê</i>) [JP.45]
PL.OBL	<i>biza</i> (< <i>bize</i> + <i>-a</i>) [JP.22]	<i>yewa</i> (< <i>yewe</i> + <i>-a</i>) [JP.29]

Finally, the inflection of the feminine nouns ending in *-î* seems to depend on the lexical semantics of the nouns. For inherently mass nouns, e.g., *mekî* ‘salt’, *hardî* ‘flour’, the singular forms and the plural direct form may be identical (see §4.1.2.1), whereas in the PL.OBL, the base-final vowel is dropped before the inflectional suffix. For the rest of the nouns, the base-final *-î* is dropped before the inflectional suffixes for SG.OBL, PL.DIR, and PL.OBL, same as the inflection of feminine nouns ending in *-e*.

(9)	<i>hârdî</i> ‘flour’	<i>jenî</i> ‘woman’
SG.DIR	<i>hardî</i>	<i>jenî</i> [ZP.115]
SG.OBL	<i>hardî</i> [HB.13]	<i>jenê</i> (< <i>jenî</i> + <i>-ê</i>) [HS.77]
PL.DIR	<i>hardî</i>	<i>jenê</i> (< <i>jenî</i> + <i>-ê</i>)
PL.OBL	<i>harda</i> (< <i>hardî</i> + <i>-a</i>) [HB.72]	<i>jena</i> (< <i>jenî</i> + <i>-a</i>) [RE.59]

The above-mentioned paradigms show the shape of cases in each paradigm. They do not indicate the conditions under which a particular case is realised. For example, a feminine direct object may be in the direct case or in the oblique case. This is a matter of syntax and information structure and will be treated under differential argument flagging in 11.2.

4.1.1 Gender

4.1.1.1 Gender assignment

Nouns are overtly marked for the category of gender. Tekht Hewramî has two genders, masculine and feminine. Gender is assigned to nouns primarily based on the ending the nouns take. In other words, the language has a phonological assignment system (Corbett 1991). The phonological gender assignment rule also applies to nouns with biological gender (see below). It is, however, notable that in some cases, semantic and morphological clues play a role in gender assignment. For instance, mass nouns overwhelmingly have feminine gender (see §4.1.2.1). The gender assignment of loanwords seems to be primarily determined by semantics, which in turn results in phonological adaptation (see §4.1.1.2). Similarly, derived place names are feminine, e.g., *awîrga* ‘fireplace’ (< *awîr* ‘fire’ (M. + *-ga* ‘place’). The phonological assignment system can lead to near-minimal pairs which have different genders.

- (10) *heré* ‘donkey’ *héře* ‘mud’
 meré ‘meadow’ *méře* ‘cave’

The gender assignment rule was explained above. Table 4.3 summarises gender assignment based on the nominal endings.

Table 4.3: Gender assignment based on the nominal endings

Masculine	Feminine
-C	
-é	-e
-î	-î
-ó	-ê, -ê
-á	-á
-û	

Examples of masculine nouns ending in:

-C *hamin* ‘summer’; *hewr* ‘cloud’; *asman* ‘sky’; *qîrôl* ‘tree hollow’; *daresan* ‘woodland’; *nan* ‘bread’; *şar* ‘town’; *asaw* ‘mill’; *pos* ‘skin’; *gîyan* ‘soul’; *delek* ‘stone marten’.

-é *nere* ‘oak tree’; *sayqe* ‘lightening’; *yane* ‘house’; *meme* ‘breast’; *hane* ‘water spring’; *şuwane* ‘shepherd’; *hêle* ‘egg’; *gorewe* ‘sock’; *peme* ‘cotton’; *laşe*

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‘body’; *çiçe* ‘breast’; *qaliçe* ‘carpet’; *derwaze* ‘gate’; *gele* ‘herd’; *duçerxe* ‘bicycle’.

-î *mizgî* ‘mosque’; *aweyanî* ‘inhabited place’; *sînî* ‘tray’; *gonî* ‘udder’; *gicî* ‘shirt’; *dewrî* ‘plate’.

-û *şû* ‘husbnad’; *nîrû* ‘force’; *herû* ‘gum’; *helû* ‘eagle’; *petû* ‘blanket’

-ó *řo* ‘day’; *ko* ‘mountain’; *yo* ‘one (person)’; *lalo* ‘maternal uncle’.

-á *pîya* ‘man’; *zema* ‘groom’; *xaneqa* ‘monastery’; *geťa* ‘leaf’; *ijdeha* ‘serpent’; *poťa* ‘steel’; *tiťa* ‘gold’; *lempa* ‘lamp’.

Examples of feminine nouns ending in:

-ê *yagê* ‘place’; *qisê* ‘talk’; *pîfê* ‘burr’; *namê* ‘name’; *xepîê* ‘bread (of cereal other than wheat) baked in oven’; *manê* ‘bleached skin bag’

-ê *yerê* ‘three’; *qijê* ‘hair’; *adê* ‘they’

-e *çawre* ‘tent’; *bize* ‘goat’; *meře* ‘cave’; *eşkewte* ‘cave’; *yewe* ‘barley’; *werwe* ‘snow’; *leme* ‘stomach’; *tace* ‘crown’; *hesere* ‘mule’; *beye* ‘quince’; *sinne* ‘buttock’; *dałane* ‘gate-house’; *şewe* ‘night’; *piştîye* ‘back support’; *neware* ‘cassette’; *lase* ‘hoard of grass’; *çate* ‘ditch, pit’; *tenûre* ‘oven’; *deşte* ‘field’; *penîre* ‘cheese’; *tewerge* ‘hail’; *werêse* ‘rope’; *tîre* ‘arrow’; *lelûwe* ‘cradle’; *řûwe* ‘face’; *estehe* ‘gun’; *şike* ‘doubt’; *nuweye* ‘chickpea’

-î *hêzmî* ‘wood’; *awî* ‘water’; *hardî* ‘flour’; *genmî* ‘wheat’; *bencanî* ‘tomato’; *winî* ‘blood’; *çaştî* ‘food’; *pirđî* ‘bridge’; *kawetirî* ‘pigeon’; *kardî* ‘knife’; *keştî* ‘boat’; *meşî* ‘fly’; *pişqelî* ‘sheep dung’

-á *dega* ‘village’; *řa* ‘road’; *seringa* ‘pillow’; *řeba* ‘robe’; *dinya* ‘world’; *geťa* ‘castle’; *çira* ‘light bulb’; *řasa* ‘crook’; *îştîba* ‘mistake’; *siđa* ‘voice’

Some nouns exhibit variation in gender assignment depending on the dialects. In the vernacular of Hewraman Tekht, *hesaré* ‘fence’ is masculine. In the Nwên vernacular, the cognate form ends in unstressed -î: *hesârî*, which is feminine.

Nouns ending in -y are typically masculine, including as well verbal nouns, e.g., *çay* ‘tea’; *awáy* ‘village, habitat’. An interesting case is *nuweye* ‘chickpea’ (F), for which the cognate form in Luhon Hewramî is *nuwey* (F) according to MacKenzie (1966). *nuwey* ending in a consonant is an exception to the gender assignment rule in Luhon Hewramî. This apparent anomaly with the gender assignment rule

might be solved if the final -y on *nuwey* be taken as the unstressed -î, shifting to -y to avoid hiatus with -e. Note that the plural form is also *nuwey*, behaving thus like a subset of feminine nouns ending in -î. In Tekht Hewramî, this apparent anomaly has been dealt with differently. The form *nuweye* has been attested in the speech of the young generation, who seem to have regularised the class membership of *nuwey* based on feminine nouns ending in -e.

Another apparent exception to gender assignment is *kité* ‘cat’, which is feminine despite ending in stressed -é. As noted by MacKenzie (1966: 9), the underlying stress is on the central vowel *i*. Following the reduction of *i*, the stress shifts to the right, hence the stressed -é in *kité*.

For kinship terms, the phonological assignment system overlaps with biological sex. Therefore, nouns denoting females are feminine and nouns denoting males are masculine. In other words, nouns denoting females have the endings and stress patterns associated with feminine nouns, and nouns denoting males have endings and stress pattern associated with masculine nouns.

(11) Feminine		Masculine	
<i>mamá</i>	‘grandmother’	<i>babá</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>edá</i>	‘mother’	<i>taté</i>	‘father’
<i>waté</i>	‘sister’	<i>birá</i>	‘brother’
<i>hesírwe</i>	‘mother-in-law’	<i>hesûré</i>	‘father-in-law’
<i>dêdê</i>	‘step-mother’	<i>baba pîyaré</i>	‘step-father’
<i>metîye</i>	‘father’s sister’	<i>mamó</i>	‘father’s brother’
<i>metîye</i>	‘mother’s sister’	<i>laló</i>	‘mother’s brother’
<i>sêté</i>	‘husband’s sister’	<i>hêwér</i>	‘husband’s brother’
<i>birajênî</i>	‘brother’s wife’	<i>jenbirá</i>	‘wife’s brother’

The last pair clearly illustrate that the gender assignment is semantically motivated: *birajênî* ‘brother’s wife’ is a female person, hence gender assignment is feminine.

In compound nouns whose elements have different genders, gender is assigned based on the second element. For example, *hêlerûwenî* ‘fried eggs’, is a compound noun with feminine gender. It is composed of < *hête* ‘egg’ (M) + *rûwenî* ‘oil’ (F). This rule also applies where the coordinator conjunction =û ‘and’ (see §13.1.1.1) joins the elements in an echo compound. For example, *awû çîwî* ‘water and things like it’ (cf. [JE.7]) is a masculine compound comprised of *awî* (F) the coordinator particle =û, and the masculine noun (in oblique case) *çîwî* ‘thing’. Another example is coordinate noun phrases like *eda=w tate* ‘mother and father’, composed of different genders. The gender agreement here can be based on the second coordinate noun.

- (12) *eḏaw tatew jenê merḏ*
eḏa=w tate-û jenê merḏ-Ø
 mother=AND father-EZ.GEN wife.F.SG.OBL die.PST-3SG.M
 ‘The wife’s parents died.’ [XX.110]

Likewise, gender distinction is phonologically coded for some animals.

- (13) Feminine Masculine
gawe ‘cow’ *gaw* ‘bull’
bizlə ‘female kid-goat’ *bizlə* ‘male kid-goat’

For a subset of animals, gender distinction is semantically encoded. This would include using different lexical items for expressing gender distinctions between females and males:¹

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (14) | Feminine | | Masculine |
| | <i>jerejî</i> | ‘female partridge’ | <i>beq</i> ‘male partridge’ |
| | <i>meye</i> | ‘sheep’ | <i>beran</i> ‘ram’ |
| | <i>kerge</i> | ‘hen’ | <i>keleşîr</i> ‘rooster’ |
| | <i>mayîni</i> | ‘mare’ | <i>esb</i> ‘horse’ |
| | <i>qışqêre</i> | ‘female raven’ | <i>qatawe</i> ‘male raven’ |
| | <i>bize</i> | ‘goat’ | <i>sabrîn</i> ‘male goat’ |
| | <i>bize neçîre</i> | ‘female mountain goat’ | <i>keî</i> ‘male mountain goat’ |

A subset of semantically-encoded gender nouns are morpho-phonologically encoded. Thus, the difference between *her* ‘donkey’ and *ma-her-e* ‘female donkey’ is expressed by the prefix *ma-* ‘female’ combined with the feminine suffix *-e*.

For some animals, a fixed gender is used to encompass both male and female members:

- (15) *verg* (M) 'wolf'
șêr (M) 'lion'
meřekur (M) 'grasshopper'
hewrêșe (M) 'rabbit'
řûwâse (F) 'fox'
hêșe (F) 'bear'
kité (F) 'cat'

¹See also MacKenzie (1966: 14, ff.2)

As seen, the animals in (13)–(14) have a gender split, whereas those in (15) do not. This split cannot be easily accounted for in terms of the animacy hierarchy, which is generally understood as large animals with which humans interact regularly are higher in animacy, which would consequently be reflected by the gender split in languages. The difference between the setS in (13)–(14) and the one in (15) seems to come from the degree of closeness of animals to the immediate human environment, or being traditionally part of the food chain, e.g., in the case of ‘partridge’ or ‘mountain goat’.

As said above, the morphological shape of words also has a role in gender assignment. This concerns morphologically derived nouns, whose gender is determined by the derivational suffix (see §4.2.1) added to the noun. For instance, *awîrga* ‘fireplace’, a feminine noun, is composed of *awîr* ‘fire’ (M) and the feminine suffix *-ga* ‘place’. Some tendencies suggest themselves:

- Abstract nouns formed from other nouns and adjectives by the derivational suffix *-î* are masculine:

(16)	<i>sextî</i>	‘difficulty’
	<i>weşî</i>	‘happiness’
	<i>hemahengî</i>	‘collaboration’
	<i>neweşî</i>	‘illness’
	<i>dewayî</i>	‘medication’

- Abstract nouns formed with the suffix *-gerî* are masculine:

(17)	<i>hewramîgerî</i>	‘Hewramîhood’
	<i>gewregerî</i>	‘nobleness’
	<i>pîyagerî</i>	‘manhood’
	<i>aşegerî</i>	‘lordship’
	<i>paşagerî</i>	‘kingship’

- Place names formed with *-ga/ -ge* are feminine:

(18)	<i>dega</i>	‘village’	< <i>de</i> ‘village’ + <i>-ga</i> ‘place’
	<i>awîrga</i>	‘fireplace’	< <i>awîr</i> (M) ‘fire’ + <i>-ga</i> ‘place’
	<i>seringa</i>	‘pillow’	< <i>serin</i> (M) + <i>-ga</i> ‘place’
	<i>ewêge</i>	‘there’	< <i>awê</i> ‘that’ + <i>-ge</i> ‘over there’
	<i>coge</i>	‘stream’	< * <i>cû</i> ‘stream’ + <i>-ge</i> ‘place’

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- Place names ending in *-xane* are masculine.

- (19) *kitêbxane* 'library' < *kitêb* 'book' + *-xane* 'place'
darûxane 'pharmacy' < *darû* 'medicine' + *-xane* 'place'
eđebxane 'toilet'
řoxane 'river'
aşpezxane 'kitchen'

- Nouns ending in *-wate* are masculine. Examples:

- (20) *zerdewate* 'bee' < *zerd* 'yellow' + *-e* + *wate* 'wing'
tûwate 'eggshell'

- Nouns of meals ending in *-îne* are feminine:

- (21) *şelemîne* 'dish made of cracked wheat and turnip'
dowîne 'dish made of cracked wheat and diluted yoghurt'
xep̄le zeřatîne 'a type of bread made of corn flour'

Semantic factors also play a role in gender assignment. Small entities, e.g., small fruits and grains, tend to be feminine. The nouns in this class are further phonologically marked to be feminine. An exception is *tifî* 'mulberry', which should be masculine according to the phonological assignment rule. This apparent anomaly seems to be motivated by the loss of the central vowel in *tifî* and the stress shift to *î*. Alternatively, one might reflect that semantic criteria take precedence over phonological criteria in the gender assignment of tiny fruit.

- (22) *mîjûyî* 'lentil'
nuweye 'chickpea'
genmî 'wheat'
yewe, yewê 'barley'
tifî 'mulberry'
wamî 'almond'
wezî 'walnut'
çeqlê 'bitter almond'
hengûrî 'grapes'
şêlanê 'apricot'
heřtatûyî 'plum'
tif̄le şêxanê 'strawberry'

It is notable that *lûbya* ‘beans’ and *maş* ‘black lentils’ are masculine and, thus, exceptions to the generalisation made above. These nouns appear to be recent borrowings into Hewramî, probably from Persian. The gender assignment, at least for *maş* follows from the default phonological assignment rule.

4.1.1.2 Gender of loanwords

Words borrowed from other languages acquire gender in Tekht Hewramî. Arabic loanwords generally constitute an earlier layer of loans in the language, especially the ones related to the realm of religion. Arabic loans denoting abstract concepts are borrowed predominantly as feminine nouns, regardless of the original gender (see below for some exceptions). As can be seen, these words are often borrowed with an extra unstressed vowel, which is not present in the source word. The category of nouns exhibiting this trait also includes the temporal nouns such as *seſbe* ‘morning’. This reflects that there is a semantic basis for gender assignment with loanwords. However, it is notable that the great majority of abstract nouns are formed via the native derivational suffixes *-î* and *-gerî* which assign masculine gender, e.g., *sextî* ‘difficulty’, *gewregerî* ‘nobleness’ (see §4.1.1); therefore no claim can be made about an underlying semantic basis, already operating in the native lexicon, for assigning feminine gender to abstract nouns borrowed from Arabic.

(23)	<i>temaſe</i> (F)	‘greed’	[JE.58]	cf. Ar. <i>ṭamaſiyya</i> (F)
	<i>ſemre</i> (F)	‘order’		cf. Ar. <i>ſamr</i> (M)
	<i>řeza</i> (F)	‘satisfaction’	[JE.83]	cf. Ar. <i>riḍaʔ</i> (M)
	<i>qisê</i> (F)	‘remark’	[ZB.59]	cf. Ar. <i>qişşa</i> (F)
	<i>dawa</i> (F)	‘plea’	[DP.13]	cf. Ar. <i>daſwa</i> (M)
	<i>dinya</i> (F)	‘world’	[ZP.128]	cf. Ar. <i>dunya</i> (F)
	<i>duſa</i> (F)	‘praying’	[DG.6]	cf. Ar. <i>duſa</i> (M)
	<i>şerte</i> (F)	‘condition’	[ŞC.98]	cf. Ar. <i>şarṭ</i> (M)
	<i>weſze</i> (F)	‘situation’	[DG.34]	cf. Ar. <i>waḍʔ</i> (M)
	<i>ſefwe</i> (F)	‘mercy’	[DG.4]	cf. Ar. <i>ſafw</i> (M)
	<i>sinſe</i> (F)	‘age’	[BP.123]	cf. Ar. <i>sinn</i> (M)
	<i>seſbe</i> (F)	‘morning’		cf. Ar. <i>sʿabāḥ</i> (M)

Exceptions to the above generalisation can be found. In such cases, Hewramî assigns gender to the Arabic loan based on its phonological system of gender assignment. Thus, if an abstract feminine noun in the source language ends in a consonant, Hewramî seems to treat it as masculine.

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(24)	<i>xizmet</i> (M)	‘service’	[RE.12]	cf. Ar. <i>xidmat</i> (F)
	<i>şerîfet</i> (M)	‘Sharia law’	[JP.84]	cf. Ar. <i>şariʿat</i> (F)
	<i>terîqet</i> (M)	‘denomination’	[JP.84]	cf. Ar. <i>tariqat</i> (F)
	<i>wilât</i> (M)	‘region, country’		cf. Ar. <i>wilayat</i> (F)
	<i>wext</i> (M)	‘time’		cf. Ar. <i>waqt</i> (M)
	<i>tekbîr</i> (M)	‘planning’		cf. Ar. <i>tadbîr</i> (M)
	<i>fîkr</i> (M)	‘thought’		cf. Ar. <i>fîkr</i> (M)

Elsewhere, the gender of Arabic loans is retained in Hewramî as long as the noun endings correspond in gender.

(25)	<i>hegal</i> (M)	‘scarf’		cf. Ar. <i>ṣîqal</i> (M)
	<i>şeba</i> (F)	‘robe’	[BP.187]	cf. Ar. <i>şaba</i> (F)
	<i>lêfe</i> (M)	‘quilt’		cf. Ar. <i>lihaf</i> (M)
	<i>xet</i> (M)	‘line’		cf. Ar. <i>xat</i> (M)
	<i>qift</i> (M)	‘lock’		cf. Ar. <i>qufl</i> (M)
	<i>cins</i> (M)	‘material, stuff’		cf. Ar. <i>jins</i> (M)

wezî (F) ‘walnut’ is an exception, apparently borrowed from the Arabic *jawz* (M). The lack of gender correspondence here seems to have a semantic reason since, as seen in §4.1.1, small fruits are feminine in Hewramî. Alternatively, it is possible that Arabic *jawz* was borrowed from Middle Iranian, which would explain the feminine marking of the native word *wezî* as being part of small fruits.

Persian provides the primary source for modern words in Tekht Hewramî. Names denoting new objects are usually assigned a gender based on their ending. Thus, consonant-final nouns are masculine.

(26)	<i>lêwan</i> (M)	‘cup’
	<i>maşîn</i> (M)	‘car’
	<i>televizyon</i> (M)	‘television’
	<i>telefon</i> (M)	‘telephone’
	<i>mebal, mubayl</i> (M)	‘mobile phone’
	<i>cîp</i> (M)	‘jeep’
	<i>şîmkart</i> (M)	‘SIM card’
	<i>atbum</i> (M)	‘album’
	<i>vaksen</i> (M)	‘vaccine’
	<i>mahware</i> (M)	‘satellite’
	<i>zilûbeya</i> (M)	‘Zalabiyeh’
	<i>deşga</i> (M)	‘machine’
	<i>duçerxe</i> (M)	‘bicycle’

An exception is modern place names such as ‘restaurant’ and ‘hotel’, which are borrowed through regional languages. These items end in a consonant in Kurdish and Persian but appear with an added unstressed *-e* in Hewramî, thus feminine. This exception can be understood because the names of places are generally feminine, including all the ones derived from the place suffix *-ga* (see §4.1.1).

- (27) *ristûřane* (F) ‘restaurant’
hutêle (F) ‘hotel’
sendelîye (F) ‘chair’

4.1.1.3 Functions of the base-final feminine morphemes

The base-final feminine morphemes additionally express the female counterpart of masculine nouns denoting occupations, and derive fruit names from the corresponding fruit tree. These functions are discussed below.

4.1.1.3.1 Expressing the female counterpart of masculine nouns

A feminine noun can express the female counterpart of masculine general nouns and occupational titles (see also Sadjadi 2019):

- | | | |
|-------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (28) | Masculine | Feminine |
| ‘baker’ | <i>nanpeç</i> | <i>nanpeçe</i> |
| ‘cook’ | <i>çaçker</i> | <i>çaçkere</i> |
| ‘patient’ | <i>neweş</i> | <i>neweşe</i> |
| ‘physician’ | <i>duktir</i> | <i>duktire</i> |
| ‘worker’ | <i>kareker</i> | <i>karekere</i> |
| ‘miller’ | <i>asawan</i> | <i>asawane</i> |

This list can be extended to some items in the kin domain:

- (29) ‘betrothed’ *desgîran* (M) *desgîrane* (F)

4.1.1.3.2 Deriving the fruit names

The feminine suffixes *-î* and *-ê* derive some fruit names from the corresponding fruit tree. This can be seen in the derivation of the ‘fig’ (F) from ‘fig tree’ (see 30). Note, however, that in most cases, both the tree and fruit names share the same gender, rendering it hard to determine the direction of derivation (see 31).

- (30) *hencîr* (M) ‘fig tree’ *hencîrî* (F) ‘fig’

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- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (31) | <i>sawî</i> (F) | ‘apple tree’ | <i>sawî</i> (F) | ‘apple’ |
| | <i>çeçalê</i> (F) | ‘green apricot tree’ | <i>çeçalê</i> (F) | ‘green apricot’ |
| | <i>wezî</i> (F) | ‘walnut tree’ | <i>wezî</i> (F) | ‘walnut’ |
| | <i>wamî</i> (F) | ‘almond tree’ | <i>wamî</i> (F) | ‘almond’ |

4.1.1.4 Gender agreement

So far, we have seen that phonological, semantic, and morphological criteria can predict the gender of a noun. In addition, the gender of a noun is expressed by formal variation on agreeing elements, or agreement targets. At the level of noun phrases, agreement in gender can be found on two levels: (i) agreement between syntactically associated words (e.g., a noun and an adjective) (ii) the gender-sensitive allomorphy of certain suffixes, e.g., the definiteness suffix.

Adjectives agree in gender with the nouns they modify both attributively and predicatively. In the following examples, the attributive adjective agrees with the head nouns in gender (see below for gender agreement with predicative adjectives).

- (32) *kuřê cuwanxas*
kuř-ê *cuwanxas-Ø*
 boy.M-INDF good_looking-M
 ‘a good-looking boy’ [KŞ.68]
- (33) *jenê xase*
jenî-ê *xas-e*
 wife.F-INDF charming-F
 ‘a charming wife’ [JH.64]

The definite suffix *-eke* takes on the gender of the singular noun it attaches to. When it appears on a masculine noun, it takes the forms *-eke* in the direct case and *-ekey* in the oblique case. With feminine nouns, the addition of suffix *-ekê* can result in the deletion of the base-final vowel (see §4.1.6 for other outcomes).

- | | | | |
|------|--------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| (34) | | <i>jenî</i> ‘woman’ (F) | <i>kuř</i> ‘boy’ (M) |
| | SG.DIR | <i>jen(i)-ekê</i> [ZQ.14] | <i>kuř-eke</i> [ZQ.38] |
| | SG.OBL | <i>jen(i)-ekê</i> [BP.185] | <i>kuř-ekey</i> [KŞ.31] |

With derived nouns, the use of the definite suffixes is triggered by the gender of the derived noun.

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| (35) | <i>neweşî-eke</i> | ‘the illness’ | < <i>neweşî</i> (M) |
| | <i>awîrga-(e)kê</i> | ‘the fireplace’ | < <i>awîrga</i> (F) |

At the clause level, agreement targets for the category of gender are predicative adjectives, 3SG copula markers (3SG.M =*n* / =*a*; 3SG.F =*ne*), and 3SG inflectional person suffixes in verbs derived from the past stem (3SG.M - \emptyset ; 3SG.F -*e*). In (36), the predicative adjective, the participle, and the 3SG copula agree with the gender of *dega* ‘village’, which has been relativised. (37) illustrates another example of gender agreement on predicative adjectives.

- (36) *î dega toş vînî çote bîyêne.*
 î dega to=ş vîn-î çot-*e*
 DEM.PROX village.F 2SG=3SG:O see.PRS.IND-2SG:A deserted-F
 bîyê=*ne*
 be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘This village, which you see, was deserted.’ [JE.4]

- (37) *řama dûrene.*
 řa=*ma* dûr-*e*=*ne*
 road.F=1PL:PSR far-F=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘We have a long way [to go]. [Lit. Our way is far.]’ [BP.191]

In verbs derived from the past stem, the 3SG inflectional affix, M: - \emptyset , F: -*e*, agrees in gender with the subject of intransitive clauses and object of transitive clauses.

- (38) *kinaçê wite.*
 kinaçê wit-*e*
 girl.F sleep.PST-3SG.F:S
 ‘The girl slept.’
- (39) *kuř wit.*
 kuř wit- \emptyset
 boy.M sleep.PST-3SG.M:S
 ‘The boy slept.’
- (40) *hêlerûwenîşa kerde.*
 hêlerûwenî=*şa* kerd-*e*
 fried_egg.F.SG.DIR=3PL:A do.PST-3SG.F:O
 ‘They cooked fried eggs.’ [HB.56]

4.1.2 Number

Nouns mark number. Tekht Hewramî has two number values: singular and plural. As seen in §4.1, the two number values are expressed by different allomorphs depending on the base-final vowels (see §4.1). All nouns, regardless of gender and count vs. mass distinction have an oblique plural in *-(y)a*. There are complications with mass nouns in direct plural as explained in §4.1.2.1.

Table 4.4: Number inflection

	SG	PL
DIR.M	-Ø	-ê
DIR.F	-Ø	
OBL.M	-î	-a
OBL.F	-ê	

Number is a morphosyntactic feature in Tekht Hewramî. The reason is that it is involved in agreement (Kibort & Corbett 2008). Number agreement occurs only when the nouns are in the direct case. There is no number agreement with a noun in the plural oblique. At the level of the noun phrase, the targets for number agreement are adjectives (41), classifiers (42), and quantifiers (43).

- (41) *karê xerabê*
kar-ê xerab-ê
 thing-PL bad-PL
 ‘bad things’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 439)
- (42) *yerê danê hêtê*
yerê dan(e)-ê hêt(e)-ê
 three CLF-DIR.PL egg.M-PL.DIR
 ‘three eggs’ [JH.81]
- (43) *çinnê salê*
çinn(e)-ê salê
 some-PL year.F-DIR.PL
 ‘several years’ [HB.68]

At the clause level, the agreeing elements are predicative adjectives (44) and adjective complement of the light verb (45)–(46); see §12.4 for the syntax of light verb constructions.

- (44) *ême firê bēnmê.*
ême fir(e)-ê b-ên-mê
 1PL a_lot-PL be.PRS-AUG-1PL:S
 ‘We were a large number.’ [BP.110]
- (45) *ême keç-ê ne-b-îmê.*
ême keç-ê ne-b-îmê
 1PL crooked-PL NEG.SBJV-be.PRS-1PL:S
 ‘May we not be crooked.’ [DG.66]
- (46) *ême zamdarê nekero.*
ême zamdar-ê ne-ker-o
 1PL wounded-PL NEG.SBJV-do.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘He should not injure us.’ [DG.64]

In addition to nouns and adjectives, pronouns also carry the morphological expression of number (see 6.1).

4.1.2.1 Inherently plural nouns

A number of words appear only in the plural. These are nouns denoting collective entities and entities that come in pairs. The singular of these nouns appears in the feminine gender. This then suggests that there is a semantic basis for the gender assignment of mass nouns. The nouns in this category end in unstressed *-î* and *-ê*.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-------------|---------------|------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| (47) | <i>mekî</i> | ‘salt’ | <i>hardî</i> | ‘flour’ | <i>xurmawî</i> | ‘date’ |
| | <i>simêlê</i> | ‘moustache’ | <i>awî</i> | ‘water’ | <i>çeçalê</i> | ‘bitter almond’ |
| | <i>pantolê</i> | ‘trousers’ | <i>winî</i> | ‘blood’ | <i>hengûrî</i> | ‘grape’ |
| | <i>şitwarê</i> | ‘trousers’ | <i>mîjûyî</i> | ‘lentil’ | <i>şêlanê</i> | ‘apricot’ |
| | <i>birê</i> | ‘eyebrows’ | <i>qijê</i> | ‘hair’ | <i>heştatûyî</i> | ‘plum’ |
| | <i>qijê</i> | ‘hair’ | <i>genmî</i> | ‘wheat’ | <i>tiflê şêxanê</i> | ‘strawberry’ |
| | <i>wezî</i> | ‘walnut’ | <i>tifî</i> | ‘mulberry’ | <i>hencîrî</i> | ‘fig’ |
| | <i>yewê</i> | ‘barley’ | <i>wamî</i> | ‘almond’ | | |
| | <i>hêzmî</i> | ‘wood’ | <i>wezî</i> | ‘walnut’ | | |

Proof for the plural inflection of these nouns comes in the agreement patterns found in the noun phrase and within the clause.

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- (48) *simêlê řeşênê.*
simêlê řeş-ê=nê
 moustache.PL black-PL=3PL:S
 ‘The moustache is black.’
- (49) *pilekanî dirêjênê.*
pilekanî dirêj-ê=nê
 stair.PL long-PL=3PL:S
 ‘The stairs are long.’
- (50) *pantolê teskênê.*
pantolê tesk-ê=nê
 trousers.PL narrow-PL=3PL:S
 ‘The trousers are narrow.’
- (51) *qijêş ecaybênê.*
qijê=ş ecayb-ê=nê
 hair.PL.DIR=3SG:PSR extraordinary-PL-COP.3PL
 ‘His hair was extraordinary.’ [BM. 79]

It is, however, notable that when individuated, the singular form of these nouns can be used. In 52, the singular oblique form of ‘water’ has been used.

- (52) *heywane awê berde*
heywane aw(i)-ê berd-e
 animal.F.SG.DIR water.F.SG.OBL take.PST-3SG.F:O
 ‘The flood [lit. water] took away the animals.’ [ZB.21]

4.1.2.2 Associative plural

The associative plural expresses a meaning such as “noun X and other people associated with X” and “noun X and other things associated with X”. Largely speaking, two different words are used for expressing the associative plural, the choice between which is triggered by animacy and humanness of the noun X. 3PL direct pronoun *adê* ‘they’ is used with humans, while *çîw* ‘thing’ is used with inanimate nouns.

- (53) *berqû çîw nebîyen.*
berq=û çîw ne-bîye=n
 electricity.M.DIR=and thing.M.DIR NEG-be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘There were only embers [to light the house]. There was no electricity or anything.’ [JE.40]

- (54) *tirêstew kardû çîwiş mebo.*
tirêste=û kard(i)=û çîw=iş me-b-o
 axe.M=and knife.F=and thing.M=3SG:NC NEG.IND-be.PRS-3SG:S
 ‘He had neither axe, nor knife, nor anything else.’ [BP.71]
- (55) *Emînû adê*
Emîn=û adê
 PN=and 3PL.DIR
 ‘Amin and people associated with him’

4.1.3 Case

Nouns inflect for case based on their syntactic function. The feature of the case has two values: ‘direct’ and ‘oblique’. By way of example, Table 4.5 illustrates the underlying case inflection.

Table 4.5: case inflection

	DIR	OBL
M	-Ø	-î
F	-Ø	-ê
PL	-ê	-a

Case distinction in the singular is not visible for masculine nouns ending in *-î* (e.g., *mizgî*), and feminine nouns ending in *-ê*, e.g., *kinaçê* – including also feminine nouns ending in the definite suffix *-ekê* (see – §4.1.6), as the direct and oblique forms are identical. Likewise, case distinction is not visible for a subset of nouns followed by the additive particle *=îç*. These nouns are glossed in the examples without any specification for case.

The two-term case system, also attested in some modern West Iranian languages (see Haig 2008: Chapter 4, and Stilo 2008 for an overview), is a reduction from an (up to) eight-term case system in Old Iranian languages. The direct case is a continuation of the old nominative case, and the oblique case is a continuation of the functions expressed by old non-nominative cases.

The direct case, by default, expresses the following syntactic functions. Following Dixon (1994), I use the abbreviations S for the single argument of an intransitive verb, A for an agent of a transitive verb, and O for a patient of a transitive verb.

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I Intransitive subject (S)

An intransitive subject in all tenses is expressed by the direct case.

- (56) *sefbê wilaxdarê mila.*
sefbê wilaxdar-ê mi-l-a
morning.F.SG.OBL stableman-PL.DIR IND-go.PRS-3PL:S
'In the morning, the horse grooms went.' [ŞC.66]

- (57) *hewt gawê leřê amênê.*
hewt gaw(e)-ê leř-ê amê=nê
seven cow.F-PL.DIR thin-PL come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
'Seven thin cows came.' [PP.26]

II Agent of a present tense verb (A-PRS)

The transitive subject of a clause built on the present stem verb is expressed by the direct case. The relevant tenses are the present tense, future tense, and past imperfect.

- (58) *dêwê řas maça.*
dêw-ê řas m-aç-a
ogres-PL.DIR truth IND-tell.PRS-3PL:A
'The ogres are telling the truth.' [SK.64]

- (59) *zarolê bazî kerênê.*
zarol(e)-ê bazî ker-ên-ê
child-PL.DIR game do.PRS-AUG-3PL:A
'The children were playing a game.' [ŞE.09]

III O of a past tense verb (O-past)

- (60) *hewarêşa wişkinênê.*
hewar-ê=şa wişkinε=nê
summer_habitat.M-PL.DIR=3PL:A scour.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O
'They scoured the summer habitats [searching for food, etc.].' [JE.3]

IV Possessed NP in predicative possessive constructions

The possessed NP in predicative possessive constructions of all tenses is marked by the direct case.

- (61) *zemanê ême î begêma bîyênê.*
zeman-ê ême î beg-ê=ma
 time.M-INDF 1PL DEM.PROX chief.M-PL.DIR=1PL:NC
bîyê=nê
 be.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘Once we had these noblemen [in our region].’ [RE.56]

- (62) *marêş henê.*
mar-ê=ş hen-ê
 snake-PL.DIR=3SG:A EXIST-3PL:S
 ‘He (Pharaoh) has snakes.’ [MF.295]

V Grammatical subject in non-canonical subject constructions

The grammatical subject in a non-canonical subject construction (see 6.2 for definition) is marked in a direct case. On the other hand, the subject-like argument is marked in the oblique case (see below).

- (63) *min tateta gerekma.*
min tate-Ø=ta gerek=m=a
 1SG father-M.SG.DIR=2PL:PSR necessary.M=1SG:NC=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘I want your father.’ [ÇK.17]

- (64) *a zařoľa jenişa gerekene.*
a zařoľ(e)-a jeni=şa
 DEM.DIST child-PL.OBL wife.F.SG.DIR=3PL:NC
gerek-e=ne
 necessary-F-COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘The children want to get married. [Lit. wife is necessary to the children].’ [ME.13]

Nouns are marked for the oblique case in the following syntactic functions:

I Direct object of a present tense verb (O-prs)

- (65) *yewayç bero.*
yew(e)-a=yç ber-o
 barley.F-PL.OBL=ADD take.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘[Out of obligation], he took the barley seeds, too.’ [JP.29]

- (66) *ba î pîyay bermê.*
ba î pîya-î bér-mê
 HORT DEM.PROX man-M.SG.OBL take.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A
 ‘Let’s take this man.’ [DB.119]

II A of a past tense verb (A-past)

The case-marked A-past argument usually has a prominent role in discourse, e.g., it takes the nuclear stress (67)–(68) or is associated with referents who are typically agents (69). See §11.2.1 for discussion.

- (67) *pase herey wat...*
pase her-e-î wat
 like donkey.M-2SG-OBL.M say.PST
 ‘As the donkey said...’ [HB.54]

- (68) *min, taze padşay kerdena wekêl.*
min taze padşa-î kerde=na wekêl
 1SG anyway king.M-SG.OBL do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:O advocate.M
 ‘As for me, well, the king has put me in charge.’ [JP.206]

- (69) *xway ketê pey kîyasen.*
xwa-î ket-ê pey kîyase=n
 God.M-SG.OBL bed-INDF to send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:R
 ‘God had sent him a bed.’ [JP.69]

In addition to animate referents, as seen in examples (67)–(68), inanimate agents are also marked in the oblique case.²

- (70) *pejarey berdwe.*
pejare-î berd-Ø=we
 grief-M.SG.OBL take.PST-3SG.M:O=COMPL
 ‘Grief overtook him.’ [DB.24]

- (71) *îse cawê kerdêne çêro.*
îse caw(e)-ê kerdê=ne çêr=o
 now road-F.SG.OBL do.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O under=POST
 ‘Now, the stone is laid under the road.’ [ZP.53]

²According to MacKenzie (1966: 51), oblique marking of past transitive subject is available only for inanimate agents in the Hewramî variety of Luhon. In Tekht, by contrast, it is available for animate referents as well, including human and non-human referents (see 67–71).

III Complement of an adposition

- (72) *min bere la patşay.*
min bér-e la patşa-i
 1SG take.IMP-2SG:A to king.M-SG.OBL
 ‘Take me to the king.’ [PP.27]

- (73) *milawe pey germîyanî.*
mi-l-a=we pey germîyan-i
 IND-go.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL for PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘They went to Garbiyan.’ [ZB.39]

IV Possessor noun in a genitive construction

- (74) *ane kuřû şuwaneyn.*
ane kuř-û şuwane-i=n
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR son.M-EZ.GEN shepherd.M-SG.OBL=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘That is the shepherd’s son [on your horse].’ [KŞ.100]

- (75) *tatew pîr şeliyarîn.*
tate-û pîr şeliyar-i=n
 father.M-EZ.GEN PN PN-M.SG.OBL=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘He is Pir Shaliyar’s father.’ [BP.7]

V Adverbial time expressions

- (76) *şewê firê bijyawê.*
şew(e)-ê fire-ê bijye-a=we
 night.F-F.SG.OBL a_lot-INDF toss.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL
 ‘During the night, [while lying down] they tossed and turned
 [trying to get comfortable].’ [ZB.18]

- (77) *hurmezowê seşbê.*
hur-m-êz-o=we seşbe-ê
 PVB-IND-rise.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL morning.F-F.SG.OBL
 ‘He woke up in the morning.’ [ŞC.47]

VI possessor in a predicative possessive construction

- (78) *xway deselatê çaneş bîyen.*
xwa-i deselat-ê çane=ş
 God.M-SG.OBL power.M-INDF like_that=3SG:NC
bîye=n
 be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘God had such a power.’ [ZQ.42]
- (79) *sîyawehşî kuřêwiş bîyen.*
sîyawehş-i kuř-êw=iş bîye=n
 PN-M.SG.OBL son-INDF=3SG:NC be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘Siyawehsh has had a son.’ [SK.87]
- (80) *jenekaşa lemeşa bîyewe.*
jen(i)-eka=şa leme=şa
 wife-DEF.PL.OBL=3PL:PSR belly.F.SG.DIR=3PL:NC
bî-e=we
 be.PST-3SG.F:S=COMPL
 ‘Their wives got pregnant [lit. had bellies] again.’ [ME.210]
- (81) *a zařola jenîşa gerekene.*
a zařol(e)-a jenî=şa
 DEM.DIST child-PL.OBL wife.SG.F.DIR=3PL:NC
gerek-e=ne
 necessary-F-COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘Those children (of yours) ask for wives [lit. wife is necessary to the children].’ [ME.13]

VII subject-like argument in non-canonical subject constructions

A subject-like argument in non-canonical subject constructions is different from the grammatical subject in these constructions in two respects: (i) the subject-like argument is generally marked in the oblique case (see the examples below), as opposed to the direct marking for the grammatical subject; (ii) the subject-like argument is indexed by clitic pronouns, whereas the grammatical subject is indexed by the copula or person suffixes (see §6.2 for discussion on the second point).

- (82) *zařotam awrařan.*
zařoř(e)-a=m *awra=řa=n*
 child.M-PL.OBL=1SG:PSR hungry=3PL:NC=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘My children are hungry.’ [SH.230]
- (83) *xway îrayeřa.*
xwa-î *îraye=ř=a*
 God.M-SG.OBL volition=3SG:NC=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘[This] is God’s will. [Lit. God, his volition is.]’ [ZB.34]
- (84) *dêdêř qînîř kewte.*
dêdê=ř *qînî=ř* *kewt-e*
 stepmotherF.SG.OBL=3SG:PSR rage.F.SG.DIR=3SG:NC fall.PST-3SG:S
 ‘His step-mother got into a rage. [lit. her rage fell.]’ [SK.15]
- (85) *tateyt miqdarêř hořa.*
tate-î=t *miqdarê=ř* *hoř=a*
 father.M-SG.OBL=2SG:PSR a_little=3SG:NC memory.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘Your father remembers it a bit. [Lit. Your father, his memory is.]’ [BP.13]

VIII The second coordinate noun in a co-ordinated NP (e.g., when standing alone)

- (86) *minû hesenî*
min=û *hesen-î*
 1SG=and PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘Hasan and I’

IX the copula complement in a prepositional non-verbal predicate

The prepositional complement of a copula clause may be marked by the oblique case. This is especially the case when the preposition is *pêse* ‘like, similar to’. In this kind of clauses, the clitic copula exceptionally moves on the preposition (see §12.2 for discussion).

- (87) *to pêsenî emîrî.*
to *pêse=nî* *emîr-î*
 2SG like=COP.2SG:S PN-SG.OBL.M
 ‘You are like Emir (to me).’

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- (88) *řisq pêsen mitey.*
řisq pêse=n mite-î
 rat like=COP.3SG.M:S mouse-SG.OBL.M
 ‘A rat is like a mouse.’ [PK.36]

It should be noted that there are certain complications for deployment of case marking. For example, case marking of O-PRS is sensitive to the status of nouns as definite and specific (see §11.2.2 for details). Generic Os are generally marked in the direct case (see 89).

- (89) *min hילוšet midew.*
min hילוše=t mi-de-û
 1SG cracked_wheat.F.SG.DIR=2SG:R IND-give.PRS-1SG:A
 ‘I will give you cracked wheat.’ [JP.236]

Similarly, there is some variation in the oblique marking of non-core arguments such as possessors in predicative possession construction, the subject-like argument of a non-canonical construction, etc. (see §11.2.3 for an overview); see (90)–(91) for direct marking of these arguments.

- (90) *yo sêfêş biyêne.*
yo sêfê=ş biyê=ne
 onEM.SG.DIR potato.F.SG=3SG:NC be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘One had potatoes.’ [JE.32]

- (91) *padşa gerekşa*
padşa gerek=ş=a
 king.M.SG.DIR necessary=3SG:NC=COP,3SG.M
 ‘The king wanted...’. [BM. 135]

Another feature of Hewramî that affects the case marking is the notion of transitivity and how it is applied to light verb constructions. As mentioned in Chapter §2, tense-sensitive alignment depends not on the transitivity of the clause in a semantic sense but on the lexical transitivity of individual verbs. Likewise, in light verb constructions, transitivity is determined not in a semantic sense but by the transitivity of the light verb. In terms of case marking, the subject of a transitive light verb should be assigned an oblique case in past transitive construction. In the following examples, the oblique marking on the subject is triggered by the transitivity of the light verb *kerd* ‘do’.

- (92) *xuḏay eta kerdēn.*
xuḏa-i eta kerde=n
 God.M-OBL granting do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘God granted him.’ [DB.125]
- (93) *jenê desîş kerd qisekerdey.*
jen(i)-ê des=iş kerd-Ø qisekerdey
 woman.F-OBL hand=3SG:A do.PST-3SG.M:O talking
 ‘The woman started [lit. hand do] to talk.’ [SH.184]

There is no designated case to express the vocative. Therefore, a vocative function can be expressed in several ways. Singular nouns may express the vocative in a direct case.

- (94) *tâte*[|] ‘Father!’ [JH.22]
êḏa[|] ‘Mother!’

The vocative is expressed via the oblique form for plural nouns.

- (95) *hewramîya xwahafêz!*
hewramî-a xwahafêz
 Hewramî-PL.OBL farewell
 ‘O Hewramî [people]! Goodbye!’

The vocative particle *ya*, borrowed from Arabic, may also express the vocative.

- (96) *ya qalîçew silêmanî!*
ya qalîçe-û silêman-i
 VOC carpet-EZ.GEN pn-OBL.M
 ‘O Solomon’s carpet!’ [DB.164]

A similar strategy, sometimes employed in tales, is to use the particle *ey* to express the vocative.

- (97) *maço, ‘ey kitêk ey çira ey bira!’*
m-aç-o ey kitik ey çira ey bira
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A VOC cat.DIM VOC lamp VOC brother
 ‘He said, ‘Oh Cat; oh Lamp; oh Brother!’” [SH.111]

Another strategy for expressing the vocative is to use the bare noun in the direct case followed by the modifier *gîyan* ‘dear’:

- (98) *bira gîyan* ‘Dear brother! (addressing the neighbour) [RE.5]

The vocative can also be expressed by adding the diminutive suffix *-le* (M), *-lê* (F) to the kin terms. Here, more emotional engagement is involved with the interlocutor. Notably, the diminutive suffix is frozen in words referring to ‘sister’ and ‘child’. In neighbouring Southern Kurdish varieties, the term for ‘child’ is the cognate form *zarû*. Similarly, the general term for ‘sister’ in Kurdish, i.e., *xoşk*, has the frozen diminutive suffix *-ik*.

- (99) *tate-le* 'Father!'
eda-lê 'Mother!'
mama-lê 'Grandmother!'
wałê 'Sister!'
zawłe 'Child!' < **zaro + łe*

Alternatively, the definite suffix may express vocative case, mainly when used with kin terms 'husband' and 'wife'. The definite suffix agrees with the referent in gender.

- (100) *jenekê* ‘Wife!’ [ZB.13]
 pîyake ‘Husband!’ [DB.221]

4.1.4 Classifiers and measure nouns

Hewramî has several linguistic items that exhibit characteristics of noun classifiers; that is, their choice depends on the semantics of the head nouns, and they may be used anaphorically (Aikhenvald 2000). Classifiers make up a small word class in Hewramî, and a limited number of nouns have them. Table 4.6 lists a preliminary list of classifiers. They can be classified into sortal classifiers, which are used with count nouns, and mensural classifiers, used with mass nouns.

The most common classifier is *dane* (literally ‘seed’), which can be used with various head nouns. In terms of their syntax, classifiers agree in number with the head noun. In (101), *dane* agrees with the head noun; in (102), it is used anaphorically to refer back to ‘eggs’ in the previous discourse.

- (101) *duwê danê dêwê*
duwê dan(e)-ê dêw-ê
 two CLF-PL.DIR ogre.M-PL.DIR
 ‘two ogres’ [JP.176]
- (102) *a wextî danêşa sîyaw kero.*
a wext-î dan(e)-ê=şa sîyaw ker-o
 DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL CLF-INDF=3PL:PSR black do.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘The girl coloured one of them black.’ [JH.83]

Table 4.6: Common classifiers

Type	item	Used with / for
Sortal	<i>dane</i>	count nouns
	<i>ser</i>	domestic animals, e.g., sheep, goat
	<i>des</i>	clothes
	<i>boṭ</i>	counting grape
	<i>hoṣe</i>	counting a cluster of grape
	<i>bine</i>	trees
	<i>telane</i>	farmland
Mensural	<i>peṭ</i>	mass nouns, e.g., “grain”

Additionally, classifiers are optional and may or may not appear with the head noun. Compare the following examples.

- (103) *yerê danê hêlê maro.*
yerê dan(e)-ê hêl(e)-ê m-ar-o
 three CLF-PL.DIR egg.M-PL.DIR IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘She [went and] brought three eggs.’ [JH.81]

- (104) *yerê hêlêş ardê.*
yerê hêl(e)-ê=ş ard-ê
 three egg.M-PL.DIR=3SG:A take.PST-3PL:O
 ‘She took three eggs.’ [HS.82]

The following classifiers have been identified in the fieldwork. The list in Table 4.6 is not exhaustive, and no claims of thoroughness can be made here. *peṭ* refers to ‘bugs and insects’ and grains en masse.

- (105) *peṭê merekuř mê şarezûr.*
peṭ-ê merekuř m-ê şarezûr
 CLF-INDF grasshopper IND-come.PRS.3SG:S PN
 ‘A swarm of grasshoppers came to Sharazour.’ [PM.1]
- (106) *pîreke yawa law peṭêw xeley.*
pîr-eke yawa la-û peṭ-êw xele-î
 old-DEF.M.DIR arrive.PST.3SG.M:S to-EZ.GEN CLF-INDF grain-M.SG.OBL
 ‘The old man arrived at a pile of grains.’ [HR.13]

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Ser is used for domestic animals like sheep and goats, especially when used as a sacrifice.

- (107) *serê heywan sere biřo.*
ser-ê heywan sere biř-o
 CLF-INDF animal.M head.M cut.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘He butchered one animal.’ [JP.253]

- (108) *ya mûsa serê heywanma de.*
ya mûsa serê heywan=ma de
 VOC PN CLF animalM.SG.DIR=1PL:R give.IMP.2SG:A
 ‘Oh Moses! Give us an animal.’ [MF.209]

Boł and *hoře* are measure nouns for one grape, and a cluster of grape, respectively.

- (109) *bołê hengûrî*
boł-ê hengûrî
 CLF-INDF grape
 ‘one grape’
- (110) *duwê hoře hengûrî*
duwê hoře(e)-ê hengûrî
 two CLF-PL.DIR grape.PL.DIR
 ‘two clusters of grape’

Other classifiers include *bine*, and *tełane*. *bine* is used as a measure of unit for trees. *tełane* is used as a measure of unit for farmland.

- (111) *duwê binê wezî*
duwê bin(e)-ê wezî
 two CLF-PL.DIR walnut.PL.DIR
 ‘two walnut trees’
- (112) *duwê tełanê bencacnî*
duwê tełan(e)-ê bencacnî
 two CLF-PL.DIR tomato.PL.DIR
 ‘two pieces of tomato farm’

There are different measure words for walnuts, reflecting their importance in the local economy. These are summarised below:

- (113) *laye* 'a collection of five walnuts'
dese 'a collection of ten walnuts'
nîme hezar 'a collection of five-hundred walnuts'
hezar 'a collection of one-thousand walnuts'

Examples:

- (114) *yerê desê wezî*
yere des(e)-ê wezî
 three CLF-PL.DIR walnut.PL.DIR
 'thirty walnuts'
- (115) *desew layê wezî*
dese=û lay(e)-ê wezî
 CLF=and CLF-INDF walnut.PL.DIR
 'fifteen walnuts'

Among these, *des* may also be used to refer to 'a unit of ten domestic animals'. Other measure nouns include *hît* 'pair', *gez* 'a unit of measure equivalent to 72 cm of textile', *teẖar* 'a unit of weight equivalent to 120 kilograms', etc.

- (116) *zemanû a anê hîtê paḷe bîyênêw çwar gezê parçe bîyen.*
zeman-û a anê hît-ê paḷe
 time.M-EZ.GEN DEM.DIST DEM.DIST.3SG.F.SG.OBL pair-PL shoe.PL.DIR
bîyê=nê=û çwar gez-ê parçe
 be.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S=and four ell.M-PL.DIR textile.M
bîye=n
 be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 'Then, let us say, at the time, [the wedding gift] consisted of (some) pairs of shoes [and] four gaz of textile.' [RE.11]

4.1.5 Bare nouns

A bare noun can fulfil different functions in Tekht Hewramî. It may express indefinite referents and definite referents alike (see below), and have singular or plural reference. Thus, its use radically differs from well-known languages like English. In (117)–(118), the bare nouns *mela* and *gaw* express singular nouns with non-specific referents.

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- (117) *meta mara mareş biřa peyş.*
meta *m-ar-a* *mare=ş* *biř-a*
 mullah.M IND-bring.PRS-3PL:A marriage=3SG:O cut.PRS.IND-3PL:A
pey=ş
 for=3SG:R
 ‘They fetched a Mullah [and] married her (the girl) to him (the shepherd’s son).’ [KŞ.88]

- (118) *pêse gaw til bowe ...*
pêse ***gaw*** *til* *b-o=we*
 as_if bull.M rolling be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S=COMPL
 ‘As if a bull had rolled down [into the valley] ...’ [ZP.79]

Similarly, a bare noun can express a noun with an indefinite specific reference which is known to the speaker. In the following example, the narrator talks about a specific woodland he has seen while searching for a mountain shelter.

- (119) *kelêwe dîmandîmê bê fire tûl bê; daresan bê.*
kel-êwe *dîmandîm-ê b-ê* *fire tûl*
 mountain-INDF wide-INDF be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S a_lot long
b-ê *daresan* *b-ê*
 be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S woodland.M be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 ‘It was a big mountain; it was very high; it was a woodland.’ [ZQ.12]

A bare noun can also be used in a generic sense to express indefinite non-specific plural items. The noun would have plural inflection in equivalent situations in English.

- (120) *be kune awîşa ardêne.*
be ***kune*** *awî=şa* *ardê=ne*
 by clay_pot.M water.F.SG.DIR=3PL:A bring.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
 ‘They used to fetch water using **clay pots**.’ [JE.16]
- (121) *be hesere hêzmîşa ardênê pey zimsanî.*
be ***hesere*** *hêzmî=şa* *ardê=nê* *pey*
 by mule.F firewood.PL.DIR=3PL:A bring.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O for
zimsan-î
 winter.M-SG.OBL
 ‘They fetched firewood for the winter on **mules**.’ [JE.35]

Finally, a bare noun may have a definite reading. This happens when the reference to the noun has been established both for the speaker and the listener (see §4.1.6). In the following excerpt, *çawre* ‘tent’ is first unmarked as a bare noun and has a generic plural reference. In the second mention, it takes the definite suffix *-ekê*. In the third mention, it has a definite reference but appears as a bare noun.

- (122) *ca a wextî çawre bo. çawrekêne fire ginawe kem. wextê weyowe, lawaw aman çawre peře bîye awî.*
ca a wext-î çawre b-o
 afterwards DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL tent.F be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
çawre-(e)kê=ne fire gin-a=we kem wext-ê
 tent.F-DEF.F.SG=POST a_lot fall.PRS.IND-3PL:S=COMPL little time.M-INDF
weye-o=we lawaw ama=n
 wake.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL flood.M come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
çawre peř-e bî-e awî
 tent.F full-F be.PST.3SG.F:S water.F
 ‘Back then, there were tents. They tossed around [in bed] in the tent for a while. When they finally woke up, the flood had come [and] the tent was filled with water.’ [ZB.19-ZB.20]

4.1.6 Definiteness

Nouns are marked for definiteness by the following suffixes: *-eke*; *-e*. The definiteness marker *-eke* has distinct allomorphs depending on the gender, case, and number of the base to which it attaches:

Table 4.7: Definiteness paradigm

	DIR	OBL
SG.M	<i>-eke</i>	<i>-ekey</i>
SG.F	<i>-ekê</i>	<i>-ekê</i>
PL	<i>-ekê</i>	<i>-eka</i>

The following paradigms illustrate the inflection of the definite suffix *-eke* on consonant-final nouns.

- (123) *kuř* ‘boy, son’ (M)
 SG.DIR *kuř-eke* [ZQ.38]
 SG.OBL *kuř-ekey* [KŞ.31]

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PL.DIR	<i>kuř-ekê</i> [ZB.9]
PL.OBL	<i>kuř-eka</i>

The addition of the definite suffix to the base-final vowel results in vowel hiatus, which is resolved in several ways: (i) the initial vowel of the definite suffix is dropped; (ii) vowel reduction; (iii) the final vowel of the noun is dropped; (iv) an epenthetic consonant is added between the two vowels. These are discussed below.

With nouns ending in *-a*, the initial vowel of the definite suffix is dropped.

(124)	<i>pîya</i> ‘man’ (M)	<i>dega</i> ‘village’ (F)
SG.DIR	<i>pîyake</i> (< <i>pîya-ekê</i>) [JH.110]	<i>degakê</i> (< <i>dega-ekê</i>)
SG.OBL	<i>pîyakey</i> (< <i>pîya-ekey</i>) [DG.53]	<i>degakê</i> (< <i>dega-ekê</i>)
PL.DIR	<i>pîyakê</i> (< <i>pîya-ekê</i>)	<i>degakê</i> (< <i>dega-ekê</i>)
PL.OBL	<i>pîyaka</i> (< <i>pîya-eka</i>)	<i>degaka</i> (< <i>dega-eka</i>)

With nouns ending in *-e*, the sequence of two identical vowels is reduced into one.

(125)	<i>bize</i> ‘goat’ (F)	<i>yane</i> ‘house’ (M)
SG.DIR	<i>bizekê</i> (< <i>bize-ekê</i>) [KŞ.31]	<i>yaneke</i> (< <i>yane-eke</i>)
SG.OBL	<i>bizekê</i> (< <i>bize-ekê</i>) [KŞ.31]	<i>yanekey</i> (< <i>yane-ekey</i>)
PL.DIR	<i>bizekê</i> (< <i>bize-ekê</i>) [JP.37]	<i>yaneke</i> (< <i>yane-ekê</i>)
PL.OBL	<i>bizeka</i> (< <i>bize-eka</i>)	<i>yaneke</i> (< <i>yane-eka</i>)

With feminine nouns ending in *-ê* and *-î*, these final vowels are dropped before the the initial vowel of the definite suffix.

(126)	<i>kinaçê</i> ‘girl’ (F)	<i>jenî</i> ‘wife’ (F)
SG.DIR	<i>kinaçekê</i> (< <i>kinaçê-ekê</i>)	<i>jenekê</i> (< <i>jenî-ekê</i>) [ZQ.14]
SG.OBL	<i>kinaçekê</i> (< <i>kinaçê-ekê</i>)	<i>jenekê</i> (< <i>jenî-ekê</i>) [BP.185]
PL.DIR	<i>kinaçekê</i> (< <i>kinaçê-ekê</i>)	<i>jenekê</i> (< <i>jenî-ekê</i>) [RE.21]
PL.OBL	<i>kinaçeka</i> (< <i>kinaçê-eka</i>)	<i>jeneka</i> (< <i>jenî-eka</i>)

The definite suffix *-e* appears to have a more restricted usage than *-eke*. Data from the text corpus shows that it is limited to occur with masculine singular nouns which are prominent in discourse.

(127)	<i>her</i> ‘donkey’	<i>kuř</i> ‘boy’
SG.DIR	<i>her-e</i> [HB.48]	<i>kuř-e</i> [KŞ.49]
SG.OBL	<i>her-e-y</i> [HB.15]	<i>kuř-e-y</i> [BP.206]

The definite suffix *-eke* originates from the diminutive suffix *-ak* of Iranian (Haig & Mohammadirad 2019; Nourzaei 2021; Karim 2021). This sense has been preserved down to the present day, for instance, to address a loved one:

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------|------------|---------|
| (128) | <i>jenekê</i> | ‘Wife!’ | [ZB.13] |
| | <i>pîyake</i> | ‘Husband!’ | [JF.21] |

4.1.7 Indefiniteness

Indefiniteness is marked on singular nouns via the suffix *-êwe*, which alternates freely with *-êw*. In the plural, the indefiniteness is marked by *-ê* in the direct case, and *-a* in the oblique case. The singular forms are often truncated into *-ê*. Vowel hiatus is generally tolerated when *-êwe/-ê* attaches to stressed vowel-final nouns:

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------|----------|----------------------------|
| (129) | <i>mizgî-ê</i> | ‘mosque’ | < <i>mizgî</i> + <i>-ê</i> |
| | <i>řo-ê</i> | ‘a day’ | < <i>řo</i> + <i>-ê</i> |
| | <i>pîya-ê</i> | ‘a man’ | < <i>pîya</i> + <i>-ê</i> |

The addition of the indefinite suffix to nouns ending in *-a* can have two outcomes. In most cases, the result is the merger of the two vowels into /*ε*/. Occasionally, an epenthetic <y> resolves vowel hiatus.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------|---------|---------------------------|
| (130) | <i>pîyε</i> | ‘a man’ | < <i>pîya</i> + <i>-ê</i> |
| | <i>pîyayê</i> | ‘a man’ | < <i>pîya</i> + <i>-ê</i> |

However, the affixation of the indefinite suffix results in the deletion of the unstressed final vowel of nouns ending in unstressed *î* and *ê*.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| (131) | <i>jenêwe</i> | ‘a woman’ | < <i>jenî</i> + <i>-êwe</i> |
| | <i>kîselê</i> | ‘a tortoise’ | < <i>kîselî</i> + <i>-ê</i> |
| | <i>şewê</i> | ‘night (F.SG.OBL)’ | < <i>şewe</i> + <i>-ê</i> |

In the vernacular of Hewraman Tekht, *-êwe* is used with masculine and feminine nouns alike. MacKenzie (1966: 15) reports that in Luhon H. the indefinite suffix is *-êw* for masculine nouns and *-êwe* for feminine nouns. This distinction is not held in Tekht H., at least in places where the main text corpus was collected. Rather, *-êwe* has taken over as the predominant form (132). Nevertheless, it is noticeable that *-êw* can be attested occasionally (133).

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|------------------|---------|
| (132) | <i>jenêwe</i> | ‘a woman’ (F) | [ZB.8] |
| | <i>darêwe</i> | ‘a tree’ (M) | [ZB.41] |
| | <i>kuřêwe</i> | ‘a boy’ (M) | [KŞ.30] |
| | <i>kîselêwe</i> | ‘a tortoise’ (F) | [DG.61] |

4 Nouns and nominal morphology

- (133) *bizêw* ‘a goat’ (F)
duwe qeranî-êw ‘a two-kurus coin’

The singular indefinite forms are often reduced to *-ê*, showing no gender distinction.

- (134) *nefer-ê* ‘a person’ [JH.24]
tewenê ‘a stone’ [ZP.50] cf. *tewenî* ‘stone’
yagê ‘a place’ [JP.20] cf. *yagê* ‘place’
pîya-ê ‘a man’ [JP.154]
mebal-ê ‘a cell phone’ [RE.30]

The data from the text corpus suggests that the indefinite suffix is not compatible with case marking, illustrated by *pilekanî* ‘ladder’ and *kuř* ‘son’ in Table 4.8. However, case distinction is maintained in the plural.

Table 4.8: The indefinite nominal inflection

	INDF.M	INDF.F	INDF.PL
DIR	<i>kuř-ê(we)</i>	<i>pilekanê(we)</i>	<i>kuř-ê / pilekan-ê</i>
OBL	<i>kuř-ê(we)</i>	<i>pilakanê(we)</i>	<i>kuř-a / pilekan-a</i>

Therefore, the distinction between direct and oblique cases is neutralised in the singular. Examples are listed below. In (135)–(136), the indefinite suffix has blocked the case marking on the direct object arguments.

- (135) *mebalê gêro desşo.*
mebal-ê *gêr-o* *des=ş=o*
 cell_phone.M-INDF take.PRS.IND-3SG:A hand.M=3SG:PSR=POST
 ‘He holds a mobile phone in his hand.’ [RE.30]
- (136) *pilekanêwe binye!*
pilekanî-êwe *bi-ny(e)-e*
 stairway.F-INDF SBJV-put.PRS-2SG:A
 ‘Set up a stairway!’ [JH.12]

In (137)–(138), the indefinite suffix *-ê* has blocked the case marking on the preposition complement and the genitive, respectively.

- (137) *çenû pîyewe mênê.*
çenû pîyewe m-ê-nê
 with.EZ.GEN man.M.INDF IND-come.PRS-3PL:S
 ‘She was coming [towards him] with a man.’ [ZP.66]
- (138) *minîç şimşû yerû heywanê midew pene.*
min=iç şimş(i)=û yeher-û heywan-ê=t
 1SG=ADD spleen=and liver.M-EZ.GEN animal.M-INDF=2SG:R
mi-de-û pene
 IND-give.PRS-1SG:A to
 ‘I will give you the spleen and liver of an animal.’ [JP.230]

By contrast, in the Tekht varieties of Silên and Nwên, there is evidence of the compatibility of case marking with indefinite suffixes, as suggested by the following examples:

- (139) *îse mildê tûşo derbenêwî meydê.*
îse mi-l-dê tûş-û derben-êw-i
 now IND-go.PRS-2PL:S encountering-EZ.GEN canyon-INDF.M-SG.OBL
m-e-îdê
 IND-come.PRS-2PL:S
 ‘On your way, you will run into a canyon.’ [ME.33]
- (140) *minîç dewayêwîş şanî midew.*
min=iç deway-êw-i=ş şanî
 1SG=ADD medication.M-INDF.M-SG.OBL=3SG:R showing
mi-de-û ‘I will show him a medication.’ [DB.260]
 IND-give.PRS-1SG:A

4.2 Nominal word formation

New nominal lexemes are created either through derivation, or compounding. Affixation is more productive than compounding for the derivation of nouns.

4.2.1 Derivation

Derivational affixes are mainly of two types: those deriving nouns from other nouns, yielding denominal nouns, and those deriving nouns from adjectives, resulting in deadjectival nouns. Some derivational affixes, e.g., *-î*, *-gerî* derive nouns from both adjectives and nouns.

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4.2.1.1 -î

The suffix *-î* is one of the most productive derivational affixes. It derives abstract nouns with roughly the meaning ‘in the state of being’ from adjectives.

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| (141) | <i>sextî</i> | ‘difficulty’ | cf. <i>sext</i> | ‘difficult’ |
| | <i>mecbûrî</i> | ‘obligation’ | cf. <i>mecbûr</i> | ‘obliged’ |
| | <i>azađî</i> | ‘freedom’ | cf. <i>aza(đ)</i> | ‘free’ |
| | <i>genekarî</i> | ‘adultery, debauchery’ | cf. <i>genekar</i> | ‘adulterous’ |
| | <i>adizî</i> | ‘anger’ | cf. <i>adiz</i> | ‘angry, anxious’ |

-î is also used to derive nouns from both simple nouns, e.g. *zarole*, and derived nouns, e.g. *heywandar*.

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (142) | <i>zaroteyi</i> | ‘childhood’ | cf. <i>zarote</i> | ‘child’ |
| | <i>heywandarî</i> | ‘animal husbandry’ | cf. <i>heywandar</i> | ‘one who owns domesticated animals’ |

4.2.1.2 -dar

This suffix derives concrete masculine nouns with the sense of “owning” from the base noun.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|----------|
| (143) | <i>wilaxdar</i> | ‘stable-keeper’ | cf. <i>wilax</i> | ‘horse’ |
| | <i>goşdar</i> | ‘listener’ | cf. <i>goş</i> | ‘ear’ |
| | <i>bałdar</i> | ‘bird’ | cf. <i>bał</i> | ‘wing’ |
| | <i>gîyandar</i> | ‘living being’ | cf. <i>gîyan</i> | ‘soul’ |
| | <i>dûkandar</i> | ‘shopkeeper’ | cf. <i>dûkan</i> | ‘shop’ |
| | <i>heywandar</i> | ‘one who owns domesticated animals’ | cf. <i>heywan</i> | ‘animal’ |

The feminine form *-dare* expresses the female counterpart of the above items.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------|---------------------|
| (144) | <i>dûkan-dare</i> | ‘female shopkeeper’ |
|-------|-------------------|---------------------|

4.2.1.3 -eke/ -ekê

In some animal nouns, what seems to be the definite suffix *-eke* (M), *-ekê* (F) now forms part of the base noun and is thus lexicalised. This reflects the origin of the definite suffix as a diminutive suffix in West Iranian.

- | | | |
|-------|---------------|-----------|
| (145) | <i>çolekê</i> | ‘sparrow’ |
| | <i>goreke</i> | ‘calf’ |
| | <i>çaleke</i> | ‘badger’ |

4.2.1.4 -îne

The derivational feminine suffix *-îne* derives nouns denoting ‘meal’ from nouns denoting what the meal is principally made of.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| (146) | <i>hiṭoşîne</i> | ‘dish made from sour plum’ | cf. <i>hiṭoşe</i> ‘sour plum’ |
| | <i>xeple zeřatîne</i> | ‘a type of bread made of corn flour’ | cf. <i>zeřat</i> ‘corn’ |
| | <i>şelemîne</i> | ‘dish made of cracked wheat
and turnip’ | cf. <i>şelem</i> ‘turnip’ |
| | <i>dowîne</i> | ‘dish made of cracked wheat
diluted and yoghurt’ | cf. <i>do</i> ‘diluted
yoghurt’ |

4.2.1.5 -le /-lê

The deminutive suffix *-le* marks gender and number: *-le* / *-lê* (M.SG); *-lê* / *-tê* (F.SG); *-lê* / *-tê* (PL). It is used to derive nouns (see below) and adjectives (see §7.1.2.7). In its denominal use, the suffix has primarily the sense of ‘small’.

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|----------------|
| (147) | <i>zarote</i> | ‘child’ |
| | <i>bizle</i> (M) | ‘small goat’ |
| | <i>bizlê</i> (F) | ‘small goat’ |
| | <i>mişarle</i> | ‘small hoe’ |
| | <i>gicîle</i> | ‘small shirt’ |
| | <i>duwê seringatê</i> | ‘two cushions’ |

The suffix has become lexicalised with kin terms such as *walê* ‘sister’, *zarote* ‘child’, as well as with nouns like *patê* ‘shoes’ (< *pa* ‘foot’ + *tê*).

By extension from the semantic meaning ‘small’, the diminutive suffix is used more pragmatically to denote affection (for a typology of diminutives see Jurafsky 1996). This is particularly true with kinship terms:

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|----------------------|-------------|---------------|
| (148) | <i>tate-le</i> | ‘(dear) father!’ | <i>tate</i> | ‘father’ |
| | <i>eya-lê</i> | ‘(dear) mother’ | <i>eya</i> | ‘mother’ |
| | <i>mama-lê</i> | ‘(dear) grandmother’ | <i>mama</i> | ‘grandmother’ |

As noted by Jurafsky (1996: 553), the diminutive can have an “imitation” sense, viz., it can mark nouns which are viewed as imitations or copies of natural objects, often body parts. Tekht H. exhibits this function of diminutive. As seen below, the flora terms *tisle* and *şotile* exhibit similarities with *tis* and *şot*, respectively. The similarity in case of *şotile* ‘euphorbia plant’ is linked to the plant producing milky sap.

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- (149) *tisle* ‘a prickly fetid plant’ cf. *tis* ‘silent fart’
şotîle ‘euphorbia plant’ cf. *şot* ‘milk’

Related diminutive suffixes are *-ote*, and *-île*:

- (150) *camote* ‘small pot’ (< *cam* ‘pot’ + *-ote*)

4.2.1.6 *-ga/ -ge, -gê*

The derivation suffix *-ga/ -ge, -gê* derives place names from nouns denoting objects.

- (151) *awîrga* ‘fire place’ < *awîr* (M) ‘fire’ + *-ga* ‘place’
seringa ‘pillow’ < *serin* (M) + *-ga* ‘place’

The suffix has become lexicalised in nouns that already denote a place name. In addition, it has become lexicalised as part of the adverbial noun *wêrega* ‘evening’ and *yagê* ‘place’.

- (152) *ewêge* ‘there’ < *awê* ‘that’ + *-ge* ‘over there’
yagê ‘place’ < *ya* ‘place’ + *-gê* ‘over there’
cûwe ‘stream’ < **cû* ‘stream’ + *-ge* ‘place’
dega ‘village’ < *de* ‘village’ + *-ga* ‘place’
milega ‘ridge’ < *mile* ‘neck?’ + *-ga* ‘place’

4.2.1.7 *-gerî*

The derivational masculine suffix *-gerî* derives quality nouns with the sense of “association of a person or a group of people with certain features” from nouns and adjectives.

- (153) *gewregerî* ‘nobleness’ *gewre* ‘big’
hewramîgerî ‘Hewramîhood’ *hewramî* ‘Hewramî’
pîyagerî ‘manhood’ *pîya* ‘man’
padşagerî ‘king-hood’ *padşa* ‘king’
aşegerî ‘lordship’ *aşe* ‘lord’
qeyxagerî ‘chieftain-hood’ *qeyxa* ‘chieftain’

4.2.1.8 *-wan*

The derivational masculine suffix *-wan* has the approximate meaning of “taking care of”. The feminine form is *-wane*.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------|
| (154) | <i>asawan</i> | ‘miller’ (M) | cf. <i>asaw</i> | ‘mill’ |
| | <i>asawane</i> | ‘miller’ (F) | cf. <i>asaw</i> | ‘mill’ |
| | <i>neçîrewan</i> | ‘hunter’ | cf. <i>neçîre</i> | ‘hunt’ |
| | <i>řoçewan</i> | ‘one who fasts’ | cf. <i>řoçe</i> | ‘fasting’ |

4.2.1.9 -yane

The derivational masculine suffix *-yane* occurs in the sense of ‘vernacular associated with a region’.

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------|----------------------|
| (155) | <i>hewramî-yane</i> | ‘Hewramî vernacular’ |
| | <i>paweyane</i> | ‘Pawe vernacular’ |

4.2.1.10 -gel

The derivational suffix *-gel* is derived from the *gele* ‘herd, flock’ (M). The suffix adds a collective meaning to the base noun. This suffix is assumed to be the origin of the plural suffix *-gel* in the neighbouring CK varieties of the Sanandaj region and in Southern Kurdish.

- | | | |
|-------|----------------|------------------|
| (156) | <i>gaw-gel</i> | ‘flock of cows’ |
| | <i>pez-gel</i> | ‘flock of sheep’ |

- | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|
| (157) | <i>şuwanew pezgeli!</i> |
| | <i>şuwane-û pezgel-î</i> |
| | shepherd-EZ.GEN sheep_herd-M.SG.OBL |
| | ‘Shepherd!’ |

[ÇH.118]

4.2.2 Nominal compounding

Compound nouns are primarily formed by juxtaposing the component parts. The component parts form a single word in terms of stress marking, gender assignment, and agreement. As discussed in §4.1.1, the compound word *hêteruwenî* ‘fried eggs’ (< *hête* ‘egg’ (M) + *řuwenî* ‘oil’ (F) has feminine gender, which is determined by the non-final stress in *řuwenî* ‘oil’.

The most frequent compounds are N-N and N-V compounds, where the V equals the verb’s present stem.

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4.2.2.1 N-N compounds

- (158) *hêlerûwenî* ‘fried eggs’ *hête* ‘egg’ + *rûwenî* ‘oil’
yane kotê ‘(leaving) houses’ *yane* ‘house’ + *kotê* ‘shoulder’
herbene ‘donkey keeper’ *her* ‘donkey’ + *bene* ‘servant’

Less commonly, compound nouns are formed by adding a spatial particle to the semantic, phonological and morphosyntactic head noun.

- (159) *werdes* ‘servant’ cf. *wer-* ‘front’ + *des* ‘hand’
çêrxan ‘basement’ cf. *çêr-* ‘under’ + *xan* ‘house’
serxan ‘top floor in a house’ cf. *ser-* ‘up’ + *xan* ‘house’

4.2.2.2 N-V compounds

N-V compounds feature the present stem of the verb in the compound. The most common verb stem used is *-ker* ‘do’, which derives nouns denoting occupations from nouns which either denote the object manufacture or a process.

- (160) *wêjen-ker* ‘gum producer’ (M) cf. *wêjen* ‘Tragacanth gum’
çaşt-ker ‘cook’ (M) cf. *çaştî* ‘food’
selem-ker ‘pre-seller’ (M) cf. *selem* ‘pre-selling’
kar-ker, kareker ‘worker’ (M) cf. *kar* ‘work’
cola-ker ‘weaver’ cf. *cola* ‘weaving’

The feminine counterpart of the above names is derived by adding the unstressed *-e* to the compound noun:

- (161) *çaştker-e* ‘cook’ (F)
karker-e, kareker-e ‘worker’ (F)

Other verb stems are found marginally in N-V compounds:

- (162) *çareniwîs* ‘fortune-teller’ cf. *çare* ‘destiny’ + *niwîs-* ‘write’
hermanber ‘domestic worker’ cf. *herman* ‘work’ + *ber-* ‘take’
nanpeç ‘baker’ cf. *nan* ‘bread’ + *peç-* ‘bake’
xulekêş ‘soil carrier’ cf. *xule* ‘soil’ + *kêş-* ‘pull’

There are also a few fauna terms which seem to be formed by reduced clauses similar to the English flower term *forget-me-not*. The term for cricket insect is *cêř cêř kere*, containing *cêř* ‘chirping’, *kere* ‘do’, yielding ‘does chirping’. The *-e* element on the present stem of ‘do’ seems to be a nominaliser. Alternatively, these terms can be analysed as N-V compounds with the final *-e* marking the feminine gender. Similarly, the term for ‘mantis’ is *colakere*, and *helizewere* refers to a type of grasshopper:

- (163) *colakere* < *cola* 'weaving' + *kere* 'do' 'mantis' [lit. 'weaver']
helizewere < *helize* 'churn' + *were* 'eating' 'a type of grasshopper'
 [lit. 'churn eater']

4.2.2.3 N-ADJ compounds

The compound nouns in this category consists of lexicalised items for expressing concepts such as 'old man', 'old woman', etc. The positioning of the adjective may vary depending on the compound.

- (164) *řîşçerme* 'old man [lit. white beard]' cf. *řîş* 'beard' + *çerme* 'white'
pîrejenî 'old woman' cf. *pîr* 'old' + -e + *jenî* 'woman'

4.2.2.4 Echo compounds

Echo compounds are a feature of regional languages such as Kurdish, Persian and Turkish. They are formed by a partial reduplication strategy in which the initial consonant in the base word is replaced by *m*. The reduplicant can be juxtaposed to the base or preceded by the coordinate particle =*û* 'and'.

- (165) *jen=û menî* (< *jenî û menî*) 'women and so on' [BP.49]
qise=û mise 'gossip and such' [RE.23]
çîw mîw 'things and stuff'

5 Noun phrase

5.1 Noun phrase properties

A noun phrase can consist of a noun, proper or generic (1), a noun and optional modifiers (2), an independent pronoun (3), a substantivised adjective (4), or a verbal noun (5).

- (1) *lawaw aman çawre peře bîye awî.*
lawaw *ama*=*n* *çawre* *peř-e* *bî-e*
flood.M come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S tent.F full-F be.PST-3SG.F:S
awî
water.F
‘The flood had come [and] the tent was filled with water.’ [ZB.20]
- (2) *î duwe dêwe*
î *duwe dêw=e*
DEM.PROX two ogre.M=DEM
‘these two ogres’ [JP.178]
- (3) *dey min şûyş kerû pene.*
dey *min* *şû-î=ş* *ker-û* *pene*
DISC.PTCL 1SG husband.M-SG.OBL=3SG:R do.PRS.IND-1SG:A to
‘I will marry him [lit. I will make husband to him].’ [JH.59]
- (4) *cuwanê bê pêsew î girdû cuwana.*
cuwan-ê *b-ê* *pêse-û* *î* *gird-û*
youth.M-INDF be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S like-EZ.GEN DEM.PROX all-EZ.GEN
cuwan-a
youth.M-PL.OBL
‘He was a young man like all the young men.’ [ZQ.54]
- (5) *bizekê cîya leweřyayša hurpiřa.*
bize-(e)kê *cîya* *leweřyay=ša* *hur-piř-a*
goat.F-DEF.PL.DIR instead_of graze.INF=3PL:PSR PVB-jump.PRS.IND-3PL:S
‘The goats were dancing instead of grazing.’ [JP.55]

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A noun phrase may also consist simply of a numeral. In such cases, the bare form of the numeral is used.

- (6) *řowê ce řowa yuwe mê yoyç mê xizmetû şê şeladînî.*
řo-ê ce řo-a yuwe m-ê yo=iç
 day.M-INDF from day.M-PL.OBL one.F IND-come.PRS.3SG:S one.M=ADD
m-ê xizmet-û şê şeladîn-î
 IND-come.PRS.3SG:S service.M-EZ.GEN sheikh.M PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘Once [lit. One day of days], a woman and a man [lit. One (F) came, one (M)] came into the service of Sheikh Aladin.’ [ZB.1]
- (7) *duwê yerê mênê pane.*
duwê yerê m-ê-nê p=a=ne
 two three IND-come.PRS-3PL:S at=DEM.DIST=POST
 ‘Two or three [men] went [lit. came] there [to Biyare].’ [ŞC.9]

5.2 Modifiers in the noun phrase

Modifiers in the noun phrase are of four general types: demonstrative determiners (8), quantifiers (including numerals) (9), adjectives (10), possessors (11), and relative clauses embedded with NP (12); see §14.1 for the syntax of relative clauses). These modifiers differ in their placement within the NP and whether or not they attach to the head noun via a linker (see §5.5).

- (8) *î kuře*
î kuř=e
 DEM.PROX boy.M=DEM
 ‘this boy’ [ZQ.44]
- (9) *beřzê hêzimê*
beřzê hêzm(i)-ê
 some firewood.F-PL.DIR
 ‘some firewood’ [ZP.13]
- (10) *karî naşerî*
kar-î naşerî
 task.M-EZ.ATTR unlawful
 ‘unlawful acts’ [BP.62]

- (11) *jenû şuwaney*
jen(i)-û şuwane-î
 woman.F-EZ.GEN shepherd.M-SG.OBL
 ‘the shepherd’s wife’ [KŞ.98]
- (12) *ane ke berdma şiş mangê menn.*
ane [ke berd-Ø=ma] şiş mang(e)-ê
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR REL take.PST-3SG.M:O=1PL:A six month.F-PL.DIR
menn-Ø
 remain.PST-3SG.M:S
 ‘The one **whom we took** [with us] lived for six months.’ [ZQ.29]

5.3 Linkers in the noun phrase structure

Nominal heads are linked to their modifiers through a head-linking formative, generally referred to as “ezafe (or izafe)” within Iranian linguistics. Tekht Hewramî uses two ezafe linkers: *-û* and *-î*. Their use is essentially dependent on the type of modifier that follows the head noun: *-û* is used with locational nouns (§10.1.1.2) and genitive nouns (see below), whereas *-î* is used with adjective modifiers. On this basis, MacKenzie (1961: 82) calls the former “genitive ezafe” and the latter “epithetic ezafe”. I retain MacKenzie’s genitive ezafe but use ‘attributive ezafe’ for his epithetic ezafe. These labels largely predict the use of *-û* and *-î*, but as will be seen below, there are cases where *-î* is used with nominal and pronominal possessors.

5.3.1 Genitive ezafe

The presence of genitive ezafe is generally present on the head noun, but its presence can be conditioned by the morphophonemic processes resulting from its attachment to some vowel-final bases, the case of the head noun, or (less so) semantics. The genitive ezafe *-û* occurs following consonant-final bases.

- (13) *kuřû şuwaney*
kuř-û şuwane-î
 son.M-EZ.GEN shepherd.M-SG.OBL
 ‘shepherd’s son’ [KŞ.51]

When added to vowel-final bases, vowel hiatus is resolved through different strategies. In nouns marked for the direct case, the genitive ezafe *-û* is realised

5 Noun phrase

differently depending on the final vowel of the base noun. It surfaces as a glide [w] following vowel-final masculine nouns (with final stress) and feminine nouns ending in *-ê* or *-â*.

$-\hat{u} \rightarrow [w] / V_ \text{ (where } \acute{V} \text{ is a stressed vowel or } -\acute{e})$

- (14) *kuřew řuwaney*
kuř-e-û řuwane-î
 SON.M-DEF-EZ.GEN shepherd.M-SG.OBL
 ‘the shepherd’s son’ [KŞ.34]
- (15) *zemaw patřay*
zema-û patřa-î
 SON_in_law-EZ.GEN king-M.SG.OBL
 ‘the king’s son-in-law’ [ED.275]
- (16) *kinačêw pađřayç maço*
kinačê-û pađřa-î=ç m-aç-o
 girl.F.SG-EZ.GEN king-M.SG.OBL=ADD IND-say.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘the king’s daughter said’ [KŞ.40]

In contrast, the genitive ezafe *-û* triggers the deletion of the final vowel in unmarked feminine nouns ending in unstressed *-e* or *-î*. The rule is summarised below.

$V \rightarrow \emptyset / _ -\hat{u} \text{ (where } V = [e, \acute{e}] \text{ and is unstressed)}$

- (17) *jenû hemey řeybî hamîlê bo.*
jen(î)-û heme-î řeybî hamîlê b-o
 wife-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL/EZ.ATTR invisible pregnant.F be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘Hama the Invisible’s wife was pregnant.’ [BP.205]
- (18) *îne dastanû mina.*
îne dastan(e)-û min=a
 DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR story.F-EZ.GEN 1SG=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘This is my story.’ [JM.12]

On the other hand, adding the genitive ezafe to a noun – which, according to the alignment pattern, should appear in the oblique case – may lead to morphological competition between the genitive ezafe and the oblique case. This occurs primarily with masculine and feminine nouns in the singular oblique. In competition for the post-nominal slot, the genitive ezafe wins, leading to the nominal

base being expressed in the unmarked direct case. In (19), the preposition complement should appear in the oblique case, hence *şuwane-y* [shepherd-M.SG.OBL]. Yet, the oblique case is dropped before the genitive *ezafe*. Note that this cannot be explained by a phonological rule, as there is no rule deleting <y> before <û>. In (20), the complement of the preposition should appear in the oblique case, hence *derdê* [benefit.F.SG.OBL]; however, the oblique case is not compatible with the *ezafe* suffix, so instead the unmarked noun is used.

- (19) *ama la şuwaneŋ gawa.*
ama la şuwane-û gaw(e)-a
 come.PST.3SG:S to shepherd.M.SG.DIR-EZ.GEN COW.F-PL.OBL
 ‘He came to the cowherd.’ [ÇH.108]
- (20) *be derdû min*
be derd(e)-û min
 to benefit.F-EZ.GEN 1SG
 ‘to my benefit’ [ÇK.106]

On the other hand, the plural oblique *-a* and the genitive *ezafe* are compatible, and the latter follows the former on the head noun.

- (21) *dewayş kerđ çemaw kinaçêw patşay*
deway=ş kerđ çem-a-û kinaçê-û
 medicine.M=3SG:A do.PST eye-PL.OBL-EZ.GEN daughter-EZ.GEN
patşa-î
 king-M.SG.OBL
 ‘He put medicine into the king’s daughter’s eyes.’ [DB.312]
- (22) *luwe la î dosaw tateyte.*
lu-e la î dos-a-û
 go.IMP-2SG:S to DEM.PROX friend-PL.OBL-EZ.GEN
tate-î=t=e
 father-M.SG.OBL=2SG:PSR=DEIC
 ‘Go to your father’s friends.’

The *ezafe* linker is sometimes absent. This absence may be semantically motivated, meaning the if possessor gets to be used frequently with a specific possessed noun, a lexicalised reading of the NP may start to take shape, trigger the absence of the genitive *ezafe*.

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- (23) *mišo zema minîç bo.*
mišo zema min=îç b-o
 AUX groom 1SG=ADD be.PRS-3SG:S
 ‘He should be my son-in-law too.’ [ED.364]
- (24) *kinaçê padşay*
kinaçê padşa-î
 daughter king-M.SG.OBL
 ‘the king’s daughter’ [JP.213]

5.3.2 Attributive ezafe

The attributive ezafe is *-î* (*-y* following vowel-final nouns). It is dropped following nouns ending in *ê*, *-î*, and *ê*, but retained elsewhere.

- (25) *hemey wirdikî*
heme-î wirdikî
 PN.M-EZ.ATTR little.M
 ‘little Hama’
- (26) *tatey pîrim hen.*
tate-î pîr=im hen-Ø
 father.M-EZ.ATTR old.M=1SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S
 ‘I have an old father.’ [PP.29]
- (27) *diî-î bey* ‘anger [lit. bad heart]’ [DP.38]
heme-y wirdikî ‘little Muhammad’ [BP.123]
qudret-î kem ‘little power’
pîya-y xas ‘good man’
ra-y ewel ‘first time’ [JM.4]
karê xerabê ‘bad deeds’
mîwê salê ‘good fruits’
jenî lemepeře ‘pregnant woman (lit. full-belly woman)’

The formative *-î* is sometimes used with honorary titles, perhaps due to a contact effect from the neighbouring Central Kurdish.

- (28) *şêx-î şeladînî* ‘Sheikh Aladin’ [PM.16]
 vs.
hezret-û şêxî ‘His Highness the Sheikh’ [HB.83]

The following examples highlight the use of attributive *ezafe* following the indefinite suffix *-êw*. However, the attributive *ezafe* is dropped after the indefinite suffix *-êwe* (see below).

- (29) *duwe qeranî-êw-î çerme* ‘a white two-kurus coin’
nan-û ker(e)-êw-î xase ‘a good loaf of bread and butter’

The following examples, taken from the Hewramî dialects of Silên (30) and Nwên (31), illustrate the compatibility of the indefinite suffix *-êw* and the attributive *ezafe*.

- (30) *cewahêrêwî çêwîş berd.*
cewahêr-êw-î çêwî=ş berd-Ø
 treasure.M-INDF-EZ.ATTR wooden.M=3SG:A take.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘He took away a wooden treasure.’ [KK.65]

- (31) *wilaxêwî çermema hen.*
wilax-êw-î çerme=ma hen-Ø
 mule.M-INDF-EZ.ATTR white.M=1PL:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S
 ‘We have a white mule.’ [YX.19]

In the vernacular of Hewraman Tekht, the *ezafe* is incompatible with nouns marked with the indefinite suffix. Here, the two elements of the NP are juxtaposed without any *ezafe* particle.

- (32) *yanêwe çane* ‘a proper house’ [ZP.86]
kitêbêwe gewre ‘a big book’ [KŞ.8]
wilâtêwe ter ‘another country’ [JH.6]
memlêketê çot ‘a deserted region’ [ZB.5]
kinaçê ezemê ‘an unmarried daughter’ [ZB.8]
hewrê sîyaw ‘a black cloud’ [ZB.17]
jenê xase ‘a nice wife’ [JH.64]
kuřê cuwanxas ‘a good-looking boy’ [KŞ.68]

Finally, the attributive *ezafe* may be used for subject relativisation – only with pronominal subjects – in present tense constructions (see §14.1). This construction has been attested in the Nwên vernacular.

- (33) *aney pa milo řaw hatîre bo patşa.*
ane-î pa mi-l-o řa-û
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR-EZ.ATTR from_there IND-go.PRS-3SG:S way.F-EZ.GEN
hat-î=re b-o patşa
 fortune-M.SG.OBL=POST become.PRS.IND-3SG:S king
 ‘The one who went to the way of good fortune became a king.’ [DB.111]

5.3.3 Compound ezafe

Tekht Hewramî has another linking element, generally called the “compound ezafe”, which it uses in tightly-knit compound NPs which can have definite or indefinite specific readings. The modifier in compound NPs is limited to an adjective. Unlike noun-genitive NPs, the linker *-e* is incompatible with the indefinite and definite suffixes in the same slot. These suffixes then appear on the adjective modifier.

- (34) *awîre kuçê*
awîr-e kuç-ê
 fire.M-EZ.CMPD small-PL.DIR
 ‘small fires’ [JE.37]
- (35) *giyane gûwînê*
giyan-e gûwîn(e)-ê
 soul.M-EZ.CMPD sickly.M-INDF
 ‘barely alive (lit. sickly soul)’ [ZQ.19]
- (36) *şîyawwehşî tûte kutêwiş bê.*
şîyawwehşî-tût(e)-e kut-êw=iş b-ê
 PN-M.SG.OBL dog.M-EZ.CMPD small.M-INDF=3SG:NC be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 ‘Siyawahsh had a small dog.’ [SK.24]
- (37) *zengene wiştalê*
zengen(e)-e wiştal(e)-ê
 hoe.M-EZ.CMPD small.M-INDF
 ‘a small hoe’ [JP.30]
- (38) *nane tazêwe*
nan-e taz(e)-êwe
 bread.M-EZ.CMPD fresh.F-INDF
 ‘a fresh [loaf of] bread’
- (39) *wate wiçkilekêş*
wat(ê)-e wiçkil(ê)-ekê=ş
 sister.F-EZ.CMPD little.F-DEF.F.SG=3SG:PSR
 ‘her younger sister’ [JH.40]

- (40) *kinaç wiçkitekêşa*
kinaç(ê)-e wiçkit(ê)-ekê=şa
 daughter.F-EZ.CMPD little.F-DEF.F=3PL:PSR
 ‘their little daughter’ [JH.46]

In a few cases, the linker has become lexicalised in the structure of some compound NPs.

- (41) *tiş-e henar* ‘pomegranate molasses’ [JP.249]
qirōt-e dar ‘tree hollow’ [ZQ.23]

5.4 Interaction of nominal case marking and ezafe marking

In §5.3.1 we looked at the interaction of case marking and ezafe marking in genitive constructions with one possessor. This section looks at this interaction in genitive constructions with more than one possessor. In theory, both affixes should be expressed on the genitive; however, in competition for the slot, only one formative remains.

The data in the text corpus only features genitive constructions with two possessors. Two patterns emerge from these constructions for the combination of case and ezafe. First, if the possessor is masculine, the oblique case blocks the genitive ezafe.

- (42) *î gîyane îna qefesû sîney minne*
î gîyan=e îna-Ø qefes-û sîne-y
 DEM.PROX soul.M=DEM LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M cage.M-EZ.GEN chest.M-SG.OBL
min=ne
 1SG:PSR=POST
 ‘the soul that is in my chest [lit. in the cage of my chest]’ [DP.38]

In (42), the expected combination for the noun phrase ‘the cage of my chest’ would have been *qefesû sîne-y-û minne* [cage.M-EZ.GEN chest.M-SG.OBL-EZ.GEN 1SG=POST]. However, in competition for the slot on the second possessor, only the oblique suffix remains, and the ezafe gets deleted.

The following example suggests that with a feminine possessor, it is instead the genitive ezafe that blocks the expression of oblique case. In the following example, one would expect *dega* ‘village’ to appear in the oblique case as *dege*, hence, *ew des-û degê-w hewraman-î=ne* [DEM.DIST hand.M-EZ.GEN village.F.SG.OBL-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL=POST]. However, the ezafe genitive blocks the expression of the oblique case on *dega*.

- (43) *a şexse îna ew desû degaw hewramanîne*
a şexs=e îna-Ø ew des-û
 DEM.DIST saint=DEM LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S DEM.DIST hand.M-EZ.GEN
dega-û hewraman-î=ne
 village.F-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL=POST
 ‘The saint [whose grave is] on the other side of Hewraman’ [ZP.6]

When an adjective modifies a genitive noun with masculine gender, the attributive ezafe *-î* and the singular oblique suffix *-î* co-occur in the structure of the NP and merge into one. That is to say, haplology occurs, and one of the identical forms gets lost. This follows from a principle in morphology which disallows the occurrence of two identical morphemes in a row (Yip 1998).

- (44) *jenû hemey xeybî hamîlê bo.*
jen(i)-û heme-î xeybî hamîlê b-o
 wife-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL/.EZ.ATTR invisible pregnant.F be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘Hama the Invisible’s wife was pregnant.’ [BP.205]

In the above example, the attributive *-î* and the oblique case *-î* following *heme* coalesce into one formative, resulting in a cumulative affix.

5.5 Word order in the noun phrase

A head noun can take up to five modifiers in the structure of the NP. NP-internal modifiers include demonstrative determiners, quantifiers (including numerals), adjectives, possessors, and relative clauses. The first two precede the head noun, and the last three follow it. The modifiers are also differentiated in how they attach to the head nouns. Demonstrative determiners and quantifiers precede the noun via simple juxtaposition. In contrast, adjectives and possessors are linked to the noun via an ezafe linker (see §5.3). Relative clauses are generally not linked to the noun by an ezafe linker (see 33 for an exception).

As seen in 6.3.2, demonstrative determiners are discontinuous; they flank the head noun when it is bare (45) or possessed (46), but not when it is only oblique-marked (47).

- (45) *î kuře*
î kuř=e
 DEM.PROX boy.M=DEM
 ‘this boy’ [ZQ.44]

- (46) *î kinaçête de pî kuřîme.*
î kinaçê=t=e dé-(e) p=î
 DEM.PROX daughter.F.SG=2SG:PSR=DEM give.PRS.IMP-2SG:A to=DEM.PROX
kuř-î=m=e
 son.M-SG.OBL=1SG:PSR=DEM
 ‘Give your daughter to my son [in marriage].’ [RE.7]

- (47) *î kuřî beynne berdê.*
î kuř-î beyn=ne bér-dê
 DEM.PROX boy.M-SG.OBL between=POST take.PRS.IMP-2PL:A
 ‘Kill the boy!’ [KŞ.56]

Quantifiers and numerals also precede the head noun. Likewise, classifiers and measures of units come before the head noun.

- (48) *şış mangê*
şış mang(e)-ê
 six month.F-PL.DIR
 ‘six months’ [JM.28]

- (49) *çinnê satê çêwetter*
çinnê sat(e)-ê çêwetter
 some.PL year.F-PL.DIR ago
 ‘some years ago’ [ZQ.9]

- (50) *duwê debê awî*
duwê deb(e)-ê awî
 two bucket-PL.DIR water.F
 ‘two buckets of water’

Adjectives and possessors follow the noun they modify. Adjectives are linked to the head noun via the attributive ezafe linker *-î*. As discussed in §5.3.2, the ezafe linker appears following certain head nouns but is dropped in most contexts, including after the indefinite suffix *-êwe* and the direct plural suffix *-ê*.

- (51) *dilî beyim çadî nîya.*
dil-î bey=im ç=adî nîy(e)=a
 heart.M-EZ.ATTR bad.M=1SG:NC from=3SG.OBL.M NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘I am not angry with him. [Lit. My bad heart is not at him.]’ [DP.38]

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- (52) *hemey wirdikleyç miçkile bo. wirdikle bo.*
heme-î wirdikle=îç miçkile b-o wirdikle
 PN.M-EZ.ATTR small.M=ADD small.M be.PRS.IND-3SG:S small.M
b-o
 be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘Little Hama was small and young.’ [BP.143]

- (53) *kinaçêwe jîreş bê.*
kinaçê-(e)we jîr-e=ş b-ê
 daughter.F-INDF intelligent-F=3SG:NC be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 ‘He had an intelligent daughter.’ [HR.23]

Multiple adjectives are linked to the head noun via two strategies. The first involves the coordinating conjunction =*û* to link the adjectives:

- (54) *miđyo kuřê noxetû cuwanxasû taze yawa pene.*
mi-đy(e)-o kuř-ê noxet=û
 IND-look.PRS-3SG:S boy.M-INDF just_grown_beard.M=and
cuwanxas=û taze-yawa-pene
 gentlemanly.M=and just-arrive.PST.PTCP.M-to
 ‘She noticed a good-looking young man [who had] just grown a beard
 and [had] just hit puberty.’ [KŞ.74]

The second strategy is to repeat the ezafe linker for each adjective added to the noun phrase:

- (55) *libasêwî temîsî aqîlaneş kerdne jenî.*
libas-êw-î temîs-î aqîlane=ş
 dress.M-INDF-EZ.ATTR clean.M-EZ.ATTR presentable.M=3SG:A
kerd-Ø=ne jenî
 do.PST-3SG:O=POVB woman
 ‘He put a clean, presentable dress on the woman.’ [SH.174]

Possessors follow the head noun via the genitive ezafe linker -*û*. As seen in 5.4, in cases where multiple possessors are in a chain, the ezafe interacts with case marking. In (58), with the possessor consisting of a coordinated phrase, the oblique occurs on the second coordinate noun.

- (56) *jenû şuwaney pêkya.*
jen(i)-û şuwane-î pêkya
 woman.F-EZ.GEN shepherd.M-SG.OBL smite.PST.PASS.3SG:S
 ‘They aimed at the shepherd’s wife.’ [KŞ.20]

- (57) *î menteqew ême kemûkuřîn.*
î menteqe-û ême kemûkořî=n
 DEM.PROX region-EZ.GEN 1PL poverty.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘Our region is in poverty.’ [JM.19]
- (58) *desûratû tow î dêwî*
desûrat-û to=û î dêw-î
 affair-EZ.GEN 2SG=and DEM.PROX ogre-OBL.M
 ‘the affair of you and the ogre’ [KT.103]

When the possessor is modified by an adjective, the case marking appears on the adjective at the right edge of the noun phrase.

- (59) *maço wêrega ehmede dizey be ehmede dizey pîrey.*
m-aç-o wêrega ehmed-e diz-e-î be ehmed-e
 IND.say.PRS-3SG:A evening PN-EZ.CMPD thief-DEF-M.SG.OBL to PN-EZ.CMPD
diz-e-î pîr-e-î
 thief-DEF-EZ.ATTR old-DEF-M.SG.OBL
 ‘In the evening, (the young) Ehmed the Thief told the Old Ehmed the Thief.’ [ED.85]

While the possessor is generally realised NP-internally, it is noticeable that in limited cases, a bound possessor may appear NP-externally. This is especially the case when the head noun is a body part. In the following examples, the 3SG bound possessor of *çem* and *dil* is realised as a verbal person affix -Ø.¹

- (60) *dêwekey heyçêwî çem pene nekewt.*
dêw-êke-î heyç-êw-î çem pene
 ogre-DEF-M.SG.OBL nothing-INDF-M.SG.OBL eye.M to
ne-kewt-Ø
 NEG-fall.PST-3SG.M:S/PSR
 ‘The ogre, his eyes didn’t fall on anything.’ [KT.137]
- (61) *paşaw teqyandosî dil şî pene.*
paşa-û teqyandos-î dil şî-Ø pene
 king-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL heart go.PST-3SG.M:S/R to
 ‘The king of Decius became fond of him [lit. his heart went to him].’ [ÇH.49]

¹Similar external possession constructions occur in the neighbouring Laki, where under certain conditions, a 3SG bound possessor is realised NP-externally (Mohammadirad 2024b).

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Overall, the basic word order within the NP is DEM NUM N ADJ POSS REL, as suggested by the examples below.

- (62) *a duwe kuře řalew emîrî*
a duwe kuř-e řal-e-û emîr-î
 DEM.DIST two son-EZ.CMPD good-DEF-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘those two good sons of Emir’

- (63) *a direxte gewrê hencîrê*
a dirext-e gewr(e)-ê hencîr(i)-ê
 DEM.DIST tree-EZ.CMPD big-PL.DIR fig-PL.DIR
 ‘those big fig trees’

5.6 Agreement in the noun phrase

The only features relevant for agreement within the noun phrase are number and gender. The typical agreeing elements within the noun phrase are adjectives, quantifiers, classifiers, and numerals ‘two’ and ‘three’. Descriptive adjectives agree in gender (only in the singular) and number with the head noun (see §7.1.1). Examples:

- (64) *kuřê cuwanxas*
kuř-ê cuwanxas-Ø
 boy.M-INDF good-looking-M
 ‘a good-looking boy’ [KŞ.68]
- (65) *jenê xase*
jen(i)-ê xas-e
 wife.F-INDF nice-F
 ‘a nice wife’ [JH.64]
- (66) *însanê bêşeqtê*
însan-ê bêşeqt-ê
 human.M-DIR.PL silly-PL
 ‘silly men’ [ŞC.28]

Classifiers and measure nouns agree in number with a preceding numeral in the structure of the noun phrase, as shown by *dane* (67), *ferde* (68) and *bine* (69) in the following examples.

- (67) *yerê danê hêtê maro.*
yerê dan(e)-ê hêt(e)-ê m-ar-o
 three CLF-PL.DIR egg.M-PL.DIR IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘She brought three eggs.’ [JH.81]
- (68) *duwê ferdê hardî*
duwê ferd(e)-ê hardî
 two sack-PL.DIR flour
 ‘two sacks of flour’ [HB.61]
- (69) *çwar binê darê*
çwar bin(e)-ê dar-ê
 four CLF-PL.DIR tree-PL.DIR
 ‘four trees’

Some head nouns do not carry number agreement triggered by the numeral and measure nouns. In such cases, the verb may agree with the singular head noun.

- (70) *duwê serê heywan*
duwê ser-ê heywan
 two CLF-PL.DIR animal.M
 ‘two animals’
- (71) *wîs koîê lokeşa ard.*
wîs koî(e)-ê loke=şa ard-Ø
 twenty load-PL.DIR cotton=3PL:A bring.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘They brought twenty loads of cotton.’ [ME.120]

Numerals ‘two’ and ‘three’ have, by default, plural inflection, ending in the direct plural suffix *-ê*.

- (72) *yerê kinaçê*
 three daughter.PL.DIR
 ‘three daughters’ [JH.20]

When combined with demonstratives, and when used as a genitive in a possessive construction, they are used in their bare form, as implied in *duwe-gîyan* ‘pregnant’ (lit. two souls) (see §7.2.1).

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- (73) *î duwe nefere*
î duwe nefer=e
DEM.PROX two person.M=DEM
'these two persons' [BP.150]

- (74) *dehfew yerey*
dehfe-û yere-î
time.F-EZ.GEN three-M.SG.OBL
'the third time' [KŞ.27]

When a numeral occurs in a possessive construction, both the possessor and the possessed exhibit number inflection.

- (75) *çil serê zayfê*
çil ser(e)-ê zayfê
forty head-PL.DIR girl.PL.DIR
'forty girl-heads' [ME.134]

5.7 Syntax of definiteness

The definite suffix *-eke* and its variants are used in Tekht Hewramî (see §4.1.6). However, it is not used with all nouns with identifiable referents. Rather, once a noun has been identified with a definite status, it is no longer necessary to mark it with the definite suffix.² This means that bare nouns can have a definite reading, as discussed in §4.1.5. Therefore, the use of the definite marker is different from what we see in languages like English and French, where the definite article tends to be regularly used with nouns with definite reference. For example, let us consider the coding of *kuř* 'son, boy' in text ZQ of the corpus (Mohammadirad 2025c):

- 1st mention: *kuř-ê* 'a boy'
- 2nd mention: *kuř-eke* (DEF)
- 3rd mention: *kuř* (DEF)
- 4th mention: *kuř-eke* (DEF)
- 5th mention: *î kuř-e* 'this boy' (DEF)
- 6th mention: *kuř* (DEF)
- 7th mention: *kuř-eke* (DEF)
- 8th mention: *kuř* (DEF)

As can be seen, *-eke* is not regularly used with all the mentions of the referent *kuř* 'son, boy'. It tends to recur in discourse whenever the referent's identifiability

²This is similar to the definiteness system of Central Kurdish (see Öpengin 2016)

is at risk. For example, in the third mention, *kuř* is an afterthought and its referent has already been activated in discourse; therefore, it does not need to be definite-marked.

- (76) *kuřeke, yoša ..., weşkewte bê kuř.*
kuř-eke *yo=ša* *weş kewte*
 son.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR one.M=3PL:PSR good fall.PST.PTCP.M
b-ê *kuř*
 be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S son.M
 ‘The boy, one of them ..., well he was a healthy boy.’ [ZQ.17]

In the fourth mention, the referent has been absent in the previous discourse for some time. The use of *-eke* helps reactivate the reintroduction of the referent into the discourse.

The suffix *-eke* has some of the typical functions listed for definite articles cross-linguistically, including marking anaphoric definiteness, bridging definiteness, and contextually unique referents (for cross-linguistic functions of definite articles see Becker 2021). Examples (77)–(79) feature the use of *-eke* in anaphoric contexts: in these contexts the definite suffix identifies a referent which has been mentioned in the preceding discourse.

- (77) *kuřêş ba. kuřekêş germîyanne nimêniş çene.*
kuř-ê=ş *b-a* *kuř-ekê=ş*
 son.M-PL.DIR=3SG:NC be.PRS.IND-3PL:S son.M-DEF.PL.DIR=3SG:PSR
germîyan=ne nim(e)-ê-nê=iş *çene*
 PN=POST NEG.IND-come.PRS-3PL:S=3SG:R with
 ‘He had sons. His sons did not accompany him [; they stayed in] Garmiyan.’ [ZB.9]

- (78) *zawlêweş dî ca şemrew xwayş kerde. a wextî zawleke peya bî.*
zawl(e)-êwe=ş *dî-Ø* *ca* *şemre-û*
 child-INDF=3SG:A see.PST-3SG.M:O afterwards order.F-EZ.GEN
xwa-î=ş *kerd-e* *a* *wext-î*
 God.M-SG.OBL=3SG:A do.PST-3SG.F:O DEM.DIST time.M-OBL.M
zawle-(e)ke *peya* *bî-Ø*
 child.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR visible be.PST-3SG.M:S
 ‘She gave birth to a child before she passed away. Well, the child was born.’ [KŞ.22]–[KŞ.23]

5 Noun phrase

- (79) *gêtanê qîrôle darêm yoso. berdim nîyamne qîrôle dareke.*
gêta-(a)nê qîrôl-e dar-ê=m
wander.PST-1SG:S hollow.M-EZ.CMPD tree.M-INDF=1SG:A
yos-Ø=o berd-Ø=im
find.PST-3SG.M:O=COMPL take.PST-3SG.M:O=1SG:A
nîya-Ø=m=ne qîrôl-e dar-eke
put.PST-3SG:O=1SG:A=POVB hollow.M-EZ.CMPD tree.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR
‘I wandered around [and] found a tree hollow. I took [him] and put him
in the tree hollow.’ [ZQ.23]–[ZQ.24]

-*eke* is also used in bridging contexts, where a new nominal referent is taken as having a definite reference due to its association with a previously mentioned referent. In (80), *aşpezxane* ‘kitchen’ is definite-marked because it is linked to the preceding referent *yane* ‘house’.

- (80) *yewaşê çage mêwe yane. milo wextê miđyo witênê. miđyo witênê gird. ađiç*
gêto aşpezxanekene.
yewaşê ç=age m-ê=we yane
then in=there IND-come.PRS.3SG:S=COMPL house.M.SG.DIR
mi-l-o wext-ê mi-đy(e)-o
IND-go.PRS-3SG:S time.M-INDF IND-look.PRS-3SG:S
witênê mi-đy(e)-o
sleep.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S IND-look.PRS-3SG:S
witênê gird ađ=iç gêl-o
sleep.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S all 3SG.M.DIR=ADD wander.PRS.IND-3SG:S
aşpezxan(e)-eke=ne
kitchen.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST
‘[From there], he (the shepherd’s son) returned home. He realised that
they (the people in the king’s palace) were sleeping. He realised that they
were all sleeping. He looked into the kitchen.’ [KŞ.60]–[KŞ.63]

In (81), *yagê* ‘place’ is definite-marked due to its association with a wall built around the area where one of the tale’s characters disappears.

- (81) *qetarleyê tewenîş hesar pey kêşanî. diyarîş kera yagekê.*
qetarle-ê tewenî=ş hesar pey kêşa=nî
small_wall-INDF stone.F=3SG:A wall.M for pull.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:O
dîyarî=ş ker-a yag(ê)-ekê
mark=3SG:O do.PRS.IND-3PL:A place.F-DEF.F.SG
‘They made a small wall made of stone for him. They marked the place.’
[BP.199]–[BP.200]

The definite suffix *-eke* also marks referents that are unique in a given context. According to Becker (2021: 79): “Contextually unique referents are mutually and unambiguously identifiable because they are constructed as unique in a larger context based on (general) knowledge shared by the speaker and the hearer. The discourse referent does not necessarily have to be familiar or visible to the discourse participants. It is rather constructed as the only salient referent of its kind in a given context.” In (82), one of the characters in the story returns to a village and asks the people to go to the *awedani* ‘oasis’ – marked by the definite suffix – close to their village.

- (82) *watim, ‘beydê dilû awedaniyekey!’*
wat=im b-e-îdê dil-û awedani-ekey
 say.PST=1SG:A IMP-come.PRS-2PL:S inside-EZ.GEN oasis.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL
 ‘I said, ‘Come to the oasis!’ [ZQ.48]

In short, it can be said that the definite marker in Hewramî expresses both ‘anaphoric definites’ and ‘non-anaphoric definites’, to use the terminology in Dryer (2014). *-eke* and its variants cannot generally be added to a nominal modified by a demonstrative. In the rare cases where this happens, the nominal coded by *-eke* is in contrast with another nominal.

- (83) *mila ew kuřekey yoyşa bera. aneşa zilterû şalter bo ađi bera.*
mi-l-a ew kuř-ekey yo-i=şa
 IND-go.PRS-3PL:S DEM.DIST SON.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL one.M-SG.OBL=3PL:PSR
ber-a ane=şa zil-ter=û
 take.PRS.IND-3PL:A DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR=3PL:PSR big-CMPR=and
şal-ter b-o ađi ber-a
 good-CMPR be.PRS.IND-3SG:S 3SG.OBL.M take.PRS.IND-3PL:A
 ‘They went away [and took] that son. They took one of them (i.e., the boys), the one who was bigger and healthier; they took him.’ [ZB.40]

The definite suffix *-eke* may occur with the adverbial *a wextî* ‘well, then’ (lit. that time). It combines with certain conjunctions, resulting in heavily coded conjunctions such as *egerkete* ‘if’ and *emaneke* ‘but’. The use of the definite suffix on the conjunctions may suggest that the definite suffix has some discourse management properties outside the nominal reference system.

- (84) *a wextîyekey pîr bîyena.*
a wext-î-ekey pîr bîye=na
 DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL-DEF.M.SG.OBL old be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S
 ‘Well, then, I have aged.’ [JM.10]

- (85) *egerketekey serawê fire gewre fire gewre fire gewre biyen.*
egerket(e)-ekey seraw-ê fire gewre fire gewre fire gewre
 if-DEF.M.SG.OBL large_area-INDF very big very big very big
bîye=n
 be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘Imagine there has been a large area of land [under his control].’ [DG.9]

In contrast to *-eke*, the use of the definite suffix *-e* seems to be limited to principal characters in discourse. For instance, *her* ‘donkey’, as one of the protagonists in text HB of the main text corpus, takes the definite *-e*. The conditions behind the use of *-eke* vs. *-e* remain a topic for future research.

- (86) *pase herey wat ...*
pase her-e-î wat
 like donkey.M-DEF-M.SG.OBL say.PST
 ‘As the donkey said ...’ [HB.54]

5.8 Syntax of indefiniteness

This section lays out the use of indefinite suffixes (see §4.1.7 for forms) in different functional contexts. The indefinite suffix may express nominals with specific reference to the speaker. In (87), the indefinite marked noun is individuated and has some discourse salience.

- (87) *maço, ‘seweqet bû, min birayêwim henû îne waîzemne.’*
m-aç-o seweqe=t b-û min
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A sacrifice=2SG:PSR be.PRS.IND-3SG:S 1SG
bira-êw=im hen-Ø=û îne
 brother.M-INDF=1SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S=and DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR
waîze=m=ne
 situation.F=1SG:NC=COP.3SG.F
 ‘He said [to Sheikh Aladin], ‘May I be your sacrifice! I have a brother; my situation is like this.’ [DG.34]

The indefinite suffix may attach to specific nominals which do not play a salient role in the discourse but are individuated.

- (88) *şûnû de neferekeyre her çemçêşa bîyen.*
şûn-û de nefer-ekey=re her
 after-EZ.GEN ten person.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST only
çemç(e)-ê=şa bîye=n
 spoon.M-INDF=3PL:NC be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘Then, there was only one spoon for the ten people.’ [JE.28]

On the other hand, as seen in §4.1.5, non-specific indefinite nouns with generic referents are not marked with the indefinite suffix. Rather, the bare noun is used.

- (89) *êtir yo xeleş bîyen.*
êtir yo xele=ş bîye=n
 DISC.PTCL one.M grain.M.SG.DIR=3SG:NC be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘One [person] had grains [as an agricultural product].’ [JE.30]
- (90) *yo bancanîş bîyêne.*
yo bancanî=ş bîyê=ne
 one.M tomato.F.SG=3SG:NC be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘One [person] had tomatoes.’ [JE.31]

The indefinite suffix appears with temporal adverbials referring to a specific time.

- (91) *eça nişore. şewê waranê waro.*
e=ça niş-o=re şew(e)-ê waran-ê war-o
 in=there sit.PRS.IND-3SG:S=POVB night-INDF rain-INDF rain.PRS.IND-3SG:S

‘They settled there (i.e., in that region). One night, it was raining.’ [ZB.10]

The indefinite suffix may also appear with a temporal adverbial, which refers to a non-specific time in the past.

- (92) *řowê luwan niştênêre sere gawêşa warden.*
řo-ê luwa=n niştê=nê=re
 day.M-INDF go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S sit.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S=POVB
sere gaw-ê=şa warde=n
 head.M bull.M-INDF=3PL:A eat.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘One day, they (the bridegroom’s) family would go (to the bride’s family), sit (with the bride’s family) and eat a cow.’ [RE.13]

5 Noun phrase

The plural suffix in the direct case can be used indefinitely. In (93), *hewar* has indefinite, non-specific reference.

- (93) *hewarêşa wişkinênê.*
hewar-ê=şa *wişkinê=nê*
summer_habitat.M-PL.DIR=3PL:A scour.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O
'They scoured the summer habitats [searching for food etc.].' [JE.3]

5.9 Quantifiers

5.9.1 *gird* 'all'

This quantifier is used with plural and singular nouns and has the sense of 'all'. It may be used independently (94) or attributively, linked to a nominal by the *ezafe* linker (95)–(96).

- (94) *heywanê mîda wer. gird wizaş welê.*
heywan-ê *mî-đ(e)-a* *wer gird wiz-a=ş*
animal.M-PL.DIR IND-give.PRS-3PL:A out all throw.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3SG:O
welê
front
'They herded the animals out. They drove all [of them] forth.' [ZB.31]

- (95) *girdû şarezûrî êsał merafetû ême kero.*
gird-û *şarezûr-î* *êsał* *merafet-û* *ême ker-o*
all-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL this_year care.M-EZ.GEN 1PL do.PRS.IND-3SG:A
'This year, all [the people in] Sharazour care for us.' [PM.38]

- (96) *a zemanê kuweyt ce girdû kêşwereka dewletmenter bê.*
a *zeman=e* *kuweyt ce* *gird-û* *kêşwer-eka*
DEM.DIST time.M=DEM PN from all-EZ.GEN country-DEF.PL.OBL
dewletmen-ter b-ê
rich-CMPR be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
'Back then, Kuwait was the richest of all countries.' [JM.43]

5.9.2 *her* 'each, every'

The particle *her* is used with singular nouns in the sense of 'each, every' (97). It may also be used in the sense of 'only, just' (98) and as a phasal aspect marker 'still' (99).

- (97) *yanew yo terî, her şewê her wêregane î mêmanê mêmanû yoy biyênê.*
yane-û yo ter-î her şew(e)-ê her
 house.M-EZ.GEN one.M other-M.SG.OBL each night-F.SG.OBL each
wêrega=ne î mêman-ê mêman-û yo-î
 evening=POST DEM.PROX guest.M-PL.DIR guest.M-EZ.GEN one.M-SG.OBL
biyê=nê
 be.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘[Likewise, one tax collector] would be the guest in the house of one
 [fellow from Hewraman] each evening, each night.’ [BP.43]
- (98) *şûnû de neferekeyre her çemçêşa biyen.*
şûn-û de nefer-ekey=re her
 after-EZ.GEN ten person.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST only
çemç(e)-ê=şa biye=n
 spoon.M-INDF=3PL:NC be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘Then, there was only one spoon for the ten people.’ [JE.28]
- (99) *çil şewê payîz şîyen ca koçşa kerdno. her hewarne biyênê.*
çil şew(e)-ê payîz şîye=n ca
 forty night.F-PL.DIR autumn go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S afterwards
koç=şa kerde=n=o her
 migration.M.SG.DIR=3PL:A do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=COMPL still
hewar=ne biyê=nê
 summer_habitat.M=POST be.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘They were still at the summer habitat until 40 days after autumn began.’
 [JE.9]–[JE.10]

her is frequently used as an emphatic particle, including in clauses with negated verbs.

- (100) *î kuře her memiş warden; her memiş warden.*
î kuř=e her memiş
 DEM.PROX boy.M=DEM EMPH breast.M.SG.DIR=3SG:A
warde=n her memiş
 eat.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O EMPH breast.M.SG.DIR=3SG:A
warde=n
 eat.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘The boy had kept suckling [from the tree]; he had kept suckling.’
 [ZQ.44]

5 Noun phrase

- (101) *xo a wextî wêçiş yaneş her mebo.*
xo a wext-î wê=ç=iş yane=ş
 DIS.PTCL DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL REFL=ADD=3SG:PSR house.M=3SG:NC
her me-b-o
 EMPH NEG.IND-be.PRS-3SG:S
 ‘He had no house at that time.’ [JP.219]

5.9.3 çinnê ‘some’

The particle is cognate with Kurdish *çen*. It may be used independently (102), where it functions as a question particle where the form *çinne* is used. It may also appear attributively, in which case it takes the form *çinnê* ‘some’ containing *çinne* plus the direct plural suffix *-ê* (103)–(104).

- (102) *mareyî çinne bê?*
mareyî çinne b-ê
 marriage_portion how_much be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 ‘How much was the marriage portion?’
- (103) *par ya çinnê salê çêwelter luwaymê pey saraîû êranî, koy san.*
par ya çinnê sal(e)-ê çêwelter luwa-îmê pey saraî-û
 last_year or some.PL year.F-PL.DIR ago go.PST-1PL:S to PN-EZ.GEN
êran-î ko-î san
 PN-M.SG.OBL mountain-EZ.ATTR PN
 ‘Last year or some years ago, we went to the Saral region in Iran, to the San mountain.’ [ZQ.9]
- (104) *ađ maço, ‘konê î meşmûrê mine çinnê wextên?’*
ađ m-aç-o ko=nê î
 3SG.M.DIR IND-say.PRS-3SG:A where=COP.3PL:S DEM.PROX
meşmûr-ê min=e çinnê wext-ê=n
 officer.M-PL.DIR 1SG=DEM some.PL time.M-PL.DIR=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘He (the agha) says, ‘Where have my officers been during this time?’’ [BP.57]

When preceded by the particle *her*, the singular form *çenne* is used.

- (105) *her çinne mangê bo. her çinne wextê bo.*
her çinne mang(e)-ê b-o her çinne wext-ê
 each some month.F-PL.DIR be.PRS.IND-3SG:S each some time.M-PL.DIR
b-o
 be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘It took [them] some months. It took them some time.’ [BP.149]

5.9.4 beŷzê ‘some’

The particle *beŷzê* is derived from Arabic *baŷd* ‘some’ and the the direct plural suffix.

- (106) *beŷzê hêzimê maro mêwe.*
beŷzê hêzm(i)-ê m-ar-o
 some firewood.F-PL.DIR IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A
m-ê=we
 IND-come.PRS.3SG:S=COMPL
 ‘He would take some firewood and return [home].’ [ZP.13]

5.9.5 kuçê ‘a bit, few’

The particle is derived from the adjective *kuç* ‘small’ and the indefinite particle *-ê*. It is used in the sense of ‘a bit, few’.

- (107) *kuçêş qupyo.*
kuç-ê=ş qupy(e)-o
 little-INDF=3SG:PSR misshape.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘It (the prison wall) gave way a bit.’ [BP.171]
- (108) *kuçêş çene werû î masî.*
kuç-ê=ş çene wer-û î mas-î
 little-INDF=3SG:R with eat.PRS.IND-1SG:A DEM.PROX yoghurt.M-SG.OBL
 ‘I shall eat a little of it, [of] this yoghurt.’ [JH.42]

In the following example, *kuç* has been used as an adjective modifier in the noun phrase.

- (109) *awîre kuçêşa nîyenêre.*
awîr-e kuç-ê=şa nîye=nê=re
 fire.M-EZ.CMPD little-PL.DIR=3PL:A put.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O=POVB
 ‘[They would] start small fires.’ [JE.37]

5.9.6 *ter* ‘other, another’

The particle *ter* can mean ‘the other of the two’ or ‘another’ or ‘next, additional’. It behaves like an adjective and can essentially inflect for gender and number:

- (110) *wilatêwe terma hen ew dîmew ême.*
wilat-êwe ter=ma hen-Ø
 country.M-INDF other=1PL:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S
 ‘There is **another country** on the other side of us.’ [JH.6]
- (111) *qisêwe tere kere.*
qis(ê)-êwe ter-e ker-e.
 talk.F-INDF another-F do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A
 ‘Say **another word**!’ [KK.47]
- (112) *êtir îse weşzû hewramanî ta menteqê terê kuçê xastera.*
êtir îse weşz(e)-û hewraman-î ta menteq(e)-ê
 DISC.PTCL now situation.F-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL until region-PL.DIR
ter-ê kuç-ê xas-ter=a
 other-PL.DIR little-INDF good-CMPR=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘The situation in Hewraman is a bit better than in **other regions**.’ [JM.55]

In the following examples, the particle inflects for case.

- (113) *be beşepîyakew yo terî*
be beşepîya(e)ke-û yo ter-î
 to quota.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR-EZ.GEN one.M another-M.SG.OBL
 ‘to the quota of another one (lord)’ [BP.18]
- (114) *yanew yo terî*
yane-û yo ter-î
 house.M-EZ.GEN one.M other-M.SG.OBL
 ‘[in] the house of another one’ [BP.43]

Notably, the particle is on its way to losing nominal and adjectival inflection in such a way that the masculine form *ter* is used in place of other inflected forms.

- (115) *waçê, ‘dey luwe yanew wêt nîşere ta duwê mangê ter yerê mangê ter.’*
waç-ê dey lu-e yane-û
 say.PRS-AUG.3SG:A DISC.PTCL go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S house.M-EZ.GEN
wê=t nîş-e=re ta duwê mang(e)-ê
 REFL=2SG:PSR sit.PRS.IMP-2SG:S=POVB until two month.F-PL.DIR

ter yerê mang(e)-ê ter

another three month.F-PL.DIR another

‘They (the family of the girl) would say [to the boy], ‘Go back home
[and] wait [lit. sit] for the next two or three months.’ [JE.82]

(116) *saê ter mênêwe.*

saê(e)-ê ter m-ê-nê=we

year.F-INDF other IND-come.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL

‘The following year, they went back.’ [ZB.46]

6 Pronouns and demonstratives

This chapter lays out the pronominal system of Tekht H. It lists different forms of pronouns and gives a detailed discussion of their functions.

6.1 Personal pronouns

Free personal pronouns consist of speech act pronouns and third-person pronouns. The latter are subdivided into anaphoric and anaphoric-demonstrative sets (see §6.1.2). Independent forms of pronouns occur less frequently than bound pronouns and zero anaphora. Their use is limited to specific contexts. For instance, contrastive topic constructions favour free pronouns, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. *aðê be zorêş kera.*
aðê be zor-ê=ş ker-a
 3PL by force-PL.DIR=3SG:O do.PRS.IND-3PL:A
 ‘They do it (the job) by force.’
- b. *min be aqilîş kerû.*
min be aqilî=ş ker-û
 1SG by wisdom.M=3SG:O do.PRS.IND-1SG:A
 ‘[However] I do it (the job) by wisdom.’ [ME.93]–[ME.94]

6.1.1 Speech act pronouns

Speech act pronouns (SAPs) comprise 1st and 2nd person pronouns. They are phonologically non-bound, stress-bearing elements derived from Old Iranian genitive/dative pronouns.¹ The SAP pronouns have lost case distinctions, meaning that the same form of the pronoun is used for expressing direct and oblique-case-marked arguments. Table 6.1 exhibits Hewramî SAPs.

¹SAP pronouns still carry on the genitive usage when expressing a possessor in an adnominal possession construction (see 15). Their use in expressing non-canonical subjects reflects their dative origin (see 6). Their use in expressing transitive subjects in the past tense reflects the rise of ergativity in Iranian (see Haig 2008 for details).

Table 6.1: Speech act pronouns

person/number	form
1SG	<i>min</i>
2SG	<i>to</i>
1PL	<i>ême, hême</i>
2PL	<i>êşme, şime</i>

SAP pronouns express core arguments of the verb, including the intransitive subjects (S), transitive objects (O), transitive subjects (A), and non-canonical subjects. In their function of marking objects of a present-tense verb, SAP pronouns are in complementary distribution with clitic pronouns. In the rest of the functions, they may co-occur with the agreement markers in the same local domain. The use of free SAP pronouns is triggered by contrast and focus.

- (2) S
ême milmê şeşik.
ême mi-l-mê şeşik
 1PL IND-go.PRS-1PL:S PN
 ‘We will go to Shashk.’ [HB.32]
- (3) A
min şûyş kerû pene.
min şû-î=ş ker-û pene
 1SG husband.M-SG.OBL=3SG:R do.PRS.IND-1SG:A to
 ‘I will marry him.’ [JH.59]
- (4) O-prs
toyç bera yane.
to=îç ber-a yane
 2SG=ADD take.PRS.IND-3PL:A house.M.SG.DIR
 ‘they will take you to [their] house.’ [HB.38]
- (5) O-past
vatiş, ‘qurban! qesem pa xway toş epî layiqetî weş kerdênî!’
vat=iş qurban qesem p=a xwa-i to=ş
 say.PST=3SG:A sir.VOC oath.M to=DEM.DIST God.M-SG.OBL 2SG=3SG:A

e=p=î *layiqetî* *weş* *kerde=nî*
 EMPH=ADP=DEM.PROX worthiness.M good do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:O
 ‘He said, ‘Sir, I swear to God, who has made you with such virtue!’”
 [ZQ.54]

(6) Non-canonical subject

persa, ‘*ême yanew fîlane kesîma gerekê.*’
pers-a *ême yane-û* *fîlan-e*
 ask.PRS.IND-3PL:A 1PL house.M-EZ.GEN such_and_such-EZ.CMPD
kes-î=ma *gerek=a*
 person.M-SG.OBL=1PL:NC necessary.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘[and] asked [people], ‘We are looking for (lit. we want) the house of
 such-and-such a person.’”
 [ZP.84]

As mentioned, SAP pronouns have lost case distinctions. It is, however, notable that they have retained some of the properties of their genitive/dative origin, most notably in subordinate clauses. In the following examples, as a reflex of their original syntax, the SAP pronouns are the sole means of expressing an A-past argument.

(7) *î gîre çêş bî min ward?*

î *gîr=e* *çêş* *bî-Ø* *min ward-Ø*
 DEM.PROX hook.M=DEM what be.PST-3SG.M:S 1SG eat.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘What is this situation that I am caught in? [Lit. What is this hook that I ate?’]
 [HB.23]

(8) *maço*, ‘*be xwa pađşam sełamet kuřû řuwaney heke to kuřtêw a wextîyekey hukmit daw îniřa îse îna yaneta îniřa.*’

m-aç-o *be xwa* *pađřa=m* *sełamet kuř-û*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A by God.M king.M=1SG:PSR healthy son.M-EZ.GEN
řuwane-î *heke to* *kuřt-ê=û* *a*
 shepherd.M-SG.OBL REL 2SG kill.PST-COND=and DEM.DIST
wext-î-ekey *hukm=it* *da-Ø=û*
 time.M-SG.OBL-DEF.M.SG.OBL rule.M=2SG:A give.PST-3SG.M:O=and
îniřa *îse* *îna-Ø* *yane=ta*
 DEM.PROX.3PL.OBL now LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S house.M=2PL:PSR
îniřa
 DEM.PROX.3PL.OBL

‘They said [in the letter], ‘Indeed, may my king be healthy, the shepherd’s son who you [ordered to be] killed is now in your house and so on.’”
 [KŞ.51]

- (9) *ane key bê dizî şime kerden!*

ane key b-ê dizî şime kerde-n

DEM.DIST how be.PRS-AUG.3SG theft 2PL do.PST.PTCPL.M=COP.3SG.M:O

‘How could what you have committed be considered a theft?’ [ED.107]

In the same way, the SAP pronouns are the sole way of expressing the agent in clauses with OAV word order, where the focus is on the A-past argument (see §11.1.2.1 for an overview of differential indexing of A-past arguments).

- (10) *werêsekê min wardêne*

werêse-(e)kê min wardê=ne

rope-DEF.F.SG 1SG eat.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O

‘[The lion said] I have eaten the rope.’ [ÇH.85]

Similarly, *contrastive topic* constructions may trigger a lack of indexing with an SAP pronoun. Following Dik (1981), contrastive topic constructions are those constructions where a contrastive parallel is set up between the two subjects.

- (11) *min rencim daw tò berd*

min renc=im da=w to berd

1SG toil=1SG:A give.PST=and 2SG take.PST

‘I toiled, and you took [the credit].’ [YX.16]

SAP pronouns also express non-core arguments, including adpositional complements, non-flagged indirect objects, and possessors. In marking these functions, as is the case with the direct object of a present tense construction, as exemplified in (4), SAP pronouns are in complementary distribution with bound pronouns. The choice of free over bound pronouns to express these functions is triggered by factors such as contrast and focus.

- (12) Direct object

toyç bera yane.

to=îç ber-a yane

2SG=ADD take.PRS.IND-3PL:A house.M.SG.DIR

‘They will take you to [their] house.’ [HB.38]

- (13) Adpositional complement

fermawo ađîç, ‘weta min pey şime girewû.’

fermaw-o ađ=îç weta min pey şime girew-û

say.PRS.IND-3SG:A 3SG.M.DIR=ADD indeed 1SG for 2PL cry.PRS.IND-1SG:S

‘He said, ‘I’m crying for you.’ [BP.155]

- (14) Non-flagged indirect object

*naniç mîda to.**nan=îç mi-đ(e)-a to*

bread.M=ADD IND-give.PRS-3PL:A 2SG

‘They will give you a meal.’

[HB.40]

- (15) Possessor

*ane kuřû řuwaneyn serû esbekey to.**ane kuř-û řuwane-î=n*

DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR SON.M-EZ.GEN shepherd.M-SG.OBL=COP.3SG.M:S

ser-û esb-ekey to

on-EZ.GEN horse-DEF.M.SG.OBL 2SG

‘Look, the shepherd’s son [is] on your horse.’

[KŞ.100]

6.1.2 Third person pronouns

The third person pronouns are inflected for case and gender. They may be divided into three groups according to their forms: unmarked anaphoric forms, anaphoric demonstratives, and independent demonstrative pronouns (§6.3.1). In each of these sets, they come in proximal and distal forms. Table 6.2 and Table 6.3 lay out unmarked third-person anaphoric pronouns.

Table 6.2: Anaphoric third person pronouns, the distal set

	DIR	OBL
M	<i>ađ</i>	<i>ađî</i>
F	<i>ađe</i>	<i>adê</i>
PL	<i>ađe</i>	<i>ađîřa</i>

Table 6.3: Anaphoric third person pronouns, the proximal set

	DIR	OBL
M	<i>êđ</i>	<i>êđî</i>
F	<i>êđe</i>	<i>êdê</i>
PL	<i>êđe</i>	<i>êđîřa</i>

The factors conditioning the use of anaphoric pronouns as opposed to other sets of pronouns are not entirely clear. Conversely, as seen in what follows and in §6.3, these three sets may overlap in their functional scope and the types of referents they may encode. However, some tendencies can be outlined here. While anaphoric pronouns track participants that are established and continuing topics (see below), anaphoric demonstratives (most notably in their distal set) establish topic shift. They may be used in contrastive opposition with other nominals. In their use in establishing new topics, anaphoric demonstrative pronouns (partly) overlap with independent demonstrative pronouns (See §6.3.1).

Anaphoric third-person pronouns track participants that are established as topics. This means that they track participants after their second mention. In the following excerpt, the participant *kuřeke*, tracked by *ađ*, has already been mentioned once in the discourse.

- (16) *kuřeke yoša weşkewte bê kuřû. ađma tehwêl gêrt.*
kuř-eke *yo=ša* *weş* *kewte* *b-ê*
 son.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR one.M=3PL good fall.PST.PTCP.M be.PRS-AUG.3SG
kuř=û *ađ=ma* *tehwêl* *gêrt-Ø*
 son.M=and 3SG.M.DIR=1PL:A delivery.M grab.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘One of the newborn boys was healthy. We got hold of him.’
 [ZQ.17]–[ZQ.18]

Similarly, anaphoric third-person pronouns express continuing topics. In (17)–(18), *ađê* and *ađ* track the topic of the preceding clause as the antecedent.

- (17) *a wextî milarewe maça, ‘wîla î meşmûrû şime kîyasêbênêta pey îne, îinema ane heke şime gerekbê dema penew. ađê namew; xerîkû genekarî bênê.’*
a *wext-î* *mî-l-a=re=we*
 DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL IND-go.PRS-3PL:S=POVB=COMPL
m-aç-a *wîla* *î* *meşmûr-û* *şime*
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A by_God DEM.PROX officer.M-EZ.GEN 2PL
kîyasê=b-ên-ê=ta *pey îne*
 send.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-AUG-3PL:O=2PL:A for DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR
îne=ma *ane* *heke şime gerek*
 DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR=1PL:A DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR if 2PL necessary
b-ê *de=ma* *pene=û ađê*
 be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S give.PST.3PL:O=1PL:R to=and 3PL.DIR
n(e)-ame=û *xerîk-û* *genekarî* *b-ên-ê*
 NEG-come.PST.3PL:S=and busy-EZ.GEN debauchery.M be.PRS-AUG-3PL:S
 ‘Then, they went [to the agha and] said, ‘Indeed, the officers whom you

had sent to us, whatever [taxation] you had asked for, we gave them.
 [However] **they** didn't come back [to you]. They engaged in debauchery.”
 [BP.124]–[BP.125]

- (18) *řisq pēsen mīley šikliş pisen î mīley welê êtir ađ çêw dīzo.*
řisq pēse=n mīle-î şikt=iş
 rat likeCOP.3SG.M:S mouse-SG.OBL.M complexion=3SG:PSR
pise=n î mīle-î welê êtir
 likeCOP.3SG.M:S DEM.PROX mouse-SG.OBL.M mouse-SG.OBL.M but
ađ çêw dīz-o
 DISC.PTCL 3SG thing steal.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘A *rat*_i is like a mouse; *it*_i has the same complexion as a rat, but *it*_i steals things.’ [DP.41]

Another set of third-person pronouns are anaphoric demonstratives, which come in proximal and distal forms; see Table 6.4 and Table 6.5. Anaphoric demonstratives are distinguished from exophoric demonstratives discussed in §6.3. They are used to track antecedents in previous discourse. Anaphoric demonstratives are differentiated from third-person pronouns in the type of referents they can track as antecedents.

Table 6.4: Anaphoric demonstratives, the proximal set

Proximal	DIR	OBL
M	<i>îđ</i>	<i>îđî</i>
F	<i>îđ(e)</i>	<i>îđê</i>
PL	<i>îđê</i>	<i>îđîşa</i>

Table 6.5: Anaphoric demonstratives, the distal set

Distal	DIR	OBL
M	<i>ew</i>	<i>ewî</i>
F	<i>ewe</i>	<i>ewê</i>
PL	<i>ewê, ewêşa</i>	<i>ewîşa</i>

Anaphoric demonstratives in Table 6.4 and Table 6.5 may reactivate a referent that has occurred some distance in the previous discourse. In the following exam-

ple, *îd* and *ew* track referents in a prior discourse. The form *îd* is used anaphorically for the child who has just died, and *ew* is used anaphorically to refer to the child that the main character left behind in a tree hollow some months earlier. The proximal form expresses more emotional engagement and mental proximity.

- (19) *îdîç luwaw ewîç luwa.*
îd=îç *luwa*=û *ew*=îç *luwa*
 3SG.PROX.DIR.M=ADD go.PST.3SG:S=and 3SG.M.DIR=ADD go.PST.3SG:S
 ‘He (the child whom I took with me) died; he (the child whom I left behind) died too!’ [ZQ.32]

In the following examples, the proximal pronoun is used anaphorically to refer to a nominal at the centre of attention at a particular point in the discourse.

- (20) *milo wextê miđyo zaroteke biyen peřû qiřotekey. a wextîyekey îdîçsa arden.*
mi-l-o *wext-ê* *mi-đy(e)-o* *zarote-(e)ke*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG:S time.M-INDF IND-look.PRS-3SG:S child-DEF.M.SG.DIR
biye=n *peř-û* *qiřot-ekey* *a*
 be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S full-EZ.GEN hollow.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL DEM.DIST
wext-î-ekey *îd*=îç=ş*a*
 time.M-SG.OBL-DEF.M.SG.OBL 3SG.M.DIR=ADD=3PL:A
arde=n
 bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘The father went [closer and] noticed that **the baby boy** [had grown up so much that] he had filled the tree hollow. They (the family) brought **him** back.’ [ZB.49]–[ZB.50]

- (21) *îdîç hîç minîç hîçim nîyarê.*
îd=îç *hîç* *min*=îç *hîç*=im
 3SG.PROX.DIR.M=ADD nothing 1SG=ADD nothing=1SG:NC
nîy(e)=a=rê
 NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S=POVB
 ‘She [has] nothing, nor do I.’ [ZP.117]

Anaphoric demonstratives may be used in contrastive opposition with other nominals. In (22), *ew* is set up in contrastive opposition with *yo* ‘one’:

- (22) *yoşa gêtowe milo dimawe. ewşa her mêtş çene. bêheya bo. mêtş çene.*
yo=şa gêt-o=we mi-l-o
 one.M=3PL:PSR wander.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL IND-go.PRS-3SG:S
dima=we ew=şa her m-ê=ş çene
 back=POST 3SG.M.DIR=3PL:PSR EMPH IND-come.PRS.3SG:S=3SG:R with
bê-heya b-o m-ê=ş çene
 shameless be.PRS.IND-3SG:S IND-come.PRS.3SG:S=3SG:R with
 ‘One of them returned [and] went back. The other one was still coming with her. He was shameless. He kept coming with her.’ [ZP.71]–[ZP.72]

Anaphoric demonstratives may refer to a referent that is not the focus of attention. In this use, they establish new discourse topics. Therefore, the topic of the preceding clause is excluded as a referent. This is different from anaphoric pronouns, seen in (17)–(18), which express continuing topics (Himmelman 1996), which alternatively may be expressed by definite nouns and zero anaphora.

In the following examples, the reference of *ewê* in (23), *ew* in (24), and *îd* in (25) is not the same as the topics in the previous clause. In other words, the anaphoric demonstratives mark a shift of topic.

- (23) *hemey xeybîyû baba xuada gina wetêwe. ewê şûnîşare mila. êtir her werew mila rârê.*
heme-î xeybî=û baba xuada gin-a wetê=we
 PN-EZ.ATTR invisible=and PN PN fall.PRS.IND-3PL:S front=POST
ewê şûnî=şa=re mi-l-a êtir her
 3PL.DIR track.F=3PL:PSR=POST IND-go.PRS-3PL:S DISC.PTCL just
wer=ew mi-l-a řa=rê
 front.M=POST IND-go.PRS-3PL:S road.F=POST
 ‘Hama the Invisible and Baba Khwada_i went in front of them. They_j (the people) followed them. They_i kept walking.’ [BP.98]–[BP.99]
- (24) *hereke mêwe cûwab î qisa kero. ewîç goş mîdo pene.*
her-eke m-ê=we cûwab î
 donkey.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR IND-come.PRS.3SG:S=COMPL response.M DEM.PROX
qis(ê)-a ker-o ew=îç goş mî-d(e)-o
 talk.F-PL.OBL do.PRS.IND-3SG:A 3SG.M.DIR=ADD ear.M IND-give.PRS-3SG:A
pene
 to
 ‘The donkey started to speak; it spoke. He listened to it [i.e., the donkey].’ [HB.44]–[HB.45]

- (25) *î birame derdeş, derdêş îna po derdû gulîş maça dadê! îdîç fermawo, luwe ça nîşere.*

î *bira=m=e* *derde=ş* *derd(e)-ê=ş*
 DEM.PROX brother.M=1SG:PSR=DEM illness.F=3SG:R illness.F-INDF=3SG:R
îna-Ø *p=o* *derd(e)-û* *gulî=ş*
 LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S at=POST illness.F-EZ.GEN leprosy=3SG:R
m-aç-a *dadê* *îdî=îç* *fermaw-o*
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A yell.M-PL.DIR 3SG.PROX.DIR.M=ADD say.PRS.IND-3SG:A
lu-e *ça* *nêş-e=re*
 go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S there sit.PRS.IMP-2SG:S=POVB
 ‘[The man said] ‘This brother of mine is ill; it is called leprosy; please help!’ He (Sheikh Aladin) said, ‘Go [and] sit there.’ [DG.43]–[DG.44]

The choice between the anaphoric pronouns and anaphoric demonstrative pronouns is evident in the following excerpts. The former tracks an already-established topic. The latter expresses a topic shift and new information.

- (26) *ta padşa nebîyen ađ padşaş bîyen. a wextîyekey îdîç aman dawaw padşagerîş kerdêne.*

ta *padşa* *ne-bîye=n* *ađ* *padşa=ş*
 until king.M NEG-be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S 3SG.M.DIR king.M=3SG:PSR
bîye=n *a* *wext-î-ekey*
 be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL-DEF.M.SG.OBL
îdî=îç *ama=n* *dawa-û*
 3SG.PROX.DIR.M=ADD come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S demand.F-EZ.GEN
padşagerî=ş *kerdê=ne*
 kingship.M=3SG:A do.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
 ‘He (Sibhan Agha) was its king until there were no kings. Then, he (i.e., Jamsher Shah) came [and] claimed kingship.’ [DP.16]–[DP.17]

- (27) *mila ew kuřekey yoyşa bera. aneşa zilterû şalter bo ađî bera. ewî minya qirôlû darêwe.*

mî-l-a *ew* *kuřekey* *yo-î=şa*
 IND-go.PRS-3PL:S DEM.DIST son.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL one.M-SG.OBL=3PL:PSR
ber-a *ane=şa* *zil-ter=û*
 take.PRS.IND-3PL:A DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR=3PL:PSR big-CMPR=and
şal-ter *b-o* *ađî* *ber-a* *ewî*
 good-CMPR be.PRS.IND-3SG:S 3SG.OBL.M take.PRS.IND-3PL:A 3SG.OBL.M

mi-ny(e)-a *qiřot-û* *dar-êwe*
 IND-put.PRS-3PL:A hollow.M-EZ.GEN tree.M-INDF
 ‘They went away [and took] that son. They took one of them (i.e., the boys), the one who was bigger and healthier; they took **him**. They left **him** (i.e., the other one) in the hole in the tree.’ [ZB.40]–[ZB.41]

Notably, the proximal set of anaphoric pronouns (Table 6.3) seems to have merged in function with the anaphoric demonstrative. Therefore, they can express topic shift. Thus, the generalisation mentioned above for the distinction between anaphoric pronouns and anaphoric demonstratives in terms of tracking already-established topics vs. expressing topic shift holds mainly for the distal set of anaphoric pronouns (6.2). In the following excerpt, *êđ* features a topic shift construction.

- (28) *î bizêçe powe awêzane bo mê eçe êđ çeknoşû milo la yagekêş.*
î *bizê=ç=e* *p=o=we* *awêzan-e*
 DEM.PROX goat.F.SG.OBL=ADD=DEM at=DEM.DIST=POST hanging-F
b-o *m-ê* *e=çê* ***êđ***
 be.PRS.IND-3SG:S IND-come.PRS.3SG:S in=here 3SG.PROX.DIR
çekn-o=ş=û *mi-l-o* *la*
 suckle.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O=and IND-go.PRS-3SG:S to
yag(ê)-ekê=ş
 place.F-DEF.F.SG=3SG:PSR
 ‘The goat would stay in a hanging position, he (the child) would feed from its udder, and it would go back to its place.’ [ZB.54]

6.2 Clitic pronouns

Tekht H. features a set of bound person pronouns which I call CLITIC PRONOUNS. The clitic pronouns are derived from non-nominative (accusative and genitive/dative) clitic sets of Old Iranian with identifiable cognates in Old Indic (Korn 2009). The paradigm is presented in Table 6.6. The plural set is formed by adding the oblique plural suffix *-a* to the singular set.

In what follows, the functionality of clitic pronouns (§6.2.1) and their morphosyntactic behaviour (§6.2.2) is discussed. In terms of the former, the single paradigm of clitic pronouns expresses a multitude of clausal and phrasal arguments, sometimes giving rise to subtleties in terms of the agreement vs. anaphora

Table 6.6: Clitic pronouns

person/number	form
1SG	= <i>m</i>
2SG	= <i>t</i>
3SG	= <i>ş</i>
1PL	= <i>ma</i>
2PL	= <i>ta</i>
3PL	= <i>şa</i>

distinction. In terms of morphosyntactic behaviour, clitic pronouns feature typical properties of cliticness, including mobility, freedom of host selection, wide scope over coordination, and realisation external to person suffixes.

6.2.1 Functions

Clitic pronouns assume different functions, both phrasal and clausal. The phrasal functions include indexing possessors (29), and adposition complements (30) (see Mohammadirad 2020b: 365–372 for a brief description of clitic pronouns in Tekht H.). In indexing these functions, the clitic pronouns are in complementary distribution with coreferent NPs.

- (29) Possessor
yaneş çikon?
yane=ş çiko=n
house.M=3SG:PSR where=COP.3SG.M:S
‘Where is **his** house?’ [ZP.85]
- (30) Adposition complement
a esbî zîî kere peym.
a esb-î zîî kër-e pey=m
DEM.DIST horse-M.SG.OBL saddle do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A for=1SG:R
‘Saddle up the horse for **me**.’ [ŞC.52]

Clitic pronouns also assume clausal functions, including indexing the direct object argument of a verb built from the present stem (31), the transitive subject of a past-stem verb, or an A-past (32), and non-flagged indirect objects (33).

- (31) O-prs
wizoşare dilû awê.
wiz-o=şa=re dil-û awê
throw.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3PL:O=POVB inside-EZ.GEN water.F.SG.OBL
'She delivered **them** in the water [which had amassed in the tent].'
[ZB.25]
- (32) A-past
adma tehwêt gêrt.
að=**ma** tehwêt gêrt-Ø
3SG.M.DIR=1PL:A delivery.M grab.PST-3SG.M:O
'We got hold of him.'
[ZQ.18]
- (33) Non-flagged indirect object
kabra melo waço, 'jenîm de!'
kabra me-l-o wác-o jenî=**m**
man NEG.IND-go.PRS-3SG:S say.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A woman.F=1SG:R
dé-(e)
give.PRS.IMP-2SG:A
'The fellow wouldn't go [to his parents and] say, 'Find a girl for me! [Lit.
Give **me** a woman.]''
[RE.29]

- (34) Predicative possession
tifengiş henû îneş henû aneş hen!
tifeng=iş hen-Ø=û îne=ş
gun=3SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S=and DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR=3SG:NC
hen-Ø=û ane=ş hen-Ø
EXIST-3SG.M:S=and DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR=3SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S
‘He has a gun, he has this, and he has that!’ [ŞC.12]
- (35) Wanting and necessity
ey înişa ke minta gerekna!
ey înişa ke min=ta gerek=na
VOC DEM.PROX.3PL.OBL REL 1SG=2PL:NC necessary.M=COP.1SG:S
‘O those who want me!’ [KŞ.56]
- (36) Non-controlled internal physical states
serdşa biyen.
serd=şa biye=n
cold=3PL:NC be.BE.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
‘They were cold.’ [DB.16]
- (37) Non-controlled internal physical states
wermişim mê.
wer=îç=im m-ê
sleep=ADD=1SG:NC IND-come.PRS.3SG:S
‘I feel sleepy [lit. my sleep comes].’ [BP.183]
- (38) Non-controlled internal emotional states
qînişne weroma.
qîni=ş ne wer-o=ma
rage.F=3SG:NC=COP.3SG.F:S eat.PRS.IND-3SG:A=1PL:O
‘It (the demon) is in a rage. It is going to eat us.’ [WL.35]
- (39) Non-controlled internal emotional states
fermawaş, ‘çêştan?’
fermawa=ş çêş=ta=n
say.PST=3SG:A what=2PL:NC=COP.3SG.M:S
‘He said, ‘What’s [wrong] with you?’’ [BB.09]

The use of clitic pronouns in indexing the direct object of a verb built on the present stem and non-flagged indirect objects is conditioned to the absence of the

co-referent NP. By contrast, clitic pronouns tend to obligatorily index transitive subjects and non-canonical subjects, i.e., they exhibit properties of agreement markers. It is, however, notable that the clitic pronouns have not fully grammaticalised into agreement markers in expressing A-past arguments and non-canonical subjects. The assumption within Iranian linguistics is that in languages like clitic pronouns have retained their pronominal nature and are in complementary distribution with an overtly marked A-past argument. Discussing the development of A-indexing clitics in Iranian, Haig (2020: 102–103) states that “in Middle Iranian, these subject clitic pronouns were in complementary distribution with free NP subjects; this kind of system is still attested in some West Iranian languages to this day.”² This is borne out by the following excerpt: in the first clause, the clitic is absent in the presence of the overt oblique-marked NP. In the second clause, the clitic resumes the absent A argument.

- (40) a. *min taze padşay kerdena wekêl.*
min taze padşa-i kerde=na wekêl
 1SG anyway king.M-SG.OBL do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:O advocate.M
 ‘I – the king has put me in charge.’
- b. *watenîçîş, ‘mişyo neberûşo.’*
wate=n=iç=iş mişyo
 say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=ADD=3SG:A AUX
ne-ber-û=ş=o
 NEG.SBJV-take.PRS-1SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL
 ‘He (the king) has said [to me], “You shall not take her back.”’
 [ZP.107]–[ZP.108]

In the following examples, the clitic indexing is missing in the presence of an oblique-marked third-person A argument:

- (41) *kesî be noî-ê pene ne-zana=n.*
kesî be noî-ê pene ne-zana=n
 no_one-M.SG.OBL to kind-INDF to NEG-know.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:R
 ‘No one really appreciated him.’ [ZP.24]

²The conditioned indexing of A-past arguments through clitic pronouns is a conservative feature of Tekht H., attested also in Middle Iranian, certain varieties from the Tati and Taleshi groups (Mohammadirad 2020b) and some transitional dialects of Northern Kurdish bordering Central Kurdish (Öpengin & Mohammadirad 2022).

- (42) *adî kîyase dimawe ama.*
adî *kîyase=n* *dima=we ama*
 3SG.OBL.M send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O back=POST come.PST.3SG:S
 ‘He (Pir Shaliyar) had sent it back.’ [JP.115]
- (43) *meselen adîşa hukim kerdên mê.*
meselen *adîşa* *hukim kerdê=nmê*
 for_example 3PL.OBL rule.M do.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:O
 ‘For instance, they ruled over us.’ [BP.10]
- (44) *baba xway da.*
baba xwa-î da-Ø
 PN God.M-SG.OBL give.PST-3SG:O
 ‘God created [lit. gave] Baba.’ [BP.4]
- (45) *a dey heşpişa dêndêne.*
a *dey* *heşpiş(i)-a* *dê=ndê=ne*
 EMPH DISC.PTCL lice.F-PL.OBL give.PST.PTCP.PL=2PL=POVB
 ‘Look, you have gotten lice.’ [BP.156]

However, there are examples in the main text corpus which clearly illustrate that clitic pronouns can co-occur with subject NPs in the same clause. In §11.1.2.1, following Mohammadirad & Haig (forthcoming), an alternative account of differential A indexing in Hewramî is given, according to which the presence of indexing is motivated by the subject NP being topical and the lack of clitic indexing is conditioned by the subject NP exhibiting properties related to focus.

- (46) *xway derdema deşfeş kerdêne.*
xwa-î derde=ma deşfe=ş
 God.M-SG.OBL illness.F=1PL:PSR exclusion.F=3SG:A
kerdê=ne
 do.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
 ‘[and] God would protect us from illness.’ [DG.7]
- (47) *a wextîyekey çarenîwîsî niwîsebêş ...*
a wext-î-ekey çarenîwîs-î
 DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL-DEF.M.SG.OBL fortune_teller.M-SG.OBL
niwîse=b-ê=ş
 write.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:O=3SG:A
 ‘Then, the fortune teller had promised [lit. written] ...’ [KŞ.99]

- (48) *xo ađ mezano hezretû xosî kîyaseniş.*
xo ađ me-zan-o hezret-û
 DIS.PTCL 3SG.M.DIR NEG.IND-know.PRS-3SG:A his_highness.M-EZ.GEN
xos-î kîyase=n=iş
 PN-M.SG.OBL send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A
 ‘Well, he (Pir Shaliyar) did not realise that His Highness Ghaws had sent him (the man).’ [JP.134]

6.2.2 Morphosyntactic behaviour

Clitic pronouns show properties typical of clitics, including a high level of mobility, freedom of host selection, wide scope over coordination, and occurrence external to affixes (Halpern 1995, Nevis 2000). In terms of scope over coordination, the following examples show that clitic pronouns feature coreferential deletion across coordinated clauses. In all the examples, the clitic appears on the second coordinate verb. Examples (49) to (52) are indicative of the coreferential deletion of A-past clitic pronouns.

- (49) *epare beşzêş piřnaşre berd wisiş řoxane.*
e=pare beşzê=ş piřna=ş=re
 in=down_there some=3SG:A break_off.PST=3SG:A=POVB
berd-Ø wis-Ø=iş řoxane
 take.PST-3SG.M:O throw.PST-3SG.M:O=3SG:A river
 ‘Over there, [the flood] took [and] threw some [animals] into the river.’ [ZB.22]
- (50) *yoşa berd nîyamne qiřote dareke qurban.*
yo=şa berd-Ø nîya-Ø=m=ne
 one.M=3PL:PSR take.PST-3SG.M:O put.PST-3SG.M:O=1SG:A=POVB
qiřot-e dar-eke qurban
 hollow.M-EZ.CMPD tree.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR sir.VOC
 ‘Sir, I took one [and] put him in the tree hollow.’ [ZQ.26]
- (51) *yewaşê berdê kuştêşa.*
yewaşê berd-ê kuşt-ê=şa
 then take.PST-3PL:O kill.PST-3PL:O=3PL:A
 ‘Then they (the king’s men) took them (the pregnant women) [and] killed them.’ [KŞ.19]

- (52) *berď wistša zînan.*

berď-Ø **wist-Ø=ša** *zînan*
take.PST-3SG:O throw.PST-3SG:O=3PL:A prison

‘They took him and put him in prison.’

[ŞE.76]

Coreferential deletion also affects other clitic pronoun functions, though apparently less frequently than A-past clitics. Like the co-referential deletion of A-past clitics, the clitic appears on the second coordinate verb.

- (53) *bera keraşane zînaneke.*

ber-a **ker-a=ša=ne** *zînan-eke*
take.PRS.IND-3PL:A do.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3PL:O=POVB prison.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR

‘They took [them] and put them in jail.’

[BP.139]

- (54) *de danê bere zane geřotê saqêşa kamênê.*

de dan(e)-ê *bér-e* *zân-e* **geřot-ê**
ten clfCLF-PL.DIR take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A know.PRS.IMP-2SG:A degraded-PL

saq-ê=ša *kam-ê=nê*
well_preserved-PL=3PL:PSR which-PL.DIR=COP.3PL:S

‘Take ten [coins], see which ones are debased and which ones are pure.

[lit. their debased and their pure are which?]

[JF.07]

Similarly, in the following constructions, where a contrastive parallel is established between two subjects, the clitic pronoun is only expressed once. Notice that, unlike the coordinate verbs seen above, the two subjects refer to different persons in the examples below. These constructions are termed “contrastive topic” constructions according to Dik’s (1981) terminology.

- (55) *kê řenciş daw kê berď.*

kê *řenc=iş* *da=w* *kê* *berď*
who toil=3SG:A give.PST=and who take.PST

‘(Look) who toiled, and who took [the credit].’

[YX.15]

- (56) *min rencim daw to berď.*

min *řenc=im* *da=w* *tò* *berď*
1SG toil=1SG:A give.PST=and 2SG take.PST

‘[It’s] me [who] toiled and [it’s] you [who] took [the credit].’

[YX.16]

In terms of placement, clitic pronouns attach to the leftmost syntactic element within the verb phrase (VP) as their host. Note that my conception of the VP as the cliticisation domain is not a strict syntactic or theoretical stance; the VP is rather conceived as the (complex) verb, its direct object, and sometimes also its indirect object. On the other hand, the subject NP, clausal adverbs, and clausal conjunctions are considered VP-external elements. In the following examples, the A-past clitic has taken as host the direct object NP (57), light-verb complement (58), derivational preverbs (59), and the verb (60).

- (57) *heywanşa wey kerden.*
heywan=şa wey kerde=n
 animal.DIR.M=3PL:A raising do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘They raised animals.’ [JE.2]
- (58) *maço, ‘belê keçim kerd!’*
m-aç-o belê keç=im kerd-Ø
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A yes crooked.M=1SG:A do.PST-3SG:O
 ‘She (the younger sister), ‘Indeed, I made it less.’ [JH.49]
- (59) *hurim gêrtênê.*
hur=im gêrtê=nê
 PVB=1SG:A take.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O
 ‘I lifted them.’ [JE.66]
- (60) *fermawaş, ‘xeyr beydê!’*
fermawa=ş xeyr b-e-îdê
 say.PST=3SG:A goodness.M IMP-come.PRS-2PL:S
 ‘He (the Sheikh) said, ‘Welcome!’ [ZQ.6]

Preverbal inflectional prefixes are skipped as clitic hosts, leaving syntactic phrases as the anchoring elements. The relevant formatives include the negation prefix (61)–(62), the indicative prefix (63), and the subjunctive prefix (64).

- (61) *maço, ‘nezanam.’*
m-aç-o ne-zana=m
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A NEG-know.PST=1SG:A
 ‘He (the man) said, ‘I didn’t understand [his point].’ [JH.26]

- (62) *meberîm yane milû mizgî.*
me-ber-î=m yane mi-l-û
 NEG.IND-take.PRS-2SG:A=1SG:O house.M.SG.DIR IND-go.PRS-1SG:S
mizgî
 mosque.M
 ‘[If you do not invite me and] won’t take me home, I will go to the mosque.’ [JH.33]
- (63) *a wextî maraş.*
a wext-î m-ar-a=ş m-ê
 DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL IND-bring.PRS-3PL:A=3SG:O IND-come.PRS.3SG:S
 ‘They (the people) brought her.’ [ZP.97]
- (64) *lodê bardêş!*
lo-dê b-ar-dê=ş
 go.PRS.IMP-2PL:S IMP-bring.PRS-2PL:A=3SG:O
 ‘Go [and] bring him!’ [ŞC.20]
- Similarly, clausal conjunctions are skipped as clitic hosts.
- (65) *eger kinaçekêşa donε ...*
eger kinaç(ê)-ekê=ş don-ε
 if girl.F-DEF.F.SG=3PL:A talk_to.PST.COND.AUG.3SG:R
 ‘If they had talked to the girl ...’ [JE.77]
- (66) *mađam weşεş kerdêbowe ...*
mađam weş-e=ş kerdê=b-o=we
 as_long_as well-F=3SG:O do.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-3SG:O=COMPL
 ‘Now that it appears that he has healed her [thoroughly] ...’ [JP.261]
- (67) *welê wesîyetê hen kerû.*
welê wesîyet-ê=m hen-∅ ker-û
 but will.M-INDF=1SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S do.PRS.IND-1SG:A
 ‘However, I have a [last] will to give.’ [BP.184]

Despite having a seemingly VP-based clitic system, there is evidence that sentence stress has a role in clitic hosting. Therefore, VP-external elements, such as subject arguments and sentence adverbials, which carry nuclear stress, can host clitic pronouns.

- (68) *çîm halî nekerdenî?*
çî=m *halî* *ne-kerde=nî*[|]
 why=1SG:A understood NEG-do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:O
 ‘Why didn’t I explain [it] to you?’ [HB.92]
- (69) *ane kot bera?*
ane **kò=t** *ber-a*[|]
 PRSV where=2SG:O take.PRS.IND-3PL:A
 ‘Where are they taking you?’
- (70) *î dega toş vînî çote bîyêne.*
î *dega* **tò=ş** *vîn-î*[|] *çòt-e*
 DEM.PROX village.F 2SG=3SG:O see.PRS.IND-2SG:A deserted-F
bîyê=ne
 be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘This village, which you see, was deserted.’ [JE.4]
- (71) *pokîş maça pene tewenû sireway.*
pokê=ş *m-aç-a* *pene tewen(î)-û*
 that_is_why=3SG:R IND-say.PRS-3PL:A to stone.F-EZ.GEN
sireway[|]
 treatment.INF
 ‘That is why it is called the healing stone.’ [ZP.59]
- (72) *epaseş penî aman.*
e=pasê=ş *penî ama=n*[|]
 EMPH=such=3SG:R to come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘It has affected him like this.’ [ŞC.109]

When occurring on the verb as the sole host, the clitic pronoun forms a sequence with the verbal person suffix. The order in such constellations is uniformly affix=clitic. The sequence applies across the board regardless of the functions clitic pronouns and verbal affixes assume. Thus, in present tense constructions, clitics functioning as a direct object (73), or an adposition complement (74) may form a sequence with the verbal person affixes indexing the A-prs argument.

- (73) *beroma yanew wêş.*
ber-o=ma *yane-û* *wê=ş**a*
 take.PRS.IND-3SG:A=1PL:O house-EZ.GEN REFL=3PL:PSR
 ‘He will take us to his [lit. their] house.’ [HB.35]

- (74) *maçmêş pene tewenû sirewê.*
m-aç-mê=ş *pene tewen(i)-û* *sirewê*
 IND-say.PRS-1PL:A=3SG:R to stone.F-EZ.GEN treatment.F
 ‘Since the girl was deaf-mute, we call it the healing stone.’ [ZP.51]

On the other hand, in past transitive constructions, an A-past clitic may form a sequence with a verbal person affix indexing transitive objects (75)–(77), or adposition complements (78). As can be seen, the ordering of the clitic pronouns relative to the verbal person affixes is fixed, irrespective of the person/number value of the clitics of verbal person affixes.³

- (75) *berdaşa.*
berd-a=şa
 take.PST-1SG:O=3PL:A
 ‘They took me.’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 560)
- (76) *asîmêt cîyay.*
as-îmê=t *cîyay*
 let.PST-1PL:O=2SG:A place
 ‘You left us behind.’ [ÇK.93]
- (77) *weznaymre.*
wezna-î=m=re
 drop.PST-2SG:O=1SG:A=POVB
 ‘I took you down.’ [MR.18]
- (78) *vatîm pey.*
vat-î=m *pey*
 say.PST-2SG:R=1SG:A to
 ‘I told you.’

Sequences of clitic pronouns with identical person values are disfavoured. In such cases, one of the clitics is reduced due to haplology. In (79), the 3SG clitic on the reflexive base expresses two grammatical roles at the same time: possessor and agent. In (80), the 2SG clitic expresses the possessor and the object simultaneously.

³The external realisation of clitic pronouns relative to affixes may be indicative of the status of clitic pronouns as syntactic items (Anderson 2005).

- (79) *şamne a tome pîr şelîyarî wêş arden.*
şam=ne a tom=e pîr şelîyar-î wê=ş
 PN.M.DIR=POST DEM.DIST seed.M=DEM PN PN-M.SG.OBL REFL=3SG:PSR/A
arde=n
 bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘From Damascus, Pir Shaliyar had brought its seeds. He was in Damascus
 (for a while).’ [ZP.95]
- (80) *luwe wêt wize milû paṭayeka şê şeladînîre.*
lu-e wê=t wîz-e mil-û
 go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S REFL=2SG:PSR/O throw.PRS.IMP-2SG:A on-EZ.GEN
paṭa-eka şê şeladîn-î=re
 shoe-DEF.PL.OBL Sheikh.M PN-M.SG.OBL=POST
 ‘Go, throw yourself at the feet [lit. shoes] of Sheikh Aladin.’ [DG.27]

6.3 Nominal demonstrative pronouns

Nominal demonstrative pronouns come in two sets: (i) independent demonstrative pronouns and (ii) demonstrative adjectives.

6.3.1 Independent demonstrative pronouns

Independent demonstrative pronouns come in proximal and distal forms.

Table 6.7: Demonstrative pronouns, the proximal set

Proximal	DIR	OBL
M	<i>îne</i>	<i>îney</i>
F	<i>înê, îîî</i>	<i>înê</i>
PL	<i>înê, îîî</i>	<i>îna, îîîşa</i>

Examples below demonstrate the use of demonstrative pronouns in expressing case/gender distinctions:

Table 6.8: Demonstrative pronouns, the distal set

Proximal	DIR	OBL
M	<i>ane, ûne</i>	<i>aney</i>
F	<i>anê</i>	<i>ane</i>
PL	<i>anê</i>	<i>ana, anîşa</i>

- (81) *înî be min mewero kinaçê padşay.*
înî *be min me-wer-o kinaçê*
 DEM.PROX.F.3SG.DIR with 1SG NEG.IND-eat.PRS-3SG:A girlF.DIR
padşa-î
 king.M-SG.OBL
 ‘She will not eat with me [under the same roof], the king’s daughter.’
 [JP.213]
- (82) *maço, ‘îne her hête bî.’*
m-aç-o îne her hête bî-Ø
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR just egg.M be.PST-3SG.M:S
 ‘He said, ‘This one was just an egg.’’
 [JH.95]

There are indications that the demonstrative sets are losing case and gender inflection, especially in the singular number. The masculine direct forms *îne* and *ane* may take over the corresponding feminine forms.

- (83) *ane kinaçekêtne jenîşne.*
ane *kinaç(ê)-ekê=t=ne*
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR daughter.F-DEF.F.SG=2SG:PSR=COP.3SG.F:S
jenî=ş=ne
 woman.F=3SG:PSR=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘That is your daughter. She is his wife.’
 [KŞ.101]
- (84) *îne padşazayêne.*
îne *padşazayê=ne*
 DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR princess=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘She is a princess.’
 [ZP.102]

The remainder of this section describes the functional scope of demonstratives roughly following the classification in Diessel (1999).

6.3.1.1 Exophoric use

Exophoric demonstratives focus the hearer's attention on entities in the situation surrounding the interlocutors (Diessel 1999: 94). The exophoric use is the same as the deictic use of demonstratives, where the speaker is at the deictic centre, and a deictic contrast is established based on a distance scale. The proximal deixis refers to items near the speaker, and the distal deixis refers to items that are distant from the speaker. The following examples indicate the exophoric use of demonstratives.

- (85) *ane kuřû řuwaneyn serû esbekey to.*
ane *kuř-û řuwane-î=n*
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR SON.M-EZ.GEN shepherd.M-SG.OBL=COP.3SG.M:S
ser-û esb-ekey to
 on-EZ.GEN horse-DEF.M.SG.OBL 2SG
 'That is the shepherd's son on your horse.' [KŞ.100]

- (86) *min metawû îne nigebanîye kerû.*
min me-taw-û îne nigebanî-e
 1SG NEG.IND-can.PRS-1SG:A DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR guardian-F
kér-û
 do.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A
 'I cannot take care of her.' [ZP.103]

The exophoric use of demonstratives often comes with a gesture pointing to the referent. In Tekht H., the use of gestures with demonstratives can be extended to express the height of a referent. In such cases, the distal masculine form *ane* is used by default to indicate the height. In the following example, the speaker indicates the height of the bed using his hands and by expressing *ane*:

- (87) *wextê miđya îna ane ce zemîni hewawe wuten.*
wext-ê mi-đy(e)-a îni(e)=a
 time.M-INDF IND-look.PRS-3PL:S DEM.PROX.DIR.M.3SG=PTCL
ane *ce zemîn-î hewa=we*
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR from earth.M-SG.OBL air=POST
wute=n
 sleep.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 'They saw that he (Pir Shaliyar) had levitated and slept aloft in the air at this height [lit. that much].' [JP.68]

In the following example, the speaker indicates the height of the sacks of flour using the distal demonstrative *ane*:

- (88) *awî luwênêrew serû ane hardîşa bîyênê.*
awî luwê=nê=re=û ser-û
 water.F go.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S=POVB=and on-EZ.GEN
ane hardî=şa bîyê=nê
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR flour.F.PL.DIR=3PL:NC be.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘The water had gone up to the level of the flour [sacks] that they had.’
 [ZB.28]

6.3.1.2 Anaphoric use

Demonstrative pronouns may be used to track participants in the previous discourse. In this use, they overlap with anaphoric demonstratives in §6.1.2 (see Table 6.4 and Table 6.5). In the following example, the referent is physically absent from the speech situation. The proximal demonstrative is used to track a referent mentioned in the previous discourse. The use of the proximal demonstrative conveys emotional engagement with the referent.

- (89) *perso, ‘ceryan çikonû? î yanew kabray kênû îne kên?’*
pers-o ceryan çiko=n=û î
 ask.PRS.IND-3SG:A story.M where=COP.3SG.M:S=and DEM.PROX
yane-û kabra-î kê=n=û
 house.M-EZ.GEN man-M.SG.OBL who=COP.3SG.M:S=and
îne kê=n
 DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR who=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘[He came to the village.] He asked [people], ‘What is the story? Where is the house of the fellow? Who is **he**?’
 [JP.204]

The anaphoric use of demonstratives is also visible in relative clauses. The pronominal head of such clauses can only be a demonstrative pronoun.

- (90) *mila ew kuřekey yoyşa bera. aneşa zilterû salter bo adî bera.*
mi-l-a ew kuř-ekey yo-î=şa
 IND-go.PRS-3PL:S DEM.DIST son.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL one.M-SG.OBL=3PL:PSR
ber-a ane=şa zil-ter=û
 take.PRS.IND-3PL:A DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR=3PL:PSR big-CMPR=and

ŝal-ter b-o ađi ber-a
 good-CMPR be.PRS.IND-3SG:S 3SG.OBL.M take.PRS.IND-3PL:A
 ‘They went away [and took] that son. They took one of them (i.e., the boys), **the one who** was bigger and healthier; they took him.’ [ZB.40]

- (91) *ane ke berdma ŝiŝ mangê menn.*
ane ke berd-Ø=ma ŝiŝ mang(e)-ê
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR REL take.PST-3SG.M:O=1PL:A six month.F-PL.DIR
menn
 remain.PST.3SG.M:S
 ‘**The one** whom we took [with us] lived for six months.’ [ZQ.29]

- (92) *îne maçmêŝ pene ŝalîyare sîyaw lalow kinaçekên.*
îne m-aç-mê=ŝ pene ŝalîyar-e sîyaw
 DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR IND-say.PRS-1PL:A=3SG:R to PN-EZ.CMPD black
lalo-û kinaç(ê)-ekê=n
 maternal_uncle.M-EZ.GEN girl.F-DEF.F.SG=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘**This [person]**, whom we call Shaliyar Siya, was the maternal uncle of the [king’s] daughter.’ [ZP.36]

6.3.1.3 Discourse presentative use

The demonstrative pronouns *îne* and *ane* may be used as sentential demonstratives to draw attention to a proposition and give it a sense of immediacy. This use of demonstratives may be called presentative.

- (93) *maço ‘qurban, îne çêŝit kerd?’*
m-aç-o qurban îne çêŝ=it kerd-Ø
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A sir.VOC PRSV what=2SG:A do.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘They said, ‘Sir, what have you done?’’ [PM.29]

- (94) *maça, ‘çi girewî ane miheme?’*
m-aç-a çi girew-î ane miheme
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A why cry.PRS.IND-2SG:S PRSV PN
 ‘They said, ‘Muhammad, why are you crying?’’ [BP.154]

In the presentative use, the demonstrative pronouns can also draw attention to a referent in the extralinguistic situation. In this usage, they are combined with the attention-drawing particle =*a*.

6 Pronouns and demonstratives

- (95) *maça, ‘qurban wîla fîlane kes toryanû ana.’*
m-aç-a qurban wîla fîlan-e kes
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A sir.VOC by_God such_and_such-EZ.CMPD person.M
torya=n=û an(e)=a
 get_offended.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=and DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR=PTCL
 ‘They said, ‘Sir, indeed, the fellow has got offended; there [he is].’ [HB.76]
- (96) *maço, ‘amano îna.’*
m-aç-o ama=n=o
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=COMPL
în(e)=a
 DEM.PROX.DIR.M.3SG=PTCL
 ‘He (the sultan) said, ‘He has returned; there [he is].’ [JH.111]

6.3.1.4 Empathetic use

The demonstrative pronouns may be used to express the emotional engagement of the speaker towards a referent in the speech situation. In this usage, the near deixis usually expresses the speaker’s positive attitude towards the referent, while the distal deixis expresses the speaker’s negative attitude. In the following example, the speaker points to his son, sitting a meter away from the speaker, using the distal deixis to express his negative feelings towards the son smoking cigarettes.

- (97) *ane wero.*
ane wer-o
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR smoke.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘He smokes.’ [hearsay]

6.3.1.5 Predicative use

Demonstrative pronouns can be used predicatively. In this usage, they occur in the topic position of identificational clauses with a nominal predicate (Diessel 1997). The predicative demonstratives correspond to English ‘this is’, ‘that is’, and ‘there goes’. The near demonstrative *îne* has a predicative function in the following excerpt.

- (98)
- îne serew êmew îne şimşêrû şime.*

îne *sere-û* *ême=û* **îne**

DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR head.M-EZ.GEN 1PL=and DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR

şimşêr-û *şime*

sword.M-EZ.GEN 2PL

‘Here are their heads and your swords. [Lit. **These** are our heads, and**these** are your swords.]’ [BP.97]

6.3.2 Demonstrative determiners

Tekht H. features several demonstrative determiners, which are by default discontinuous, consisting of the demonstrative determiner to the left and deictic clitic =*e* to the right of a noun phrase.

Table 6.9: Demonstrative determiners

	DIR and OBL
Proximal	<i>î ... (e)</i>
Distal 1	<i>a / û ... (e)</i>
Distal 2	<i>ew ... (e)</i>

The deictic clitic =*e* is deleted following fusional gender/case/number suffixes, presumably to avoid vowel hiatus. However, it resurfaces when another clitic is added to a base noun, including a clitic pronoun and an additive clitic.

- (99)
- kuř*
- ‘boy, son’;
- beg*
- ‘chief’

SG.DIR **î** *kuř=e* [KŞ.80]SG.OBL **î** *kuř-î* [KŞ.56] *p=î kuř-î=m=e* [RE.7]PL.DIR **î** *begê* [ZP.67] *î begê=ma* [JP.77]PL.OBL **a** *beg* [BP.121]

- (100)
- kinaçê*
- ‘girl’

SG.DIR **î** *kinaçê* [ZP.44] *î kinaçê=t=e* [JP.163]SG.OBL **î** *kinaçê* [ZQ.39] *î kinaçê=t=e* [RE.7]

- (101)
- pîya*
- ‘man’

SG.DIR **î** *pîya* [ZP.67] *û pîya=iç=e* [JP.77]SG.OBL **î** *pîya-î* [ZP.44]PL.DIR *î pîye=ma* [BP.121]PL.OBL *a pîya-ya* [HM.39]

Example (102) shows that the deictic clitic =*e* is deleted after the oblique case on *pîya*. In (103), by contrast, when the same noun is followed by the additive clitic =*îç*, the deictic clitic resurfaces.

- (102) *to eger î kinaçê berdet xizmetû î pîyay ...*
to eger î kinaçê berd-e=t
 2SG if DEM.PROX daughterF.DIR take.PST-3SG.F:O=2SG:A
xizmet-û î pîya-î
 service.M-EZ.GEN DEM.PROX man.M-SG.OBL
 ‘When you have taken this girl into the presence of this man ...’ [ZP.44]

- (103) *û pîyayçe řasiş wat.*
û pîya=îç=e řas=iş wat
 DEM.DIST man.M=ADD=DEM truth=3SG:A say.PST
 ‘And the man (the servant) told the truth.’ [JP.77]

The deictic clitic exhibits variation in appearing with the demonstrative determiners when preceded by nouns such as *zeman* ‘time’ and *sefer* ‘time’ that often can be used adverbially in the sense of ‘back then’, ‘time’ (e.g., this time). Contrast the examples in (104).

- (104) *a zeman=e* [JM.43]
a zeman [BP.9]
î sefer [BP.173]

Demonstrative determiners feature the same set of functions as independent demonstrative pronouns. Notably, the set with *ew* appears primarily in contrast with *î*, expressing the opposite direction.

- (105) *neweşe gino herçîw duktirû î law ew la beraş duktir hîç duktirê řelêceş mekero.*
neweş-e gin-o herçîw duktir=û î la=û
 ill-F fall.PRS.IND-3SG:S any physician.M=and DEM.PROX side=and
ew la ber-a=ş duktir hîç
 DEM.DIST side take.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3SG:O physician.M no
duktir-ê řelêce=ş me-ker-o
 physician.M-INDF treatment.F=3SG:O NEG.IND-do.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘No matter how often she was taken to doctors here and **there** (lit. this side and that side), no doctor could cure her.’ [ZP.26]

- (106) *eçê milo bilo pey ew dîmû kelî.*
e=çê mi-l-o bi-l-o pey ew
 from=here IND-go.PRS-3SG:S SBJV-go.PRS-3SG:S for DEM.DIST
dîm-û kel-î
 side.M-EZ.GEN mountain-M.SG.OBL
 ‘He went from here to the other side of the mountain.’ [JH.5]

The exophoric use of demonstrative determiners is seen in the following example.

- (107) *da dey hurbêze î mexlûqî girdiş gêleş pone.*
da dey hur-b-êz-e î mexlûq-î
 HORT DISC.PTCL PVB-IMP-rise.PRS-2SG:S DEM.PROX people-M.SG.OBL
gird=iş gêt-e=ş pone
 all=3SG:PSR wander.PRS.IMP-2SG:S=3SG:R at
 ‘Come on, get up and search among all these people.’ [HB.90]

The distal determiner *a* is used in the following example in an anaphoric function. Here, the proximal determiner is used after the first mention of ‘lion’ to establish it as a discourse participant.

- (108) *pase zanû şêrê luwan dilêş! wêş zanî be şemetekaş. adîç wat, ‘a şêre minna.’*
pase zan-û şêr-ê luwa=n
 like know.PRS.IND-1SG:A lion.M-INDF go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
dilê=ş wê=ş zanî be şemet-eka=ş
 inside=3SG:R REFL=3SG:A know.PST by deed.M-DEF.PL.OBL=3SG:PSR
adî=îç wat a şêr=e min=na
 3SG.OBL.M=ADD say.PST DEM.DIST lion.M=DEM 1SG=COP.1SG:S
 ‘[He (Hayas) said, ‘Sir, why should I go back (home)? After a long time, my garden has produced [fruit]]. Now, to me, it is as if **a lion** has trespassed in it.’ He (the sultan) understood [these words] were meant to [refer to] his deed. He (the sultan) said, ‘I am **that lion**.’]
 [JH.114]–[JH.116]

The following excerpt exemplifies the empathetic use of the demonstrative determiner *î*. Here, the proximal demonstrative is used for a referent who is not physically present in the speech situation. The use of the proximal demonstrative conveys the speaker’s emotional engagement towards the referent.

- (109) *î birame derdeş, derdêş îna po derdû gulîş maça dadê!*
î **bira=m=e** *derde=ş* *derd(e)-ê=ş*
 DEM.PROX brother.M=1SG:PSR=DEM illness.F=3SG:R illness.F-INDF=3SG:R
îna-Ø *p=o* *derd(e)-û* *gulî=ş*
 LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S at=POST illness.F-EZ.GEN leprosy=3SG:R
m-aç-a *dadê*
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A yell.M-PL.DIR
 ‘This brother of mine is ill; it is called leprosy; please help!’ [DG.43]

The demonstrative determiners may have a recognitional use, expressing shared knowledge between the speaker and the addressee. Recognitional demonstratives mark information that is discourse-new and hearer-old (Diessel 1999: 106). In the following excerpt, the use of the demonstrative with ‘mountains’ conveys shared information between the speaker and the listener. Note that the referent of ‘mountains’ is invisible (see §6.3.3).

- (110) *be beqêwew tifengê hînê tifengû a wextî herçê bîyen pa keşane gêlan.*
be *beq-êwe=û* *tifeng-ê* *hîn-ê* *tifeng-û*
 with male_partridge.M-INDF=and gun-INDF FILL-INDF gun-EZ.GEN
a *wext-î* *herçê* *bîye=n*
 DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL whatever be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
p=a *keş-a=ne*
 at=DEM.DIST mountain.M=DEM.DIST=POST
gêla=n
 wander.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘[He had] a partridge and a gun – of whatever type it was back then –
 [and] would wander in those mountains.’ [ŞC.7]

6.3.3 Local adverbial demonstratives

Local adverbial demonstratives point to a place. They are distinguished in terms of spatial function and visibility. In terms of marking, these demonstratives are derived either from nominal demonstratives followed by a derivational place suffix, or from demonstratives enclosed within a circumpositional phrase (see Table 6.10).

The local adverbial demonstratives can further be distinguished based on elevation; that is, the demonstratives indicate whether the referent is at a higher or lower elevation relative to the deictic centre (Diessel 1999: 42). In such cases, the local adverbial demonstratives are followed by a postposition *-er* ‘down’ and *-hur* ‘up’ indicating elevation.

Table 6.10: Local adverbial demonstratives

‘here’	<i>çêge, êge</i>	< <i>ç</i> ‘in’ + <i>ê</i> ‘this’ + -ge
‘there (immediate context)’	<i>çage</i>	< <i>ç</i> ‘in’ + <i>a</i> ‘that’ + -ge
‘there (distant but visible)’	<i>çoge, oge</i>	< <i>o</i> ‘that’ + -ge
‘there (invisible)’	<i>pagene, epagewe</i>	< <i>p</i> ‘at’ + <i>a</i> ‘that’ + -ge + =ne ‘in’

- (111) ‘down here’ *epêre*
‘down there (invisible)’ *epare*
- (112) ‘up there (visible)’ *ewagehur*
‘up there (invisible)’ *epagehur*

The following examples illustrate the use of local adverbial demonstratives in running discourse.

- (113) *keleşîrê gêrtên bawşîşo qoqeçoqû epagehur.*
keleşîr-ê gêrte=n bawşî=ş=o
rooster.M-INDF grab.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O embrace.F=3SG:PSR=POST
qoqeçoq=û epagehur
ONOM=and up_there
‘He [the girl’s father] would grab a rooster in his arms [to present to the nobleman], [while the rooster] was crowing from this side to **up there** (i.e., the top of the village).’ [RE.48]
- (114) *epare beşzêş piřnaşre berd wisiş řoxane.*
epare beşzê=ş piřna=ş=re
in=down_there some=3SG:A break_off.PST=3SG:A=POVB
berd-Ø wis-Ø=iş řoxane
take.PST-3SG.M:O throw.PST-3SG.M:O=3SG:A river
‘**Down there**, [the flood] took [and] threw some [animals] into the river.’ [ZB.22]

6.3.4 Manner adverbial demonstratives

Together with local demonstratives, manner adverbial demonstratives constitute demonstrative adverbs. Manner demonstratives contain the demonstrative elements *ê* and *a* (see Table 6.11 and Table 6.12). They have both prepositional functions and adverbial functions. In the prepositional function, they are equivalent

to English ‘like’ and modify a noun phrase. In this usage, the preposition may appear with the genitive ezafe linker *-û*.

Table 6.11: Manner adverbial demonstratives, Set 1

Set 1	<i>pêse, epêse</i>	‘like this, in this way’
	<i>pase, epase</i>	‘like that, in that way’

- (115) *cuwanê bê pêsew î girdû cuwana.*
cuwan-ê b-ê pêse-û î gird-û
 youth.M-INDF be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S likeEZ.GEN DEM.PROX all-EZ.GEN
cuwan-a
 youth.M-PL.OBL
 ‘He is a young man like all young men.’ [ZQ.54]

- (116) *to pêsenî emîrî.*
to pêse=nî emîr-î
 2SG like=COP.2G:S PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘You are like Emir.’ [hearsay]

In the adverbial use, manner adverbial demonstratives are typically used to refer to a proposition in a surrounding discourse.

- (117) *pase jîwyenê.*
pase jîwyε=nê
 like_that live.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘They (people) used to live like that.’ [RE.72]

- (118) *ême e pêsema ser qomîyan.*
ême e=pêse=ma ser qomya=n
 1PL EMPH=such=1PL:R on happen.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘We have been through such and such.’ [BP.202]

There is another set of manner adverbials, which are used less frequently than Set 1 seen above. These demonstratives are formed by a combination of the emphatic particle *e*⁴ and the preposition *ç* with the demonstratives *îne* and *ane*.

Like Set 1, Set 2 manner demonstratives can be used adverbially to refer to a chunk of the proposition in the surrounding discourse.

⁴The particle *e* can alternatively be interpreted as the preposition *e=*.

Table 6.12: Manner adverbial demonstratives, Set 2

Set 2	<i>eçîne</i>	‘like this, in this way’
	<i>eçane</i>	‘like that, in that way’

- (119) *ême zemanma řisûmatû ewsayma eçîne bîyen.*
ême zeman=ma řisûmat-û ewsa-î=ma
 1PL time.M=1PL:PSR traditions.M-EZ.GEN past.M-SG.OBL=1PL:PSR
e=çîne bîye=n
 EMPH=like_this be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘In the old times, our customs were like this.’ [RE.42]
- (120) *maça, ‘eçînew epase.’*
m-aç-a e=çîne=û e=pase
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A EMPH=like=and EMPH=like
 ‘They said, ‘[The story is] like this and like that.’ [HB.77]

Set 2 manner demonstratives can be used adjectivally.

- (121) *be xwa fîlan heyas amano çîwê eçînew eçane řaliş arden.*
be xwa fîlan heyas ama=n=o
 by God.M such_and_such PN come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=COMPL
çîw-ê e=çîne=û e=çane řal=iş
 thing-INDF EMPH=like_this=and EMPH=like_that good=3SG:A
arde=n
 bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘Such-and-such Hayas has returned. He has brought [with him] such a nice thingummy (i.e., woman). [Lit. He has brought a thing like this and like that, very nice.]’ [JH.66]

6.4 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are anaphoric pronouns that are specialised for coreferential use within a clause (Haspelmath 2023). In Tekht H., the intended reference of the reflexive pronoun must be the subject of the clause. The reflexive pronoun consists of the reflexive base *wê* and the clitic pronouns, as seen below.

Table 6.13: reflexive pronouns

person/number	form
1SG	$wê=m$
2SG	$wê=t$
3SG	$wê=\xi$
1PL	$wê=ma$
2PL	$wê=ta$
3PL	$wê=\xi a$

The forms in Table 6.13 were attested in Hewraman Tekht. In the variety of Silên, spoken 25 km south of Hewraman Tekht, and less so in the Tekht vernacular of Nwên, the reflexive pronoun may also be the non-inflecting $wê$, which can occur independently in a direct object position, see (126)–(128).

Following Haspelmath (2023: 20), a reflexive construction is a grammatical construction (i) that can only be used when two argument positions of a clause require coreference (ii) and that contains a particular form (a reflexiviser) that signals this coreference. In Tekht H., the reflexive pronouns can occur in the object position (122), adposition complement (123), and possessor in a possessive phrase (124).

- (122) *wê\xi wizone tewêteke.*
 $wê=\xi$ *wiz-one* *tewête-(e)ke*
 REFL=3SG:PSR throw.PRS.IND-3SG:A stable.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR
 ‘He threw himself into the stable.’ [ŞC.64]
- (123) *kuřma berardû berdma çenû wêma.*
 $kuř=ma$ *ber-ard-Ø=û* *berd-Ø=ma*
 boy.M=1PL:A out-bring.PST-3SG.M:O=and take.PST-3SG.M:O=1PL:A
çenû $wê=ma$
 with.EZ.GEN REFL=1PL:PSR
 ‘We took out the son, and took him with us.’ [ZQ.53]
- (124) *bereşo memliketû wêta, welê serma deyde.*
 $ber-e=\xi=o$ *memliket-û* $wê=ta$ *welê*
 take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL country.M-EZ.GEN REFL=2PL:PSR but

ser=ma dé-îdê

head.M=1PL:R give.PRS.IMP-2PL:A

‘Take him to your region, but pay us a visit.’

[DG.68]

The reflexive pronouns may also occur in the subject position, mainly to give extra emphasis to the subject argument.

(125) *şewê padşa wêş werm wîno.*

şew(e)-ê padşa wê=ş werm wîn-o

night.F-INDF king.M REFL=3SG:PSR sleep see.PRS.IND-3SG:A

‘One night, the king had a dream [lit. saw sleep].’

[ZP.30]

In the vernaculars of Silên and Nwên, the reflexive pronoun is used in its bare form to express the direct object and, less so, the prepositional object; see (126)–(128) and (132). The non-inflecting reflexive pronoun *wê* can occur in the object position. The form may be considered a “reflexive pronominoïd” according to the terminology in Haspelmath (2023).

(126) *wê suçno.*

wê suçn-o

REFL burn.PRS.IND-3SG:A

‘He (the demon) burnt himself.’

[ÇK.84]

(127) *zatşa mebo wê aşkera kera.*

zat=şa me-b-o wê aşkera ker-a

fear=3PL:NC NEG.IND-be.PRS-3SG:S REFL disclosed do.PRS.IND-3PL:A

‘They were afraid to make themselves visible.’

[ÇK.67]

(128) *wê keř kero.*

wê keř ker-o

REFL deaf do.PRS.IND-3SG:A

‘He turned a deaf ear [lit. He deafened himself].’

[JL.56]

For other argument positions, the inflected reflexive pronouns are used:

(129) *mînyoş peştû wêş.*

mî-ny(e)-o=ş peşt-û wê=ş

IND-put.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O behind-EZ.GEN REFL=3SG:PSR

‘He got her riding behind him.’

- (130) *berût yanew wêm.*
ber-û=t *yane-û* *wê=m*
 take.PRS.IND-1SG:A=2SG:O home-EZ.GEN REFL=1SG:PSR
 ‘I will take you to my home.’
- (131) *wêt zanî çêşa.*
wê=t *zan-î* *çêş=a*
 REFL=2SG:PSR know.PRS.IND-2SG:A what=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘You will understand what [the story] is.’

In the following example from the vernacular of Nwên, the bare form *wê* has the same reference as the subject.

- (132) *lûwa zemînêweş da werû wê.*
lûwa zemîn-êwe=ş da wer-û wê
 go.PST.3SG:S land.INDF=3SG:A give.PST ON-EZ.GEN REFL
 ‘He went to a field [lit. gave a land on himself].’ [ED.30]

6.5 Reciprocal pronouns

The reciprocal pronoun is *yotirîn*. It is grammatically derived from the numeral ‘one’ and the superlative suffix *-tirîn*. *yotirîn* can behave like a nominal, e.g., it can take the oblique suffix.

- (133) *adê êtir şadê biyê be yotirînî.*
adê êtir şad-ê bi-ê be yotirîn-î
 3PL well happy-PL be.PST-3PL:S with RECP-M.SG.OBL
 ‘They became happy with each other.’ [ME.202]
- (134) *watşa be yotirînî.*
wat=şa be yotirîn-î
 say.PST=3PL:A to RECP-M.SG.OBL
 ‘They talked to each other.’

6.6 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns appear in four sets: ordinary, specific, free-choice, and negative. This classification is inspired by Haspelmath's (1993a) description of indefinite pronouns in Lezgian. In the formation of ordinary and specific indefinite pronouns, the indefinite suffix *-ê*, *-êwe* is added to the nominal (see Table 6.14).

Table 6.14: Indefinite pronouns– ordinary and specific sets

Ordinary		Specific	
<i>kesê</i>	‘someone’	<i>kesê</i>	‘a person’
<i>çîwê</i>	‘something’	<i>çîwê</i>	‘a thing’
<i>çin carê</i>	‘sometimes’	<i>carê</i>	‘once’
<i>yagêwe</i>	‘somewhere’	<i>yagêwe</i>	‘a place’

As seen in Table 6.14, ordinary and specific pronouns are formed identically. With ordinary indefinites, a sense of ‘some’ is conveyed; see (135)–(136).

- (135) *vatiş, ‘dey tate dey ba çîwêweş pey bere!’*
vat=iş dey tate dey ba çîw-êwe=ş pey
 say.PST=3SG:A DISC.PTCL father.M DISC.PTCL HORT thing-INDF=3SG:R for
bér-e
 take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A
 ‘She said, ‘Father, get him something.’’ [JH.38]

- (136) *yo kabrayêwe çowewe aman řakêre.*
yo kabra-êwe ç=0=we ama=n
 one.M fellow-INDF in=DEM.DIST=POST come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
řa-(e)kê=re
 road.F-DEF.F.SG=POST
 ‘Someone came from the other direction onto their road.’ [HB.49]

With specific indefinites, both specific referents (137) and non-specific referents (138) can be expressed.

- (137) *yagê hen ...*
yag(ê)-ê hen-Ø
 place.F-INDF EXIST-3SG.M:S
 ‘There is a place ...’ [JP.20]

- (138) *ne kesê hen be weş dadîş berî la.*
ne kes-ê hen-Ø be weş dadî=iş
 nor person.M-INDF EXIST-3SG.M:S by good cry.M=3SG:R
bér-î la
 take.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A to
 ‘Nor is there a person one can take counsel with.’ [ZB.60]

Free-choice indefinites are formed by adding the particle *her*, *heç* ‘every, any’ or *gird* ‘all’ to a general noun (see Table 6.15).

Table 6.15: Free choice indefinite pronouns

<i>heçkes</i>	‘whoever, anyone’
<i>girdkes</i>	‘everyone’
<i>herçê</i>	‘whatever, anything’
<i>her yagêwe</i>	‘anywhere’
<i>her nofê</i>	‘any kind’

Free-choice indefinites express clauses containing possibilities where all options are permitted:

- (139) *heçkes xelêş bê, xelêş çane sanenê.*
heçkes xel(e)-ê=ş b-ê
 whoever grain.M-PL.DIR=3SG:NC be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
xel(e)-ê=ş çane sanε=nê
 grain.M-PL.DIR=3SG:A from take.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:R
 ‘Whoever had grain, they would collect the grain from him as tax.’
 [BP.15]
- (140) *êtir pagene girdkes heywandarîş kerden.*
êtir pagene girdkes heywandarî=ş
 DISC.PTCL there everyone animal_husbandry=3SG:A
kerde=n
 do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘There, everyone tended animals.’
 [JE.11]
- (141) *herkesê herçêş lawe bo, misanaş çene.*
herkes-ê herçê=ş la=we b-o
 everyone-INDF whatever=3SG:R with=POST be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S
mi-san-a=ş çene
 IND-buy.PRS-3PL:A=3SG:R from
 ‘They would take whatever possessions anyone had.’
 [BP.30]

Negative indefinite pronouns are generally derived from the particle *hiç* combined with a general noun (see Table 6.16). When used attributively, occasionally *hiç* is followed by the indefinite suffix *-ê*.

Negative indefinites are used in clauses with negated verbs.

Table 6.16: Negative indefinite pronouns

<i>hiç</i>	‘nothing’
<i>kes, hiçkes</i>	‘no one’
<i>hiçke</i>	‘never’
<i>hiçkam</i>	‘none’

- (142) *îdiç hiç minîç hiçim nîyarê.*
îd=îç hiç min=îç hiç=im
 3SG.PROX.DIR.M=ADD nothing 1SG=ADD nothing=1SG:NC
nîy(e)=a=rê
 NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S=POVB
 ‘She [has] nothing, nor do I.’ [ZP.117]
- (143) *kesî be noîê pene nezanan.*
kes-î be noî-ê pene ne-zana=n
 no_one-M.SG.OBL to kind-INDF to NEG-know.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:R
 ‘No one really appreciated him.’ [ZP.24]
- (144) *î merasême her menowe, hiçkeyç kem mekero.*
î merasêm=e her men-o=we
 DEM.PROX ceremony.M=DEM EMPH remain.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL
hiçke=îç kem me-ker-o
 never=ADD little NEG.IND-do.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘This ceremony will be repeated; it will never diminish.’ [JP.245]
- (145) *hiçkamma mihtajê mebîmê pîney.*
hiçkam=ma mihtaj-ê me-b-îmê
 no_one=1PL:PSR needy-PL NEG.IND-be.PRS-1PL:S
p=îney
 to=DEM.PROX.M.3SG.OBL
 ‘None of us would be in need of these [products].’ [PM.39]

6.7 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns form a closed class. They can, in principle, inflect for gender, case, and number, though the distinction is only visible in forms ending in a consonant. Table 6.17 lists basic interrogative pronouns.

Table 6.17: Interrogative pronouns

<i>çêş</i>	what?
<i>kê</i>	who?
<i>çî</i>	why?
<i>ko</i>	where?
<i>çenî(n)</i>	how?
<i>kam</i>	which?
<i>çinne</i>	how many, how much?
<i>key</i>	when?

6.7.1 çêş ‘what?’

çêş refers to inanimate entities in the discourse. It occurs in the following forms in the corpus: *çêş*; *çêşe*; *çêşî*.

çêş is the unmarked form of the pronoun. It is used as the object of transitive clauses and subject in copula clauses.

- (146) *mezano çêş kero.*
me-zan-o çêş kër-o
 NEG.IND-know.PRS-3SG:A what do.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A
 ‘He did not know what to do.’ [ZP.111]

- (147) *neweşîyekeyş çêş bo?*
neweşî-ekey=ş çêş b-o
 illness.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=3SG:PSR what be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘What was her illness?’ [ZP.27]

çêşe refers back to a feminine referent.

- (148) *înê î qisê çêşene?*
înê î qisê çêşe=ne
 DEM.PROX.F.3SG.DIR DEM.PROX talk.F.SG what.F=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘What is this talk?’ [JP.223]

In some cases, it seems that the feminine form *çêşe* extends its use and refers back to a masculine referent. Alternatively, the final *e* in *çêşe* in such cases can be considered a frozen definite suffix *e*.

- (149) *maço be tûwatekeyşa, îne çêşen?*
m-aç-o be tûwate-(e)key=şa îne
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A to shell-DEF.M.SG.OBL=3PL:PSR DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR
çêş-e=n
 what-F=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘She pointed to the (egg)shells [and] said, ‘What are these? [Lit. What is this?]]’ [JH.86]

The form *çêşî* occurs as the genitive (150) and prepositional complement (151).

- (150) *ewêç maço, ‘waranû çêşî?’*
ewê=ç m-aç-o waran-û çêş-î
 3SG.F.DIR=ADD IND-say.PRS-3SG:A rain-EZ.GEN what-M.SG.OBL
 ‘She said, ‘What rain?!’ [ZB.16]
- (151) *werû çêşî?*
wer-û çêş-î
 out_of-EZ.GEN what-M.SG.OBL
 ‘for what reason?’ [ŞC.106]

When used attributively, the particle has the form *çi* ‘what’:

- (152) *mezanû ađ çi meẋzêweş henû ême çi meẋzêma hen.*
me-zan-û ađ çi meẋz-êwe=ş
 NEG.IND-know.PRS-1SG:A 3SG what brain-INDF=3SG:NC
hen-Ø=û ême çi meẋz-ê=ma hen-Ø
 EXIST-3SG:S=and 1PL what brain-INDF=1PL:NC EXIST-3SG:S
 ‘I don’t know what a brain he has and what a brain we have!’ [XŞ.15]

6.7.2 *kê* ‘who?’

The interrogative pronoun *kê* refers to animate entities. It is of the invariable form *kê* in different syntactic positions.

- (153) *maço, ‘to kênî?’*
m-aç-o to kê=nî
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A 2SG who=COP.2SG:S
 ‘He (the king) said, ‘Who are you?’ [KŞ.10’]

- (154) *îse kê be zûwanû herî zano bêcge to?*
îse kê be zûwan-û her-î zan-o
 now who in language.M-EZ.GEN donkey.M-SG.OBL know.PRS.IND-3SG:A
bêcge to
 except_for 2SG
 ‘Now who can understand the language of donkeys except you?’ [HB.86]
- (155) *kinaçêw padşayt îse pey kê niwîse?*
kinaçê-û padşa-î=t îse pey kê
 daughter.F.SG.DIR-EZ.GEN king.M-SG.OBL=2SG:A now to who
niwîs-e
 write.PST-3SG.F:O
 ‘Whom have you considered [as the future husband] for the king’s daughter? [Lit. Whom did you write the king’s daughter for?]

When used as a genitive, it is equivalent in meaning to English ‘whose’:

- (156) *fermawo, ‘pîyew kêndê?’*
fermaw-o pîye-û kê=ndê
 say.PRS.IND-3SG:A man.M-EZ.GEN who=COP.2PL:S
 ‘He said, ‘Whose men are you?’ [ŞC.33]

Despite being invariable in form, *kê* can trigger no indexing on the verb when used as a transitive subject in clauses built on a past stem verb. This typically occurs with *kê* carrying nuclear stress (see §11.1.2.1).

- (157) *î zeře çermeme kê berden?*
î zeř-e çerme=m=e kê
 DEM.PROX coin-EZ.CMPD white=1SG:PSR=DEM who
berde=n
 take.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘Who has taken my white coins?’ [PK.29]

6.7.3 çî ‘why?’

çî is an invariable form used to express ‘why’.

- (158) *çî şaciz bîyenî?*
çî şaciz bîye=nî
 why upset.M be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:S
 ‘Why did you get annoyed?’ [HB.81]

6.7.4 *ko* ‘where?’

ko has an invariable form and is used both in the sense of direction and location.

- (159) *watim peneş, ‘to mîlî ko?’*
wat=im pene=ş to mî-l-î ko
 say.PST=1SG:A to=3SG:R 2SG IND-go.PRS-2SG:S where
 ‘I said to him, ‘Where are you going?’” [JH.31]

- (160) *îne konê ewê? çêşşâ pene ama?*
îne ko=nê ewê çêş=şâ pene ama-Ø
 PRSV where=COP.3PL:S 3PL.DIR what=3PL:R to come.PST-3SG.M:S
 ‘Where are they? What happened to them?’ [BP.112]

The particle also occurs in combination with an adposition. The resultant forms sometimes yield different shades of meaning. The forms *çiko*, *çikowe*, *kowe*, and *koge* are attested in the text corpus.

- (161) *mênê maça, ‘şê ŷumer çikon?’*
m-ê-nê m-aç-a şê ŷumer
 IND-come.PRS-3PL:S IND-say.PRS-3PL:A Sheikh.M PN
çiko=n
 where=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘They went [and] said, ‘Where is Sheikh Omer?’” [ŞC.10]

- (162) *nîşdêrew fermawaş, ‘çikowe meydê?’*
nîş-dê=re=û fermawa=ş çî=ko=we
 sit.PRS.IMP-2PL:S=POVB=and say.PST=3SG:A from=where=COMPL
m-e-îdê
 IND-come.PRS-2PL:S
 ‘Sit down!’ [the Shah] said, ‘Where do you come from?’” [ZQ.4]

- (163) *ey wêm kowe bilû?*
ey wê=m ko=we bi-l-û
 INTJ REFL=1SG:PSR where=POST SBJV-go.PRS-1SG:S
 ‘Where should I go myself?’ [DP.23]

- (164) *îse koge⁵ bilî?*
îse koge bi-l-î
 now where SBJV-go.PRS-2SG:S
 ‘Where might you be going?’ [JH.17]

6.7.5 *çenî* ‘how?’

The particle has two variants: *çenîn*, and *çenî*. The former is used with the present copula. The latter is used in all other contexts.

- (165) *vatiş, ‘çenîna?’ cafir san.*
vat=iş çenîn=a cafir san
 say.PST=3SG:A how=COP.3SG.M:S PN PN
 ‘Jafir San said, ‘What is he like?’’ [ŞC.16]
- (166) *maço, ‘tamû mezeş çenî bî yerêş?’*
m-aç-o tam=û meze=ş çenî bî-Ø
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A taste=and taste=3PL:PSR how be.PST-3SG.M:S
yerê=ş
 three=3PL:PSR
 ‘[and] said, ‘How did the three of them (the eggs) taste?’’ [JH.97]

6.7.6 *kam* ‘which?’

kam is morphologically inflected. The forms *kam*, *kamê*, and *kamî* have been attested.

- (167) *a firmande wêş zano heqû ême kama.*
a firmande wê=ş zan-o heq-û
 DEM.DIST leader.M REFL=3SG:PSR know.PRS.IND-3SG:A right.M-EZ.GEN
ême kam=a
 1PL which=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘[Your] boss knows which portion [of land] is mine.’ [PM.20]
- (168) *xo haîit bo hêlê yanê kamênê?*
xo haîi=t b-o hêl(e)-ê yanê
 DIS.PTCL understood=2SG:NC be.PRS.IND-3SG:S egg.M-PL.DIR that_means
kam-ê=nê
 which-PL.DIR=COP.3PL:S
 ‘Do you understand what [the word] *hêlê* ‘eggs’ [is]? [Do you know] what they are?’ [JH.82]

⁵Additionally, the phonologically similar *kûgey* ‘where from’ has been attested, e.g., *kûgeynî?* ‘Where are you from?’

- (169) *daxom î jenî pey kamî bo?*
daxom î jenî pey kam-î b-o
 Q.PTCL DEM.PROX woman for which-OBL.M be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S
 ‘Which one would the girl be [married to]?’ [SH.147]

6.7.7 *çinne* ‘how many, how much’

The particle has the direct form *çinne*.

- (170) *mareyî çinne bê?*
mareyî çinne b-ê
 bride_price how_much be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 ‘How much was the bride price?’

When used as a genitive, the particle has the form *çinnê* and is equivalent in meaning to English ‘which’.

- (171) *êtir meyanû salû çinnê bê.*
êtir me-zan-û sal(e)-û çinê
 DISC.PTCL NEG.IND-know.PRS-1SG:A year.F-EZ.GEN how_many.OBL
b-ê
 be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 ‘I don’t know which year it was.’ [JM.49]

When used attributively, the particle has the reduced form *çin*.

- (172) *zemawine çin řowê bê?*
zemawine çin řo-ê b-ê
 wedding_ceremony how_many day.M-PL.DIR be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 ‘How many days was the wedding ceremony?’

6.7.8 *key* ‘when’

The particle has the invariable form *key*.

- (173) *key bî çot?*
key bî-Ø çot
 when be.PST-3SG.M:S deserted
 ‘When did it become deserted?’ [SH.251]

7 Adjectives and numerals

7.1 Adjectives

The category of adjectives is characterised by carrying agreement in gender and number when used attributively or predicatively. When substantivised, adjectives can occur as the head of a noun phrase, inflecting for case as well. In terms of semantic content, the adjectives in Tekht Hewramî encompass semantic fields commonly found across world languages (Dixon 2004), including dimension (1), age (2), value (3), colour (4), physical property (5), human propensity (6), qualification (7), and order (8). For all the adjectives listed below, the masculine form of the adjective has been given. The feminine form has an additional *-e*, and the plural form has *-ê*; e.g., *xas* ‘good (M)’; *xas-e* ‘good (F)’; *xas-ê* ‘good (PL)’.

I. Dimension

(1)	<i>zil</i>	‘big, giant’	<i>pan</i>	‘wide (of road)’
	<i>wiçkile, miçkile</i>	‘small (of object)’	<i>barik</i>	‘narrow (of road)’
	<i>řêz</i>	‘tiny’	<i>xirt</i>	‘round (of tray)’
	<i>dirêj</i>	‘tall’	<i>teng</i>	‘not spacious (of house)’
	<i>kuł</i>	‘short’	<i>tesk</i>	‘narrow (of trousers)’
	<i>berz</i>	‘high’	<i>tûl</i>	‘vast (of area)’
	<i>nizm, kuł</i>	‘low (wall)’	<i>şor</i>	‘loose, pendant’

II. Age

(2)	<i>pîr</i>	‘old’	<i>taze</i>	‘new (of object)’
	<i>cuwan</i>	‘young’	<i>teř</i>	‘wet, fresh (of human)’
	<i>kone</i>	‘old (of object)’	<i>gewre</i>	‘old (of age)’
			<i>wiçkile, miçkile</i>	‘little (of age)’

III. Value

(3)	<i>şal</i>	‘good (of action)’	<i>gul</i>	‘bad, dirty’
	<i>weş</i>	‘good (of taste)’	<i>xirab</i>	‘bad (of object)’
	<i>xas</i>	‘good (of human)’	<i>giran</i>	‘expensive’
	<i>beđ</i>	‘bad (of action)’	<i>herzan</i>	‘cheap’

IV. Colour

(4)	<i>sîyaw</i>	‘black’	<i>sewz</i>	‘green’
	<i>çerme</i>	‘white’	<i>zer</i>	‘yellow’
	<i>sûr</i>	‘red’	<i>qaweyî</i>	‘brown’
	<i>kewe</i>	‘blue’	<i>çermete, çermetê</i>	‘whitish’
			<i>bazbaz</i>	‘black and white’

V. Physical property

(5)	<i>têj</i>	‘sharp (of knife)’	<i>wîşk</i>	‘dry’
	<i>kul</i>	‘blunt’	<i>pîs</i>	‘dirty’
	<i>tiş</i>	‘sour’	<i>gena (M); genê (F)</i>	‘rotten’
	<i>soł</i>	‘salty’	<i>xîş</i>	‘fat’
	<i>şîrîn</i>	‘sweet’	<i>hejar</i>	‘thin’ (of human)
	<i>tał</i>	‘bitter’	<i>leř</i>	‘thin’
	<i>saf</i>	‘flat (of level)’	<i>qaym, biřik</i>	‘thick’ (of object)
	<i>germ</i>	‘warm’	<i>nasik</i>	‘thin (e.g., of object)’
	<i>serd</i>	‘cold’	<i>keř</i>	‘deaf’
	<i>qurs</i>	‘heavy’	<i>lał</i>	‘mute’
	<i>sûk</i>	‘light’	<i>qoł, qûł</i>	‘deep’
	<i>nerm</i>	‘soft’	<i>puxte</i>	‘clean’
	<i>nemdar, teř</i>	‘wet’	<i>řeq, pitew</i>	‘hard’ (e.g., of stone)
	<i>kał</i>	‘unripe (fruit)’	<i>lem(e)-dare</i>	‘pregnant’
			<i>duwe gîyane</i>	‘pregnant’

VI. Human propensity

(6)	<i>adiz</i>	‘upset’	<i>weşte</i>	‘cute’
	<i>weşhał, kok</i>	‘happy’	<i>jîr</i>	‘wise’
	<i>nařihet</i>	‘sad’	<i>ezem / ezeme</i>	‘unmarried, single’
	<i>keç</i>	‘crooked’	<i>har</i>	‘restless’
	<i>cuwanxas</i>	‘good-looking’	<i>qûwet</i>	‘strong’
	<i>zoł</i>	‘cunning’	<i>zeřîf, zayf, kiz</i>	‘weak’
	<i>manya</i>	‘tired’	<i>zerîf</i>	‘beautiful (of woman)’

VII. Qualification

(7)	<i>řas</i>	‘true’	<i>xelet, qeret</i>	‘wrong’
	<i>meřlûm</i>	‘obvious’	<i>sehl</i>	‘easy’
			<i>tûl</i>	‘long (of story)’

VIII. Order

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---------|---------------|----------|
| (8) | <i>yomîn, yekemîn</i> | ‘first’ | <i>duwê</i> | ‘second’ |
| | | | <i>axirîn</i> | ‘last’ |

7.1.1 Adjectival inflection

The class of adjectives is inflectionally distinct from that of nouns because while nouns are inherently specified for one gender, adjectives have no inherent gender. That is, adjectives agree with the head noun in gender but do not bear gender distinctions per se.

The defining feature of adjectives is that they agree in gender and number when used attributively (see §7.1.1.1) or predicatively (see §7.1.1.2). When substantivised, adjectives take nominal inflection (see §7.1.1.3).

Similarly, the category of participles as deverbal adjectives inflect for gender and number, as can be seen in the inflection of the resultative participle form of *witey* ‘to sleep’ in (9), and in example (10):

- (9) Inflected participial forms of *witey* ‘to sleep’

M.SG	<i>wit-e</i>
F.SG	<i>wit-ê</i>
PL	<i>wit-ê</i>

- (10) *patê diŕyê*
pat(a)-ê diŕy(a)-ê
 shoe-PL tear.PST.PTCP-PL
 ‘torn shoes’

7.1.1.1 Attributive adjectives

When used in a head-modifier relation (i.e., when used attributively), adjectives agree in gender and number with the head noun. The relevant inflectional formatives are \emptyset [M.SG] and *-e* [F.SG] cumulatively expressing gender and number, and *-ê* [PL] expressing number agreement in the plural.

- Examples of gender agreement:

- (11) *kuŕê cuwanxas*
kuŕ-ê cuwanxas- \emptyset
 boy.M-INDF good-looking-M
 ‘a good-looking boy’

[KŞ.68]

7 Adjectives and numerals

- (12) *jenê xase*
jen(i)-ê xas-e
 woman.F-INDF nice-F
 ‘a nice wife’ [JH.64]

- (13) *yagê cîyakare*
yag(e)-ê cîyakar-e
 place.F-INDF separate-F
 ‘a separate place’ [JP.63]

- Examples of number agreement:

- (14) *îsanê bêşeqtê*
îsan-ê bêşeqt-ê
 human.M-PL silly-PL
 ‘silly men’ [ŞC.28]

- (15) *karê xirabê*
kar-ê xirab-ê
 thing.M-PL bad-PL
 ‘bad things’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 439)

7.1.1.2 Predicative adjectives

In their predicative use, adjectives agree in gender and number with the subject of copula clauses. Examples of gender agreement:

- (16) *kinaçekê felece bo.*
kinaç(ê)-ekê felec-e b-o
 girl.F-DEF.F.SG disabled-F be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘The girl was disabled.’ [JP.149]

- (17) *řama dûrene.*
řa=ma dûr-e=ne
 road.F=1PL:PSR far-F=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘We have a long way [to go]. [Lit. Our way is far.]’ [BP.191]

Example (18) features a predicative adjective agreeing in number with the subject argument.

- (18) *ême firê bēnmê.*
ême fir(e)-ê b-ên-mê.
 1PL a_lot-PL be.PRS-AUG-1PL:S
 ‘We were a large number.’ [BP.110]

The examples below illustrate the agreement pattern of coordinate predicative adjectives, linked by the conjunction =û ‘and’ (see §13.1.1.1). In most cases, only the second coordinate adjective carries agreement with the head subject argument, see (19)–(20), though it is possible that both coordinate adjectives carry agreement markers (21).

- (19) *êtir kinaçê keřû laŧe bo.*
êtir kinaçê keř(e)=û laŧ-e b-o
 DISC.PTCL daughter.F.DIR deaf.F=and mute-F be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘The girl was deaf-mute.’ [ZP.51]

- (20) *pîsû poxlêndê.*
pîs=û poxl-ê=ndê
 dirty=and grubby-PL=COP.2PL:S
 ‘You (pl.) are dirty and grubby.’ [ÇK.20]

- (21) *ênneç zerîfew mehbûbe bê.*
ênne=ç zerîf-e=û mehbûb-e b-ê
 so_much=ADD beautiful-F=and comely-F be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 ‘She was so beautiful and comely.’ [DB.175]

It is notable that inherently plural mass nouns, which are grammatically feminine (see §4.1.2.1), trigger plural marking on predicative adjectives in non-verbal clauses.

- (22) *mekî solênê.*
mekî sol-ê=nê
 salt.F salty-PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘The salt is salty.’

- (23) *vamî wişkênê.*
vamî wişk-ê=nê
 almond.F dry-PL=3PL:S
 ‘The almonds are dry.’

- (24) *qijê sîyawênê.*
qijê sîyaw-ê=nê
 hair.F black-PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘The hair is black.’

7.1.1.3 Substantivised adjectives

When substantivised, adjectives inflect for number, case, and gender (only in the singular) through fusional endings. The inflection of substantivised adjectives is identical to that of nouns, hence there is one underlying inflectional class for nominal/adjectival inflection. This inflectional class manifests itself only in the adjectives’ substantive use. The inflection of *cuwan* ‘young’ in (25) illustrates the underlying fusional suffixes for substantivised adjectives.

- (25) *cuwan* ‘young’
- | | | |
|--------|------------------------|----------------|
| | M | F |
| SG.DIR | <i>cuwan</i> | <i>cuwane</i> |
| SG.OBL | <i>cuwan-î</i> | <i>cuwan-ê</i> |
| PL.DIR | <i>cuwan-ê</i> | |
| PL.OBL | <i>cuwan-a</i> [ZQ.54] | |

The underlying inflection undergoes phonologically-conditioned allomorphy when the adjective ends in a vowel. The inflection patterns of *gewre* ‘big, old (of age)’ (26) and *awra*, *wira* ‘hungry’ (27) are given as examples.

- (26) *gewre* ‘big, old (of age)’
- | | | |
|--------|---------------|--------------|
| | M | F |
| SG.DIR | <i>gewre</i> | <i>gewrê</i> |
| SG.OBL | <i>gewrey</i> | <i>gewrê</i> |
| PL.DIR | <i>gewrê</i> | |
| PL.OBL | <i>gewra</i> | |

- (27) *awra* ‘hungry’
- | | | |
|--------|----------------|-------------|
| | M | F |
| SG.DIR | <i>awra</i> | <i>awra</i> |
| SG.OBL | <i>awra-y</i> | <i>awrê</i> |
| PL.DIR | <i>awrê</i> | |
| PL.OBL | <i>awra-ya</i> | |

7.1.1.4 Adjectives in the NP

Adjectives link to the head noun via a head-linking strategy called *ezafe* within Iranian linguistics (see §5.3.2). In the material from the text corpus, the *ezafe* linker is dropped following indefinite and plural suffixes (see §5.3.2 for details and exceptions). The attributive *ezafe* linker *-î* connects the head noun to the adjective, when the head noun is either bare (28), or a proper noun (29). The linker *-î* also links relative clauses in present tense constructions to a 3rd person pronominal head, see (30).

- (28) *diî beđ*
diî-î *beđ*
 heart.M-EZ.ATTR bad
 ‘anger [lit. bad heart]’ [DP.38]

- (29) *heyasî jîr*
heyas-î *jîr*
 PN-EZ.ATTR shrewd
 ‘Hayas the Wise’ [JH.2]

- (30) *aney pa milo řaw hatîre bo patşa.*
ane-î *pa* *mi-l-o* *řa-û*
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR-EZ.ATTR from_there IND-go.PRS-3SG:S way.F-EZ.GEN
hat-î=re *b-o* *patşa*
 fortune-M.SG.OBL=POST become.PRS.IND-3SG:S king
 ‘The one who went to the way of good fortune became a king.’ [DB.111]

7.1.2 Adjectival derivation

Adjectives can be derived from other word categories by adding an affix, often a suffix. The most common affixes found in the corpus are listed below.

7.1.2.1 *-î*

The derivational suffix *-î* is the most productive adjectivising suffix in Hewramî. It can derive adjectives from nouns (31), and from adjectives (32). In the former, *-î* derives gentilic adjectives from nouns. It can also convey the meaning ‘affiliation’.

- (31) *řereb-î* ‘Arabic’
kirmaşan-î ‘from Kermanshah’

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<i>şerî-î</i>	‘lawful’
<i>naşerî-î</i>	‘unlawful’
<i>xwa-yî</i>	‘divine’

The suffix sometimes derives an adjective from another adjective. This is particularly the case with Arabic loans, whose word class was probably obscure when borrowed. Thus, adding *-î* ensured their being classed as adjectives.

- (32) *muweqet-î* ‘temporary’

7.1.2.2 -in

The adjectivising suffix *-in* derives adjectives indicating a characteristic typical of a person.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|------------|------------------|-----------|
| (33) | <i>çilîk-in</i> | ‘dirty’ | cf. <i>çilîk</i> | ‘microbe’ |
| | <i>çilîm-in</i> | ‘snotty’ | cf. <i>çilîm</i> | ‘mucous’ |
| | <i>mirxin</i> | ‘snorting’ | cf. <i>mirxe</i> | ‘snort’ |

7.1.2.3 -dar

The adjectiviser suffix *-dar* derives adjectives from nouns with roughly the meaning of ‘having’.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------|
| (34) | <i>lemdare</i> | ‘pregnant’ | cf. <i>leme</i> | ‘belly’ |
| | <i>nemdar</i> | ‘wet’ | cf. <i>nem</i> | ‘humidity’ |
| | <i>zamdar</i> | ‘wounded’ | cf. <i>zam</i> | ‘wound’ |
| | <i>heyadar</i> | ‘self-conscious’ | cf. <i>heya</i> | ‘decency’ |
| | <i>qûwedâr</i> | ‘strong, powerful’ | cf. <i>qûwe</i> | ‘strength’ |
| | <i>samdar</i> | ‘formidable’ | cf. <i>sam</i> | ‘awe’ |
| | <i>şeybdar</i> | ‘defective, faulty’ | cf. <i>şeyb</i> | ‘fault’ |

7.1.2.4 -ot

The derivational suffix *-ot*, likely to be cognate with the diminutive *ote*, derives adjectives from nouns. When added to the base, it conveys the meaning ‘the quality of’ or ‘full of’.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (35) | <i>kirm(i)-ot</i> | ‘wormy’ | cf. <i>kirmî</i> | ‘worm’ |
| | <i>geřot</i> | ‘debased (of coin)’ | cf. <i>geř</i> | ‘curve, circle’ |

7.1.2.5 *ne-*

The adjectivising prefix *ne-* is a negative prefix that derives adjectives from nouns and adjectives alike.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (36) | <i>nefam</i> | ‘inexperienced’ | cf. <i>fam</i> | ‘understanding’ |
| | <i>neweş</i> | ‘ill’ | cf. <i>weş</i> | ‘well, nice’ |

7.1.2.6 *na-*

The prefix *na-*, like *ne* is an adjectivising suffix with the core meaning ‘not’. However, it seems to be only deriving adjectives from adjectives.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (37) | <i>nařihet</i> | ‘sad’ | cf. <i>řihet</i> | ‘relaxed’ |
| | <i>namerd</i> | ‘ungallant’ | cf. <i>merd</i> | ‘gallant’ |
| | <i>naşerfi</i> | ‘unlawful’ | cf. <i>şerfi</i> | ‘lawful’ |
| | <i>nabele</i> | ‘unskilled, unfamiliar’ | cf. <i>bele</i> | ‘skilled, familiar’ |
| | <i>naxafıl</i> | ‘unexpected’ | | |

7.1.2.7 Other derivational affixes

Less common derivational affixes include the negation prefix *bê-*, the diminutive *-le* (M.SG) / *-lê* (F.SG, PL), and *-mek*.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
| (38) | <i>bê-heya</i> | ‘indecent’ | cf. <i>heya</i> | ‘decency’ |
| | <i>bê-feql</i> | ‘silly’ | cf. <i>feql</i> | ‘wisdom’ |
| | <i>bê-xeber</i> | ‘unaware’ | cf. <i>xeber</i> | ‘news’ |
| | <i>bêkar</i> | ‘unemployed’ | cf. <i>kar</i> | ‘job, task’ |
| | <i>weş-le</i> | ‘cute’ (M) | cf. <i>weş</i> | ‘well, nice’ |
| | <i>weş-mek</i> | ‘amusing’ | cf. <i>weş</i> | ‘well, nice’ |

The occurrence of the diminutive suffixes *-le/-lê* with the adjectives gives a meaning of intensification (see Jurafsky 1996 for a typology of diminutive suffixes):

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-------------|------------------|--------|
| (39) | <i>hejar-le</i> | ‘emaciated’ | cf. <i>hejar</i> | ‘thin’ |
| | <i>feqîr-le</i> | ‘destitute’ | cf. <i>feqîr</i> | ‘poor’ |
| | <i>denûle/ denale</i> | ‘tiny’ | cf. <i>dane</i> | ‘seed’ |

7.1.3 Compound adjectives

Like nouns, adjectives can be formed through compounding. The most common strategy for deriving compound adjectives is to combine a nominal root with an adjective. Like simple adjectives, compound adjectives show agreement with the nominal head, as shown by *cîyakare* in (40) < *cîya* ‘separate’ + *kar* ‘job’ + -e (F), and *lemepeře* ‘pregnant’ in (41) < *leme* ‘belly’ + *peř* ‘full’ + -e (F).

- (40) *yagê cîyakare*
yag(ê)-ê cîyakar-e
 place.F-INDF separate-F
 ‘a separate place’ [JP.63]

- (41) *jenê lemepeře*
jen(i)-ê lemepeř-e
 woman.F-INDF pregnant-F
 ‘a pregnant woman’ [KŞ.17]

7.1.3.1 Noun + adjective compounds

In Noun + adjective compounds, an adjective (42) or a participle (43) is juxtaposed to the nominal root.

- (42) *lemepeře* ‘pregnant’ < *leme* ‘belly’ + *peře* ‘full’ [KŞ.17]
payebilin ‘grand’ < *paye* ‘leg’ + *bilin* ‘high’ [DG.4]
serberz ‘proud, dignified’ < *ser* ‘head’ + *berz* ‘high’
- (43) *lemdiřya* ‘glutton’ < *leme* ‘belly’ + *diřya* ‘torn’

7.1.3.2 Adjective + noun compounds

Adjectives can be formed equally by combining with a noun through simple compounding or, less commonly, through the compound marker -e (see §5.3.3).

- (44) *weşkelam* ‘eloquent’ < *weş* ‘good’ + *kelam* ‘word’ [KŞ.42]
bedbext ‘poor, unlucky’ < *beđ* ‘bad’ + *bext* ‘luck’ [JE.43]
cîyakar ‘separate’ < *cîya* ‘separate’ + *kar* [JP.63]
noxet ‘just grown beard’ < *no* ‘new’ + *xet* ‘line’ [KŞ.74]
berz-e pey ‘standing’ < *berz* ‘high’ + -e + *pey* ‘leg’ [ZB.26]
weşhał ‘happy’ < *weş* ‘good’ + *hał* ‘state’
kemqûwe ‘weak’ < *kem* ‘little’ + *qûwe* ‘strength’

- (45) *berzepey miðrarê.*
berzepey miðr-a=rê
 standing stop.PRS-3PL:S=POVB
 ‘They remained [Lit. stopped] [in the tent] standing up.’ [ZB.26]

7.1.3.3 Other types of compounds

Compound adjectives can be formed less commonly by combining adjectives with other parts of speech, e.g., participles and numerals.

- (46) *weşkewte* ‘healthy’ < *weş* ‘good’ + *kewte* ‘fallen (M)’ [ZQ.17]
duwe gîyane ‘pregnant’ < *duwê* ‘two’ + *gîyan* ‘soul’ + *-e* (F)

Far less common are compound adjectives in which neither of the component parts is from the category of adjectives. In the following example, the component parts are joined by the compound marker *-e*.

- (47) *tersezal* ‘timid, coward’ < *ters* ‘fear’ + *-e* + *zal* ‘bladder?’ [BP.100]

A number of adjectives can be formed through a reduced clause. An example is *taze yawa penew*, which has a sense of ‘just hitting puberty’, as glossed below (See §4.2.2.2 for similar clauses in nominal compounding).

- (48) *miðyo kuřê noxetû cuwanxasû taze yawa pene.*
mi-ðy(e)-o *kuř-ê* *noxet=û* *cuwanxas=û*
 IND-look.PRS-3SG:S boy.M-INDF just_grown_beard=and gentlemanly=and
taze-yawa-pene
 just-arrive.PST.PTCP.M-to
 ‘She saw a good-looking young man [who had] just grown a beard and
 [had] just hit puberty.’ [KŞ.74]

7.1.4 Comparison of adjectives

Adjectives mark three degrees of comparison. Three degrees of comparison are plain (unmarked), comparative, and superlative. The paradigm in (49) illustrates the three forms of comparison on *gewre* ‘big’.

- (49) *gewre* ‘big’
gewre-ter ‘bigger’
gewre-terîn ‘biggest’

The comparative is expressed by the suffix *-ter*, which can, in principle, inflect for gender.

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- (50) *zîyater* 'more' [ZB.57]
dewletmenter 'richer' [JM.43]
xaster 'better' [JM.55]

Example (51) illustrates gender agreement where the comparative adjective has been used predicatively.

- (51) *sinfeş gewretere bê.*
sinfe=ş *gewre-ter-e* *b-ê*
 age.F=3SG:PSR old-CMPR-F be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 'He was older. [Lit. His age was older.]' [HS.47]

The comparative adjectives can also be used attributively, as shown in (52).

- (52) *kitêwe şaltere misanû.*
kit(e)-êwe *şal-ter-e* *mi-san-û*
 cat.F-INDF good-CMPR-F IND-buy.PRS-1SG:A
 'I will buy a better cat.'

The comparative suffix *-ter* is repeated on adjectives connected by the conjunction particle *=û*, pointing to its affixal status.

- (53) *aneşa zilterû şalter bo ...*
ane=şa *zil-ter=û* *şal-ter* *b-o*
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR=3PL:PSR big-CMPR=and good-CMPR be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 'the one who was bigger and healthier ...' [ZB.40]

The standard of comparison is expressed by a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *ce* 'from' (or its morphological allomorph *ç=*), hence marked by the oblique case.

- (54) *ce taranî kuweyt dewletmenter bê.*
ce *taran-î* *kuweyt dewletmen-ter* *b-ê*
 from PN-OBL.M PN rich-CMPR be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 'Kuwait was more affluent than Tehran.' [JM.44]

- (55) *şış kîlowê ađ çewî zîyater bîyebê.*
şış kilo-ê ađ ç=ewî zîya-ter
 six kilo.M-PL.DIR 3SG.M.DIR from=3SG.OBL.M a_lot-CMPR
bîye=b-ê
 be.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 ‘He weighed six kilos more than him (the other son).’ [ZB.57]

The comparative degree can be expressed periphrastically through a copular clause linked to the standard of comparison via the preposition *ta* ‘than’. This construction has been attested in the speech of very old speakers.

- (56) *min serberzna ta to.*
min serberz=na ta to
 1SG successful.M=COP.1SG:S than 2SG
 ‘I (m.) am more successful than you.’ [ŞŞ.02]

Superlatives can be expressed in different ways. They can be morphologically expressed by adding *-terîn* to the bare form of the adjective. The suffix *-terîn* is cognate with *-tirîn* in CK and SK, and *-tarin* in Persian. It can be analysed as composing of the comparative suffix *-ter* + *-în*. This strategy seems to be more prevalent among the younger generation.

- (57) *bih-terîn yagêw hewramanî*
bih-terîn yagê=w hewraman-î
 good-SUPR place-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘the best place in Hewraman’ [hearsay]

Another strategy for expressing superlative degree is to have the standard of comparison introduced by the phrase ‘from all’, with the noun bearing definite marking, and the adjective marked by the comparative suffix *-ter*. In (58) the stand of comparison *kêşwer-eka* has definite marking.

- (58) *a zemanê kuweyt ce girdû kêşwereka dewletmenter bê.*
a zeman=e kuweyt ce gird-û kêşwer-eka
 DEM.DIST time.M=DEM PN from all-EZ.GEN country-DEF.PL.OBL
dewletmen-ter b-ê
 rich-CMPR be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 ‘Back then, Kuwait was the richest of all countries.’ [JM.43]

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A similar strategy is to use a nominalised adjective as the head of the noun phrase to express the superlative in what is equivalent to the English ‘the youngest of all’:

- (59) *wirdîklew girdîn.*
wirdîkle-û gird-î=n
young-EZ.GEN all-OBL.M=COP.M
‘He was the youngest of all.’ [ME.24]

7.1.5 Adverbial function of adjectives

A subset of adjectives, e.g., *fire* ‘many’, can be used adverbially to modify another adjective.

- (60) *dastanê fire tûle*
dastane-ê fire tûl-e
story.F-INDF very long-F
‘a very long tale’ [BP.158]

A small number of adjectives can be used adverbially to modify verbs. These typically include value and qualification adjectives such as *xas* ‘good’, *řas* ‘true’, and quantity adjectives such as *fire* ‘many’, and *kem* ‘small’.

- (61) *welî emaneketê xas xelk bawîřiş pene mekerô.*
welî emaneketê xas xelk bawîř=iř pene me-ker-o
but but well people.M belief=3SG:R in NEG.IND-do.PRS-3SG:A
‘But people still did not believe in him that much [as a leader].’ [JP.144]
- (62) *fire mûsaw kem mûsa.*
fire m-ûs-a=û kem m-ûs-a
a_lot IND-sleep.PRS-3PL:S=and little IND-sleep.PRS-3PL:S
‘They slept a lot; They slept a little.’ [JP.66]

7.2 Numerals

This section studies numerals. Like neighbouring Iranian and Semitic languages (e.g., North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic), Tekht Hewramî has a decimal numeral system.

7.2.1 Cardinal numerals

The numeral one marks gender distinction: *yo* ‘one (M)’; *yuwe* ‘one (F)’. In cardinal numerals above twenty containing ‘one’, *yek* is used, e.g., *wîs=û yek* ‘twenty-one’. However, in ordinal numbers above twenty, *yuwe* is used, e.g., *şew(e)=û wîs=û yuwe-m* [night.F=EZ.GEN twenty=and one-ORD] ‘the twenty first night’. Numerals ‘two’ and ‘three’ have plural inflection when used nominally (63) or when modifying a head noun (64).

- (63) *her yerê anêya ça.*
her yerê anêya ça
 all three DEIC.3PL:S there
 ‘All three were [lying] there.’ [SH.125]

- (64) *duwê dêwê îne dewrşane.*
duwê dêw-ê îne dewr=şa=ne
 two ogre.M-PL.DIR DEIC.3PL:S around=3PL:PSR=POST
 ‘They were surrounded by two ogres.[Lit. Two ogres were in their surroundings.]’ [ZP.67]

However, when used following a demonstrative, the base forms *duwe* ‘two’ and *yere* ‘three’ are used, see (65)–(66). The base forms end in *-e*, also suggested by the adjective *duwe gýane* ‘pregnant’ (lit. two souls). Similarly, when used as an adjective of order, the base form is used, see (67).

- (65) *nitqşa girtêne î duwe dêwene.*
nitq=şa girtê=ne î duwe
 speech=3PL:A grab.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O DEM.PROX two
dêw=e=ne
 ogre=DEM=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘They had muted her speech, these two ogres.’ [JP.178]
- (66) *î yere nefere*
î yere nefer=e
 DEM.PROX three personDEM
 ‘these three people’ [SH.114]
- (67) *dehfew yerey*
dehfe-û yere-î
 time.F-EZ.GEN three-M.SG.OBL
 ‘the third time’ [KŞ.27]

Numerals above three are invariable. The numbers 11–19 are formed by adding numbers 1 to 9 (see Table 7.1) on 10, hence *çwarde* ‘fourteen’: *çwar* ‘four’ + *de* ‘ten’. The initial segment in *de* ‘ten’ is assimilated to the final segment in numerals such as *heve* ‘seventeen’, and *noze* ‘nineteen’. Numerals *yanze* ‘eleven’, *dwanze* ‘twelve’, *paŋze* ‘fifteen’, and *şaŋze* ‘sixteen’ come with additional segments between what is assumed to be the numeral + *de* ‘ten’. The numbers above twenty, which occur between multiples of ten, are formed either by simple compounding or coordination, through the coordinator conjunction =*û* (see §13.1.1.1). Table 7.1 lists cardinal numerals 1–40.

Table 7.1: Cardinal numerals 1–40

1	<i>yo</i> (M), <i>yuwe</i> (F)	21	<i>wîs(=û) yek</i>
2	<i>duwê</i>	22	<i>wî(=û) duwê</i>
3	<i>yerê</i>	23	<i>wîs(=û) yerê</i>
4	<i>çwar</i>	24	<i>wîs(=û) çwar</i>
5	<i>penc</i>	25	<i>wîs(=û) penc</i>
6	<i>şış</i>	26	<i>wîs(=û) şış</i>
7	<i>hewt</i>	27	<i>wîs(=û) hewt</i>
8	<i>heşt</i>	28	<i>wîs(=û) heşt</i>
9	<i>no</i>	29	<i>wîs(=û) no</i>
10	<i>de</i>	30	<i>sî</i>
11	<i>yanze</i>	31	<i>sî(=û) yek</i>
12	<i>dwanze</i>	32	<i>sî(=û) duwê</i>
13	<i>sêŋze</i>	33	<i>sî(=û) yerê</i>
14	<i>çwarde</i>	34	<i>sî(=û) çwar</i>
15	<i>paŋze</i>	35	<i>sî(=û) penc</i>
16	<i>şaŋze</i>	36	<i>sî(=û) şış</i>
17	<i>heve</i>	37	<i>sî(=û) hewt</i>
18	<i>hejde</i>	38	<i>sî(=û) heşt</i>
19	<i>noze</i>	39	<i>sî(=û) no</i>
20	<i>wîs</i>	40	<i>çîl</i>

The same speaker may use the form with and without the coordination, as suggested by (68)–(69) below. However, the compounding strategy seems more frequent among the older generation. The coordination strategy is used more commonly in the speech of younger speakers.

- (68) *řowê sî penc timenê kar kerênmê.*
 řo-ê **sî** **penc** timen-ê kar ker-ên-mê
 day.M-INDF thirty five PN-PL.DIR task.M do.PRS-AUG-1PL:A
 ‘We used to work for a daily salary of thirty-five tomans.’ [JM.46]
- (69) *şesû şiş saşetê*
şes-û **şiş** saşet-ê
 sixty-EZ.GEN six hour.M-PL.DIR 1PL
 ‘sixty-three hours’ [JM.33]

Numerals above one trigger plural marking on nouns. The noun occurs with the plural direct suffix.

- (70) *penc bizê menênê.*
penc biz(e)-ê menê=nê
 five goat.F-PL.DIR remain.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘Five goats had survived [from the flood].’ [ZB.27]
- (71) *duwanze hêtêş ardê.*
duwanze hêt(e)-ê=ş ard-ê
 twelve egg-PL.DIR=3SG:A take.PST-3PL:O
 ‘She took twelve eggs.’ [HR.44]

In clauses with present stem verbs, numerals trigger plural marking on the direct object, which blocks oblique marking on the direct object argument:

- (72) *jenêç nîşore duwê zarotê wîno.*
jen(i)-ê=ç nîş-o=re duwê zarot(e)-ê
 woman-F.SG.OBL=ADD sit.PRS.IND-3SG:S=POVB two child-PL.DIR
wîn-o
 see.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘The wife gave birth to two babies. [Lit. She sat down [and] saw two babies.]’ [ZB.24]
- (73) *ba yerê tîrê teqnû.*
ba yerê tîr-ê téqn-û
 HORT three bullet-PL.DIR fire.PRS.SBJV-1SG
 ‘I shall fire three bullets.’ [DB.155]

7.2.2 Substantivised numerals

Cardinal numerals may be used independently as the head of the noun phrase or as a genitive, in which case they inflect for case.

- (74) *řowê ce řowa yuwe mê yoyç mê xizmetû şê ſeladinî.*
řo-ê ce řo-a yuwe m-ê yo=iç
 day.M-INDF from day.M-PL.OBL one.F IND-come.PRS.3SG:S one.M=ADD
m-ê xizmet-û şê ſeladin-i
 IND-come.PRS.3SG:S service.M-EZ.GEN sheikh.M PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘Once, [lit. One day of days.] a woman and a man [lit. One (F) came, one (M)] came to the service of Sheikh Aladin.’ [ZB.1]

- (75) *mila ew kuřekey yoyşa bera.*
mi-l-a ew kuř-ekey yo-i=şa
 IND-go.PRS-3PL:S DEM.DIST son.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL one.M-SG.OBL=3PL:PSR
ber-a
 take.PRS.IND-3PL:A
 ‘They went away [and took] that son. They took one of them (i.e., the boys).’ [ZB.40]

- (76) *mêmanû yoy biyênê.*
mêman-û yo-i biyê=nê
 guest.M-EZ.GEN one.M-SG.OBL be.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘They were each a guest of one person.’ [BP.44]

Substantivised numerals above ‘one’ trigger plural agreement on the verb.

- (77) *çwar ba penc ba ...*
çwar b-a penc b-a
 four be.PRS.IND-3PL:S five be.PRS.IND-3PL:S
 ‘[No matter] if they were four or five [guests] ...’ [BP.70]

7.2.3 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are expressed in different ways. The first strategy, which is attested in the speech of the older generation, is to use the suffix *-ê* to express ordinal numbers. In (78), the ordinal suffix is attached to the Arabic borrowing *ewet* ‘first’. In (79), it is merged with the final vowel in *duwê*.

- (78) *ewelêne duwê jenî kîyana.*
ewel-ê=ne duwê jenî kîyan-a
 first-ORD=POST two woman.PL.DIR send.PRS.IND-3PL:A
 ‘At first, they (i.e., the family of the boy) send two women [to the family of the girl].’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 557)

- (79) *min kuřû duwêna.*
min kuř-û duw(ê)-ê=na
 1SG son.M-EZ.GEN two-ORD=COP.1SG:S
 ‘I am the son of the second [wife].’ [JM.3]

Another strategy is to use the base form of the numeral. In (80), the base form of three in the oblique case expresses the ordinal number.

- (80) *dehfew yerey*
dehfe-û yere-î
 time.F-EZ.GEN three-M.SG.OBL
 ‘the third time’ [KŞ.27]

In the speech of the younger generation, the suffix *-(e)m*, *-mîn* tends to express ordinal numerals. The following examples are from Khan & Mohammadirad (2024a: 120).

- (81) *yomîn pîya*
yo-mîn pîya
 one.M-ORD man
 ‘the first man’
- (82) *yuwemîn jenî*
yuwe-mîn jenî
 one.F-ORD woman
 ‘the first woman’
- (83) *jenî yuwem*
jen(î)-î yuw(e)-em
 woman-EZ.ATTR one.F-ORD
 ‘the first woman’

With numeral ‘two’, occasionally the suffix *-îşne*, of unknown origin is used:

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- (84) *jenî duwîşne*
jen(i)-î duw(e)-işne
woman-EZ.ATTR two-ORD
'the second woman'

8 Verb system: stems and major derivational processes

Verbs inflect for the morphological and morphosyntactic features of number, person, gender (only in 3SG in verbs derived from past stem), tense, mood, and aspect. On a par with related Iranian languages, the verb has a two-stem system divided into two tense-based categories roughly equivalent to present and past tenses.

8.1 The two verb stems

The verb has two basic kinds of verbal stems, divided into PRESENT and PAST stems. The present stem is descended from the Old Iranian present stem and features accusative alignment. The past stem is descended from the resultative participle and entails ergative alignment.

More broadly, verbal morphological stems are organised into the following categories: present, imperative, past, resultative participle, and infinitive. The last three are formed based on the past stem. The imperative is based on the present stem (see §8.1.4).

(1) *berđey* ‘to take’

Present stem	<i>ber-</i>
Imperative stem	<i>ber-</i>
Past stem	<i>berđ-</i>
Resultative participle	<i>berđe</i> (M); <i>berđê</i> (F/PL)
Infinitive	<i>berđ-ey</i>

The division into present and past generally equates to using the stems in different TAM formations. Thus, for example, the present stem is used in the formation of present progressive. An exception is the past progressive and past habitual, which are based on the present stem. The following list summarises the TAM categories that are built on the present stem.

8 *Verb system: stems and major derivational processes*

- present/future indicative
- present subjunctive
- imperative
- present progressive
- past progressive
- past habitual
- irrealis past

The past stem is the basis for the formation of the following TAM categories:

- past perfective (preterite)
- past conditional
- perfect
- perfect progressive
- irrealis perfect
- conditional perfect
- past perfect
- perfect pluperfect

8.1.1 Stem types

There are different classes of stems in Hewramî that are motivated by the relation between present and past stems. In each class, the present stem is considered the unmarked stem, to which a segment is added, resulting in the past stem. In presenting the examples of stem pairs, I follow the tradition in Iranian linguistics of taking the infinitive as the citation form. The infinitive is formed by adding the suffix *-ey* to the past stem (see §8.6). This motivates presenting the past stem closer to the citation form since it bears more similarity to the infinitive than the present stem. Thus, in presenting stem types, the order is past stem first, present stem second.

The adoption of the present stem as the basic stem is motivated by two reasons: first, the past stem can be derived from the present stem by the addition of a past formation affix or stem modification (see Table 8.1). Second, the present stem is the basis for deriving passive (2) and most causative stems (3).¹

(2)		Transitive stem		Passive stem	
Gloss	PST stem	PRS stem	Gloss	PST stem	PRS stem
‘sell’	<i>wiret-</i>	<i>wireş-</i>	‘to be sold’	<i>wireşye-</i>	<i>wireşya-</i>
(3)		Intransitive stem		Causative stem	
Gloss	PST stem	PRS stem	Gloss	PST stem	PRS stem
‘sleep’	<i>wit-</i>	<i>ûs-</i>	‘put to sleep’	<i>ûsna-</i>	<i>ûsn-</i>
‘burn’	<i>sot-</i>	<i>soç-</i>	‘burn’	<i>soçna-</i>	<i>soçn-</i>

The following stem classes can be identified in Tekht H., summarised in Table 8.1. As can be seen, in most cases, the shape of the past stem can be guessed from the present stem, e.g., by adding a dental preterite /t/.

Table 8.1: Correspondence between present and past stems in Hewramî

Type	PRS stem ending	PST stem ending	PRS	PST	Gloss
1	-C	-a	<i>piř-</i>	<i>piřa-</i>	‘fly’
2	-r, -ş, -n, -s	added dental stop -d or -t	<i>kuş-</i>	<i>kuşt-</i>	‘kill’
3	-z, -j	-st (for -z), -şt (for -j)	<i>az-</i>	<i>ast-</i>	‘let’
4	-C	-î	<i>biř-</i>	<i>biři-</i>	‘cut’
5	-ye	-ya	<i>dîye-</i>	<i>dîya-</i>	‘look’
6	-ç	-t	<i>soç-</i>	<i>sot-</i>	‘burn’
7	-	suppletive allomorphy	<i>gin-</i>	<i>ket-</i>	‘fall’
			<i>şor-</i>	<i>şit-</i>	‘wash’

In what follows, we delve into each of these stem types. Admittedly, the classification is not without its flaws. For instance, there is no formal difference between stems that take *a* and *î* in types 1 and type 4, respectively, except that the latter is used with limited number of stems. The presentation is inspired by MacKenzie’s (1966) description of stem relations in Luhon H. and Suleymanov’s (2020) description of stem variation in Şirvan Tat.

¹See Ahmadi & Haig (forthcoming) for a similar treatment of stem derivation in Central Kurdish.

8.1.1.1 Type 1

The past stem in this class is characterised by an additional *-a*, typically when the present stem ends in a consonant. The stems used in this class can be either transitive or intransitive.

Intransitive:

(4)	Infinitive		PST	PRS
	<i>tersay</i>	‘be afraid’	<i>tersa-</i>	<i>ters-</i>
	<i>pijmay</i>	‘sneeze’	<i>pijma-</i>	<i>pijm-</i>
	<i>piřay</i>	‘fly’	<i>piřa-</i>	<i>piř-</i>
	<i>bexşay</i>	‘forgive’	<i>bexşa-</i>	<i>bexş-</i>
	<i>waray</i>	‘rain’	<i>wara-</i>	<i>war-</i>
	<i>topay</i>	‘die (animal)’	<i>topa-</i>	<i>top-</i>
	<i>cimay</i>	‘move’	<i>cima-</i>	<i>cim-</i>
	<i>řemay</i>	‘run’	<i>řema-</i>	<i>řem-</i>

Transitive:

(5)	<i>mařay</i>	‘break’	<i>mařa-</i>	<i>mař-</i>
	<i>jinasay</i>	‘know (somebody)’	<i>jinas-a-</i>	<i>jinas-</i>
	<i>zanay</i>	‘know (something)’	<i>zana-</i>	<i>zan-</i>
	<i>fařay</i>	‘change’	<i>fařa-</i>	<i>fař-</i>
	<i>persay</i>	‘ask’	<i>persa-</i>	<i>pers-</i>
	<i>şanay</i>	‘scatter, sow’	<i>şana-</i>	<i>şan-</i>
	<i>kařay</i>	‘plough’	<i>kařa-</i>	<i>kař-</i>
	<i>sanay</i>	‘buy’	<i>sana-</i>	<i>san-</i>
	<i>biřfanay</i>	‘snatch’	<i>biřfana-</i>	<i>biřfan-</i>

In Luhon H., the past stem for ‘buy’ (*esay*) and ‘snatch’ (*eřfay*) is short of the final *-n* of the present stem (MacKenzie 1966: 28), which is an exception to the general rule of the past stem having an additional segment compared to the present stem, thus *esay* ‘buy’: *esa-* (PST); *esan-* (PRS); *eřfay* ‘snatch’: *eřfa-* (PST); *eřfan-* (PRS). The Tekht Hewramî pairs in (6), repeated for convenience, show that the relation between present and past stems is regularised for these verb stems.

(6)	<i>sanay</i>	‘buy’	<i>sana-</i>	<i>san-</i>
	<i>biřfanay</i>	‘snatch’	<i>biřfana-</i>	<i>biřfan-</i>

In addition, the causative counterparts of some of the intransitive verbs seen above show the same relationship between present and past stems (see §8.4.1

for causative morphology). In (7), the causative stem is formed using *-n* for the present stem and *-na* for the past stem, added to the present base of the verb.

(7)	<i>tersnay</i>	‘scare’	<i>tersna-</i>	<i>tersn-</i>
	<i>bexşnay</i>	‘distribute’	<i>bexşna-</i>	<i>bexşn-</i>
	<i>topnay</i>	‘kill (animal)’	<i>topna-</i>	<i>topn-</i>
	<i>cimnay</i>	‘move’	<i>cimna-</i>	<i>cimn-</i>
	<i>řemnay</i>	‘make run’	<i>řemna-</i>	<i>řemn-</i>

8.1.1.2 Type 2

Stem pairs in type 2 are characterised by the presence of a dental stop *-d* or *-t* in the past stem. This is most common when the present stem ends in *-r*, *-ş*, *-n*, and *-s*. The dental stop assimilates in voicing to the past stem’s final consonant.

(8)	<i>kuştey</i>	‘kill’	<i>kuşt-</i>	<i>kuş-</i>
	<i>kêştey</i>	‘weigh, pull’	<i>kêşt-</i>	<i>kêş-</i>
	<i>kerdey</i>	‘do’	<i>kerd-</i>	<i>ker-</i>
	<i>taştey</i>	‘shave, cut’	<i>taşt-</i>	<i>taş-</i>
	<i>doştey</i>	‘milk’	<i>doşt-</i>	<i>doş-</i>
	<i>berdey</i>	‘take’	<i>berd-</i>	<i>ber-</i>
	<i>ardey</i>	‘bring’	<i>ard-</i>	<i>ar-</i>
	<i>gêrtrey</i>	‘grab’	<i>gêrt-</i>	<i>gêr-</i>

With the present stem ending in *-n* and *-s*, the dental preterite undergoes total progressive assimilation, resulting in the loss of the dental preterite in the past stem.

(9)	<i>nivîsey</i>	‘write’	<i>nvîs(s)- < nvîst-</i>	<i>nvîs-</i>
	<i>kenney</i>	‘dug’	<i>ken(n)- < kend-</i>	<i>ken-</i>
	<i>řêsey</i>	‘spin’	<i>řês(s)- < řêst-</i>	<i>řês-</i>
	<i>wistey-(re)</i>	‘throw’	<i>wîs(s)=re < wîst-re</i>	<i>wîz=re</i>

Exceptions:

(10)	<i>wiretrey</i>	‘sell’	<i>wîret-</i>	<i>wîreş-</i>
	<i>kîyast</i>	‘send’	<i>kîyas-</i>	<i>kîyan-</i>

8.1.1.3 Type 3

The past stem ending in this class *-st* and *-şt* corresponds to the present stem ending in *-z* and *-j*, respectively. As it seems, the stem pairs in this class are

similar to those in class 2, the difference being that the voiced sibilants in the past stem assimilate in voicing to the unvoiced dental stop *-t*.

(11)	<i>miştey</i>	‘suck up’	<i>mişt-</i>	<i>mij-</i>
	<i>brêştey</i>	‘roast’	<i>brêşt-</i>	<i>brêj-</i>
	<i>astey</i>	‘let’	<i>ast-</i>	<i>az-</i>
	<i>gestey</i>	‘bite’	<i>gest-</i>	<i>gez-</i>
	<i>wirastey</i>	‘sew’	<i>wirast-</i>	<i>wiraz-</i>
	<i>wastey</i>	‘request, beg’	<i>wast-</i>	<i>waz-</i>
	<i>westey-re</i>	‘get off’	<i>west=re</i>	<i>wez=re</i>
	<i>yostey=we</i>	‘find’	<i>yos(s)=we</i>	<i>yož=we</i>

8.1.1.4 Type 4

The stem pairs in this subclass are characterised by an additional vocalic *-î* in the past stem. The vocalic *-î* on the past stem is probably descended from a secondary suffix *-îd*, the *d* of which dropped due to the historical post-vocalic deletion of /*d*/ (Mohammadirad & Öpengin 2024).

(12)	<i>biŕyey</i>	‘cut’	<i>biŕî</i>	<i>biŕ-</i>
	<i>dizyey</i>	‘steal’	<i>dizî-</i>	<i>diz-</i>
	<i>seŕyey</i>	‘wipe’ (TR)	<i>seŕî-</i>	<i>seŕ-</i>
	<i>çinyey</i>	‘pick, pluck, weave’	<i>çiniî-</i>	<i>çin-</i>
	<i>ŕinyey</i>	‘scratch’ (TR)	<i>ŕiniî-</i>	<i>ŕin-</i>
	<i>şîyey</i>	‘go’ (INTR)	<i>şî-</i>	<i>ş-</i>
	<i>mişyey</i>	‘learn’	<i>mişî-</i>	<i>miş-</i>

8.1.1.5 Type 5

The stem pairs in this subclass show a relationship between the present stem ending in *-ye* and the past stem ending in *-ya*. This subclass typically comprises unaccusative verbs.

(13)	<i>faŕyay</i>	‘change’ (INTR)	<i>faŕya-</i>	<i>faŕye-</i>
	<i>toryay</i>	‘get offended’	<i>torya-</i>	<i>torye-</i>
	<i>dîyay</i>	‘look’	<i>dîya-</i>	<i>dîye-</i>
	<i>pijgyay</i>	‘scatter’ (INTR)	<i>pijgya-</i>	<i>pijgye-</i>
	<i>xirabyay</i>	‘worsen’	<i>xirabya-</i>	<i>xirabye-</i>
	<i>piŕokyay</i>	‘be exhausted’	<i>piŕokya-</i>	<i>piŕokye-</i>
	<i>temamyay</i>	‘finish’	<i>temamya-</i>	<i>temamye-</i>
	<i>bezyay</i>	‘be vanquished’ (INTR)	<i>bezya-</i>	<i>bezye-</i>

This subclass also contains present stems ending in *-e*:

- (14) *day* ‘give’ *da-* *de-*
 gay ‘copulate’ *ga-* *ge-*

8.1.1.6 Type 6

The stem pairs in this subclass have present stems ending in a voiceless post-alveolar affricate and past stems with the dental marker.

- (15) *sotey* ‘burn’ (INTR) *sot-* *soç-*
 wetey ‘doff’ *wet-* *weç-*
 wêtey ‘sift’ *wêt-* *wêç-*
 watey ‘say, tell’ *wat-* *waç-, aç-*
 petey ‘bake’ *pet-* *peç-*
 pêtey ‘fold (grass)’ *pêt-* *pêç-*
 patey ‘cut (hair)’ *pat-* *paç-*

The present stem of *watey* ‘say, tell’ features stem allomorphy. Depending on the morphological context, it can be realised as either *waç-* or *aç-*. The variant *waç-* occurs in more morphological contexts than *aç-* and may be considered the inherited form, given its similarity to the past stem *wat*. The variant *aç-* is limited to occur with present indicative verbs. *waç* occasionally appears in the present indicative, e.g., *waçmê* ‘we say’ [JH.23].

Table 8.2: Morphological allomorphy in the present stem of the verb *watey* ‘to say’

TAM categories	Stem	Example	Gloss
Present indicative	<i>aç-</i>	<i>m-aç-û</i>	‘I say’
Present subjunctive	<i>waç-</i>	<i>waç-û</i>	‘that I say’
Imperative	<i>waç-</i>	<i>waç-e</i>	‘Say!’
Past habitual	<i>waç-</i>	<i>waç-ên-a</i>	‘I used to say’

8.1.1.7 Type 7

The stem pairs in this subclass feature suppletive allomorphy with two groups of verbs. In the first group, illustrated in (16), suppletive allomorphy is completely unpredictable. Thus, no regular relationship can be established between stems.

(16)	<i>kewtey</i>	‘fall’	<i>kewt-</i>	<i>gin-</i>
	<i>witey</i>	‘sleep’	<i>wit-</i>	<i>ûs-</i>
	<i>dîyey, wînay</i>	‘see’	<i>dî-, wîna-</i>	<i>wîn-</i>
	<i>şitey</i>	‘wash’	<i>şit-</i>	<i>şor-</i>
	<i>amay</i>	‘come’	<i>ama-</i>	<i>e-</i>

The second group features segmentally similar stems. The stem alternation has been subject to different morphophonological processes, making it hard to establish a regular relationship between the two stems.²

(17)	<i>ejyay</i>	‘guess’	<i>ejya-</i>	<i>ejo-</i>
	<i>mitey</i>	‘spill’ (TR)	<i>mit-</i>	<i>mij-</i>
	<i>merdey</i>	‘die’	<i>merd-</i>	<i>mir-</i>
	<i>wardey, werdey</i>	‘eat’	<i>ward-, werd-</i>	<i>wer-</i>
	<i>kîyastey</i>	‘send’	<i>kîyast-</i>	<i>kîyan-</i>
	<i>luway</i>	‘go’	<i>luwa-, la-</i>	<i>l-, lu-</i>

The present stem of *luway* ‘go’ exhibits stem allomorphy.³ Depending on morphological context, it can be realised as either *l-* or *lu-*. The variant *lu-* seems to be the old stem based on its relation to the past stem *luwa*. *l-* is now used entirely in the present indicative and present subjunctive paradigms. However, occasionally the variant *lu-* can be attested, e.g., *mi-lw-a* ‘they go’ [ZB.23], where /u/ changes to the glide /w/. In the imperative, the choice between the two allomorphs is triggered by the presence of the imperative *bi-* before the stem; see Table 8.3.

Table 8.3: Morphological allomorphy in the present stem of the verb *luway* ‘to go’

TAM categories	Stem	Example	Gloss
Present indicative	<i>l-</i>	<i>mi-l-û</i>	‘I go’
Present subjunctive	<i>l-</i>	<i>bi-l-û</i>	‘that I go’
Imperative	<i>l-/ lu-</i>	<i>lu-e</i> [DG.57], <i>bi-l-e</i> [DG.56] <i>bi-lu-e</i>	‘Go!’
Past habitual	<i>lu-</i>	<i>lu-ên-mê</i>	‘We used to go’

²The past stem for verb *kîyastey* ‘to send’ (pst. *kîyast-*, prs. *kîyan-*) is derived by the addition of the past marking <st>, following an initial deletion of *-n*.

³There are two verbs for ‘to go’: *luway*, and *şîyey*. The latter is limited certain expressions: For instance, *ce hoş şîyey* ‘to forget’, [lit. ‘go out of mind’]; *dîl şîyey* ‘be fond of’ [lit. ‘heart to go’].

Similarly, the past stem of *luway* exhibits stem allomorphy. The relevant allomorphs are *luwa-* (with epenthetic /w/) and *la-*. The former occurs in affirmative TAM verbal categories, the latter in the negation of TAM verbal categories. The /ɛ/ in the past conditional and conditional perfect forms is the result of the merger between the stem-final vowel *-a* and the initial vowel for the augment *-ên*.

Table 8.4: Morphological allomorphy in the past stem of the verb *luway* ‘to go’ in 1SG

TAM categories	Affirmative	Negative
Past perfective	<i>luwa-(a)nê</i>	<i>ne-la-(a)nê</i>
Past conditional	<i>luwɛn-ê</i>	<i>ne-lɛn-ê</i>
Perfect	<i>luwa=na</i>	<i>ne-la=na</i>
Irrealis perfect	<i>luwa=b-û</i>	<i>ne-la=b-û</i>
Conditional perfect	<i>luwa=bîɛn-ê</i>	<i>ne-la=bîɛn-ê</i>
Past perfect	<i>luwa=b-ên-ê</i>	<i>ne-la=b-ên-ê</i>

Similarly, the present stem of *witey* exhibits morphological allomorphy triggered by the TAM category. The stem is *ûs-* in TAM categories built on the present stem of the verb that are preceded by a TAM prefix. On the other hand, in TAM categories built on the present stem where there is no pre-verbal material, the variant *wis-* is used (see Table 8.5).

Table 8.5: Morphological allomorphy in the present stem of the verb *witey* ‘to sleep’

TAM categories	Stem	Example	Gloss
Present indicative	<i>ûs-</i>	<i>m-ûs-û</i>	‘I sleep’
Present subjunctive	<i>ûs-</i>	<i>b-ûs-û</i>	‘that I sleep’
Imperative	<i>ûs-</i>	<i>b-ûs-e</i>	‘Go!’
Habitual past	<i>wis-</i>	<i>wis-ên-a</i>	‘I used to sleep’
Irrealis past	<i>wis-</i>	<i>wis-ên-a</i>	‘I would sleep’

8.1.2 Variation in stem ending

With some verbs, speakers vary as to which past stem marker to use. This variation is particularly significant in type 2 verbs with a dental marker. While older

speakers tend to use the dental marker to build the past stem, younger speakers tend to generalise the past tense marker *-a*, presumably the most productive past stem marking suffix, of type 1 verbs to build the past stem. This suggests that the ending *-a* is the basis for analogical change.

(18)	<i>taştey</i>	‘shave, cut’	<i>taşt-/ taşa-</i>	<i>taş-</i>
	<i>kêştey</i>	‘weigh, pull’	<i>kêşt-/ kêşa-</i>	<i>kêş-</i>
	<i>lêştey</i>	‘lick’	<i>lêst-/ lêsa-</i>	<i>lês-</i>
	<i>poştey</i>	‘put on’	<i>poşt-/ poşa-</i>	<i>poş-</i>
	<i>menney</i>	‘remain’	<i>menn-/ mena-</i>	<i>men-</i>

A relevant example is the variation in the past stem of the verb *dîyey* ‘to see’. The basic pattern for the verb is to have a suppletive past stem: prs. *wîn-* vs. pst. *dî*. Some speakers regularise this by extending the past stem formative *-a* to the present stem, resulting in the past stem *wîna-*.

8.1.3 Denominal and deadjectival verbs

In addition to regular verb stems derived from common Iranian verbal forms, Tekht H. makes use of a relatively common process of stem formation in which the detransitiviser suffix *-ya* (PST)/ *-ye* (see §8.4.2) attaches to some nouns and adjectives and derives new verb stems.

(19)	Infinitive		PST	PRS	
	<i>xirabyay</i>	‘get worse’	<i>xirabya-</i>	<i>xirabye-</i>	cf. <i>xerab</i> ‘bad’
	<i>temamyay</i>	‘finish’	<i>temamya-</i>	<i>temamye-</i>	cf. <i>temam</i> ‘end’
	<i>temyay</i>	‘be sad’	<i>temyay-</i>	<i>temye-</i>	cf. <i>tem</i> ‘fog’
	<i>xeletyay</i>	‘be deceived’	<i>xeletya-</i>	<i>xeletye-</i>	cf. <i>xelet</i> ‘false’
	<i>telefayay</i>	‘vanish, fade’	<i>telefya-</i>	<i>telefye-</i>	cf. <i>telef</i> ‘waste’
	<i>gijyay</i>	‘fight’	<i>gijya-</i>	<i>gijye-</i>	cf. <i>gij</i> ‘stature’
	<i>xiciŕyay</i>	‘be entertained’	<i>xiciŕya-</i>	<i>xiciŕye-</i>	cf. Ar. <i>xajal</i> ‘shame’
	<i>dêwyay</i>	‘become angry’	<i>dêwya-</i>	<i>dêweye-</i>	cf. <i>dêw</i> ‘ogre’
	<i>xerepyay</i>	‘decline (mentally)’	<i>xerepya-</i>	<i>xerepye-</i>	cf. Ar. <i>xarf</i> ‘senile’

The transitive counterpart of these denominal verbs is expressed by replacing the detransitiviser suffix with the causative suffix *-n* (PRS); *-na* (PST) (see §8.4.1).

8.1.4 Imperative stem

As remarked, the imperative is formed based on the present stem of the verb. For the formation of the imperative verb forms, most verbs just use the stressed bare

stem and the relevant person suffixes. A limited number of verbs additionally take the imperative/subjunctive prefix, mostly due to phonological conditions (see §9.3.2 and §9.3.3 for explanations).

- (20) *b-ûs-e*
IMP-sleep.PRS-2SG
'Sleep!'

- (21) *bi-řem-e*
IMP-run.PRS-2SG
'Run!'

The imperative stem for the frequent verbs *amay* 'come', *luway* 'go', and *watey* 'say' exhibits some suppletive morphology concerning the present stem:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|----------------------|---------|---------------------------|
| (22) | <i>b-o</i> | [IMP-come.PRS.2SG:S] | 'Come!' | cf. prs. <i>e-</i> 'come' |
| | <i>lu-e</i> | [go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S] | 'Go!' | cf. prs. <i>l-</i> 'go' |
| | <i>waç-e</i> | [say.PRS.IMP-2SG:A] | 'Say!' | cf. prs. <i>aç-</i> 'say' |

Of these verbs, the stem for the verb 'go' shows variation in appearing as the suppletive stem *lu* or *l-*.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| (23) | <i>bi-lu-e</i> | [IMP-go-2SG:S] | 'Go!' |
| | <i>lu-e</i> | [go-2SG:S] | 'Go!' |
| | <i>bi-l-e</i> | [IMP-go-2SG:S] | 'Go!' |

8.2 Light verb constructions

Light verb constructions consisting of a light verb and a non-verbal element, equivalent to 'pay attention' in English, are a productive way of forming new verbs in Tekht H. One way to categorise light verb constructions (LVCs) is according to the light verbs involved in the construction. In the text corpus, the most productive light verbs are *kerđey* 'do', and *bîyey* 'to be, to become'. Less commonly, *kewtey* 'fall', *warđey* 'to eat' and *amay* 'to come' are used in the structure of the LVC. Table 8.6 lays out the common light verbs with illustrative examples.

Another way to classify Light verb constructions is according to the type of non-verbal element that occurs with the light verb. Nouns and adjectives are the most common preverbal elements in LVCs. However, note that some nominal elements float between nouns and adjectives, which has relevance for the syntax of complex predicates (see §12.4). Particles are another category occurring with

Table 8.6: Common light verbs in light verb constructions

LV	LVC	Gloss
<i>kerdey</i> ‘do, make’	<i>weş kerdey</i>	‘to make; to build; to cure’ (lit. ‘well to do’)
	<i>zambar kerdey</i>	‘to injure’ (lit. ‘wounded to do’)
	<i>wiş kerdey</i>	‘to inform’ (lit. ‘memory to do’)
	<i>des kerdey</i>	‘to start’ (lit. ‘hand to do’)
<i>bîyey</i> ‘be’	<i>řed bîyey</i>	‘to cross’ (lit. ‘crossing to become’)
	<i>peyda bîyey</i>	‘to appear, to be born’ (lit. ‘visible to be’)
	<i>weş bîyey</i>	‘get healed’ (lit. ‘well to be’)
	<i>nizîk bîyey</i>	‘to approach’ (lit. ‘close to be’)
<i>kewtey</i> ‘fall’	<i>neweş kewtey</i>	‘to get ill’ (lit. ‘ill to fall’)
	<i>hetîm kewtey</i>	‘to be left an orphan’ (lit. ‘orphan to fall’)
	<i>pek kewtey</i>	‘to be worried’ (lit. ‘strength to fall’)
	<i>pał kewtey</i>	‘to lean, to lie down’ (lit. ‘side to fall’)
	<i>nizîk kewtey</i>	‘to get close to’ (lit. ‘close to fall’)
<i>wardey</i> ‘eat’	<i>qesem wardey</i>	‘to swear an oath’ (lit. ‘oath to eat’)
	<i>gîr wardey</i>	‘to get stuck’ (lit. ‘obstacle to eat’)
	<i>derd wardey</i>	‘to be of use’ (lit. ‘pain to eat’)
<i>day</i> ‘give’	<i>tefre day</i>	‘to avoid’ (lit. ‘avoidance to give’)
	<i>biř day</i>	‘to cover a distance’ (lit. ‘piece to give’)
<i>amay</i> ‘come’	<i>ber amay</i>	‘to rise’ (lit. ‘out to come’)
	<i>tûş amay</i>	‘to run into, to get into trouble’ (lit. ‘accident to come’)
<i>biřyey</i> ‘cut’	<i>mare biřyey</i>	‘to marry’ (lit. ‘marriage portion to cut’)
	<i>sere biřyey</i>	‘to behead’ (lit. ‘head to cut’)
<i>gêrtey</i> ‘grab’	<i>desû dîm gêrtey</i>	‘to perform a Muslim prayer ritual’ (lit. ‘hand and face to take’)
<i>nîyay</i> ‘put’	<i>namê nîyay</i>	‘to name’ (lit. ‘name to put’)

Table 8.7: The lexical category of non-verbal elements in LVCs

Category	LVC	Gloss
Noun	<i>şefwe kerdey</i>	'to pardon' (lit. 'pardon to do')
	<i>wey kerdey</i>	'to raise' (lit. 'training to do')
	<i>zîni kerdey</i>	'to saddle' (lit. 'saddle to do')
	<i>nima kerdey</i>	'to pray' (lit. 'pray to do')
Adjective	<i>adiz kerdey</i>	'to upset' (lit. 'upset to do')
	<i>keç kerdey</i>	'to paralyse' (lit. 'crooked to do')
	<i>dagîr kerdey</i>	'to occupy' (lit. 'occupied to do')
	<i>ras kerdey</i>	'to carry out' (lit. 'right to do')
	<i>aşkîra kerdey</i>	'to disclose' (lit. 'visible to do')
Noun/Adj	<i>red bîyey</i>	'to cross' (lit. 'crossing to do')
	<i>istah kerdey</i>	'to amend' (lit. 'amendment to do')
	<i>haî bîyey</i>	'to understand' (lit. 'understood to be')
	<i>cemf kerdey</i>	'to gather' (lit. 'addition to do')
	<i>swar kerdey</i>	'to mount' (lit. 'rider to do')
	<i>bergozar kerdey</i>	'to hold' (lit. 'accomplished to do')
Particle	<i>ber amay</i>	'to rise' (lit. 'out to come')
	<i>ber ardey</i>	'to take out' (lit. 'out to take')
	<i>ber kerdey</i>	'to expel' (lit. 'out to do')
	<i>wer day</i>	'to release' (lit. 'out to give')

light verbs; the number of LVCs with a particle as the non-verbal complement is down to a few cases listed in Table 8.7.

LVCs may also be categorised according to the transitivity of the light verb element. The light verbs *kerdey* and *wardey* are transitive, whereas *bîyey*, *kewtey*, and *amay* are intransitive. In general, the transitivity of the LVC can be determined by the light verb, hence *hiş kerdey* 'to inform' (< *hiş* 'intelligence' + *kerdey* 'do') is transitive, and *hetîm kewtey* 'to be left an orphan' (< *hetîm* 'orphan' + *kewtey* 'to fall') is intransitive. Therefore, the transitivity in LVCs is determined based on the lexical transitivity of the light verb, not the semantic transitivity. The LVCs in (24) are syntactically transitive, even though some may be semantically considered intransitive.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| (24) | <i>fewt kerḏey</i> | ‘to pass away’ | (lit. ‘death to make’) |
| | <i>zîya kerḏey</i> | ‘to increase’ | (lit. ‘addition to make’) |
| | <i>kem kerḏey</i> | ‘to decrease’ | (lit. ‘little to make’) |
| | <i>derḏ warḏey</i> | ‘to be of use’ | (lit. ‘pain to eat’) |
| | <i>gîr warḏey</i> | ‘to get stuck’ | (lit. ‘hook to eat’) |
| | <i>tefre day</i> | ‘to avoid’ | (lit. ‘evasion to give’) |

Light verb constructions can also be classified according to the position of the complement relative to the light verb. While in the majority of the cases, the nominal element precedes the light verb, as seen above, in the following constructions, the nominal complement consistently follows the verb. The light verb in these LVCs is often a mobility verb. The nominal element, thus, can be said to be the goal argument of the LV.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------|
| (25) | <i>ginay řa</i> | ‘set off on the road’ | |
| | <i>luway řa</i> | ‘walk’ | |
| | <i>wistey řa</i> | ‘carry out’ | |
| | <i>amay cuwab</i> | ‘start to speak’ | |
| | <i>nîṣtey leme</i> | ‘get pregnant’ | |
| | <i>astey cîya</i> | ‘leave behind’ | |
| | <i>menay cîya</i> | ‘be left behind’ | |
| | <i>yaway sinfe</i> | ‘reach adulthood’ | [BP.123] |

8.3 Particle verbs

In addition to simple verbs and Light verb constructions, there are a number of verb forms with figurative meanings composed of a frozen preposition and a simple verb. The particle verbs listed in Table 8.8 are different from the particle-based LVCs in that they contain frozen prepositions in their structure and the fact that the frozen preposition follows the verb. The lexical transitivity of the simple verb determines the transitivity of such verbs.

8.4 Valency changing morphology

Causative and passive morphology affect the valency of the verbs. They are neither regular nor productive. They share the commonality of taking the present stem as the basis for morphological derivation.

Table 8.8: The preposition type in particle verb constructions

Adposition	Particle verb	Gloss
<i>pene</i> ‘to’	<i>yaway pene</i> (INTR)	‘to grow up’ (lit. ‘arrive to’)
	<i>kewtey pene</i> (INTR)	‘receive(?)’ (lit. ‘fall to’)
	<i>zanay pene</i> (TR)	‘learn about’ (lit. ‘know to’)
<i>pore</i> ‘at’	<i>dîyay pore</i> (TR)	‘to look at’
	<i>kêşay pore</i> (TR)	‘to hit’ (lit. ‘hit at’)
	<i>kewtey pore</i> (INTR)	‘stumble’ (lit. ‘fall at’)
<i>wene</i> ‘at’	<i>qomyay wene</i> (INTR)	‘to happen’ (lit. ‘accident at’)
	<i>xuřyey wene</i> (TR)	‘to shout’ (lit. ‘shout at’)
	<i>day wene</i> (TR)	‘to set off’ (lit. ‘give at’)
<i>wer</i> ‘out’	<i>day wer</i> (TR)	‘to herd out’ (lit. ‘give out’)
	<i>yaray wer</i> (INTR)	‘to cope with’ (lit. ‘dare at’)
<i>welê</i> ‘front’	<i>wistey welê</i> (TR)	‘to drive forth’ (lit. ‘throw front’)
	<i>kewtey welê</i> (INTR)	‘move in front of’ (lit. ‘fall front’)
<i>gel</i> ‘with’	<i>kewtey gel</i> (INTR)	‘accompany’ (lit. ‘fall with’)
<i>pêwere</i> ‘together’	<i>kewtey pêwere</i> (INTR)	‘run into each other’ (lit. ‘fall with’)

8.4.1 Causative voice

As discussed, the present stem is the basis for deriving causative stems. The causative voice is expressed primarily via suffixation, in which case the suffixes *-n* (PRS) and *-na* (PST) attach to the present stem of some intransitive verbs and derive transitive counterparts (see below for other alternations). Following Haspelmath (1993b), this kind of alternation is called “causative alternation”, meaning that the inchoative is the basic stem and the causative is derived from it. Examples (27–(28) exhibit the causative alternation for the verb *topay* ‘die’; *topnay* ‘kill’:

(26)	INF	Intransitive		Gloss	Causative		Gloss
		PRS	PST		PRS	PST	
	<i>sotey</i>	<i>soç-</i>	<i>sot-</i>	‘to burn’	<i>soçn-</i>	<i>soçna-</i>	‘to burn’
	<i>yaway</i>	<i>yaw-</i>	<i>yawa-</i>	‘to arrive’	<i>yawn-</i>	<i>yawna-</i>	‘cause to arrive’
	<i>êşay</i>	<i>êş-</i>	<i>êşa-</i>	‘to hurt’	<i>êşn-</i>	<i>êşna-</i>	‘to hurt’
	<i>topay</i>	<i>top-</i>	<i>topa-</i>	‘die’ ⁴	<i>topn-</i>	<i>topna-</i>	‘kill’
	<i>cimay</i>	<i>cim-</i>	<i>cima-</i>	‘move’	<i>cimn-</i>	<i>cimna-</i>	‘move’

- (27) *dêwe çane topo miro.*
dêw-e ç=a=ne top-o mir-o
 ogre-DEF in=DEM.DIST=POST die.PRS.IND-3SG:S die.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘The ogre died there.’ [JP.202]

- (28) *topneş!*
topn-e=ş
 kill.PRS-2SG:IMP:A=3SG:O
 ‘Kill it (the snake)!’ [MR.42]

The causative morphology in general only derives a transitive stem from an intransitive one. However, in one case, the causative affix is added to a transitive stem to yield a change in meaning. From (29) it can be assumed that the causative suffix would drive a semantically related meaning when added to a transitive verb.

- | | | | |
|------|-----|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (29) | | <i>bexşay</i> ‘to forgive’ | <i>bexşnay</i> ‘to distribute’ |
| | PRS | <i>bexş-</i> | <i>bexşn-</i> |
| | PST | <i>bexşa-</i> | <i>bexşna-</i> |

In a few verb pairs, Tekht H. has preserved an older pattern of umlaut for the formation of causative stems, attested since the Middle Iranian period (Skiærvø 2009: 220), e.g., Middle Persian: *ahram* ‘go up’ vs. *ahrām* ‘lead up’ (TR). This pattern is attested in the verb ‘to break’, where the intransitive/inchoative verb appears with the detransitiviser suffix *-ye* (PRS); *-ya* (PST). The causative counterpart is not only short of the intransitive suffix but is featured by a change in the vowel of the stem.

⁴Hewramî makes a distinction between the verb used when a human dies and when an animal dies. For the former, *merdey* is used, while for the latter *topay* is used. Likewise, for the causative counterpart, the verbs used are different: *topnay* ‘kill an animal’ vs. *küştey* ‘kill a human’. It should be noted that in some contexts, e.g., when dehumanising a person, it is possible to use the verb used for animals to refer to when a person dies, or is killed.

- (30)
- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | <i>meřyay</i> ‘to break’ (INTR) | <i>mařay</i> ‘to break’ (TR) |
| PRS | <i>meřye-</i> | <i>mař-</i> |
| PST | <i>meřya-</i> | <i>mařa-</i> |

A similar pattern is attested for the verb ‘to pour’. Here, the vowel is not changed, but the stem used in the past causative is different.

- (31)
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | <i>micyay</i> ‘to pour’ (INTR) | <i>mitey</i> ‘to pour’ (TR) |
| PRS | <i>micye-</i> | <i>mic-</i> |
| PST | <i>micya-</i> | <i>mit-</i> |

In both cases, it is the intransitive/inchoative stem, rather than the transitive stem, that serves as the base for the formation of the passive stem. This points to the identical stem morphology of passives and inchoatives. Table 8.9 highlights the morphological alignment of passive and inchoative stem morphology for verbs ‘break’ and ‘pour’. The past stems have been given for ease of comparison. The identical morphology concerns the use of the detransitivising suffix in the formation of both the inchoative and the passive.

Table 8.9: Identical morphology of passive and inchoative stems

Verb	tr. stem	passive/inchoative stem
‘to break’	<i>mařa-</i>	<i>meř-ya</i>
‘to pour’	<i>mit-</i>	<i>mic-ya</i>

The causative/transitivising suffix is also used with intransitive verbs expressing sound emission without necessarily increasing the verb’s valency. Here, the transitivising suffix expresses the agentivity. When the causative/transitivising suffix is present on a verb of sound emission, the verb is treated as a transitive verb and is indexed via a clitic pronoun in the past tense. Without a causative suffix, the verb is treated as an intransitive verb and is indexed via verbal person suffixes. Consider the difference between (32) and (33).

- (32) *heřekê bořnař.*
heře-(e)kê ***bořna=ř***
 bear-DEF.F.SG growl.PST=3SG:A
 ‘The bear growled.’

- (33) *tûteke gefa.*
tûte-(e)ke *gefa-Ø*
 dog-DEF.M.SG.DIR bark.PST-3SG:S
 ‘The dog barked.’

Note that there is variation in the coding of the verbs of sound emission, such that the same verb may be coded as transitive (in which case it appears with the agentive *-n*) or intransitive; see for example the variation for encoding ‘it (the donkey) brayed’ in Table 8.10.

Finally, several other alternations occur for derivation of causative from the inchoative or vice versa. Most of the verb pairs exhibit what is known as ‘equipollent alternation’, meaning that both the causative and the inchoative are derived from the same stem, but the affixes used are different. Denominal verbs in §8.1.3 feature this alternation.

- (34) *pijg-ye* ‘scatter’ (INTR)
 pijg-in ‘sow, to scatter’ (TR)
- çik-ye* ‘drip’ (INTR)
 çik-n ‘suckle’ (TR)
- xinîk-ye* ‘suffocate’ (INTR)
 xinîk-n ‘strangle’ (TR)
- temam-ye* ‘finish’ (INTR)
 temam-n ‘finish’ (TR)
- nam-ye* ‘bend’ (INTR)
 nam-n ‘bend’ (TR)
- dêw-ye* ‘become angry’ (INTR)
 dêw-n ‘get angry’ (TR)
- gîs-ye=(e)ne* ‘shine’ (INTR)
 gîs-n=ene ‘light, start’ (TR)

The following examples illustrate the alternation for *temam-ye* vs. *temam-n* ‘finish’.

⁵This verb may also be expressed as a light verb construction: *lûre=ş kerd* ‘It howled.’

Table 8.10: Transitivity in verbs of sound emission

‘bark’	<i>gefa</i> (INTR)	‘It (dog) barked.’
‘bleat’	<i>barya-we</i> (INTR)	‘It (sheep, goat) bleated.’
‘moo’	<i>qořya-we</i> (INTR)	‘It (cow) mooed.’
‘neigh’	<i>hılna=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (horse, mule) neighed.’
‘bray’	<i>seřa</i> (INTR); <i>seřna=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (donkey) brayed.’
‘howl’	<i>lurna=ş</i> ⁵ (TR)	‘It (wolf) howled.’
‘roar’		‘It (leopard) roared.’
‘howl’	<i>qarņa=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (jackal) howled.’
‘gecker’	<i>wêqna=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (fox) geckered.’
‘grunt’		‘It (stone marten) geckered’ ‘It (squirrel) grunted.’
‘growl’	<i>bołna=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (bear) growled.’
‘cluck’	<i>qirazna=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (hen) clucked.’
‘roar’	<i>neřna=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (lion) roared.’
‘caw’	<i>qirņa=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (raven) cawed.’
‘quack’		‘It (duck) quacked.’
‘grunt’	<i>mîzna=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (turtle) grunted.’
‘chirp’	<i>ciríkna=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (sparrow) chirped.’
‘squeak’		‘It (mouse) clicked.’
‘meow’	<i>mîyawna=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (cat) meowed.’
‘buzz’	<i>wîzna=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (bee) buzzed.’
‘squeak’	<i>qarřya-we</i> (INTR)	‘It (rabbit) squeaked.’
‘crow’	<i>wena=ş</i> (TR)	‘It (rooster, partridge) crowed.’
‘coo’		‘It (dove) cooed.’
‘croak’		‘It (frog) croaked.’
‘hiss’		‘It (snake) hissed.’
‘hoot’		‘It (owl) hooted.’

- (35) *awê her kunene her netemamyene.*
awê her kune=ne her
 water.F.SG.OBL EMPH clay_pot=POST EMPH
ne-temamyε=ne
 NEG-finish.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘The water [was] in the clay pots. It would not finish [soon].’ [JE.21]
- (36) *feqîş temamnān.*
feqî=ş temamnā=n
 theologian.M=3SG:A finish.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘He finished [studying] Islamic jurisprudence.’ [ZP.16]

Suppletive noncausal/causal alternation is attested as well. Here, different verb roots are used:

- (37) *mir-* ‘die’ (INTR)
kuş- ‘kill’ (TR)
- gin-* ‘fall’ (INTR)
wiz- ‘drop’ (TR)

Some verb pairs exhibit the ‘anticausative alternation’, meaning that the causative verb is basic and the inchoative verb is derived from it:

- (38) *fař* ‘change’ (TR)
fař-ye ‘change’ (INTR)
- diř* ‘tear’ (TR)
diř-ye ‘tear’ (INTR)
- yaw=we* ‘spread’ (TR)
yaw-ye=we ‘be spread’ (INTR)
- pêç* ‘wrap’ (TR)
pêç-ye ‘wrap (oneself)’ (INTR)

The following examples illustrate the alternation between *yawye=we* ‘be spread’ and *yaw=we* ‘spread’.

- (39) *zeře çermekeş ana ça yawyano.*
zeř-e çerme-(e)ke=ş ana-Ø ça
 coin-EZ.CMPD white-DEF.M.SG.DIR=3SG:PSR LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S there
yawya=n=o
 be_spread.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=COMPL
 ‘Her white coins were there, spread out over [the ground].’ [PK.27]
- (40) *qeran qeran yawanşo.*
qeran qeran yawa=n=ş=o
 kurus kurus spread.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A=COMPL
 ‘It (the rat) had spread them (the coins) kurus by kurus.’ [PK.30]

Some verb pairs exhibit ‘labile alternation’, in which the same verb is used both in the inchoative and causative:

- (41) *toq-* ‘scare, be scared’ (TR, INTR)

The following examples exhibit the verb *toqay* (PRS: *toq-*; PST: *toqa-*) ‘be scared, scare’ being used intransitively (42) and transitively (43):

- (42) *pîyakeyç lers kero toqo.*
pîya-(e)ke=yç lers ker-o toq-o
 man-DEF.M.SG.DIR=ADD shake do.PRS.IND-3SG:A be_scared.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘The man trembled (in fear); he was scared.’ [JF.29]
- (43) *sîyamarêwî toqanaş.*
sîyamar-êw-î toqa=na=ş
 black_snake-INDF-M.SG.OBL scare.PST=COP.1SG:O=3SG:A
 ‘A black snake scared me.’ [JL.68]

Some verbs do not show any alternation. A subset of these verbs exists only with the causative/agentive suffix. Most verbs of sound emission seen in Table 8.10 belong to this category.

- (44) *wişknay* ‘to scour’ *wişkna-* *wişkn-*
demnay ‘to start (morning)’ *demna-* *demn-*
pirûnay ‘rub off (eye)’ *pirûna-* *pirûn-*
rażnay=we ‘adorn’ (TR) *razna=we* *razn=we*

Another subset occurs only in the inchoative form:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|
| (45) | <i>tişyay</i> | ‘go sour’ | <i>tişya-</i> | <i>tişye-</i> |
| | <i>genay</i> | ‘rot’ | <i>gena-</i> | <i>gen-</i> |
| | <i>pûyay</i> | ‘rot’ | <i>pûya-</i> | <i>pûye-</i> |

This classification can capture most derivations between the causative and inchoative stems. Yet, the issue remains complicated for the verb ‘to break’, as seen below:

- | | | |
|------|---------------|----------------|
| (46) | <i>meř-ye</i> | ‘break’ (INTR) |
| | <i>mař-</i> | ‘break’ (TR) |

Here, it seems that the causative stem is the basic stem, similar to the anti-causative alternation seen above and that the inchoative stem was derived from it by stem modification. The affixation on the intransitive verb seems to be secondary.

8.4.2 Passive

The present stem is the basis for the formation of the the passive stem. The passive suffix has the forms *-ye* (PRS) and *-ya* (PST).

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (47) | <i>wiretey</i> | ‘sell’ |
| | Present stem | <i>wireş-</i> |
| | Present passive | <i>wireşye-</i> |
| | Past passive | <i>wireşya-</i> |

However, the passive stem comes with a change in the vowel of the present stem for verbs with the CVC pattern, with the coda being the rhotic consonant *r*, see Table 8.11. This pattern is also available for the verb ‘to give’, which has the present stem in *de-*. For this particular verb, the final *r* in the passive is non-etymological. The generalisation seems to be that all the verbs featuring this type of allomorphy have CVC stem, where the vowel is /e/ and the coda is /r/ undergo ablaut in the formation of the passive stem. Additionally, *day* ‘to give’ (present stem *de-*) belongs to this class.⁶

The passive suffix can be said to be a detransitiviser suffix. A set of inchoative stems are derived from an unmarked transitive verb by adding the detransitiviser *-ye* (PRS); *-ya* (PST). By way of example, consider the derivation of the inchoative verb *fařyay* ‘change (INTR)’:

⁶The stem allomorphy associated with these passive verbs has a parallel in unaccusative verbs such as *merdey* ‘to die’: PST. *merd-*; PRS. *mir-*. This could suggest that passive and unaccusative stems have identical morphology.

Table 8.11: Morphological allomorphy in passive stems

Verb	Gloss	Past stem	Prs. stem	Pass. stem
<i>kerđey</i>	‘to do’	<i>kerđ-</i>	<i>ker-</i>	<i>kir-</i>
<i>berđey</i>	‘to take’	<i>berđ-</i>	<i>ber-</i>	<i>bir-</i>
<i>warđey</i>	‘to eat’	<i>ward-</i>	<i>wer-</i>	<i>wir-</i>
<i>day</i>	‘to give’	<i>da-</i>	<i>de-</i>	<i>dir-</i>

- (48)
- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | <i>fařay</i> ‘to change (TR)’ | <i>fařyay</i> ‘to change (INTR)’ |
| PRS | <i>fař-</i> | <i>fařye-</i> |
| PST | <i>fařa-</i> | <i>fařya-</i> |

Further examples of intransitive unaccusative verbs with passive morphology are listed below (see §8.4.1 for the causative formation of these verbs). There is no extra agent in these verbs, and the verbs express eventualities with internal causation.

- (49)
- | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| Infinitive | | Present | Past |
| <i>meřyay</i> | ‘break’ | <i>meřye-</i> | <i>meřya-</i> |
| <i>pêwyay</i> | ‘be visible’ | <i>pêwy-</i> | <i>pêwya-</i> |
| <i>șêwyay</i> | ‘get confused’ | <i>șêwy-</i> | <i>șêwya-</i> |
| <i>qomyay</i> | ‘happen’ | <i>qomy-</i> | <i>qomya-</i> |

This suggests that the same stem morphology is used for inchoative and passive verbs. This is shown in Table 8.12, presenting the active and passive stems of the transitive verb *viretey* ‘to sell’ and the present and past stems of the inchoative verb *qomyay* ‘to happen’:

Table 8.12: Identical morphology of the passive and inchoative

	Active transitive	Passive	Inchoative
Present stem	<i>vireș-</i>	<i>vireș-ye</i>	<i>qom-ye</i>
Past stem	<i>viret-</i>	<i>vireș-ya</i>	<i>qom-ya</i>
Participle	<i>virete-</i> (M); <i>viretê-</i> (F, PL)		<i>qomya-</i> (M); <i>qomyê-</i> (F, PL)
Infinitive	<i>viretey</i> ‘sell’		<i>qomyay</i> ‘happen’

8.5 Derivation of new verb meanings

Another mechanism for deriving new verb meanings is to add preverbs or postverbs to the verb stems and derive new verbs.

8.5.1 Preverbal derivation

The most common preverb is *hur-* with the approximate meaning of ‘up’. This prefix is cognate with Kurdish *heł-*, *hil-*. The combination of the prefix and the base verb can get lexicalised to the extent that the base verb is no longer identifiable as a regular verb in the language. This is the case, for instance, for *hur-êstey* ‘wake up’ in (50): the base form is not used in the language.

(50)	Infinitive		PST	PRS	
	<i>hur-êstey</i>	‘wake up’	<i>hur-êst-</i>	<i>hur-êz-</i>	
	<i>hur-westey</i>	‘climb’	<i>hur-west-</i>	<i>hur-wez-</i>	
	<i>hur-pîray</i>	‘dance’	<i>hur-pîra-</i>	<i>hur-pîř-</i>	cf. <i>pîray</i> ‘jump’
	<i>hur-wistey</i>	‘hang up’	<i>hur-wist-</i>	<i>hur-wiz-</i>	cf. <i>wistey</i> ‘drop’
	<i>hur-amay</i>	‘emerge, come out’	<i>hur-ama-</i>	<i>hur-ê-</i>	cf. <i>amay</i> ‘come’
	<i>hur-kewtey</i>	‘appear’	<i>hur-kewt-</i>	<i>hur-gin-</i>	cf. <i>kewtey</i> ‘fall’

hur- can also be used ambifixally in Tekht Hewramî, as suggested by the following examples, where it has been used with the intransitive verb *hur-êstey* ‘rise’.

- (51) *hurmêzo hur çolekêwe gêro.*
hur-m-êz-o hur çolek(e)-êwe gêr-o
 PVB-IND-rise.PRS-3SG:S POVB sparrow.F-INDF take.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘He (Jamsher Shah) rose [and] grabbed a sparrow.’ [DP.36]

- (52) *wêş hurmêzo hur yo minvîso kinaçekê.*
wê=ş hur-m-êz-o hur yo mi-nvîs-o
 REFL=3SG:PSR PVB-IND-rise.PRS-3SG:S POVB one.M IND-write.PRS-3SG:A
kinaç(ê)-ekê
 girl.F-DEF.F.SG
 ‘The girl rose [and] wrote one [letter] herself.’ [KŞ.79]

Other preverbs found in the text corpus include the following:

- (53) *ber-* ‘out’
berardey ‘bring out’ cf. *ardey* ‘bring’
berşîyey ‘go out’ cf. *şîyey* ‘go’
- (54) *wer-* ‘outward’
wer bîyey ‘release’ (INTR) cf. *bîyey* ‘be’
wer day ‘set free’ (TR) cf. *day* ‘give’

8.5.2 Postverbal derivation

This section lists the postverbs in Hewramî. The relevant formatives are *=re/=ra* (§8.5.2.1 and *=we/=o* (§8.5.2.2). Both these formatives appear at the periphery of the verb after all other suffixes and clitic forms, showing thus typical characteristics of clitics (Bickel & Nichols 2007); see below for examples.

8.5.2.1 Postverb *=re/=ra*

The postverb *=re, =ra* ‘down, through, away’ derives new verbs from simple stems.⁷ The variant *=ra* occurs in the speech of the narrator from Serû Pîrî. The equivalent formative in Central Kurdish is the prefix *da-*. In the list provided in (55), the base verb and its translation have been given, provided that the base verb occurs independently of the postverb in the language.

- (55) *weznay=re* ‘drop down’⁸(TR) cf. *weznay* ‘drop’
merzîyay=re ‘settle down’ (INTR)
nîştey=re ‘sit down’ (INTR)
piŕnay=re ‘throw away’ (TR) cf. *piŕnay* ‘throw’
êjyay=re ‘lie down, stretch’ (INTR)
çîlakyay=re ‘wake with a start’ (INTR)
şinyay=re ‘fall down’ (INTR)
westey=re ‘get off’ (INTR)
zinay=re ‘take out’ (TR)
zîyay=re ‘go out’ (INTR)
waŭyay=re ‘notice’ (INTR)

=re occurs at the periphery of the verb after person suffixes and person clitics.

⁷ Additionally, there is a homophonous postposition *=re*, see §10.1.2.

⁸ cf. CK. *da-xistin*

- (56) *kesûkarû xanî kîyanaşre isfehan*
kesûkar=û xan-î kîyan-a=ş=re
 relative.M-EZ.GEN chief.M-SG.OBL send.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3SG:O=POVB
isfehan
 PN
 ‘The king’s relatives sent it to Isfahan [to the king].’ [KŞ.50]
- (57) *nîyleneşare*
nîye=ne=şa=re
 put.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O=3PL:A=POVB
 ‘They unloaded [the water].’ [JE.17]

8.5.2.2 Completive particle =we/=o

The particle =we (and its variants =ewe, =o) is widely used in Tekht H.. It is apparently related to Middle Iranian *baz* ‘again’. The particle does not take stress, e.g., *bówe* ‘(it) becomes’ (see §3.3 for stress assignment of verbs).

The particle has been lexicalised as part of the verb stem, resulting in new verb meanings. Apart from *yawaywe* ‘spread’, in the rest of the verbs listed in (58), the simple verb from which the derived verb with *we* is formed does not occur independently as a verb stem in the language with an independent meaning. In other words, the base verb and the particle *we* have been lexicalised.

- (58) *yaway=we* ‘spread’ (TR) cf. *yaway* ‘arrive’
yostey=we ‘find’ (TR)
řaznay=we ‘adorn’ (TR)
bařyay=we ‘bleat’ (INTR)
bijyay=we ‘toss’ (INTR)
miřoşnay=we ‘collect’ (TR)
qařyay=we ‘squeak’ (INTR)
qořyay=we ‘moo’ (INTR)
weyay=we ‘wake up’ (INTR)
yaway=we ‘spread’ (TR)
zîyay=we ‘get out, grow’ (INTR)
seyay=we ‘rest’ (INTR)

The particle adds a range of meanings to the verbs. It generally adds a sense of completeness to the verb’s action without any return, thus segmented as ‘completive’ throughout the book. More specifically, it can carry a meaning of ‘returning’, ‘repetition’, and ‘opening’. Examples (59)–(60) represent the meaning of *we* as ‘returning’.

- (59) *luwaymêwe.*
luwa-îmê=we
 go.PST-1PL:S=COMPL
 ‘We went back.’ [ZQ.27]

- (60) *amaymêwe.*
ama-îmê=we
 come.PST-1PL:S=COMPL
 ‘We came back.’ [ZQ.11]

The meaning of the particle in the sense of ‘repetition’ is seen in (61)–(62):

- (61) *kûkyowe mûso.*
kûky(e)-o=we *m-ûs-o*
 cough.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL IND-sleep.PRS-3SG:S
 ‘He coughed [and then] slept.’ [KŞ.64]

- (62) *jenekaşa lemeşa bîyewe.*
jen(i)-eka=şa *leme=şa* *bî-e=we*
 wife-DEF.PL.OBL=3PL:PSR belly.F.SG.DIR=3PL:NC be.PST-3SG.F:S=COMPL
 ‘Their wives got pregnant [lit. had bellies] again.’ [ME.210]

Finally, (63) represents the meaning of the particle as ‘opening’.

- (63) *bereş kerowe pey.*
bere=ş *ker-o=we* *pey*
 door.M=3SG:R do.PRS.IND-3SG:A=COMPL for
 ‘She opened the door to him.’ [JH.75]

More generally, the particle is involved with the completeness of an action: it expresses that an action is completed without any point of return. The action of the verb is dynamic; it has an endpoint.

- (64) *seşbê hurmêzowe padşa.*
seşbe-ê *hur-m-êz-o=we* *padşa*
 morning-F.SG.OBL PVB-IND-rise.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL king.M
 ‘The king woke up in the morning.’ [ZP.37]
- (65) *eçê menmêwe.*
e=çê *mén-mê=we*
 in=here stay.PRS.SBJV-1PL:S=COMPL
 ‘We [cannot] stay here.’ [PM.5]

- (66) *maḍam weşeş kerdêbowe ...*
maḍam weş-e=ş kerdê=b-o=we
 as_long_as well-F=3SG:A do.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-3SG:O=COMPL
 ‘Now that it appears that he has healed her [thoroughly] ...’ [JP.261]
- (67) *dûr ginewe çî şarî!*
dûr gîn-e=we çî şar-î
 far fall.PRS.IMP-2SG:S=COMPL from=DEM.PROX city.M-OBL.M
 ‘Get away from this town!’ [BP.165]

That the particle is associated with completeness is evident in comparing the following two verbs, one without the particle, i.e., *tawyo*, and one with it, i.e., *tawyowe*. The one without the particle implies that the ice is still in the process of melting without necessarily melting completely. The one with =*we* implies that the melting will surely be completed

- (68) *yexeke tawyo.*
yex-eke tawy(e)-o
 ice-DEF.M.SG.DIR melt.PRS-3SG:S
 ‘The ice is melting.’
- (69) *yexeke tawyowe.*
yex-eke tawy(e)-o=we
 ice-DEF.M.SG.DIR melt.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL
 ‘The ice is melting out.’

The particle appears at the end of the verbal form, after all other suffixes and clitics:

- (70) *kîyanoşewe.*
kîyan-o=ş=ewe
 send.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL
 ‘He sent him back.’ [JP.96]
- (71) *milarewe.*
mi-l-a=re=we
 IND-go.PRS-3PL:S=POVB=COMPL
 ‘They went back.’ [BP.124]

8.6 Infinitive

The infinitive is formed by adding the suffix *-ey* to the past stem of the verbs. The vowel *e* gets deleted following vowel-final stems:

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| (72) | Gloss | Infinitive | Past stem |
| | ‘read, study’ | <i>wenay</i> | <i>wena-</i> |
| | ‘do’ | <i>kerdey</i> | <i>kerd-</i> |

The infinitive has both nominal and verbal functions. In its nominal function, the infinitive occurs as a preposition complement (73), as a nominal complement (74), and as a nominal argument in existential or copula clauses (75).

- (73) *şûnû peya bîyeyşre eyakêş merde.*
şûn-û peya bîyey=ş=re eda-(e)kê=ş
 after-EZ.GEN visible be.INF=3SG:PSR=POST mother.F-DEF.F.SG=3SG:PSR
merd-e
 die.PST-3SG.F:S
 ‘Well, the child was born. His mother died after his birth.’ [KŞ.23]

- (74) *xizone çêro şebakê be şinwanû witeywew seyaywe.*
xiz-one çêr=o şeba-(e)kê be şinwan-û
 creep.PRS.IND-3SG:S under=POST robe.F-DEF.F.SG by label.M-EZ.GEN
witey=we=û seyay=we
 sleep.INF=POST=and rest.INF=POST
 ‘He put it over him. He crept under his robe, supposedly to rest and sleep [lit. in the guise of sleeping and resting].’ [BP.188]

- (75) *ew aman xeyr amayê weş amayê beynne bîyen.*
ew ama=n xeyr amay-ê weş
 DEM.DIST come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S goodness.M come.INF-INDF good
amay-ê beyn=ne bîye=n
 come.INF-INDF between=POST be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘They [lit. He] would come. There were greetings and welcoming.’ [RE.25]

The infinitive also occurs as the complement of the verb *des kerdey* ‘start’ [lit. ‘hand do’].

- (76) *serew des kero gireway.*
serew des ker-o gireway
 from_above hand.M do.PRS.IND-3SG:A cry.INF
 ‘He (Little Hama) started to cry on the roof.’ [BP.152]

- (77) *şûnîre amana desim kerden karêz bişyey.*
şûnî=re ama=na des=im
 afterwards=POST come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S hand.M=1SG:A
kerde=n karêz bişyey
 do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O subterranean_canal.M cut.INF
 ‘Then, I started [lit. hand do] to dig subterranean canals.’ [JM.6]

In its verbal function, the infinitive is used in purposive clauses following a verb of movement. In most Iranian languages, a subjunctive verb form is expected in this context.

- (78) *kîyanaş pey beşay wenay.*
kîyan-a=ş pey beşa-î wenay
 send.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3SG:O to PN-M.SG.OBL read.INF
 ‘They sent him to Baghdad so that he studied.’ [JP.80]

- (79) *berdênmêşa lo keney bê heq.*
berdê=nmê=şa lo keney bê
 take.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:O=3PL:A fodder_grass mow.INF without
heq
 salary.M
 ‘They would take us to mow fodder grass for free [i.e., without wages].’ [RE.65]

9 Verbal inflectional morphology and verbal categories

9.1 Verbal inflection: tense-aspect-mood and person

Present and past stems combine with inflectional person suffixes and modal prefixes to yield several tense-aspect-mood categories. The indicative and subjunctive prefixes are among the TAM prefixes expressing mood. However, the majority of verbs have no overt marking of mood distinction, in which case the difference between indicative and subjunctive verb form is carried out by stress; the verb stem in the subjunctive mood carries stress: *kéro* ‘that he/she does’ vs. *kero* ‘he/she does’ (see §3.3.4). Table 9.1 summarises TAM/negation prefixes:

Table 9.1: TAM and negation prefixes

Tense	Aspect-mood prefix	Negative	
Present	indicative	<i>m-</i>	<i>mé-, nimé-</i>
	subjunctive	\emptyset -, <i>bi-</i>	<i>ne-</i>
	imperative	<i>bi-</i>	<i>me-, ne-, nimé-</i>
Past	perfective, imperfect,	\emptyset -	<i>ne-</i>
	perfect, past	\emptyset -	<i>ne-</i>
	perfect, past conditional	\emptyset -	<i>ne-</i>

As can be seen, there are two negation forms for the indicative. The form *mé-* originates from the deletion of *n(i)-* in *n(i)-me* through cluster reduction, with the stress later shifting to *mé-* (see Karim & Mohammadirad forthcoming). The resultant form *mé-* is thus originally an indicative prefix which happened to carry the stress of the negative form and later remorphologised as the negation marker.

The indicative form *m-* is the result of pretonic shortening of *me-* before stressed syllables: **me-z-ó* > *mi-zó* ‘she gives birth’. The variant *me-* is now morphologised as the negation marker and is evident in the negative form *nime-*.

9.1.1 Indicative m(i)-

The unstressed indicative prefix *mi-/m-* expresses general present and future tense in verbs derived from the present tense. It is likely related to the Old Iranian *hama-aiwa- ‘same duration, time’ (Windfuhr 2009: 26). The indicative form has a full form *me-* which is reconstructable in the negative of indicative (see above).

m- is, however, only prefixed to a few conjugated verbs. There are thus two classes of present stem verbs regarding the use of the prefix *m-*.¹ Class I consists of the majority of the verbs to which the indicative *m-* is not prefixed; class II verbs take the indicative prefix *m-*. For class II verbs, phonological factors seem to be the main trigger for using the prefix *m-*: verb stems starting with a vowel take the indicative particle. Examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| (1) | <i>m-aç-û</i> | [IND-say.PRS-1SG:A] | ‘I say’ |
| | <i>m-ar-û</i> | | ‘I bring’ |
| | <i>m-az-û</i> | | ‘I let’ |
| | <i>m-êş-û</i> | | ‘I hurt (INTR)’ |
| | <i>m-êj-û</i> | | ‘I am valued’ |
| | <i>m-êjye-w-re</i> | | ‘I lie down’ |
| | <i>m-ûs-û</i> | | ‘I sleep’ |
| | <i>m-e-w</i> | | ‘I come’ |

Similarly, the verb stems consisting of only a consonant take the indicative prefix. An exception is the verb *bîyey* ‘be, become’ (PRS *b-*; PST *bî-*), which does not take the prefix, seemingly due to assimilation in the bilabial feature.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| (2) | <i>mi-ş-î</i> | [IND-go.PRS-2SG:S] | ‘you go’ |
| | <i>mi-l-î</i> | | ‘you go’ |
| | <i>mi-z-o</i> | | ‘she gives birth’ |

For the rest of the verbs, the syllable structure seems to be the main factor triggering the occurrence of the indicative prefix. Verbs with a CV structure take the *m-* prefix.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| (3) | <i>mi-ge-w</i> | [IND-copulate.PRS-1SG:A] | ‘I copulate’ |
| | <i>mi-ðe-w</i> | | ‘I give’ |

Similarly, verb stems with CCV structure take the *m-* prefix. The second consonant in the stem of these verbs is a glide. The addition of the *m-* results in the resyllabification of CCV to CVC.CV.

¹See Mohammadirad & Karim (2025) for the development of indicative and subjunctive prefixes in conservative Hewrami varieties.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|----------------------|------------|
| (4) | <i>mi-ḍye-w</i> | [IND-look.PRS-1SG:S] | 'I look' |
| | <i>mi-nye-w</i> | | 'I put' |
| | <i>mi-zye-w</i> | | 'I arrive' |

Verbs with the syllable structure CCVC split in taking the *m-* prefix. The addition of indicative prefix results in the resyllabification of the sequence whereby the verb's CCVC syllable structure is restructured as CVC.CVC.

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| (5) | <i>mi-nvîs-û</i> | [IND-write.PRS-1SG:A] | < cf. <i>nvîs-</i> | 'I write' |
| | <i>mi-jnew-û</i> | | < cf. <i>jnew-</i> | 'I hear' |
| | <i>mi-jnas-û</i> | | < cf. <i>jnas-</i> | 'I know' |

Exceptions include the following:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|-------------------|-----------|
| (6) | <i>jmar-û</i> | [count.PRS-1SG:A] | 'I count' |
| | <i>vreş-û</i> | [sell.PRS-1SG:A] | 'I sell' |

The majority of the stems based on the present tense do not take the indicative prefix. These verbs fall into different morphosemantic and phonological classes. Some generalisations can be made here:

The indicative prefix is omitted before verbs with CVC structure. The initial consonant is usually a strong consonant. The reason could be that the *m-* prefix undergoes phonetic attrition in consonant clusters, e.g., **m-ker-o* < *kero* 'he/she does'.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| (7) | <i>piř-o</i> | [fly.PRS-3SG:S] | 'It flies' |
| | <i>ker-o</i> | | 'he/she does' |
| | <i>çin-o</i> | | 'he/she weaves/plucks' |
| | <i>saw-o</i> | | 'he/she rubs' |
| | <i>şan-o</i> | | 'he/she scatters/sows' |
| | <i>xiz-o</i> | | 'he/she slips' |
| | <i>xiw-o</i> | | 'he/she laughs' |
| | <i>doş-o</i> | | 'he/she milks' |
| | <i>zan-o</i> | | 'he/she knows' |
| | <i>jîw-o</i> | | 'he/she lives' |
| | <i>şêl-o</i> | | 'he/she rubs/presses' |
| | <i>wêç-o</i> | | 'he/she sieves' |

An exception is the verb *sanay* 'to buy', which for some speakers appears with the indicative *m-*:

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|------------|
| (8) | <i>sana/ mi-sana</i> | 'they buy' |
|-----|----------------------|------------|

Similarly, verb stems with CVCC structure do not take the *m-* prefix.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| (9) | <i>perm-o</i> | [rely_on.PRS-3SG:A] | ‘he/she relies on’ |
| | <i>pers-o</i> | | ‘he/she asks’ |
| | <i>ters-o</i> | | ‘he/she is afraid’ |

This category also includes verbs with the agentive suffix *-n*:

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| (10) | <i>kiřn-o</i> | [scratch.PRS-3SG:A] | ‘he/she scratches’ |
| | <i>wuřn-o</i> | | ‘he/she destroys’ |
| | <i>gêln-o</i> | | ‘he/she narrates’ |
| | <i>řemn-o</i> | | ‘he/she makes run’ |
| | <i>řokn-o</i> | | ‘he/she shakes (TR)’ |

The indicative prefix does not occur with verbs of sound emission. This includes the verbs that take the agentive suffix *-n* and those that do not.

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| (11) | <i>pirxn-o</i> | [snore.PRS-3SG:A] | ‘he/she snores’ |
| | <i>qêřn-o</i> | | ‘he/she shouts’ |
| | <i>seř-o</i> | | ‘it brays’ |
| | <i>girew-o</i> | | ‘he/she cries’ |
| | <i>baři(e)-o=we</i> | | ‘it bloats’ |
| | <i>pijm-o</i> | | ‘he/she sneezes’ |

Unaccusative verbs with added detransitiviser suffix *-ye* do not take the indicative suffix.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| (12) | <i>meřy(e)-o</i> | [break.PRS-3SG:S] | ‘it breaks’ |
| | <i>șêwy(e)-o</i> | | ‘he/she gets confused’ |
| | <i>qomy(e)-o</i> | | ‘it happens’ |
| | <i>fařy(e)-o</i> | | ‘it changes’ |
| | <i>fîsy(e)-o</i> | | ‘it overflows’ |

The same usage is seen with light verb constructions. The indicative prefix appears only with the light verbs fulfilling one of the conditions above:

- | | | | |
|------|--|------------|--|
| (13) | <i>tûșîș mê.</i> | | |
| | <i>tûș=iș</i> | <i>m-ê</i> | |
| | accident=3SG:PSR IND-come.PRS.3SG:S | | |
| | ‘He ran into him.’ < <i>tûș amay</i> ‘to run into, to get into trouble’ [JP.132] | | |

vs.

(14) *tateş fewt kero.*

tate=ş fewt ker-o

father.M=3SG:PSR death.M do.PRS.IND-3SG:A

‘His father passed away.’ < *fewt kerdey* ‘to pass away’

[JP.8]

9.1.2 Subjunctive *b(i)-*

In verbs derived from the present stem, the subjunctive mood is expressed by the prefix *b(i)-*. The prefix *bi-* and its cognates mark the subjunctive and imperative moods in modern West Iranian languages. The subjunctive was without any TAM marker in Middle Iranian, with a different inflection than the indicative mood. Only in the early Iranian period did *b(i)-* come to develop a TAM marker, which also functions as an imperative (Noorlander & Stilo 2015).

The prefix is originally stressed in line with other Iranian languages. However, for the majority of verbs which take the prefix, the stress shifts to the stem, as shown by the phonemic analysis of *bzānmê* ‘that we know’ [RE.51], see Figure 9.1a. The stress shift is blocked before stems starting with a consonant cluster; see the phonemic analysis of *bíjnasû* ‘that I know’ in Figure 9.1b.

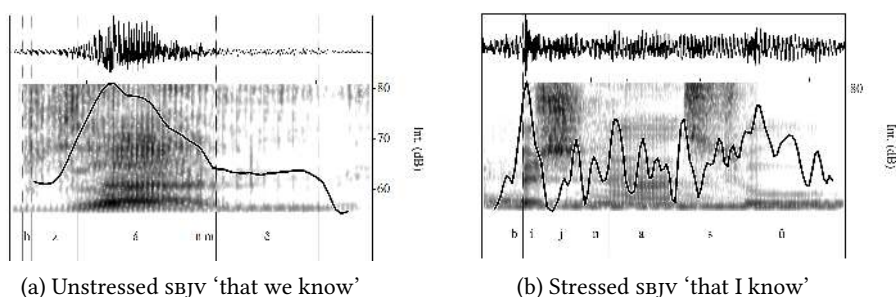


Figure 9.1: The stress pattern prefixed subjunctive stems

The subjunctive prefix occurs with a small class of verbs. The limited use of the subjunctive prefix parallels the restricted use of the indicative prefix seen in §9.1.1. There are thus two main classes of verbs regarding the subjunctive prefix: class I verbs (making up around 95%) not taking the prefix, and class II verbs (around 5%) taking the prefix. A small set of verb stems may appear with or without the subjunctive prefix (see below). As seen in Figures 9.1a and 9.1b, the subjunctive prefix may be stress-bearing depending on the syllable structure of the stem. By contrast, in verb stems featuring no subjunctive prefix, the stress has shifted onto the first vowel of the stem, resulting in the phonemic stress placement §3.3.4. Historically, the stress shifts onto the stem following the loss

of the subjunctive prefix (Karim & Mohammadirad forthcoming). Figure 9.2 exhibits the stress placement of the prefix-less subjunctive stem *ber-o* ‘that he takes’ [HB.11].

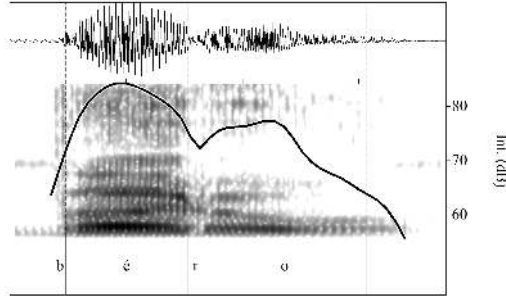


Figure 9.2: The stress pattern of prefix-less subjunctive stem *ber-* ‘take’

The same morphophonological conditions as the indicative *m-* seem to trigger the use of the subjunctive prefix. Therefore, subjunctive prefixes appear with consonant-only and vowel-initial stems. An exception is the verb *bíyey* ‘be, become’ (PRS *b-*; PST *bî-*), which does not take the prefix.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|------------------------|------------------|----------|
| (15) | <i>b-ús-û</i> | [SBJV-sleep.PRS-1SG:S] | ‘that I sleep’ | [BP.182] |
| | <i>bí-l-o</i> | [SBJV-go.PRS-3SG:S] | ‘that he goes’ | [DG.54] |
| | <i>b-ár-o</i> | [SBJV-bring.PRS-3SG:A] | ‘that he brings’ | [HB.14] |
| | <i>b-ê-nê</i> | [SBJV-come.PRS-3PL:S] | ‘that they come’ | [JE.78] |
| | <i>b-ó</i> | [be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S] | ‘that she be’ | [KŞ.17] |

The following is a sample of verbs which appear with the subjunctive prefix in the text corpus:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|---------|
| (16) | <i>bí-spar-o</i> | [SBJV-hand_over-3SG:A] | ‘that he hands over’ | [ŞC.89] |
| | <i>bí-nye-ûne</i> | [SBJV-set_up.PRS-1SG:A] | ‘that I set up’ | [JH.13] |
| | <i>bi-sân-a</i> | [SBJV-buy.PRS-3PL:A] | ‘that they buy’ | [BP.58] |
| | <i>bí-zy-a</i> | [SBJV-grow.PRS-3PL:S] | ‘that they grow’ | [JP.27] |

The following list is a sample of verbs from the text corpus that appear with no subjunctive TAM prefix.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------|
| (17) | <i>wér-o</i> | [eat.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A] | ‘that they eat’ | [PM.36] |
| | <i>kér-o</i> | [do.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A] | ‘that he does’ | [ZP.111] |
| | <i>bér-o</i> | [take.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A] | ‘that he takes’ | [RE.52] |
| | <i>kúş-î</i> | [kill.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A] | ‘that you kill’ | [KŞ.98] |

<i>sáw-î</i>	[rub.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A]	‘that you rub’	[DG.47]
<i>dón=mê</i>	[talk_to.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A]	‘that we talk to’	[JE.76]
<i>táw-o</i>	[read.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]	‘that he/she can’	[JM.61]

The verb *zanay* ‘to know’ appears both with and without the subjunctive prefix, though the latter is more common:

- (18) *bi-zan-mê* ‘that we know’ [JP.64]
zan-a ‘that they know’ [JP.67]

In light verb constructions, the subjunctive prefix is largely absent. The light verb *day* ‘give’ exhibits variation in taking the subjunctive prefix (see 19e-19f).

- (19) a. *dagîr ker-o* ‘that he occupies’ [DP.18]
b. *dawa ker-o* ‘that he claims’ [DP.18]
c. *wey ker-û* ‘that I take care of’ [JP.226]
d. *peket gin-o* ‘that you get worried’ [JP.234]
e. *zerer de-yime* ‘that we harm’ [PM.5]
f. *tefre bi-ď(e)-o* ‘that he avoids’ [KŞ.105]

9.1.3 Imperative b-

As stated, the prefix *b-* also expresses the imperative mood. Like marking the subjunctive mood, the imperative *b-* is not regularised. Phonological factors trigger the use of the imperative *b-*:

- (20) *b-ár-e* [IMP-bring.PRS-2SG:A] ‘Bring!’ [JH.50]
bí-zn-e=re [IMP-take.PRS-2SG:A=POST] ‘Take out!’ [KŞ.96]
bí-nye [IMP-put.PRS-2SG:A] ‘Put!’ [KŞ.96]
bí-nye-ydê [IMP-put.PRS-2PL:A] ‘You (PL) Put!’ [BP.186]

The verb ‘give’ takes the indicative prefix *m-*, but in the imperative appears with no *b-* prefix, see (21)–(22). This may suggest that the subjunctive/imperative prefix has a more restricted use than the indicative *m-*.

- (21) *î kinaçête de pî kuřîme.*
î *kinaçê=t=e* *ďé-(e)* *p=î*
DEM.PROX daughter.F.SG=2SG:PSR=DEM give.PRS.IMP-2SG:A to=DEM.PROX
kuř-î=m=e
son.M-SG.OBL=1SG:PSR=DEM
‘Give your daughter to my son [in marriage].’ [RE.7]

- (22) *deş!*
dé-(e)=ş
 give.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=3SG:O
 ‘Give her!’ [RE.55]

As with the subjunctive prefix, the imperative prefix does not appear with most imperative verb forms, including with light verb constructions.

- (23)
- | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|---------|
| <i>çin-e</i> | [set_up.PRS.IMP-2SG:A] | ‘Set up!’ | [JH.25] |
| <i>gîsn-e</i> | [start.PRS.IMP-2SG:A] | ‘Start!’ | [JH.27] |
| <i>bér-e</i> | [take.PRS.IMP-2SG] | ‘Take!’ | [HB.62] |
| <i>kér-e</i> | [do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A] | ‘Do!’ | [RE.20] |
| <i>táš-e</i> | [shave.PRS.IMP-2SG:A] | ‘Shave!’ | [JH.53] |
| <i>wáč-e</i> | [tell.PRS.IMP-2SG:A] | ‘Say!’ | [JE.74] |
| <i>kúj-dê</i> | [kill.PRS.IMP-2PL:A] | ‘You (PL) kill!’ | [KŞ.72] |
| <i>zinî kér-e</i> | [saddle do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A] | ‘Saddle!’ | [ŞC.52] |
| <i>ser=ma dé-ydê</i> | [head.M=1PL:R give.PRS.IMP-2PL:A] | ‘Pay us a visit!’ | [DG.68] |

9.1.4 Negation prefixes with present tense verbs

Tekht H. has a number of negative prefixes, listed above in Table 9.1. The negation prefixes for present indicative are *mé-* and *nimé-*. Of these, *mé-* is the general negation form: it expresses the negation of consonant-initial verbs and verbs starting with a high vowel, e.g., *û*. The form *nimé-* occurs only with a handful of vowel-initial verbs, including verbs whose initial vowel is *a*, *e*, and *ê*. The stressed vowel in *nimé-* merges with the vowel-initial verbs. Still, the stress is retrievable in that position, as suggested by the phonemic analysis of *nimáza* ‘they don’t let’ in Figure 9.3.

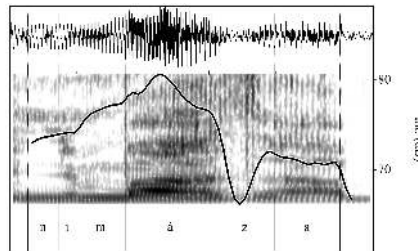


Figure 9.3: The stress pattern of *nimé-*

- (24) a. i. *m-az-a*
IND-let.PRS-3PL:A
'they let'
ii. *nim(e)-az-a*
NEG.IND-let.PRS-3PL:A
'they do not let'
- b. i. *m-ar-û*
IND-bring.PRS-1SG:A
'I bring'
ii. *nim(e)-ar-û*
NEG.IND-bring.PRS-1SG:A
'I do not bring'
- c. i. *m-e-w*
IND-come.PRS-1SG:S
'I come'
ii. *nim(e)-e-w*
NEG.IND-come.PRS-1SG:S
'I do not come'
- d. i. *m-ûs-û*
IND-sleep.PRS-1SG:S
'I sleep'
ii. *me-ws-û*
NEG.IND-sleep.PRS-1SG:S
'I do not sleep'
- e. i. *m-êş-o*
IND-hurt.PRS-3SG:S
'it hurts'
ii. *nim(e)-êş-o*
NEG.IND-hurt.PRS-3SG:S
'it does not hurt'
iii. *me-êş-o*
NEG.IND-hurt.PRS-3SG:S
'it does not hurt'

For the rest of the verbs, *me-* is the negator prefix. This includes some verb stems starting with a vowel in their present indicative form (see 24d above) and

verb stems starting with a consonant, whether they are composed of only one consonant (25a-b) or have a syllabic structure (26a-b).

- (25) a. i. *mi-l-o*
IND-go.PRS-3SG:S
'he/she goes'
ii. *me-l-o*
NEG.IND-go.PRS-3SG:S
'he/she does not go'
- b. i. *mi-ʃ-o*
IND-go.PRS-3SG:S
'it goes'
ii. *me-ʃ-o*
NEG.IND-go.PRS-3SG:S
'it does not go'
- (26) a. i. *nîʃ-û*
sit.PRS.IND-1SG:S
'I sit'
ii. *me-nîʃ-û*
NEG.IND-sit.PRS-1SG:S
'I do not sit'
- b. i. *mi-nye-w=re*
IND-put.PRS.IND-1SG:A=POVB
'I put down'
ii. *me-nye-w=re*
NEG.IND-put.PRS.IND-1SG:A=POVB
'I do not put down'

In the negation of the present subjunctive, the subjunctive *b(i)-* is replaced with *né-*. The vowel of the negation prefix merges with the vowel in some vowel-initial stems; see (27).

- (27) *nariʃo!*
n(e)-ar-i-ʃ=o
NEG.SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL
'May you not bring her back!'

[ZP.47]

- (28) *newsî!*
ne-ûs-î!
 NEG.SBJV-sleep.PRS-2SG:S
 ‘May you not sleep!’

- (29) *ême keçê nekero.*
ême keç-ê ne-ker-o
 1PL crooked-PL NEG.SBJV-do.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘He shall not make us crooked.’ [DG.64]

The prohibitive is expressed by *me-*, *né-*, and *nimé-* depending on the initial segment of the verb stem. *nimé-* occurs before verbs starting with a low vowel. With verbs starting with a high vowel or a mid vowel, the negative prefix is *mé-*, see (30e-f).

- (30) a. i. *m-az-a*
 IND-let.PRS-3PL:A
 ‘they let’
 ii. *nim(e)-áz-e*
 PROH-let.PRS-2SG:A
 ‘do not let!’
 b. i. *m-ar-î*
 IND-bring.PRS-1SG:A
 ‘You bring’
 ii. *nim(e)-ár-e*
 PROH-bring.PRS-2SG:A
 ‘do not bring’
 c. i. *m-e-y*
 IND-come.PRS-2SG:S
 ‘You come’
 ii. *nim(e)-ó*
 PROH-come.PRS.2SG:S
 ‘do not come!’
 d. i. *m-e-ydê*
 IND-come.PRS-2PL:S
 ‘you (PL) come’

- ii. *nim(e)-e-ydê*
PROH-come.PRS.2PL:S
'do not come!'
- e. i. *m-ûs-î*
IND-sleep.PRS-1SG:S
'you sleep'
- ii. *mé-ws-e*
PROH-sleep.PRS-2SG:S
'do not sleep'
- f. i. *m-êjîye-y=re*
IND-lie_down.PRS-2SG:S=POVB
'you lie down'
- ii. *mé-êjîy(e)-e=re*
PROH-lie_down.PRS-2SG:S=POVB
'do not lie down'

With verbs starting with a consonant, the negative prefix *mé-* is used:

- (31) *mele pey degε!*
me-l-e *pey degε*
PROH-go.PRS-2SG:S to village.F-OBL
'Don't go to the village!'

The use of *né-* is more restricted. It may occur before the stems starting with *m*, e.g., (32).

- (32) *nemendêwe eçê!*
ne-men-dê=we *e=çê*
PROH-remain.PRS-2PL=COMPL in=here
'Don't stay here!'

[PM.22]

nîye- expresses the negation of enclitic copula (see §9.2.1).

- (33) *jenew heçkesî nîyene.*
jene-û *heçkes-î* *nîye=ne*
wife.DEF-EZ.GEN no_one-obl.M NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.F:S
'She is no one's wife.'

[SH.200]

9.1.5 Summary of TAM and negation forms in verbs with present time reference

The verb forms with present time reference fall broadly into four classes. In all verb classes, the negation of indicative is identical to the prohibitive, as opposed to the negation of the subjunctive.

Class 1 features the majority of verbs, as exemplified by the verb *berđey* ‘take’. Here, indicative, subjunctive, and imperative verb forms are prefix-less. The verbs beginning with *m* in this class exceptionally have the prohibitive prefix *ne-*, see (32).

Class 2 is specific to verbs with a C(V) structure, except for *bîyey* ‘be, become’ (PRS *b-*; PST *bî-*), which belongs to class 1. The verb forms in this class regularly take the TAM prefixes, except occasionally, the imperative prefix is dropped; see (21)–(22).

Class 3 is limited to low-vowel-initial verbs. Here, the negatives of indicative and prohibitive are *nime-*, unlike the verbs in classes 1 and 2.

Class 4 is limited to high back-vowel and mid-vowel-initial verbs. Like the verbs in class 3, the verb forms in this class feature vowel coalescence of the TAM prefixes with the stem. However, unlike in class 3, the verb forms in this class have their negation forms in *mé-*. An exception is the verb *êşay* ‘to hurt’, for which the negative of the indicative can be expressed by either *mé-* or *nimé-* (see §9.1.4), hence belonging to both class 3 and class 4.

Table 9.2: Verb classes with present time reference, inflected in 2sg

			IND	SBJV	IMP/PROH
1	<i>ber-</i> ‘take’	AFF	<i>ber-î</i>	<i>bér-î</i>	<i>bér-e</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-ber-î</i>	<i>né-ber-î</i>	<i>mé-ber-e</i>
2	<i>de-</i> ‘give’	AFF	<i>mî-đe-î</i>	<i>bî-đe-î</i>	<i>(bî)-đ(e)-é</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-đe-î</i>	<i>né-đe-î</i>	<i>mé-đ(e)-e</i>
3	<i>az-</i> ‘let’	AFF	<i>m-áz-î</i>	<i>b-áz-î</i>	<i>b-áz-e</i>
		NEG	<i>nim(e)-áz-î</i>	<i>n-áz-î</i>	<i>nim(e)-áz-e</i>
4	<i>ûs-</i> ‘sleep’	AFF	<i>m-ûs-î</i>	<i>b-ûs-î</i>	<i>b-ûs-e</i>
		NEG	<i>mé-ws-î</i>	<i>né-ws-î</i>	<i>mé-ws-e</i>

9.1.6 TAM and negation forms in verbs with past time reference

The verb forms with a past time reference are characterised by the absence of a specific TAM prefix. the negator *ne-* negates verbs with past time reference, as shown in the following examples.

(34) Past perfective

- a. *wat=iş*
say.PST=3SG:A
'he/she said'
- b. *ne-wat=iş*
NEG-say.PST=3SG:A
'he/she did not say'

(35) Imperfect / past irrealis

- a. *waç-ên-î*
say.PRS-AUG-2SG:A
'you were saying' / 'you would say'
- b. *ne-waç-ên-î*
NEG-say.PRS-AUG-2SG:A
'you were not saying' / 'you would not say'

(36) Present perfect

- a. *wate=n=iş*
say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A
'he/she has said (it)'
- b. *ne-wate=n=iş*
NEG-say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A
'he/she has not said it'

(37) Past perfect

- a. *wate=b-ê=ş*
say.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:O=3SG:A
'he/she had said (it)'
- b. *ne-wate=b-ê=ş*
NEG-say.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:O=3SG:A
'he/she has said it'

(38) Past conditional

- a. *wat-ε=t*
say.PST-COND=2SG:A
'(If) you said!'
- b. *ne-wat-ε=t*
NEG-say.PST-COND=2SG:A
'(If) you didn't say!'

(39) Past perfect conditional

- a. *wat-e=bî-ε=t*
say.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST-COND=2SG:A
'(If) you had said!'
- b. *ne-wate=bî-ε=t*
NEG-say.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST-COND=2SG:A
'(If) you hadn't said!'

9.1.7 Bound person/number markers

Tekht H. has different paradigms of verbal person/number agreement/anaphora suffixes (and gender agreement in 3SG in some paradigms) in its morphosyntax, used with verbal and non-verbal predicates. These paradigms include (i) copula person markers (PMs), (ii) verbal person/number affixes, and (iii) clitic pronouns. Verbal person/number affixes are further divided into two paradigms: one used with verbs derived from the present stem and the other used with verbs derived from the past stem. Table 9.3 exhibits the paradigms of person marking.

To begin with the verbal person/number affixes, the paradigm of present tense verbal affixes is used with TAM categories derived from the present stem of the verbs. The verbal person/number affixes used in this set are stress-taking. They are used to express the subject of present stem verbs. The indexing of the subject argument is obligatory in these contexts, meaning that the endings are agreement markers. The variant forms in the singular, i.e., *-ûne*, *-îne* and *-one*, are phonologically- and morphologically-conditioned variants of *-û*, *-î*, and *-o*, respectively. The heavier forms are used when the endings are followed by the coordinate particle *=û*; contrast (40) and (41).

(40) *kuçêş çene werû î masî.*

kuç-ê=ş *çene* *wer-û* *î* *mas-î*
little-INDF=3SG:R from eat.PRS.IND-1SG:A DEM.PROX yoghurt.M-SG.OBL
'I shall eat a little of it, [of] this yoghurt.' [JH.42]

9 Verbal inflectional morphology and verbal categories

Table 9.3: Paradigms of person/number and gender marking

	Verbal PMs PRS.	Verbal PMs PST.	Copula PMs	Clitic pronouns	Imperative suffixes
1SG	-û, -ûne	-a, -anê	=na	=m	
2SG	-î, -îne	-î	=nî	=t	-e
3SG.M	-o, -one	-Ø	=n, =a	=ş	
3SG.F		-e	=ne		
1PL	-mê, -îmê	-îmê, -mê	=nmê	=ma	-mê, -imdê
2PL	-de, -îdê	-îdê, -dê	=ndê	=ta	-dê
3PL	-a, -an(ê)	-ê	=nê	=şa	

- (41) *mareş biřûnew.*

mare=ş biř-ûne=û

marriage=3SG:O cut.PRS.IND-1SG:A=and

‘I shall marry her [to Pir Shaliyar], and so on.’

[JP.225]

The heavy forms tend to occur with verbs of Goal of motion, such as ‘come’ and ‘go’,² and occasionally with verbs in the irrealis perfect.

- (42) *milone yane.*

mi-l-one yane

IND-go.PRS-3SG:S house.M.SG.DIR

‘He (the sultan) went inside.’

[JH.76]

- (43) *herkesî goş darabone*

herkes-î goş dara=b-one

whoever-OBL.M ear.M hold.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:O

‘Anyone who had listened to him, [had gone away from the city].’

[BP.167]

The variant forms in 1PL and 2PL are phonologically conditioned allomorphs of *-mê* and *-dê*, respectively. *-îmê* and *-îdê* are used following consonant-only

²The vowel-only person forms may equally be used with verbs of motion. The choice of the heavier forms may express some discourse property related to the subject.

stems (before which there is a word-boundary), e.g., *b-îmê* ‘that we are’, and following stems ending in a vowel, e.g., *mi-dê-ymê* ‘we give’. *-mê* and *-dê* are used elsewhere: *bi-l-mê* ‘let us go’; *ker-mê* ‘that we do’.

The verbal person/number affixes in the past tense are historically the result of the univerbation of the copula base with lexical verbs, hence their close similarity with the copula paradigm. The paradigm of past verbal person/number affixes has not totally lost their clitic origin, as they are not stress-bearing. The verbal affixes in this paradigm are obligatory indices of intransitive subjects and (to a large extent) direct objects (except in the imperfect) (see §11.1.2.2). In addition, they are used pronominally to express oblique arguments such as recipients, addressees, possessors, and benefactives (see §11.1.2). The variant forms for 1PL and 2PL, i.e., *-îmê* and *-îdê*, exhibit morphologically conditioned allomorphy with *-mê* and *-dê*. The former is used in the structure of past perfective, see (44); the latter are used in the formation of past perfect (45):

- (44) *wit-îmê*
sleep.PST-1PL:S
‘We slept.’

- (45) *witê=b-ên-mê*
sleep.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-AUG-1PL:S
‘We had slept.’

The copula endings consist of the stem *n* and set 2 verbal person/number suffixes. The stem has zero inflection in the 3SG.M. The variant form *-a* is likely to result from the omission of the *n*. Copula endings are obligatory indices of intransitive subjects in non-verbal predicates.

Clitic pronouns are reflexes of Old Iranian genitive/dative and accusative person clitic sets (Korn 2009). They assume both phrasal (e.g., possessor in an attributive possessive NP) and clausal functions (e.g., indexing past transitive subjects). Their use may be optional or near-obligatory, depending on the function they have. For instance, while they may alternate with free pronouns in indexing possessors, clitic pronouns have near-obligatory use in indexing past transitive subjects (§11.1.2.1).

Imperative suffixes are, for the most part, limited to the second person. As can be seen, the 2SG has a different form than the corresponding forms in other paradigms. It is, however, noticeable that the imperative person form *-imdê* (attested in the Tekht varieties of Silên and Nwên) is interpreted as containing ‘the speaker and more than one addressee’ is differentiated from *-mê* which is interpreted as meaning ‘the speaker and one addressee’.

- (46) *pîyakeyç maço tatew kinaçta, ‘da role gîyan bilimdê pey hêzma.’*
pîya-(e)ke=iç m-aç-o tate-û kinaçta, da
 man-DEF=ADD IND-say.PRS-3SG:A father-EZ.GEN girl.DIM.PL.OBL HORT
role gîyan bi-l-imdê pey hêzm(i)-a
 child dear IMP-go.PRS-1SG+2PL:S for wood-PL.OBL
 ‘The man, the girls’ father said, ‘Dear child(ren), let’s go for [collecting]
 woods.’ [ÇK.46]
- (47) *maço, ‘dey bilmê şerfene!’*
m-aç-o dey bi-l-mê şerfe=ne!
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A HORT SBJV-go.PRS-1PL:S sharia_law-POST
 ‘He (Moses) said [to the snake], ‘Let us (you and me) go to Sharia law.’
 [MR.21]

9.2 The copula

As remarked in §9.1.7, the copula paradigm consists of the stem *n* and the inflectional endings from the set 2 verbal person/number suffixes. The copula forms are used for the predication of non-verbal elements, such as nouns, adjectives and prepositional phrases. They are also used in the inflection of certain perfect tenses (see below). The paradigm of the present copula is exhibited in Table 9.4.

Table 9.4: Paradigm of present copula

Copular endings		
1SG	= <i>na</i>	
2SG	= <i>nî</i> 3SG.M	= <i>n-Ø</i> , = <i>a-Ø</i>
3SG.F	= <i>ne</i>	
1PL	= <i>nmê</i>	
2PL	= <i>ndê</i>	
3PL	= <i>nê</i>	

In the 3SG, =*n* is used following vowel-final non-verbal words (see 48), and =*a* is used following consonant-final words (see 49). The following examples illustrate the inflection of copula in ascriptive clauses. Recall that adjectives inflect for gender (only in the singular) and number (see §7.1.1).

(48) *xas* ‘well’

1SG.M	<i>xas=na</i>	[well.M=COP.1SG:S]	‘I (M) am well’
1SG.F	<i>xase=na</i>	[well.F=COP.1SG:S]	‘I (F) am well’
2SG.M	<i>xas=nî</i>	[well.M=COP.2SG:S]	‘you (M) are well’
2SG.F	<i>xase=nî</i>	[well.F=COP.2SG:S]	‘you (F) are well’
3SG.M	<i>xas=a</i>	[well.M=COP.3SG:S]	‘he is well’
3SG.F	<i>xase=ne</i>	[well.F=COP.3SG:S]	‘she is well’
1PL	<i>xasê=nmê</i>	[well.PL=1PL:S]	‘we are well’
2PL	<i>xasê=ndê</i>	[well.PL=2PL:S]	‘you are well’
3PL	<i>xasê=nê</i>	[well.PL=3PL:S]	‘they are well’

(49) *gewre* ‘old (of age)’

1SG.M	<i>gewre=na</i>	[old.M=COP.1SG:S]	‘I (M) am old’
1SG.F	<i>gewrê=na</i>	[old.F=COP.1SG:S]	‘I (F) am old’
2SG.M	<i>gewre=nî</i>	[old.M=COP.2SG:S]	‘you (M) are old’
2SG.F	<i>gewrê=nî</i>	[old.F=COP.2SG:S]	‘you (F) are old’
3SG.M	<i>gewre=n</i>	[old.M=COP.3SG:S]	‘he is old’
3SG.F	<i>gewrê=ne</i>	[old.F=COP.3SG:S]	‘she is old’
1PL	<i>gewrê=nmê</i>	[old.PL=1PL:S]	‘we are old’
2PL	<i>gewrê=ndê</i>	[old.PL=2PL:S]	‘you are old’
3PL	<i>gewrê=nê</i>	[old.PL=3PL:S]	‘they are old’

9.2.1 Negative copula

The negation of the present copula is expressed by adding *nîye-* to the copula endings (Table 9.5). The negative form of the copula can be considered a truncation of the negation *nî-* and the existential copula, e.g., *nîye=na* < * *nî-he=na* [NEG-EXIST=COP.1SG:S] ‘I am not’.

Table 9.5: The negative copula paradigm

Negative copula			
1SG	<i>nîye=na</i>		
2SG	<i>nîye=nî</i>	3SG.M	<i>nîya-Ø</i>
3SG.F	<i>nîye=ne</i>		
1PL	<i>nîye=nmê</i>		
2PL	<i>nîye=ndê</i>		
3PL	<i>nîye=nê</i>		

The following examples illustrate the use of negative copula in the text corpus.

(50) *hîçê nîya.*

hîç-ê nîy(e)=a

nothing-INDF NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S

‘There is nothing [left].’

[HB.4]

- (51) *hermane be desû min nîyene.*
hermane be des-û min nîye=ne
 work.F to hand.M-EZ.GEN 1SG NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘The task [of ruling] is not in my hands.’ [ŞC.86]

Proof for the analysis of *nîye-* as consisting of the negation *nî-* and the existential copula comes from the use of the *nîye-* as the negated predicate in predicative possessive constructions, which are formed based on the existential copula (see §9.2.3.1).

- (52) *zeraşetma nîyaw bencanîma nîyenew xîyarma nîyaw genmîma nîyene.*
zeraşet=ma nîy(e)=a=û bencanî=ma
 agriculture.M=1PL:NC NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S=and tomato.F=1PL:NC
nîye=ne=û xîyar=ma
 NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.F:S=and cucumber.M=1PL:NC
nîy(e)=a=û genmî=ma nîye=ne
 NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S=and wheat.F=1PL:NC NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘We don’t have much agriculture; we don’t have cucumbers; we don’t have tomatoes; we don’t have wheat.’ [PM.37]

9.2.2 Past copula

There are two paradigms of the past copula; see Table 9.6. One set is formed by combining the past stem of the verb ‘to be’ with verbal person/number affixes from the past tense. The second set uses the present stem of the verb ‘to be’, to which the augment *-ên* is added, and the resulting form is inflected by the same set of past tense verbal person/number suffixes. In the current state of the language, set 2 occurs at a higher rate than set 1. In the literature, the second set has been referred to as the “imperfect copula”, e.g., Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2018: 551), primarily because the augment *-ên* which is used in the structure of past imperfective is used in the structure of this past copula as well.

In the current state of the dialect, set 2 past copula functions as the basic copula. Examples:

- (53) *ême firê bēnmê.*

³In one case, the form *bî-a* is attested, e.g., *gumê bîya* [ŞC.39] ‘they got lost’, which would indicate syncretism between 1SG and 3PL. However, it is possible that the narrator actually meant ‘I was lost’, which would discard the syncretism scenario.

Table 9.6: Past copula paradigms

	Set 1	Set 2
1SG	<i>bî-a</i>	<i>b-ên-ê</i>
2SG	<i>b(i)-î</i>	<i>b-ênî</i>
3SG.M	<i>bî-Ø</i>	<i>b-ê<*b-ên</i>
3SG.F	<i>bî-e</i>	<i>b-ê<*b-ên</i>
1PL	<i>bî-mê</i>	<i>b-ên-mê</i>
2PL	<i>bî-dê</i>	<i>b-ên-dê</i>
3PL	<i>bî-ê³</i>	<i>b-ên-ê</i>

ême fire-ê b-ên-mê
 1PL a_lot-PL be.PRS-AUG-1PL:S
 ‘We were a large number.’

[BP.110]

- (54) *min zarote bênê.*
min zarote b-ên-ê
 1SG child be.PRS-AUG-1SG:S
 ‘I was a child.’

[JH.1]

Set 1 is used in the inflection of light verb constructions which are based on the light verb ‘to be’.

- (55) *luwanê nîzikû qîrôtekey biyawê.*
luwa-anê nîzik-û qîrôt-ekey bî-a=we
 go.PST-1SG:S close-EZ.GEN hollow.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL be.PST-1SG:S=COMPL
 ‘I went [and] got closer to the tree hollow.’

[ZQ.36]

- (56) *kuřêş peya bî.*
kuř-ê=ş peya bî-Ø
 son.M-INDF=3SG:PSR visible be.PST-3SG.M:S
 ‘A boy was born to him.’

[BP.4]

Less frequently, set 1 is used as the past copula, including in cleft constructions (57).

- (57) *î gîre çêş bî min ward?*
î gîr=e çêş bî-Ø min ward-Ø
 DEM.PROX hook.M=DEM what be.PST-3SG.M:S 1SG eat.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘What is this situation that I am caught in?’

[HB.23]

- (58) *min çen bê seqit bîya!*
min çen bê-seqit bî-a
 1SG so_much without-wisdom be.PST-1SG:S
 ‘[Look] how stupid I was!’ [HB.19]
- (59) *maço, îne her hête bî*
m-aç-o îne her hête bî-Ø
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR just egg.M be.PST-3SG.M:S
 ‘He said, ‘This one was just an egg.’ [JH.95]

9.2.3 Existential copula

The existential copula is formed by adding inflectional suffixes from the past tense to existential base *hen* < * *he* + =*n*.

Table 9.7: The existential copula paradigm

	Gloss	Lexical gloss
<i>hen-a</i>	[EXIST-1SG]	‘I am’
<i>hen-î</i>		‘you are’
<i>hen-Ø</i>		‘he is’
<i>hen-e</i>		‘she is’
<i>hen-mê</i>		‘we are’
<i>hen-dê</i>		‘you are’
<i>hen-ê</i>		‘they are’

Examples from the text corpus:

- (60) *pîyawê hen tawo î kinaçê to weşe kerowe.*
pîya-ê hen-Ø taw-o î kinaçê to
 man.M-INDF EXIST-3SG.M:S can.PRS.IND-3SG:A DEM.PROX girl.F 2SG
weş-e kër-o=we
 well-F do.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A=COMPL
 ‘There was a man in the Hewraman region who could cure his daughter.’ [JP.154]
- (61) *ne nan henû ne hardî henê.*
ne nan hen-Ø=û ne hardî hen-ê
 no bread.M.SG.DIR EXIST-3SG.M:S=and no flour.F.PL.DIR EXIST-3PL:S
 ‘There is no bread. There is no flour.’ [HB.3]

The existential copula can be used nominally, in which case it may appear as the head noun in a nominal phrase.

- (62) *ey henû nîyenû min*
ey hen=û nîyen-û min
 VOC being=and non_being-EZ.GEN 1SG
 ‘O my relatives [lit. O my being and non-being]’ [KŞ.56]

9.2.3.1 Possessive function of existential copula

The existential copula is used as the predicate in predicative possessive constructions, where it agrees in gender and number with the possessed noun. The possessor is indexed by clitic pronouns.⁴

- (63) *hen-Ø=im*
 EXIST-3SG.M:S=1SG:NC
 ‘I have it (M).’
 (64) *hen-e=m*
 EXIST-3SG.F:S=1SG:NC
 ‘I have it (F).’
 (65) *hen-ê=m*
 EXIST-PL:S=1SG:NC
 ‘I have them.’

If the possessed noun proceeds the existential stem, the possessor-indexing clitic moves onto the possessed NP.

- (66) *min birayêwem hen.*
min bira-êwe=m hen-Ø
 1SG brother.M-INDF=1SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S
 ‘I have a brother.’ [DG.34]
 (67) *tifengiş henû îneş henû aneş hen!*
tifeng=iş hen-Ø=û îne=ş
 gun=3SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S=and DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR=3SG:NC
hen-Ø=û ane=ş hen-Ø
 EXIST-3SG.M:S=and DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR=3SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S
 ‘He has a gun, he has this, and he has that!’ [ŞC.12]

⁴See Mohammadirad (2020a) for an overview of predicative possessive constructions in Western Iranian languages.

- (68) *xway deselatê çanêş henê.*
xwa-î deselat-ê çan(e)-ê=ş hen-ê
 God.M-OBL.M power.M-PL.DIR such-PL=3SG:NC EXIST-3PL:S
 ‘God has such powers [to exert].’ [ZQ.55]

The negation of predicate possession is expressed by the negative copula *nîye-*:

- (69) *warîyatma nîya.*
warîyat=ma nîy(e)=a
 income.M=1PL:NC NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘We have no income.’ [JM.60]

9.2.3.2 Locational function of the existential copula

The existential copula stem may function as the predicate in locational copula clauses, in which case it is inflected with the same set of endings presented in Table 9.7.

- (70) *hena yane.*
hen-a yane
 EXIST-1SG:S home.M
 ‘I am at home.’

The construction in (70) seems to be a recent innovation in Tekht Hawramî. It is absent in the entire corpus, and I only came across it in the speech of a few young speakers. The more common structure for expressing locational copula is to use the deictic particle *îna* (see §9.2.4).

9.2.4 Locational copula

The locational copula is expressed by the locational deictic particle *îna-* to which inflectional suffixes from the past tense are added; see Table 9.8.

The following examples illustrate a sample of the locational copula constructions containing the deictic copula *îna* found in the text corpus:

- (71) *înanê çêge.*
îna-(a)nê çêge
 LOC.DEIC.COP-1SG:S here
 ‘I am here.’ [JP.136]

Table 9.8: The locational copula paradigm

	Gloss	Lexical gloss
<i>îna-(a)nê</i>	[LOC.DEIC.COP-1SG]	‘I am at/in’
<i>îna-y</i>		‘you are at/in’
<i>îna-Ø</i>		‘he is at/in’
<i>îna-(e)</i>		‘she is at/in’
<i>îna-ymê</i>		‘we are at/in’
<i>îna-ydê</i>		‘you are at/in’
<i>în(a)-ê</i>		‘they are at/in’

- (72) *înaymê fîlane yagê.*
îna-îmê *fîlan-e* *yagê*
 LOC.DEIC.COP-1PL:S such_and_such-EZ.CMPD place.F
 ‘We are at such-and-such a place.’ [PM.12]

- (73) *înê welêne.*
în(a)-ê *welê=ne*
 LOC.DEIC.COP-3PL:S front=POST
 ‘(They) were in front.’ [BP.105]

The locational deictic base can also be *ana*. This was attested in the vernaculars of Nwên and Silên.

- (74) *zeře çermekes ana ça yawyano.*
zeř-e *çerme-(e)ke=s* *ana-Ø* *ça*
 coin-EZ.CMPD white-DEF.M.SG.DIR=3SG:PSR LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S there
yawya=n=o
 be_spread.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=COMPL
 ‘Her white coins were there, spread out over [the ground].’ [PK.27]

The negation of the locational copula is expressed by the negative copula, which is inflected by the copula paradigm.

- (75) *min nîyena yanene.*
min nîye=na *yane-ne*
 1SG NEG.EXIST=COP.1SG:S house=POST
 ‘I am not home.’

9.2.5 b- copula

The present stem of the verb ‘to be’, i.e., *b-*, is additionally used as a copula verb and existential stem. Unlike the copula paradigm seen in Table 9.4, the *b-* copula is inflected with set 1 verbal person/number suffixes, e.g., *b-û* ‘that I will be’. The *b-* form of the copula has both realis and irrealis functions, regardless of which, it can indicate the inchoative verb ‘become’, expressing ‘change of state’:

- (76) *wextê bo be hewt heşt sale xetk bero.*
wext-ê b-o be hewt heşt sale xetk
 time.M-INDF be.PRS.IND-3SG:S ADP seven eight year.F people.M
ber-o
 take.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘When he turned seven [or] eight years old, people would take him [into their houses].’ [KŞ.36]

- (77) *ba bîmêwe yo.*
ba b-îmê=we yo
 HORT be.PRS.SBJV-1PL:S=COMPL one.M
 ‘Let us be (lit. become) one.’ [BP.55]

- (78) *ađ bilo bo mêmanşa.*
ađ bî-l-o b-o mêman=şa
 3SG.M.DIR SBJV-go.PRS-3SG:S become.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S guest.M=3PL:PSR
 ‘He (the king) would go [and] become their guest.’ [JH.64]

9.2.5.1 Realis uses of b- copula

The *b-*copula can have several realis functions. In (79)–(80), it is used as an existential verb. The realis form typically sets the scene at the beginning of the tales.

- (79) *dastanû î hewramanû êmeyçe duwê padşe eçê ba.*
dastan(e)-û î hewraman-û ême=îç=e duwê padşa-ê
 story.F-EZ.GEN DEM.PROX PN-EZ.GEN 1PL=ADD=DEM two king.M.PL.DIR
e=çê b-a
 in=here be.PRS.IND-3PL:S
 ‘As for the tales of this Hewraman region of ours, there used to be two kings here.’ [DP.1]

- (80) *pîr şelîyar hetîm bo.*
pîr şelîyar hetîm b-o
 PN PN orphan be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘Pir Shaliyar was an orphan.’ [JP.10]

The *b-* copula may also function as the predicate in predicative possessive constructions.

- (81) *padşaw mîsrî kinaçêş bo felece bo.*
padşa-û mîsr-î kinaç(ê)-ê=ş b-o
 king.M-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL daughter.F-INDF=3SG:NC be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
felec-e b-o
 disabled-F be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘The king of Egypt had a daughter [who] was disabled.’ [JP.146]

- (82) *yerê kinaçêş ba.*
yerê kinaçê=ş b-a
 three daughter.PL.DIR=3SG:NC be.PRS.IND-3PL:S
 ‘He had three daughters.’ [JH.20]

- (83) *kuřêş ba.*
kuř-ê=ş b-a
 son.M-PL.DIR=3SG:NC be.PRS.IND-3PL:S
 ‘He had sons.’ [ZB.9]

9.2.5.2 Irrealis uses of *b-* copula

The *b-*copula also expresses irrealis functions. In (84), it expresses speaker-oriented modality in the main clause, the category which in terms of Bybee et al. (1994: 179) expresses directives such as commands, demands, warnings, exhortations, and recommendations, imposed on the addressee.

- (84) *mubarekû sahêbîş bo!*
mubarek-û sahêb-î=ş b-o
 blessed-EZ.GEN owner.M-SG.OBL=3SG:PSR be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S
 ‘May she be happy with her owner (i.e., father)!’ [ZP.106]

The *b-*form can be used in subordinate clauses:

- (85) *pêse îsey nebîyen girdçê sal bo weşze hîn bo.*
pêse îse-î ne-bîye=n girdçê sal
 like now-M.SG.OBL NEG-be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S everything good
b-o weşze hîn b-o
 be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S situation.F FILL be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S
 ‘It wasn’t like nowadays, when everything is fine, and the situation is
 thingummy.’ [JE.72]

9.3 TAM categories built on the present stem

A number of tense-aspect-mood constructions are built from the present stem of the verb. In this section, I enumerate the formal makeup of these TAM categories and their functions. The TAM categories constructed on the present stem of the verb exhibit accusative alignment, carried out by inflectional person suffixes agreeing with the transitive subject (A) and intransitive subject (S).

9.3.1 Present indicative

The present indicative is built in two ways depending on the verb class. For the majority of verbs, the structure of the present indicative is stem + inflectional person affixes. This is represented by the inflection of *kerđey* ‘do’ in Table 9.9.⁵ For the rest of the verbs, making up around 5% of total verbs, the present indicative is made by attaching the indicative prefix *m-* to the present stem of the verb, followed by inflectional person suffixes. The verbs in this class are represented by *arđey* ‘bring’ and *luway* ‘go’ in Table 9.9.

Table 9.9: The present indicative–sample paradigms

	<i>kerđey</i> ‘do’	<i>luway</i> ‘go’	<i>arđey</i> ‘bring’
1SG	<i>ker-û</i>	<i>mi-l-û</i>	<i>m-ar-û</i>
2SG	<i>ker-î</i>	<i>mi-l-î</i>	<i>m-ar-î</i>
3SG	<i>ker-o</i>	<i>mi-l-o</i>	<i>m-ar-o</i>
1PL	<i>ker-mê</i>	<i>mi-l-mê</i>	<i>m-ar-mê</i>
2PL	<i>ker-dê</i>	<i>mi-l-dê</i>	<i>m-ar-dê</i>
3PL	<i>ker-a</i>	<i>mi-l-a</i>	<i>m-ar-a</i>

⁵Recall from §9.1.1 that the indicative *m-* is missing with these verbs.

The negation of the present indicative is expressed by *me-* for the majority of verbs and *nime-* for a subset of vowel-initial verbs (see §9.1.4 for details). The present indicative paradigms seen in Table 9.9 are negated as follows (Table 9.10).

Table 9.10: The negation of the present indicative—sample paradigms

	<i>kerdey</i> ‘do’	<i>luway</i> ‘go’	<i>ardey</i> ‘bring’
1SG	<i>me-ker-û</i>	<i>me-l-û</i>	<i>nim(e)-ar-û</i>
2SG	<i>me-ker-î</i>	<i>me-l-î</i>	<i>nim(e)-ar-î</i>
3SG	<i>me-ker-o</i>	<i>me-l-o</i>	<i>nim(e)-ar-o</i>
1PL	<i>me-ker-mê</i>	<i>me-l-mê</i>	<i>nim(e)-ar-mê</i>
2PL	<i>me-ker-dê</i>	<i>me-l-dê</i>	<i>nim(e)-ar-dê</i>
3PL	<i>me-ker-a</i>	<i>me-l-a</i>	<i>nim(e)-ar-a</i>

9.3.1.1 Narrative present

The present indicative expresses habitual actions with repeated eventualities at unspecified points in time. In (86), the present indicative expresses sequential perfective events in the narrative.

- (86) *milonû wer werwe maro be nîrûwekeyş de kołê penj kołê gi řowê.*
mi-l-on=û wer werwe m-ar-o be
 IND-go.PRS-3SG:S=and out snow.F IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A by
nîrû-ekey=ş de kołê penj
 force.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=3SG:PSR ten load/shoulder.M-PL.DIR five
kołê gi řo-ê
 load/shoulder.M-PL.DIR each day.M-PL.DIR
 ‘He (i.e., Jamsher Shah) fetched snow, five or ten loads daily, using his
 men.’ [DP.34]

This habitual function of the present indicative allows its extension to the narrative present, which is the use of the present tense form to refer to past events. In this function, the present narrative alternates with the past tense to make a past tense event more vivid (Schiffrin 1981). In the following excerpt, the shift to the present tense adds an element of surprise to a past tense event.⁶

⁶See Noorlander & Mohammadirad (2022) for a similar function of narrative present in the Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic dialects of the region.

- (87) *luwanê nizîkû qîrôtekey bîyawew. miđyew sîwîniş mê qîrôtekey. nizîk bîyawew
temaşew kerd. wextê miđyew kuřeke bîyen peřû qîrôtêwe, qîrôtekey.*
luwa-(a)nê nizîk-û qîrôt-ekey bî-a=we
 go.PST-1SG:S close-EZ.GEN hollow.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL be.PST-1SG:S=COMPL
mi-đye-û sîwîniş m-ê
 IND-look.PRS-1SG:S voice=3SG:PSR IND-come.PRS.3SG:S
qîrôt-ekey nizîk bî-a=we temaşew=m kerd
 hollow.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL close be.PST-1SG:S=COMPL looking=1SG:A do.PST
wext-ê mi-đye-w kuř-eke
 time.M-INDF IND-look.PRS-1SG:S son.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR
bîye=n peř-û qîrôt-êwe
 be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S full-EZ.GEN hollow.M-INDF
qîrôt-ekey
 hollow.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL
 ‘I went [and] got closer to the tree hollow. I noticed [lit. notice] a voice
 came (lit. comes) from the hollow. I got closer and looked inside. I
 noticed that the boy [had grown up so much that he] had filled a tree
 hollow, i.e., the tree hollow.’ [ZQ.36–ZQ.38]

9.3.1.2 Performative

The present indicative may also express a perfective present. Here, the verb expresses a bounded perfective event.

- (88) *fermawo, ‘wêla çûn ana bêheyanî kerût penû şatemî.’*
fermaw-o wêla çûn an(e)=a
 say.PRS.IND-3SG:A indeed as DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR=DEIC
bêheya=nî ker-û=t pen-û
 shameless=COP.2SG:S do.PRS.IND-1SG:A=2SG:O advice.M-EZ.GEN
şatem-î
 world-M.SG.OBL
 ‘He (Pir Shaliyar) said, ‘Indeed, since you are so shameless, I (hereby)
 expose your impropriety to the world. [Lit. I (hereby) make you the news
 of the world.]’ [JP.198]
- (89) *maço, ‘dey min şûyş kerû pene.’*
m-aç-o dey min şû-î=ş
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A DISC.PTCL 1SG husband.M-SG.OBL=3SG:R

ker-û *pene*

do.PRS.IND-1SG:A to

‘She said, ‘I will marry him.’

[JH.59]

9.3.1.3 Future

The present indicative is frequently used to express a future time reference. This use of the future in the narrative is sequential to what precedes.

- (90) *ême milmê şeşik. milmê goşew şarî, awayekey. çowe neferêwe mê, pêwaymawe.*

ême mi-l-mê

şeşik mi-l-mê

goşe-û

şar-î

1PL IND-go.PRS-1PL:S PN IND-go.PRS-1PL:S corner-EZ.GEN city.M-SG.OBL

awaî-ekey

ç=0=we

nefer-êwe

village.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL in=DEM.DIST=POST person.M-INDF

m-ê

pêway=ma=we

IND-come.PRS.3SG:S welcoming.M=1PL:PSR=POST

‘We will go to Shashk. We will go to the city suburb, to the village. There, a person will welcome us.’

[HB.32–HB.34]

9.3.2 Present subjunctive

Like in the present indicative, the vast majority of verbs in the present subjunctive lack any expression of the subjunctive prefix; see the conjugation of *kerđey* ‘do’ in Table 9.11. As discussed in §9.1, for this class of verbs, the stress on the stem distinguishes the subjunctive from the indicative, thus *kéro* ‘that he/she does’ vs. *keró* ‘he/she does’. For the rest of the verbs, the present subjunctive is built by attaching the subjunctive prefix *b(i)-* to the present stem of the verb, followed by

Table 9.11: The present subjunctive–sample paradigms

	<i>kerđey</i> ‘do’	<i>luway</i> ‘go’	<i>arđey</i> ‘bring’
1SG	<i>kér-û</i>	<i>bí-l-û</i>	<i>b-ár-û</i>
2SG	<i>kér-î</i>	<i>bí-l-î</i>	<i>b-ár-î</i>
3SG	<i>kér-o</i>	<i>bí-l-o</i>	<i>b-ár-o</i>
1PL	<i>kér-mê</i>	<i>bí-l-mê</i>	<i>b-ár-mê</i>
2PL	<i>kér-dê</i>	<i>bí-l-dê</i>	<i>b-ár-dê</i>
3PL	<i>kér-a</i>	<i>bí-l-a</i>	<i>b-ár-a</i>

9.3 TAM categories built on the present stem

Table 9.12: The negation of the present subjunctive–sample paradigms

	<i>kerđey</i> ‘do’	<i>luway</i> ‘go’	<i>arđey</i> ‘bring’
1SG	<i>né-ker-û</i>	<i>né-l-û</i>	<i>n-ár-û</i>
2SG	<i>né-ker-î</i>	<i>né-l-î</i>	<i>n-ár-î</i>
3SG	<i>né-ker-o</i>	<i>né-l-o</i>	<i>n-ár-o</i>
1PL	<i>né-ker-mê</i>	<i>né-l-mê</i>	<i>n-ár-mê</i>
2PL	<i>né-ker-dê</i>	<i>né-l-dê</i>	<i>n-ár-dê</i>
3PL	<i>né-ker-a</i>	<i>né-l-a</i>	<i>n-ár-a</i>

inflectional person affixes. With these verbs, the subjunctive prefix may or may not be stressed, depending on the syllable structure of the verb stem (see §9.1.2 for details).

The negation of present subjunctive verb forms is expressed by *ne-*, reduced as *n-*, before vowel-initial verbs (see Table 9.12).

The present subjunctive verb forms are, by default, used in subordinate clauses. This includes, for example, the protasis of general conditions (91), dependent purpose clauses (92), and prospective aspect (93).

- (91) *dey çêşim miđey min kuřlekeyt weş kerûwe?*
dey çêş=im mi-đe-î min
 DISC.PTCL what=1SG:R IND-give.PRS-2SG:A 1SG
kuřle-(e)key=t weş kér-û=we
 son.DIM-DEF.M.SG.OBL=2SG:PSR well do.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A=COMPL
 ‘What will you give me if I bring back your little son to life [lit. heal]?’
 [ÇK.109]

- (92) *amenmê xizmetû to îcazema biđey.*
ame=nmê xizmet-û to îcaze=ma
 come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:S service.M-EZ.GEN 2SG permission=1PL:R
bi-đé-î
 give.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A
 ‘I (lit. We) have come to your service so that you might permit us.’
 [PM.15]

- (93) *tejnayene epê wext bê soçmê nařehetîyene.*
tejnay=ene epê wext b-ê sóç-mê
 thirst.INF=POST in.DEM.PROX time.M be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S burn.PRS.SBJV-1PL:S
nařehetî=ene
 sadness=POST
 ‘We were about [lit. it was time] to burn from thirst and sorrow [from
 leaving behind one of the sons].’ [ZQ.25]

The subjunctive verb form is used following deontic particles *ba*, and *meger*, used in interactional discourse expressing a wish, asking for permission, or giving advice.

- (94) *watiş, ‘pilekanê çine ba bilmê!’*
wat=iş pilekan(i)-ê çin-e ba bi-l-mê
 say.PST=3SG:A stair.F-INDF set_up.PRS.IMP-2SG:A HORT SBJV-go.PRS-1PL:S
 ‘He said, ‘Set up a stairway for us to move!’ [JH.25]
- (95) *şerziş kerđ, ‘qurban ba dastanê pey gêtnûwe, dastane.’*
şerz=iş kerđ qurban ba dastan(e)-ê=t pey
 petition.M=3SG:A do.PST sir.VOC HORT story.F-INDF=2SG:R to
gêtn-û=we dastane
 narrate.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A=COMPL story.F
 ‘He said, ‘Sir, let me tell you a story, the story!’ [ZQ.7]
- (96) *meger berî kîyanîş pey hewramanî.*
meger bér-î kîyan-î=ş pey hewraman-î
 if_only take.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A send.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A=3SG:O to PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘Maybe you could take her to Hewraman.’ [ZP.34]

The subjunctive verb form is used in some factive content clauses and non-factive complement clauses.

- (97) *metawo bilo aweyanî.*
me-taw-o bi-l-o aweyanî
 NEG.IND-can.PRS-3SG:A SBJV-go.PRS-3SG:S habitat.M
 ‘He wasn’t allowed to go to the village.’ [DG.54]

- (98) *îcaze, bizane ađ îcaze miđo ême eçê nehar kermê yam ne.*
îcaze bi-zân-e ađ îcaze
 permission IMP-know.PRS-2SG:A 3SG.M.DIR permission
mi-đ(e)-o ême e=çê nehar kér-mê yam ne
 IND-give.PRS-3SG:A 1PL in=here lunch.M do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A or no
 ‘See if he lets us stay here for lunch or not.’ [PM.9]

In some cases, a subjunctive verb form occurs in a main clause. A case in point is the use of subjunctive mood following the particle *da* in a construction expressing speaker-oriented modality. In the following example, the context is self-hortative, i.e., the speaker encourages herself to action.

- (99) *maço, ‘da bizanû çêşsa ser ama.’*
m-aç-o da bi-zan-û çêş=şa ser
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A HORT SBJV-know.PRS-1SG:A what=3PL:R to
ama
 come.PST.3SG:S
 ‘She said, ‘I shall see what happened to them.’’ [SH.124]

The subjunctive may be used in indefinite relative clauses.

- (100) *ne kesê hen be weş dadîş berî la.*
ne kes-ê hen-Ø be weş dad=îş
 nor person.M-INDF EXIST-3SG.M:S by good cry.M=3SG:R
bér-î la
 take.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A to
 ‘Nor is there a person with whom one can take counsel in peace.’ [ZB.60]

9.3.3 Imperative

For most verbs, the imperative verb forms are constructed by adding the 2nd person inflectional person suffixes to the present stem of the verb (see §9.1.3). Additionally, a small subset of verbs takes the subjunctive/imperative prefix; see Table 9.13 *bi-* for sample paradigms.

The negation of the imperative is carried out by *me-* for verbs which in their imperative form do not take any prefixes, *ne-* for stems starting with *m*, and *nime-* for a subset of vowel-initial verbs (see §9.1.4 for details). Table 9.14 lists sample paradigms of prohibitive verbs.

The imperative mood is used to command an action or express a request. When used negatively, it prohibits an action from being undertaken.

Table 9.13: The imperative–sample paradigms

	<i>kerđey</i> ‘do’	<i>luway</i> ‘go’	<i>arđey</i> ‘bring’
2SG	<i>ker-e</i>	<i>lu-e, bi-l-e</i>	<i>b-ar-e</i>
2PL	<i>ker-dê</i>	<i>lo-dê</i>	<i>b-ar-dê</i>

Table 9.14: The negation of the imperative–sample paradigms

	<i>kerđey</i> ‘do’	<i>luway</i> ‘go’	<i>arđey</i> ‘bring’
2SG	<i>mé-ker-e</i>	<i>mé-l-e</i>	<i>nim(e)-ár-e</i>
2PL	<i>mé-ker-dê</i>	<i>mé-l-dê</i>	<i>nim(e)-ár-dê</i>

- (101) *bereşo!*
bér-e=ş=o
 take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL
 ‘Take her back!’ [ZP.106]
- (102) *watiş, ‘fermawdê beydê mêmanû minindê.’*
wat=iş fermaw-dê b-e-îdê mêman-û
 say.PST=3SG:A say.PRS.IMP-2PL:A IMP-come.PRS-2PL:S guest.M-EZ.GEN
min=indê
 1SG=COP.2PL:S
 ‘He said, ‘Please come! You are my guests.’’ [HB.51]
- (103) *îneyşa mekerdê zînan.*
îney=şa me-ker-dê zînan
 DEM.PROX.OBL.M.3SG=3PL:PSR PROH-do.PRS-2PL:A prison.M
 ‘Do not put this one in prison.’ [BP.133]

An imperative verb form may be given added immediacy by combining with the particle *da*.

- (104) *fermawo, ‘da lodê bizandê fîlane kes çî nama?’*
fermaw-o da lo-dê bi-zan-dê
 say.PRS.IND-3SG:A HORT go.PRS.IMP-2PL:S IMP-know.PRS-2PL:A
fîlan-e kes çî n(e)-ama-Ø
 such_and_such-EZ.CMPD person.M why NEG-come.PST-3SG.M:S
 ‘He (Baba Khwada) said, ‘Go [and] see (lit. know) why such-and-such person hasn’t come [to the mosque]?’’ [BP.77]

The particle *da* may be combined with the discourse particle *dey* for an even greater degree of immediacy.

- (105) *da dey hurbêze î mexlûqî girdiş gêleş pone.*
da dey hur-b-êz-e î mexlûq-î
 HORT DISC.PTCL PVB-IMP-rise.PRS-2SG:S DEM.PROX people-M.SG.OBL
gird=iş gêt-e=ş pone
 all=3SG:PSR wander.PRS.IMP-2SG:S=3SG:R at
 ‘Come on, get up and search among all these people.’ [HB.90]

9.3.4 Present progressive

The present progressive can be expressed in several ways. It can be expressed by the inflected form of the verb identical to the present indicative. The development seems to be an extension from the progressive sense to the habitual sense (Deo 2015).

- (106) *min îse î nîštenare îsrahetîç kerû.*
min îse î nîşte=na=re îsrahet=îç
 1SG now DEM.PROX sit.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S=POVB rest.M=ADD
ker-û
 do.PRS.IND-1SG:A
 ‘Now I am seated, and I am resting.’ [PM.45]

- (107) *înê î qisê çêşene? çêş maçdê? maça çêş?*
înê î qisê çêşe=ne çêş
 DEM.PROX.F.3SG.DIR DEM.PROX talk.F.SG what.F=COP.3SG.F:S what
m-aç-dê m-aç-a çêş
 IND-say.PRS-2PL:A IND-say.PRS-3PL:A what
 ‘What is this talk? What are you saying? What are they saying?’ [JP.223]

The present progressive may be expressed by a reduplicated progressive construction consisting of the inflected form of the verb preceded by a form containing the present form of the verb and the suffix *-ay*, resembling the infinitive suffix. The copy takes the same inflectional prefix as the inflected verb, suggesting it is on its way to being grammaticalised as a verbal form.⁷

⁷A similar construction consisting of the infinitive and the inflected form of the verb exists in the neighbouring Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Sanandaj, e.g., *şatoê şatêna* ‘I am drinking’ (Khan 2009: 275). This has been taken as a case of matching between Hewramî and Neo-Aramaic in the contact setting in Sanandaj (see Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a for details).

Table 9.15: The reduplicated present progressive–sample paradigms

	<i>arđey</i> ‘bring’		<i>warđey</i> ‘eat’	
1SG	<i>m-ar-ay m-ar-û</i>	‘I am bringing’	<i>wer-ay wer-û</i>	‘I am eating’
2SG	<i>m-ar-ay m-ar-î</i>		<i>wer-ay wer-î</i>	
3SG	<i>m-ar-ay m-ar-o</i>		<i>wer-ay wer-o</i>	
1PL	<i>m-ar-ay m-ar-mê</i>		<i>wer-ay wer-mê</i>	
2PL	<i>m-ar-ay m-ar-dê</i>		<i>wer-ay wer-dê</i>	
3PL	<i>m-ar-ay m-ar-a</i>		<i>wer-ay wer-a</i>	

(108) *weray werû.*

wer-ay wer-û

eat.PRS-NMLZ eat.PRS-1SG

‘I am eating.’

(109) *yewaşê dewrû dimaw fişay kero, şewe kero waray waro mê ew peřû dege.*

yewaşê dewr-û dima-û fişa-î

then around-EZ.GEN afterwards-EZ.GEN evening prayers.M-SG.OBL

ker-o şewe ker-o war-ay

do.PRS.IND-3SG:A night.F do.PRS.IND-3SG:A rain.PRS-NMLZ

war-o m-ê ew peř-û

rain.PRS.IND-3SG:S IND-come.PRS.3SG:S DEM.DIST side.M-EZ.GEN

dege

village.F.SG.OBL

‘Then, it was either during the evening prayers or during the night that he arrived at the other side of the village while it was raining.’ [KŞ.59]

The reduplicated progressive construction may also be used in negation and interrogative clauses, exhibiting a grammaticalised progressive form. The reduplicated construction in negation clauses conveys extra emphasis.

(110) *meweray mewerû!*

me-wer-ay me-wer-û

NEG.IND-eat-NMLZ NEG.IND-eat.PRS-1SG:A

‘I am not eating!’

- (111) *milay mili?*
mi-l-ay mi-l-î
 IND-go.PRS-NMLZ IND-go.PRS-2SG:S
 ‘Are you going?’
- (112) *taway tawû barşa kerû? taway tawû çêş kerû?*
taw-ay taw-û bar=şa ker-û taw-ay
 can.PRS-NMLZ can.PRS-1SG load=3PL:O do.PRS.IND-1SG:A can.PRS-NMLZ
taw-û çêş ker-û
 can.PRS-1SG what do.PRS.IND-1SG:A
 ‘Am I able to load them? What am I able to do?’ [SH.127]
- (113) *mewînay mewînmê?*
me-wîn-ay me-wîn-mê
 NEG.IND-see.PRS-ADV NEG.IND-see.PRS-1PL:A
 ‘Don’t we really see?’
- The construction may also be used for future reference in certain contexts.
- (114) *êşew gêlay gêla pey pîyaya.*
êşew gêl-ay gêl-a pey pîya-ya
 tonight search.PRS-NMLZ search.PRS.IND-3PL:A for man-PL.OBL
 ‘Tonight, they will be looking for men [who can serve them].’ [JL.34]
- (115) *min gunakê may mê milimre.*
min guna-(e)kê m-ay m-ê
 1SG sin.F-DEF.F.SG IND-come.PRS.NMLZ IND-come.PRS.3SG:S
mil=im=re
 shoulder.M=1SG:PSR=POST
 ‘I won’t shoulder the burden [of injuring them]. [Lit. the sin will come to me.]’ [DG.67]
- (116) *řama dûrene. milay milmêwe.*
řa=ma dûr-e=ne mi-l-ay
 road.F=1PL:PSR far-F=COP.3SG.F:S IND-go.PRS-NMLZ
mi-l-mê=we
 IND-go.PRS-1PL:S=COMPL
 ‘We have a long way [to go]. We should be going.’ [BP.191]

Another strategy to express the present progressive is through a noun phrase consisting of the nominal form *xerîk* ‘busy’ combined with the infinitive form of the verb or another nominal.

- (117) *î meşmûrê xerîkû genekarîne.*
î meşmûr-ê xerîk-û genekarî=ne
 DEM.PROX officer.M-PL.DIR busy-EZ.GEN debauchery.M=COP.3PL:S
 ‘The officers were busy engaging in debauchery.’ [BP.45]

Similarly, the present progressive may be expressed by *xerîk bîyey* ‘be busy’ combined with the inflected form of the verb.

- (118) *mîyo jenekêş xerîkene kebab kero.*
mi-đy(e)-o jen(i)-ekê=ş xerîk-e=ne kebab
 IND-notice.PRS-3SG:S wife-DEF.F.SG=3SG:PSR busy-F=COP.3SG:A kebab
ker-o
 do.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘He noticed his wife was busy making kebab.’ [KK.28]

A more innovative construction for expressing the present progressive is to combine the adjective *xerîk* with the reduplicated progressive.

- (119) *xerîkna weray werû.*
xerîk=na wer-ay wer-û
 busy.M=COP.1SG:S eat.PRS-NMLZ eat.PRS-1SG:A
 ‘I am eating.’

The present progressive expresses, by default, an event in progress.

- (120) *yanew kê milî?*
yane-û kê mi-l-î
 house.M=and who IND-go.PRS-2SG:S
 ‘Whose house are you going to?’ [JH.17]

The reduplicate progressive construction reinforces the progressive sense of the verb, as seen in (109) above, repeated here for convenience.

- (121) *yewaşê dewrû dimaw şîşay kero, şewe kero waray waro mê ew peřû degê.*
yewaşê dewr-û dima-û şîşa-î
 then around-EZ.GEN afterwards-EZ.GEN evening prayers.M-SG.OBL
ker-o şewe ker-o war-ay
 do.PRS.IND-3SG:A night.F do.PRS.IND-3SG:A rain.PRS-NMLZ

war-o *m-ê* *ew* *peř-û*
 rain.PRS.IND-3SG:S IND-come.PRS.3SG:S DEM.DIST side.M-EZ.GEN
dege
 village.F.SG.OBL

‘Then, it was either during the evening prayers or during the night that he arrived at the other side of the village while it was raining.’ [KŞ.59]

9.3.5 Past progressive

Like present progressive, past progressive may be expressed through several strategies. In what appears to be the default pattern, a reduplicated construction may express the past progressive. The latter consists of the inflected verb featuring the present stem of the verb, followed by the augment *-ên* and set 2 inflectional person suffixes combined with the double consisting of the present stem of the verb followed by the nominaliser *-ay*, see Table 9.16 for sample paradigms. The augment *-ên* may be considered a past converter suffix, giving the verb form a past time reference. Gender distinction is neutralised in the 3SG following the past converter *-ên*.

Table 9.16: The past progressive–sample paradigms

	<i>kerđey</i> ‘do’	<i>luway</i> ‘go’	<i>arđey</i> ‘bring’
1SG	<i>keray ker-ên-a</i>	<i>luway lu-ên-a</i>	<i>aray ar-ên-a</i>
2SG	<i>keray ker-ên-î</i>	<i>luway lu-ên-î</i>	<i>aray ar-ên-î</i>
3SG	<i>keray ker-ê</i>	<i>luway lu-ê</i>	<i>aray ar-ê</i>
1PL	<i>keray ker-ên-mê</i>	<i>luway lu-ên-mê</i>	<i>aray ar-ên-mê</i>
2PL	<i>keray ker-ên-dê</i>	<i>luway lu-ên-dê</i>	<i>aray ar-ên-dê</i>
3PL	<i>keray ker-ên-ê</i>	<i>luway lu-ên-ê</i>	<i>aray ar-ên-ê</i>

The following examples exhibit the parsing of reduplicated past progressive:

- (122) *waçay waçênî*
waç-ay *waç-ên-î*
 say.PRS-NMLZ say.PRS-AUG-2SG:A
 ‘You were saying.’

- (123) *aray arênmê.*
ar-ay ar-ên-mê
 bring.PRS-NMLZ bring.PRS-AUG-1PL:A
 ‘You were bringing.’

The past progressive may also be expressed by the inflected form of the verb alone, consisting of the present stem of the verb followed by augment and set 2 inflectional affixes. This is the same verb form as the habitual past (see §9.3.6).

- (124) *ce hewramanne karî naşerîî kerênê.*
ce hewraman=ne kar-î naşerîî ker-ên-ê
 at PN=POST task.M-EZ.ATTR unlawful do.PRS-AUG-3PL:A
 ‘They were committing unlawful acts in Hewraman.’ [BP.62]

The past progressive may alternatively be expressed by *xerîk bîyey* ‘be busy’ combined with the inflected form of the verb.

- (125) *xerîk bêna waçênat pene.*
xerîk b-ên-a waç-ên-a=t pene
 busy.M be.PRS-AUG-1SG:S say.PRS-AUG-1SG:A=2SG:R to
 ‘I (M) was telling you.’
- (126) *xerîke bêna waçênat pene.*
xerîk-e b-ên-a waç-ên-a=t pene
 busy-F be.PRS-AUG-1SG:S say.PRS-AUG-1SG:A=2SG:R to
 ‘I (F) was telling you.’

A more innovative construction for the expression of past progressive is to combine *xerîk bîyey* ‘be busy’ with the reduplicated past progressive.

- (127) *xerîk bêna waçayt waçêna pene.*
xerîk b-ên-a waç-ay=t waç-ên-a pene
 busy.M bePRS-AUG-1SG say.PRS-NMLZ=2SG say.PRS-AUG-1SG to
 ‘I (m) was telling you.’

Another strategy for expressing past progressive is to have a nominal as the complement of *xerîk* ‘busy’ in a copular clause.

- (128) *xerîkû genekarî bête.*
xerîk-û genekarî b-ên-ê
 busy-EZ.GEN debauchery.M be.PRS-AUG-3PL:S
 ‘They were busy engaging in debauchery.’ [BP.61]

The past progressive expresses an event that was going on for a while in the past. In this use, it may be preceded by a verb with a past time reference.

- (129) *adê namew; xerikû genekarî bènê.*
adê n(e)-ame=û xerik-û genekarî
 3PL.DIR NEG-come.PST.3PL:S=and busy-EZ.GEN debauchery.M
b-ên-ê
 be.PRS-AUG-3PL:S
 ‘[However] they didn’t come back [to you]. They engaged in
 debauchery.’ [BP.125]

9.3.6 Habitual past

The habitual past is expressed by the present stem of the verb followed by the augment *-ên* and set 2 inflectional person suffixes; see Table 9.17 for sample paradigms.

Table 9.17: The habitual past–sample paradigms

	<i>kerđey</i> ‘do’	<i>luway</i> ‘go’	<i>arđey</i> ‘bring’
1SG	<i>ker-ên-a</i>	<i>lu-ên-a</i>	<i>ar-ên-a</i>
2SG	<i>ker-ên-î</i>	<i>lu-ên-î</i>	<i>ar-ên-î</i>
3SG	<i>ker-ê</i>	<i>lu-ê</i>	<i>ar-ê</i>
1PL	<i>ker-ên-mê</i>	<i>lu-ên-mê</i>	<i>ar-ên-mê</i>
2PL	<i>ker-ên-dê</i>	<i>lu-ên-dê</i>	<i>ar-ên-dê</i>
3PL	<i>ker-ên-ê</i>	<i>lu-ên-ê</i>	<i>ar-ên-ê</i>

Examples of the habitual past in the text corpus are presented below.

- (130) *řowê sî penj timenê kar kerênmê.*
řo-ê sî penj timen-ê kar ker-ên-mê
 day.M-INDF thirty five PN-PL.DIR task.M do.PRS-AUG-1PL:A
 ‘We used to work for a daily salary of thirty-five tomans.’ [JM.46]

The negation of habitual past is expressed by *ne-*, see Table 9.18.

The habitual past expresses habitual events in the past, see (130) above, including in the apodosis of conditional clauses (131).

Table 9.18: The negation of habitual past–sample paradigms

	<i>kerđey</i> ‘do’	<i>luway</i> ‘go’	<i>arđey</i> ‘bring’
1SG	<i>ne-ker-ên-a</i>	<i>ne-lu-ên-a</i>	<i>n(e)-ar-ên-a</i>
2SG	<i>ne-ker-ên-î</i>	<i>ne-lu-ên-î</i>	<i>n(e)-ar-ên-î</i>
3SG	<i>ne-ker-ê</i>	<i>ne-lu-ê</i>	<i>n(e)-ar-ê</i>
1PL	<i>ne-ker-ên-mê</i>	<i>ne-lu-ên-mê</i>	<i>n(e)-ar-ên-mê</i>
2PL	<i>ne-ker-ên-dê</i>	<i>ne-lu-ên-dê</i>	<i>n(e)-ar-ên-dê</i>
3PL	<i>ne-ker-ên-ê</i>	<i>ne-lu-ên-ê</i>	<i>n(e)-ar-ên-ê</i>

- (131) *êtir ênêwe eger řezařa bîyê, kinaçê dênê.*
êtir ênê=we eger řeza=řa
 DISC.PTCL come.PRS.AUG.3PL:S=COMPL if satisfaction.F=3PL:NC
bî-ê kinaçê d(e)-ên-ê
 be.PST.COND.AUG.3SG:S girl.F give.PRS-AUG-3PL:A
 ‘They (the relatives) would come [to the girl’s family] and if they agreed to it, they would give the girl in marriage.’ [JE.84]

9.3.7 Irrealis past

The irrealis past is constructed in the same way as the habitual past.

- (132) *her waçênî beçkêwen gîyaniř řenîn her ane!*
her waç-ên-î beçk(e)-êwe=n gîyan=iř
 just say.PRS-AUG-2SG:A baby-INDF=COP.3SG.M:S soul.M=3SG:R
çenî=n her ane
 in=COP.3SG.M:S just that_much
 ‘One would say it was a child who was just alive, just that!’ [ZQ.20]

The irrealis past is used to describe hypothetical situations in the past. In the following examples, the highlighted verbs refer to a hypothetical situation where one would go and ask for a girl’s hand.

- (133) *luwênî law î kuřî waçênî, ‘da luwe waçe edêř bizane î kinaçêře midom pene ya ne!’*
lu-ên-î la-û î kuř-î waç-ên-î
 go.PRS-AUG-2SG:S to-EZ.GEN DEM.PROX boy.M-SG.OBL say.PRS-AUG-2SG:A
da lu-e wáç-e edê=ř
 HORT go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S say.PRS.IMP-2SG:A mother.F.SG.OBL=3SG:PSR

9.4 TAM categories derived from past stem

bi-zan-e *î* *kinaçê=ş=e*
 IMP-know.PRS-2SG:A DEM.PROX daughter.F.SG=3SG:PSR=DEM
mi-ď(e)-o=m *pene ya ne*
 IND-give.PRS-3SG:A=1SG:R to or no
 ‘[Let us say you said, ‘I want that certain person (i.e., girl).’] You **would go** to this boy [seated next to the narrator] and **would say**, ‘Go [and] tell her mother [about me], see (lit. know) if she gives me her daughter or not!’”
 [JE.74]

9.3.8 Summary of TAM categories derived from the present stem

Table 9.19 summarises the verbal forms derived from the present stem for the verbs ‘sleep’ (INTR) and ‘do’ (TR) inflected in the first person.

Table 9.19: TAM categories derived from the present stem–summary

TAM category	Inflection	Gloss
Present subjunctive	<i>b-ûs-û</i>	[SBJV-sleep.PRS-1SG:S]
Imperative	<i>b-ûs-e</i>	[IMP-sleep.PRS-2SG:S]
Present indicative	<i>m-ûs-û</i>	[IND-sleep.PRS-1SG:S:S]
Present progressive	<i>m-ûs-ay m-ûs-û</i>	[IND-sleep.PRS-NMLZ IND-sleep.PRS-1SG:S]
Past progressive	<i>wis-ay wis-ên-a</i>	[sleep.PRS-NMLZ go.PRS-AUG-1SG:S]
Habitual past	<i>wis-ên-a</i>	[sleep.PRS-AUG-1SG:S]
Irrealis past	<i>wis-ên-a</i>	[sleep.PRS-AUG-1SG:S]
Present subjunctive	<i>kér-û</i>	[do.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A]
Imperative	<i>kér-e</i>	[do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]
Present indicative	<i>ker-û</i>	[do.PRS.IND-1SG:A]
Present progressive	<i>ker-ay ker-û</i>	[do.PRS-NMLZ do.PRS.IND-1SG:A]
Past progressive	<i>ker-ay ker-ên-a</i>	[do.PRS-NMLZ do.PRS-AUG-1SG:A]
Habitual past	<i>ker-ên-a</i>	[do.PRS-AUG-1SG:A]
Irrealis past	<i>ker-ên-a</i>	[do.PRS-AUG-1SG:A]

9.4 TAM categories derived from past stem

A number of tense-aspect-mood constructions are built from the past stem of the verb. In this section, I enumerate the formal makeup of these TAM distinctions and their functions. The TAM categories built on the past stem of the verb all

exhibit ergative alignment on the verb, carried out by inflectional person/number suffixes agreeing with the intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O). The transitive subject is indexed by clitic pronouns, though under some circumstances, it is not indexed at all (see §11.1.2.1 for details).

9.4.1 Past perfective/preterite

The past perfective is constructed using the past stem of the verb plus appropriate bound person markers. With intransitive verbs, the relevant person indices are inflectional suffixes. With transitive stems, the relevant endings are clitic pronouns; see Table 9.20.

Table 9.20: The past perfective/preterite–sample paradigms

	<i>merđey</i>		<i>arđey</i>	
1SG	<i>mérđ-a</i>	‘I died’	<i>árđ-Ø=im</i>	‘I brought it (M).’
2SG	<i>mérđ-î</i>		<i>árđ-Ø=it</i>	‘You brought it (M).’
3SG.M	<i>mérđ-Ø</i>		<i>árđ-Ø=iş</i>	‘He/she brought it (M).’
3SG.F	<i>mérđ-e</i>		<i>árđ-e=iş</i>	‘He/she brought it (F).’
1PL	<i>mérđ-îmê</i>		<i>árđ-Ø=ma</i>	‘We brought it (M).’
2PL	<i>mérđ-îdê</i>		<i>árđ-Ø=ta</i>	‘You brought it (M).’
3PL	<i>mérđ-ê</i>		<i>árđ-Ø=şa</i>	‘They brought it (M).’

As seen in Table 9.20, S and A are indexed by different paradigms of person endings. Transitive objects (O) are indexed the same as S. When combined with the clitic pronoun indexing the A argument, the ordering is V-O=A, irrespective of the person of the O; see Table 9.21.

The negation of past perfective is expressed by *ne-*:

- (134) *maço*, ‘*nezanam*.’
m-aç-o *ne-zana=m*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG NEG-know.PST=1SG:A
 ‘He (the man) said, ‘I didn’t understand [his point].’ [JH.26]

The past perfective is used to express specific time-bound events (i.e., completed events) at a particular time in the past.

Table 9.21: Past perfective–the inflection of *arđey* ‘bring’

O suffix	3PL A	Gloss	
1SG	<i>arđ-a=ša</i>	[bring.PST-1SG:O=3PL:A]	‘they brought me’
2SG	<i>arđ-î=ša</i>	[bring.PST-2SG:O=3PL:A]	‘they brought you’
3SG.M	<i>arđ-Ø=ša</i>	[bring.PST-3SG.M:O=3PL:A]	‘they brought him’
3SG.F	<i>arđ-e=ša</i>	[bring.PST-3SG.F:O=3PL:A]	‘they brought her’
1PL	<i>arđ-îmê=ša</i>	[bring.PST-1PL:O=3PL:A]	‘they brought us’
2PL	<i>arđ-îdê=ša</i>	[bring.PST-2PL:O=3PL:A]	‘they brought you’
3PL	<i>arđ-ê=ša</i>	[bring.PST-3PL:O=3PL:A]	‘they brought them’

- (135) *duwê bečkêş dîyê, zarowê.*
duwê bečk(e)-ê=ş dî-ê zaro-ê
 two baby-PL.DIR=3SG:A see.PST-3PL:O child-PL.DIR
 ‘She gave birth to two babies.’ [ZQ.15]

The past perfective may be used to refer to sequential time-bound events in a narrative:

- (136) *gêlanê qîrôle darê m yoso. berdim nîyamne qîrôle dareke.*
gêla-(a)nê qîrôl-e dar-ê=m yos=o
 wander.PST-1SG:S hollow.M-EZ.CMPD tree.M-INDF=1sg find.PST=COMPL
berd-Ø=im nîya-Ø=m=ne qîrôl-e
 take.PST-3SG.M:O=1SG:A put.PST-3SG:O=1SG:A=POVB hollow.M-EZ.CMPD
dar-eke
 tree.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR
 ‘I wandered around [and] found a tree hollow. I took [him] and put him in the tree hollow.’ [ZQ.23–ZQ.24]

The past perfective may express an action that has a starting and end point in the past but lasted for a long period. In (137), ‘raising children’ would have lasted several years.

- (137) *pase zawlêşa wey kerdê.*
pase zawlê=şa wey kerd-ê
 like_this child.PL.DIR=3PL:A raising do.PST-3PL:O
 ‘They raised children in this way.’ [JE.55]

The extended period of time may overlap with other events in the surrounding discourse. In (138), the adverbial phrase ‘when I got married’ sets the frame for all the events relating to the period after marriage.

- (138) *wextê jenîm arde, yewaşê yanem nebê. cîya bîyanê. ca zəmsan bê. cîya bîya. luwanê hîçim nebê. çenû jenî luwaymê yanema gêrt kirahe.*
wext-ê jenî=m ard-e yewaşê yane=m
 when-INDF woman=1SG:A bring.PST-3SG.F:O well house=1SG:NC
ne-b-ê cîya bî-anê. ca zəmsan
 NEG-be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S separate be.PST-1SG:S DISC.PTCL winter
b-ê. cîya bî-a luwa-(a)nê hîç=im
 be-PRS.AUG.3SG:S separate be.PST-1SG:S go.PST-1SG:S nothing=1SG:NC
ne-b-ê çen(i)-û jenî luwa-îmê yane=ma
 NEG-be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S with woman go.PST-1PL:S houseDIR.M=1PL:A
gêrt-Ø kirahe
 take.PST-3SG.M:O rent
 ‘When I got married (I took a wife), well, I didn’t have a house. I left my father’s house (lit. I became separate). It was winter. I left the family of my father, and I went away. I did not have anything. Together with my wife, we rented a house.’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 309, glossing and transcription modified)

The perfective is also used for the expression of a time-bound event in the immediate past, corresponding to the English perfect of recent past/hot news perfect. In the following example, the narrator witnesses a guest coming through the door and asks whether the recording should continue.

- (139) *dey aneyç ama mêmāna çêş kermê?*
dey ane=yç ama-Ø mêmān=a
 DISC.PTCL DEM.DIST.3SG.DIR.M=ADD come.PST-3SG:S guest=COP.3SG:S
çêş kër-mê
 what do.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A
 ‘Oh, he has arrived. He is guest. What should we do? [Should we keep recording?]

[HR.59]

The perfective may express a completed action with a projected future sense. In this usage, the perfective occurs in a subordinate clause, whether syndetic (140) or asyndetic (141).

- (140) *eger goşış darayne dūr dūr kewto.*
eger goş=iş dara-î=ne dūr dūr kewt-Ø=o
 if ear.M=3SG:A hold.PST-2SG:R=POVB far far fall.PST-3SG.M:S=COMPL
 ‘If they [lit. he] listen to you, they will go away.’ [BP.163]
- (141) *dey êşew herkes mêmanış hen, êşew herkes mêmanış hen, mêmanekes şewê witê, sereş biřo.*
dey êşew herkes mêman=iş hen-Ø êşew
 DISC.PTCL tonight everyone guest.M=3SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S tonight
herkes mêman=iş hen-Ø mêman-ekes=ş
 everyone guest.M=3SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S guest.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=3SG:PSR
şew(e)-ê wit-ê sere=ş biř-o
 night-F.SG.OBL sleep.PST-3PL:S:S head.M=3SG:O cut.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A
 ‘Tonight, whoever has guests, [when] the guest sleeps at night, he shall decapitate him.’ [BP.52]

9.4.2 Past conditional

The past conditional is formed by attaching the conditional affix *-en* to the past stem of the verb, followed by set 2 inflectional person suffixes. MacKenzie (1966: 34) argues that *-en* is presumably derived from the conditional infix *-a* plus the augment *-ên*, hence *-en* < **-a* + *-ên*.

Table 9.22: Past conditional–the inflection of ‘arrive’

S	Gloss		
1SG	<i>yáw(a)-en-ê</i>	[arrive.PST-COND.AUG-1SG:S]	‘(if) I had arrived’
2SG	<i>yáw(a)-en-î</i>	[arrive.PST-COND.AUG-2SG:S]	‘(if) you had arrived’
3SG	<i>yáw(a)-ε</i>	[arrive.PST-COND.AUG.3SG:S]	‘(if) he/she had arrived’
1PL	<i>yáw(a)-en-mê</i>	[arrive.PST-COND.AUG-1PL:S]	‘(if) we had arrived’
2PL	<i>yáw(a)-en-dê</i>	[arrive.PST-COND.AUG-2PL:S]	‘(if) you had arrived’
2PL	<i>yáw(a)-en-ê</i>	[arrive.PST-COND.AUG-3PL:S]	‘(if) they had arrived’

The negation of the past conditional is expressed by *ne-*:

Table 9.23: Past conditional—the inflection of *ardey* ‘bring’

O suffix	3PL A	Gloss
1SG	<i>ard-en-ê=şa</i>	[bring.PST-COND.AUG-1SG:O=3PL:A] ‘(if) they had brought me’
2SG	<i>ard-en-î=şa</i>	[bring.PST-COND.AUG-2SG:O=3PL:A] ‘(if) they had brought you’
3SG	<i>ard-ε=şa</i>	[bring.PST-COND.AUG.3SG:O=3PL:A] ‘(if) they had brought her/him’
1PL	<i>ard-en-mê=şa</i>	[bring.PST-COND.AUG-1PL:O=3PL:A] ‘(if) they had brought us’
2PL	<i>ard-en-dê=şa</i>	[bring.PST-COND.AUG-2PL:O=3PL:A] ‘(if) they had brought you’
3PL	<i>ard-en-ê=şa</i>	[bring.PST-COND.AUG-3PL:O=3PL:A] ‘(if) they had brought them’

- (142) *eger řezaşa nebîe nedênê.*
eger řeza=şa *ne-bî-ε*
 if satisfaction.F=3PL:NC NEG-be.PST.COND.AUG.3SG:S
ne-ď(e)-ên-ê
 NEG-give.PRS-AUG-3PL:A
 ‘If they didn’t agree, they wouldn’t give her.’ [JE.85]

- (143) *eger minit çene bîyenê*
eger min=it çene bî-εn-ê
 if 1SG=2SG:R with be.PST.COND.AUG-1SG:S
 ‘If you had me with you ..’ [PW.88]

The past conditional expresses hypothetical situations in the past.

- (144) *a wextî to mîsal watet, ‘a fîlane kesem gerekene.’*
a wext-î to mîsal wat-ε=t
 DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL 2SG for_example say.PST-COND.AUG=2SG:A
a fîlan-e kese=m
 DEM.DIST such_and_such-EZ.CMPD person.F=1SG:NC
gerek-e=ne
 necessary-F=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘In earlier times, let us say (lit. for instance.) you said, ‘I want that certain person (i.e., girl).’ [JE.73]

- (145) *eger kinaçekêşa done wateş, ‘erê, kerû,’*
eger kinaç(ê)-ekê=şa done
 if girl.F-DEF.F.SG=3PL:A talk_to.PST.COND.AUG.3SG:R
wat-ε=ş erê ker-û
 say.PST.COND.AUG=3SG:A yes do.PRS.IND-1SG:A
 ‘After they had talked to the girl [and] she had said, ‘Yes, I will [marry him],’ [JE.77]

9.4.3 Perfect

The perfect is expressed by combining the resultative participle with the copula PMs. The participle agrees in gender and number with the underlying S and O. In Table 9.24, the participle forms for the verb ‘to die’ is *merde* [die.PST.PTCP.M.SG], *merdê* [die.PST.PTCP.F.SG], and *merdê* [die.PST.PTCP.PL]. Similarly, the copula PMs agree with the O and S argument in person. The clitic pronouns express the A argument.

Table 9.24: The perfect-sample paradigms

S/O	<i>merdey</i> ‘die’	<i>ardey</i> ‘bring’	
1SG.M	<i>merde=na</i>	<i>arde=na=ş</i>	[bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.O=3SG:A]
1SG.F	<i>merdê=na</i>	<i>ardê=na=ş</i>	[bring.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.O=3SG:A]
2SG.M	<i>merde=nî</i>	<i>arde=nî=ş</i>	
2SG.F	<i>merdê=nî</i>	<i>ardê=nî=ş</i>	
3SG.M	<i>merde=n</i>	<i>arde=n=iş</i>	
3SG.F	<i>merdê=ne</i>	<i>ardê=ne=ş</i>	
1PL	<i>merdê=nmê</i>	<i>ardê=nmê=ş</i>	
2PL	<i>merdê=ndê</i>	<i>ardê=ndê=ş</i>	
3PL	<i>merdê=nê</i>	<i>ardê=nê=ş</i>	

The following examples parse the perfect verb forms. In (146), both the participle and the copula agree with the S argument. In (147)–(148) they agree with the O argument.

- (146) *bizêw menêne cîyay sayqekewe.*
*biz(e)-êw **menê=ne** cîyay*
 goat.F-INDF remain.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S behind
sayqe-(e)ke=we
 lightning.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST
 ‘a goat was [accidentally] left behind [healthy] from the lightning [that caused the flood]’ [ZB.42]
- (147) *î dêwênê î kinaçêşa bestêne.*
*î dêw-ê=nê î **kinaçê=şa***
 DEM.PROX ogre.M-PL.DIR=COP.3PL:S DEM.PROX girl.F.SG=3PL:A
bestê=ne
 tie.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
 ‘It was the ogres who had muted the girl.’ [JP.177]

- (148) *hewarêşa wişkinênê.*
hewar-ê=şa wişkinε=nê
 summer_habitat.M-PL.DIR=3PL:A scour.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O
 ‘They scoured the summer habitats [searching for food etc.]’ [JE.3]

The negation of the perfect is expressed by *ne-*:

- (149) *dizîm nekerdenû hîzîm nekerdenû. girdkar nebîyena.*
dizî=m ne-kerde=n=û
 theft.M.SG=1SG:A NEG-do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=and
hîzî=m ne-kerde=n=û
 adultery.M.SG=1SG:A NEG-do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=and
girdkar ne-bîye=na
 know_it_all NEG-be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S
 ‘I have not committed theft or adultery. I was not a know-it-all.’ [JM.14]

The perfect refers to a situation that has come about as a result of an action in the past.

- (150) *padşay kerdena wekêl.*
padşa-î kerde=na wekêl
 a king.M-SG.OBL do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:O advocate.M
 ‘The king has put me in charge.’ [ZP.99]

One salient function of the perfect is its use to refer to habitual actions in the far past. The perfect may be used here to refer to imperfective habitual activities and perfective events alike. This function of perfect may be considered “narrative perfect”. An entire narrative may be built on this function of the perfect.

- (151) *dey çêgeyç qeyîm şatîfşa kennenû. heywanşa wey kerdênû. hewarêşa wişkinênê. î dega toş vînî çole bîyêne. hîç nebîyen.*
dey çêge=îç qeyîm şatîf=şa
 DISC.PTCL here=ADD old_time grass.M.SG.DIR=3PL:A
kenne=n=û heywan=şa wey
 mow.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=and animal.M.SG.DIR=3PL:A raising
kerde=n=û hewar-ê=şa
 do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=and summer_habitat.M-PL.DIR=3PL:A
wişkinε=nê î dega toş
 scour.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O DEM.PROX village.F 2SG=3SG:O

vîn-î *çot-e* *bîyê=ne* *hîç*
 see.PRS.IND-2SG:A deserted-F be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S nothing
ne-biye=n
 NEG-be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘In the past, they (people) **mowed** grass. They **raised** animals. They **scoured** the summer habitats [searching for food etc.]. This village, which you see, **was** deserted. There **was** nothing [here].’ [JE.1–JE.5]

The perfect may additionally be used to express an event that the speaker has not witnessed, but is hearsay. This is the evidentiality function of the perfect, which is also found in neighbouring languages such as Persian, Turkish, Armenian (Lazard 2001), and in Neo-Aramaic (Khan 2020).

(152) *heta min jinyenim pîyewe ama xizmetû şê ſeladînî.*
heta min jinye=n=im *pîye-(ê)we*
 even 1SG hear.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1SG:A man.M-INDF
ama xizmet-û şê ſeladîn-î
 come.PST.3SG:S service.M-EZ.GEN sheikh.M PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘I have even heard that a man came to the service of Sheikh Aladin.’ [ZQ.2]

Another context of the evidential function of the perfect is its use in inferential contexts. In (153), the context is one in which a mute girl starts to speak. The narrator infers from this evidence that the reason the girl was mute was because the ogres had muted her.

(153) *î dêwênê î kinaçêşa bestêne.*
î dêw-ê=nê *î kinaçê=şa*
 DEM.PROX ogre.M-PL.DIR=COP.3PL:S DEM.PROX girl.F.SG=3PL:A
bestê=ne
 tie.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
 ‘It was the ogres who had muted the girl.’ [JP.177]

The perfect may refer to legendary events the speaker has only learned about from reports. This is another instance of the evidential function of the perfect since the speaker has not witnessed the event himself.

- (154) *ca padşakey waten be lalowe, ew lalowe kinaçekê.*
ca padşa-(e)ke-î wate=n be
 afterwards king-DEF.M.SG.OBL say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O to
lalo-e ew lalo=e
 maternal_uncle.M-DEF DEM.DIST maternal_uncle.M=DEM
kinaç(ê)-ekê
 daughter.F-DEF.F.SG
 ‘Oh, the king had said to the uncle, to [his] daughter’s uncle.’ [ZP.43]

Related to expressing evidentiality, the perfect may be used to express mirativity, i.e., “marking statements based on inference and statements based on direct experience for which the speaker had no psychological preparation” (DeLancy 1997: 35–36). In (155), the perfect marks the speaker’s unprepared mind and his surprise that he has just witnessed the donkey starting to talk.

- (155) *‘her ta îse qisêş nekerdênê.’*
her ta îse qisê=ş ne-kerdê=nê
 donkey until now talk.PL.DIR=3SG:A NEG-do.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O
 ‘[He said surprisingly], ‘the donkey hadn’t talked until now!’’ [HB.46]

9.4.4 Perfect progressive

The perfect progressive is built by a reduplicated construction consisting of an inflected verbal form in the perfect preceded by a double comprising the past stem and the suffix *-î*.

Table 9.25: The perfect progressive—a sample paradigm

S	<i>kewtey</i> ‘to fall’	
1SG.M	<i>kewt-î kewte=na</i>	‘I (M) have been/had been falling’
1SG.F	<i>kewt-î kewtê=na</i>	‘I (F) have been/had been falling’
2SG.M	<i>kewt-î kewte=nî</i>	
2SG.F	<i>kewt-î kewtê=nî</i>	
3SG.M	<i>kewt-î kewte=n</i>	
3SG.F	<i>kewt-î kewtê=ne</i>	
1PL	<i>kewt-î kewtê=nmê</i>	
2PL	<i>kewt-î kewtê=ndê</i>	
3PL	<i>kewt-î kewtê=nê</i>	

The negation of the perfect progressive is expressed by *ne-*.

- (156) *newatış newaten.*
ne-wat-î=ş *ne-wate=n*
 NEG-say.PST-NMLZ=3SG:A NEG-say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:O
 ‘He has not been saying [what was not to be told].’ [hearsay]

The following example illustrates the use of perfect progressive in an interrogative clause.

- (157) *maço, ‘çi amay amêndê?’*
m-aç-o *çi amay amê=ndê*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A why come.NMLZ come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.2PL:S
 ‘He said, ‘Why have you come [here]?’ [ŞC.35]

The perfect progressive may refer to habitual actions in the far past for which the speaker has learned only from reports. This use of perfect progressive occurs primarily in folktales, exhibiting the evidential function of perfect progressive.

- (158) *î kabreçe ce şêraqo amênê, wêreganew nîmeřonew seřbne bexşnayşa*
bexşnenêwe.
î kabre=ç=e *ce şêraq=o*
 DEM.PROX man.PL.DIR=ADD=DEM from PN=POST
ame=nê *wêrega=ne=û* *nîmeřo=ne=û*
 come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S evening=POST=and noon=POST=and
seřb=ne *bexşnay=şa*
 morning=POST distribute.NMLZ=3PL:A
bexşne=nê=we
 distribute.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:R=COMPL
 ‘They (people) would donate [food] to the fellows (the tax collectors)
 who had come from Iraq, in the evenings, mornings, and at noon.’
 [BP.38]

Relatedly, the perfect progressive may express far past events that the speaker has not witnessed, but the events have some personal significance for the speaker. This might be called the “experiential perfect progressive”. The events in question were occurring continually but were completed at some point. In the following excerpt, the speaker talks about his life a long time ago when he was away from home and did not know what was happening to his children during his absence.

- (159) *min eçagene karîger bîyena. şış mangê xeberê m nezanan. bizanû kewtî*
kewtênê wardîşa warden dizîş dizîyen.
min e=çagene karîger bîye=na şış mang(e)-ê
 1SG in=there labourer.M be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S six month.F-PL.DIR
xeber-ê=m ne-zana=n
 news.M-INDF=1SG:A NEG-know.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:PSR
bi-zan-û kewt-î kewtê=nê
 SBJV-know.PRS-1SG:A fall.PST-NMLZ fall.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
ward-î=şa warde=n diz(î)-î=ş
 eat.PST-NMLZ=3PL:A eat.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O steal.PST-NMLZ=3SG:A
diziye=n
 steal.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘I was a worker there. I was unaware of them (lit. I didn’t know their
 news.) (my children) for six months. I [was not around to] witness [if]
 they (the children) had fallen, [if] they had eaten, or stolen [something].’
 [JM.28–JM.29]

9.4.5 Irrealis perfect

The irrealis perfect is constructed by combining the participle with the subjunctive form of the verb ‘to be’. With intransitive verb forms, the participle agrees in gender and number with the S, and the verb ‘to be’ agrees in person with the S (see Table 9.26).

Table 9.26: Irrealis perfect—the inflection of ‘fall’

S		Gloss	
1SG.M	<i>kewte=b-û</i>	[fall.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-1SG:S]	‘I (M) may have fallen’
1SG.F	<i>kewtê=b-û</i>	[fall.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-1SG:S]	‘I (F) may have fallen’
2SG.M	<i>kewte=b-î</i>		‘you (M) may have fallen’
2SG.F	<i>kewtê=b-î</i>		‘you (F) may have fallen’
3SG.M	<i>kewte=b-o</i>		‘he may have fallen’
3SG.F	<i>kewtê=b-o</i>		‘she may have fallen’
1PL	<i>kewtê=b-imê</i>		‘we may have fallen’
2PL	<i>kewtê=b-idê</i>		‘you may have fallen’
3PL	<i>kewtê=b-a</i>		‘they may have fallen’

In the transitive irrealis perfect, number and gender agreement with O is carried out by the participle and person agreement with O is carried out by set 1

inflectional suffixes on the verb ‘to be’. On the other hand, the A argument is expressed by the clitic pronouns (see Table 9.27).

Table 9.27: Irrealis perfect—the inflection of ‘see’

O	3PL A	Gloss
1SG.M	<i>dīye=b-û=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-1SG:O=3PL:A] ‘they may have seen me (M)’
1SG.F	<i>dīyê=b-û=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-1SG:O=3PL:A] ‘they may have seen me (F)’
2SG.M	<i>dīye=b-î=şa</i>	‘they may have seen you (M)’
2SG.F	<i>dīyê=b-î=şa</i>	‘they may have seen you (F)’
3SG.M	<i>dīye=b-o=şa</i>	‘they may have seen him’
3SG.F	<i>dīyê=b-o=şa</i>	‘they may have seen her’
1PL	<i>dīyê=b-îmê=şa</i>	‘they may have seen us’
2PL	<i>dīyê=b-idê=şa</i>	‘they may have seen you’
2PL	<i>dīyê=b-a=şa</i>	‘they may have seen them’

The negator *ne-* marks the negation of irrealis perfect.

- (160) *herkesiç metawo pêse min ke nelabû êtir ane hîçê deramedêş niya.*
herkes=iç me-taw-o pêse min ke
 anyone=ADD NEG.IND-can.PRS-3SG:A like 1SG REL
ne-la=b-û êtir ane
 NEG-go.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-1SG:S DISC.PTCL DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR
hîç-ê deramedê=ê=ş nîy(e)=a
 nothing-INDF income-INDF=3SG:NC NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘Anyone who is not able [to work as a porter], like me, who has
 probably not been a porter, well, he has no income.’ [JM.62]

The irrealis form of the perfect expresses epistemic modality, meaning that the speaker is not totally committed to the truth of the action of a verb with past time reference.

- (161) *maço, ‘ce maset keç nekerdebo řaře walê!’*
m-aç-o ce mas-eke=t keç
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A from yoghurt.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=2SG:A crooked
ne-kerde=b-o řa=ře walê
 NEG-do.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:O road.F=POST sister.F
 ‘She (the older sister) had said [to her younger sister], ‘Sister, could [it
 be that] the [quantity of] yoghurt was reduced?’ [JH.48]

The irrealis perfect may express a hypothetical situation in the far past (162). In this usage, the irrealis perfect can occur in the protasis of hypothetical conditional clauses (163).

- (162) *herkam girewēba bînîyenim koîmre.*
herkam girewē=b-a
 whoever cry.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-3PL:S
bînîye=n=im *koî=m=re*
 tie.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1SG:A shoulder.F=1SG:PSR=POST
 ‘Each [of my kids] who **might have cried**, I would put on my shoulders.’
 [JE.64]

- (163) *ême eger zemanê ya qeymîyêma ya zemanû wêma jenîma ardêbo ...*
ême eger zeman-ê ya qeymî-ê=ma ya
 1PL if time.M-INDF either the_elderly-INDF=1PL:PSR or
zeman-û wê=ma jenî=ma
 time.M-EZ.GEN REFL=1PL:PSR woman.F.SG.DIR=1PL:A
ardê=b-o
 bring.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-3SG:O
 ‘Once, in the time of our elders or in our time, if one of us married (lit. brought a wife) ...’
 [RE.2]

9.4.6 Conditional perfect

The conditional perfect is built by the participle form of the verb followed by the past conditional form of the verb ‘to be’, which consists of the past stem of the verb ‘be’, followed by *-en* (which may be parsed as a merger of the conditional affix *-a*, and the augment *-ên*), and set 2 verbal person/number affixes. With intransitive verbs, both the participle and the person endings agree with the S; see Table 9.28.

With transitive verbs, both the participle and the auxiliary verb ‘to be’ agree with the O; see Table 9.29.

The negation of conditional perfect is expressed by *ne-*:

- (164) *nedîyêbîyenmêşa.*
ne-dîyê=bî-en-mê=şa
 NEG-see.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PST-COND.AUG-1PL:O=3PL:A
 ‘If they had not seen us.’

Table 9.28: Conditional perfect—the inflection of ‘sleep’

S	Gloss
1SG.M <i>wite=bî-εn-ê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST-COND.AUG-1SG:S] ‘If I (M) had slept’
1SG.F <i>witê=bî-εn-ê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.F=be.PST-COND.AUG-1SG:S] ‘If I (F) had slept’
2SG.M <i>wite=bî-εn-î</i>	‘if you (M) had slept’
2SG.F <i>witê=bî-εn-î</i>	‘if you (F) had slept’
3SG.M <i>wite=bî-ε</i>	‘if he had slept’
3SG.F <i>witê=bî-ε</i>	‘if she had slept’
1PL <i>witê=bî-εn-mê</i>	‘if we had slept’
2PL <i>witê=bî-εn-dê</i>	‘if you had slept’
3PL <i>witê=bî-εn-ê</i>	‘if they had slept’

Table 9.29: Conditional perfect—the inflection of ‘see’

O	3PL A	Gloss
1SG.M <i>diye=bî-εn-ê=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST-COND.AUG-1SG:O=3PL:A]	‘if they had seen me (M)’
1SG.F <i>diyê=bî-εn-ê=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.F=be.PST-COND.AUG-1SG:O=3PL:A]	‘if they had seen me (F)’
2SG.M <i>diye=bî-εn-î=şa</i>		‘if they had seen you (M)’
2SG.F <i>diyê=bî-εn-î=şa</i>		‘if they had seen you (F)’
3SG.M <i>diye=bî-ε=şa</i>		‘if they had seen him’
3SG.F <i>diyê=bî-ε=şa</i>		‘if they had seen her’
1PL <i>diyê=bî-εn-mê=şa</i>		‘if they had seen us’
2PL <i>diyê=bî-εn-dê=şa</i>		‘if they had seen you’
2PL <i>diyê=bî-εn-ê=şa</i>		‘if they had seen them’

The conditional perfect expresses counterfactual conditionals, i.e., events which did not or could not happen.

(165) *î jenû wê mew î kuřme kuřtêbîyenê êtir îse min çêşim kerdε?*

î jen(i)-û wê=m=e=w î

DEM.PROX wife-EZ.GEN REFL=1SG:PSR=DEM=and DEM.PROX

kuř=m=e kuřtê=bî-εn-ê êtir îse min

son=1SG:A=DEM kill.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PST-COND.AUG-3PL:O well now 1SG

çêş=im kerd-ε

what=1SG:A do.PST-COND.AUG

‘Had I killed my wife and my son, what would I have done now?’

[XŞ.104]

9.4.7 Past perfect

The past perfect is constructed by the past participle followed by the augmented form of the verb ‘to be’. Recall that the augment is a past-converter suffix. With intransitive verbs, both the participle and ‘be’ agree with the S; see Table 9.30.

Table 9.30: Past perfect—the inflection of ‘sleep’

S		Gloss	
1SG.M	<i>wite=b-ên-ê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG-1SG:S]	‘I (M) had slept’
1SG.F	<i>witê=b-ên-ê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-AUG-1SG:S]	‘I (F) had slept’
2SG.M	<i>wite=b-ên-î</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG-2SG:S]	‘you (M) had slept’
2SG.F	<i>witê=b-ên-î</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-AUG-2SG:S]	‘you (F) had slept’
3SG.M	<i>wite=b-ê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S]	‘he had slept’
3SG.F	<i>witê=b-ê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S]	‘she had slept’
1PL	<i>witê=b-ên-mê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-AUG-1PL:S]	‘we had slept’
2PL	<i>witê=b-ên-dê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-AUG-2PL:S]	‘you had slept’
3PL	<i>witê=b-ên-ê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-AUG-3PL:S]	‘they had slept’

With transitive verbs, the participle and the auxiliary ‘be’ agree with the O; see Table 9.31.

Table 9.31: Past perfect—the inflection of ‘see’

O	3PL A	Gloss	
1SG.M	<i>dîye=b-ên-ê=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG-1SG:O=3PL:A]	‘they had seen me (M)’
1SG.F	<i>dîyê=b-ên-ê=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-AUG-1SG:O=3PL:A]	‘they had seen me (F)’
2SG.M	<i>dîye=b-ên-î=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG-2SG:O=3PL:A]	‘they had seen you (M)’
2SG.F	<i>dîyê=b-ên-î=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-AUG-2SG:O=3PL:A]	‘they had seen you (F)’
3SG.M	<i>dîye=b-ê=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:O=3PL:A]	‘they had seen him’
3SG.F	<i>dîyê=b-ê=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:O=3PL:A]	‘they had seen her’
1PL	<i>dîyê=b-ên-mê=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-AUG-1PL:O=3PL:A]	‘they had seen us’
2PL	<i>dîyê=b-ên-dê=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-AUG-2PL:O=3PL:A]	‘they had seen you’
2PL	<i>dîyê=b-ên-ê=şa</i>	[see.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-AUG-3PL:O=3PL:A]	‘they had seen them’

The negation of the past perfect is expressed by *ne-*:

- (166) *çawel ta cawe nelabê pane pêwyê tewenekê.*
çawel ta cawe ne-la=b-ê
 in_the_past until road NEG-go.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S

p=ane *pêwy(e)-ê* *tewen(i)-ekê*
 at=DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR be_visible.PRS-AUG.3SG:S stone.F-DEF.F.SG
 ‘In the past, when no road was constructed there [lit. The road had not
 gone there.], the stone was visible.’ [ZP.54]

The past perfect may express states held in the past that are the result of actions in a remoter past.

- (167) *a wextî milarewe maça, ‘wîla î meşmûrû şime kîyasêbênêta pey îne, înama
 ane heke şime gerekbê dema pene.’*
a *wext-î* *mi-l-a=re=we*
 DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL IND-go.PRS-3PL:S=POVB=COMPL
m-aç-a *wîla* *î* *meşmûr-û* *şime*
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A by_God DEM.PROX officer.M-EZ.GEN 2PL
kîyasê=b-ên-ê=ta *pey îne*
 send.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-AUG-3PL:O=2PL:A for DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR
îne=ma *ane* *heke şime gerek*
 DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR=1PL:A DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR if 2PL necessary
b-ê *dê=ma* *pene*
 be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S give.PST.3PL:O=1PL:R to
 ‘Then, they went [to the agha and] said, ‘Indeed, **the officers whom you
 had sent** to us, whatever [taxation] you had asked for, we gave them.’”
 [BP.124]

The past perfect may express events that the speaker has not witnessed himself but has only learned about through reports. In (168), the narrator discusses how it was reported to him that he should go to military service.

- (168) *zemanew şay, minû hesenî taze min sinhim şanzene bê. îne çayxane bê. îne
 girdîş çayxane bê duweşe yereşe nafarêş luwenê. watebêşa ... ‘fîtanû fîtan
 Baqîyû hesen yoşa gêrmê bilo sarwazî.’*
zemanew-û *şa-î* *min=û* *hesen-î* *taze min sinh=im*
 period-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL 1SG=and PN-M.SG.OBL just 1SG age=1SG:PSR
şangze=ne *b-ê* *îne* *çayxane b-ê*
 sixteen=POST be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S DEM.PROX teahouse be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
îne *girdîş* *çayxane b-ê* *duweşe yereşe*
 DEM.PROX all=3SG:PSR teahouse be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S 200 300
nafar-ê=ş *luwê=nê*
 person-PL.DIR=3SG:S go.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S

*wate=b-ê=şa**fıtan=û*

say.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:O=3PL:A suchandsuch=and

*fıtan**baqî=û hesen yo=şa**gêl-mê*

suchandsuch PN=and PN one=.M=3PL:PSR grab.PRS.IND-1PL:A

*bi-l-o**sarwazî*

SBJV-go.PRS-1PL:S military_service

‘In the period of the Shah, Hasan and I . . . I had just turned sixteen.

Here, there were a lot of teahouses where 200 or 300 people would

gather. **They said (according to what was reported to me)**, ‘Baqî or

Hasan, we will send one of them to go to the military service.’ (Khan &

Mohammadirad 2024a: 313, glossing and transcription modified)

9.4.8 Perfect pluperfect

The perfect pluperfect is made of the participle form of the verb followed by the perfect form of the auxiliary ‘to be’. This TAM category seems outdated as it was only occasionally attested in the tales narrated by the narrator from Nwên. The perfect pluperfect has not been listed as a TAM category in Luhon (MacKenzie 1966), reflecting its rare use. With intransitive verbs, both the participle form of the main verb, the participle form of the auxiliary ‘be’, and the copula agree with the S argument of the verb, the first two in gender and number, the latter in person. Table 9.32 exhibits the perfect pluperfect of the verb ‘to sleep’.

Table 9.32: Perfect pluperfect—the inflection of ‘sleep’

S		Gloss
1SG.M	<i>wite=bîye=na</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S]
1SG.F	<i>witê=bîyê=na</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.F=be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.1SG:S]
2SG.M	<i>wite=bîye=nî</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:S]
2SG.F	<i>witê=bîyê=nî</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.F=be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.2SG:S]
3SG.M	<i>wite=bîye=n</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:S]
3SG.F	<i>witê=bîyê=ne</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.F=be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG:S]
1PL	<i>witê=bîyê=nmê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:S]
2PL	<i>witê=bîyê=ndê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.2PL:S]
3PL	<i>witê=bîyê=nê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]

With transitive verbs, the participles in both the main verb and the auxiliary agree in gender and number with the O argument. On the other hand, cumulative person/number copula endings agree in person/number with the O argument. The paradigm in Table 9.33 features the O argument appearing in different persons in combination with the 3PL A argument, hence ‘they have had brought me (M)’, ‘they have had brought me (F)’, etc.

Table 9.33: Perfect pluperfect–the inflection of ‘bring’

O	3PL A	Gloss
1SG.M	<i>ardê=bîye=na=şa</i>	[bring.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:O=3PL:A]
1SG.F	<i>ardê=bîyê=na=şa</i>	[bring.PST.PTCP.F=be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.1SG:O=3PL:A]
2SG.M	<i>ardê=bîye=nî=şa</i>	[bring.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:O=3PL:A]
2SG.F	<i>ardê=bîyê=nî=şa</i>	[bring.PST.PTCP.F=be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.2SG:O=3PL:A]
3SG.M	<i>ardê=bîye=n=şa</i>	[bring.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:O=3PL:A]
3SG.F	<i>ardê=bîyê=n=şa</i>	[bring.PST.PTCP.F=be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG:O=3PL:A]
1PL	<i>ardê=bîyê=nmê=şa</i>	[bring.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:O=3PL:A]
2PL	<i>ardê=bîyê=ndê=şa</i>	[bring.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.2PL:O=3PL:A]
3PL	<i>ardê=bîyê=nê=şa</i>	[bring.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O=3PL:A]

The negation of the perfect pluperfect is expressed by *ne-*.

- (169) *newitebîyena.*
ne-wite=bîye=na
 NEG-sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S
 ‘I have had not slept.’ (Pseudo-English translation)

The perfect pluperfect seems to occur only in tales. It may express actions which have started in the past but continue to impact the present state of affairs.

- (170) *gîr wardêbîyênê ana ça matilê sergerdanê.*
gîr wardê=bîyê=nê *ana-Ø*
 hook eat.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S
ça matilê sergerdanê
 there waiting-PL wandering-PL
 ‘They were stuck there; they are there, waiting and wandering [not knowing what to do].’ [KT.54]

9.4.9 Summary of TAM categories derived from the past stem

Table 9.34 summarises the verbal forms derived from the past stem for the verbs ‘sleep’ and ‘do’ inflected in the first person.

Table 9.34: TAM categories derived from the past stem–summary

TAM category	Inflection	Gloss
Past perfective	<i>wit-a</i>	[sleep.PST-1SG:S]
Past conditional	<i>wit-ɛn-ê</i>	[sleep.PST.COND.AUG-1SG:S]
Perfect	<i>wite=na</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S]
Perfect progressive	<i>wit-î wite=na</i>	[sleep.PST-NMLZ sleep.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S]
Irrealis perfect	<i>wite=b-û</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-1SG:S]
Conditional perfect	<i>wite=bî-ɛn-ê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST.COND.AUG-1SG:S]
Past perfect	<i>wite=b-êñ-ê</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.AUG-1SG:S]
Perfect pluperfect	<i>wite=bîye=na</i>	[sleep.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S]
Past perfective	<i>kerd-Ø=im</i>	[do.PST-3SG.M:O=1SG:A]
Past conditional	<i>kerd-ɛ=m</i>	[do.PST.COND.AUG.3SG:O=1SG:A]
Perfect	<i>kerde=n=im</i>	[do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1SG:A]
Perfect progressive	<i>kerd-î kerde=n=im</i>	[do.PST-NMLZ do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1SG:A]
Irrealis perfect	<i>kerde=b-o=m</i>	[do.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:O=1SG:A]
Conditional perfect	<i>kerde=bî-ɛ=m</i>	[do.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST.COND.AUG.3SG:O=1SG:A]
Past perfect	<i>kerde=b-ê=m</i>	[do.PST.PTCP.M=be.AUG.3SG:O=1SG:A]
Perfect pluperfect	<i>kerde=bîye=n=im</i>	[do.PST.PTCP.M=be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:O=1SG:A]

10 Adpositions and adverbs

10.1 Adpositions

The category of adpositions includes prepositions, postpositions, and circumpositions. This means that Hewramî has a mixed adpositional typology. This trait is a common feature of Northwestern Iranian languages such as Vafsi and most varieties of Kurdish. It is assumed to be a reflection of their geographical distribution between OV languages, e.g., Armenian, Turkish, Indic, and VO languages, e.g., Arabic, Aramaic (cf. Stilo 2009: 18).

Additionally, Tekht Hewramî features formatives of (mainly) prepositional origin, commonly called “absolute adpositions” within Iranian linguistics. As discussed in §10.1.4, one way of analysing these formatives is in terms of applicative morphology.

10.1.1 Prepositions

The majority of adpositions belong to the category of prepositions. Prepositions have both grammatical and spatial-temporal functions. They usually trigger oblique marking on the nominal that follows them, though oblique marking is contingent on certain factors, e.g., animacy and pre- and post-verbal positioning of the prepositional phrase. By way of example, in (1)–(2), the preposition *be* marks the instrument. However, only the animate complement is marked in the oblique case. Investigating factors influencing differential oblique marking remains a topic for feature research.

- (1) *miqdarêş ađi be sey misefay ardeniş,*
miqdarê=ş ađi be sey misefa-i
some=3SG:PSR 3SG.OBL.M by PN PN-M.SG.OBL
arde=n=iş
bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A
‘Some of the money which he had made Say Mustafa take. [Lit. He brought some of it by Say Mustafa.]’ [JP.113]

- (2) *be kune awîşa ardêne.*
be kune *awî=şa* *ardê=ne*
by clay_pot.M water.F.SG.DIR=3PL:A bring.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
‘They used to fetch water **using clay pots.**’ [JE.16]

Prepositions fall into two sets: basic prepositions, and locational nouns. The locational nouns can be used independently or in combination with prepositions. These two sets are morphologically distinguished. Simple prepositions occur with nominals through simple juxtaposition. Locational nouns are linked to the nominal via a linker dubbed “genitive ezafe” (§5.3.1).

10.1.1.1 Basic prepositions

The following is the list of basic prepositions, most of which are monomorphemic.

- (3)
- | | |
|------------------|--|
| <i>be</i> | ‘to, by, with, in’ |
| <i>ce</i> | ‘at, from’ |
| <i>pey</i> | ‘for, to’ |
| <i>çenî/çenû</i> | ‘with’ |
| <i>bê</i> | ‘without’ |
| <i>ta</i> | ‘until’ |
| <i>e=</i> | ‘in, from’ |
| <i>ne</i> | ‘into’ (occurring rarely, see §10.1.2) |

Among these, *bê* and *ta* occur only with non-bound complements, i.e., with nouns and independent pronouns, which are not prosodically deficient. On the other hand, *be* and *ce* are unique in that they exhibit allomorphy when attaching to demonstratives and clitic pronouns. When combined with demonstratives, the initial consonants are devoiced, yielding the forms *ç=* and *p=*, e.g., *ç=î mentêqe-î* [in=DEM.PROX region.M-SG.OBL] ‘in this region’ [PM.5]; *p=a mê-man mizgî* [to=DEM.DIST guest.M mosque.M] ‘to the guest in the mosque’ [JH.40]. The resulting forms sometimes grammaticalise into spatial adverbs: *ça* ‘there’; *çê* ‘here’. When combined with clitic pronouns *be* and *ce* are realised as *pene* and *çene*, respectively, e.g., *pene=m* ‘to me’; *çene=ş* ‘in it’. In traditional Iranian philology, these allomorphs are referred to as “absolute prepositions” (see MacKenzie 1966: 55 for Hewramî Luhon, McCarus 2009: 601 for Central Kurdish, and Lazard 1992 for Laki). *çenî/çenû* ‘with’ exhibits a slightly different pattern: its “absolute” form is *çene*. Table 10.1 summarises the allomorphs of *be*, *ce*, and *çenî/çenû*.

Table 10.1: The allomorphs of *be* and *ce* and *çenî*

	with nouns	with demonstratives	with clitic pronouns
be	<i>be</i>	<i>p=</i>	<i>pene</i>
ce	<i>ce</i>	<i>ç=</i>	<i>çene</i>
<i>çenî/çenû</i>	<i>çenî/çenû</i>	<i>çenî/çenû</i>	<i>çene</i>

Basic prepositions occur before nominals through simple juxtaposition. An exception is *çenû* ‘with’, which is a combination of *çenî* and the genitive ezafe form *-û*. The form *çenû* is now grammaticalised as the citation form for most speakers. The original form *çenî* seems to be less frequent.

10.1.1.1.1 *be* ‘to, by, with, in’

This preposition has a range of meanings. It typically marks the following roles: recipient (4), addressee (5), (metaphorical) goal (6), comitative (7), beneficiary (8), passive agent (9), and manner (10).¹

- (4) *qurban to desûrêt da be sey misefay.*
qurban to desûr-ê=t da-Ø be sey misefa-î
 sir.VOC 2SG order.M-INDF=2SG:A give.PST-3SG.M:O to PN PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘Sir, you ordered Say Mustafa [lit. gave an order to].’ [JP.126]
- (5) *maço be xanî.*
m-aç-o be xan-î
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A to chief.M-SG.OBL
 ‘He said **to the chief**.’ [KŞ.97]
- (6) *xeber yawo be baba xwadaş hemey xeybî.*
xeber yaw-o be baba xwadaş=û heme-î
 news.M.SG.DIR arrive.PRS.IND-3SG:S to PN PN=and PN-EZ.ATTR
xeybî
 invisible
 ‘The news reached Baba Khwada and Hama the Invisible.’ [BP.46]

¹See Mohammadirad & Rasekh-Mahand (2017, 2018) for the study of the multifunctionality of Hewramî instrumental and dative markers within the context of Iranian languages. The list of functionalities of adpositions provided here is more comprehensive.

10 Adpositions and adverbs

- (7) *êtir çayşa kerdên be nanekey.*
êtir çay=şa kerde=n be
 DISC.PTCL tea.M.SG.DIR=3PL:A do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O with
nan-ekey
 bread.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL
 ‘Then, they made tea [to be served] with the food.’ [JE.38]
- (8) *xizmet be merdimî kero.*
xizmet be merdim-î ker-o
 service.M to people.M-SG.OBL SBJV-do.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘[And he] be of service to people.’ [JP.87]
- (9) *sewzê xel kiryan be sahêbîçîş.*
sewzê xel kir-ya=n be sahêb-î=ç=iş
 crop grain do.PRS-PASS=COP.3SG.M:S by owner-OBL.M=ADD=3SG:PSR
 ‘The crop has been piled up [lit. turned into corn] by its owner too.’ [HR.16]
- (10) *be adizî luwan.*
be adizî luwa=n
 in desperation go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘He had left [town] in desperation.’ [JH.62]
- be* may also mark the nominal argument of inchoative verbs ‘become, turn into’, indicating a change of state.
- (11) *bîyen be feqî.*
bîye=n be feqî
 be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S ADP theologian.M
 ‘[He] became a theologian.’ [ZP.15]
- (12) *miniş kerdên be wekêl.*
min=iş kerde=na be wekêl
 1SG=3SG:A do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:O ADP advocate.M
 ‘He has put me in charge. [Lit. made me advocate.]’ [ZP.89]

It should be mentioned, though, that the use of the preposition is optional here, as the nominal argument of inchoative verbs may be realised without any flagging:

- (13) *min, taze padşay kerdena wekêl.*
min taze padşa-î kerde=na wekêl
 1SG anyway king.M-SG.OBL do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:O advocate.M
 ‘As for me, well, the king has put me in charge.’ [Lit. The king has made me advocate.] [JP.206]

- (14) *bawe yo. keraşawe yo*
b-a=we yo ker-a=şa=we
 become.PRS.IND-3PL:S=COMPL one.M do.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3PL:O=COMPL
yo
 one.M
 ‘They became one. They were put in the same [cell] [lit. they made them one].’ [BP.141]

10.1.1.1.2 *pey* ‘for, to’

This preposition generally triggers oblique case marking on its complement. It typically expresses a beneficiary argument and a goal argument of a verb of movement, whether human or inanimate.

- (15) *hêterûwenîşa kerde pey sahêbû hereyû pey herbenew herey.*
hêterûwenî=şa kerd-e pey sahêb-û
 fried_eggF.SG.DIR=3PL:A do.PST-3SG.F:O for owner.M-EZ.GEN
her-e-î=û pey herbene-û
 donkey.M-DEF-M.SG.OBL=and for donkey_keeper.M-EZ.GEN
her-e-î
 donkey.M-DEF-M.SG.OBL
 ‘They (the host’s family) cooked fried eggs for the donkey’s owner [i.e.] for the donkey keeper.’ [HB.56]
- (16) *luwewe pey yaney!*
lu-e=we pey yane-î
 go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S=POST to house.M-SG.OBL
 ‘[Now] go back home!’ [JH.118]
- (17) *î kinaçê narîwe êtir pey min.*
î kinaçê n(e)-ar-î=we êtir pey min
 DEM.PROX girl.F NEG.SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG:A=COMPL any_more to 1SG
 ‘[Please] do not bring this daughter [of mine] back to me.’ [ZP.48]

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The nominal complement of *pey* occurs regularly in the oblique case. In rare cases, the complement appears in the direct case.

- (18) *kîyaseŋa pey beṣa.*
kîyase=n=ṣa *pey beṣa*
 send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3PL:A to PN.M
 ‘[Then] they sent him to Baghdad.’ [ZP.14]

10.1.1.1.3 *çenî* ‘with’

This preposition occurs in two forms in the corpus: *çenî* and *çenû*. The latter results from the unimorphation of *çenî* with the genitive ezafe *-û*. *çenî* expresses a comitative argument. The complement is generally marked in the oblique case.

- (19) *î masî bere deṣ pa mêman mizgî çenîyû nanî.*
î mas-î bér-e
 DEM.PROX yoghurt.M-SG.OBL take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A
dé-(e)=ṣ p=a mêman mizgî çenî-û
 give.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=3SG:O to=DEM.DIST guest.M mosque.M with-EZ.GEN
nan-î
 bread.M-SG.OBL
 ‘Take this yoghurt [and] together with [some] bread [and] give it to the guest in the mosque.’ [JH.40]

- (20) *nîṣare çenû lalowekeyṣ.*
nîṣ-a=re çenû
 sit.PRS.IND-3PL:S=POVB with.EZ.GEN
lalo-ekey=ṣ
 maternal_uncle.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=3SG:PSR
 ‘She sat [on the stone] with her uncle.’ [ZP.56]

10.1.1.1.4 *ce* ‘at, from’

This preposition takes an oblique argument in its spatial sense, ‘in, from’ or in the sense of ‘of’. *ce* is also used to express the standard of comparison; see (23).

- (21) *maça neferê înarê ce menteqew hewramanâtî.*
m-aç-a nefer-ê îna-Ø=rê ce
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A person.M-INDF LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S=POVB in
menteqe-û hewraman-at-î
 region-EZ.GEN PN-PL-M.SG.OBL
 ‘It was said [to him in the dream] that there is a person in the Hewraman region.’ [ZP.31]
- (22) *ane ce zemînî pêse waçî xway ketê pey kîyasen.*
ane ce zemîn-î pêse wâç-î
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR from earth.M-SG.OBL as_if say.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A
xwa-î ket-ê pey kîyase=n
 God.M-SG.OBL bed-INDF to send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:R
 ‘[He had levitated] this much from the ground, as if God had sent him a bed.’ [JP.69]
- (23) *ce taranî kuweyt dewletmenter bê.*
ce taran-î kuweyt dewletmen-ter b-ê
 from PN-M.SG.OBL PN rich-CMPR be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 ‘Kuwait was more affluent than Tehran.’ [JM.44]

10.1.1.1.5 *bê* ‘without’

This preposition marks peripheral arguments which are not in the verb’s argument structure. The preposition has a privative sense. It usually triggers oblique marking on the nominal complement.

- (24) *bê a bega ême netawanma hîç kermê.*
bê a beg-a ême
 without DEM.DIST chief.M-PL.OBL 1PL
ne-tawa=n=ma hîç kër-mê
 NEG-can.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1PL:A nothing do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A
 ‘Without those chiefs, we were not able to do anything.’ [RE.64]
- (25) *mîyo bê heyasîş mekiryo.*
mi-ďy(e)-o bê heyas-î=ş
 IND-look.PRS-3SG:S without PN-M.SG.OBL=3SG:NC
me-kiry(e)-o
 NEG.IND-do.DO.PRS-PASS-3SG:S
 ‘He realised that he cannot cope without Hayas.’ [HS.19]

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10.1.1.1.6 *ta* ‘until’

This preposition marks oblique arguments in a spatial-temporal sense, ‘till, until’ and ‘duration of time’. Unlike other prepositions, the complement of *ta* overwhelmingly occurs in the direct case.

- (26) *menawe ta zimšanê.*
men-a=we ta zimšan-ê
 remain.PRS.IND-3PL:S=COMPL until winter.M-INDF
 ‘They stayed until winter.’ [BP.33]
- (27) *meselen eçê luwan ta milemarfa wêşû xanewadeş.*
meselen e=çê luwa=n ta milemarfa
 for_example from=here go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S until PN
wê=ş=û xanewade=ş
 REFL=3SG:PSR=and family.M=3SG:PSR
 ‘Let’s say they might have gone together with their family as far as Milamarfa.’ [BP.167]
- (28) *ta yerê saê eça keşo ađ guzeran kero la birakeyşo.*
ta yerê sa(e)-ê e=ça keş=o ađ
 until three year.F-PL.DIR in=there mountain.M=POST 3SG.M.DIR
guzeran ker-o la
 subsistence.M do.PRS.IND-3SG:A with
bira-(e)key=ş=o
 brother.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=3SG:PSR=POST
 ‘For three years, he stayed with his brothers in those mountains’ [DG.21]

Like *ce*, *ta* may be used to express standard of comparison.

- (29) *êtir îse weşzû hewramanî ta menteqê terê kuçê xastera.*
êtir îse weşz(e)-û hewraman-î ta menteq(e)-ê
 DISC.PTCL now situation.F-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL than region-PL.DIR
ter-ê kuç-ê xas-ter=a
 other-PL.DIR little-INDF good-CMPR=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘The situation in Hewraman is a bit better than in other regions.’ [JM.55]

10.1.1.1.7 *e=* ‘in’

This preposition is limited to spatial and manner adverbials. Unlike most adpositions, *e=* does not have morphological allomorphs triggered by the mor-

phophonological type of argument it takes. Yet, it is possible that *e=* can be regarded as an allomorph of *ce*.

- (30) *nemendêwe eçê!*
ne-men-dê=we *e=çê*
 PROH-remain.PRS-2PL:S=COMPL in=here
 ‘Don’t stay here!’ [PM.22]

The preposition *e=* is homophonous with the emphatic particle *e*.

- (31) *e înen ardenim xizmetû wêt.*
e îne=n
 EMPH DEM.PROX.DIR.M.3SG=COP.3SG.M:S
arde=n=im *xizmet-û* *wê=t*
 bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1SG:A service.M-EZ.GEN REFL=2SG:PSR
 ‘He [the boy] is this [man here] that I have brought to your service.’ [ZQ.54]

10.1.1.2 Locational nouns

Locational nouns are emerging prepositions that are the result of grammaticalisation from nouns. The source of grammaticalisation for some of the locational nouns is body-part terms. Some are originally borrowings, such as *beyn*, *payîn*, and *teref*.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|-------------------------|---|
| (32) | <i>ser</i> | ‘on’ | cf. <i>sere</i> ‘head’ |
| | <i>mil</i> | ‘over’ | cf. <i>mil</i> ‘neck’ |
| | <i>dil</i> | ‘inside’ | cf. <i>dil</i> ‘heart’ |
| | <i>peşt</i> | ‘back’ | cf. <i>peştî</i> ‘back’ |
| | <i>ber</i> | ‘front’ | cf. <i>ber</i> ‘front part of the body’ |
| | <i>qew</i> | ‘on’ | cf. <i>qew</i> ‘stature’ |
| | <i>şûn</i> | ‘after’ | |
| | <i>beyn</i> | ‘between’ | |
| | <i>çêr</i> | ‘under’ | |
| | <i>dewr</i> | ‘around’ | |
| | <i>gel</i> | ‘with’ | |
| | <i>gerûber</i> | ‘around’ | |
| | <i>la</i> | ‘at the place of, with’ | |
| | <i>nam</i> | ‘inside’ | |
| | <i>pêse</i> | ‘like’ | |

<i>payîn</i>	‘down’
<i>teref</i>	‘from’
<i>werawer</i>	‘opposite’

Complex prepositions may be formed by combining locational nouns with basic adpositions, though this strategy is uncommon in the text corpus. The resulting complex forms tend to reinforce the original meaning of the basic preposition, on one hand, and may be informed by humanness. The two complex prepositions listed in (33) are used with human referents.

- (33) *ce teref* ‘from’ [BP.36]
pey la ‘to’ [ŞC.32]

Locational nouns are morphologically distinguished from basic prepositions by two criteria. First, unlike the basic prepositions *be* and *ce*, they do not feature allomorphy when heading bound and non-bound arguments. In (34)–(35), the locational noun *la* has an invariant form.

- (34) *şewêne milûwe laş.*
şew(e)-ê=ne mi-l-û=we la=ş
 night-F.SG.OBL=POST IND-go.PRS-1SG:S=COMPL to=3SG:R
 ‘I go back to him at night.’ [DG.41]

- (35) *zarote bo hetîm bo milo la adî.*
zarote b-o hetîm b-o mi-l-o la
 child be.PRS.IND-3SG:S orphan be.PRS.IND-3SG:S IND-go.PRS-3SG:S to
adî
 3SG.OBL.M
 ‘He was a child. He was an orphan. He went to him (his uncle).’ [JP.14]

The other difference is that locational nouns are generally linked to their non-bound complements via the genitive *ezafe*.

- (36) *serû rûçinekeywe des kero gireway.*
ser-û rûçine-(e)key=we des ker-o
 on-EZ.GEN chimney.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST hand.M do.PRS.IND-3SG:A
gireway
 cry.INF
 ‘He started to cry on the chimney.’ [BP.153]

- (37) *cuwanê bê pêsew î girdû cuwana.*
cuwan-ê b-ê pêse-û î gird-û
 youth.M-INDF be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S like.EZ.GEN DEM.PROX all-EZ.GEN
cuwan-a
 youth.M-PL.OBL
 ‘He was a young man like all the young men.’ [ZQ.54]

- (38) *berem piştû berew wiłaxeka.*
bér-e=m pişt-û bere-û
 take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=1SG:O back-EZ.GEN door.M-EZ.GEN
wiłax-eka
 horse/donkey.M-DEF.PL.OBL
 ‘Take me behind the door of the horses’ stable!’ [ŞC.62]

The locational noun *nam* ‘inside’ is exceptional in not taking any linker. This may indicate that *nam* is treated like a basic adposition.

- (39) *nîyenê m nam bêşkekê.*
nîye=nê=m nam bêşke-(e)kê
 put.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O=1SG:A inside cot.F-DEF.F.SG
 ‘I gave them food [and] put them back in the cot.’ [JE.67]

On the other hand, *la* and *pêse* ‘like’ can occur both with and without the genitive ezafe. In both cases, the ezafe-less variant seems to be more frequent. This may indicate that *la* and *pêse* are on their way to becoming grammaticalised (at least in part) as basic prepositions.

- (40) *milo law mamoyş.*
mi-l-o la-û mam-o-î=ş
 IND-go.PRS-3SG:S to-EZ.GEN paternal_uncle-M.SG.OBL=3SG:PSR
 ‘He went to his uncle.’ [JP.11]

- (41) *mila la řuwasê.*
mi-l-a la řuwas(e)-ê
 IND-go.PRS-3PL:S to fox-F.SG.OBL
 ‘They went to the fox.’ [MR.31]

- (42) *kerdiş pêsew pałaya.*
kerd=ış pêse-w pała-ya
 do.PST=3SG:S like-EZ.GEN shoe.M-PL.OBL
 ‘He made it like shoes.’ [DB.268]

- (43) *beraşa pey menteqê pêse esfehanî.*
*ber-a=şa pey menteq(e)-ê **pêse esfehan-î***
 take.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3PL:O to region-INDF like PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘They were taken to a region like Isfahan.’ [KŞ.47]

10.1.2 Postpositions

Postpositions are a smaller class compared to prepositions. The following is a list of postpositions attested in the text corpus. The postpositions are treated as clitics, as they do not bear stress.²

- (44) *=ne* ‘in, at, from’
=we ‘at, out, etc.’
=hur ‘up’
=we, o ‘from, on, in’
=re/=ere ‘down’

Postpositions do not generally trigger oblique-case marking on their nominal complements, as exemplified by (45)–(46)–(47).

- (45) *şamne a tome pîr şeliyarî wêş arden.*
***şam=ne** a tom=e pîr şeliyar-î wê=ş*
 PN.M.DIR=POST DEM.DIST seed.M=DEM PN PN-M.SG.OBL REFL=3SG:A
arde=n
 bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘From Damascus, Pir Shaliyar had brought its seeds.’ [ZP.95]

- (46) *jenekê m qomyaş venî kelekewe.*
jen(i)-ekê=m qomya=ş venî
 woman.F-DEF.F.SG=1SG:PSR happen.PST.3SG:S=3SG:R at
kel-ek=we
 mountain-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST
 ‘My wife was about to deliver a baby in the mountains.’ [ZQ.14]

- (47) *mila řahur.*
*mi-l-a řa=**hur***
 IND-go.PRS-3PL:S road.F.DIR=POST
 ‘They continued [along] the road.’ [JH.14]

²Note that some of the prepositions and locational nouns are not stressed either. The reason they are not marked by the equal sign is due to orthographic convention.

The postpositions seemingly trigger oblique marking on the nominal complement in the following examples. However, the case marking happens because of the genitive construction that is embedded in the postpositional phrase.

- (48) *çowe saraîû êranîwe gêlaymêwe.*
 ç=0=we **saraî-û** **êran-î=we** *gêla-îmê=we*
 in=DEM.DIST=POST PN-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL=POST turn.PST-1PL:S=COMPL
 ‘On the way back, we returned from the Saral region of Iran.’ [ZQ.10]
- (49) *cezîrew kîşîne karma kerden şîş mangê.*
cezîre-û **kîş-î=ne** *kar=ma*
 island-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL=POST work.M=1PL:A
kerde=n *şîş mang(e)-ê*
 do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O six month.F-PL.DIR
 ‘[We would go to] and work at the Island of Kish for six months.’ [JM.25]

The following examples illustrate the rare cases of compatibility of postpositions with oblique case.

- (50) *desîş nîya barîwe*
des=iş *nîya* **bar-î=we**
 hand=3SG:A put.PST load-M.SG.OBL=POSTP
 ‘He stretched out his hands to the load.’ [ÇH.73]
- (51) *tomekeş şana zemînekeynew.*
tom-eke=ş *şana*
 seed.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=3SG:A scatter.PST.3SG:O
zemîn-ekey=ne=û
 land.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST=and
 ‘He scattered the seeds in the field.’ [JP.51]

The postposition *=ne* seems to have a preposition counterpart which occurs rarely in the speech of one story-teller. This makes *ne* an ambiposition. In (52)–(53), *ne* is a preposition triggering oblique case marking on the following noun. However, note that *=ne* also functions as a post-verb in Hewramî, rendering the adposition analysis in these examples tentative. Yet, the oblique marking on *şar* and *kor* makes the preposition analysis possible, as non-core arguments that are bare generally lack case marking (see §11.2.3).

- (52) *kewt ne şarî.*
kewt ne şar-î
 fall.PST.3SG.M:S into town-M.SG.OBL
 ‘He stormed into town.’ [ÇH.167]
- (53) *kewt ne kora.*
kewt ne kor-a
 fall.PST.3SG.M:S into blind-PL.OBL
 ‘He rushed into blind people.’ [DB.309]

10.1.3 Circumpositions

Circumpositions occur frequently in Hewramî. They are constructed mainly in two ways: by combining a basic preposition and a postposition, e.g., *ce ... ne* ‘in, (less so) from’ or by combining a locational noun and a postposition, e.g., *mil ... hur* ‘on top’. There are also more complex forms such as *pêwere* ‘together’ containing the circumposition *be ... ere* combined with the indefinite suffix *-êwe*. Within basic prepositions, *be* and *ce* can form circumpositions with postpositional elements. The circumpositions may serve to disambiguate the multiple meanings of basic prepositions. For instance, *ce* has both locational and source meanings. The addition of postpositions *ne* and *o/ew* helps distinguish between these spatial senses.

- (54)
- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ce ... ne</i> | ‘in, (less so) from’ |
| <i>ce ... o/we/ew</i> | ‘from’ |
| <i>be ... we</i> | ‘about’ |
| <i>be ... ne</i> | ‘on’ |
| <i>be ... re</i> | ‘in’ |
| <i>dilê ... re</i> | ‘in’ |
| <i>dilê ... ne</i> | ‘in’ |

The circumpositions listed in (54) differ in the rate to which they trigger oblique marking on their complement (Mohammadirad in prep[a]). For instance, the complement of *be ... we* (55) is more likely to be oblique-marked than the complement of *ce ... ne* (56) and *ce ... o/we* (57).

- (55) *min înem dî be sey misefaywe.*
min îne=m dî-Ø be sey
 1SG DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR=1SG:A see.PST-3SG.M:O about PN
misefa-î=we
 PN-M.SG.OBL=POST
 ‘I witnessed this about Say Mustafa.’ [JP.74]
- (56) *ce hewramanne karî naşerfî kerênê.*
ce hewraman=ne kar-î naşerfî ker-ên-ê
 at PN=POST task.M-EZ.ATTR unlawful do.PRS-AUG-3PL:A
 ‘They were committing unlawful acts in Hewraman.’ [BP.62]
- (57) *ce qeredaxo maroş ta helebce.*
ce qeredax=o m-ar-o=ş ta helebce
 from PN=POST IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O until PN
 ‘He took his brother from Qaradax to Halabja.’ [DG.29]

Circumpositions consisting of locational nouns and a postposition comprise a far bigger class than circumpositions consisting of a basic preposition and a postposition, see (58). This could be due to the bigger size of the class of locational nouns.

- | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|----------|
| (58) <i>ber ... ne</i> | ‘in front of’ | [HB.73] |
| <i>beyn ... ne</i> | ‘in between’ | [BP.178] |
| <i>çêr ... ne</i> | ‘under’ | [BP.194] |
| <i>dil ... ne</i> | ‘inside’ | [KŞ.57] |
| <i>dewr ... ne</i> | ‘at around’ | [ZP.67] |
| <i>dewr ... hur</i> | ‘around’ | |
| <i>la ... we</i> | ‘at the place of’ | [ZB.59] |
| <i>la ... o</i> | ‘with’ | [JH.1] |
| <i>la ... ne</i> | ‘at the place of’ | [HB.73] |
| <i>la ... re</i> | ‘next to’ | |
| <i>ce la ... we</i> | ‘to, at the place of’ | [BP.211] |
| <i>mil ... we</i> | ‘because of, over’ | [JM.27] |
| <i>mil ... re</i> | ‘on’ | [JP.107] |
| <i>mil ... hur</i> | ‘on top’ | |
| <i>payîn ... re</i> | ‘down at’ | [ZQ.5] |
| <i>qew ... we</i> | ‘on, around’ | [HB.61] |
| <i>ser ... we</i> | ‘on top of’ | [BP.153] |

10 Adpositions and adverbs

<i>şûn ... re</i>	‘after’	[JM.4]
<i>şûn ... o/we</i>	‘behind’	[DP.8]
<i>teref... we</i>	‘from’	[PM.34]
<i>werawer ... we</i>	‘in front of’	[JP.201]

The nominal complement of the circumpositions listed in (58) may be marked in the oblique case.

- (59) *înê dilê namekeyne minvîso.*
înê dilê name-(e)key=ne mi-nvîs-o
 DEM.PROX.3PL inside letter.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST IND-write.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘He wrote these [words] inside the letter [and gave it to the shepherd’s son].’ [KŞ.57]
- (60) *mîn la şêxîwe menîşû.*
mîn la şêx-î=we me-nîş-û
 1SG with sheikh.M-SG.OBL=POST NEG.IND-sit.PRS-1SG:S
 ‘I won’t sit together with the sheikh [any more!].’ [HB.67]
- (61) *da luwe şûnû sey misefayre*
da lu-e şûn-û sey misefa-î=re
 HORT go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S after-EZ.GEN PN PN-M.SG.OBL=POST
 ‘Go after Say Mustafa!’ [JP.43]

The components of some circumpositions may be grammaticalised into compound adpositions. The resultant forms often convey spatial and temporal adverbial meanings (see §10.2.1).

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| (62) <i>beynne</i> | ‘in-between’ | [RE.25] |
| <i>serew</i> | ‘from top’ | [BP.152] |
| <i>dilne</i> | ‘inside’ | [JE.26] |
| <i>çêrwe</i> | ‘from underneath’ | [KŞ.31] |
| <i>çêrhur</i> | ‘from below facing upwards’ | [ZB.45] |
| <i>şûnîre</i> | ‘afterwards’ | [JM.6] |

10.1.4 Absolute adpositions

As hinted in §10.1.1.1, Tekht Hewramî features a set of formatives that are morphological allomorphs of basic adpositions. These formatives have been labelled

“absolute prepositions” in works on Iranian languages. Contrary to all other adpositions seen so far, which can be used with prosodically independent complements (i.e., independent pronouns, nouns), the complement of some of the ‘absolute adpositions’ can only be a bound pronominal element, as seen in the difference between *be* (63) and *pene* (64). Additionally, absolute adpositions are associated with a special syntax (see below).

- (63) *newatim be to?*
ne-wat=im be to
 NEG-say.PST=1SG:A to 2SG
 ‘Didn’t I say [that] to you?’ [PW.87]
- (64) *watim penes*
wat=im pene=s
 say.PST=1SG:A to=3SG:R
 ‘I said to him.’ [JH.31]

Table 10.2 demonstrates the absolute form of adpositions found in the main text corpus. As can be seen, adpositions can be classified into four general sets concerning their ‘absolute forms’: (1) formatives which are derivable by transparent phonological process from their basic forms, e.g., *be* vs. *pene*. Those adpositions that have an absolute form will go into this form when the adpositional

Table 10.2: Adpositions and their corresponding absolute forms

Adposition/locational noun	Gloss	Absolute form
<i>be</i>	‘to, by’	<i>pene</i>
—	‘with’	<i>pene</i>
<i>be ... re</i>	‘on’	<i>pore</i>
<i>be ... we</i>	‘on’	<i>powe</i>
<i>pey</i>	‘for’	<i>pey</i>
<i>ce, ce ... ne</i>	‘from’	<i>çene</i>
<i>çenî</i>	‘with’	<i>çene</i>
<i>la ... we</i>	‘to’	<i>la ... we / lawe</i>
<i>mil ... re</i>	‘to’	<i>mil ... re / milre</i>
<i>ser ... o</i>	‘on top’	<i>ser ... o / sero</i>
<i>bê</i>	‘without’	—
<i>ta</i>	‘until’	—
<i>ser</i>	‘on, to’	<i>ser</i>

complement is a bound pronominal argument, rather than an NP (as seen in the difference between (63) and (64); (2) formatives for which the basic form and the absolute form are the same, see *pey*, *ser*; (3) formatives with no basic forms, see *pene* ‘with’; (4) formatives with no absolute forms, e.g., *bê*, *ta*.

Absolute adpositions are associated with a specific syntax. They can only take bound pronominal arguments, realised through different markers depending on the tense and transitivity of the clause. There is an additional complication, however. Due to independent processes of clitic movement, the clitic pronoun may move from its governing adposition and attach to another element of the clause. Crucially, the adposition remains in the absolute form even if its complement has moved off it to attach to a distinct host. In clauses with verbs deriving from the present tense, clitic movement is generally leftward and is realised on the first element of the VP. The VP-initial element is an object NP in (65), a light verb complement in (66), and a verb in (67), on which the preposition complement lands.³

- (65) *nanša pey peya kero.*
nan=ša pey peya ker-o
 bread.M=3PL:R for visible do.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘He finds food for them.’ [BP.148]

- (66) *bawirış pene kero.*
bawir=ış pene ker-o
 belief=3SG:R in do.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘He (Hama Yoso) believed him.’ [JP.59]

- (67) *bero midoş pene.*
ber-o mi-đ(e)-o=ş pene
 take.PRS.IND-3SG:A IND-give.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:R to
 ‘She took [it and] gave it to him (Hayas).’ [JH.43]

In the examples above, the VP-initial element is immediately realised to the left of the absolute prepositions. The clitic complement of the adposition can still land on the VP-initial element provided the host is at a reasonable distance

³Discussing a similar phenomenon in neighbouring Central Kurdish dialects, Karim & Salehi (2022) propose an applicative analysis of absolute prepositions. While insightful, their analysis runs into problems in cases like (65), where the absolute form is not a derivational morpheme on the verb, which is one of the defining features of applicative morphemes (Pacchiarotti & Zúñiga 2022). Notice that nor in the corresponding Central Kurdish rendering of (65) is the formative a derivational preverb on the root: *nan=yan bo peya e-ka*.

from the preposition; see the difference between (68)–(69), on the one hand, and (70) on the other. In (70) the clitic pronoun can, in principle, move leftward and be realised on *esb-î*. The lack of clitic movement may suggest that the mobility is not obligatory.

- (68) *min şûyş kerû pene.*
min şû-î=ş ker-û pene
 1SG husband.M-SG.OBL=3SG:R do.PRS.IND-1SG:A to
 ‘I will marry him.’ [JH.59]
- (69) *yewêş kera sero.*
yew(e)-ê=ş ker-a ser=o
 lucerne-F.SG.OBL=3SG:R do.PRS.IND-3PL:A on=POST
 ‘They will put [some] lucerne on top of the straw.’ [HB.37]
- (70) *a esbî zîî kere peym.*
a esb-î zîî kër-e pey=m
 DEM.DIST horse-M.SG.OBL saddle do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A for=1SG:R
 ‘Saddle up the horse for me.’ [ŞC.53]

Likewise, the clitic complement of the adposition is realised in situ when the adposition is the first element within the VP. Note that the element before *pey* is the verb of the preceding clause, hence not counted as the immediate VP-internal element to the left as a host for the clitic pronoun.

- (71) *çowe ew mê peym maro.*
ç=0=we ew m-ê pey=m
 in=DEM.DIST=POST DEM.DIST IND-come.PRS.3SG:S for=1SG:R
m-ar-o
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘From that direction, he comes [to me] and brings [food] for me.’ [PM.46]

Similarly, with intransitive verbs derived from the present tense and frequently also in the past tense, the complement of the adposition is realised as a clitic pronoun. Here, the clitic floats leftward. The leftward movement takes even the S argument (72) or the copula subject (73) as host. This could be interpreted as a remnant of the original clausal second-position rule for clitic placement in Hewramî. The leftward movement of the clitic pronoun in intransitive clauses may also target the verb as the host, as shown in (74).

- (72) *haminiş aman milre.*
hamin=iş ama=n milre
 summer.M=3SG:R come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S on
 ‘Then it became summer.’ [Lit. Summer came upon him.] [DP.10]
- (73) *eger minit çene bîyenê ...*
eger min=it çene bî-en-ê
 if 1SG=2SG:R with be.PST.COND.AUG-1SG:S
 ‘If I had been with you ...’ [PW.88]
- (74) *kuřekêş germîyanne nimêniş çene.*
kuř-ekê=ş germîyan=ne nim(e)-ê-nê=iş
 SON.M-DEF.PL.DIR=3SG:PSR PN=POST NEG.IND-come.PRS-3PL:S=3SG:R
çene
 with
 ‘His sons did not accompany him [they stayed in] Garmiyan.’ [ZB.9]
- The adposition complement is realised as a person index in the following example featuring a past intransitive construction.
- (75) *dilim şîyenî pene.*
dil=im şîye=n-î pene
 heart=1SG:PSR go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:S=2SG:R to
 ‘I am fond of you. [Lit. My heart has gone to you.]’ [SK.06]
- In clauses based on a past transitive verb, the adposition complement does not move leftward. Instead, it can be realised through a verbal person affix or a copula PM on the verb (depending on the TAM category of the verb), with the same feature values. If (76) were in the present tense, the complement of *pey* would move leftward to land on *ketê*.
- (76) *xway ketê pey kîyasen.*
xwa-î ket-ê pey kîyase=n
 God.M-SG.OBL bed-INDF to send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:R
 ‘[As if] God had sent him a bed.’ [JP.69]
- (77) *îna qaqezêçîş dana pey.*
în(e)=a qaqez-ê=ç=iş
 DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR=PTCL letter.M-INDF=ADD=3SG:A
da=na pey
 give.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:R to
 ‘Look, he has given me a letter.’ [KŞ.84]

10.2 Adverbs

The class of adverbs is composed of non-derived and derived adverbs. Adverbs are typically formed from a combination of an adpositional or a demonstrative element and a nominal. Among adverbial expressions, manner adverbs can also be used adjectivally.

10.2.1 Spatial adverbs

Spatial adverbs are classified based on having a demonstrative in their structure or not. Following Diessel (1999), the forms based on demonstratives are called ‘local adverbial demonstratives’ here. Spatial adverbs based on demonstratives are listed in Table 10.3 (see §6.3.3 for discussion).

Table 10.3: Spatial adverbs based on demonstratives

‘here’	<i>çêge, êge</i>	< ç ‘in’ + ê ‘this’ + -ge
‘there (immediate context)’	<i>çage</i>	< ç ‘in’ + a ‘that’ + -ge
‘there (distant but visible)’	<i>çoge, oge</i>	< o ‘that’ + -ge
‘there (invisible)’	<i>pagene, epagewe</i>	
‘down here’	<i>epêre</i>	
‘down there (invisible)’	<i>epare</i>	
‘up there (visible)’	<i>ewagehur</i>	
‘up there (invisible)’	<i>epagehur</i>	

Spatial adverbs not derived from demonstratives are formed from a combination of spatial nouns and often a postposition. In addition to adverbial use, they may have adpositional uses (see §10.1.3). The most common spatial adverbs are listed in (78).

(78)	<i>beynne</i>	‘in-between’	[RE.25]
	<i>serew</i>	‘from the top’	[BP.152]
	<i>dilne</i>	‘inside’	[JE.26]
	<i>çêrwe</i>	‘from underneath’	[KŞ.31]
	<i>çêrhur</i>	‘from below facing upwards’	[ZB.45]
	<i>berewe</i>	‘outside’	
	<i>ce dûrew</i>	‘from far away’	[DP.4]

The following examples illustrate the use of spatial adverbs.

- (79) *çêrwe kuřekey memew bizekêş ward.*
çêrwe *kuř-ekey* *meme-û*
 from_underneath boy.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL breast.M-EZ.GEN
bize-(e)kê=ş *ward*
 goat.F-DEF.F.SG=3SG:A eat.PST
 ‘From underneath, the boy fed from the goat’s udder.’ [KŞ.31]
- (80) *serew des kero gireway.*
serew *des* *ker-o* *gireway*
 from_above hand.M do.PRS.IND-3SG:A cry.INF
 ‘He (Little Hama) started to cry from the top [of the roof].’ [BP.152]
- (81) *kabrayç ama berewe.*
kabra=yç *ama* **berewe**
 fellow=ADD come.PST.3SG:S outside
 ‘The fellow came outside.’ [KK.34]

10.2.2 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs are classifiable into five categories: general deictic adverbs (§10.2.2.1); time-of-day adverbs (§10.2.2.2), calendrical adverbs (§10.2.2.3), calendrical cyclic adverbs (§10.2.2.4), and other temporal adverbs (§10.2.2.5). These categories present different morphological properties.

10.2.2.1 General deictic adverbs

General deictic adverbs may, in principle, inflect for case, as seen in Table 10.4, though some occur only in one case in the text corpus.

Table 10.4: General deictic adverbs

	DIR	OBL	
‘now’	<i>îse</i>	<i>îsey</i>	
‘back then, in the past’	<i>çawet</i>	<i>çawetî</i>	< * <i>ç= a ewet</i> ‘from that beginning’
‘at that time, then’	<i>ewsa</i>	-	
‘after some time’	-	<i>ça dimay</i>	
‘afterwards’	<i>şûnîre</i>	-	
‘before now’	-	<i>çêwetî</i>	

The following examples exhibit the use of *çawet* and *çawetî*.

- (82) *çawet ta cawe nelabê pane pêwyê tewenekê.*
çawet ta cawe ne-la=b-ê
 in_the_past until road NEG-go.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
p=ane pêwy(e)-ê tewen(i)-ekê
 at=DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR be_visible.PRS-AUG.3SG:S stone.F-DEF.F.SG
 ‘In the past, when no road was constructed there [lit. The road had not gone there], the stone was visible.’ [ZP.54]
- (83) *çawelî sextî nebîyen.*
çawet-î sextî ne-bîye=n
 in_the_past-M.SG.OBL difficulty.M.DIR NEG-be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘In the past, there was no hardship.’ [JE.56]

10.2.2.2 Time-of-day adverbs

Time-of-day adverbs have the base forms as follows:

- (84) *sefbê* ‘morning’
nîmeřô ‘midday’
wêrega ‘evening’
şewê ‘night’

When used in the sense of temporal location, they may be followed by a post-position or case marking. Note that the oblique case is blocked before the post-position =*ne* (see §10.1.2).

- (85) *sefbê, sefbne* ‘in the morning’
nîmeřone ‘in the midday’
wêregane ‘in the evening’
şewê ‘at night’

Examples:

- (86) *î kabreçe ce şêraqo amênê, wêreganew nîmeřonew sefbne bexşnayşa bexşnenêwe.*
î kabre=ç=e ce şêraq=o
 DEM.PROX man.PL.DIR=ADD=DEM from PN=POST
ame=nê wêrega=ne=û nîmeřo=ne=û
 come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S evening=POST=and noon=POST=and

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sefb=ne bexşnay=şa
 morning=POST distribute.NMLZ=3PL:A
bexşne=nê=we
 distribute.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:R=COMPL
 ‘They (people) would donate [food] to the fellows (the tax collectors) who
 had come from Iraq, in the evenings, mornings, and at noon.’ [BP.38]

- (87) *hurmêzowe sefbê.*
hur-m-êz-o=we sefb(e)-ê
 PVB-IND-rise.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL morning-F.SG.OBL
 ‘He woke up in the morning.’ [ŞC.47]

10.2.2.3 Calendrical adverbs

Some calendrical adverbs contain a deictic element, e.g. *êşew* < *ê* ‘this’ + *şew* ‘night’. The terms *pêrê* and *pêré* are synchronically opaque in this regard.

- (88) *aró* ‘today’
êşew ‘tonight’
seba ‘tomorrow’
pêré ‘the day after tomorrow’
hêzî ‘yesterday’
pêrê ‘the day before yesterday’
êsał ‘this year’

Unlike their cyclic counterparts (§10.2.2.4), calendrical adverbs are not inflected for case. Rather, the base form is used.

- (89) *seba kewçê teriş pene mîda.*
seba kewç(e)-ê ter=iş pene mi-d(e)-a
 tomorrow.M six_kilos-INDF another=3SG:R to IND-give.PRS-3PL:A
 ‘The next day, he (the uncle) would give him another six kilos [of barley seed].’ [JP.41]

- (90) *êsał mîlkekema nemenenû zeraşetma nîya.*
êsał mîlk-eke=ma
 this_year property.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=1PL:PSR
ne-mene=n=û zeraşet=ma
 NEG-remain.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=and agriculture.M=1PL:NC

nîy(e)=a

NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S

‘We have not cultivated much land this year; we don’t have much agriculture.’ [PM.37]

10.2.2.4 Calendrical cyclic adverbs

Calendrical cyclic adverbs refer to words for cyclic events, such as ‘day’, ‘year’, ‘hour’, ‘spring’. They are inflected for case in their non-base forms, though the case marking is blocked before the postposition *=ne* (see §10.1.2).

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|----------|---------------------------------|
| (91) | Base form | | Tempral locational ‘in’ |
| | <i>hamin</i> | ‘summer’ | <i>hamin=ne</i> ‘in the summer’ |
| | <i>řo</i> | ‘day’ | <i>řo=ne</i> ‘during the day’ |

Calendrical cyclic adverbs can be used with the quantifier *her* ‘every’ and *gi* ‘all, every’.⁴

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------------|
| (92) | <i>her wêregane</i> | ‘every evening’ |
| | <i>her şewê</i> | ‘each night’ |
| | <i>her sefatê</i> | ‘each hour’ |
| | <i>gi řowê</i> | ‘every day’ |
| | <i>gir carê</i> | ‘each time’ |
| | <i>gir şewêwe</i> | ‘every night’ |

Example:

- (93) *yanew yo terî, her şewê her wêregane î mêmanê mêmanû yoy biyênê.*
yane-û yo ter-î her şew(e)-ê her
 house.M-EZ.GEN one.M other-M.SG.OBL each night-F.SG.OBL each
wêrega=ne î mêman-ê mêman-û yo-î
 evening=POST DEM.PROX guest.M-PL.DIR guest.M-EZ.GEN one.M-SG.OBL
biyê=nê
 be.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘[likewise, one tax collector] would be the guest in the house of one [fellow from Hewraman] each evening, each night.’ [BP.43]

- (94) *awekê biřo. milonû wer werwe maro be nîrûwekeyş de koîê penj koîê gi řowê.*

⁴ *gi* and *gir* are truncated variants of quantifier *gird*.

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aw(i)-ekê biř-o mi-l-on=û wer werwe
 water.F-DEF.F.SG cut.PRS.IND-3SG:A IND-go.PRS-3SG:S=and out snow.F
 m-ar-o be nîrû-ekey=ş de
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A by force.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=3SG:PSR ten
 koł-ê penj koł-ê gi řo-ê
 load/shoulder.M-PL.DIR five load/shoulder.M-PL.DIR each day.M-PL.DIR
 ‘He cut off the water supply. He (i.e., Jamsher Shah) fetched snow, five or
 ten loads daily, using his men.’ [DP.34]

10.2.2.5 Other temporal adverbs

General temporal adverbs comprise the following. The first two can be used as adjectives as well.

- (95) zû ‘soon’
 dêr ‘late’
 keřetê ‘once’
 ewelêne ‘at first’
 deredaymê ‘always’
 hemîşe ‘always’
- (96) seřbê dêr mê.
 seřb(e)-ê dêr m-ê
 morning-F.SG.OBL late IND-come.PRS.3SG:S
 ‘In the morning, he went late [to the meeting].’ [BP.74]
- (97) zû biřewbare bisana bônêwe.
 zû biřewbare bi-san-a b-ê-nê=we
 quickly tax.M SBJV-buy.PRS-3PL:A SBJV-come.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL n
 ‘They were supposed to collect taxes soon and return [to Iraq].’ [BP.58]
- (98) ewelêne duwê jenî kîyana.
 ewelêne duwê jenî kîyan-a
 at_first two woman.F IND-send.PRS-3PL:A
 ‘At first, they (i.e., the family of the boy) send two women (to the family
 of the girl).’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 558)

10.2.3 Adverbs of change and continuation

These adverbs express the following meanings: ‘already’, ‘still’, ‘not yet’, and ‘no longer’. ‘Still’ is expressed by *heľa* and *her*:

- (99) *heṭa nefama.*
heṭa nefam=a
 still inexperienced=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘He was still inexperienced.’ [BP.135]

- (100) *her hewarne bîyênê.*
her hewar=ne *bîyê=nê*
 still summer_habitat.M=POST be.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘They were still at the summer habitat [until 40 or 50 days after autumn began].’ [JE.10]

‘Not yet’ is expressed by *heṭay*, which is a variant of *heṭa*.

- (101) *heṭay neyawan sinʕe.*
heṭay ne-yawa=n *sinʕe*
 yet NEG-arrive.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S age.F
 ‘He (Little Hama) has not reached adulthood yet.’ [BP.123]

‘No longer’ and ‘any more’ are expressed by *êtir*.

- (102) *êtir mebo ême karêş pene kermê.*
êtir *me-b-o* *ême kar-ê=ş* *pene*
 no_longer NEG.IND-be.PRS-3SG:S 1PL task.M-INDF=3SG:R to
kér-mê
 do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A
 ‘We can no longer do anything for him.’ [JP.75]
- (103) *pekema megino êtir.*
peke=ma *me-gin-o* *êtir*
 strength.F=1PL:PSR NEG.IND-fall.PRS-3SG:S no_longer
 ‘we should not be worried any more.’ [HB.42]

10.2.4 Degree adverbs

Degree adverbs modify adjectives and verbs. They are listed in (104). Of the adverbs listed, *fire*, *kem*, and *kuçê* can also be used as adjectives.

- (104) *fire* ‘very, much’
kem ‘little’
kuçê ‘little’
mêqdarê ‘a bit’
xeylê ‘a lot’

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Examples:

- (105) *xeylê razî-tû di-tîş kerdêş.*
xeylê razî-tû di-tî-î=ş kerd-ê=ş
 so_much request-EZ.GEN heart.M-SG.OBL=3SG:PSR do.PST-3PL:O=3SG:A
 ‘He struggled a lot.’ [HB.28]
- (106) *miqdarê yawo pene.*
miqdarê yaw-o pene
 a_little arrive.PRS.IND-3SG:S to
 ‘He grew up a bit.’ [JP.15]
- (107) *fire mûsaw kem mûsa.*
fire m-ûs-a=û kem m-ûs-a
 a_lot IND-sleep.PRS-3PL:S=and a_little IND-sleep.PRS-3PL:S
 ‘They slept a lot; they slept a little.’ [JP.66]

10.2.5 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs may be classified according to whether they have a demonstrative in their structure or not. Following Diessel (1999), the forms based on demonstratives are referred to as “manner adverbial demonstratives”. Manner adverbs based on demonstratives are listed here (see §6.3.4 for discussion).

- (108) *eçîne, epêse* ‘like this, in this way, as’
eçane, epase ‘like that, in that way, as’

Manner adverbs may be derived from adjectives:

- (109) *eçîne, epêse* ‘like this, in this way’
eçane, epase ‘like that, in that way’

Manner adverbs may be expressed by the preposition *be* combined with an abstract noun:

- (110) *îne eçê çenû axeyş cengşa bîyen. be adizî luwan.*
îne e=çê çenû axê-î=ş
 DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR in=here with.EZ.GEN agha.M-SG.OBL=3SG:PSR
ceng=şa bîye=n be adizî
 quarrel=3PL:NC be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S with desperation

luwa=n

go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S

‘He (Hayas) got into a quarrel with his master. He had left [town] in desperate mood.’ [JH.62]

Another strategy for expressing manner adverbs is through a reduplicated construction consisting of the adjective and the noun deriving from it, see *weşte weşteyî* in (111).

(111) *pane weşte weşteyî yanekotêşa kerdên.*

p=ane

weşte weşteyî

yanekotê=şa

at=DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR well happy_manner moving_house=3PL:A

kerde=n

do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O

‘They left the house in a happy manner.’ [JE.71]

Other manner adverbs include *kirj* ‘quickly’, *yewaşê* ‘slowly’, etc. The latter is used predominantly as a discourse marker roughly equivalent in meaning to English ‘then’.

(112) *kirj mila.*

kirj mi-l-a

quickly IND-go.PRS-3PL:S

‘They went quickly.’ [ŞC.68]

11 Grammatical relations

This chapter lays out argument indexing and argument flagging. Following Haspelmath (2013), I use the term ‘indexing’ as a cover term for the agreement phenomenon encompassing both “grammatical agreement” and “anaphoric agreement”. The term agreement is reserved for cases where the index obligatorily indexes an argument regardless of the presence or the absence of the coreferent NP in the clause. Agreement in this sense parallels what Haig (2018) refers to as “obligatory” indexing. On the other hand, the term “alternating indexing” is used to refer to the occurrence of indexes as anaphora. This refers to cases where contextual factors have an effect on the presence or absence of the person index, e.g., the presence or absence of the co-referent NP, word order, clausal focus, etc.

The term flagging is reserved for case marking on clausal arguments and marking by adpositions. Thus, a clausal argument can be flagged by an oblique case, an adposition, or both. Following Haspelmath (2019), argument flagging and argument indexing are together called argument marking.

Some other terminological conventions are in order. In discussing alignment types, I use the following abbreviations to refer to the core arguments within the clause: S_ single argument of an intransitive verb; A_ agent-like argument of a transitive clause; P_ patient-like argument of a transitive clause; T_ theme-like argument in ditransitive clauses; R_ recipient-like argument in ditransitive clauses. The term R here is extended to non-core oblique arguments, including recipients, beneficiaries, possessors, and comitatives.

Hewramî is a language with a split ergative system, where ergative alignment is conditioned by tense. The alignment is accusative in clauses built on the present stem of the verb, but ergative in clauses built on the past stem of the verb. Alignment in Hewramî is relevant in terms of agreement and case marking. While the alignment system is of a tense-sensitive type, there are certain language-internal deviations from tense-sensitive alignment, both in terms of agreement and case marking. In terms of agreement, the system offers differential A indexing (§11.1.2.1) and differential P indexing (§11.1.2.2), limited to transitive clauses built on past stem verbs. As for case marking, differential A flagging in transitive clauses built on past stem verbs (see §11.2.1, and differential P flagging, most notably in clauses built on the present stem of the verb (§11.2.2), are

attested. Hewramî also features differential case marking on non-core arguments (§11.2.3). The full investigation of differential argument indexing and differential argument flagging requires detailed corpus-based studies. Here, I lay out some basic patterns.

11.1 Argument indexing

Argument indexing has accusative alignment in TAM categories based on the present stem of the verb and ergative alignment in TAM categories based on the past stem of the verb. Agreement is manifested by using different indexes for indexing S, A, and P, summarised in Table 11.1. The bound indexing of R is the same as the indexing of P in present tense constructions. In past tense constructions, it could be realised as a verbal person/number suffix or a clitic pronoun, both being alternating indexes. Recall from §9.1.7 that the verbal person suffixes have partially different paradigms in the present and past tenses. On the other hand, one and the same paradigm of clitic pronouns expresses different clausal, e.g., A, P, and phrasal arguments, e.g., possessor (see §6.2.1 for detailed discussion).

Table 11.1: Morphological indexing of arguments and indexing type

TAM	Argument	Index	Indexing type
PRS stem	S, A	verbal person/number suffix	obligatory
	P, T, R	clitic pronoun	alternating
PST stem	S	verbal person/number suffix	obligatory
	P, T	verbal person/number suffix	(nearly) obligatory
	R	verbal person/number suffix	alternating
	A	clitic pronoun	(nearly) obligatory
	R	clitic pronoun	alternating

Table 11.1 lays out the morphological expression of arguments across different TAM constructions, and the indexing type for each argument. The functional status of indexes as obligatory indexes or alternating indexes is fully discussed in §11.1.1 and §11.1.2. As can be seen from Table 11.1, the morphophonological form of the indexes is not a good predictor of their functions. For instance, historical agreement suffixes in the past tense have become degrammaticalised and can

now be alternating indexes of R arguments, such as possessors, beneficiaries, recipients, etc. Likewise, the clitic pronouns that index A-past arguments have retained some of their pronominal origins to some degree but increasingly show traits of agreement indexes (see §11.1.2.1).

As seen in Table 11.1, among the core arguments of the clause, intransitive subjects are regularly indexed by verbal person suffixes. The following examples illustrate agreement with S: (1) with a co-referent subject argument, and (2) with a zero subject argument. The S argument is a coordinated noun phrase in (3). Yet, the copula verb agrees only with the second coordinate.

- (1) *bizekê cîya leweřyayša hurpiřa.*
bize-(e)kê *cîya* *leweřyay=ša* *hur-piř-a*
 goat.F-DEF.PL.DIR instead_of graze.INF=3PL:PSR PVB-jump.PRS.IND-3PL:S
 ‘The goats were dancing instead of grazing.’ [JP.55]
- (2) *milawe pey germîyanî.*
mi-l-a=we *pey germîyan-î*
 IND-go.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL for PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘They went to Garmîyan.’ [ZB.39]
- (3) *edaw tatew min her bedbext biyen.*
edaw=û **tate-û** **min her** *bedbext*
 mother.F=and father.M-EZ.GEN 1SG EMPH poor
biye=n
 be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘My parents were poor.’ [JE.43]

11.1.1 Argument indexing in TAM constructions built on the present stem of the verb

Accusative alignment is found in clauses built on the present stem of the verb. Verbal person/number affixes carry out the expression of S and A. In contrast, clitic pronouns express P. Accusative alignment is also reflected in the obligatoriness of the indexes used to express the core arguments within the clause. While the indexing of A and S is obligatory, the indexing of P is conditioned by the absence of the co-referent NP. In other words, the P-indexing clitic pronoun is mutually exclusive with an overt direct object in the same syntactic domain.

- (4) *ême milmê şeşik.*

- ême mi-l-mê şeşik*
 1PL IND-go.PRS-1PL:S PN
 ‘We will go to Shashk.’ [HB.32]

- (5) *îney maçmê.*
îney m-aç-mê
 DEM.PROX.OBL.M.3SG IND-say.PRS-1PL:A
 ‘We will say this.’ [BP.69]

- (6) *beroma yaneu wêşa.*
ber-o=ma yane-û wê=şa
 take.PRS.IND-3SG:A=1PL:O house-EZ.GEN REFL=3PL:PSR
 ‘He will take us to his [lit. their] house.’ [HB.35]

Similarly, the same set of clitic pronouns that express P also express R arguments. In doing so, clitic pronouns are alternating with the coreferent nominal. Note that the placement of R-indexing clitics follows the clitic placement rule set out in §10.1.4 and §6.2.2. In short, the clitic pronouns land on the leftmost element within the VP as their host, thus excluding the subject NP as a possible host.

- (7) *dey to waçem la.*
dey to waç-e=m la
 DISC.PTCL 2SG say.IMP-2SG:A=1SG:R to
 ‘Tell me!’ [ÇK.107]

- (8) *êtir mebo ême karêş pene kermê.*
êtir me-b-o ême kar-ê=ş pene
 no_longer NEG.IND-be.PRS-3SG:S 1PL task.M-INDF=3SG:R for
kér-mê
 do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A
 ‘We can no longer do anything for him.’ [JP.75]

11.1.2 Argument indexing in TAM constructions built on the past stem of the verb

As remarked above, clauses built on the past stem of the verb feature ergative alignment. In canonical ergative constructions, the verbal person/number affixes agree with P and S marked in the direct case. In (9)–(10), the verb agrees with a direct-marked object NP, which is nominal in (9) and pronominal in (10). S is

indexed by the same set of verbal person/number affixes as P (11). On the other hand, A is indexed by clitic pronouns in (9)–(10).

- (9) *pase zawlêşa wey kerdê.*
pase zawlê=şa wey kerd-ê
 like_this child.PL.DIR=3PL:A raising do.PST-3PL:O
 ‘They raised children in this way.’ [JE.55]
- (10) *ađma tehwêl gêrt.*
ađ=ma tehwêl gêrt-Ø
 3SG.M.DIR=1PL:A delivery.M grab.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘We got hold of him.’ [ZQ.18]
- (11) *karewanîyê amêyanê serere.*
karewanî-ê amêya=nê sere=re.
 caravan_people-PL.DIR come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3SG.PL:S top=POSTP
 ‘Some passers-by had stayed there.’ [DB.15]

In terms of obligatoriness, the indexation of S is fully obligatory, i.e., every past intransitive clause is required to have an index for S, whether or not the coreferent NP is present. P is indexed by the same set of person/number suffixes and is nearly obligatory (see §11.1.2.2 for cases where the indexing is absent). Similarly, the indexation of A-past arguments via clitic pronouns is nearly obligatory. In the last two cases, the indexes feature transitional behaviour between ‘agreement’ and ‘anaphora’, meaning they are neither fully-fledged agreement indexes nor pronominal indexes (see §11.1.2.1).

As outlined in §6.1, speech act pronouns have lost the case distinction. Nonetheless, they trigger agreement on the verb when occurring as a direct object in an ergative construction. Examples (12)–(14) represent P indexing when P is an SAP pronoun.

- (12) *to minit quł kerdâ.*
to min=it quł kerd-a
 2SG 1SG=2SG:A pierced do.PST-1SG:O
 ‘You disabled me.’ [PW.30]
- (13) *qesem pa xway toş epî layiqetî weş kerdênî.*
qesem p=a xwa-î to=ş e=p=î
 oath.M to=DEM.DIST God.M-SG.OBL 2SG=3SG:A EMPH=ADP=DEM.PROX
layiqetî weş kerde=nî
 worthiness.M good do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:O
 ‘I swear to God, who has made you with such virtue.’ [ZQ.54]

- (14) *ça toşa şîrîne kerdî ça çageyç minşa sîyaw kerdâ.*
ça to=şa şîrîn-e kerd-î ça çage=yç min=şa
 there 2SG=3PL:A sweet-F do.PST-2SG:O there there=ADD 1SG=3PL:A
sîyaw-Ø kerd-a
 black-M do.PST-1SG:O
 ‘[The husband said to his wife], there where they sweetened you, they
 also blackened me.’ [XX.87]

The similarity between S and P indexes as opposed to A-past clitic pronouns is also reflected in syntactic criteria. One such case criterion is deletion under same-referent clause coordination, which differentiates between the A index, on the one hand, and the S and P indexes, on the other hand. In the following examples, the indexes of S and P occur on each of the coordinate verbs, but the coreferential A index is deleted in the first coordinate verb. In §6.2, this behaviour of the A-past index was argued to reflect its status as a ‘clitic’, as opposed to the affixal status of S and P indexes.

- (15) *ehmedê dizeyç hurêst lûwawe lûlejenay.*
ehmed-e diz-e=yç hur-êst-Ø lûwa-Ø=we
 PN-EZ.CMPD thief-DEF=ADD PVB-rise.PST-3SG:S go.PST-3SG:S=COMPL
lûlejenay
 flute_playing
 ‘Ahmad the Thief got up [and] went back [to the palace] to play flute.’
 [ED.255]
- (16) *yewaşê berdê kuştêşa.*
yewaşê berd-ê kuşt-ê=şa
 then take.PST-3PL:O kill.PST-3PL:O=3PL:A
 ‘Then they (the king’s men) took them (the pregnant women) [and] killed them.’
 [KŞ.19]

As a reflex of a historical construction dating back to Middle Iranian, the expression of P via verbal affixes/copula affixes gets extended to R arguments under ‘affix co-optation’ (Haig 2018). R arguments undergoing this process include possessors (17), recipients (18), human goals (19), addressees (20), sources (21), comitatives (22), etc. This results in externally realised R arguments, e.g., external possession, where the possessor is realised at a distance from its possessed noun. Unlike the indexing of O, which tends to be obligatory (see §11.1.2.2), the indexation of R arguments alternates with the presence of the coreferent NPs.

- (17) *xeberê m nezanênê.*
xeber-ê=m ne-zanê=nê
 news.M-PL.DIR=1SG:A NEG-know.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:PSR
 ‘I didn’t know their news.’ [JM.30]
- (18) *waçe her kesî nan danî.*
wâç-e her kes-î nan
 say.PRS.IMP-2SG:A every person.M-SG.OBL bread.M
da=nî
 give.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:R
 ‘Tell whoever gave you food.’ [BP.165]
- (19) *xway ketê pey kîyasen.*
xwa-î ket-ê pey kîyase=n
 God.M-SG.OBL bed.M-INDF to send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:R
 ‘[As if] God had sent him a bed.’ [JP.69]
- (20) *be xwa xuřeymêş venî.*
be xwa xuřî-eymê=ş venî
 by God.M shout.PST-1PL:R=3SG:A at
 ‘By God, he shouted at us.’ [ŞC.44]
- (21) *sanênêşa çene.*
sane=nê=şa çene
 take.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:R=3PL:A from
 ‘They used to collect [tax] from them (people of Hewraman).’ [BP.25]
- (22) *mameleş nekerde çenî.*
mameleş ne-kerd-e çenî
 deal=.M=3SG:A NEG-do.PST-3SG.F:R with
 ‘He didn’t have dealings with her.’ [SH.254]

The indexing of non-core argument on past stem verbs takes over the object index slot. Thus in (22) the verb doesn’t agree with the masculine direct object *mameleş*, indexing instead the comitative (see §11.1.2.2 for more details).

Alternatively, R arguments may be expressed by clitic pronouns, in which case the argument is realised locally on the governing adposition. This indexing strategy is less frequent in the text corpus than indexation via verbal affixes.

- (23) *watim peneş, ‘to milî ko?’*
wat=im pene=ş to mi-l-î ko
 say.PST=1SG:A to=3SG:R 2SG IND-go.PRS-2SG:S where
 ‘I said to him, ‘Where are you going?’” [JH.31]
- (24) *aṣekew fêraqî, berdenşawe peyşa.*
aṣe-(e)ke-û fêraq-î
 agha.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL
berde=n=şa=we pey=şa
 take.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3PL:A=COMPL to=3PL:R
 ‘The aghas in Iraq, they took it back [the taxes] to them and so on.’ [BP.28]

11.1.2.1 Differential A indexing

A feature of the Iranian languages is that following the shifts in the verbal and nominal morphology and the rise of ergativity in Middle Iranian, the historical clitic pronouns came to express A arguments in clauses built on the past stem of the verb.¹ A-indexing clitic pronouns have fully turned into obligatory indexes of A-past arguments in neighbouring Central Kurdish (though they have preserved their mobility). But in Hewramî, as well as in some other Iranian languages, A-past indexing clitics have retained, to some extent, their pronominal origin (Jügel & Samvelian 2016; Mohammadirad 2020b), as their precursors did in Middle Iranian (Jügel 2015). In other words, clitic pronouns have remained alternating indexes of A arguments in clauses built on the past stem of the verb.

This implies that not all A arguments are indexed via a clitic pronoun. Our frequency count based on the corpus in Mohammadirad (2025c), suggests that overall 12% of past transitive constructions (45 out of 379 clauses) are unindexed (see Table 11.2). See Mohammadirad & Haig (forthcoming) for a detailed study of differential A indexing in Hewramî based on a much larger corpus. This suggests that, in terms of token frequency, clitic pronouns have nearly grammaticalised as agreement markers.

The differential indexing of A in Hewramî and related languages has been assumed to be conditioned by the complementarity between the clitic pronoun

¹This shift concerns the loss of finite perfective verb forms in late Old Iranian and their replacement by the resultative participle. In terms of its argument structure, the resultative participle agreed with the direct-marked P argument as it did with S of intransitive constructions. However, the expression of A was carried out by oblique NPs or through clitic pronouns (see Haig 2008, 2017 for a detailed discussion, and Mohammadirad 2020b for the fate of A-past indexing in Western Iranian languages).

Table 11.2: Indexing A-past arguments

	n. past tr. clauses	A is indexed	A is not indexed
Total corpus	379	88%	12%

and the oblique-marked A argument in the same syntactic domain. For instance, discussing the development of A-indexing clitics in Iranian, Haig (2020: 102–103) suggests that: “In Middle Iranian, these subject clitic pronouns were in complementary distribution with free NP subjects; this kind of system is still attested in some West Iranian languages to this day.” This is exactly the case in the following excerpt from Hewramî. In the first clause, the clitic pronoun is absent in the presence of the overt-oblique-marked NP. In the second clause, the clitic pronoun resumes the absent A argument.

- (25) a. *min taze padšay kerdena wekêl.*
*min taze **padša-i** kerde=na wekêl*
 1SG anyway king.M-SG.OBL do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:O advocate.M
 ‘I—the king has put me in charge [lit. made me an advocate].’
- b. *watenîçîş, ‘mişyo neberûşo.’*
wate=n=iç=iş mişyo
 say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=ADD=3SG:A AUX
ne-ber-û=ş=o
 NEG.SBJV-take.PRS-1SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL
 ‘He (the king) has said [to me], “You shall not take her back.”’
 [ZP.107]–[ZP.108]

Yet, the data from the corpus show that the complementarity between the clitic and the oblique-marked overt NP only partly accounts for differential A indexing in Hewramî, as suggested by the following examples. More importantly, it does not explain why the clitic pronoun occurs despite the oblique-marked A NP being present.

- (26) *padšay desûriş dan be min.*
***padša-i** desûr=iş da=n be min*
 king.M-SG.OBL order.M=3SG:A give.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O to 1SG
 ‘The king has ordered me [to do this].’ [JP.209]
- (27) *heta xway dinyaş weşe kerdêne î merasême kem mekero.*

heta xwa-î dinya=ş weş-e
 as_long_as God.M-SG.OBL world.F.SG.DIR=3SG:A well-F
kerdê=ne î merasê=m=e kem
 do.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O DEM.PROX ceremony.M=DEM little
me-ker-o
 NEG.IND-do.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘So long as God’s world continues to exist, this ceremony will keep on
 being held [each year].’ [ZP.130]

In the rest of this section, I provide some tendencies regarding differential A indexing (DAI) in Hewramî, without any claim to comprehensiveness. Interested readers are encouraged to consult the detailed analysis of DAI in Hewramî proposed by Mohammadirad & Haig (forthcoming). Differential A indexing in Hewramî is primarily triggered by the A NP displaying properties related to focus. According to Lambrecht & Polinsky (1997), the following properties are characteristics of focused A arguments cross-linguistically:

- prosodic prominence
- specific linear position
- non-nominative case marking
- lack of grammatical agreement

These properties characterise differential A indexing in Hewramî too.² A focused A NP in Hewramî may feature non-contrastive or contrastive focus. Non-contrastive focus is further divided into wh-focus and completive focus. In the following wh-focus constructions, A has nuclear focus, and the A-indexing clitic pronoun =ş is missing:

- (28) *î zeře çermeme kê berden eçêge?*
î zeře çerme=m=e kê
 DEM.PROX money-EZ.CMPD white=1SG:PSR=DEIC who
berde=n eçêge
 take.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O here
 ‘Who has taken my white money [that is now] here?’ [PK.29]

²Similarly, Siewierska (2004: 159–162) reports that in some languages, differential A indexing is triggered by focus.

- (29) *watša, ‘daxom kê etik kerðêbo?’*
wat=ša daxom kê etik kerðê=b-o
 say.PST=3PL:A Q.PTCL who disgrace do.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS.3SG:O
 ‘They said, ‘We wonder **who** might have disgraced her?’’ [ED.195]

When A is in completive focus, it is not indexed via mobile clitic pronouns. In (30), in response to the *wh*-question, the focused 2SG A argument is not indexed.

- (30) *maço ‘milk ehmed! î diymenême kê kuştênê? to kuştênê?’*
m-aç-o milk ehmed î diymen-ê-m=e
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:S PN PN DEM.PROX enemy-PL.DIR=1SG:PSR=DEIC
kê kuştê=nê tò kuştê=nê
 who kill.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O 2SG kill.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O
 ‘He (the king) said, ‘Oh Milk Ahmad! **Who** has killed my enemies? **You** have killed them?’’ [ME.150]

A-indexing is also absent when the A argument has a contrastive focus. The following examples feature ‘contrastive topic constructions’ (Dik 1981), characterised by a parallel being set up between two subjects. In each example, the indexing is absent for the second subject. Here, DAI seems to be triggered by the unexpectedness of the second subject, which also carries nuclear stress.³

- (31) *kê řenciş daw kê berd!*
kê řenc=iş da=w kê berd
 who toil=3SG:A give.PST=and who take.PST
 ‘[Look] who toiled and who took [the credit]!’ [YX.14]
- (32) *min řencim daw to berd!*
min řenc=im da=w tò berd
 1SG toil=1SG:A give.PST=and 2SG take.PST
 ‘I toiled, and you took [the credit]!’ [YX.15]

Another illustration of contrastive focus is ‘counter-presuppositional focus’, which also triggers a lack of indexing for the A argument. The term counter-presuppositional focus is used for situations where there is a contrast between

³It has been suggested that the low-frequency members of a particular grammatical relation are generally those that exhibit additional marking (cf. Haspelmath’s 2021 suggestions regarding the relationship between coding length and predictability). In differential argument flagging, for example, it is deviations from expected norms which are penalised through longer coding. However, for DAI in Hewrami, it is the least expected subject type that lacks indexing, while a typical topical subject is indexed.

the addressee's presupposition and the speaker's assertion. In the following example, the speaker's assertion counters the addressee's assumption that the first subject has killed the speaker's son.

- (33) *kuřû min řozgarîya nekušten xway kušten.*
kuř-û min řozgarî-a ne-kušte=n xwa-î
 SON-EZ.GEN 1SG PN-PL.OBL kill.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O God-M.SG.OBL
kušte=n
 kill.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 'My son, the Rozgaris did not kill him, **God** killed him.' [HM.08]

In most examples with no A indexing, A is placed in the immediate preverbal position, the default focus position in Hewramî. This is further borne out by (34)–(35), which feature OAV word order, and neither of which employs clitic pronouns to index the immediate preverbal A NP.

- (34) *heywane awê berde*
heywane awê berd-e
 animal.F.SG.DIR waterF.SG.OBL take.PST-3SG.F:O
 'The flood [lit. water] took away the animals.' [ZB.21]
- (35) *kuřû min xuday kušten.*
kuř-û min xuda-î kušte=n
 SON-EZ.GEN 1SG God-OBL.M kill.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 'God killed my son.' [HM.95]

Figure 11.1 represents pitch alignment for example (35). As in (33), the discourse context of the sentence is one of contrastive focus: the death of someone's son has been associated with God, not some particular people in the story. As can be seen, there is a pitch rise on *xuda* which indicates that *xuda* has prosodical prominence in (35).

By contrast, when the oblique-marked A argument is in the topic position and not focused, the clitic pronoun resumes it. This explains the co-occurrence of the A-indexing clitic pronoun and the oblique-marked A argument in (26)–(27), and in the following example, where the focus is on the verb in boldface.

- (36) *î pîyay tawaş î kinaçêşe kerde be qerarê*
î pîya-î tawâ=ş î kinaçê=ş=e
 DEM.PROX man.M-SG.OBL can.PST=3SG:A DEM.PROX girl.F.SG=3SG:A=DEM
kerd-e be qerar-ê
 do.PST-3SG.F:O to settlement-INDF
 '[and if] the man has been **able** to cure the girl' [ZP.45]

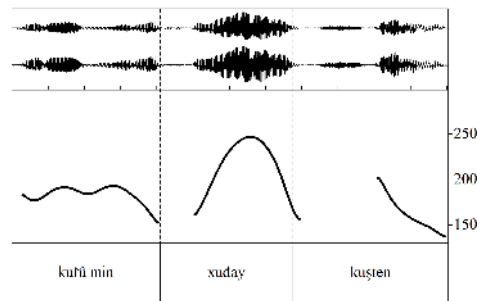


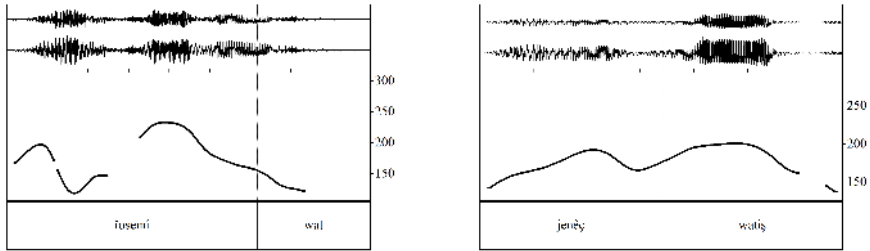
Figure 11.1: ‘God killed my son.’

A indexing being sensitive to focus is also evident in the following examples, both featuring AV order. (37) is a topic-reaffirmation construction: the reference of Rosam is the same as the reference of ‘He’ in the preceding clause. On the other hand, (38) features a topic-shift construction. Note further that the additive particle marks the topic shift here (see §13.2).

- (37) He_i said, ‘Child, have mercy on me’ [BM. 143].
řosem-î wat
řosem-î wat
 PN-M.SG.OBL say.PST
 ‘Rosam_i said.’ [BM.144]
- (38) Sultan Mahmoud went to the house of the woman_i [HS. 76].
jenêç watiş
jen(e)-ê=ç wat=iş
 woman-F.SG.OBL=ADD say.PST=3SG:A
 ‘The woman_i said.’ [HS.77]

The difference in indexing between (37) and (38) is reflected in the prosody. Example (37) with no indexing features a focal A argument, as seen in Figure 11.2a. Example (38) with indexing features predicate focus, as shown by Figure 11.2b. Note that there are two pitch accents in Figure 11.2b; the first is due to the topicality of the A argument, as marked by the additive particle =ç. However, the sentence stress falls on the predicate, exhibiting more intensity than the topic.

Similarly, post-verbal oblique-marked A arguments tend to be resumed by the co-indexing clitic pronoun. The clitic indexing here follows from the placement of the A in the post-verbal position as an afterthought.



(a) 'Rosam said.'

(b) 'The woman said.'

Figure 11.2: Prosodic focus in predicate focus constructions vs. A-focused constructions

- (39) *qotê aman. asawekeş bînan qotekey*
qot(e)-ê ama=n asaw-ekê=ş
 box-INDF come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S mill-DEF=3SG:A
bîna=n qot-ekey
 block.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O box-DEF.OBL.M
 'A box came [floating on the water]. The box blocked the (water) mill.'
 [MF.75]–[MF.76]

Differential A-indexing is also attested in subordinate clauses. In the following examples, no person agreement clitic occurs with the subject of the relative clause. Note further that the no-indexing pattern with speech act pronouns, as also seen in (32), is against the assumption that A-indexing clitic person agreement is in complementary distribution with the overt oblique-marked NPs since speech act pronouns have lost the case distinction (see §6.1). The lack of indexing in subordinate clauses follows from the assumption that compared to main clauses, subordinate clauses tend to resist change and preserve conservatism. For instance, the change from OV to VO in German has not affected subordinate clauses (Bybee 2001).

- (40) *î gîre çêş bî min ward?*
î gîr=e çêş bî-Ø min ward-Ø
 DEM.PROX hook.M=DEM what be.PST-3SG.M:S 1SG eat.PST.3SG.M:O
 'What is this situation that I am caught in? [Lit. What is this hook that I ate?]' [HB.23]
- (41) *ane key bê dizî şime kerden!*

ane kèy b-ê dizî şime kerde-n
 DEM.DIST how be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S theft 2PL do.PST.PTCPL.M=COP.3SG:O
 ‘How could that be considered a theft that you have committed?’ [ED.107]

- (42) *kuřû şuwaney heke to kuştê ...*
kuř-û şuwane-î heke to kuşt-ê
 SON.M-EZ.GEN shepherd.M-SG.OBL REL 2SG kill.PST-COND
 ‘the shepherd’s son who you [ordered to be] killed [is now in your house and so on.]’ [KŞ.51]

11.1.2.2 Differential P indexing

Differential P indexing means a deviation from the canonical ergative construction whereby the object is not indexed on the verb. This section briefly reviews object indexing in past transitive constructions; see Mohammadirad (forthcoming[b]) for a detailed corpus study. As seen in §11.1.2, in canonical ergative constructions, verbal affixes are obligatory indexes of direct objects, illustrated by (43).

- (43) *pase zawlêşa wey kerdê.*
pase zawlê=şa wey kerd-ê
 like_this child.PL.DIR=3PL:A raising do.PST-3PL:O
 ‘They raised children in this way.’ [JE.55]

The following examples illustrate the obligatory nature of P indexing, where the 1SG index occurs regardless of the presence or absence of the overt P NP.

- (44) *to minit quł kerda.*
to min=it quł kerd-a
 2SG 1SG=2SG:A pierced do.PST-1SG:O
 ‘You disabled me.’ [PW.30]
- (45) *marêwî gesta.*
mar-êw-î gest-a
 snake-INDF-M.SG.OBL bite.PST-1SG:O
 ‘A snake bit me.’ [MP.09]

The following excerpt is another illustration of the obligatory nature of P-past indexing.

- (46) *be kune awîşa ardênew. nîyeneşare.*
be kune awî_i=şa ardê=ne_i=û
 by clay_pot.M water.F.SG.DIR=3PL:A bring.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O=and
nîyε=ne_i=şa=re
 put.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O=3PL:A=POVB
 ‘They fetched_i water_i in clay pots. They unloaded it_i [the water].’ [JE.17]

In clauses with OAV order, the verb tends to agree with the topical P (see 47).

- (47) *werêsekê min wardêne.*
werês(e)-ekê min wardê=ne
 rope-DEF.F.SG 1SG eat.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
 ‘[The lion said], ‘I have eaten the rope.’’ [ÇH.85]

Table 11.3 summarises the ratio of object indexing per overt and zero objects in the main text corpus (Mohammadirad 2025c). In counting the clauses with a P index, clauses containing speech verbs, e.g., ‘he said’, were dismissed from the count as they could also be employed to fulfil other discourse functions. It can be seen that overall, 88% of direct objects are indexed on the verb, meaning that the absence of indexing is the marked, unexpected pattern. All zero objects occur with agreeing verbs; in contrast, 15% of overt Os do not trigger agreement on verbs. Put differently, there are more overt P arguments with non-indexing verbs. Thus, the data provide some support for the complementarity hypothesis, which states that zero arguments are favoured by overt agreement markers and *vice versa* (see Nichols 2019).⁴

Table 11.3: Indexing P-past arguments

	n. past tr. clauses	O is indexed		O is not indexed	
		N	%	N	%
Overt object NP	246	208	0.85	38	0.15
Zero object	82	82	100	–	–
Total	328	290	0.88	38	0.12

Now the question is which contexts trigger the use or non-use of agreement suffixes with an object argument. Object indexing is present with topical Os, which are marked with a definite suffix.

⁴See Mohammadirad (forthcoming[b]) for a detailed study of object indexing in Tekht Hewrami based on a corpus of nearly 36,000 words.

- (48) *tomekeş şana zemînekeyne.*
tom-*eke*=ş şana zemîn-ekey=ne
 seed.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=3SG:A scatter.PST.3SG:O land.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST
 ‘He scattered the seeds in the field.’ [JP.51]
- (49) *hewt seferê awekêşa mite.*
hewt sefer-ê aw(i)-ekê=şa mit-e
 seven time-PL.DIR water.F-DEF.F.SG=3PL:A pour.PST-3SG.F:O
 ‘They poured the water seven times.’ [MM.29]
- (50) *maziłoxekêş ardê.*
maziłoxe-(e)kê=ş ard-ê
 prayer_rug-DEF.PL.DIR=3SG:A take.PST-3PL:O
 ‘He took the prayer rugs.’ [ŞE.83]

As discussed in §12.4, in light verb constructions which do not allow a direct object in their argument structure, the nominal element exhibits some properties of the direct object. For example, it controls agreement on the verb in clauses built on the past stem of the verb. The light verb construction is *koç kerdey* ‘to migrate’ in (51), containing the masculine noun *koç* ‘migration’, and *duşa kerdey* ‘to pray’ in (52), containing the feminine noun *duşa* ‘prayer’. The light verb agrees in gender and number with these nominal elements.

- (51) *koçşa kerdên.*
koç=şa kerde=n
 migration.DIR.M=3PL:A do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘they returned [to the village].’ [JE.13]
- (52) *duşaw xeyrîş kerdêne.*
duş-a-û xeyr-î=ş
 prayer.F.SG.DIR-EZ.GEN goodness.M-SG.OBL=3SG:A
kerdê=ne
 do.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
 ‘They would bless [us].’ [DG.6]

As seen in Table 11.3, the expected P indexing is occasionally absent. A few tendencies can be outlined here (see Mohammadirad forthcoming(b) for a detailed study). In a regular past transitive clause, the verb agrees with the object NP, as seen in (48)-(50). The expected direct object index is absent when there is an additional object in the clause. Put differently, If the O-index slot is filled

by the non-core argument, the object cannot be indexed in Hewramî. In (53), the agreement with the plural object is missing since the agreement slot for the direct object has been taken over by the index for the indirect object. Following Haig (2018), this is called “slot co-optation”. This phenomenon also has parallels cross-linguistically, e.g., in Warlpiri (Hale 1982: 251–252). In (54), the direct object is a feminine noun, which requires 3SG.F agreement on the verb, i.e., *-e*. Yet its slot has been taken by the complement of *pey*.

- (53) *sêŋze danê heserêşa da pene.*
sêŋze danê heser(e)-ê=şa da-Ø pene
 thirteen CLF.PL mule.F-PL.DIR=3PL:A give.3SG.M:R to
 ‘They gave him thirteen mules.’ [ÇH.69]

- (54) *sêlêşa pey kerd.*
sêlê=şa pey kerd-Ø
 Halva.F for do.PST-3SG.M:R
 ‘They made Halva for him.’ [MM.35]

Second, P-past indexing is absent with plural inanimate Os. In the following examples, the verb has a default 3SG.M inflection and does not agree with the plural object.

- (55) *penc çemçêşa nîyanre.*
penc çemç(e)-ê=şa nîya=n=re
 five spoon.M-PL.DIR=3PL:A put.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=POVB
 ‘They (my family) had set five spoons [on the tablecloth].’ [JE.46]

- (56) *gir kerêşa kerd.*
gir ker-ê=şa kerd-Ø
 all chore-PL.DIR=3PL:A do.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘They did all [their] chores.’ [HB.58]

Differential P indexing is also attested for gender agreement in the text corpus. Where the controller fails to trigger agreement features on the predicate, the 3SG.M form appears as the default form on the agreement target, i.e., the verb. In (57), the direct object is feminine, yet the verb fails to agree with it and instead appears in the default 3SG.M form.

- (57) *çaştekekêşa kerdên be awîrgakê.*

- çaşt(i)-ekê=şa* *kerde=n* *be*
 meal.F-DEF.F.SG=3PL:A do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O on
awîrga-(e)kê
 hearth.F-F.SG.SG.OBL
 ‘They made the food on the hearth.’ [JE.39]

Some head nouns do not carry number agreement that is triggered by numeral and measure nouns. In such cases, the verb tends to agree with the singular head noun.

- (58) *wîs kolê lokeşa ard.*
wîs kol(e)-ê loke=şa *ard-Ø*
 twenty load-PL.DIR cotton=DIR.M.SG=3PL:A bring.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘They brought twenty loads [of cotton].’ [ME.120]
- (59) *hewt kolê xezêneş berdwe law mamojenîş.*
hewt kol(e)-ê xezêne=ş berd-Ø=we *la-û*
 seven load-PL.DIR treasure=3SG:A take.PST-3SG.M:O=COPL to-EZ
mamojenî=ş
 uncle’s_wife=3SG:PSR
 ‘He took back seven loads of treasure to his uncle’s wife.’ [ED.139]

Direct objects consisting of a coordinate noun phrase fail to trigger object indexing on the verb if the coordinate nouns are inanimate. In (60), number agreement is missing with *liçû lût* ‘lip(s) and nose(s)’. On the other hand, coordinated direct objects featuring human referents tend to trigger number agreement on the verb, see (61). This confirms the typological tendencies laid out in Corbett (2006: 184–185).

- (60) *liçû lûtû dêwekaş berd.*
liç=û lût-û dêw-eka=ş *berd-Ø*
 lip=and nose-EZ.GEN ogre-DEF.PL.OBL=3SG:A take.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘He took the ogres’ lips and noses [to the king].’ [ME.156]
- (61) *î jenû wêmew î kuřme kuştêbîyenê.*
î jen(i)-û wê=m=e=w *î*
 DEM.PROX wife.F-EZ.GEN REFL=1SG:PSR=DEM=and DEM.PROX
kuř=m=e kuştê=bî-ên-ê
 son=1SG:A=DEM kill.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PST-COND.AUG-3PL:O
 ‘[What if] I had killed my wife and son [by misjudgment].?’ [XŞ.104]

11.2 Argument flagging

Argument flagging refers to the flagging of arguments through case morphology or adposition marking. Argument flagging follows accusative alignment in clauses built on the present stem of the verb and ergative alignment in clauses built on the past stem of the verb (see Table 11.4). Core arguments are flagged by fusional case suffixes. The split alignment is only relevant for third-person nouns and pronouns. Speech act pronouns have lost the case distinction. The following examples exhibit accusative alignment in clauses based on the present stem of the verb: S-prs (62) and A-prs (63) are marked in the direct case. In contrast, P-prs (64) is marked in the oblique case.

- (62) *seʃbê wiłaxdarê mila.*
seʃbê wiłaxdar-ê mi-l-a
 morning-F.SG.OBL stableman-PL.DIR IND-go.PRS-3PL:S
 ‘In the morning, the horse grooms went.’ [ŞC.66]
- (63) *dêwê řas maça.*
dêw-ê řas m-aç-a
 ogres-PL.DIR truth IND-tell.PRS-3PL:A
 ‘The ogres are telling the truth.’ [SK.64]
- (64) *yewayç bero.*
yew(e)-a=yç ber-o
 barley.F-PL.OBL=ADD take.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘[Out of obligation], he took the barley seeds, too.’ [JP.29]

The following examples illustrate ergative alignment, limited to TAM categories based on the past stem of the verb. S-past (65) and P-past (66) are marked in the direct case. In contrast, A-past (67) is marked in the oblique case.

- (65) *karewanîyê amêyanê serere.*
karewanî-ê amêya=nê sere=re.
 caravan_people-PL.DIR come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3SG.PL:S top=POSTP
 ‘Some passers-by had stayed there.’ [DB.15]
- (66) *hewarêşa wişkinênê.*
hewar-ê=şa wişkinê=nê
 summer_habitat.M-PL.DIR=3PL:A scour.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O
 ‘They scoured the summer habitats [searching for food, etc.].’ [JE.3]

- (67) *ênne pałewana zorša kerden*
ênne pałewan-a zor=ša kerde=n
 so_much warrior-PL.OBL pressure=3PL:A do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:O
 ‘The warriors put much pressure [on the skin]’ [SK.132]

In ditransitive clauses, the R argument tends to be treated differently than the direct object argument in either ditransitive clauses or monotransitive clauses. The alignment system with ditransitive clauses, where all three arguments are human, follows either “indirective alignment” or “neutral alignment”. In indirective alignment, P and T are flagged the same, whereas R is treated differently. In neutral alignment, P, T, and R are flagged the same (Haspelmath 2005). The following examples illustrate indirective alignment in present tense constructions. R is flagged by a preposition, whereas T (68) and P (69) are only flagged by the oblique case.

- (68) *dewayekey miđo be zayfekê.*
deway-ekey mi-de-o be zayfe-(e)kê
 medicine.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL IND-give.PRS-3SG:A to girl.F-DEF.F.SG
 ‘He gave the medicine to the girl.’ [SH.198]

- (69) *şiyawehşî bere.*
şiyawehş-i bér-e
 PN-M.SG.OBL take.IMP-2SG:A
 ‘Take Siyawahsh.’ [SK.23]

Neutral alignment is attested less frequently, and it is characterised by P (70), T (71), and R (71) being marked in the oblique case. However, note that in (71) the oblique case is not visible on the feminine definite suffix *-ekê*, yet as definite-marked Ps regularly take oblique marking, it can be assumed that the T argument in (71) is oblique-marked.

- (70) *luwe hardeka barewe.*
lú-e hard(i)-eka b-ar-e=we
 go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S flour.F-DEF.PL.OBL IMP-bring.PRS-2SG:A=COMPL
 ‘Go [and] bring the flour.’ [RE.19]

- (71) *zayfekê midewwe îftadekey.*
zayf(ê)-ekê mi-de-w=we îftad(e)-ekey
 girl-DEF.F.SG IND-give.PRS-1SG:A=COMPL messenger-DEF.OBL.M
 ‘I will give the girl back to the messenger.’ [KT.166]

In short, nominal case marking follows the template in Table 11.4. Direct case and oblique case interact in flagging the core arguments of the verb.

Table 11.4: Morphological flagging of core arguments

	DIR	OBL
TAM based on present stem verbs	S, A	P, T, R
TAM based on past stem verbs	S, P, T	A, R

In reality, not all arguments are case-marked according to the template in Table 11.4. The rest of this section gives a brief introduction to differential argument flagging, by which I am mean the alternation in case marking on different clausal arguments.

11.2.1 Differential A flagging

The alignment system licenses case marking for A arguments. In clauses built on the present stem of the verb, A occurs in the unmarked direct case, realised by different endings in the singular (depending on the noun class) and *-ê* in the plural. By contrast, in verbal categories derived from the past stem of the verb, A should be, by default, accompanied by the oblique case suffixes. The following examples illustrate oblique marking on A-past arguments. Case marking on A interacts with differential A indexing, which is mainly triggered by information structure (see §11.1.2.1).

- (72) *pase herey wat ...*
*pase **her-e-i** wat*
 like donkey.M-2SG-OBL.M say.PST
 ‘As the donkey said ...’ [HB.54]
- (73) *meselen ađiřa hukim kerdên mê.*
*meselen **ađiřa** hukim kerdê=nmê*
 for_example 3PL.OBL rule.M do.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:O
 ‘For instance, they ruled over us.’ [BP.10]

Right-dislocated A NPs in past transitive clauses tend to be oblique-marked (74), though occasionally they may appear in the direct case (75).

- (74) *fermawa cuwanekey be řışçermekey.*
fermawa **cuwan-ekey** *be řışçerme-(e)key*
 say.PST youth-DEF.M.SG.OBL to old_man-DEF.M.SG.OBL
 ‘The young man said to the old man.’ [HR.10]
- (75) *watiş, ‘xasa’ cuwaneke.*
wat=iş xas=a cuwan-eke
 say.3SG:A well=COP.3SG.M:S youth.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR
 ‘The youth said, ‘alright.’ [HR.72]

In reality, not all A arguments in past transitive clauses are oblique-marked. A token frequency count of overt As reveals that a quarter of the third-person overt A NPs are not oblique-marked; see Table (11.5). Table 11.5 excludes overt independent SPA pronouns in A function, whose token frequency is 24. Nor does it include cases where the oblique case is not visible after certain nominal bases or the additive clitic (see 4.1.3. Taken together, these make up 39 tokens of A-past NPs, amounting to 38% of total overt A arguments for which the case marking is not available. As a side note, the total number of transitive clauses derived from past tense stems is 395, of which 103 have overt A arguments, amounting to 26% of overt A NP arguments in the whole corpus, against 74% of A arguments being expressed through clitic pronouns, or occasionally dropped. This low percentage of overt A NPs is associated with their high degree of topicality and is a reflection of universal bias against overt lexical NPs (Du Bois 1987).

Table 11.5: Overt third person A arguments in the text corpus

	Token frequency	%
Oblique-marked As	45	70%
Direct-marked overt As	19	30%

The counts in Table 11.5, around a quarter of third-person agents skip oblique marking. Some tendencies suggest themselves. The following discussion is based on Mohammadirad (2024a). First, the A argument is not oblique-marked when used as the subject in the cleft construction.

- (76) *î dêwênê î kinaçêşa bestêne.*

î dêw-ê=nê î kinaçê=şa
 DEM.PROX ogre.M-PL.DIR=COP.3PL:S DEM.PROX girl.F.SG=3PL:A
bestê=ne
 tie.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
 ‘It was the ogres who had muted the girl.’ [JP.177]

The data suggest that information prominence triggers case marking on A-past arguments. The latter operates at two levels: “local” and “global” (McGregor 2006, Chappell & Verstraete 2019). In local prominence, the presence of case marking on A is associated with the A argument being in focus, especially in contrast with another argument in the immediately preceding clause, or against a presupposition in the mentioned discourse. In global prominence, the presence of case marking on A concerns the expectations about A arguments in larger chunks of discourse (see below). In Hewramî, local prominence is generally associated with oblique case marking. Local prominence is associated with the A argument being in narrow focus and contrastive focus. In (77), the case marking on *her* ‘donkey’ is triggered by its contrast with *min*.

(77) *î her-î zûwaniş zana min hîçim nezanan.*
î her-î zûwan=iş zana-Ø
 DEM.PROX donkey-SG.OBL.M language.M.SG.DIR=3SG:A know.PST-3SG.M:O
min hîç=im ne-zana=n
 1SG nothing=1SG:A NEG-know.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘The donkey knew the [Sheikh’s] language; I didn’t know a thing!’ [HB.71]

Case marking on an A argument can also be triggered by global prominence. According to McGregor’s (2006) “expected actor principle”, in episodes of discourse with an expected actor, the actor can be left unmarked after its introduction. Any deviation from the expected actor is marked in the ergative case. Similarly, in Hewramî, a topic that is continued in discourse may lose the oblique case, appearing instead in the direct case. In the following excerpt, the established direct-marked topic of the intransitive clause in (78a) is repeated in the following transitive clause (78b), even though the oblique form *adîşa* is expected (see Mohammadirad in prep(b) for a detailed discussion).

(78) a. *tenya adê luwenê.*
tenya adê luwê=nê
 only 3PL.DIR go.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘Only they (Baba Khwada, Hama the Invisible, and Little Hama) went [to Iraq].’

- b. *êtir adê watenša, 'ême diruwê meyeymê.'*
êtir adê wate=n=ša ême diruwê
 DISC.PTCL 3PL.DIR say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3PL:A 1PL lie.F
me-de-îmê
 NEG.IND-give.PRS-1PL:A
 'They said, 'We are not going to lie.' [BP.116]–[BP.117]

In terms of information structure, A NPs in the direct case tend not to carry nuclear stress. In other words, they behave like topics and contain given information. In the following examples featuring direct marking of the A NP, the nuclear stress is on the verb (79), the place adverb (80), and the negation prefix (81).

- (79) *helbetene î kuře biřış dawê.*
helbete=ne î kuř=e biř=iř dâ=we^l
 of_course=POST DEM.PROX boy.M=DEM piece=3SG:A give.PST=COMPL
 'It is obvious that this boy has arrived.' [KŞ.80]
- (80) *sibhan aře ça ařeğeriř kerdên.*
sibhan aře ça ařeğeriř kerde=n^l
 PN agha.M there governorship.M=3SG:A do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 'Sibhan Agha governed over there.' [DP.27]
- (81) *'her ta îse qisêř nekerdênê.'*
her ta îse qisê=ř nê-kerdê=nê^l
 donkey until now talk.PL.DIR=3SG:A NEG-do.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O
 '[He said surprisingly], 'the donkey hadn't talked until now!'' [HB.46]

Sometimes, the unmarked A-past argument is processed in a different intonation unit than the rest of the clause. This is the case with the following examples.

- (82) *î kuře her memêř warden.*
î kuř=e^l her memê=ř
 DEM.PROX boy.M=DEM EMPH breastM.SG.DIR=3SG:A
wardê=n^l
 eat.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 'The boy had kept breast-feeding [from the tree].' [ZQ.44]
- (83) *î řexse eger î kinaçêře weře kerde ...*

î *şexs=e*[|] *eger î* *kinaçê=ş=e* *weş-e*
 DEM.PROX person=DEM if DEM.PROX girl.F.SG=3SG:A=DEM well-F
kerd-e[|]
 do.PST-3SG.F:O
 ‘If this person has healed this girl ...’ [ZP.90]

11.2.2 Differential P flagging

Direct objects in clauses derived from present stem verbs feature differential P flagging. Differential P flagging was recognised early on for Iranian languages in Bossong’s (1985) seminal study. Cross-linguistically, differential P flagging is often conditioned by animacy, definiteness, givenness, and person (see Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018 for a recent overview). P arguments are expected to introduce given referents in discourse and to be low in animacy and definiteness. Any deviation from these features is expected to be marked with an additional flagging. Thus, for instance, in Punjabi (Indic), a P argument that is not definite appears in the bare form, but if it has a definite reading, it is marked in the accusative case (Haspelmath 2021 citing Bhatia 1993).

The basic pattern in Tekht Hewramî seems to be that direct objects which are proper nouns, definite-marked, and discourse-salient get oblique case marking. By contrast, non-specific generic direct objects lack case marking. Therefore, in line with cross-linguistic tendencies, P arguments that are high in animacy and definiteness are most likely marked by the oblique case. By way of example, consider the differential marking of the masculine noun *pîya* ‘man’ in the following examples. In both (84) and (85), *pîya* is plural and the direct object of a present-tense verb. The direct marking in (84) occurs because ‘men’ has a non-specific reference, while the oblique marking in (85) is due to a definite reference of ‘men’.

(84) *pîye bera.*
pîye *ber-a*
 man.PL.DIR take.PRS.IND-3PL:A
 ‘They are taking men [to service].’ [JF.18]

(85) *î pîyaya to zanî kamênê.*
î *pîya-ya* *to* *zan-î* *kamê=nê*
 DEM.PROX man-PL.OBL 2SG know.PRS.IND-2SG which.PL=COP.3PL:S
 ‘These men, you know who they are.’ [HM.39]

The person of the P argument is a factor in differential P flagging. As stated in §6.1.1, SAP pronouns have lost the case distinctions, and as such are not marked

for oblique case when they appear as P (see 86). On the other hand, third person pronouns tend to appear in the oblique case when functioning as P; see (87)–(89).

- (86) *min bere.*
min bér-e
 1SG take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A
 ‘Take me.’ [DB.43]

- (87) *adî fewtno.*
adî fewtn-o
 3SG.OBL.M destroy.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘She destroyed it.’ [KŞ.78]

- (88) *min çenî îse şime ... adê mare kerûnew?*
min çenî îse şime adê mare ker-ûne=w
 1SG how now 2PL 3SG.F.OBL marriage do.PRS.IND-1SG:A=and
 ‘How can I marry her now?’ [ÇK.32]

- (89) *adîşa mewêno.*
adîşa me-wên-o
 3PL.OBL NEG.IND-see.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘He did not see them.’ [JP.190]

Definiteness interacts with case marking on direct objects. As seen in §4.1.6, the definite suffixes *-eke* and *-e* are not used with all nouns with identifiable referents. Rather, once a noun has been identified with a definite status, it no longer needs to be marked by the definite suffix. Definite marked Os tend to get case marking:

- (90) *milo herey gurc kerowe.*
mi-l-o her-e-î gurc ker-o=we
 IND-go.PRS-3SG:S donkey.M-DEF-M.SG.OBL alert do.PRS.IND-3SG:A=COMPL
 ‘He went [and] prepared the donkey, [and] set off.’ [HB.15]

- (91) *yeweka kało.*
yewe-(e)ka kał-o
 barley.F-DEF.PL.OBL plant.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘He planted the barley seeds.’ [JP.36]

- (92) *to luwe zeřekey bere çenû wêt.*
to lú-e zeř-ekey bér-e
 2SG go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S money.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A
çenû wê=t
 with.EZ.GEN REFL=2SG:PSR
 ‘You go, take the money with you.’ [JP.103]

Direct objects that are proper nouns with identifiable referents generally appear in an oblique case; (93)-(94).

- (93) *hêyasî bizindê.*
hêyas-î bi-zin-dê
 PN-M.SG.OBL IMP-take_out.PRS-2PL:A
 ‘Throw Heyas out!’ [HS.15]

- (94) *řehmanî mijnasû.*
řehman-î mi-jnas-û
 PN-M.SG.OBL IND-know.PRS-1SG:A
 ‘I know Rahman.’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 296)

On the other hand, P arguments that are common nouns and have non-specific reading tend not to get oblique case marking (95).

- (95) *řefêqêş berowe pey yaneyşa.*
řefêq-ê=ş ber-o=we pey
 friend.M-PL.DIR=3SG:PSR take.PRS.IND-3SG:A=COMPL to
yane-î=şa
 house.M.SG.OBL=3PL:PSR
 ‘She took her friends to her (lit. their) house.’ [WL.04]

P arguments which are preceded by demonstrative adjectives generally take oblique marking. The presence of case marking is presumably triggered by the inherent definiteness of the direct object in the speech situation.

- (96) *a esbî zîî kere peym.*
a esb-î zîî kër-e pey=m
 DEM.DIST horse-M.SG.OBL saddle do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A for=1SG:R
 ‘Saddle up the horse for me.’ [ŞC.52]

- (97) *to mişo î birayte şewêne bere.*
to mişo î bira-î=t=e şew(e)-ê=ne
 2SG AUX DEM.PROX brother.M-SG.OBL=2SG:PSR=DEM night-F.SG.OBL=POST
bér-e
 take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A
 ‘You should take this brother of yours [there] at night.’ [DG.26]

- (98) *î masî bere.*
î mas-î bér-e
 DEM.PROX yoghurt.M-SG.OBL take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A
 ‘Take this yoghurt.’ [JH.40]

Similarly, nouns whose referents have been mentioned in the previous discourse tend to get oblique-marked. In the following examples, case marking on *yewa* and *pîyay* is triggered by their referents being evoked in previous discourse.

- (99) *werû mecbûrî yewayç bero.*
wer-û mecbûrî-(î) yew(e)-a=îç
 out_of-EZ.GEN obligation-M.SG.OBL barley.F-PL.OBL=ADD
ber-o
 take.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘Out of obligation, he took the barley seeds, too.’ [JP.29]

- (100) *hezretû şêxî pîyay kîyano.*
hezret-û şêx-î pîya-î
 his_highness.M-EZ.GEN sheikh.M-M.SG.OBL man.M-SG.OBL
kîyan-o
 send.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘His Highness the Sheikh sent the men [to the donkey keeper].’ [HB.78]

Similarly, indefinite-marked direct objects with specific referents can get case marking. In (101), the direct object has a partitive reading and refers back to a previously mentioned referent. In (102), the indefinite-marked direct object has been previously mentioned and is possessed. In (103), the indefinite-marked direct object is known to the speaker. It is notable that all examples with case marking on direct objects come from the Tekht varieties of Nwên and Silên.⁵

⁵In vernacular of Hewraman Tekht, where the indefinite suffix *-êwe* is now overwhelmingly the indefinite form, the case marking on indefinite-marked nouns is absent (see §4.1.7).

- (101) *duwê hezarî wezî binyere heta seſbe dinêwîſa nimazo.*
duwê hezar-î wezî bi-nye=re heta seſbe
 two thousand-PL.DIR walnutPL.DIR IMP-put.2SG:A=POVB until morning
din(ê)-êw-î=ſa nim(e)-az-o
 one-INDF-M.SG.OBL=3PL:PSR NEG.IND-leave.PRS.3SG:A
 ‘If you lay down two thousand walnuts [here], it [rat] doesn’t leave
 [even] one of them (i.e., the walnuts) [intact] until the next morning.’
 [PK.37]

- (102) *her saſê meyo kuřêwît bera.*
her saſ(e)-ê m-e-y-o kuř-êw-î=t
 each year.F-INDF IND-come.PRS-EP-3SG:S son-INDF-M.SG.OBL=2SG:PSR
ber-a
 take.PRS.IND-3PL:A
 ‘[With] each year that comes, they take one of your sons.’ [ÇH.26]

- (103) *minîç dewayêwîſ ſanî miđew.*
min=îç deway-êw-î=ſ ſanî mi-đe-û
 1SG=ADD medication-INDF-M.SG.OBL=3SG:R show IND-give.PRS-1SG:A
 ‘As for me, I will show him a medication.’ [DB.260]

By contrast, indefinite-marked nominals with non-specific referents are less likely to get case marking. In the following examples, the direct objects followed by the reduced indefinite form *-ê* and the full form *-êwe* lack case marking. The lack of grammatical case marking seems to be triggered by the non-specific referent of the direct object.

- (104) *qaqezê minwîso.*
qaqez-ê mi-nwîs-o
 letter.M-INDF IND-write.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘He (the sultan) wrote a letter [lit. a paper].’ [JH.68]
- (105) *çolekêwe gêro minyo baxetêſ.*
çolek(e)-êwe gêr-o mi-ny(e)-o
 sparrow.F-INDF take.PRS.IND-3SG:A IND-put.PRS-3SG:A
baxet-ê=ſ
 embrace-INDF=3SG:PSR
 ‘He grabbed a sparrow [and] put it on his chest [under his clothing].’
 [DP.36]

- (106) *vatiş, 'dey tate dey ba çîwêweş pey bere!'*
vat=iş dey tate dey ba çîw-êwe=ş pey
 say.PST=3SG:A DISC.PTCL father.M DISC.PTCL HORT thing-INDF=3SG:R for
bér-e
 take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A
 'She said, 'Father, get him something.' [JH.38]

Similarly, indefinite direct objects modified by an adjective do not get oblique-marked:

- (107) *gojdê fire misanaw wera.*
gojd-ê fire mi-san-a=w wer-a
 meat-INDF alot IND-buy.PRS-3PL:A=and eat.PRS.IND-3PL:A
 'They bought a lot of meat and ate it.' [JF.20]

Likewise, bare direct object nominals with non-specific generic referents, as opposed to individualised senses, do not get case marking.

- (108) *meta mara mareş biřa peyş.*
meta m-ar-a mare=ş biř-a
 mullah.M IND-bring.PRS-3PL:A marriage=3SG:O cut.PRS.IND-3PL:A
pey=ş
 for=3SG:R
 'They fetched a Mullah [and] married her (the girl) to him (the shepherd's son).' [KŞ.88]
- (109) *toyç nan werî.*
to=iç nan wer-î
 2SG=ADD bread.DIR.M eat.PRS.IND-2SG:A
 '[and] you will eat [a] meal.' [HB.41]

Lastly, quantified direct object entities are not marked in the oblique case, regardless of their information structure. This apparent anomaly seems to be caused by the fact that numerals and quantifiers, by default, trigger direct case marking on the nominal heads.

- (110) *beşzê hêzimê maro mêwe.*
beşzê hêzm(i)-ê m-ar-o
 some firewood.F-PL.DIR IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A
m-ê=we
 IND-come.PRS.3SG:S=COMPL
 'He would take some firewood and return [home].' [ZP.13]

- (111) *jenêç nîşore duwê zarokê wîno.*
jen(i)-ê=ç nîş-o=re duwê zarok(e)-ê
 woman-F.SG.OBL=ADD sit.PRS.IND-3SG:S=POVB two child-PL.DIR
wîn-o
 see.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘The wife gave birth to two babies. [Lit. She sat down [and] saw two babies.]’ [ZB.24]

In short, Hewramî overtly oblique-marks a great range of objects, whether they are human or non-human objects, as long as they play a salient role in discourse, have been previously evoked, etc. It was also seen that oblique marking extends even to indefinite direct objects on the condition that they are specific. This was reported to be limited to the vernaculars of Nwên and Silên. By contrast, oblique-marking is absent for nominals with non-specific, generic reference, and for syntactic reasons, when a direct object is quantified. Table 11.6 summarises a

Table 11.6: Conditions on differential P flagging in Hewramî: a preliminary analysis

Factors	Feature	Case marking
Person	1st and 2nd pronouns	no
	third person pronouns	yes
Animacy	human ^a	yes
	animate (non-humans)	yes
	inanimate	yes
Uniqueness	proper nouns	yes
	common nouns	yes/no ^b
Definiteness	definite-marked	yes
	specific	yes/no ^c
	non-specific	no
Quantification	P being quantified	no

^aCase marking for all animacy values is contingent on definite reading of referents, and/or discourse saliency.

^bCommon nouns can be case-marked if they have definite reference.

^cThe presence of case marking on specific P arguments marked by the indefinite suffix *-êw(e)* is subject to dialectal variation (see above).

preliminary overview of differential P flagging in Tekht Hewramî. As said, the factors conditioning differential P flagging interact with each other. Thus, a human P may not be marked in the oblique case if it has a non-specific reference (see 84).

11.2.3 Differential flagging of non-core arguments

The case system licenses oblique case marking for third-person nouns and pronouns that function as non-core arguments, e.g., goals, recipients, addressees, comitatives, beneficiaries. Differential flagging is taken to mean that not all non-core arguments are marked in the oblique case. Mohammadirad (2025b) identifies several factors conditioning case marking on the non-core arguments. It should be noted that these factors interact in differential case marking and it is ultimately the combined effect of these factors that is crucial in differential flagging of non-core arguments. The type of adpositional flagging is an important factor triggering differential case marking. On the one hand, flagging by means of prepositions (112) and (less so) circumpositions (113) tends to trigger oblique case on the adposition complement.

- (112) *luwewe pey yaney!*
lú-e=we *pey yane-î*
 GO.PRS.IMP-2SG:S=POST to house.M-SG.OBL
 ‘[Now] go back home!’ [JH.118]

- (113) *î kinaçêw to dermanû derdîş îna la î pîyaywe.*
î *kinaçê-û* *to derman-û*
 DEM.PROX daughter.F.SG.DIR-EZ.GEN 2SG treatment.M-EZ.GEN
derd-î=ş *îna-Ø* *la î*
 illness.M-SG.OBL=3SG:PSR LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S with DEM.PROX
pîya-î=we
 man.M-SG.OBL=POST
 ‘This daughter of yours, the treatment for her illness lies with this man
 (i.e., Pir Shaliyar).’ [ZP.33]

On the other hand, non-core arguments that are postpositional (114) or bare (115) are much less likely to get case-marked.

- (114) *jenekê m qomyaş venî kelekewe.*
jen(i)-ekê=m qomya=ş venî
 woman.F-DEF.F.SG=1SG:PSR happen.PST.3SG:S=3SG:R at
kel-eke=we
 mountain.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST
 ‘My wife was about to deliver a baby in the mountain.’ [ZQ.14]

- (115) *melowe yane.*
me-l-o=we yane
 NEG.IND-go.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL house.M
 ‘He didn’t go back home.’ [JH.109]

Note that it is not always straightforward whether the case marking on non-core arguments is due to the type of adposition used or another factor. For instance, if the head of the adpositional phrase is a locational noun (see §10.1.1.2), the case marking can be triggered by the *ezafe* marking on the locational noun, which makes the construction look like an adnominal possessive phrase.

- (116) *mêwe dilû hewramanî.*
m-ê=we dil-û hewraman-î
 IND-come.PRS.3SG:S=COMPL inside-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘He returned to Hewraman.’ [JP.141]

Another factor triggering differential case marking on non-core arguments is whether the adposition complement is an adnominal possessive construction, e.g., *be tate-w min* ‘to my father’. Here, due to competition between *ezafe* marking on the head of the NP and case marking on the same slot (see §5.3.1 for the interaction of *ezafe* and case marking), only *ezafe* marking is viable (see 117), unless the head noun is plural, in which case the two suffixes are compatible (118).

- (117) *ama la şuwane w gawa.*
ama la şuwane-û gaw(e)-a
 come.PST.3SG:S to shepherd.M.SG.DIR-EZ.GEN COW.F-PL.DIR
 ‘He came to the cows’ shepherds.’ [ÇH.108]

- (118) *dewayş kerđ çemaw kinaçêw patşay.*
deway=ş kerđ çem-a-w kinaçê-û
 medicine.M=3SG:A do.PST eye-PL.OBL-EZ.GEN daughter-EZ.GEN
patşa-î
 king-M.SG.OBL
 ‘He put medicine into the king’s daughter’s eyes.’ [DB.312]

Role is another factor conditioning differential case marking on non-core arguments. For instance, a nominal complement of the verb ‘become’ rarely takes an oblique case, regardless of animacy.

- (119) *bî be patşa.*
bî-Ø be patşa
 be.PST-3SG.M:S ADP king.M
 ‘He became a king.’ [DB.161]

For other roles, there is an animacy component playing a role in differential flagging. For instance, inanimate (120) and non-human animate instruments (121) are not generally case-marked. On the other hand, human instruments (122) tend to occur in the oblique case.

- (120) *be kune awîşa ardêne.*
be kune awî=şa ardê=ne
 by clay_pot.M water.F.SG.DIR=3PL:A bring.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
 ‘They used to fetch water using clay pots.’ [JE.16]
- (121) *be hesere hêzmîşa ardênê pey zimsanî.*
be hesere hêzmî=şa ardê=nê pey
 by mule.F firewood.PL.DIR=3PL:A bring.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O for
zimsan-î
 winter.M-SG.OBL
 ‘They fetched firewood for the winter on mules.’ [JE.35]
- (122) *werwe maro be nîrûwekeyş.*
werwe m-ar-o be nîrû-ekey=ş
 snow.F IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A by force.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=3SG:PSR
 ‘He fetched snow [five or ten loads daily] using his men.’ [DP.34]

The animacy effect may show itself for other arguments as well. For example, human goals are overwhelmingly case-marked (123). However, non-human goals may sometimes appear in the bare form (124).

- (123) *milo la aḍi.*
mi-l-o la aḍi
 IND-go.PRS-3SG:S to 3SG.OBL.M
 ‘He went to him (his uncle).’ [JP.14]
- (124) *ta meṛeber amε.*
ta meṛeber amε
 until PN come.PST.3PL:S
 ‘[which means] they came as far as Marabar.’ [BP.114]

To better illustrate differential case marking of non-core oblique arguments, I did a frequency count of the goal arguments of verbs of movement, ‘come’ and ‘go’, in the text corpus. The count was limited to nominal and pronominal (i.e., third person) goals; goal arguments of ‘come’ and ‘go’ that are first and second persons were not counted as they do not show case distinctions. Adverbial goals (e.g., He went there) were not counted either. Finally, note that The frequency count shows that around 17% of goal arguments (21 out of 122) are case-marked. In Table 11.7, I have classified the differential oblique marking based on the type of flagging the goal arguments have, and whether or not they are possessed.

Table 11.7: Frequencies of oblique-marked goals of ‘come’ and ‘go’, categorised according to flagging

Flagging					
	N	Obl-marked	%	Unmarked	%
Prepositional	22	19	86	3	14
Bare	49	2	4	47	96
Postpositional	19	0	0	19	100
Possessed	32	0	0	32	100
Total	122	21	17%	101	83%

As can be seen from Table 11.7, only 17% of goal arguments of ‘come’ and ‘go’ are oblique-marked. Evidently, goals that are flagged by prepositions exhibit stark differences in case marking from postpositionally flagged goals, which are not case marked. Similarly, possessed goals are not case marked across the board. On the other hand, bare goals are not flagged for case marking across the board.

In short, differential case marking on non-core arguments depends on different factors, which together determine whether or not a non-core argument is

marked in the oblique case. The relevant factors were said to be type of adpositional flagging, role, animacy, and whether or not the adposition complement is possessed. See Mohammadirad (in prep[a]) for investigation of the combined effect of these factors on differential case marking of non-core arguments.

12 Syntax of the clause

This chapter surveys the syntax of different types of simple clauses and the argument structure associated with light verb constructions. The following topics are discussed: verbal clauses (§12.1); copula clauses (§12.2), clauses with existential particles (§12.3), light verb constructions (§12.4), reciprocal constructions (§12.5); periphrastic causative constructions (§12.6), passive clauses (§12.7), and interrogative clauses (§12.8).

12.1 Verbal clauses

12.1.1 Subject constituent

The subject constituent exhibits typical properties of subjecthood, including control of reflexives. Recall that in the vernaculars of Silên and Nwên, the reflexive pronoun can take the bare form *wê* in expressing certain functions. In (1a), the subject constituent controls the reference of the reflexive in the following clause. In (1b), it controls the reference of the reflexive in the subordinate clause.

- (1) a. *ayêç mila wê şarawe.*
ayê=ç mi-l-a wê şar-a=we
 3PL=ADD IND-go.PRS-3PL:S REFL hide.PRS.IND-3PL:A=COMPL
 ‘They_i went [and] hid **themselves**_i.’
- b. *zatşa mebo wê aşkera kera.*
zat=şa me-b-o wê aşkera ker-a
 fear=3PL:NC NEG.IND-be.PRS-3SG:S REFL disclosed do.PRS.IND-3PL:A
 ‘(They_i) were afraid to make **themselves**_i visible.’ [ÇK.67]

In the following example from the vernacular of Nwên, the bare form *wê* has the same reference as the subject.

- (2) *lûwa zemînwêş da werû wê.*
lûwa zemîn-êwe=ş da-Ø wer-û wê
 go.PST.3SG:S land.INDF=3SG:A give.PST.3SG:O on-EZ.GEN REFL
 ‘(He_i) went and put himself on a land [lit. gave a land on **himself**_i].’
 [ED.30]

12.1.2 Word order configurations

The basic word order pattern is AOV. Despite having OV order, Hewramî exhibits several head-initial configurations, including Noun-Adjective, Possessed-Possessor, Matrix clause-complement clause, Verb-Goal, and Verb-Recipient, running against the predictions of the head-directionality hypothesis (Dryer 1992).

Taking oblique arguments into account, the word order is of the AOVX type. Following Hawkins (2008), the notation ‘X’ indicates oblique arguments. It is seen later that the post-verbal X is especially the case for goals, recipients, and addressees. Similarly, the basic word order pattern in the neighbouring Iranian and Semitic languages has been reported to be AOVX (Haig 2022, Haig et al. 2025, Mohammadirad 2024d). In what follows, following the methodology in Haig, Rasekh-Mahand, Stilo, et al. (2024), some word order configurations in verbal clauses are surveyed. In some cases, I apply a gradient corpus-based method to describe word order properties of different arguments.

12.1.2.1 Order of subject, object and verb

The subject constituent, by default, precedes the direct object constituent, hence the order AOV. In the default AOV order, the subject is generally characterised by being topical, i.e., high in the animacy and definiteness scales, and expressing given information. The nuclear stress is generally placed on the direct object expressing new information (3), that is, on the immediate preverbal constituent. When the direct object expresses given information, the nuclear stress generally falls on the verb (4).

- (3) *çêrhur zarôteke şot wero.*
çêr=hur zarôte-(e)ke şôt wer-o[|]
 under=POST child.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR milk.M eat.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘The baby drank [its] milk from below.’ [ZB.45]
- (4) *lalo kinaçekê maro.*
lalo kinaç(ê)-ekê m-âr-o[|]
 maternal_uncle.M girl.F-DEF.F.SG IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘Then, the [girl’s] uncle brought her (to Hewraman).’ [ZP.49]

Occasionally, the subject constituent comes between the verb and its direct object, resulting in OAV order. This is especially true in past transitive constructions when the A argument is focal. By contrast, in clauses with AOV order, the A argument is generally given. Another difference is that in clauses with OAV

order, the O argument is given, but this is not always true of clauses with AOV order. Recall from §11.1.2.1 that the focality of the A argument in this construction triggers no-indexing of the A argument on the verb.

- (5) *heywane awê berde*
heywane awê berd-e
 animal.F.SG.DIR water.F.SG.OBL take.PST-3SG.F:O
 ‘The flood [lit. water] took away the animals.’ [ZB.21]

- (6) *kuřû min řozgarya nekušten.*
kuř-û min řozgarî-a ne-kušte=n
 son-EZ.GEN 1SG PN-PL.OBL NEG-kill.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘My son, the Rozgaris did not kill him.’ [HM.08]

The subject constituent may be expressed in the post-verbal position, tagged as an afterthought (7b). The effect of afterthought is to bind the clause with what precedes.

- (7) a. *qotêw aman.*
qot(e)-êw ama=n
 coffin.M-INDF come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:S
 ‘A coffin arrived [floating on the water].’ [MF.75]
- b. *asawekeş bînan qotekey.*
asaw-eke=ş bîna=n
 mill.DEF.M.SG.DIR=3SG:A block.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:O
qote-(e)key
 coffin-DEF.M.SG.OBL
 ‘The coffin had blocked the [water stream in] the mill.’ [MF.76]

As discussed in §11.2.1, the majority of subjects are only expressed through indexing via mobile clitic pronouns. Of the total 395 past transitive clauses in the text corpus, 103 have overt A arguments, amounting to 26% of overt A NPs arguments in the whole corpus. Overt subjects only occur in certain contexts, e.g., in contrastive topic constructions.

- (8) *min řencim daw to berd!*
min řenc=im da=w to berd
 1SG toil=1SG:A give.PST=and 2SG take.PST
 ‘I toiled, and you took (the credit)!’ [YX.16]

12.1.2.2 Subject / Verb

A lexical subject is, by default, positioned before the verb, hence the order SV. This order is associated with subjects with different referential properties, including definite subjects (9)–(10), topical subjects marked by the additive particle (11), and indefinite subjects (12).

- (9) *pîyake mêtewe.*
pîya-(e)ke *m-ê=we*
 man.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR IND-come.PRS.3SG:S=COMPL
 ‘The man returned.’ [JP.57]
- (10) *xanme witêne.*
xanme *witê=ne*
 woman.F.SG.DIR sleep.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘The lady slept.’ [SH.109]
- (11) *pîyaç toqo.*
pîya=iç *toq-o*
 man=ADD be_terrified.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘The man is terrified.’ [JL.62]
- (12) *îna lûlejenê ama.*
în(e)=a *lûlejen-ê* *ama*
 DEM.PROX.DIR.M.3SG=PTCL flute_player-INDF come.PST.3SG:S
 ‘Look, a flute player came [to the palace].’ [ED.113]

The subject constituent may be postposed under certain conditions, e.g., when the reference to the subject constituent is evoked in the previous discourse. The post-verbal subject in (13b) reaffirms the reference of the subject of *ama* ‘came’.

- (13) a. *kabra kot gelşa.*
kabra *kot-Ø* *gel=şa*
 man fall.PST-3SG.M:S.M with=3PL
 ‘The fellow accompanied them.’ [HB.59]
- b. *ama asawekew şeşkî, kabrake.*
ama *asaw-êke-û* *şeşk-î*
 come.PST.3SG:S mill.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL
kabra-(e)ke
 man-DEF.M.SG.DIR
 ‘The fellow came to the Shashk mill.’ [HB.60]

It is notable that the verbs *fermaway* and *watey*, both meaning ‘to say’, may allow post-verbal subjects, especially with highly topical discourse participants in a narrative. Note that the post-verbal subject in (14) is followed by the additive clitic =îç, which indicates a topic shift (see §13.2 for details).

- (14) *fermawo ađiç, ‘weta min pey şime girewû.’*
fermaw-o ađ=îç weta min pey şime girew-û
 say.PRS.IND-3SG:A 3SG.M.DIR=ADD indeed 1SG for 2PL cry.PRS.IND-1SG:S
 ‘He said, ‘I’m crying for you.’’ [BP.155]

12.1.2.3 Direct object / Verb

Direct objects are, by default, positioned immediately before the verb, regardless of whether they are nominal or pronominal. Note, however, that direct objects are rarely expressed by independent pronouns, as they can be alternatively expressed by clitic pronouns (see §6.2). The immediate preverbal position is where the sentence stress usually falls. The following examples illustrate preverbal nominal and pronominal objects.

- (15) *meşmûrê kîyano.*
meşmûr-ê kîyan-o
 officer.M-INDF send.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘He (the uncle) sent a servant [to spy on Pir Shaliyar].’ [JP.42]
- (16) *kuřekey memew bizekêş ward.*
kuř-ekey meme-û bize-(e)kê=ş
 boy.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL breast.DIR.M-EZ.GEN goat.F-DEF.F.SG=3SG:A
ward-Ø
 eat.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘The boy fed from the goat’s udder.’ [KŞ.31]
- (17) *ađîşa mewêno.*
ađîşa me-wên-o
 3PL.OBL NEG.IND-see.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘He did not see them.’ [JP.190]

Post-verbal objects are rare in the corpus. If they occur at all, they are limited to nominals with definite references which have been evoked in the previous discourse. They tend to occur in interrogative (18) and imperative (19) clauses. Note additionally that in both examples, the verb is focused, and the object NP is given.

- (18) *maça, ‘şanat tomeke?’*
m-aç-a şana=t tom-eke
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A scatter.PST.3SG:O=2SG:A seed-DEF.M.SG.DIR
 ‘They would say, ‘Did you plant the seeds?’’ [JP.39]
- (19) *mekojdê a kabray!*
me-koj-dê a kabra-î
 PROH-kill.PRS-2PL:A DEM.DIST fellow-M.SG.OBL
 ‘Do not kill that man!’ [SH.268]

In the following example, *zerey* ‘money’ is topical. It has been tagged as an afterthought, and resumed by the clitic pronoun.

- (20) *be zor mîdoş milû sey misefayre zerey.*
be zor mi-ď(e)-o=ş mil-û sey misefa-î=re
 by force IND-give.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O on-EZ.GEN PN PN-M.SG.OBL=POST
zer-e-î
 money.M-DEF-M.SG.OBL
 ‘He (the man from Hajij) did not take no for an answer [lit. with force.]
 [and] gave Sey Mustafa the money.’ [JP.107]

12.1.2.4 Goal / Verb

Following Haig, Rasekh-Mahand & Stilo (2024), goal arguments refer to endpoint arguments of verbs of movement such as ‘go’ and ‘come’. ‘Caused goals’ refer to endpoint arguments of verbs of caused motion such as ‘put’, ‘send’, and ‘bring’, e.g., ‘Put the book on the table’. Goals and caused goals are strongly associated with post-verbal placement in the neighbouring Kurdish and Gorani varieties (Haig 2022, Mohammadirad 2024d). The following examples illustrate the post-verbal positioning of goals of verbs of movement (21)–(22) and goals of caused motion verbs (23)–(24).

- (21) *luwenê hewar.*
luwe=nê hewar
 go.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S summer_habitat.M
 ‘They (people) would go to the summer habitat.’ [JE.8]
- (22) *êtir milo law aďi.*
êtir mi-l-o la-û aďi
 DISC.PTCL IND-go.PRS-3SG:S to-EZ.GEN 3SG.OBL.M
 ‘Anyhow, he went to him.’ [JP.13]

- (23) *beroş yaneşa.*
ber-o=ş yane=şa
 take.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3SG:O house.M=3PL:PSR
 ‘He took him (Hayas) to their home.’ [JH.51]
- (24) *minyos qiroţû beřû darêwe.*
mi-ny(e)-o=ş qiroţ-û beřû dar-êwe
 IND-put.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O hollow.M-EZ.GEN oak.M tree.M-INDF
 ‘He put him into a hollow of an oak tree.’ [ZB.38]

Table 12.1 illustrates the linear placement of goal arguments of ‘come’ and ‘go’ relative to the verb in the main text corpus (Mohammadirad 2025c).

Table 12.1: Frequencies of post-verbal and pre-verbal goals of ‘come’ and ‘go’

Goals	N	%
post-pred	149	95%
pre-pred	8	5%

As seen from Table 12.1, the overwhelming majority of goal arguments of ‘come’ and ‘go’ are post-verbal. This figure is in line with the placement of goals in neighbouring Iranian and non-Iranian languages in the region (Haig, Rasekh-Mahand & Stilo 2024), pointing to longstanding contact between genetically diverse languages.

The preverbal goals in the text corpus are generally associated with the notion of refined motion. In the text corpus, they are attested with most complements of *ta* ‘until’ (25) and endpoint arguments which are realised as question particles (26). The refined motion goals may also be flagged as suggested by (28). An important observation is that bare goals do not appear in the pre-predicative position, unless they are a question particle (26).

- (25) *hewramîyê ta meřeber ame.*
hewramî-ê ta meřeber ame
 Hewramî-PL.DIR until PN come.PST.3PL:S
 ‘The people of Hewraman came as far as Marabar.’ [BP.115]

- (26) *îse koge bilî?*
îse koge bi-l-î
 now where SBJV-go.PRS-2SG:S
 ‘Where might you be going?’ [JH.17]
- (27) *pey law to amɛnmê.*
pey la-û to amɛ=nmê
 to side-EZ.GEN 2SG come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:S
 ‘We have come to you.’ [ŞC.32]
- (28) *zemînegere luwan.*
zemîn-eke=re luwa=n
 land.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘He had disappeared into the ground.’ [BP.197]

12.1.2.5 Recipient / Verb

Nominal and independent pronominal recipients of verbs of transfer such as ‘give’ are, by default, positioned in the post-predicate position, as illustrated in (29)–(30). Our survey shows that all nominal recipient arguments of the verb ‘give’ in the text corpus, viz., 12 out of 12, have a post-verbal placement. This reflects that recipients are treated like goals of verbs of movement in terms of their placement. Additionally, it implies that in ditransitive constructions, the default word order is AOR, where R is the non-flagged recipient of the verb ‘give’.

- (29) *nanîç mîda to.*
nan=îç mi-ď(e)-a to
 bread.M=ADD IND-give.PRS-3PL:A 2SG
 ‘They will give you a meal.’ [HB.40]
- (30) *kinaçekêt mîdey pî kuřî?*
kinaç(ê)-ekê=t mi-ďe-î p=î
 daughter.F-DEF.F.SG=2SG:PSR IND-give.PRS-2SG:A to=DEM.PROX
kuř-î
 boy.M-SG.OBL
 ‘Will you give your daughter to this boy [in marriage]?’ [JE.75]

12.1.2.6 Addressee / Verb

Addressees are arguments of verbs of speech such as ‘say’ and ‘speak’. Like recipients and goals, the addressee argument of ‘say’ is strongly associated with post-

predicate placement. Examples (31) and (32) illustrate the post-positional and pre-positional placement of addressee arguments. In terms of flagging, sixteen of the total 19 addressee arguments, including the preverbal one, are flagged by prepositions. Table 12.2 illustrates positional preferences of nominal addressees.

- (31) *maço be xanî.*
m-aç-o *be xan-î*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A to chief.M-SG.OBL
 ‘[He] said to the chief.’ [KŞ.97]
- (32) *be min wateniş.*
be min wate=n=iş
 to 1SG say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A
 ‘[He] told me.’ [ZP.32]

Table 12.2: Frequencies of post-verbal and pre-verbal nominal addressees of ‘say’ and ‘tell’ in the text corpus

Addressees	N	%
post-pred	18	95%
pre-pred	1	5%

Bare nominal addressees are limited to imperative clauses, as suggested by the following example.

- (33) *mêmanekey wat, ‘waçe dêdêt.’*
mêman-ekey *wat* *wâç-e* *dêdê=t*
 guest.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL say.PST say.PRS.IMP-2SG:A older_sister.F=2SG:PSR
 ‘The guest said, ‘Tell your older sister!’’ [JH.47]

12.1.2.7 Placement of adverbials

The placement of adverbials in the clause cannot be captured by syntactic generalisation. Rather, it seems that information structure affects their positioning. Generally, three positions are available for adverbials: clause-initial (34), clause-medial (35), and clause-final (36). The clause-initial position is usually associated with setting the background and marking a new section in the discourse. By contrast, the latter two positions do not offer a major discourse break from what precedes. This is exemplified by the position of the temporal adverbial *şewê* ‘night’ in the following examples.

12 Syntax of the clause

- (34) *şewê wêş wermê wîno.*
şew(e)-ê wê=ş werm-ê wîn-o
 night-F.SG.OBL REFL=3SG:PSR sleep-INDF see.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘One night, he (the king) had a dream.’ [JP.153]
- (35) *to mişo î birayte şewêne bere.*
to mişo î bira-î=t=e şew(e)-ê=ne
 2SG AUX DEM.PROX brother.M-SG.OBL=2SG:PSR=DEM night-F.SG.OBL=POST
bér-e
 take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A
 ‘You should take this brother of yours [there] at night.’ [DG.26]
- (36) *esb zîî kero peyşû pişne kero şewê.*
esb zîî ker-o pey=ş=û pişne ker-o
 horse saddle do.PRS.IND-3SG:A for=3SG:R=and jumping do.PRS.IND-3SG:A
şew(e)-ê
 night-F.SG.OBL
 ‘He saddled the horse for him. At night, he set off [quickly].’ [ŞC.54]–[ŞC.55]

12.2 Copula clauses

Copula clauses consist of the enclitic copula (see §9.2), the predicate, and the subject. The basic word order in copula clauses consists of the subject followed by the predicate and the copula verb. This is the unmarked order in ascriptive (37) and equational copula clauses (38).

- (37) *xwa to heqnî.*
xwa to heq=nî
 God.M 2SG right.M=COP.2SG:S
 ‘God, you are right.’ [KŞ.104]
- (38) *min wêm padşana.*
min wê=m padşa=na
 1SG REFL=1SG:PSR king.M=COP.1SG:S
 ‘I myself am the king.’ [JP.160]

The enclitic copula is generally fixed in position. However, sentential stress on the subject constituent can affect the mobility of the enclitic copula. The movement of the copula here can be explained by narrow focus movement.

- (39) *anen pîya!*
 âne=**n** pîya[|]
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR=COP.3SG.M:S man.M
 ‘He is the man [not you]!’ [ŞC.19]
- (40) *minna kuřû mîrî.*
 mîn=**na** kuř=û mîr-î[|]
 1SG=COP.1SG:S son=EZ.GEN prince-OBL.M
 ‘I am the prince’s son.’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 377)

In copular clauses where the predicate is a prepositional phrase, the copula may attach to the preposition rather than to the right edge of the phrase, depending on whether nuclear stress falls on the preposition or its complement. This occurs only when the prepositional phrase is headed by the preposition *pêse* ‘like’. With *pêse* in focus, the copula moves on it, as seen in (41). If the nominal complement is focused, the copula lands on it (42).¹

- (41) *řisq ... pêsen mîley.*
 řisq pêse=**n** mîle-î[|]
 rat like=COP.3SG.M:S mouse-M.SG.OBL
 ‘A rat is like a mouse.’ [PK.36]
- (42) *pêse mîleyn.*
 pêse mîlê-î=**n** |
 like mouse-M.SG.OBL=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘It’s like a mouse.’ [PK.35]

The subject constituent may be realised following the predicate as a right-dislocated topic, resulting in the order *predicate subject-copula*. The focal post-predicate subject in (43) has a reference that has been evoked in previous discourse.

- (43) *ađiç wat, ‘a şêre minna.’*
 ađi=(î)ç wat a şêr=e mîn=na
 3SG.OBL.M=ADD say.PST DEM.DIST lion.M=DEM 1SG=COP.1SG:S
 ‘He (the sultan) said, ‘I am that lion.’ [JH.116]

¹It should be noted that the construction in (41) with the copula realised on the preposition occurs by default, which could point to the emergence of an innovative copula predicate based on the preposition *pêse* ‘like’.

The regular syntax of the copula clause applies as well when the predicate phrase is an interrogative pronoun (see §6.7). Thus, the copula follows the predicate, which in this case is an interrogative pronoun (44)–(45) and carries the nuclear stress.

- (44) *ane çêşa? çêşa ane?*
ane çêş=a çêş=a ane
 PRSV what=COP.3SG.M:S what=COP.3SG.M:S PRSV
 ‘What is going on? What is going on?’ [ZP.113]
- (45) *fermawo, ‘pîyew kêndê?’*
fermaw-o pîye-û kê=ndê
 say.PRS.IND-3SG man.M-EZ.GEN who=COP.2PL
 ‘He said, ‘Whose men are you?’ [ŞC.33]

Example (46) features a postposed subject.

- (46) *konê î meşmûrê mine çinnê wextên?*
ko=nê î meşmûr-ê min=e çinnê
 where=COP.3PL:S DEM.PROX officer.M-PL.DIR 1SG=DEM some.PL
wext-ê=n
 time.M-PL.DIR=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘Where have my officers been during this time? [Lit. Where are my officers? It is some time.]’ [BP.57]

12.2.1 Locational copula clauses

Locational copula clauses are formed by the locational deictic particle *îna*, which acts as the predicate. It is inflected identically to past intransitive verbs. The locational complement of *îna* is, by default, realised post-predicatively.²

- (47) *înanê çêge.*
îna-(a)nê çêge
 LOC.DEIC.COP-1SG:S here
 ‘I am here.’ [JP.136]

²The post-verbal placement of the locational complement in locational copula clauses has affected neighbouring Central Kurdish dialects as a substrate feature (Mohammadirad 2024d).

- (48) *înaymê fîlane yagê.*
îna-îmê fîlan-e yagê
 LOC.DEIC.COP-1PL:S such_and_such-EZ.CMPD place.F
 ‘We are at such-and-such a place.’ [PM.12]

In the following example, the locational copula clause has split the subject *neferê* from its prepositional phrase complement *be namêw fîlane kesî*.

- (49) *neferê înarê ce menteqew hewramanâtî be namêw fîlane kesî.*
nefer-ê îna-Ø=rê ce menteqe-û
 person.M-INDF LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S=POVB in region-EZ.GEN
hewraman-at-î be namê-û fîlan-e
 PN-PL-M.SG.OBL by name.F-EZ.GEN such_and_such-EZ.CMPD
kes-î
 person.M-SG.OBL
 ‘There is a person in the Hawram region called such-and-such.’ [ZP.31]

12.2.2 Predicate complements of ‘become’

The verb ‘become’ has an identical morphology to ‘be’, both being expressed by the stem *b-*. Semantically, ‘become’ is a change-of-state verb, while ‘be’ expresses an equative copula. In terms of syntax, ‘become’ differs from ‘be’ in that the predicate complement of ‘become’ is generally realised post-predicatively if it is an NP. The nominal complements of ‘become’ could be either a bare NP (50)–(51) or be flagged by the preposition *be* (52). The preposition *be* is glossed as ADP when it heads the complement of ‘become’.³

- (50) *ađ bowe padşa.*
ađ b-o=we padşa
 3SG.M.DIR become.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL king.M
 ‘He (i.e., Jamsher Shah) became the king.’ [DP.53]
- (51) *tate bîyen çûwêw desû şuwaney.*
tate bîye=n çû-ê-û
 father.M become.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S stick.M-INDF-EZ.GEN
des-û şuwane-î
 hand.M-EZ.GEN shepherd.M-SG.OBL
 ‘The father has become like the stick in the shepherd’s hand.’ [RE.41]

³The post-verbal placement of the predicate complements of ‘become’ has been recognised as one of the features shared among all varieties of Kurdish (Haig 2022, Mohammadirad 2024d).

- (52) *bo be taqetê xelkî.*
b-o be taqet-ê xelk-î
 become.PRS.IND-3SG:S ADP support.M-INDF people.M-SG.OBL
 ‘He became an entertainer for people.’ [KŞ.37]

The nominal complement of ‘become’ is overwhelmingly realised in the post-predicate position. The following examples are some of the rare cases of the preverbal placement of the complements of ‘become’.

- (53) *sefbe røj bowe.*
sefbe røj b-o=we
 morning.F daylight.M become.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL
 ‘Daylight came. (Lit. Early morning became daylight.)’ [ZB.26]

- (54) *p-a kes-î b-û*
p-a kes-î b-û
 ADP-DEM.DIST person-M.SG.OBL become.PRS-1SG:S
 ‘May I become that person.’ [MF.218]

Adjective complements of ‘become’, on the other hand, are generally preverbal (55)–(56). The reverse positioning of adjectival complements follows from the fact that the combination ‘adjective + become’ is treated like a light verb construction (Mohammadirad 2024d).

- (55) *adiz bo mizyore.*
adiz b-o mi-zy(e)-o=re
 upset become.PRS.IND-3SG:S IND-go_out.PRS-3SG:S=POVB
 ‘He (Hayas) became upset and went out (of the palace).’ [JH.4]

- (56) *mêşhûr bîyen.*
mêşhûr bîye=n
 famous become.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘He had just become famous.’ [ŞC.5]

In some rare cases, the adjective complement of ‘become’ may appear in the post-predicate position. In addition, note that the overall frequency of post-predicate placement of adjectival complements of ‘become’ is also very low compared to nominal complements in neighbouring languages (Mohammadirad 2024d).

- (57) *bîyê sîyawû çermew sûr.*
bî-ê sîyaw=û çerme=û sûr
 become.PST-3PL:S black=and white=and red
 ‘They have become [one by one] black and white and red.’ [JH.91]

12.3 Clauses with existential particles

12.3.1 Existential clauses

The existential clauses in the present tense are based on the existential particle *hen*, which is a frozen form consisting of the particle *he-* and the 3SG.M form of the copula *=n*; see (58)–(59). Like the locational copula constructions (§12.2.1), the existential particle is inflected identically to past intransitive verbs (§9.2.3). This analysis comes from the fact that the base *hen* can also be used nominally (see §9.2.3).

- (58) *mîyo meřêwe hene.*
mi-ďy(e)-o meř(e)-êwe hen-e
 IND-notice.PRS-3SG:S cave.F-INDF EXIST-3SG.F:S
 ‘He noticed that there was a cave.’ [MF.266]
- (59) *xaneqane ne nan hen, ne hardî henê.*
xaneqa=ne ne nan hen-Ø ne hardî hen-ê
 monastery.M=POST neither bread.M EXIST-3SG.M:S nor flour.F EXIST-3PL:S
 ‘There is neither bread nor flour in the monastery.’ [HB.2]

In the past tense, the past form of the copula alone expresses existence; see (60).

- (60) *her sikeł bîyen.*
her sikeł bîye=n
 just ember.M.SG.DIR be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘There were only embers [to light the house].’ [JE.40]

When the subject of an existential clause is modified by a relative clause (61)–(62), the relative clause is extraposed (see §14.1.1 for details).

- (61) *yeknefer hen hermaneş kerû pey.*
yek nefer hen-Ø hermane=ş ker-û pey
 one person EXIST-3SG.M:S work.F=3SG:R do.PRS.IND-1SG:A for
 ‘There is a person for whom I work.’ [ŞE.35]

- (62) *pîyayê hen namêş şê şeladînarê.*
pîya-ê hen-Ø namê=ş şê
 man.M-INDF EXIST-3SG.M:S name.F=3SG:PSR sheikh.M
şeladîn=a=rê
 PN=COP.3SG.M:S=POVB
 ‘There is a man called Sheikh Aladin.’ [DG.24]

12.3.2 Predicative possessive constructions

The existential particle *hen* is also used as the predicate in the expression of syntactic possession. It agrees in gender and number with the possessed argument. The basic order in predicative possessive constructions is Possessor-Possessed-Existential particle. As explained in §6.2.1, the possessor in a predicative possessive construction is generally indexed by a clitic pronoun, as in (63), though not in (64).

- (63) *min birayêwem hen.*
min bira-êwe=m hen-Ø
 1SG brother.M-INDF=1SG:NC EXIST-3SG:S.M
 ‘I have a brother.’ [DG.34]
- (64) *to henê çil kinaçê heqûdadê.*
to hen-ê çil kinaçê heq=û dadê-ê
 2SG EXIST-3PL:S forty daughter.PL right=and legitimate-PL
 ‘You have forty legitimate daughters.’ [ME.162]

In rare cases, the possessor phrase is right-dislocated. This happens when the possessor has been evoked in previous discourse.

- (65) *êjdêhawêçiş hen padşaw semerqenî.*
êjdêha-(e)wê=ç=ış hen-Ø padşa-û semerqen-î
 dragon.M-IND=ADD=3SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S king-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘The king of Samarkand had a dragon too.’ [ME.128]

The construction seen above entails a permanent relation of possession between the possessor and the possessed. When the possession is temporary, a locational copula construction consisting of the particle *îna* expresses the relation of possession (66). Note that the particle *îna* is not obligatory in this construction.

- (66) *metayêwa. kitêbêwe gewreş îna pene.*
meta-êw=a kitêb-êwe gewre=ş⁴
 mullah.M-INDF=COP.3SG.M:S book.M-INDF big.M=3SG:NC
îna-Ø pene
 LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S with
 ‘It is a Mullah. He has a big book with him.’ [KŞ.8]

Alternatively, temporary syntactic possession may be expressed in a copula clause containing a prepositional phrase headed by *pene*.

- (67) *milo serû hanêwe. esteheş pene bo.*
mi-l-o ser-û han(e)-êwe estehe=ş pene
 IND-go.PRS-3SG:S on-EZ.GEN water_spring.M-INDF gun.M=3SG:NC with
b-o
 be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘He goes to the edge of a spring. He has a gun with him.’ [KŞ.4]
- (68) *zeřeş penen.*
zeř-e=ş pene=n
 money.M-DEF=3SG:R with=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘He has money with him.’ [JP.112]

12.4 Light verb constructions

As remarked in §2.3.2, the transitivity of the clause is determined by the lexical transitivity of the verb and not the semantic transitivity. This is also true for light verb constructions (LVCs). Thus, *fewt kerdey* ‘to pass away’ [lit. death to do], *kûç kerdey* ‘migrate’ [migration to do], *qesem wardey* ‘swear’ [lit. oath to eat] are semantically intransitive as a whole, but syntactically considered transitive, given that the verbs ‘do’ and ‘eat’ are lexically transitive. Therefore, the transitivity of the clause is not determined semantically, but based on the lexical category of the verb, or in this case, the light verb in the LVC. In the following examples, three criteria show that the mentioned light verbs are syntactically transitive. (i) The subject NP appears in the oblique case; (ii) the clitic pronoun agrees with the subject; (iii) the light verb complement is considered the direct object, as it triggers agreement on the light verb (see also below). In this sense, semantically intransitive LVCs like the ones in (69)–(70) are syntactically treated the same as typical simple transitive verbs (71).

⁴The clitic pronoun indexing ‘he’ is obligatory, justifying the glossing as NC.

- (69) *patşay qesemiş wardebê.*
patşa-i qesem=iş warde=b-ê
 king-M.SG.OBL oath.M=3SG:A eat.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:O
 ‘The king had sworn.’ [DB.307]
- (70) *fewtiş kerd luwa.*
fewt=iş kerd-Ø luwa
 death.M=3SG:A do.PST-3SG.M:O go.PST.3SG:S
 ‘He passed away. [Lit. He passed away and went.]’ [ZQ.30]
- (71) *î herî zûwaniş zana.*
î her-î zûwan=iş zana-Ø
 DEM.PROX donkey-M.SG.OBL language.M=3SG:A know.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘The donkey knew the [Sheikh’s] language.’ [HB.71]

Light verb constructions are associated with special syntax in Hewramî. The following discussion is based on Mohammadirad (2023). The non-verbal element within an LVC shows agreement in gender and number with a preceding clausal argument. This agreement relationship is conditioned by the lexical class of the non-verbal element and the syntactic category of the argument controlling the agreement. As for the lexical class of the non-verbal element, the agreement is most productive with the adjective complement of a light verb. The arguments triggering this agreement are S and P.⁵ The light verb construction in (72) is *neweş kewtey* ‘get ill’, and the adjective *neweş* agrees in gender with the S. In (73), the light verb construction is *zamdar kerdey* ‘injure’, and it can be seen that the adjective *zamdar* agrees with the direct object *ême*. Example (74) further shows that the agreement is not contingent on the properties of the S and O in terms of animacy.

- (72) *kinaçêw padşaw misrî neweşe gino.*
kinaçê-û padşa-û misr-î neweş-e
 daughter.F.DIR-EZ.GEN king.M-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL ill-F
gin-o
 fall.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘The king of Egypt’s daughter fell sick.’ [ZP.25]

⁵Note that predicative adjectives also carry gender and number agreement, but they do so only when the controller is S (see §7.1.1.2). On the other hand, in LVCs where the complement is an adjective, the latter shows agreement in gender and number with both S and P. Therefore, the agreement pattern in LVCs cannot be considered the same as the one with predicative adjectives.

- (73) *ême zamdarê nekero.*
ême zamdar-ê ne-ker-o
 1PL wounded-PL NEG.SBJV-do.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘He should not injure us’ [DG.64]
- (74) *î pîfêşe weşe kerdêne.*
î pîfê=ş=e weş-e kerdê=ne
 DEM.PROX burr.F=3SG:A=DEM well-F do.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
 ‘He had made this burr.’ [ZQ.42]

The agreement feature in light verb constructions can express information unspecified for certain controllers. In (75), the controllers of agreement are the SAP pronouns, which are not inflected for gender. The agreement on the light verb constructions *şîrîn kerdey* ‘sweeten’ and *sîyaw kerdey* ‘blacken’ explicates the gender of the referents of the SAP pronouns.

- (75) ‘*ça toşa şîrîne kerdi ça çageyç minşa sîyaw kerda.*’
ça to=şa şîrîn-e kerd-i ça çage=yç min=şa
 there 2SG=3PL:A sweet-F do.PST-2SG:O there there=ADD 1SG=3PL:A
sîyaw-Ø kerd-a
 black-M do.PST-1SG:O
 ‘[The husband said to his wife], ‘There where they sweetened you, they also blackened me.’ [XX.87]

The agreement features extend by analogy to nominal complements of the light verb that are similar in ending to adjectives. In (76), the light verb construction is *nigebanî kerdey* ‘to protect, guard’. The nominal element *nigebanî* ‘guardianship’ contains the derivational ending *-î* added to the noun *nigeban* ‘guard’ (see §4.2.1). The gender agreement on *nigebanî* follows from the fact that the same derivational suffix forms adjectives from nouns (see §7.1.2). This has resulted in the extension of gender agreement to *nigebanî* by analogy with derived adjectives ending in *-î*.

- (76) *min metawû îne⁶ nıgebanîye kerû.*
min me-taw-û îne nıgebanî-e
 1SG NEG.IND-can.PRS-1SG:A DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR guardian-F
kér-û
 do.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A
 ‘I cannot take care of her.’ [ZP.103]

Likewise, non-verbal elements with floating class membership between nouns and adjectives tend to show agreement with S and O. In the following examples, *řed* ‘crossing’ in *řed bıyey* ‘pass by’ and *cemş* ‘addition’ in *cemş kerđey* ‘to collect’ cannot be readily classified as prototypical nouns. The fact that they agree with S and O arguments may follow from their class membership floating between nouns and adjectives.

- (77) *silênne ředê ba.*
silên=ne ředê b-a
 PN=POST crossing-PL.DIR be.PRS.IND-3PL:S
 ‘They passed Silên.’ [JP.167]
- (78) *sultan selîmî cemşê kerđê.*
sultan selîm-î cemşê kerđê
 sultan PN-M.SG.OBL addition-PL do.PST-3PL:O
 ‘Sultan Salim gathered them.’

On the other hand, number and gender agreement does not occur when the non-verbal element in the LVC is a noun. In such cases, the non-verbal part appears in its bare form. In (79), the LVC is *mare kerđey* ‘to marry’, with the masculine noun *mare* ‘marriage’ not agreeing with the feminine direct object. Similarly, in (80), the nominal element *incam* ‘accomplishment’ is in its bare form and does not agree with the feminine O. In (81), the noun *wış* ‘memory’ does not agree in plural number with the plural O.

- (79) *filfor î kınaçême peyş mare kerđê.*
filfor î kınaçê=m=e peyş mare
 immediately DEM.PROX daughter.F.SG=1SG:PSR=DEM to=3SG:R marriage.M
kér-dê
 do.PRS.IMP-2PL:A
 ‘Immediately marry my daughter to him.’ [KŞ.80]

⁶Note that the masculine form of the demonstrative pronoun has been used to express a feminine direct object. This follows from the decay in the inventory of demonstrative pronouns and the extension of the masculine forms to the feminine ones (see §6.3).

- (80) *çaşteke încam miða.*
çaşt(i)-ekê încam mi-d(e)-a
 meal.F-DEF.F.SG accomplishment.M IND-give.PRS-3PL:A
 ‘They made the meal.’ [JP.254]
- (81) *ta qewmekama wiş kermê ...*
ta qewm-eka=ma wiş kër-mê
 until relative.M-DEF.PL.OBL=1PL:PSR memory.M do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A
 ‘Until we inform our relatives ...’ [JE.83]

The LVCs in (79)–(81) allow a direct object in their argument structure. By contrast, in LVCs which don’t allow a direct object in their argument structure, the nominal element within the LVC features some of the properties of direct objects. For example, it triggers agreement on the light verb in TAMs built on past stem verbs in the same way nominal direct objects do. In other words, with LVCs which do not allow additional direct objects in their argument structure, the nominal complement of the LVC acts as a direct object, at least with regard to the control of agreement on the verb. In (82), the LVC is *koç kerdey* ‘to migrate’ (lit. ‘migration to do’). It can be seen that *koç* ‘migration’ triggers agreement on the light verb. In (83), the LVC is *semrew xway kerdey* ‘to pass away’ (lit. ‘to do the command of God’), containing the feminine noun *semre* ‘command’, which triggers the gender agreement on the light verb. In (84), the LVC is *dufa kerdey* ‘to pray’ containing the feminine noun *dufa* ‘pray’.

- (82) *koçsa kerden.*
koç=şa kerde=n
 migration.DIR.M=3PL:A do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘They migrated.’ [JE.13]
- (83) *kabra merdû semrew xwayş kerde.*
kabra merd-Ø=û semre-û xwa-î=ş
 fellow die.PST-3SG.M:S=and order.F-EZ.GEN God.M-SG.OBL=3SG:A
kerd-e
 do.PST-3SG.F:O
 ‘The fellow died. He passed away. [Lit. He did the command of God.]’ [KT.16]

- (84) *duşış kerde werû berew zatû heqî.*
duşış=ş kerd-e wer-û bere-û zat-û
 prayer.F=3SG:A do.PST-3SG.F:O front-EZ.GEN door.EZ.G essence-EZ.GEN
heq-î
 God-OBL.M
 ‘He prayed to God.’ [SH.259]

12.5 Reciprocal constructions

Reciprocal constructions are based on the reciprocal pronoun *yotirîn* ‘each other’, which is grammatically derived from the numeral ‘one’ and the superlative suffix *-tirîn* (see §6.5). The reciprocal pronoun can, among other things, function as a direct object (85), a non-canonical subject (86) and a prepositional object (87).

- (85) *yotirînşa dî.*
yotirîn=şa dî-Ø
 RECP=3PL:A see.PST-3SG:O
 ‘They saw each other.’
- (86) *yotirînma gerek bîyen.*
yotirîn=ma gerek bîye=n
 RECP=1PL:NC necessary be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘We liked [lit. wanted] each other.’ [JL.19]
- (87) *adê êtir şadê bîyê be yotirînî.*
adê êtir şadê-bî-ê be yotirîn-î
 3PL well happy-PL be.PST-3PL:S with RECP-M.SG.OBL
 ‘They became happy with each other.’ [ME.202]

12.6 Periphrastic causative constructions

The causative is morphologically derived mainly from suffixing *-n* (PRS) and *-na* (PST) to the present stem of the verb (§8.4.1). Additionally, Hewramî employs a syntactic causative construction, where the causee is expressed by a prepositional phrase headed by the absolute preposition *pene*. This implies that the causee occurs as a bound argument.

- (88) *ʕalifʕa pene pêta.*
ʕalif=ʕa *pene pêt-a*
 fodder.M.SG.DIR=3SG:A by gather.PST-1SG:R
 ‘They made me gather the fodder.’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 560)
- (89) *dřêma pene pêçênê.*
dřê=ma *pene pêç-ên-ê*
 prickle=1PL:R by twist.PRS-AUG-3PL:A
 ‘They would make us twist the pile of prickles.’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 560)

The expression of causative may alternatively be conveyed by a periphrastic construction, where the causer’s action and the causee’s action are expressed in different clauses.

- (90) *karêʕ pene kerdena be mehremû wêm qubutim kerden.*
kar-ê=ʕ *pene kerde=na* *be mehrem-û*
 task.M-INDF=3SG:A to do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:R as kindred-EZ.GEN
wêm *qubut=im* *kerde=n*
 REFL=1SG:PSR accepted=1SG:A do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘She made me accept her as my own kindred.’ [JH.117]

12.7 Passive clauses

The passive clause features only one preverbal argument. The agent is virtually never expressed.

- (91) *a kinaçê to pey kuřû ʕuwaney niwîsyene.*
a *kinaçê* *to* *pey kuř-û* *ʕuwane-î*
 DEM.DIST daughter.DIR.F 2SG to son.M-EZ.GEN shepherd.M-SG.OBL
niwîsyene
 write.PST.PASS=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘Your daughter was promised [lit. written] to the shepherd’s son.’ [KŞ.99]

The passive agent may be expressed by a by-phrase at the end of the clause.

- (92) *sewzê xel kiryan be sahebîçî.*
sewzê xel *kir-ya=n* *be saheb-î=ç=iş*
 crop grain do.PRS-PASS=COP.3SG.M:S by owner-OBL.M=ADD=3SG:PSR
 ‘The crop has been piled up [lit. made into corn] by its owner too.’ [HR.16]

The passive may be expressed through an active impersonal construction. Here, the lexical subject is unexpressed, and the verb has 3PL inflection. This construction is idiomatically rendered into English by a passive.

- (93) *beraşa dūrû mentêqew ewêgewe.*
ber-a=şa dūr-û mentêqe-û ewêge=we
 take.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3PL:O far-EZ.GEN region.M-EZ.GEN there=POST
 ‘They (the king and his attendants) were taken to a region far from their own.’ [KŞ.48]

12.8 Interrogative clauses

The list of interrogative pronouns and their morphological forms were discussed in §6.7. This section gives a brief overview of interrogative clauses.

12.8.1 Polar questions

Polar questions are expressed by a rise in intonation towards the end of the clause. No specific question particle is used with polar questions.

- (94) a. *maça, ‘şanat tomeke?’*
m-aç-a şana=t tom-eke
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A scatter.PST=2SG:A seed-DEF.M.SG.DIR
 ‘They would say, ‘Did you plant the seeds?’’
 b. *maço, ‘erê.’*
m-aç-o erê
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A yes
 ‘He would say, ‘Yes.’’ [JP.39]–[JP.40]

12.8.2 Constituent (Wh-) questions

Constituent (Wh-) questions are expressed by the interrogative pronouns set out in §6.7. Most interrogative phrases are not obligatorily clause-initial, as suggested by the following examples. This profile is shared by the languages in the region (Dryer 2013).

- (95) *maço, ‘to kêni?’*
m-aç-o to kê=nî
 IND-say.PRS-3SG:A 2SG who=COP.2SG:S
 ‘He (the king) said, ‘Who are you?’’ [KŞ.10]

- (96) *ey wêm kowe bilû?*
ey wê=m ko=we bi-l-û
 INTJ REFL=1SG:PSR where=POST SBJV-go.PRS-1SG:S
 ‘Where should I go myself?’ [DP.23]
- (97) *maça, ‘ême çi bilmêre fêraq wêma kermê zînan?’*
m-aç-a ême çi bi-l-mê=re fêraq wê=ma
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A 1PL why SBJV-go.PRS-1PL:S=POVB PN REFL=1PL:PSR
kêr-mê zînan
 do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A prison.M
 ‘They (the people) said, ‘Why should we go to Iraq and put ourselves in prison?’ [BP.101]

Constituent (Wh-) questions may be introduced by the question particle *daxom*, expressing the speaker’s uncertainty regarding the context of the question.

- (98) *watşa, ‘daxom kê etik kerdêbo?’*
wat=şa daxom kê etik kerdê=b-o
 say.PST=3PL:A Q.PTCL who offence do.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-3SG:O
 ‘They said, ‘Who might have possibly offended her?’ [ED.195]

The attention-drawing particle *erê* may be used with interrogative pronouns like *çi* ‘what’ to express an event which is unexpected from the speaker’s point of view.

- (99) *çirîş hezretû şêxî fermawo, ‘erê rôlem çi toryanî?’*
çirî-o=ş hezret-û şêx-î
 call.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3SG:O his_highness.M-EZ.GEN sheikh.M-SG.OBL
fermaw-o erê rôle=m çi
 say.PRS.IND-3SG:A DISC.PTCL child.M=1SG:PSR why
torya=nî?
 get_offended.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:S
 ‘His Highness the Sheikh summoned him [and] said, ‘Oh my son! Why were you offended?’ [HB.80]

In (100), the particle *erê* has been used in a polar question, where it seems to express the speaker’s uncertainty. Note that polar questions do not require an interrogative particle, as discussed in §12.8.1.

12 Syntax of the clause

- (100) *erê řotê pîyake her îna mizgîne cuwaneke?*
erê řotê pîya-(e)ke her îna
Q.PTCL child man-DEF.M.SG.DIR still LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S
mizgî=ne cuwan-eke
mosque.M=POST youth-DEF.M.SG.DIR
'Child, is the man, the youth, still in the mosque?' [HS.61]

13 Clause combining

13.1 Coordination

The term coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements (Haspelmath 2007). The coordinate constructions may involve different semantic relations between the coordination units, including conjunction, disjunction, adversative coordination, and causal coordination. The list of coordination particles is as follows:

Table 13.1: Coordinators

Simple coordinator		Bisyndetic coordinator	
Conjunction			
=û	‘and’	hem ... hem	‘both ... and’
we	‘and’	ne ... ne	‘neither ... nor’
=îç	‘also, even, etc.’		
Disjunction			
yam, ya	‘or’	ya ... ya	‘either ... or’
		ya meger ... ya meger	‘either ... or’
		çi ... çi	‘whether ... or’
		çe ... çe	‘either ... or’
Adversative			
welê	‘but’		
emanekeî	‘however’		

13.1.1 Simple coordinators

13.1.1.1 Conjunction

The conjunctive coordinator =*û* ‘and’ links the coordination units. It is used both for NP conjunction (including also adjective conjunction, see §7.1.1) and sentential conjunction. In the former use, consider (1), where the component parts in the nominal compound are joined by the coordinating conjunction ‘and’:

- (1) *kesûkar* ‘relative’ cf. *kes* ‘person’ + -*û* + *kar* ‘job’
kemûkořî ‘poverty’ cf. *kem* ‘little’ + -*û* + *kořî* ‘enclosure’

In its sentential use, the coordinator is phonologically placed after the first coordination unit, see (2), hence A-co B, but syntactically it is part of the second coordination unit, hence A co-B (see below). The conjunctive coordinator can appear on an indefinite number of coordination units (3).

- (2) *nanşa wardenû çayşa warden.*
nan=şa *warde=n=û* *çay=şa*
 bread.M.DIR=3PL:A eat.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=and tea.M.DIR=3PL:A
warde=n
 eat.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O
 ‘They would eat food and drink tea.’ [JE.48]

- (3) *êsał milkekema nemenenû zeraşetma nîyaw; bencanîma nîyenew; xîyarma nîyaw; genmîma nîyenew; îne nîyaw; ûne nîyaw; ûne nîya.*
êsał *milîk-eke=ma*
 this_year property.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=1PL:PSR
ne-mene=n=û *zeraşet=ma*
 NEG-remain.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=and agriculture.M=1PL:NC
nîy(e)=a=û *bencanî=ma*
 NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S=and tomato.F=1PL:NC
nîye=ne=û *xîyar=ma*
 NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.F:S=and cucumber.M=1PL:NC
nîy(e)=a=û *genmî=ma*
 NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S=and wheat.F=1PL:NC
nîye=ne=û *îne*
 NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.F:S=and DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR
nîy(e)=a=û *ûne* *nîy(e)=a=û*
 NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S=and DEM.DIST NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S=and

ûne nîy(e)=a

DEM.DIST NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S

‘[Everyone in Sharazour knows that] we have not cultivated much land this year; we don’t have much agriculture; we don’t have cucumbers; we don’t have tomatoes; we don’t have wheat; This [crop] is not available; that [crop] is not available; that [crop] is not available.’ [PM.37]

There is evidence that the particle is syntactically part of the second coordinate. Discussing the coordinating conjunction in Vafsi, Gilaki, and Persian, Stilo (2004: 280) holds that the conjunction =*û* moves with the second coordination unit (or conjunct) under extraposition but still phonologically attaches to the preceding word. The property holds for Hewramî as well. In the following example, the second conjunct *kinaça* is extraposed and =*û* has moved with it, attaching to the copula index as its phonological host.

- (4) *daraw penc kuřanaw yerê kinaça.*

dara-û penc kuř-a=na=û yerê
owner.M-EZ.GEN five son.M-PL.OBL=COP.1SG:S=and three
kinaç(ê)-a
daughter.F-PL.OBL

‘I have five sons and three daughters.’ [JM.16]

In a series of coordinated clauses, the particle may express a sense of open-endedness by appearing after the last clause.

- (5) *qaçim meřyanû kewtena yanew.*

qaç=im meřya=n=û
leg.M=1SG:PSR break.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=and
kewte=na yane=û
fall.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S house.M=and

‘My leg is broken. I am confined to home, and so on. [lit. I have fallen at home.]’ [JM.9]

Alternatively, open-endedness can be expressed by the use of the 3PL proximal demonstrative pronoun *înîşa*:

- (6) *kinaçêw luhonî bo teřû çermew înişa.*

kinaçê-û luhon-î b-o teř=û çerme=û
girl.F.SG-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL be.PRS.IND-3SG:S fresh=and white=and
înîşa
DEM.PROX.3PL.OBL

‘She was from Luhon; she was young, white, and so on.’ [JH.65]

13 Clause combining

- (7) *jenîyû yaneş nîyarê înişa.*

jenî=û yane=ş nîy(e)=a=rê
 woman.F=and house.M=3SG:PSR NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S=POVB
înişa
 DEM.PROX.3PL.OBL

‘He has no wife, nor a house, and so on.’

[ZP.87]

In a series of more than two clauses expressing sequential events, the conjunctive coordinator =û generally connects the final two clauses.

- (8) *ama asawekew şeşkî, kabrake. duwê ferdê hardîş de qewû herekeywe peyşû vatiş*

ama asaw-ek-e-û şeşk-î
 come.PST.3SG:S mill.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL
kabra-(e)ke duwê ferd(e)-ê hardî=ş de
 man-DEF.M.SG.DIR two sack-PL.DIR flour.F.PL.DIR=3SG:A give.PST.3PL:O
qew-û her-ekey=we pey=ş=û vat=iş
 on-EZ.GEN donkey.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST for=3SG=and say.PST=3SG:A

‘The fellow came to the Shashk mill. He put two sacks of flour on the back of the donkey and said.’

[HB.60]–[HB.62]

In the more formal register, the Arabic loan *we* ‘and’ expresses the coordinate particle. This particle occurs rarely in Tekht Hewramî.

- (9) *estû terîqetû tesewufî anen ke kabra şilmîş hen, şemet kero be şilmekeyş, we be ixlaso şemetîş pene kero*

est-û terîqet-û tesewuf-î ane=n ke
 basis-EZ.GEN doctrine-EZ.GEN Sufism-OBL.M DEM.DIST=COP.3SG.M:S COMPL
kabra şilm=iş hen-Ø şemet ker-o be
 man knowledge=3SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S act do.PRS.IND-3SG:S to
şilm-ekey=ş we be ixlas=o şemet=iş pene
 knowledge-DEF.OBL.M=3SG:PSR and with virtuosity=POST act=3SG:R to
ker-o
 do.PRS.IND-3SG:A

‘The basic principle of Sufism is that man has knowledge (about his faith), he fulfils that knowledge, and he fulfils it by virtuosity.’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 438)

The expression of clausal conjunctive coordination is not always handled through the conjunction =û. One strategy to link main clauses together is asyndetic coordination through simple juxtaposition. In other words, no coordinator

may be used to link the coordination units. This asyndetic strategy may be used for expressing sequential events on the one hand and for events which express temporally overlapping actions or situations on the other. The following examples illustrate sequential events.

- (10) *min bilû yanew kê hardî barû!*
min bi-l-û yane-û kê hardî
 1SG SBJV-go.PRS-1SG:S house-EZ.GEN who flour.F.SG.DIR
b-ar-û
 SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG:A
 ‘Whose house should I go [and] bring flour!’ [HB.20]
- (11) *eger kinaçekêşa done wateş, ‘erê, kerû.’*
eger kinaç(ê)-ekê=şa don-ε
 if girl.F-DEF.F.SG=3PL:A talk_to.PST.COND.AUG.3SG:R
wat-ε=ş erê ker-û
 say.PST.COND.AUG=3SG:A yes do.PRS.IND-1SG:A
 ‘If they had talked to the girl [and] she had said, ‘Yes, I do.’’ [JE.77]

In the following examples, the asyndetic coordination construction expresses temporally overlapping actions.

- (12) *kûç kera milawe pey germîyanî.*
kûç ker-a mi-l-a=we pey germîyan-î
 migration.M do.PRS.IND-3PL:S IND-go.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL for PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘They (i.e., the family) migrated [and] went to Garmîyan.’ [ZB.39]
- (13) *luwanê nizîkû qîrôtekey biyawê.*
luwa-(a)nê nizîk-û qîrôt-ekey bî-a=we
 go.PST-1SG:S close-EZ.GEN hollow.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL be.PST-1SG:S=COMPL
 ‘I went [and] got closer to the tree hollow.’ [ZQ.36]

13.1.1.2 Disjunction

Disjunction is expressed by the disjunctive coordinator *yam/ya* ‘or’. The particle appears at the beginning of the second coordinate unit (14). It can appear on more than two conjuncts.

13 Clause combining

- (14) *to qibûl kerî ya mekerî?*
to qibûl ker-î ya me-ker-î
 2SG accepted do.PRS.IND-2SG:A or NEG.IND-do.PRS-2SG:A
 ‘Will you consent to it or not?’ [RE.50]
- (15) *pûlet gereka ya kinaçê.*
pûle=t gerek=a ya kinaçê
 money=2SG:NC be_necessary.M=3SG:S or girl.F
 ‘Do you want money or the girl?’ [KT.157]
- (16) *ya tatema luwan ya mamoma ya kesûkarma.*
ya tate=ma luwa=n ya
 either father.M=1PL:PSR go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S or
mamo=ma ya kesûkar=ma
 paternal_uncle=1PL:PSR or relative.M=1PL:PSR
 ‘Either our father would go [to the girl’s father], or our uncle, or a
 relative of ours.’ [RE.4]

The disjunctive particle can be deleted at the NP level. In (17), *ya* is deleted in the NP *hewt heşt* ‘seven (or) eight’.

- (17) *wextê bo be hewt heşt sale xelk bero.*
wext-ê b-o be hewt heşt sale xelk
 time.M-INDF be.PRS.IND-3SG:S ADP seven eight year.F people.M
ber-o
 take.PRS.IND-3SG:A
 ‘When he turned seven [or] eight years old, people would take him [into
 their houses].’ [KŞ.36]

13.1.1.3 Adversative coordination

Adversative coordination is expressed by the particle *welê/welî*, which is borrowed from Arabic.

- (18) *bereşo memliketû wêta, welê serma deydê.*
ber-e=ş-o memliket-û wê=ta welê
 take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL country.M-EZ.GEN REFL=2PL:PSR but
ser=ma dé-îdê
 head.M=1PL:R give.PRS.IMP-2PL:A
 ‘Take him to your region, but pay us a visit.’ [DG.68]

The particle may combine with *emaneketê* ‘however, but’ to give a sense of ‘however’.

- (19) *welî emaneketê xas xelk bawîrîş pene mekerô.*
welî emaneketê xas xelk bawîrîş pene me-ker-o
 but but well people.M belief=3SG:R in NEG.IND-do.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘But people still did not believe in him that much [as a leader].’ [JP.144]

13.1.2 Bisyndetic coordination

Bisyndetic coordinators, alternatively referred to as “emphatic coordination” (Haspelmath 2007), are constructions where both coordination units feature a coordinator. The construction *hem ... hem* expresses emphatic coordination of two clauses, which are set in parallel. This construction is also available in NP coordination, which features the use of the coordinate particle =*û* after the first coordinated noun, see (21).

- (20) *bê hem mêman bo nîmeşo hem ba qîşê kermê.*
b-ê hem mêman b-o nîmeşo hem ba
 SBJV-come.PRS.3SG:S both guest.M be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S noon both HORT
qîş(ê)-ê kîr-mê
 talk.F-PL.DIR do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A
 ‘May he come and be our guest for lunch, and we will discuss the matter.’
 [DP.44]

- (21) *hem şerêfetû hem terêqet to amadenî tekmêtnî.*
hem şerêfet=û hem terêqet to amade=nî
 both sharia_law=and and denomination 2SG ready=COP.2SG:S
tekmêtnî
 complete=COP.2SG:S
 ‘You are ready both [to practise] Sharia law and [to lead] an order (of dervishes); you are complete.’ [JP.94]

The disjunctive coordinator *ya* has the bisyndetic form *ya ... ya*. It can be combined with *meşer* to give the alternatives a sense of added emphasis.

- (22) *řûweş mebo waço, ‘ya metawû ya tawû.’*
řûe=ş me-b-o wáç-o ya
 face=3SG:NC NEG.IND-be.PRS-3SG:S say.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A either
me-taw-û ya taw-û
 NEG.IND-can.PRS-1SG:A or can.PRS.IND-1SG:A
 ‘He was ashamed to say, ‘I cannot, or I can.’ [JP.28]

13 Clause combining

- (23) *ya meger î kinaçlê ba ya meger min!*
ya meger î kinaçlê b-a ya meger min
 or EMPH DEM.PROX girl.DIM.PL be.PRS-3PL:S or EMPH 1SG
 ‘Either these girls stay (at the house) or me!’ [ÇK.44]

The disjunctive particles *çi ... çi* and *çe ... çe* ‘either ... or’ are attested in the text corpus only to function in NP coordination.

- (24) *řole çi řaseş çi pakeş tatet ehmede dize bê.*
řole çi řase=ş çi pake=ş tate=t
 child.voc either truth=3SG:PSR or clarity=3SG:PSR father=2SG:PSR
ehmed-e diz-e b-ê
 PN-EZ.CMPD thief-DEF be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S
 ‘Child, to tell you the truth [lit. be it truth or reality], your father was Ahmad, the thief.’ [ED.55]

- (25) *çe çermeş, çe sîyawîş, çe sûrîş her yon.*
çe çerme=ş çe sîyaw=iş çe sûr=iş her
 either white=3SG:PSR or black=3SG:PSR or red=3SG:PSR just
yo=n
 one.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘Be they white, black, or red; they are all the same.’ [JH.102]

Emphatic negative coordination is expressed by *ne ... ne* ‘neither ... nor’, which, in principle, can be extended over more than two coordination units.

- (26) *ne nan hen, ne çay hen, ne çîw hen, hîç.*
ne nan hen-Ø ne çay hen-Ø ne çîw
 neither bread.M EXIST-3SG.M:S nor tea.M EXIST-3SG.M:S nor thing.M
hen-Ø hîç
 EXIST-3SG.M:S nothing
 ‘There was neither bread, nor water, nor anything else, [there was] nothing [left].’ [ZB.29]

13.2 Additive particle =îç

The additive particle =îç is realised as =yç and less frequently =ç following vowel-final hosts. The particle has a general meaning of an additive focus. Its various functions can be divided into those where the focus of the particle extends over

a constituent as opposed to those in which the particle has scope over the clause. The following presentation is inspired by Khan & Mohammadirad (2024a).¹

13.2.1 Scope over a constituent

13.2.1.1 Inclusive focus ('too')

In this usage, =îç has the inclusive focus meaning. The inclusive focus marker adds items with similar properties to the set of items that is inferred from the context.

- (27) *dey bilmê minîç mewt çene.*
dey bi-l-mê min=îç m-e-û=t çene
 DISC.PTCL SBJV-go.PRS-1PL:S 1SG=ADD IND-come.PRS-1SG:S=2SG:R with
 'Let's go, I am coming with you too.' [JH.11]

- (28) *milo mêwew maça, 'hizmêç bare.'*
mi-l-o m-ê=we=û m-aç-a
 IND-go.PRS-3SG:S IND-come.PRS.3SG:S=COMPL=and IND-say.PRS-3PL:A
hizmê=ç b-ar-e
 firewood.F.PL.DIR=ADD IMP-bring.PRS-2SG:A
 'He went [shepherding and] came back [home]. They said, 'Bring
 firewood as well.' [JP.24]

- (29) *ađîç melowe.*
ađ=îç me-l-o=we
 3SG.M.DIR=ADD NEG.IND-go.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL
 'He did not go back either.' [JP.266]

13.2.1.2 Scalar additive focus ('even')

=îç also allows for scalar additive readings. Scalar additive focus indicates that the focused element is more informative (less expected, more extreme) than (some of) its alternatives.

¹In the presentation of the additive particle functions, I use some of the functions listed in Forker's (2016) cross-linguistic study of additives. The additive particle has a similar set of functions in the neighbouring Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic dialects (Noorlander & Mohammadirad 2022).

13 Clause combining

- (30) *çêwet nebîyey bê êtir îseyç xû nîya.*
çêwet nebîyey b-ê êtir îse=îç xû
 previously poverty.M be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S DISC.PTCL now=ADD DISC.PTCL
nîy(e)=a
 NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘In the past, there was poverty. But even nowadays, there is poverty.’
 [JM.56]

In addition to =îç, there is an inherently scalar-additive marker *heta* ‘even’ in Hewramî. Example (31) was produced by a young speaker from Hewraman, who seems to copy the Persian pattern of using *heta* with the additive particle in the same clause. Additionally, *heta* means ‘until, as long as’ in Hewramî. It might have a scalar meaning ‘even’ in the speech of the old generation, but it is not compatible with =îç (see 32).

- (31) *heta karê xerabêçiş kerdênê.*
heta kar-ê xerab-ê=ç=iş kerdê=nê
 even job-PL.DIR bad-PL.DIR=ADD=3SG:A do.PST-PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O
 ‘She would even do bad things.’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 439)
- (32) *heta min jinîyenim.*
heta min jinîye=n=im
 even 1SG hear.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1SG:A
 ‘I have even heard [that a man came to the service of Sheikh Aladin].’
 [ZQ.2]

13.2.1.3 Establishing a new topic

Another context for the use of the additive particle with scope over a constituent is when it signals a change in the topic.

- (33) *hereke mêwe cûwab î qisa kero. ewîç goş mido pene.*
her-eke m-ê=we cûwab î
 donkey.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR IND-come.PRS.3SG:S=COMPL response.M DEM.PROX
qis(ê)-a ker-o ew=îç goş mi-đ(e)-o
 talk.F-PL.OBL do.PRS.IND-3SG:A 3SG.M.DIR=ADD ear.M IND-give.PRS-3SG:A
pene
 to
 ‘The donkey started to speak; it spoke. **He** listened to it [i.e., the donkey].’
 [HB.44]–[HB.45]

- (34) *xeberşa da patşay. patşayç xulke kerđ.*
xeber=şa da-Ø patşa-î patşa-î=ç
 news=3PL:A give.PST-3SG.M:S king-M.SG.OBL king-M.SG.OBL=ADD
xulke kerđ-Ø
 invitation do.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘They passed the news to the king. The king invited him.’
 [DB.310]–[DB.311]

13.2.2 Scope over proposition

13.2.2.1 Thetic clauses

Thetic clauses comment on a situation as a whole rather than stating something about the subject and breaking the clause into subject and predicate (Sasse 1987). In such constructions, the additive particle has scope over the clause as a whole. The thetic clauses in (35)–(36) give evaluative background to the surrounding discourse.

- (35) *luwaymê kirmaşan. wulahî tena dukanê baz nebî. êmeyç pey kelûpelî*
luwabênmê.
luwa-îmê kirmaşan wulahî tena dukan-ê baz ne-bî
 go.PST-1PL:S PN by_God only store-INDF open NEG-be.PST.3SG:S
ême=yç pey kelûpel-î luwa=b-ên-mê
 1PL=ADD for goods-OBL.M go.PST.PTCP=be.PRS-AUG-1PL:S
 ‘We went to Kermanshah (K. Kirmaşan): indeed, there was not even one shop open. We had gone there to buy goods.’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 443)
- (36) *êtir ewîç wêş padşa bo.*
êtir ew=îç wê=ş padşa b-o
 DISC.PTCL 3SG.M.DIR=ADD REFL=3SG:PSR king.M be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
 ‘Well, he was a king.’ [ZP.35]

13.2.2.2 Concessive conditionals (‘even if’)

This function of the additive particle is similar to the scalar additive function, with the difference that the additive particle has scope over the proposition in a concessive conditional clause.

13 Clause combining

- (37) *îse hetîmbarîç b-o her dewlet ûsano řa peyş.*
îse hetîmbar=îç b-o her dewlet
 now one_who_has_orphans=ADD SBJV-be.PRS-3SG:S EMPH government
ûsan-o řa pey=ş
 grab.PRS-3SG:A road for=3SG:R
 ‘Now, even if one was a person caring for orphans, the government will help him.’
 (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 444)

13.2.3 Constituent coordination

The additive particle can function as a coordinator. In (38), featuring NP coordination, =îç appears on each conjunct. The first conjunct is followed by the coordinate =û. Example (39) features ellipsis in clausal coordination.

- (38) *girdû şarezûrî êsa! meraşetû ême kero ce parî zîyater pey toyçû pey êmeyç.*
gird-û şarezûr-î êsa! meraşet-û ême ker-o
 all-EZ.GEN PN-M.SG.OBL this_year care.M-EZ.GEN 1PL do.PRS.IND-3SG:A
ce par-î zîya-ter pey to=îç=û pey ême=îç
 from last_year-M.SG.OBL increased-CMPR for 2SG=ADD=and for 1PL=ADD
 ‘This year, all [the people in] Sharazour care for us – both you and I [lit. We] –, more than the previous year.’
 [PM.38]
- (39) *îdîç hîç minîç hîçim nîyarê.*
îd=îç hîç min=îç hîç=im
 3SG.PROX.DIR.M=ADD nothing 1SG=ADD nothing=1SG:NC
nîy(e)=a=rê
 NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S=POVB
 ‘She [has] nothing, nor do I.’
 [ZP.117]

13.3 Incremental repetition

Another strategy for clause linkage in discourse is through the repetition of a clause. In narratives, sequences of clauses may feature a clause being repeated before the next clause starts. The repeated clause has the effect of setting grounds for new information and event cohesion by establishing a bridging linkage between core events. Additionally, repetition can be used to recapitulate, keep track of major themes in the story, and give the speaker time to think Noorlander &

Mohammadirad (2022). The repetition may be partial or total. Example (40) features a partial replication of the clause. The repeated clause has the overt object NP as an afterthought.

- (40) *a wextîyekey kinaçekê beroş rare. maço, 'be xwa îse kuçêş çene werû. kuçêş çene werû î masî.' bero mîdoş pene.*
- a wext-î-ekey kinaç(ê)-ekê*
 DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL-DEF.M.SG.OBL girl.F-DEF.F.SG
ber-o=ş řa=re m-aç-o be xwa îse
 take.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3SG:O road.F=POST IND-say.PRS-3SG:A by God.M now
kuç-ê=ş çene wer-û kuç-ê=ş çene
 little-INDF=3SG:R from eat.PRS.IND-1SG:A little-INDF=3SG:R from
wer-û î mas-î ber-o
 eat.PRS.IND-1SG:A DEM.PROX yoghurt.M-SG.OBL take.PRS.IND-3SG:O
mi-ď(e)-o=ş pene
 IND-give.PRS-3SG:O=3SG:R to
 'Then, the girl set off on the way. She said, 'Well, I shall eat a little of it now. I shall eat a little of it, [of] this yoghurt.' She took [it and] gave it to him (Hayas).'
- [JH.41]–[JH.43]

The partial repetition may exclude the nominal subject of the first clause, as illustrated in (41).

- (41) a. *pîreke yawa law peîêw xeley.*
pîr-eke yawa la-û peî-êw
 old-DEF.M.DIR arrive.PST.3SG.M:S to-EZ.GEN CLF-INDF
xele-î
 grain-M.SG.OBL
 'The old man arrived at a pile of grains.' [HR.13]
- b. *yawa law peîêw xeley mîyo ...*
yawa la-û peî-êw xele-î
 arrive.PST.3SG.M:S to-EZ.GEN CLF-INDF grain-M.SG.OBL
mi-ďy(e)-o
 IND-look.PRS-3SG:S
 'He arrived at a pile of grains [and] realised ...' [HR.14]

The repetition may involve reversing the order of clausal elements. This is generally used as a stylistic device to draw attention to a particular event in the narrative.

13 Clause combining

- (42) *xelk mê dewreş mido maça, ‘ane çêşa? çêşa ane?’*
xelk m-ê dewre=ş mi-d(e)-o
 people.M IND-come.PRS.3SG:S round=3SG:O IND-give.PRS-3SG:A
m-aç-a ane çêş=a çêş=a ane
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A PRSV what=COP.3SG.M:S what=COP.3SG.M:S PRSV
 ‘People came, encircled him, and asked [lit. said.] ‘What is going on?
 What is going on?’’ [ZP.113]
- (43) *înê î qisê çêşene? çêş maçdê? maça çêş?*
înê î qisê çêşe=ne çêş
 DEM.PROX.F.3SG.DIR DEM.PROX talk.F.SG what.F=COP.3SG.F:S what
m-aç-dê m-aç-a çêş
 IND-say.PRS-2PL:A IND-say.PRS-3PL:A what
 ‘What is this talk? What are you saying? What are they saying?’’ [JP.223]

14 Syntactic subordination of clauses

14.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses embedded within NP may appear with a relativiser. There are two relativisers in Tekht Hewramî: the more general *ke*, and the attributive *ezafe -î* (see §5.3.2). The latter is limited to subject relativisation in the present tense constructions, and only occurs with pronominal heads.¹

- (1) *aney dewayekey dros kero heqû dewayîş hen.*
[ane-î deway-ekey dros ker-o]
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR-EZ.ATTR medicine.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL right do.PRS-3SG:A
heq-û deway=ş hen-Ø
 right-EZ.GEN medicine.M.SG.OBL=3SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S
 ‘The one who created the medicine has to be paid back.’ [SH.198]

ke is the general relativiser; it can relativise different clausal arguments, including subjects, objects, indirect objects, non-canonical subjects (5), etc. In all cases, it has the invariable form *ke*. The particle introduces both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. It is used predominantly when the head nominal is definite. In (2), the head nominal is definite; in (3), it is indefinite.

- (2) *î meşmûrîye ke şêraqo amênê, a zemanû pîr şelîyarî bexşnayşa bexşnenê.*
î meşmûr-î=e [ke şêraq=o]
 DEM.PROX officer.M-SG.OBL=DEM REL PN=POST
amê=nê] a zeman-û pîr şelîyar-î
 come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S DEM.DIST time.M-EZ.GEN PN PN-M.SG.OBL
bexşnay=şa bexşnê=nê
 distribute.NMLZ=3PL:A distribute.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:R
 ‘The officers who had come from Iraq ... in the time of Pir Shaliyar, people would distribute [food] to them.’ [BP.40]

¹Square brackets have been used throughout the book to enclose additional context to help understand the text. In this chapter, square brackets, highlighted in bold, are additionally used to enclose syntactic phrases such as relative clauses and complement clauses.

- (3) *mišo řû we yek neferî kerî ke derwardenû meflûma.*
mišo řû=we yek nefer-î kër-î [ke
 AUX face=to one person.M-SG.OBL do.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A REL
derdwarde=n=û meflûm=a]
 qualified.M=COP.3SG.M:S=and obvious=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘One should plead with one [ruler] who is qualified and distinct.’ [ŞC.92]

The third-person pronominal head of a relative clause can only be expressed by the demonstrative sets in §6.3.1.

- (4) *ane ke berdma şış mangê menn.*
ane [ke berd-Ø=ma] şış mang(e)-ê
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR REL take.PST-3SG.M:O=1PL:A six month.F-PL.DIR
menn-Ø
 remain.PST-3SG.M:S
 ‘The one whom we took [with us] lived for six months.’ [ZQ.29]
- (5) *ey înişa ke minta gerekna ...*
ey înişa [ke min=ta gerek=na]
 VOC DEM.PROX.3PL.OBL REL 1SG=2PL:NC necessary.M=COP.1SG:S
 ‘O those who want me ...’ [KŞ.56]

The following example illustrates the use of *ke* in a non-restrictive relative clause.

- (6) *herkesiç metawo pêse min ke nelabû êtir ane hîçê deramedêş nîya.*
herkes=iç me-taw-o pêse min [ke
 anyone=ADD NEG.IND-can.PRS-3SG:A like 1SG REL
ne-la=b-û] êtir ane
 NEG-go.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-1SG:S DISC.PTCL DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR
hîç-ê deramedê-ê=ş nîy(e)=a
 nothing-INDF income-INDF=3SG:NC NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘Anyone who is not able [to work as a porter], like me, who has probably not been a porter, well, he has no income.’ [JM.62]

The more common strategy for relativisation is to use no relativiser in the clause. Asyndetic relative clauses can be available for relativisation of any clausal argument in the text corpus, though apparently they are more common with subjects and direct objects. The following examples illustrate the relativisation of subject NP (7) and possessor NP (8) without the relative particle.

- (7) *aney serekeş wardebê luwa řaw hatîre.*
 [aney sere-(e)ke=ş
 DEM.3SG.M.OBL head-DEF.M.SG.DIR=3SG:A
 warde=b-ê] luwa řa-w
 eat.PST.PTCP.M=BE.PRS-AUG.3SG:O go.PST.3SG:S road.F-EZ.GEN
 hat-î=re
 fortune-M.SG.OBL=POVB
 ‘The one who had eaten (the dove’s head) took (lit. went to) the way of good fortune.’ [DB.109]
- (8) *bû mêmanû a jenê î hêteşe hen.*
 b-û mêman-û a jen(i)-ê [î
 be.PRS-1SG:S guest-EZ.GEN DEM.DIST woman-SG.F.OBL DEM.PROX
 hête=ş=e hen-Ø]
 egg.M=3SG:NC=DEIC EXIST-3SG.M:S
 ‘I shall be a guest of the woman who has this egg.’ [DB.43]

Relatedly, relative clauses modifying generic pronominal heads *herke/herkes* ‘whoever, anybody who’ and *herçê* ‘whatever’, drop the relativiser.

- (9) *herkesî goş darabone, dûr kewtenwe ce, kuçê ce şareke.*
 herkes-î [goş dara=b-one] dûr
 whoever-OBL.M ear.M hold.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:O far
 kewte=n=we ce kuç-ê ce
 fall.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=COMPL from little-INDF from
 şar-eke
 city.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR
 ‘Anyone who had listened to him had gone away from the city.’ [BP.167]
- (10) *herçêma hen çane a firmande wêş zano heqû ême kama*
 herçê=ma [hen-Ø ç=a=ne] a firmande
 whatever=1PL:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S in=DEM.DIST=POST DEM.DIST leader.M
 wê=ş zan-o heq-û ême
 REFL=3SG:PSR know.PRS.IND-3SG:A right.M-EZ.GEN 1PL
 kam=a
 which=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘Whatever we possess there, your boss knows which portion [of land] is mine.’ [PM.20]

The particle *ke* may also function as a subordinator in a subset of factive complement clauses and adverbial temporal clauses (see §14.3.1).

14.1.1 Extraposition of relative clauses

Relative clauses may be extraposed from indefinite NPs. The extraposition seems to be common with linking verbs such as the copula or the existential predicate.

- (11) *heyçêw nîya sengew min hurbêzno.*
heyç-êw nî=a [senge-û min
 nothing-INDF NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S weight-EZ.GEN 1SG
hur-bêzn-o]
 PVB-put.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘There is nothing which can scale me up.’ [ÇH.53]

- (12) *pîyawê hen tawo î kinaçê to weşe kerowe.*
pîya-ê hen-Ø [taw-o î kinaçê to
 man.M-INDF EXIST-3SG.M:S can.PRS.IND-3SG:A DEM.PROX girl.F 2SG
weşe-e kër-o=we]
 well-F do.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A=COMPL
 ‘There is a man who can cure your daughter.’ [JP.154]

Extraposition is also possible when the nominal head is questioned.

- (13) *î gîre çêş bî min ward?*
î gîr=e çêş bî-Ø [min ward-Ø]
 DEM.PROX hook.M=DEM what be.PST-3SG.M:S 1SG eat.PST-3SG.M:O
 ‘What is this situation that I am caught in? [Lit. What is this hook that I ate?]

14.1.2 Resumptive pronouns in relativisation

To relativise clausal arguments other than subjects, e.g., direct objects, a resumptive clitic pronoun (14)–(15) or an independent pronoun (16) is used to maintain the reference of the argument.

- (14) *î dega toş vîni çote bîyêne.*
î dega [to=ş vîn-i] çot-e
 DEM.PROX village.F 2SG=3SG:O see.PRS.IND-2SG:A deserted-F
bîyê=ne
 be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S
 ‘This village, which you see, was deserted.’ [JE.4]

- (15) *îne şime maçdêş*
îne şime m-aç-dê=ş
 DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR 2PL IND-say.PRS-2PL:A=3SG:O
 ‘What you are saying [lit. This, which you say].’ [ZP.128]
- (16) *aneşa zilterû şalter bo ađi bera.*
ane=şa [zil-ter=û şal-ter b-o]
 DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR=3PL:PSR big-CMPR=and good-CMPR be.PRS.IND-3SG:S
ađi ber-a
 3SG.OBL.M take.PRS.IND-3PL:A
 ‘They took the one who was bigger and healthier; they took him.’ [ZB.40]

Similarly, a resumptive pronoun is used for the relativisation of indirect objects.

- (17) *îne maçmêş pene şalîyare sîyaw lalow kinaçekên.*
îne [m-aç-mê=ş pene şalîyar-e sîyaw]
 DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR IND-say.PRS-1PL:A=3SG:R to PN-EZ.CMPD black
lalo-û kinaç(ê)-ekê=n
 maternal_uncle.M-EZ.GEN girl.F-DEF.F.SG=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘This [person], whom we call Shaliyar Siya, was the maternal uncle of the [king’s] daughter.’ [ZP.36]

14.2 Embedded questions

Embedded questions are framed as dependent clauses introduced by a question particle. The clause is embedded under such verbs as ‘to know’, ‘to ask’, and ‘to understand’.

- (18) *yo mezano řû we kê kero.*
yo me-zan-o řû=we kê kër-o
 one.M NEG.IND-know.PRS-3SG:A face=to who do.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A
 ‘One doesn’t know whom to plead with [when there is a problem].’ [ŞC.91]
- (19) *mezano çêş kero.*
me-zan-o çêş kër-o
 NEG.IND-know.PRS-3SG:A what do.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A
 ‘He did not know what to do.’ [ZP.111]

Embedded polar questions are generally expressed without any question particle introducing the dependent clause.

- (20) *îmtîhanê terîş kermê bizanmê řasa diron.*
îmtîhan-ê ter=iş kër-mê bi-zan-mê
 test.M-INDF another=3SG:O do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A SBJV-know.PRS-1PL:A
řas=a diro=n
 true=COP.3SG.M:S lie=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘We will test him again, see if it [his supernatural power] is right [or] it is wrong.’ [JP.64]

Embedded content questions and embedded polar questions may be preceded by the question particle *daxom*, which indicates the speaker’s wonder about the content of the question.

- (21) *watřa, ‘daxom kê etik kerđêbo?’*
wat=řa daxom kê etik kerđê=b-o
 say.PST=3PL:A Q.PTCL who disgrace do.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS.3SG:O
 ‘They said, ‘We wonder **who** might have disgraced her?’’ [ED.195]

14.3 Complement clauses

Complement clauses refer to syntactic constructions where a sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate. A variety of subordinate clauses that can be embedded as components of the main clause are brought together in this section under “complement clauses”. Subordinate complement clauses may function as a direct object or subject or the main predicate. In all these cases, they may be governed by a complementiser. The complement clause can come in two forms: an entire clause (22) or an infinitive (23). The latter occurs only rarely in the text corpus.

- (22) *nimaza bilmê aweyanî.*
nim(e)-az-a [bi-l-mê aweyanî]
 NEG.IND-let.PRS-3PL:A SBJV-go.PRS-1PL:S habitat.F
 ‘We are not allowed to go to the village.’ [DG.35]
- (23) *kîyanař pey beřay wenay.*
kîyan-a=ř pey beřa-î [wenay]
 send.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3SG:O to PN-M.SG.OBL read.INF
 ‘They sent him to Baghdad to study.’ [JP.80]

Subordinate complement clauses may be subclassified into factive content complement clauses (§14.3.1), non-factive content complement clauses (§14.3.2), and purpose clauses (§14.3.3), all of which follow the main clause. In the majority of complement clauses, the complement clause may appear next to the main clause without any accompanying complementisers. Purpose clauses may feature complementisers *da* and *ba*.

14.3.1 Factive content complement clauses

Factive content complement clauses appear as complements of factive predicates such as 'say', 'know', etc. In these clauses, the factual content of the complement clauses is assumed by the predicate. Factual content clauses are generally expressed by asyndetic constructions. The subject of the complement clause does not have the same referent as the subject of the main clause in (24)–(25), yet the lexical subject is absent since it can be retrieved in the form of an agreement marker on the verb.

- (24) *êtir adê zana xeyb bîyen.*
êtir adê zan-a [xeyb
DISC.PTCL 3PL.DIR know.PRS.IND-3PL:A disappearance
bîye=n]
be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
‘Then, they realised that he had disappeared [into the ground].’ [BP.197]
- (25) *waçê pêse neçîrî piıra.*
waç-ê [pêse neçîr-î piıra-Ø piıra-Ø]
say.PRS-AUG.3SG:A like hunt.M-SG.OBL fly.PST-3SG.M:S fly.PST-3SG.M:S
‘It was said that he jumped like [i.e., as if he was playing] a game.’ [ZB.56]

The subordinating particle *ke* may introduce an elaborative appositive clause to a nominal or a parenthetical clause.

- (26) *we êdiç ke î şêx fosmane beferz maça murefeh biyen.*
we êd=iç [ke î şêx fosman=e] be-ferz
 and 3SG.PROX=ADD SBRD DEM.PROX PN PN=DEM by-assumption
m-aç-a murefeh biye=n.
 IND-say.PRS-3PL:A well_off be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘And he, namely Sheikh Osman, it is supposed that he was well off.’
 (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 467)

- (27) *berdaşa ke be heyatim aţfım nekenen; berdaşa aţif kenê.*
berd-a=şa [ke be heyat=ım aţf=ım
 take.PST-1SG:O=3PL:A SBRD in life=1SG:PSR grass=1SG:A
ne-kene=n] *berd-a=şa aţif*
 NEG-uproot.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:O take.PST-1SG:O=3PL:A grass
ken-ê
 mow.PST-INF
 ‘They took me—I have never mowed grass in my life—they took me to
 mow the grass.’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 467)

ke may also function as an adverbial subordinator. In this usage, it introduces a temporal clause.

- (28) *ke dukandar bênê min luwênê pey kirmaşanî.*
[ke dukandar b-ên-ê] min lu-ên-ê pey
 SBRD shop_keeper be.PRS-AUG-1SG:S 1SG go.PRS-AUG-1SG:S to
kirmaşan-î
 PN-M.SG.OBL
 ‘When I was a shop owner, I would go to Kermanshah [and bring fruit
 and such].’ (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 468)

14.3.2 Non-factive complement clauses

Non-factive complement clauses express activities that are not fulfilled or are potential from the viewpoint of the main predicate. As a result, the complement clause appears in the subjunctive. These clauses are, by default, expressed via the asyndetic strategy, even in (30), where a chain of complement clauses is linked to the main verb via juxtaposition. In (29), the complement clause features equideletion of its subject – which has the same referent as the subject of the main clause.

- (29) *gerekiş bîyen î memliketî dagîr kero pey wêş.*
gerek=iş bîye=n [î
 necessary=3SG:NC be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:M:S DEM.PROX
memliket-î dagîr kër-o pey wê=ş]
 country.M-SG.OBL occupied do.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A for REFL=3SG:PSR
 ‘He wanted to occupy this region [and control it] for his own interest.’
 [DP.5]

- (30) *îcaze, bizane ađ îcaze miđo ême eçê nehar kermê yam ne.*
îcaze bi-zan-e [[ađ îcaze
 permission IMP-know.PRS-2SG:A 3SG.M.DIR permission
mi-đ(e)-o] [ême e=çê nehar kér-mê yam ne]]
 IND-give.PRS-3SG:A 1PL in=here lunch.M do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A or no
 ‘See if he lets us stay here for lunch or not.’ [PM.9]

14.3.3 Purpose clauses

The particle *pîney* (lit. ‘for this’) may express a purpose clause.

- (31) *awdaxša dênme pîney dengša wer bo.*
awdax=ša d-ên-mê p=îney
 hot_water=3PL:R give.PRS-AUG-1PL:A for=DEM.PROX-M.SG.OBL
deng=ša wer b-o
 voice=3PL:PSR out be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S
 ‘We would give them hot water so that their voice be clear [lit. be free].’
 (Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 562)

Alternatively, the hortative particles *ba* and *da* may express complement purpose clauses. The complement clause appears in the subjunctive.

- (32) *mişom řosem bilo da bizano î yek nefere kên.*
mişom řosem bi-l-o da bi-zan-o î yek
 AUX PN SBJV-go.PRS-3SG:S SBRD SBJV-know.PRS-3SG:A DEM.PROX one
nefer=e kê=n
 person=DEM who=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘Rosam should go to realise who this person is.’ [BM. 136]
- (33) *da dey dewrša gêrdê ba deṣalet kerû.*
da dey dewr=ša gêr-dê ba deṣalet
 HORT DISC.PTCL round=3PL:PSR take.PRS.IMP-2PL:A HORT intervention.M
kér-û
 do.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A
 ‘Encircle them so that I can defeat [Sibhan Agha].’ [DP.51]

Purpose clauses may be expressed asyndetically, in which case they take the morphological form of an infinitive; see (23) above and (34) below. The post-verbal infinitive in such constructions is limited to a verb of movement and may be alternatively analysed as a metaphorical goal.

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- (34) *milo wenay.*

mi-l-o wenay

IND-go.PRS-3SG:S read.INF

‘He went to study [Islamic Jurisdiction].’

[XŞ.01]

14.3.4 Modifier clauses

Clauses expressing wish may be placed following a nominal head and act as a non-restrictive modifier of the head noun.

- (35) *hesûrem – xwa şefweş kere – waçî*

hesûre=m xwa şefwe=ş kër-e

father_in_law=1SG:PSR God pardon=3SG:PSR do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A

waç-î

say.PRS-2SG:A

‘My father-in-law–God pardon him–whom you talk about.’

(Khan & Mohammadirad 2024a: 286)

14.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses here refer to subordinate clauses which function as modifiers of a main clause as a whole. In Hewramî, adverbial clauses feature grammatical morphemes with lexical content (e.g., *wextê* ‘when’). In terms of word order, the subordinator precedes the adverbial clause. The adverbial clause generally precedes the main clause.

- (36) *wextê bo be hewt heşt sale xelk bero.*

wext-ê b-o be hewt heşt sale xelk

time.M-INDF be.PRS.IND-3SG:S ADP seven eight year.F people.M

ber-o

take.PRS.IND-3SG:A

‘When he turned seven [or] eight years old, people would take him [into their houses].’

[KŞ.36]

Adverbial clauses include different types, including temporal, manner, conditional, concessive, etc. In what follows, the morphosyntactic properties of these clauses are discussed. Notably, in many cases, what is considered an adverbial clause in other languages is expressed by a simple juxtaposition of two clauses.

14.4.1 Adverbial temporal clauses

Adverbial temporal clauses are expressed by the temporal lexical morphemes, most of which are connected to the subordinate clause by the indefinite suffix *-ê*, e.g., *wextê* ‘when’, *zemanê* ‘when’.

- (37) *wextê febe berza kerawe, miđya kes nîya çêrişne.*
wext-ê febe berz=a ker-a=we
 time.M-INDF robe.F.SG.OBL high=COMPL do.PRS.IND-3PL:A=COMPL
mi-đy(e)-a kes nîy(e)=a çêr=iş=ne
 IND-look.PRS-3PL:S person.M NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S under=3SG:R=POST
 ‘When they lifted the robe, they saw no one was under it.’ [BP.194]

A subset of subordinators appears in their bare form when connecting to the subordinate clause. These include *îse* ‘now that’; *ta* ‘by the time, until’; *ke* ‘when’ (see §14.3).

- (38) *a wextîyekey firmanbirdar bîyen ta jenekêş berdêne.*
a wext-î-ekey firmanbirdar
 DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL-DEF.M.SG.OBL obedient
bîye=n ta jen(i)-ekê=ş
 be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S until woman.F-DEF.F.SG=3SG:A
berdê=ne
 take.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O
 ‘He was at their service until he married the girl.’ [RE.21]

- (39) *to îse hîçit nîya ême yoma ane hîloşet miđo.*
to îse hîç=it nîy(e)=a ême
 2SG now_that nothing=2SG:NC NEG.EXIST=COP.3SG.M:S 1PL
yo=ma ane hîloşe=t
 one.M=1PL:PSR DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR cracked_wheat.F.SG.F=2SG:R
mi-đ(e)-o
 IND-give.PRS-3SG:A
 ‘Now that you have nothing, one of us will give you cracked wheat.’ [JP.227]

Adverbial temporal clauses may be expressed by simply juxtaposing the subordinate clause to the main clause without any temporal subordinators.

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- (40) *êşew herkes mêmaniş hen, mêmanekêş şewê witê, sereş biřo.*
êşew herkes mêman=iş hen-Ø
 tonight everyone guest.M=3SG:NC EXIST-3SG.M:S
mêman-eke=ş şew(e)-ê wit-ê
 guest.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=3SG:PSR night-F.SG.OBL sleep.PST-3PL:S
sere=ş biř-o
 head.M=3SG:O cut.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A
 ‘Tonight, whoever has guests, [when] the guest sleeps at night, he shall decapitate him.’ [BP.52]

The corpus data suggest that Hewramî has no equivalent for ‘before’-clauses. Rather, a prepositional phrase is used.

- (41) *wet ce şorişîne, bênêş meseţen feretir heserêşa bênê.*
wet ce şoriş-î=ne b-ên-ê=şa meseţen
 before of revolution-OBL.M=POST be.PRS-AUG-3PL:S=3PL:NC for_instance
fire-tir heser(e)-ê-şa b-ên-ê
 MORE mule-PL.DIR=3PL:NC be.PRS-AUG-3PL:S
 ‘Before the revolution, people had... for example, people had mostly mules.’

14.4.2 Hypothetical manner clauses

Hypothetical manner clauses may be expressed by the sentence *pêse waçî* ‘as if [lit. like you said]’.

- (42) *pêse waçî xway ketê pey kîyasen.*
pêse wâç-î xwa-î ket-ê pey
 as_if say.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A God.M-SG.OBL bed-INDF to
kîyase=n
 send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:R
 ‘As if God had sent him a bed.’ [JP.69]

There are also manner adverbial clauses expressed by the particle *(e)pase* ‘as’ (see §10.2.5). When used in past transitive clauses, the A argument is generally unindexed. The adverbial clause in (44) contextualizes the source of information in the main clause.

- (43) *pase herey wat, simerîş kerdê torekekew ađî.*
pase her-e-î wat simerî=ş kerd-ê
 like donkey.M-DEF-M.SG.OBL say.PST straw.PL.DIR=3SG:A do.PST-PL
toreke-(e)ke=û ađî
 sack.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=and 3SG.OBL.M
 ‘As the donkey said, he (the man) put straw into his (i.e., donkey’s) sack.’
 [HB.54]
- (44) *milo weraweriş miđyo epase min wat tomekeş şana zemînekeyne.*
mi-l-o werawer=iş mi-đy(e)-o e=pase min
 IND-go.PRS-3SG:S opposite=3SG:PSR IND-look.PRS-3SG:S EMPH=like 1SG
wat tom-eke=ş şana
 say.PST seed.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=3SG:A scatter.PST.3SG:O
zemîn-ekey=ne
 land.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST
 ‘He went to him [and] saw that—as I said—he (Pir Shaliyar) scattered the
 seeds in the field.’ [JP.51]

14.4.3 Substitutive

The equivalent to a substitutive subordinate clause is expressed by a construction consisting of the preposition *cîyay* ‘instead of’ plus the infinitive form of the verb.

- (45) *bizekêçiş be lûlekê hurpiřa cîya leweřyayşa.*
bize-(e)kê=ç=iş be lûle-(e)kê
 goat.F-DEF.PL.DIR=ADD=3SG:PSR with flute.F-DEF.PL.DIR
hur-piř-a cîya leweřyay=şa
 PVB-jump.PRS.IND-3PL:S instead_of graze.INF=3PL:PSR
 ‘With the sound of the flute, the goats danced instead of grazing.’ [JP.37]

14.4.4 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses feature a subordinate clause expressing the condition (protasis) and a main clause expressing the consequence (apodosis). The protasis is generally preceded by the particle *eger* ‘if’.

- (46) *eger goşiş darayne dūr dūr kewto.*
eger goş=iş dara-î=ne dūr dūr kewt-Ø=o
 if ear.M=3SG:A hold.PST-2SG:R=POVB far far fall.PST-3SG.M:S=POST
 ‘If they [lit. he] listen to you, they will go away.’ [BP.163]

- (47) *eger neweşîyêma bîyebo, duktur nebîyen.*
eger neweşî-ê=ma bîye=b-o duktur
 if illness.M-INDF=1PL:NC be.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:S physician.M
ne-bîye=n
 NEG-be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S
 ‘If we happened to be ill, there was no doctor.’ [DG.5]

The protasis may be partly repeated to provide more emphasis on the condition.

- (48) *dey eger to adiznî, eger to adiznî pey êmew nañihetnî pey ême, luwe gêle pî şarre!*
dey eger to adiz=nî eger to adiz=nî pey
 DISC.PTCL if 2SG upset=COP.2SG:S if 2SG upset=COP.2SG:S for
ême=û nañihet=nî pey ême lu-e gêt-e
 1PL=and sad=COP.2SG:S for 1PL go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S wander.PRS.IMP-2SG:S
p=î şar=re
 at=DEM.PROX city.M=POST
 ‘If you are upset; if you are worried about us; if you are sad about us, go [and] wander in this town!’ [BP.160]

Alternatively, the particle *heke* may introduce the protasis of a conditional clause. This was only attested once in the text corpus.

- (49) *kuřû şuwaney heke to kuştew a wextîyekey hukmit daw înişa îse îna yaneta înişa.*
kuř-û şuwane-î heke to kuşt-ê=û a
 son.M-EZ.GEN shepherd.M-SG.OBL if 2SG kill.PST-COND=and DEM.DIST
wext-î-ekey hukm=it da=û
 time.M-SG.OBL-DEF.M.SG.OBL rule.M=2SG:A give.PST=and
înişa îse îna-Ø yane=ta
 DEM.PROX.3PL.OBL now LOC.DEIC.COP-3SG.M:S house.M=2PL:PSR
înişa
 DEM.PROX.3PL.OBL
 ‘The shepherd’s son who you [ordered to be] killed is now in your house and so on.’ [KŞ.51]

The conditional clauses may be expressed without any subordinator in the protasis clause. This asyndetic expression of conditionality has the same function as the syndetic strategy.

- (50) *a wextî to mîsal watet, 'a fîlane kesem gerekene.'*
a wext-î to mîsal
 DEM.DIST time.M-SG.OBL 2SG for_example
wat-ε=t a fîlan-e
 say.PST-COND.AUG.3SG:O=2SG:A DEM.DIST such_and_such-EZ.CMPD
kese=m gerek-e=ne
 person.F=1SG:NC necessary-F=COP.3SG.F:S
 'In earlier times, for instance [if] you said, 'I want that certain person (i.e., girl).'
 [JE.73]
- (51) *hez kerî basû a tewana kere.*
hez ker-î bas-û a tewen(î)-a
 liking do.PRS.IND-2SG:A talk-EZ.GEN DEM.DIST rock-PL.OBL
ker-e
 do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A
 '(If) you like, talk about those rocks.'
 [hearsay]
- (52) *meberîm yane milû mizgî.*
me-ber-î=m yane mi-l-û
 NEG.IND-take.PRS-2SG:A=1SG:O house.M.SG.DIR IND-go.PRS-1SG:S
mizgî
 mosque.M
 '[If you do not invite me and] won't take me home, I will go to the mosque.'
 [JH.33]

Appendix A: Hewramî-English glossary

The Hewramî-English glossary lists words that occur in Mohammadirad (2025c). It additionally contains some basic vocabulary that occurs in the book but not in the text corpus. The glossary is formatted as follows: each lexical entry is followed by its IPA transcription, its word class indicated within parenthesis, and its meaning. For verbs, the past and present stems are listed in the entry. Each lexical entry in the glossary is accompanied by nearly all the word forms that it has in the text corpus. These word forms are additionally linked to their context of use in the text corpus.

a

a /ʔa/ (CONJ) yes • *a* [yes]: (RE.35)

ad /ʔaɪ̯/ (PRO) he • *ad* [3SG.M.DIR]: (JP.28); *adî* [3SG.OBL.M]: (ŞC.79); *adî=we* [3SG.OBL.M=POST]: (DP.14)

ade, aye /ʔaɪ̯æ, ʔajæ/ (PRO) she • *ade* [3SG.F.DIR]: (DP.49); *adê=we* [3SG.OBL.F=POST]: (KŞ.75); *aye* [3SG.F.DIR]: (JH.57);

adê /ʔaɪ̯e/ (PRO) they • *adê* [3PL.DIR]: (BP.131); *adîşa* [3PL.OBL]: (BP.131)

adiz, ʔadiz /ʔa'diz, ʔa'diz/ (ADJ) upset • *ʔaciz* [upset.m]: (HB.81); *adiz* [upset]: (JH.4); *adiz=nî* [upset=COP.2SG:S]: (BP.160)

adizî /ʔadi'zi/ (N.M) desperation • (JH.62)

ahek /ʔa'hæk/ (N.M) lime • (DP.32)

ama, ê /ʔama, ʔe/ (V.INTR) come • *m-ê* [IND-come.PRS.3SG:S]: (ZP.77); *m-ê-nê* [IND-come.PRS-3PL:S]: (BP.181); *nim(e)-ê-nê* [NEG.IND-come.PRS-3PL:S]: (ZB.9); *ama=n* [come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (RE.25); *m-ê-nê=we* [IND-come.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.205); *m-ê* [IND-come.PRS.3SG:S]: (BP.183); *ama* [come.PST.3SG:S]: (HB.60); *m-e-ydê* [IND-come.PRS-2PL:S]: (ZP.4); *b-e-ydê* [IMP-come.PRS-2PL:S]: (ZP.6); *ama-ymê=we* [come.PST-1PL:S=COMPL]: (ZP.11); *ama-îmê* [come.PST-1PL:S]: (BP.110); *ame* [come.PST.3PL:S]: (BP.114); *b-ê* [SBJV-come.PRS.3SG:S]: (JH.64); *b-ê-nê=ve* [SBJV-come.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL]: (HB.9); *b-ê=we* [SBJV-come.PRS.3SG:S=COMPL]: (HB.25); *ama=we* [come.PST.3SG:S=COMPL]: (HB.31); *m-ê=we* [IND-come.PRS.3SG:S=COMPL]: (JH.108); *b-ê-ydê* [IMP-come.PRS-2PL:S]: (HB.51);

amε=nmê=re [come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:S=POVB]: (PM.11); *amε=nmê* [come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:S]: (JM.54); *ama=b-one=û* [come.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:S=and]: (PM.18); *ama=b-ê* [come.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S]: (PM.34); *m-ê-nê* [IND-come.PRS-3PL:S]: (PM.41); *m-ay* [IND-come.PRS.NMLZ]: (DG.67); *ama=nî* [come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:S]: (DP.24); *b-ê* [IMP-come.PRS.2SG:S]: (DP.43); *nim(e)-ê* [NEG.IND-come.PRS.3SG:S]: (DP.40); *nim(e)-e-wne* [NEG.IND-come.PRS-1SG:S]: (DP.40); *ama=n=o* [come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=COMPL]: (RE.70); *ama=re=we* [come.PST.3SG:S=POVB=COMPL]: (ZP.46); *ama=b-o* [come.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:S]: (§C.3); *ama-(a)nê* [come.PST-1SG:S]: (JP.57); *ama=nî=we* [come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:S=COMPL]: (JH.22); *ama=na* [come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S]: (JH.78); *b-o* [IMP-come.PRS.2SG:S]: (JP.159); *amε=nê* [come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (RE.15); *b-ê-nê=we* [SBJV-come.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.179); *n(e)-amε=we* [NEG-come.PST.3PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.60); *n(e)-amε=nê* [NEG-come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (BP.59); *b-ê* [IMP-come.PRS-2SG:S]: (BP.78); *ama-î* [come.PST-2SG:S]: (BP.81); *n(e)-amε=we* [NEG-come.PST.PTCP.M.3PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.94); *n(e)-amε* [NEG-come.PST.3PL:S]: (BP.125); *b-o=we* [IMP-come.PRS.2SG:S=COMPL]: (BP.164); *n(e)-ama=we=û* [NEG-come.PST.3SG:S=COMPL=and]: (§C.25); *amay* [come.NMLZ]: (§C.35); *amε=ndê* [come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.2PL:S]: (§C.35); *amε=nmê* [come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:S]: (§C.36); *b-e-û* [SBJV-come.PRS-1SG:S]: (KŞ.96); *n(e)-ama* [NEG-come.PST.3SG:S]: (KŞ.69); *amε* [come.PST.3PL:S]: (KŞ.93); *amε=we* [come.PST.3PL:S=COMPL]: (KŞ.93); *m-e-û* [IND-come.PRS-1SG:S]: (JH.11); *n(e)-ê=we* [NEG.SBJV-come.PRS.3SG:S=COMPL]: (JH.70); *n(e)-ama=n=o* [NEG-come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=COMPL]: (JH.110); *amay-ê* [come.INF-INDF]: (RE.25); *b-ê-nê* [SBJV-come.PRS-3PL:S]: (JE.78); *ênê* [come.PRS.AUG.3PL:S]: (JE.80); *ama=na=we* [come.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S=COMPL]: (JM.8); *amε=nmê=we* [come.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:S=COMPL]: (JM.51); *ê* [come.PRS.PST.3SG]: (JE.75); *ênê=we* [come.PRS.PSTc.3PL=COMPL]: (JE.84)

amade /ʔama'dæ/ (ADJ) ready • (JP.94)

ane /ʔa'næ/ (DEM PRO) that • *ane* [DEM.DIST.M.3SG.DIR]: (JH.33); *aney* [DEM.DIST.M.3SG.OBL]: (HB.17); *ane* [PRST]: (KŞ.97);

anê /ʔa'ne/ (DEM PRO) those, they • *anê* [DEM.DIST.3PL.DIR]: (RE.11); *anişa* [DEM.DIST.3PL.OBL]: (HB.93); *textitanişa=we* [DEM.DIST.3PL.OBL=POST]: (§C.103);

anne /ʔannæ/ (ADV) that much, so much • (ZP.20); *an'ne* [so_many]: (HB.82)

ard, ar /ʔard, ʔar/ (v.TR) bring • *arde=n* [bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (ZB.50); *m-ar-o=we* [IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A=COMPL]: (ZB.51); *m-ar-o* [IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A]: (DG.51); *ard-Ø=ma* [bring.PST-3SG.M:O=1PL:A]: (ZP.22); *arde=n-im* [bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1SG:A]: (ZP.54); *b-ar-a* [SBJV-bring.PRS-3PL:A]: (HB.9); *b-ar-o* [SBJV-bring.PRS-3SG:A]: (HB.13); *b-ar-e*

[IMP-bring.PRS-2SG:A]: (HB.17); *b-ar-û* [SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG:A]: (HB.20); *b-ar-dê=ş* [IMP-bring.PRS-2PL:A=3SG:O]: (ŞC.21); *m-ar-o=ş* [IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O]: (JP.166); *ardê=ne* [bring.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O]: (DP.31); *ardê=ne=şa* [bring.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O=3PL:A]: (DP.32); *ardê=ne=ş* [bring.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O=3SG:A]: (ZP.41); *n(e)-ar-î=ş=o* [NEG.SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL]: (ZP.47); *n(e)-ar-î=we* [NEG.SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG:A=COMPL]: (ZP.48); *m-ar-û* [IND-bring.PRS-1SG:A]: (JP.239); *m-ar-a* [IND-bring.PRS-3PL:A]: (ZP.93); *b-ar-dê* [IMP-bring.PRS-2PL:A]: (ZP.70); *arde=n* [bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (ZP.95); *m-ar-a=ş* [IND-bring.PRS-3PL:A=3SG:O]: (JP.253); *ardê=ne* [bring.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O]: (ZP.115); *arde=n=iş* [bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A]: (JP.113); *b-ar-a=ş=o* [SBJV-bring.PRS-3PL:A=3SG:O=COMPL]: (BP.60); *arde=n=it* [bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=2SG:A]: (BP.161); *b-ar-e=we* [IMP-bring.PRS-2SG:A=COMPL]: (RE.19); *m-ar-a=şa* [IND-bring.PRS-3PL:A=3PL:O]: (BP.177); *b-ar-a* [SBJV-bring.PRS-3PL:A]: (ŞC.66); *m-ar-o=ş=o* [IND-bring.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL]: (JH.61); *arde=n=m=o* [bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1SG:A=COMPL]: (KŞ.85); *ard-Ø* [bring.PST-3SG.M:O]: (JH.113); *b-ar-e=o* [IMP-bring.PRS-2SG:A=COMPL]: (JH.44); *ardê=b-o* [bring.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-3SG:O]: (RE.2); *b-ar-î* [SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG:A]: (RE.60); *arde=n=o* [bring.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=COMPL]: (JE.13); *ardê=ne* [bring.PST.PTCP.F=POVB]: (JE.17); *ardê=nê* [bring.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O]: (JE.34); *b-ar-an=ş=o* [SBJV-bring.PRS-3PL:A=3SG:O=COMPL]: (JE.42); *b-ar-mê* [SBJV-bring.PRS-1PL:A]: (JM.22); *ber-ard-Ø* [out-bring.PST-3SG.M:O]: (ZP.53)

arezu /ʔaræ'zu/ (N.M) wish • (ŞC.89)

aro /ʔa'ro/ (ADV) today • *aro* [today]: (JP.38)

asaw /ʔa'saw/ (N.M) mill • *asaw-eke* [mill.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (HB.60); *asaw* [mill.M]: (RE.33)

asawan /ʔasa'wan/ (N.M) miller •

asin /ʔa'sin/ (N.M) iron • *asin-î* [iron-M.SG.OBL]: (JP.116); *asin-î=ne* [iron-OBL.M=POST]: (JP.121)

asman /ʔas'man/ (N.M) sky • *asman-î* [sky.M-SG.OBL]: (ZB.11); *asman* [sky.M.DIR]: (ZB.17)

ast, az /ʔast, ʔaz/ (V.TR) let • *asê=nê=m* [leave, let .PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O=1SG:A]: (JM.27); *n(e)-az-ê* [NEG-let.PRS-AUG.3SG:A]: (PM.35); *nim(e)-az-a* [NEG.IND-let.PRS-3PL:A]: (DG.35); *nim(e)-az-mê* [NEG.IND-let.PRS-1PL:A]: (JP.234)

aşkira /ʔa'ki'ra/ (ADJ) visible • (JP.199)

aşpezxane /ʔaʃpæzxanə/ (N.M) kitchen • *aşpezxane-(e)ke=ne* [kitchen.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST]: (KŞ.63)

away /ʔa'waj/ (N.M) village, habitat • *away-ekey* [village.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]:

(HB.33)

awe /ʔa'wæ/ (DEM) that • *awe* [that]: (RE.62)

aweyani, **awedanî** /ʔawæjani, ʔawæɽ'ni/ (N.M) habitat, oasis • *aweyani-ê* [habitat.M-INDF]: (DG.42); *awedanî-ekey* [oasis.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (ZP.48)

awêzan /ʔawe'zan/ (ADJ) hanging • *awêzan-e* [hanging-F]: (ZB.54)

awî /ʔa'wi/ (N.F) water • *aw(i)-ê* [water.F-SG.OBL]: (JE.21); *awî* [water.F.SG.DIR]: (JE.6); *aw(i)-ekê* [water.F-DEF.F.SG]: (DP.34); *awî* [water.PL.DIR]: (JE.24)

awîr /ʔa'wir/ (N.M) fire • *awîr* [fire.M]: (JE.37); *awîr-e* [fire.M-EZ.CMPD]: (JE.37)

awîrga /ʔawir'ga/ (N.F) hearth • *awîrga-(e)kê* [hearth.F-DEF.F.SG]: (JE.39)

awra, **wîra** /ʔaw'ra, wi'ra/ (ADJ) hungry • *awra=n* [hungry=COP.3SG.M:S]: (HB.5)

aṣe /ʔa'yæ/ (N.M) agha • *aṣe-i* [agha.M-SG.OBL]: (DP.19); *aṣe-(e)ke* [agha.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (BP.27); *aṣe-i=we* [agha.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (DP.2); *aṣe-(e)key* [agha.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (BP.122)

aṣegerî /ʔa'yægæ'ri/ (N.M) governorship • (DP.27)

aṣeyî /ʔa'yæ'ji/ (N.M) governorship • *aṣe-i* [agha.M-NMLZ]: (DP.13)

aya /ʔaja/ (PTCL) whether • *aya* [whether]: (KŞ.91)

aza /ʔa'za/ (ADJ) free • *aza-ê* [free-PL]: (BP.179)

azađî /ʔazaɽ'i/ (N.M) freedom • *azayî* [freedom]: (BP.176); *azađî* [freedom.M]: (BP.180)

b

baba /ba'ba/ (N.M) grandfather • (BP.2)

baba piyare /baba pija're/ (N.M) step-father •

babe /ba'bæ/ (N.M) father • *babe* [father.voc]: (RE.4); *babe-i* [father.M-SG.OBL]: (KŞ.46)

babilbab /babilb'ab/ (N.M) ancestor • *babilbab-i* [ancestor.M-obl.m]: (DP.20)

baboîe /babo'ie/ (N.F) swaddling • (ZP.22)

baɽdar /baɽ'dar/ (N.M) bird • *baɽdar-a* [bird.M-PL.OBL]: (KŞ.5); *baɽdar-i* [bird.M-SG.OBL]: (KŞ.10)

bar /baɽ/ (N.M) load • *bar-i* [load.M-SG.OBL]: (HB.9); *bar-ê* [load.M-INDF]: (HB.14)

barben /baɽ'bæn/ (N.M) stableman • ; (ŞC.60)

barîk /ba'rik/ (ADJ) narrow (road) •

bawîr /ba'wir/ (N.M) belief • (JP.145)

bawke /'bawkæ/ (N.VOC) fahter • *bawke* [fahter.voc]: (PM.28)

bawşî /'bawʃi/ (N.F) embrace • *bawşî* (ZB.32); *bawşî=ş=o* [embrace.F=3SG:PSR=POST]: (RE.48)

bax /bax/ (N.M) garden • *bax-at-û* [garden.M-PL-EZ.GEN]: (DP.21); *bax-ê* [garden.M-INDF]: (JH.113)

- baxdar** /bax'dar/ (N.M) gardener • *baxdar-ê* [gardener.M-PL.DIR]: (DG.37)
- baye** /ba'jæ/ (N.M) bowl • *bay(e)-ê* [pot.M-INDF]: (RE.52); *bay(e)-ê* [pot.M-PL.DIR]: (RE.67)
- bazbaz** /baz'baz/ (ADJ) black and white •
- bazem** /'bazæm/ (ADV) again • (BP.173)
- be** /bæ/ (ADP) to, by, into, with, on • *be* [into]: (JP.232); *be* [about]: (JP.74); *be* [with]: (RE.10); *be* [to]: (§C.59); *be* [to]: (ZP.42); *be* [on]: (JE.39)
- beçke** /bæt'kæ/ (N.M) baby • *beçk(e)-ê* [baby-PL.DIR]: (ZP.15); *beçk(e)-êwe=n* [baby-INDF=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ZP.20)
- bedbext** /bæɪ'bxet/ (ADJ) poor • (JE.43)
- bedbextî** /bædbæx'ti/ (N.M) hardship • *bedbextî=ne* [hardship.M=POST]: (JM.31)
- beg** /bæg/ (N.M) chief • *beg-ê* [chief.M-PL.DIR]: (RE.57); *beg-a* [chief.M-PL.OBL]: (RE.64)
- begzaye** /bægza'jæ/ (N.M) nobleman • *begza-ya* [nobleman-PL.OBL]: (BP.12); *begzay(e)-ê* [nobleman.M-PL.DIR]: (BP.17); *begzaye-(e)ka* [nobleman.M-DEF.PL.OBL]: (BP.24); *begza* [nobleman]: (KŞ.93)
- behs** /bæhs/ (N.M) discussion • *behs-ê* [discussion.M-PL.DIR]: (DP.46)
- becgem** /'bædʒgæm/ (ADP) except_for • *bêcge* [except_for]: (HB.86); *bêcgem* [except_for]: (HB.87)
- belê** /'bæle/ (CONJ) yes • (JH.49)
- bencanî** /bæn'dʒani/ (N.F) tomato • *bancanî* [tomato.F.SG.DIR]: (JE.31)
- beq** /bæq/ (N.M) male partridge • *beq-êwe* [partridge.M-INDF]: (§C.17)
- ber** /bær/ (N.M) front • *ber-î=ş* [front-OBL.M=3SG:PSR]: (JH.100)
- ber** /bær/ (N.M) product • (JH.113)
- berd**, **ber** /bærd, bær/ (V.TR) take • *berd-e* [take.PST-3SG.F:O]: (JP.163); *ber-o* [take.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (KŞ.71); *berd-e* [take.PST-3SG.F:O]: (ZB.21); *berd-Ø* [take.PST-3SG.M:O]: (KŞ.24); *berde=n* [take.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (ZB.30); *ber-a* [take.PRS.IND-3PL:A]: (JP.264); *bér-î* [take.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A]: (ZP.34); *berd-Ø=im* [take.PST-3SG.M:O=1SG:A]: (ZP.24); *berd-Ø=ma* [take.PST-3SG.M:O=1PL:A]: (ZP.29); *bér-o* [take.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]: (RE.52); *ber-o=ma* [take.PRS.IND-3SG:A=1PL:O]: (HB.35); *berd=iş* [take.PST=3SG:A]: (HB.53); *bér-e* [take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (JH.40); *ber-mê* [take.PRS.IND-1PL:A]: (PM.43); *ber-o=ş* [take.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3SG:O]: (KŞ.38); *bér-o=ş=o* [take.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL]: (DG.65); *bér-e=ş=o* [take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL]: (JP.212); *hur-gêr-o* [PVB-take.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (DP.36); *berde=n=şa* [take.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3PL:A]: (ZP.8); *ber-a=ş* [take.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3SG:O]: (JP.205); *berd-e=t* [take.PST-3SG.F:O=2SG:A]: (ZP.44); *ne-ber-û=ş=o* [NEG.SBJV-take.PRS-1SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL]: (ZP.108); *bér-û=ş=o* [take.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL]: (ZP.109); *me-ber-û=ş=o* [NEG.IND-take.PRS-1SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL]: (JP.225); *bér-î=ş* [take.PRS.SBJV-

2SG:A=3SG:O]: (JP.106); *ber-o=we* [take.PRS.IND-3SG:A=COMPL]: (JP.259);
berde=n=şa=we [take.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3PL:A=COMPL]: (BP.27);
bér-a=we [take.PRS.SBJV-3PL:A=COMPL]: (BP.48); *ber-mê=we* [take.PRS.IND-1PL:A=COMPL]: (BP.79); *bér-dê* [take.PRS.IMP-2PL:A]: (BP.129); *bér-e=m* [take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=1SG:O]: (ŞC.62); *berd-ê* [take.PST-3PL:O]: (KŞ.19); *ber-î* [take.PRS.IND-2SG:A]: (KŞ.28); *ber-a=şa* [take.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3PL:O]: (KŞ.47);
bér-dê=ş [take.PRS.IMP-2PL:A=3SG:O]: (KŞ.72); *me-ber-î=m* [NEG.IND-take.PRS-2SG:A=1SG:O]: (JH.33); *berd-Ø=iş* [take.PST-3SG.M:O=3SG:A]: (JH.35); *bér-e=ş* [take.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=3SG:O]: (JH.69); *berdê=ne* [take.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O]: (RE.21); *berdê=nmê=şa* [take.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:O=3PL:A]: (RE.65); *berdê=nê* [take.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O]: (RE.67); *berde=n* [take.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (RE.71); *bér-mê* [take.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A]: (JM.22)
bere /bæ'ræ/ (N.M) door • *bere* [door.M]: (ŞC.63); *bere-(e)key* [door.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (ŞC.64);
berkenar /bærkæ'nar/ (ADJ) ousted • *berkenar-ê* [ousted-PL]: (DP.54)
berq /bærq/ (N.M) electricity • (JE.40)
berû /bæ'ru/ (N.M) oak • (ZB.38)
berz /bærz/ (ADJ) high • (BP.194)
berzepey /bærzæ'pæj/ (ADJ) standing • (ZB.26)
best, bes /bæst, bæs/ (V.TR) tie • *bestê=ne* [tie.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O]: (JP.177)
beşepîya /bæʃæpi'ja/ (N.M) quota • *beşepîya-(e)ke* [quota-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (BP.18)
bexşna, bexşn /bæxʃna, bæxʃn/ (V.TR) distribute • *bexşnay* [distribute.NMLZ]: (BP.38); *bexşnê=nê=we* [distribute.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:R=COMPL]: (BP.38);
bexşnê=nê [distribute.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:R]: (BP.40)
beşel, baxel /bæ'şæl, bɑ'xæl/ (N.M) embrace • *baxel-ê* [embraceINDF]: (DP.36);
baxel=iş=ne [embrace=3SG:PSR=POST]: (JP.114)
bey /bæj/ (ADJ) bad • (DP.38)
beyn /bæjn/ (ADP) among, between • *beyn=ne* [between=POST]: (KŞ.72)† *beyn-û* [between-EZ.GEN]: (ZP.50)
beyn /bæjn/ (N.M) region, distance • (BP.24); *beyn=iş* [distance.M=3SG:PSR]: (JM.45)
beynê /'bæjne/ (ADV) a while • (BP.98)
bezeyî /bæzæ'ji/ (N.M) pity • (KŞ.73)
bezm /bæzm/ (N.M) jollification • *bezm-ê* [jollification.M-PL.DIR]: (BP.50)
beşze /'beʃze/ (QUANT) some • (ZB.22)
bê /be/ (ADP) without • (ZP.16)
bêdengê /be'dænge/ (ADV) secretly • (JP.43)
bêheya /behæ'ja/ (ADJ,N) shameless • *bêheya-ya* [shameless-PL.OBL]: (ZP.70);
bêheya=nî [shameless=COP.2SG:S]: (JP.198);

- bêške** /'bɛʃkɛ/ (N.F) cot • *bêšk(e)-ê* [cot.F-INDF]: (JE.65); *bêšk(e)-ê=ne* [cot.F-INDF=POST]: (JE.65); *bêške-(e)kê* [cot.F-DEF.F.SG]: (JE.67)
- bêŕeqı̄** /be'ŕæqı̄/ (ADJ) silly • (ŞC.28); *bê-ŕeqı̄* [without-wisdom]: (HB.19)
- bilûq** /bi'luq/ (N.M) maturity • (BP.132)
- bira** /bi'ra/ (N.M) brother • *bira-(e)key* [brother.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (DG.31); *bira-(e)key=ş=0* [brother.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=3SG:PSR=POST]: (DG.21); *bira-î* [brother.M-SG.OBL]: (DG.26); *bira-êw* [brother.M-INDF]: (DG.34); *bira-(e)ke* [brother.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (DG.67)
- birajenî** /bira'zæni/ (N.F) brother's wife •
- biř** /biř/ (N.M) piece • (KŞ.56)
- biřewbare** /biřæwbæ'ræ/ (N.M) tax • *biřewbare-(e)key* [tax.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (BP.48); *biřewbare-(e)ke=şa* [tax.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=3PL:A]: (BP.92)
- birê** /'biře/ (N.PL) eyebrow •
- biřê** /bi're/ (ADV) a while • (ZB.33)
- biři, biř** /biři, biř/ (V.TR) cut • *biř-o* [cut.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (DP.34); *biř-e* [cut.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (ZP.47); *biř-û* [cut.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A]: (ZP.100); *biř-mê* [cut.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A]: (ZP.122); *biř-ûne* [cut.PRS.IND-1SG:A]: (JP.225); *biř-a* [cut.PRS.IND-3PL:A]: (BP.73); *biř-o* [cut.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]: (BP.53); *biř-o* [cut.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]: (BP.70); *biřye=n* [cut.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (BP.76); *biřê=na* [cut.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:PSR]: (BP.84); *biřyê=nê* [cut.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:PSR]: (BP.127); *biři-ê* [cut.PST-3PL:PSR]: (BP.97); *biř-dê* [cut.PRS.IMP-2PL:A]: (KŞ.87); *biřyê=nê* [cut.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O]: (JE.33); *biřyey* [cut.INF]: (JM.6); *biřyey=we* [cut.INF=POST]: (JM.7)
- bize** /'bizæ/ (N.F) goat • *biz(e)-ê* [goat.F-PL.DIR]: (ZB.44); *biz(e)-êw* [goat.F-INDF]: (ZB.42); *biz(e)-ê* [goat.F-SG.OBL]: (ZB.54); *bizeta* [goat.DIM.PL.OBL]: (ZP.12); *biz(e)-a* [goat.F-PL.OBL]: (JP.22); *bize-(e)kê* [goat.F-DEF.PL.DIR]: (JP.37); *bize-(e)kê* [goat.F-DEF.PL.DIR]: (JP.54); *biz(e)-û* [goat.F-EZ.GEN]: (KŞ.25); *bize* [goat.F.SG.DIR]: (KŞ.28); *bize-(e)kê* [goat.F-DEF.F.SG]: (KŞ.31)
- bize neçire** /bizæ næ'tʃiræ/ (N.F) female mountain goat •
- bijya, bijye** /bizja, bizjæ/ (V.INTR) toss • *bijy(e)-a=we* [toss.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL]: (ZB.18)
- bî, b** /bi, b/ (V.INTR) be, become • *b-o* [be.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (RE.27); *b-a* [be.PRS.IND-3PL:S]: (JH.21); *bî-e* [be.PST.3SG:F:S]: (ZB.20); *bîyê=nê* [be.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (JM.11); *b-o* [be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S]: (DG.29); *bîye=n* [be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (BP.9); *bîye=b-ê* [be.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S]: (PM.19); *bîyê=ne* [be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S]: (JE.4); *b-ê* [be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S]: (JM.49); *ne-b-ê* [NEG-be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S]: (HB.83); *bî-a=we* [be.PST-1SG:S=COMPL]: (ZP.36); *bîyê=nê* [be.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (BP.208); *bîye=n=0* [be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=COMPL]: (DG.71); *bî-a* [be.PST-1SG:S]: (HB.19); *bî-∅* [be.PST-3SG.M:S]: (JH.64); *ne-b-o*

[NEG.SBJV-be.PRS-3SG:S]: (HB.31); *bîye=na* [be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S]: (KŞ.1); *bîye=nî* [be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:S]: (ŞC.30); *bîye=b-o* [be.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:S]: (RE.8); *ne-b-î* [NEG.SBJV-be.PRS-2SG:S]: (JH.18); *me-b-îmê* [NEG.IND-be.PRS-1PL:S]: (PM.39); *bîyê=nmê* [be.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:S]: (JM.51); *ne-b-îmê* [NEG.SBJV-be.PRS-1PL:S]: (DG.66); *ne-bîye=n* [NEG-be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ZP.40); *me-b-o* [NEG.IND-be.PRS-3SG:S]: (JP.75); *me-b-one* [NEG.IND-be.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (DP.47); *b-e* [be.PRS.IMP-2SG:S]: (JP.165); *b-o=we* [be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S=COMPL]: (ZP.48); *b-o=we* [be.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL]: (JP.201); *b-ên-ê* [be.PRS-AUG-3PL:S]: (ZP.94); *b-a=we* [be.PRS.IND-3PL:S=COMPL]: (JP.175); *b-o=re* [be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S=COMPL]: (JP.200); *b-one* [be.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S]: (JP.261); *bîyê=nê* [be.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (BP.44); *b-îmê=we* [be.PRS.SBJV-1PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.55); *bo=na* [be.PRS=COP.3PL:S]: (BP.82); *b-ên-mê* [be.PRS-AUG-1PL:S]: (BP.110); *b-im* [be.PRS.SBJV-1SG:S]: (BP.172); *b-a=û* [be.PRS.IND-3PL:S=and]: (BP.179); *me-b-o=we* [NEG.IND-be.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL]: (ŞC.105); *b-îdê* [be.PRS.IMP-2PL:S]: (ŞC.37); *bîyey* [be.INF]: (ŞC.39); *bî-a* [be.PST-3PL:S]: (ŞC.39); *b-a* [be.PRS.SBJV-3PL:S]: (ŞC.91); *b-ên-ê* [be.PRS-AUG-1SG:S]: (KŞ.2); *bîyey=ş=re* [be.INF=3SG:PSR=POST]: (KŞ.23); *ne-bîyê=ne* [NEG-be.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S]: (JE.6); *bî-ε* [be.PST.COND.AUG.3SG:S]: (JE.84); *ne-bî-ε* [NEG-be.PST.COND.AUG.3SG:S]: (JE.85); *ne-bîye=na* [NEG-be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S]: (JM.14); *bîye=n=şa* [be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=3PL:NC]: (JM.30); *ne-bîye=n=şa* [NEG-be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=3PL:NC]: (JM.30); *b-ên-mê* [be.PRS-AUG-1PL:S]: (JM.45); *b-o=we* [become.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL]: (DG.52); *bîye=nî* [become.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:S]: (ŞC.14); *bî-a* [become.PST-1SG:S]: (PM.50); *bîye=n* [become.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ZP.9); *bo=na* [become.PRS=COP.3PL:S]: (BP.83); *b-a=we* [become.PRS.IND-3PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.141); *bîye=n* [become.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ŞC.5); *b-o* [become.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (ŞC.97); *bî-Ø* [become.PST-3SG.M:S]: (JH.24); *b-o* [become.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S]: (JH.64); *bî-e* [become.PST-3SG.F:S]: (JH.88); *bî-ê* [become.PST-3PL:S]: (JH.91); *bîyê=nê* [become.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (RE.26); *bîyey* [resources]: (RE.6); *ne-bîye=n* [NEG-be.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (DG.5)

bîna, bîn /bina, bin/ (v.TR) tie • *bîniye=n=im* [tie.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1SG:A]: (JE.64); *bîniy(e)-o* [close.PRS.PASS-3SG:S]: (JP.150)

Ç

ça /tʃa/ (ADV) there • *ça* (DG.44); *ç=a=ne* [in=DEM.DIST=POST]: (JP.202); *ç=a* [in=DEM.DIST]: (JP.80); *ç=a=ne* [in=DEM.DIST=POST]: (BP.123); *ç=age* [in=there]: (KŞ.60); *e=çagene* [in=there]: (JM.28)

çaçker /tʃatʃkær/ (N.M) cook • *çaçkere* [cook.F]

çane /tʃa'næ/ (ADV) like that • (ZP.42)

çareniwîs /tʃaræni'wis/ (N.M) fortune teller • çarenwîs=na [fortune_teller.M=COP.1SG:S]: (KŞ.11); çareniwîs=nî [fortune_teller.M=COP.2SG:S]: (KŞ.12); çareniwîs-î [fortune_teller.M-SG.OBL]: (KŞ.99)
 çaştî /tʃaʃti/ (N.F) meal • çaşt(i)-ê [meal.F-INDF]: (ZP.122); çaşt(i)-ekê [meal.F-DEF.F.SG]: (JP.255); çaştî [meal.F]: (JP.244); çaştî [meal.F.SG.DIR]: (JE.29); çaşt(i)-ekê [meal.F-DEF.F.SG]: (JE.39)
 çawel, çawelî /tʃawæl, tʃawæ'li/ (ADV) in the past • çawel [in_the_past]: (BP.40); çawel-î [in_the_past-M.SG.OBL]: (JE.56)
 çawre /tʃawɾæ/ (N.F) tent • çawre [tent.F]: (ZB.20); çawre-(e)kê=ne [tent.F-DEF.F.SG=POST]: (ZB.19)
 çay /tʃaj/ (N.M) tea • (JE.20)
 çe /tʃæ/ (Q) what • çe [what]: (BP.139)
 çe /tʃæ/ (CONJ) either, or • çe [either]: (JH.102)
 çekna, çekn /tʃækna, tʃækni/ (V.TR) suckle • çekn-o=ş [suckle.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O]: (ZB.54)
 çekya, çekye /tʃækja, tʃækjaæ/ (V.INTR) drain • çeky(e)-o [drain.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (KŞ.28)
 çem /tʃæm/ (N.M) eye • çem-a [eye-PL.OBL]: (ZP.80); çem [eye]: (JP.76); çem-î=m=o [eye-OBL.M=1SG:PSR=POST]: (ŞC.37); çem-ê [eye-PL.DIR]: (JM.11)
 çeme /tʃæ'mæ/ (N.M) river •
 çemçe /tʃæmtʃæ/ (N.M) spoon • çemç(e)-ê [spoon.M-INDF]: (JE.47); çemçe-(e)ke=ne [spoon.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST]: (JE.29); çemç(e)-ê [spoon.M-PL.DIR]: (JE.46)
 çen /tʃæn/ (ADV) so much • çen [how_much]: (HB.19)
 çene /tʃænæ/ (ADP) in • çene=ş [in=3SG:PSR]: (JM.45); çene [with]: (JP.135)
 çenî /tʃæni/ (N.F) needle •
 çenî, çenîn /tʃæni, tʃænin/ (Q) how • çenîn=a [how=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ZP.46); çenî [how]: (JP.46)
 çenî, çenû /tʃæni, tʃænu/ (ADP) with • çenû [with.EZ.GEN]: (JH.64); çenî-û [with-EZ.GEN]: (KŞ.54)
 çeqalê /tʃæqa'le/ (N.F) bitter almond •
 çeqna, çeqn /tʃæqna, tʃæqn/ (V.TR) install • çeqna=n=şa [install.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3PL:A]: (JE.41)
 çerme /tʃær'mæ/ (ADJ) white • (JH.85)
 çetre /tʃætræ/ (N.F) umbrella • çetr(e)-ê [umbrella-OBL.F]: (ZB.17)
 çê, çêge /tʃe, tʃe'gæ/ (ADV) here • çêge [here]: (JP.136); çê [here]: (BP.151)
 çêr /tʃer/ (ADP) under • çêr=hur [under=POST]: (PM.2); çêr [under]: (DG.4); çêr=we [under=POST]: (KŞ.31)
 çêrû keşî /tʃeru kæʃi/ (N.M) armpit •
 çêş /tʃeʃ/ (Ÿ.M) what • çêş-î [what-M.SG.OBL]: (RE.10); çêş [what]: (BP.156); çêş=a

da, de

[what=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ZP.113); *çêşe=ne* [what.F=COP.3SG.F:S]: (JP.223); *çe* [what]: (BP.139)

çêwet, *çêweli* /tʃew'æt/, tʃew'hi/ (ADV) previously • (JM.56); *çêwetter* [ago]: (ZP.9); *çêweli* [ago]: (JM.49)

çiko /tʃi'ko/ (Q) from where • *çi=ko=we* [from=where=POST]: (ZP.4); *çi=ko* [from=where]: (DP.24); *çi=ko=we=n* [in=where=POST=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ŞC.60)

çil /tʃil/ (NUM) forty • (JE.9)

çilê /tʃi'le/ (N.F) forty days of fasting • *çilê* [forty_days_fasting.F.SG]: (JP.119); *çilê* [forty_days_fasting.F.PL.DIR]: (JP.139)

çin, *çinê* /tʃin/, tʃine/ (Q) how many • *çin* [how_many]: (JH.88); *çinê* [how_many.OBL]: (JM.49)

çinî, *çin* /tʃini/, tʃin/ (V.TR) set up, build • *çin-e* [set up.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (JH.25)

çinnê /tʃinne/ (ADV) some • *çinnê* [some.PL]: (ZP.9); *çinne* [some]: (BP.149)

çirawe /tʃirawæ/ (N.M) lamp • *çiraw-e* [lamp.M-EZ.CMPD]: (JE.42); *çiraw-eke* [lamp.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (JE.42)

çiri, *çir* /tʃiri/, tʃir/ (V.TR) call • *çir-o=ş* [call.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3SG:O]: (HB.80);

çir-a=ş [call.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3SG:R]: (BP.192); *çir-e* [call.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (KŞ.86);

çir-dê=ş [call.PRS.IMP-2PL:A=3SG:O]: (JH.67)

çi /tʃi/ (Q) why • (PM.49); *çi* [how]: (ŞC.14)

çiçe /tʃi'tʃæ/ (N.M) nipple, breast • (ZP.39)

çiw /tʃiw/ (N.M) thing • *çiw-ê* [thing-INDF]: (ZP.40); *çiw-êw* [thing-INDF]:

(ZP.105); *çiw-î* [thing-M.SG.OBL]: (JP.98); *çiw-êwe* [thing-INDF]: (JH.38)

ço /tʃo/ (ADV) there • *ç=o=we* [in=DEM.DIST=POST]: (PM.46); *ç=o* [in=DEM.DIST]:

(RE.26); *ç=o=ne* [in=DEM.DIST=POST]: (KŞ.91)

çoleke /tʃolæ'kæ/ (N.F) sparrow • *çolek(e)-êwe* [sparrow.F-INDF]: (DP.36); *çoleke-(e)kê* [sparrow.F-DEF.F.SG]: (DP.47)

çol /tʃol/ (ADJ) deserted • *çol-e* [deserted-F]: (JE.4)

çurt /tʃɔrt/ (N.M) nap • *çurt-ê* [nap-INDF]: (BP.182)

çû, *ço* /tʃu/, tʃo/ (N.M) stick • *çû-ê* [stick.M-INDF]: (RE.41)

çûn /tʃun/ (ADV) because • *çûn* [because]: (JP.199)

çûnke /tʃunkæ/ (ADV) since • *çûnke* [since]: (JP.243)

çwar /tʃwar/ (NUM) four • (RE.11)

d

da /da/ (CONJ) or • (RE.54)

da, de /da, dæ/ (V.TR) give • *mi-d(e)-a* [IND-give.PRS-3PL:A]: (ŞC.68); *da*

[give.PST]: (KŞ.97); *mi-de-û* [IND-give.PRS-1SG:A]: (ZP.121); *dê-ydê* [give.PRS.IMP-

2PL:A]: (DG.68); *ne-da-Ø* [NEG-give.PST-3SG:R]: (HB.18); *ne-da=na* [NEG-

give.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:R]: (HB.22); *mi-d(e)-o* [IND-give.PRS-3SG:A]: (DP.47);

da=ş [give.PST=3SG:A]: (HB.48); *dε* [give.PST.3PL:O]: (KŞ.93); *dé-ymê* [give.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A]: (PM.5); *mi-dê-î* [IND-give.PRS-2SG:A]: (PM.14); *bi-dê-î* [give.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A]: (PM.15); *da=n* [give.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (RE.36); *mi-d(e)-o=we* [IND-give.PRS-3SG:A=COMPL]: (DG.16); *dé-û=we* [give.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A=COMPL]: (DG.45); *bi-d(e)-e=ş* [IMP-give.PRS-2SG:A=3SG:R]: (DG.57); *ne-da=n* [NEG-give.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:PSR]: (DP.19); *me-dê-w* [NEG.IND-give.PRS-1SG:A]: (DP.22); *dé-û* [give.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A]: (DP.23); *mi-d(e)-o* [IND-give.PRS-3SG:A]: (JP.216); *mi-de-wne=û* [IND-give.PRS-1SG:A=and]: (ZP.119); *mi-ḋ(e)-o=ş* [IND-give.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O]: (JH.61); *da=n=iş* [give.PST=COP.3SG.M:S=3SG:A]: (JP.128); *mi-de-w* [IND-give.PRS-1SG:A]: (JP.230); *mi-ḋ(e)-anê=û* [IND-give.PRS-3PL:A=and]: (JP.255); *dê* [give.PST.3SG:F:O]: (BP.17); *dε* [give.PST.COND]: (BP.18); *d(e)-ên-ê* [give.PRS-AUG-3PL:A]: (JE.84); *dε* [give.PST.3PL:R]: (BP.60); *me-de-ymê* [NEG.IND-give.PRS-1PL:A]: (BP.117); *dε* [give.PST.3PL:O]: (BP.91); *bi-ḋ(e)-o* [give.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]: (KŞ.105); *dε=ma* [give.PST.3PL:O=1PL:R]: (BP.124); *dε=nê=ne* [give.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O=POVB]: (BP.151); *da=nî* [give.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:R]: (BP.165); *dê-(e)* [give.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (RE.29); *ne-ḋa* [NEG-give.PST]: (BP.211); *ne-ḋε=ne* [NEG-give.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O]: (BP.211); *da=n=ş=o* [give.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A=COMPL]: (KŞ.5); *da=we* [give.PST=COMPL]: (KŞ.56); *da=na* [give.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:R]: (KŞ.84); *dé-(e)=ş* [give.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=3SG:O]: (JH.40); *mi-ḋ(e)-o=ş* [IND-give.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:R]: (JH.96); *da-(a)nê* [give.PST-1SG:R]: (JH.104); *bi-ḋ(e)-o* [give.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]: (RE.18); *me-dê-î* [NEG.IND-give.PRS-2SG:A]: (RE.38); *dε=ne* [give.PST.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S]: (RE.49); *dê-î* [give.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A]: (RE.60); *dε=nmê* [give.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:R]: (JE.50); *dε=nê* [give.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:R]: (JE.67); *mi-ḋ(e)-o=m* [IND-give.PRS-3SG:A=1SG:R]: (JE.74); *mi-dê-û=ş* [IND-give.PRS-1SG:A=3SG:O]: (JE.81); *ne-ḋ(e)-ên-ê* [NEG-give.PRS-AUG-3PL:A]: (JE.85); *dê=ndê=ne* [give.PST.PTCP.PL=2PL=POVB]: (BP.156)
dad /daɾˤ/ (N.M) yell, succour, cry • (DG.33); *dad-ê* [succour.M-PL.DIR]: (DG.43); *daḋ* [cry.M]: (ZB.60)
dagîr /da'gɪr/ (ADJ) occupied • (DP.18)
damang /da'mang/ (ADJ) helpless •
dan /dan/ (N.M) lap • *dan* [(KŞ.96)
danedes /danæ'dæs/ (N.M) handing over • *danedes=o* [handing_over.M=POST]: (RE.15)
dar /daɾ/ (N.M) tree • *dar-ê* [tree.M-INDF]: (ZP.23); *dar-êwe* [tree.M-INDF]: (ZB.38); *dar-eke*. [tree.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (ZP.24)
dara, dar /dara, daɾ/ (V.TR) hold, water • *dâr-e* [hold.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (HB.43); *dara-î=ne* [hold.PST-2SG:R=POVB]: (BP.163); *ne-dara-î=ne* [NEG-hold.PST-

- 2SG:R=POVB]: (BP.164); *dara=b-one* [hold.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:O]: (BP.167)
- daresan** /dɑræ'san/ (N.M) woodland • (ZP.12)
- dastane** /das'tanæ/ (N.F) story • *dastan(e)-ê* [story.F-INDF]: (ZP.7); *dastane* [story.F]: (ZP.7); *dastan(e)-ê* [story.F-INDF]: (BP.158): (JP.126)
- dawa** /da'wa/ (N.F) demand • (JH.57)
- dax** /dax/ (N.M) sorrow • *dax-eke-y* [sorrow-DEF.M.SG.DIR-EZ.ATTR]: (HB.19); *dax* [sorrow]: (HB.19); *xefet=it* [sorrow.M=2SG:PSR]: (HB.31); *xem=it* [sorrow.M=2SG:PSR]: (PM.40)
- de** /dæ/ (NUM) ten • (JE.28)
- dega** /dægɑ/ (N.F) village • *degewe* [village.F-INDF]: (ZP.5); *dega-û* [village.F-EZ.GEN]: (DG.54); *dega-(e)kê=we* [village.F-DEF.F.SG=POST]: (ZP.3); *dega* [village.F]: (ZP.39); *dega* [village.f]: (ZP.41) *dega=we* [village.F=POST]: (ZP.65); *dege* [village.F.SG.OBL]: (JP.6); *dega-(e)kê* [village.F-DEF.F.SG]: (JH.15); *dege* [village.F.SG.OBL]: (JH.30); *dega=ne* [village.OBL.F=POST]: (JH.109)
- dele** /'dælæ/ (N.F) female dog •
- delek** /dæ'læk/ (N.M) stone marten •
- dem** /dæm/ (N.M) mouth •
- demê** /'dæme/ (ADV) once • *dem-ê* [once-INDF]: (HB.25)
- deng** /dæng/ (N.M) noise • *deng-ê* [noise.M-PL.DIR]: (ZP.60); *deng* [noise.M]: (BP.193)
- denîwle** /dæniw'læ/ (ADJ) small • *denîwle* [small]: (JE.26)
- deramed** /dæɾɑ'mæɾ/ (N.M) income • *deramed-ê* [income-INDF]: (JM.62)
- derde** /'dærdæ/ (N.F/M) illness • *derde=ma* [illness.F]: (DG.7); *derd(e)-ê* [illness.F-INDF]: (DG.12); *derde-(e)kê=ş* [illness.F-DEF.F.SG=3SG:PSR]: (DG.13); *derde* [illness.F]: (DG.22); *derd(e)-ê* [illness-F.SG.OBL=DEM]: (DG.38); *derde=ş* [illness.F=3SG:R]: (DG.43); *derd(e)-ê* [illness.F-INDF]: (DG.43); *derd-i* [illness.M-SG.OBL]: (ZP.33)
- derdwarde** /dæɾɾ'war'dæ/ (ADJ) qualified • *derdwarde=n* [qualified.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ŞC.92); *derdwarde* [qualified.M]: (ŞC.101)
- dere** /dæ'ræ/ (N.M) valley • *der(e)-ê* [valley.M-INDF]: (ZB.36); *dere* [valley.M]: (DG.18); *dere-i* [valley.M-SG.OBL]: (JH.23)
- deredaymê** /dæɾædaɟ'me/ (ADV) all the time • (HB.7)
- derman** /dæɾ'man/ (N.M) treatment • (ZP.33)
- ders, derz** /dæɾs, dæɾz/ (N.M) lesson • *derz* [lesson.M]: (ZP.15); *ders* [lesson.M]: (JP.93); *ders-ê* [lesson.M-INDF]: (JH.104)
- derwaze** /dæɾwɑ'zæ/ (N.M) gate •
- des** /dæs/ (N.M) hand • *des=o* [hand.M=POST]: (DP.19); *des=ş=o* [hand.M=3SG:PSR=POST]: (RE.30); *des-i* [hand-ADJZR]: (JE.42)
- deseçiraw** /dæsætʃi'raw/ (N.M) hand lump • *deseçiraw-ê* [hand_lump-INDF]:

- (JE.41); *deseçiraw-eke* [hand_lump-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (JE.41)
deselat /dæsə'lat/ (N.M) power, authority • *deselat-ê* [power.M-INDF]: (ZQ.42);
deselat [power.M]: (ZP.55); *deselat-ê* [power.M-PL.DIR]: (ZP.55)
desgîr /dæs'gîr/ (ADJ) hand cuffed • (DP.41)
desgîran /dæs'gîran/ (N.M) betrothed • *desgîrane* [betrothed.F]
desûr /dæs'sur/ (N.M) order, task • *desûr-ê* [order.M-INDF]: (JP.126); *desûr* [task.M]: (JH.78)
dewayî /dæwə'ji/ (N.M) medication • *dewayî-eke* [medication-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (DG.66)
dewlet /dæw'læt/ (N.M) domestic animal • *dewlet-î* [animal-M.SG.OBL=and]: (ZP.16)
dewletmen /dæw'læt'mæn/ (ADJ) rich • *dewletmen-ter* [rich-CMPR]: (JM.44)
dewr /dæwr/ (QUANT) around • *dewr-û* [around-EZ.GEN]: (ZB.12); *dewr=ne* [around=POST]: (ZB.12); *gerûber-û* [around-EZ.GEN]: (ZP.75)
dewr, **dewre** /dæwr, dæw'ræ/ (N.M) round, period • (ZP.113);
dewr=şa [round=3PL:PSR]: (DP.51); *dewr* [round]: (JP.224); *dewr=şa=ne* [around=3PL:PSR=POST]: (ZP.67); *dewr-î* [period.M-SG.OBL]: (DP.54)
dewrî /dæw'ri/ (N.M) plate •
dexalet /dæxə'læt/ (N.M) intervention • (DP.51)
deşfe, **dehfê** /dæşfæ, 'dæhfæ/ (N.F) exclusion, time • *deşfe* [exclusion.F](DG.28);
dehfê [time.F]: (KŞ.27)
dê /de/ (N.F) village • (BP.177)
dêdê /de'de/ (N.F) older sister • (JH.45)
dêyê /de'ye/ (N.F) step-mother •
dêhat /de'at/ (N.M) village • *dêhat* [village.M]: (JP.162)
dêr /der/ (ADJ) late • *dêr* [late]: (BP.32); *dêr=a* [late=COP.3SG.M:S]: (BP.192)
dêw /dew/ (N.M) ogre, demon • *dêw-ê* [ogre.M-PL.DIR]: (ZP.67); *dêw-a* [ogre.M-PL.OBL]: (JP.196); *dêw-eke* [ogre.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (JP.201); *dêw-ê* [ogre.M-INDF]: (JP.192); *dêw-a=re* [ogre.M-PL.OBL=POST]: (JP.200); *dêw-e* [ogre-DEF]: (JP.202)
dil, **dilê** /dîl, dîle/ (ADP/ADV) in, inside • *dil-û* [inside-EZ.GEN]: (JP.203); *nawe* [inside]: (DG.51); *dilê* [inside]: (JM.31); *dilê* [inside]: (JH.114); *dilne* [inside]: (JE.26)
dîl /dîl/ (N.M) heart • *dîl-î* [heart.M-SG.OBL]: (HB.28); *dîl-î* [heart.M-EZ.ATTR]: (DP.38); *dîl=iş=ne* [heart.M=3SG:PSR=POST]: (JP.149)
dîlweşî /dîlwæ'şî/ (N.M) joy • (ZP.53)
dima, **duma** /di'ma, dʊ'ma/ (ADV.M/F) afterwards • *dima-î* [afterwards-M.SG.OBL]: (ZP.25); *dima=we* [afterwards=POST]: (ZP.124); *dima-ê* [afterwards-OBL.F]: (JP.80); *dima* [afterwards]: (BP.173); *duma* [afterwards]: (RE.26)
dinya /din'ja/ (N.F) world • *dinya* [world.F.SG.DIR]: (JP.243); *dinya=ne*

[world.F.SG.DIR=POST]: (ŞC.105); *dinye* [world.F.SG.OBL]: (JM.13)

dirêj /di'rez/ (ADJ) long •

dirwê /di'rwe/ (N.F) lie, falsehood • *dirwê* [lie.F]: (BP.211); *diro* [lie]: (JP.64)

dir /dir/ (ADJ) strong •

dirê /di're/ (N.F) prickly • (RE.66)

dizî /di'zi/ (N.M) theft • *dizî* [theft.M]: (JM.14)

dizî, diz /dizi, diz/ (V.TR) steal • *diz(i)-i* [steal.PST-NMLZ]: (JM.29); *dizîye=n* [steal.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JM.29)

dijmanî /diž'mani/ (N.F) oath, swear word •

dî, wîn /di, win/ (V.TR) see • *wîn-o* [see.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (KŞ.92); *dî-ê* [see.PST-3PL:O]: (ZP.15); *dî-Ø* [see.PST-3SG.M:O]: (KŞ.22); *me-wîn-o=ş* [NEG.IND-see.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O]: (JP.189); *me-wên-o* [NEG.IND-see.PRS-3SG:A]: (JP.190); *vîn-î* [see.PRS.IND-2SG:A]: (JE.4)

dîm /dim/ (N.M) side • *dîm* [side]: (JP.31); *dîm=ne* [side.M=POST]: (BP.178); *dîm=ew* [side.M=POST]: (JH.6)

dîmandîm /diman'dim/ (ADJ) wide • *dîmandîm-ê* [wide-INDF]: (ZP.12); *pan-e* [wide-F]: (JP.171)

dîndarî /dinda'ri/ (N.M) piety • (DG.10)

dîya, diye /dija, dijæ/ (V.INTR) look • *mi-ďy(e)-a* [IND-look.PRS-3PL:S]: (ZB.27); *mi-ďy(e)-o* [IND-look.PRS-3SG:S]: (KŞ.7); *mi-ďye-û* [IND-look.PRS-1SG:S]: (ZP.45); *m-ďy(e)-a=we* [IND-look.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.106); *dîya=ş* [look.PST.3SG:S=3SG:R]: (KŞ.73)

dîyar /di'jar/ (N.M) region • (BP.189)

dîyar /di'jar/ (ADJ) apparent • (KŞ.46)

dîyarî /dija'ri/ (N.M) mark • (BP.200)

dona, don /dona, don/ (V.TR) talk to • *dón-mê* [talk_to.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A]: (JE.76); *don-ε* [talk_to.PST.COND.AUG.3SG:R]: (JE.77)

duktir, duktur /dʊk'tir, dʊk'tʊr/ (N.M) physician • *duktir* [physician.M]: (ZP.26); *duktur-ê* [physician.M-INDF]: (JP.148); *duktur-ê* [physician.M-PL.DIR]: (JP.148)

duwê /'dʊwe/ (NUM) two • *duwê* [two]: (JP.194); *ďw(e)-î* [two-M.SG.OBL]: (ZP.21); *duwe* [two.F]: (BP.150); *duw(e)-î* [two-M.SG.OBL]: (BP.40); *duwê* [two]: (BP.141); *duw(ê)-ê* [two-ORD]: (JM.3)

duş /dʊ'ʃa/ (N.F) prayer • *duş* [prayer.F.SG.DIR]: (DG.6)

dûbare /duba'ræ/ (ADV) again • (BP.173)

dûkandar /dukan'dar/ (N.M) shopkeeper • (JM.8)

dûr /dur/ (ADJ) far • *dûr* [far]: (KŞ.48); *dûr=ew* [far=POST]: (JE.24); *dûr-ê* [far-INDF]: (BP.168); *dûr-e=ne* [far-F=COP.3SG.F:S]: (BP.191); *dûr-e* [far-F]: (JH.71)

e

- e** /ʔæ/ (ADP) in, from • *e=çê* [FROM=here]: (BP.167); *e=ça* [IN=there]: (BP.181)
- e** /ʔæ/ (PTCL) emphatic particle • *e=çîne* [EMPH=like_this]: (RE.62); *e=pase* [EMPH=like_this]: (JE.22); *e îne* [EMPH DEM.PROX.M.3SG.DIR]: (ZP.55)
- eger**, **er** /ʔæ'gær, ʔær/ (CONJ) if • *eger* [if]: (BP.163); *egerkete-(e)key* [if-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (DG.9); *er* [if]: (ŞC.98)
- ecya**, **eco** /ʔædʒja, ʔædʒo/ (V.INTR) guess • *eco=şa* [guess.PRS=3PL:NC]: (BP.105); *eco=ş* [guess.PRS=3SG:NC]: (KŞ.5)
- elʕan** /ʔel'ʕan/ (N.M) now • (JM.16)
- elbet**, **helbete** /ʔæɫbæt, hæɫbæt/ (ADV) of_course • *halbete* [of_course]: (ZB.57); *elbet* [of_course]: (ZP.40); *helbete=ne* [of_course=POST]: (KŞ.72)
- emaneketê** /ʔæmanækæ'te/ (CONJ) but • *emaneketê* [but]: (JP.144)
- emîn** /ʔæ'min/ (N.M) confidant • *emîn* [confidant.M]: (RE.16)
- emre** /ʔæmræ/ (N.F) command • *emre* [command.F]: (ZP.8)
- ena** /ʔæ'na/ (PTCL) otherwise • *ena=ne* [otherwise=POST]: (JM.59); *ena* [otherwise]: (JH.101)
- enaze** /ʔænə'zæ/ (N.M) proportion • (BP.189)
- epêne** /ʔæpe'næ/ (ADV) here • (KŞ.43)
- epêgene** /ʔæpe'gænæ/ (ADV) here • (BP.34)
- erê** /ʔære/ (CONJ) yes • (JP.184)
- esb** /ʔæsb/ (N.M) horse • *esb-î* [horse-M.SG.OBL]: (ŞC.53); *esb* [horse]: (ŞC.54); *esb-ekey* [horse-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (KŞ.100)
- eslehe** /ʔæslæ'hæ/ (N.M) gun • *eslehe* [gun.M=3SG:NC]: (KŞ.4)
- eşkewte** /ʔæʃkæwtæ/ (N.F) cave • *eşkewt(e)-êwe* [cave.F-INDF]: (ZB.5); *eşkewte-(e)kê* [cave.F-DEF.F.SG]: (DG.19)
- ew** /ʔæw/ (PRO) he, that • *ew* [3SG.M.DIR]: (RE.67); *ewê* [3SG.F.DIR]: (ZB.16); *ewî* [3SG.OBL.M]: (ZB.41)
- ewel** /ʔæ'wæɫ/ (ADJ) first • (JM.4)
- ewê**, **ewêşa** /ʔæwe, ʔæwe'ʃa/ (PRO) they, those • *ewê* [3PL.DIR]: (BP.73); *ewêşa* [3PL.DIR]: (BP.111); *ewîşa* [3PL.OBL]: (BP.138);
- ewse**, **ewsa** /ʔæwsæ, ʔæwsa/ (ADV) previously, long ago • *ewse-î* [past.M-SG.OBL]: (RE.33); *ewsa-î* [past.M-SG.OBL]: (RE.42)
- extîyar** /ʔæxti'ja/ (N.M) control • (JM.38)
- eya**, **eda** /ʔæ'ja, ʔæɫja/ (N.F) mother • *eyê* [mother.F.SG.OBL]: (ZP.3); *eda* [mother.F]: (RE.28); *eye* [mother.F.SG.OBL]: (KŞ.1); *eda-(e)kê* [mother.F-DEF.F.SG]: (KŞ.23); *eda-(e)kê* [mother.F-DEF.F.SG]: (KŞ.24); *eye=m=o* [mother.OBL.F=1SG:PSR=POST]: (JH.1); *edê* [mother.F.SG.OBL]: (JE.74)
- ezem** /ʔæ'zæm/ (ADJ) adolescent, unmarried • *ezeme* [adolescent-F]: (ZB.8)
- ezyet** /ʔæz'jæt/ (N.M) irritation • *ezyet* (BP.102)

ê

êgehe, **êge** /ʔegæ'hæ, ʔe'gæ/ (ADV) here • *êgehe* [here]: (DP.7)

êhwał /ʔeh'wał/ (N.M) demeanour • (KŞ.82)

ême /ʔe'mæ/ (PRO) we • (PM.20)

ênne, **inne** /ʔen'næ, ʔin'næ/ (ADV) so long, so much • (KŞ.44)

êsał /ʔe'sał/ (ADV) this year • (PM.37)

êşew /ʔe'şew/ (ADV) tonight • (JP.62)

êtir /ʔe'tir/ (PTCL) any more, well, then, else • (ZP.48)

f

fars /fars/ (N.M) Persian • *fars-a* [Persian-PL.OBL]: (JM.38)

fařa, **fař** /fara, far/ (V.TR) change • *fařya=n* [change.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ŞC.48)

felec /fæ'lædʒ/ (ADJ) disabled • *felec-e* [disabled-F]: (JP.149)

felecî /fæ'læ'dʒi/ (N.M) disability • *felecî-ekey* [disability-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (JP.149)

feqî /fæ'qi/ (N.M) theologian • *feqî-êwe* [theologian.M-INDF]: (ZP.23)

feqîgerî /fæqigæ'ri/ (N.M) Islamic jurisprudence • (JP.78)

feqîr /fæ'qir/ (ADJ) poor •

fermande /færman'dæ/ (N.M) leader • (PM.5))

fermawa, **fermaw** /færmawa, færmaw/ (V.TR) say • *ne-fermawa* [NEG-say.PST]: (HB.17); *fermawa=ş* [say.PST=3SG:A]: (ZP.4); *fermaw-o* [say.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (ZP.101); *fêrmaw-dê* [say.PRS.IMP-2PL:A]: (HB.51); *fermawe=b-ê* [say.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:O]: (PM.20); *fermawa=n* [say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JP.83); *fermawa* [say.PST]: (ŞC.77); *fermawe=b-a* [say.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3PL:O]: (ŞC.94); *fermaw-î* [say.PRS.IND-2SG:A]: (ŞC.102); **fermawîşt** /færmaw'wişt/ (N.M) speech • *fermawîşt-ê* [speech.M-PL.DIR]: (ŞC.94)

ferq /færq/ (N.M) difference • (JH.100)

fers, **ferz** /færs, færz/ (N.M) guess • *fers* [guess.M]: (RE.11); *ferz* [guess.M]: (JM.23)

fewt /fæwt/ (N.M) death • (ZP.30)

fewtna, **fewtn** /fæwtna, fæwt/ (V.TR) destroy, kill • *fewtn-o* [destroy.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (KŞ.78)

fîlan /fi'lan/ (ADJ) such and such • (ZP.89)

fîlanekes /fi'lanæ'kæs/ (N.M) such and such person • (RE.44)

fîlanî /fi'lan'i/ (N.M) such and such person • (KŞ.86)

fire /fi'ræ/ (ADJ/ADV) much, very, a lot • *fire* [very]: (BP.158); *fir(e)-ê* [a_lot-INDF]: (ZB.18); *fire* [a_lot]: (JP.66); *firey* [a_lot]: (HB.30); *fir(e)-ê* [a_lot-PL]: (BP.110); *fir(e)-ê* [a_lot-F]: (JE.22)

firmanbirdar /firmanbirˈrʰar/ (ADJ) obedient • (RE.18)

filfor /filˈfor/ (ADV) immediately • (KŞ.80)

fotya, fotye /fotja, fotjæ/ (V.INTR) die • *foty(e)-o* [die.PRS-3SG:S]: (ZP.81)

g

ga, ge /ga, gæ/ (V.TR) fornicate • *ga* [fornicate.PST]: (HB.85)

gahen /ˈgahæn/ (ADV) maybe • (DG.28)

gahes /ˈgahæs/ (ADV) maybe • (DG.59)

gaw /gaw/ (N.M) bull • *gaw* [bull.M]: (ZP.79); *gaw-ê=şa* [bull.M-INDF=3PL:A]: (RE.13)

gawe /ˈgawæ/ (N.F) cow •

gel /gæl/ (ADP) with • (HB.59)

gele /gæˈlæ/ (N.M) herd • (KŞ.28)

gela /gæˈla/ (N.M) leaf • *getewe* [leaf.M-INDF]: (PM.24); *gela-ê* [leaf.M-INDF]: (PM.35)

genekari /gænækari/ (N.M) debauchery • (BP.35)

genmi /ˈgænmi/ (N.F) wheat • (PM.37)

gerek /gæˈræk/ (ADJ) necessary • *gerek=na* [necessary.M=COP.1SG:S]: (KŞ.56); *gerek-e=ne* [necessary-F=COP.3SG:F:S]: (JH.56)

germ /gærm/ (ADJ) warm •

gerûber /gæruˈbær/ (N.M) surrounding • (ZP.75)

gewre /gæwˈræ/ (ADJ) big, old • *gewre* [big]: (DG.9); *gewre-(e)kê=ş* [old-DEF.F.SG]: (JH.22)

gewregeri /gæwrægæˈri/ (N.M) greatness • (ZB.58)

gez /gæz/ (CLF) ell • *gez-ê* [ell.M-PL.DIR]: (RE.11)

gêla, gêt /gêla, gêt/ (V.INTR) return, wander • *gêla-ymê=we* [turn.PST-1PL:S=COMPL]: (ZP.10); *me-gêt-o=we* [NEG.IND-turn-3SG:S=COMPL]: (JP.194); *gêt-mê=we* [turn.PRS.SBJV-1PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.103); *gêt=nê=we* [turn.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.107); *gêla-(a)nê* [wander.PST-1SG:S]: (ZP.23); *gêt-e=ş* [wander.PRS.IMP-2SG:S=3SG:R]: (HB.90); *gêt-dê* [wander.PRS.IMP-2PL:S]: (DG.58); *gêt-o=we* [turn.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL]: (ZP.68); *gêt-dê=we* [turn.PRS.IMP-2PL:S=COMPL]: (ZP.70); *gêt-o* [wander.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (BP.143); *gêt-e* [wander.PRS.IMP-2SG:S]: (BP.160); *gêla=n* [wander.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ŞC.7)

gêlas /geˈlas/ (N.M) cherry •

gêlna, gêln /geˈlna, gêln/ (V.TR) lead, narrate • *gêln-o=we* [lead.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A=COMPL]: (HB.25); *gêlna=n* [lead.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (DG.10); *gêln-û=we* [narrate.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A=COMPL]: (ZP.7); *gêlna=we* [narrate.PST.3SG:O=POST]: (JP.77); *gêln-o=we* [narrate.PRS.IND-3SG:A=COMPL]:

(JH.46)

gêrt, gêr /gert, ger/ (v.TR) grab, take • *gêrte=n* [grab.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:R]: (DP.29); *girtê=ne* [grab.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O]: (JP.178); *girte=n* [grab.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (BP.139); *gêr-o=ş* [take.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3SG:O]: (ZB.57); *gêr-o* [take.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (RE.30); *gêêr-dê* [take.PRS.IMP-2PL:A]: (DP.51); *gêr-a* [take.PRS.IND-3PL:A]: (DP.52); *girt-Ø=şa* [take.PST-3SG.M:O=3PL:A]: (BP.92); *gêr-a=şa* [take.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3PL:O]: (KŞ.47); *gêrtê=nê* [take.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O]: (JE.66); *gêrt-Ø* [grab.PST-3SG.M:O]: (ZP.18)

gêsk /gesk/ (N.M) male goat (one years old) •

gi /gi/ (QUANT) each, every • *gi* [each]: (DP.34)

gicî /gi'dʒi/ (N.M) shirt •

gimêz /gi'mez/ (N.M) urine •

giran /gi'ran/ (ADJ) expensive •

girewa, girew /giræwɑ, giræw/ (v.INTR) cry • ; *gireway* [cry.INF]: (BP.153); *girew-î* [cry.PRS.IND-2SG:S]: (BP.154); *girew-û* [cry.PRS.IND-1SG:S]: (BP.155); *girewε=b-a* [cry.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-3PL:S]: (JE.64)

gird /girʔ/ (QUANT) all, every • *gird* [all] (BP.54); *gird* [every]: (BP.143)

girdçê /girʔtʃe/ (ADV) everything • (JE.72)

girdkar /girʔkar/ (N.M) know all • (JM.14)

girdkes /girʔkæs/ (INDF.PRO) everyone • (JE.11)

girîna, girîn /girina, girin/ (v.TR) boil • *girîn-o=şa* [boil.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3PL:O]: (JH.93)

gizerî /gi'zæri/ (N.F) carrot •

gîr /gir/ (N.M) hook • (ZP.111)

gîsna, gîsn /gisna, gisn/ (v.TR) start, turn on • *gîsn-e=ne* [start.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=POVB]: (JH.27)

gîyan /gi'jan/ (N.M) soul • *gîyan-ê* [soul.M-INDF]: (ZP.23)

gîyan /gi'jan/ (N.VOC) dear • *gîyan* [dear.VOC]: (BP.172)

gonî /go'ni/ (N.M) udder •

gorewe /goræ'wæ/ (N.M) sock •

goş /goʃ/ (N.M) ear • BP.167)

goşdar /goʃdar/ (N.M) listener • *goşdar-a* [listener.M-PL.OBL]: (KŞ.2)

goşe /goʃæ/ (N.M) corner • *goşe-û* [corner-EZ.GEN]: (HB.48); *kunc-êw* [corner-INDF]: (ŞC.67); *kenare* [corner]: (KŞ.21); *keleke=re* [corner=POST]: (JE.41)

gul /gʊl/ (ADJ) bad •

gulî /gʊli/ (N.M) leprosy • (DG.22)

gum /gʊm/ (ADJ) lost • *gum-ê* [lost-PL]: (ŞC.38); *gum* [lost]: (ŞC.39); *gum-e* [lost-F]: (ŞC.41)

guna /gʊ'na/ (N.F) sin • *guna-(e)kê* [sin.F-DEF.F.SG]: (DG.67)

gunc /gʊndʒ/ (N.M) earthenware pipe • *gunc-ê* [earthenware_pipe.M-PL.DIR]: (DP.31)

gunc /gʊrdʒ/ (ADJ) alert • (HB.15)

guzer /gʊ'zæɾ/ (N.M) path • *guzer-êwe=ne* [path-INDF=POST]: (JP.97)

guzeran /gʊzæ'ran/ (N.M) subsistence • (DG.21)

gû /gu/ (N.M) excrement •

gûwîne /guwî'næ/ (ADJ) sickly, unhealthy • (ZP.19)

h

haɫ /haɫ/ (N.M) state • (BP.202)

haɫe /'haɫæ/ (N.F) consciousness • *haɫ(e)-ê* [state-F.SG.OBL]: (ZP.82)

haɫêhazirî /haɫehazi'ri/ (ADV) at the moment • *haɫêhazir-î* [at_the_moment-M.SG.OBL]: (JM.16)

haɫî /ha'ɫi/ (ADJ) understood • *haɫî* [understood]: (HB.92); *haɫî-e* [understood-F]: (JP.73)

hamin /ha'min/ (N.M) summer • *hamin* [summer.M]: (DP.30); *hamin-î* [summer.M-SG.OBL]: (ZB.7)

hamîlê, **hamlê** /hamî'le, ham'le/ (ADJ) pregnant • *hamîlê=ne* [pregnant.F=COP.3SG.F:S]: (BP.185); *hamîlê* [pregnant.F]: (BP.205); *hemlî-e* [pregnant-F]: (ZP.13); *hamlê* [pregnant.F]: (KŞ.18)

hamsa /ham'sa/ (N.M) neighbour •

hane /ha'næ/ (N.M) water spring • *han(e)-êwe* [water_spring.M-INDF]: (KŞ.4); *hane* [water_spring.M]: (JE.15)

har /har/ (ADJ) restless •

hardî /'hardi/ (N.F) flour • *hardî* [flour.F.PL.DIR]: (ZB.28); *hardî* [flour.F.SG.DIR]: (HB.20); *hard(i)-a* [flour.F-PL.OBL]: (HB.73); *hard(i)-eka* [flour.F-DEF.PL.OBL]: (RE.19)

hawmaɫ /haw'maɫ/ (N.M) neighbour (of the same status) • (RE.5)

hay /haj/ (N.M) awareness • *hay* [awareness=3SG:NC]: (BP.190)

heçî, **heçê** /hæ'tʃi, hæ'tʃe/ (QUANT) every, no matter how much, no matter how many • (JP.148); *heçê* [no_matter_how_many]: (BP.87)

heçkes, **herkes** /hæ'tʃkæs, hæɾ'kæs/ (INDF.PRO) whoever, anyone, everyone • *heçkes* [whoever]: (JH.64); *heçkes-ê* [whoever-INDF]: (BP.17); *heçkes-î* [whoever-M.SG.OBL]: (BP.70); *herkes-ê* [everyone-INDF]: (BP.30);

heke, **hekê** /hæ'kæ, hæ'ke/ (CONJ) if, when, well • *hekê* [rel] (BP.124); *heke* [well]: (BP.1; *hekê* [when]: (KŞ.45)

heɫay /hæ'ɫaj/ (ADV) yet, still • (BP.132)

heɫbet /hæɫ'bæt/ (ADV) obviously • (PM.52)

heľû /hæ'ľu/ (N.M) eagle •

hem /hæm/ (CONJ) and, both • *hem* [and]: (JP.94); *we* [and]: (JP.268); *hem* [both]: (JP.94)

hemahengi /hæmahæn'gi/ (N.M) cooperation • (RE.22)

hemîşe /hæmi'şæ/ (ADV) always • *hemîşe* [always]: (HB.7); *hemîşe-î* [always-M.SG.OBL]: (PM.42)

hen /hæn/ (N.M) side • *hen-a=hur* [side-PL.OBL=POST]: (ZP.34); *hen* [side]: (JP.197); *hen-a* [side.M-PL.OBL]: (ZP.89)

hen /hæn/ (N.M) being • (KŞ.72)

henar /hæ'nar/ (N.M) pomegranate • *henar-a* [pomegranate.M-PL.OBL]: (ZP.120); *henar* [pomegranate.M]: (JP.249)

hengame /hæn'gamæ/ (N.F) step •

hengûrî /hæn'guri/ (N.F) grapes •

hencîr /hæn'dʒir/ (N.M) fig tree •

hencîrî /hæn'dʒiri/ (N.F) fig •

heq /hæq/ (N.M) right • (PM.20)

heq /hæq/ (N.M) salary • (RE.65)

heqetine /hæqæti'næ/ (ADJ) real • (JP.1)

her /hær/ (PTCL) again, every, each, any, just, emphatic particle • *her* [again]: (KŞ.1); *her* [each]: (DP.54); *herçê* [every]: (HB.5); ; *heçî* [every]: (JP.148); *her* [every]: (BP.165); *her* [just]: (PM.3); *her* [EMPH]: (JP.136)

her /hær/ (N.M) donkey • *her-ê* [donkey.M-INDF]: (HB.9); *her-ekey* [donkey.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (HB.11); *her-e-î* [donkey.M-SG.OBL]: (HB.15); *her-eke* [donkey.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (HB.31); *her* [donkey]: (HB.46); *her-e* [donkey.M-DEF.DIR]: (HB.48); *her-ekey=we* [donkey.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST]: (HB.61); *her-î=m=e* [donkey.M-SG.OBL=1SG:A=DEM]: (HB.67) *her-î* [donkey.M-SG.OBL]: (HB.91); *her-a* [donkey.M-PL.OBL]: (HB.85)

herbene /hærbæ'næ/ (N.M) donkey keeper • *herbene* [donkey_keeper.M]: (HB.69); *herbene-î=we* [donkey_keeper.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (JM.5)

herçî, herçê /hær'tʃi, hær'tʃe/ (INDF.PRO) what ever, however much • *herçî* [what_ever]: (JP.98); *herçê* [whatever]: (ZP.55); *herçê* [however_much]: (ŞC.89)

herçîw /hær'tʃiw/ (INDF.PRO) any • (ZP.26)

herd /hærd/ (N.M) rocky mountain • *herd-ekey* [rocky_mountain-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (KŞ.24)

hereme /hæ'ræmæ/ (N.F) wife • *hereme* [wife.F]: (JP.22); *herem(e)-ê* [wife-F.SG.OBL]: (JP.72); *herem(e)-û* [wife.F-EZ.GEN]: (JP.158)

hergîz /hær'giz/ (ADV) never • (ZP.109)

herkam /hær'kam/ (INDF.PRO) whoever • (JE.64)

herkey /hær'kæj/ (INDF.PR) each time • (KŞ.28)

- hermanber** /hæɾman'bær/ (N.M) worker • (KŞ.43)
hermane /hæɾ'manæ/ (N.F) work • *hermanê=re* [work.OBL.F=POST]: (ŞC.66);
hermane [work.F]: (ŞC.86)
heře /'hæɾæ/ (N.F) mud •
herzan /hæɾ'zan/ (ADJ) cheap •
hesab /hæ'sab/ (N.M) account • *hesab-ê* [account.M-PL.DIR]: (DP.46)
hesar /hæ'sar/ (N.M) small wall • *hesar-ê* [wall-INDF]: (BP.203); *hesar-î=ewe*
[wall.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (DP.30)
hesare /hæ'saræ/ (N.M) star •
hesere /hæ'særæ/ (N.F) mule • *hesere* [mule.F]: (JE.35)
hesirwe /hæ'sirwæ/ (N.F) mother-in-law •
hesûre /hæ'su'ræ/ (N.M) father-in-law •
heşe /'hæʃæ/ (N.F) bear •
heşpişi /hæʃ'piʃi/ (N.F) lice • *heşpiş(i)-a* [lice.F-PL.OBL]: (BP.149)
heşt /hæʃt/ (NUM) eight • (JM.16)
heştâ /hæʃta/ (NUM) eighty • (JM.1)
heştâûyî /hæʃta'ûji/ (N.F) plum •
heta /hæ'ta/ (CONJ) as long as, even • *ênne* [(JP.244)
hetim /hæ'tim/ (N.M) orphan • (JP.9)
hewa /hæ'wa/ (N.M) air • *hewa=we* [air=POST]: (JP.71)
hewar /hæ'war/ (N.M) summer habitat • *hewar-ê* [summer_habitat.M-PL.DIR]:
(JE.3); *hewar* [summer_habitat.M]: (JE.8); *hewar=ne* [summer_habitat.M=POST]:
(JE.10)
heweř /hæ'wær/ (N.M) pot • *heweř-ekey* [pot.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (JH.44)
hewr /hæ'wr/ (N.M) cloud • *hewr-ê* [cloud-INDF]: (ZB.11)
hewramîyane /hæ'wramija'næ/ (N.M) vernacular of Hewramî • (JH.23)
hewrêşe /hæ'w'reʃæ/ (N.F) rabbit •
heyadar /hæja'dar/ (ADJ) ashamed • *heyadar* [ashamed]: (JP.180)
heywan, heywan /hæj'wan, hæj'wan/ (N.M) animal • *heywan-î* [domestic_animal.M-SG.OBL]: (ZP.16); *heywan-ekey* [animal.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (ZB.5); *heywane*
[animal.F.SG.DIR]: (ZB.21); *heywan-ê* [animal.M-PL.DIR]: (ZB.31); *heywan-î* [animal.M-SG.OBL]: (ZP.9); *heywan-ekey* [animal.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (JP.18); *heywan-ê*
[animal.M-INDF]: (JP.230); *heywan* [animal.M.SG.DIR]: (BP.16)
hezar /hæ'zar/ (NUM) thousand • (DP.56)
hêlyanî /hel'jani/ (N.F) nest • *hêlyanî* [nest]: (BP.151)
hêle /he'læ/ (N.M) egg • *hêl(e)-ê* [egg.M-PL.DIR]: (JH.81); *hêle* [egg.M]: (JH.87)
hêleke /he'lækæ/ (N.F) fine sieve •
hêleřûwenî /he'læru'wæni/ (N.F) fried egg • *hêleřûwenî* [fried_egg.F]: (HB.39);
hêleřûwenî [fried_egg.F.SG.DIR]: (HB.56)

hêwer /he'wæɾ/ (N.M) husband's brother •

hêzmî /'hezmi/ (N.F) firewood • *hêzm(i)-ê* [firewood.F-PL.DIR]: (ZP.13); *hêzm(i)-ê* [firewood-F.SG.OBL]: (JP.25); *hêzmî=re* [firewood.F=POST]: (ŞC.66); *hêzmî* [firewood.PL.DIR=3PL:A]: (JE.33)

hikayet /hika'jæt/ (N.M) tale • *hekayet-ê* [tale.M-INDF]: (JH.27); *hekayet-ekey* [tale.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (JH.27)

hiłoše /hi'łoʃæ/ (N.F) cracked wheat • *hiłoše* [cracked_wheat.F.SG.DIR]: (ZP.118); *hiłoš(e)-ê* [cracked_wheat-F.SG.OBL]: (JP.247)

hiçkam /hiʃ'kam/ (INDF.PRO) no one • (PM.39)

hiçke /hiʃ'kæ/ (ADV) never • (JP.245)

hiçkes /hiʃ'kæs/ (INDF.PRO) no one •

hîcbî /hidʒ'bi/ (N.M) betrothal • (JE.80)

hîmaye /hima'jæ/ (N.M) support • *himaye-î* [support.M-SG.OBL]: (DG.4)

hît /hit/ (N.M) pair • *hît-ê* [pair-PL]: (RE.11)

hîzî /hi'zi/ (ADV) yesterday •

hîzî /hi'zi/ (N.M) adultery • *hîzî* [adultery.M.SG]: (JM.14)

hoş, wiş /hoʃ, wiʃ/ (N.M) memory • *hoş* [memory.M]: (BP.13); *wiş* [memory.M]: (JE.83)

hurêst, hurêz /hʊ'rest, hʊ'rez/ (V.INTR) rise, get up • *hur-m-êz-a=we* [PVB-IND-rise.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL]: (HB.2); *hur-m-êz-o* [PVB-IND-rise.PRS-3SG:S]: (BP.151); *hur-b-êz-e* [PVB-IMP-rise.PRS-2SG:S]: (HB.90); *hur-m-êz-o=we* [PVB-IND-rise.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL]: (ZP.37); *hur-b-êz-o=we* [PVB-SBJV-rise.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL]: (BP.192); *hur-b-êz-dê* [PVB-IMP-rise.PRS-2PL:S]: (ŞC.37); *hur-n(e)-êz-dê=we* [PVB-NEG.SBJV-rise.PRS-2PL:S=COMPL]: (KŞ.87); *hur-êşê=nê* [PVB-rise.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (JE.37)

hukim, hukm /hʊ'kim, hʊkm/ (N.M) rule, ruler • *hukim* [rule.M]: (KŞ.47); *hukm* [rule.M-EZ.GEN]: (BP.21); *hukm* [ruler.M]: (KŞ.3)

hukimřew /hʊkim'ræw/ (N.M) governor • (DP.21)

hurmet /hʊr'mæt/ (N.M) respect • (RE.10)

hurpiřa, hurpiř /hʊrpiɾa, hʊrpiɾ/ (V.INTR) jump, dance • *hur-piř-a* [PVB-jump.PRS.IND-3PL:S]: (JP.56)

hurwest, hurwez /hʊrwæst, hʊrwæz/ (V.INTR) climb • *hur-wez-o* [PVB-climb.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (DG.62); *wéz-û=re* [climb.PRS.SBJV-1SG:S=POVB=and]: (JP.161); *hur-wez-a* [PVB-climb.PRS-3PL:S]: (JP.186)

hutêle /hʊ'telæ/ (N.F) hotel •

h

hegał /hæ'gał/ (N.M) scarf •

hewt /hæwt/ (NUM) seven • (JM.26)

heywanben /hæjwan'bæn/ (N.M) herdsman • (JE.70)

heywandar /hæjwan'dar/ (N.M) herdsman • *heywandar* [herdsman]: (ZB.3);

heywandar-e [herdsman-DEF]: (ZB.5)

heywandari /hæjwanda'ri/ (N.M) animal husbandry • (JE.63)

i

islah /ʔis'lah/ (N.M) amendment • (DP.46)

ijdeha /ʔiʒdæ'ha/ (N.M) serpent •

î

îd /ʔiɾʸ/ (PRO) he, this • *îd* [3SG.PROX.DIR.M]: (BP.165) *îdî* [3SG.OBL.M=and]: (PM.43)

îcaze /ʔidʒa'zæ/ (N.M) permission • (PM.9)

îcra /ʔidʒ'ra/ (N.M) performance • (JP.244)

îla /ʔi'la/ (ADV) except • *îla* [except]: (JP.72)

îlay /ʔi'laʒ/ (ADV) for_sure • *îlay* [for_sure]: (JP.245)

îman /ʔi'man/ (N.M) belief • (KŞ.104)

îmtihan /ʔimti'han/ (N.M) test • *îmtihan-ê* [test.M-INDF]: (JP.62); *îmtihan-ê* [test.M-PL.DIR]: (JP.83)

îne /ʔi'næ/ (DEM.M) this, he • *îne* [DEM.PROX.OBL.M.3SG]: (BP.211); *îne*=*re* [DEM.PROX.M.3SG.OBL=POST]: (DG.60)

înê /ʔi'ne/ (DEM. PRO) this, she • *înê* [DEM.PROX.F.3SG.DIR]: (BP.208); *înê* [DEM.PROX.F.3SG.DIR]: (JE.53); *înî* [DEM.PROX.F.3SG.DIR]: (JP.213)

înê /ʔi'ne/ (DEM. PRO) these, they • *înê* [DEM.PROX.3PL.DIR]: (JH.87); *înîşa* [DEM.PROX.3PL.OBL]: (ZP.87)

încam /ʔin'dʒam/ (N.M) accomplishment • *încam* [accomplishment]: (JP.254)

însan /ʔin'san/ (N.M) human • *însan-ê* [human.M-PL.DIR]: (ŞC.28)

îraye /ʔira'jæ/ (N.M) volition • *îraye=ş=a* [volition=3SG:NC=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ZB.43)

îse /ʔi'sæ/ (ADV.M) now • *îse-î* [now-M.SG.OBL]: (JE.72); *îse* [now]: (ŞC.88); *îse=îç* [now=ADD]: (JM.56)

îsrahet /ʔisra'hæt/ (N.M) rest • (PM.45)

îstifade /ʔistifa'dæ/ (N.M) use • (JP.84)

îzafe /ʔiza'fæ/ (N.M) extra • *îzafe-î* [addition.M-SG.OBL]: (DP.35)

C

ca /dʒa/ (ADV) afterwards • *ca* [afterwards]: (BP.20);

camole /dʒamo'læ/ (N.M) small pot • (JE.27)

carê /dʒɑrɛ/ (ADV) once • *dem-ê* [once-INDF]: (HB.25); *carê* [once]: (JP.116)
cawê /dʒɑwæ/ (N.F) road • *caw(e)-ê* [road-OBL.F]: (ZP.53)
ce /dʒæ/ (ADP) in, from •
cemf /dʒæmf/ (ADJ/N) added • *cemf-ê* [added-PL]: (BP.98)
ceng /dʒæng/ (N.M) quarrel • (JH.62)
ceryan, cereyan /dʒærʃan, dʒæræʃan/ (N.M) story • *ceryan-ê* [story.M-INDF]: (JP.57); *cereyan-ê* [story.M-INDF]: (JP.259); *ceryan-e* [story.M-DEF]: (KŞ.106)
cezîre /dʒæziʀæ/ (N.M) island • *cezîre-î* [island-M.SG.OBL]: (JM.45)
cejne /dʒæʒnæ/ (N.F) celebration •
cima, cim /dʒima, dʒim/ (V.INTR) move • *cimay=ma=ra* [move.INF=1PL:PSR=POST]: (ZP.11); *cimε=re* [move.PST.3PL:S=POVB]: (HB.59); *cim-a=re* [move.PRS.IND-3PL:S=POVB]: (KŞ.53); *cím-dê=re* [move.PRS.IMP-2PL:S=POVB]: (BP.86); *cim-o=re* [move.PRS.IND-3SG:S=POVB]: (ŞC.80)
cîya /dʒiʃja/ (ADP) in place of, instead of • *cîya-w* [in_place_of-EZ.GEN]: (RE.12); *cîya* [instead_of]: (JP.37)
cîya /dʒiʃja/ (ADJ) separate • (JP.65)
cîyakar /dʒijaʃkar/ (ADJ) separate, special • *cîyekar-e* [separate-F]: (JP.63)
cîyay /dʒiʃja/ (ADV) behind • (ZB.42)
cor /dʒor/ (N.M) means • *cor* [means]: (KŞ.56)
cuwan /dʒuʷwan/ (ADJ/N.M) youth • *cuwan-ê* [youth.M-INDF]: (ZP.54); *cuwan-a* [youth.M-PL.OBL]: (ZP.54)
cuwanxas /dʒuʷwanʰxas/ (ADJ) gentlemanly, good looking • (KŞ.42)
cûwab, zûwab /dʒuʷwab, zuʷwab/ (N.M) response • *cûwab-ê* [response.M-INDF]: (RE.34); *zuwab* [reply.M]: (HB.31)

k

kabra /kabʰra/ (N.M) fellow, man • *kabra* [fellow]: (ZB.48); *kabra-êwe* [fellow-INDF]: (HB.49); *kabra-êwe* [man-INDF]: (HB.7); *kabra-(e)ke* [man-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (HB.60); *kabra-î* [man-M.SG.OBL]: (HB.67); *kabrê* [man.PL.DIR]: (BP.38);
kake /kaʰkæ/ (N.M.VOC) brother • *kake* [brother.VOC]: (ŞC.99)
kał /kał/ (ADJ) unripe •
kała, kał /kała, kał/ (V.TR) plant • *kał-o* [plant.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (JP.36)
kam /kam/ (Q) which • *kam* [which]: (PM.20)
kar /kaʰr/ (N.M) work, task • *kar-ê* [task.M-PL.DIR]: (HB.58); *kar-ê=we* [task.M-PL.DIR=POST]: (ZP.19); *kar-î* [task.M-EZ.ATTR]: (JP.71); *kar-eke* [task.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (RE.20)
kareker /kaʰræʰkær/ (N.M) worker • *karekere* [worker.F]
karîger /kariʰgær/ (N.M) labourer • (JM.28)

- karîgerî** /karigæ'ri/ (N.M) labourer job • *karîgerî=we* [labourer_job=POST]: (JM.4)
- karêz** /kɑ'rez/ (N.M) subterranean canal • *karêz* [subterranean_canal.M]: (JM.7)
- kardî** /'kɑrdi/ (N.F) knife • *kard(i)-ê* [knife-F.SG.OBL]: (BP.70); *kard(i)=û* [knife.F=and]: (BP.71)
- kasbî** /kas'bi/ (N.M) business • (JM.60)
- kawetirî** /kawæ'tiri/ (N.F) pigeon •
- keç** /kætf/ (ADJ) crooked • *keç-ê* [crooked-PL]: (DG.66); *keç-e* [crooked-F]: (JH.45); *keç=im* [crooked.M=1SG:A]: (JH.49)
- kel** /kæl/ (N.M) mountain • *kel-êwe* [mountain-INDF]: (ZP.12); *kel-eke=we* [mountain-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST]: (ZP.14); *kel-î* [mountain-M.SG.OBL]: (JH.5)
- kelam** /kæl'lam/ (N.M) speech • *kelam-î* [speech-M.SG.OBL]: (BP.127)
- keî** /kæi/ (N.M) male mountain goat •
- keleke** /kælə'kæ/ (N.M) small wall • *keleke=re* [corner=POST]: (JE.41)
- keleşîr** /kælə'sir/ (N.M) rooster • *keleşîr-ê* [rooster.M-INDF]: (RE.48); *keleşîr-êwe* [rooster.M-INDF]: (RE.54)
- kem** /kæm/ (ADJ) short, little • *kem-e* [short-F]: (JH.27); *kem* [little]: (DP.36); *kem-î* [little-M.SG.OBL]: (DP.36)
- kemûkoîrî** /kæmuko'ri/ (N.M) poverty • *kemûkoîrî* [poverty.M]: (JM.19); *nebiyey* [poverty.M]: (JM.56); *nebiyey=ş* [poverty.M=3SG:NC]: (JM.21); *nebiyey=we* [poverty.M=POST]: (JM.27)
- kenare** /kænɑ'ræ/ (N.M) corner • (KŞ.21)
- kenn, ken** /kænn, kæn/ (V.TR) mow, uproot • *keney* [mow.INF]: (RE.65); *kenne=n* [mow.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JE.12)
- keramat** /kærɑ'mat/ (N.M) supernatural power • (JP.109)
- kerd, ker** /kærd, kær/ (V.TR) do • *ker-o=we* [do.PRS.IND-3SG:A=COMPL]: (HB.15); *ker-ûne=û* [do.PRS.IND-1SG:A=and]: (HB.69); *kerd-e* [do.PST.3SG.F:O]: (JP.164); *kér-e* [do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (JP.165); *kerdê=ne* [do.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O]: (ZP.53); *me-kir-îy(e)-o* [NEG.IND-do.PRS-PASS-3SG:S]: (ZB.15); *ker-a* [do.PRS.IND-3PL:A]: (JE.79); *kerde=b-o* [do.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:O]: (ZB.59); *kér-û* [do.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A]: (JH.79); *kerd-Ø=ma* [do.PST-3SG.M:O=1PL:A]: (ZP.22); *kerd-Ø* [do.PST-3SG.M:O]: (ZP.30); *kerd-e* [do.PST-3SG.F:O]: (ZP.31); *kerdê=ne* [do.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O]: (DG.7); *kerde=n* [do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (BP.21); *kerde=nî* [do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:O]: (ZP.54); *kerd-ê=ş* [do.PST-3PL:O=3SG:A]: (HB.28); *ker-o* [do.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (ZP.97); *ne-kerdê=nê* [NEG-do.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O]: (HB.46); *kerd-ê* [do.PST-PL]: (HB.54); *kerd-Ø* [do.PST-3SG:R]: (HB.55); *kér-î* [do.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A]: (HB.83); *ne-kerde=nî* [NEG-do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:O]: (HB.92); *ker-û* [do.PRS.IND-1SG:A]: (JE.77); *kér-mê* [do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A]: (DP.44); *kér-dê* [do.PRS.IMP-2PL:A]: (KŞ.80); *ne-kir-ya=n* [NEG-do-PST.PASS=COP.3SG.M:S]: (PM.30); *kér-one* [do.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]:

(DG.4); *kerdê=ne* [do.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O]: (DP.17); *kér-e* [do.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (DG.49); *kér-o* [do.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]: (ŞC.91); *ker-ûne* [do.PRS.IND-1SG:A]: (DG.40); *ne-ker-o* [NEG.SBJV-do.PRS-3SG:A]: (DG.64); *kerd-Ø* [do.PST-3SG:O]: (DP.30); *me-ker-o* [NEG.IND-do.PRS-3SG:A]: (ZP.29); *kerd-e=we* [do.PST-3SG.F:O=COMPL]: (ZP.45); *kerde=na* [do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:O]: (ZP.107); *kér-îne* [do.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A]: (ZP.116); *kér-mê* [do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A]: (BP.156); *kér-mê=we* [do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A=COMPL]: (ZP.123); *kerdê=nê* [do.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O]: (BP.85); *kerd-Ø* [do.PST-3SG:O]: (JP.53); *ker-a=we* [do.PRS.IND-3PL:A=COMPL]: (JP.65); *me-ker-a* [NEG.IND-do.PRS-3PL:A]: (JP.145); *kér-o=we* [do.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A=COMPL]: (JP.154); *me-ker-e* [PROH-do.PRS-2SG.IMP:A]: (JP.175); *ker-û=t* [do.PRS.IND-1SG:A=2SG:O]: (JP.198); *me-ker-one* [NEG.IND-do.PRS-3SG:A]: (JP.212); *kér-mê=ş* [do.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A=3SG:O]: (JP.232); *kerdê=b-o=we* [do.PST.PTCP.F=be.PRS-3SG:O=COMPL]: (JP.261); *kerdê=nmê* [do.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:O]: (BP.10); *kér-a* [do.PRS.SBJV-3PL:A]: (RE.57); *ker-ên-ê* [do.PRS-AUG-3PL:A]: (BP.126); *ker-mê* [do.PRS.IND-1PL:A]: (JM.57); *ne-ker-mê* [NEG.SBJV-do.PRS-1PL:A]: (BP.123); *kér-dê=şa* [do.PRS.IMP-2PL:A=3PL:O]: (BP.130); *me-ker-dê* [PROH-do.PRS-2PL:A]: (BP.133); *ker-a=şa* [do.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3PL:O]: (BP.137); *ker-a=şa=ne* [do.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3PL:O=POVB]: (BP.139); *ker-a=şa=we* [do.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3PL:O=COMPL]: (BP.141); *me-ker-a=ş* [NEG.IND-do.PRS-3PL:A=3SG:O]: (BP.148); *kerde=n=şa* [do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3PL:A]: (BP.204); *kér-ûne* [do.PRS.SBJV-1SG:A]: (ŞC.98); *kerd-a* [do.PST-1SG:R]: (KŞ.9); *kerd(ê)-ê* [do.PST.PTCP.PL-3PL:O]: (JH.2); *kerd-ê* [do.PST-3PL:O]: (KŞ.83); *ne-kerd-ê* [NEG-do.PST-3PL:O]: (JH.30); *me-ker-î* [NEG.IND-do.PRS-2SG:A]: (JH.33); *ne-kerde=b-o* [NEG-do.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:O]: (JH.48); *ker-o=we* [do.PRS.IND-3SG:A=COMPL]: (JH.75); *kerd-î* [do.PST-2SG:O]: (JH.103); *kerde=na* [do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:R]: (JH.117); *kerde=n* [do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:R]: (RE.12); *ker-î* [do.PRS.IND-2SG:A]: (RE.50); *kerdey* [do.INF]: (RE.68); *kerde=n=o* [do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=COMPL]: (JE.9); *kerd-ê* [do.PST-3PL:O]: (JE.55); *ker-ê* [do.PRS-AUG.3SG:A]: (JE.80); *kerde=n* [do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JM.25); *ne-kerde=n* [NEG-do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JM.14); *kerde=n=ma* [do.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1PL:A]: (JM.34); *kerdê=nê* [do.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:R]: (JM.39); *ker-ên-mê* [do.PRS-AUG-1PL:A]: (JM.46)

kerê /'kære/ (N.F) butter •

kerge /'kærgæ/ (N.F) hen •

keř /kær/ (ADJ) deaf • (ZP.28)

keřet /kæ'ræt/ (N.M) time • *keřet-ê* [time.M-INDF]: (JP.193); *keřet-ê* [time.M-PL.DIR]: (JP.194)

kes /kæs/ (N.M) person • *kes-ê* [person.M-INDF]: (ZB.60); *kes-î* [person.M-SG.OBL]: (BP.165); *kes* [person.M]: (BP.70); *şexs-î=û* [person.M.SG.OBL=and]: (ZP.90); *şexs=e*

[person=DEM]: (ZP.90); *kese* [person.F=1SG:NC]: (JE.73)

kes /kæs/ (INDF.PRO) no one • *hiçkam=ma* [no_one=1PL:PSR]: (PM.39); *kesî* [no_one-M.SG.OBL]: (ZP.24)

kesûkar /kæsu'kar/ (N.M) relative • (KŞ.80)

keş /kæʃ/ (N.M) mountain • *kel-êwe* [mountain-INDF]: (ZP.12); *keş=o* [mountain.M=POST]: (DG.21); *keş* [mountain.M]: (JP.128); *keş=a=ne* [mountain.M=DEM.DIST=POST]: (ŞC.7); *keş=ne* [mountain.M=POST]: (ŞC.24); *keş=ene* [mountain.M=POST]: (KŞ.3)

keşkî /kæʃki/ (N.F) dried buttermilk •

keşkû baî /kæʃku ba'î/ (N.M) elbow •

ket /kæt/ (N.M) bed • *ket-ê* [bed-INDF]: (JP.69)

kewçe /kæwʃæ/ (CLF) six kilos • *kewçe* [six_kilos]: (ZP.118); *kewç(e)-ê* [six_kilos-INDF]: (JP.41)

kewe /'kæwæ/ (ADJ) blue •

kewt, *gin* /kæwt, gin/ (V.INTR) fall • *gin-mê* [fall.PRS.IND-1PL:S]: (ZB.7); *gin-o* [fall.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (KŞ.29); *kewt-Ø* [fall.PST-3SG.M:S]: (ZB.17); *gin-a=we* [fall.PRS.IND-3PL:S=COMPL]: (JH.15); *kewte=n=o* [fall.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=COMPL]: (HB.30); *me-gin-o* [NEG.IND-fall.PRS-3SG:S]: (ŞC.90); *kot* [fall.PST.3SG.M:S]: (HB.53); *kot-Ø* [fall.PST-3SG.M:S]: (HB.59); *ne-gina=n* [NEG-fall.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (PM.31); *ne-gin-o* [NEG.SBJV-fall.PRS-3SG:S]: (PM.36); *gîn-mê* [fall.PRS.SBJV-1PL:S]: (DG.42); *kote=n* [fall.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ZP.4); *gin-o=re* [fall.PRS-3SG:S=POVB]: (ZP.80); *gin-a* [fall.PRS.IND-3PL:S]: (BP.98); *gin-a=we* [fall.PRS.IND-3PL:S=POST]: (JP.100); *kote=na=we* [fall.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S=COMPL]: (JP.102); *gîn-û* [fall.PRS.SBJV-1SG:S]: (JP.161); *gin-o=re=we* [fall.PRS.IND-3SG:S=POVB=COMPL]: (JP.200); *gin-o=re* [fall.PRS.IND-3SG:S=POVB]: (JP.201); *gîn-o* [fall.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S]: (JP.235); *gin-a=re* [fall.PRS.IND-3PL:S=POVB]: (BP.98); *gin-ên-ê* [fall.PRS-AUG-3PL:S]: (BP.105); *gîn-o=we* [fall.PRS.SBJV-3SG:S=COMPL]: (BP.162); *kewt-Ø=o* [fall.PST-3SG.M:S=POST]: (BP.163); *gîn-e=we* [fall.PRS.IMP-2SG:S=COMPL]: (BP.165); *kewte=n=we* [fall.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=COMPL]: (BP.167); *gin-o=we* [fall.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL]: (BP.174); *ne-gin-a=we* [NEG.SBJV-fall.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.211); *ne-kewt-e* [NEG-fall.PST-3SG.F:S]: (KŞ.20); *kewte=n* [fall.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (KŞ.67); *kewte=na* [fall.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S]: (JM.9); *kewt-î* [fall.PST-NMLZ]: (JM.29); *kewtê=nê* [fall.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (JM.29)

kê /ke/ (Q) who • (KŞ.10)

kêşa, *kêş* /keʃa, keʃ/ (V.TR) weigh, pull • *kêş-o=ş* [weigh.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3SG:O]: (ZB.51); *kêşte=b-ê=ş* [weigh.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.SG:O=3SG:A]: (ZB.57); *kêştê=ne* [pull.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O]: (JP.118); *kêştê=ne*

[pull.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O]: (JP.122); *kêş-o* [pull.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (JP.140); *kêşa* [pull.PST.3SG:O]: (BP.198); *kêşa=nî* [pull.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:O]: (BP.199); *kêşa* [pull.PST.3SG:O]: (BP.203); *kêşte=n=şa* [pull.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3PL:A]: (BP.204)

kêşwer /keʃwær/ (N.M) country • *kêşwer* [country]: (JP.166); *kêşwer-êw* [country-INDF]: (JM.42); *kêşwer-eka* [country-DEF.PL.OBL]: (JM.43); *kîşwer-ê* [country-PL.DIR]: (JP.148)

kîlfet /kiʃfæt/ (N.M) family members • *kîlfet-ê* [child-PL.DIR]: (JE.44)

kinaçê /kinaʃe/ (N.F) girl, daughter • *kinaç(ê)-ekê* [girl.F-DEF.F.SG]: (ZP.36); *kinaç(ê)-ekê* [girl.F-DEF.F.SG]: (KŞ.65); *kinaç(ê)-a* [daughter.F-PL.OBL]: (JM.16)

kip /kip/ (ADJ) sealed • *kip-ê* [sealed-PL]: (JE.37)

kirmî /'kirmi/ (N.F) worm •

kirj /kirʒ/ (ADJ/ADV) quick • *kirj* [quick]: (ŞC.50); *kirj* [quickly]: (ŞC.68)

kite /ki'tæ/ (N.F) cat •

kitêb /ki'teb/ (N.M) book • *kitêb-êwe* [book.M-INDF]: (KŞ.8)

kîlo /ki'lo/ (N.M) kilo • *kîlo-ê* [kilo.M-PL.DIR]: (ZB.51)

kîse /ki'sæ/ (N.M) bag • *kîse=ş=ne* [bag.M=3SG:PSR=POST]: (KŞ.77)

kîsefi /ki'sæfi/ (N.F) tortoise • *kîset(i)-ê* [tortoise.F.SG.OBL]: (DG.49); *kîset(i)-êwe* [tortoise.F-INDF]: (DG.61); *kîset(i)-a* [tortoise.F-PL.OBL]: (DG.61); *kîsefi* [tortoise.F]: (DG.64); *kîset(i)-ê* [tortoise.F-INDF]: (DG.65)

kîyas, **kîyan** /kijas, kijan/ (V.TR) send • *kîyan-o* [send.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (PM.7); *kîyase=na=şa* [send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:O=3PL:A]: (PM.13); *kîyase=n=şa* [send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3PL:A]: (ZP.14); *kîyan-a=ş* [send.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3SG:O]: (JP.250); *kîyase=n=ş=o* [send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A=COMPL]: (ZP.21); *kîyan-î=ş* [send.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A=3SG:O]: (ZP.34); *kîyan-a* [send.PRS.IND-3PL:A]: (JP.38); *kîyase=n* [send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:R]: (JP.69); *kîyan-mê=ş* [send.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A=3SG:O]: (JP.78); *kîyan-o=ş=ewe* [send.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL]: (JP.96); *kîyan-o=we* [send.PRS.IND-3SG:A=COMPL]: (JP.109); *kîyan-o=ş=o* [send.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3SG:O=COMPL]: (JP.110); *kîyan-o=we* [send.PRS.IND-3SG:A=COMPL]: (JP.110); *kîyase=n* [send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JP.115); *kîyase=n=o* [send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=COMPL]: (JP.117); *kîyase=n=iş* [send.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A]: (JP.134); *kîyasê=nê* [send.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O]: (BP.23); *kîyasê=b-ên-ê=ta* [send.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-AUG-3PL:O=2PL:A]: (BP.124); *kîyan-a=ş=re* [send.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3SG:O=POVB]: (KŞ.50); *kîyast-Ø=iş* [send.PST-3SG.M:O=3SG:A]: (JH.110)

ko /ko/ (N.M) mountain • (ZP.9)

ko /ko/ (Q) where • *ko* [where]: (HB.6); *ko=we* [where=POST]: (DP.23)

- koge** /'koga/ (Q) where • (§C.45)
koł /koł/ (N.M) shoulder, load • *koł-ê* [load.M-INDF]: (JM.61)
kołebes /kołæ'bæs/ (N.M) step-son •
kone /ko'næ/ (ADJ) old (of objects) •
kor /kor/ (ADJ) blind • *kor-ê* [blind-PL.DIR]: (JM.11)
kotay /ko'taj/ (N.M) shortness • *kota-î* [short-M.SG.OBL]: (DP.36)
kuç /kʊʃ/ (ADJ) little • *kuç-ê* [little-INDF]: (BP.183); *kuç-ê=şa* [little-PL.DIR=3PL:A]: (JE.37)
kuçê /'kʊʃe/ (ADV) a little •
kul /kʊl/ (QUANT) all • (PM.18)
kul /kʊl/ (ADJ) blunt (of knife) •
kuł /kʊł/ (ADJ) short •
kumna, kumn /kʊmna, kʊmn/ (V.TR) bend down • *kumna=n=re* [bend_down.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=POVB]: (BP.104)
kune /kʊ'næ/ (N.M) clay pot • *kune* [clay_pot]: (JE.16); *kune=ne* [clay_pot=POST]: (JE.21)
kunc /kʊndʒ/ (N.M) corner • *kunc-êw* [corner-INDF]: (§C.67)
kurdewarî /kʊrdæwa'ri/ (N.M) Kurdish region • (BP.9)
kuř /kʊr/ (N.M) boy, son • *kuř-î* [boy.M-SG.OBL]: (JE.75); *kuř-êke* [boy-DEF.M]: (ZP.50); *kuř-e* [boy.M-DEF.DIR]: (DG.70); *kuř-ê* [boy.M-INDF]: (BP.185); *kuř-êwe* [boy.M-INDF]: (KŞ.30); *kuř-ekey* [boy.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (KŞ.31); *kuř-ê* [son.M-PL.DIR]: (DG.3); *kuř-ekê* [son.M-DEF.PL.DIR]: (ZB.9); *kuř-e-î* [son.M-DEF-M.SG.OBL]: (BP.206); *kuř-î* [son.M-OBL]: (KŞ.96); *kuř-a* [son.M-PL.OBL]: (JM.16)
kuşt, kuş /kʊʃt, kʊʃ/ (V.TR) kill • *kuştê=nê* [kill.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O]: (BP.121); *kuşt-ê=şa* [kill.PST-3PL:O=3PL:A]: (KŞ.19); *kuşt-ê* [kill.PST-COND]: (KŞ.51); *kúş-dê=ş* [kill.PRS.IMP-2PL:A=3SG:O]: (KŞ.72); *kúş-î* [kill.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A]: (KŞ.98)
kûç, koç /kʊʃ, koʃ/ (N.M) migration • *kûç* [migration.M]: (ZB.39); *koç* [migration.M.SG.DIR]: (JE.13)
kûkya, kûkye /kukja, kukjæ/ (V.INTR) cough • *kûky(e)-o=we* [cough.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL]: (KŞ.64)

l

- la** /la/ (N.M) side • (ZP.26)
la /la/ (ADP) side, at the place of, with, to, next to • *la=we* [with=POST]: (BP.30); *la* [next_to]: (RE.10); *la=şa=we* [with=3PL:R=POST]: (HB.7); *la=we* [to=POST]: (JP.138); *la* [at_the_place_of] (HB.73); *la-w* [side-EZ.GEN] (§C.32)
lalo /la'lo/ (N.M) maternal uncle • *lalo-î* [maternal_uncle.M-SG.OBL]: (ZP.38); *lalo-e* [maternal_uncle.M-DEF]: (ZP.43); *lalo-ekey* [maternal_uncle.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]:

(ZP.56); *lalo-eke* [maternal_uncle.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (ZP.97)

laɫ /laɫ/ (ADJ) mute • *laɫ-e* [mute-F]: (ZP.51)

laɫya, *laɫye* /laɫja, laɫjæ/ (V.INTR) beseech • *laɫy(e)-ê=we* [beseech-AUG.3SG:S=COMPL]: (DG.28)

laʂe /laʂæ/ (N.M) body • (DG.22)

laʂexel /laʂæ'xæɫ/ (ADJ) empty • (ZP.76)

lawaw /law'aw/ (N.M) flood • (ZB.20)

layiq /la'jiq/ (ADJ) deserved • (ZP.105)

layiqetî /lajiqæ'ti/ (N.M) worthiness • (ZP.54)

lemdare /ləmd'aræ/ (ADJ) pregnant •

leme /'ləmæ/ (N.F) belly • *lem(e)-û* [belly.F-EZ.GEN]: (BP.185); *leme=we* [belly.F=POST]: (KŞ.92)

lemepeře /ləmæ'pæræ/ (ADJ) pregnant • *lemepeř-e* [pregnant-F]: (KŞ.17)

lempa /ləm'pa/ (N.M) lamp •

leqe /lə'qæ/ (N.M) kick • *leq-ê* [kick-INDF]: (BP.172)

leqem /lə'qæm/ (N.M) title • (JP.168)

leř /ləř/ (ADJ) thin •

leweřya, *leweřye* /ləwærja, læwærjæ/ (V.INTR) graze • *leweřyay* [graze-INF]: (JP.55)

leterê /lə'tære/ (N.F) spindle •

lo /lo/ (N.M) fodder grass • (RE.65)

lutf /lʊtf/ (N.M) grace • (ZP.46)

luwa, *l* /lʊwɑ, l/ (V.INTR) go • *mi-lw-a* [IND-go.PRS-3PL:S]: (ZB.23); *mi-l-a* [IND-go.PRS-3PL:S]: (BP.203); *luwε=nê=re* [go.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S=POVB]: (ZB.28); *luwa=n* [go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:M:S]: (BP.167); *me-l-a=ma* [NEG.IND-go.PRS-3PL:S=1PL:R]: (ZB.33); *mi-l-a=we* [IND-go.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL]: (ŞC.42); *bi-l-mê* [SBJV-go.PRS-1PL:S]: (BP.56); *mi-l-o* [IND-go.PRS-3SG:S]: (JP.132); *luwa-ymê* [go.PST-1PL:S]: (ZP.9); *luwa-ymê=we* [go.PST-1PL:S=COMPL]: (ZP.27); *luwa-ymê=ra* [go.PST-1PL:S=POVB]: (ZP.28); *luwa* [go.PST.3SG:S]: (ZP.30); *luwa-(a)nê* [go.PST-1SG:S]: (ZP.39); *bi-l-a* [SBJV-go.PRS-3PL:S]: (ŞC.66); *lô-dê* [go.PRS.IMP-2PL:S]: (PM.20); *bi-l-o* [SBJV-go.PRS-3SG:S]: (HB.11); *bi-lu-e* [IMP-go.IMP-2SG:S]: (HB.17); *lû-e* [go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S]: (HB.18); *bi-l-û* [SBJV-go.PRS-1SG:S]: (JP.161); *luwa=n* [go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG:M:S]: (JH.62); *mi-l-mê* [IND-go.PRS-1PL:S]: (BP.78); *luwa=we* [go.PST.3SG:S=COMPL]: (HB.64); *bi-l-o=re* [SBJV-go.PRS-3SG:S=POVB]: (HB.64); *di-l-o=re* [RDP-go.PRS-3SG:S=POVB]: (HB.64); *bi-l-o=we* [SBJV-go.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL]: (JP.87); *luwa-(a)nê=we* [go.PST-1SG:S=COMPL]: (HB.67); *mi-l-û=we* [IND-go.PRS-1SG:S=COMPL]: (DG.41); *lô-dê=ra* [go.PRS.IMP-2PL:S=POVB]: (PM.16); *bi-lo=we* [SBJV-go.PRS-2SG:S=COMPL]: (PM.40); *lûε=nmê* [go.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:S]: (DG.6); *mi-l-o=we* [IND-go.PRS-

3SG:S=COMPL]: (JH.46); *mi-l-û* [IND-go.PRS-1SG:S]: (JH.33); *bi-l-e=we* [IMP-go.PRS-2SG:S=COMPL]: (DG.56); *lu-e=wewe* [go.IMP-2SG:S=COMPL]: (DP.24); *mi-l-on* [IND-go.PRS-3SG:S]: (DP.34); *ne-la=b-ê* [NEG-go.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S]: (ZP.54); *ne-l-o=we* [NEG.SBJV-go.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL]: (ZP.124); *bi-l-î=we* [SBJV-go.PRS-2SG:S=COMPL]: (JP.93); *bi-l-î* [SBJV-go.PRS-2SG:S]: (JH.17); *luwa=n=re* [go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=POVB]: (JP.118); *luway* [go.INF]: (JP.161); *lú-e=we* [go.PRS.IMP-2SG:S=COMPL]: (JP.262); *me-l-o=we* [NEG.IND-go.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL]: (JP.266); *luwe=nê* [go.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (BP.116); *luwe=nê* [go.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (BP.27); *me-l-a=we* [NEG.IND-go.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.47); *ne-l-a=we* [NEG.SBJV-go.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.36); *bi-l-mê=re=o* [SBJV-go.PRS-1PL:S=POVB=COMPL]: (BP.56); *ló-dê* [go.PRS.IMP-2PL:S]: (BP.130); *mi-l-ay* [IND-go.PRS-NMLZ]: (BP.78); *mi-la-ymê* [IND-go.PRS-1PL:S]: (BP.79); *bi-l-imdê* [SBJV-go.PRS-1PL/2PL:S]: (BP.87); *bi-l-mê=re* [SBJV-go.PRS-1PL:S=POVB]: (BP.88); *mi-l-ane* [IND-go.PRS-3PL:S]: (BP.98); *mi-l-a=re* [IND-go.PRS-3PL:S=POVB]: (BP.122); *mi-l-a=re=we* [IND-go.PRS-3PL:S=POVB=COMPL]: (BP.124); *luwa-ydê=we* [go.PST-2PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.185); *mi-l-mê=we* [IND-go.PRS-1PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.191); *luwa=n=o* [go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=COMPL]: (§C.8); *bi-l-a=we* [SBJV-go.PRS-3PL:S=COMPL]: (§C.39); *mi-l-one* [IND-go.PRS-3SG:S]: (§C.64); *luwa-Ø* [go.PST-3SG:S]: (KŞ.25); *luwa-ydê* [go.PST-2PL:S]: (KŞ.87); *mi-l-î* [IND-go.PRS-2SG:S]: (JH.9); *ne-la=nî=we* [NEG-go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:S=COMPL]: (JH.112); *bi-l-û=we* [SBJV-go.PRS-1SG:S=COMPL]: (JH.113); *me-l-o* [NEG.IND-go.PRS-3SG:S]: (RE.29); *lúε=nê* [go.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (JE.33); *luwe=na* [go.PST.PTCP.F=COP.1SG:S]: (JE.62); *lu-ên-î* [go.PRS-AUG-2SG:S]: (JE.74); *luwe=nmê* [go.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:S]: (JM.34); *ne-la=b-û* [NEG-go.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-1SG:S]: (JM.62)

lûle /'lulæ/ (N.F) flute • *lûle-(e)kê* [flute.F-DEF.F.SG]: (JP.37); *lûl(e)-ê* [flute.F.SG.OBL]: (JP.54)

lûlejen /lulæ'zæn/ (N.M) flute player • (JP.33)

lûte /'lutæ/ (N.F) nose •

m

mađam, madam /ma'r^ɣam, ma'dam/ (CONJ) as long as • *mađam* [as_long_as]: (ZP.125); *madam* [as_long_as]: (JP.242)

mał /mał/ (N.M) property • (DP.28)

mała, mał /mała, mał/ (V.TR) smash • *mał-o* [smash.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (BP.168)

mama /ma'ma/ (N.F) grandmother • *mama-lê-(e)we* [grandmother.F-DIM.F-INDF]: (KŞ.25); *mama-lê* [grandmother.F-DIM.F]: (KŞ.27)

mamo /ma'mo/ (N.M) paternal uncle • *mamo-î=ş* [paternal_uncle-OBL.M=3SG:PSR]: (JP.11); *mamo* [paternal_uncle]: (JP.43)

mange /'mangæ/ (N.F) month, moon • *mang(e)-ê* [month.F-PL.DIR]: (JM.23);

mang(e)-ê [month.F-INDF]: (DG.69)

manya /maŋ'ja/ (ADJ) tired • *manyε* [tired.PL]: (BP.181); *manya* [tired.M]: (BP.183)

mar /maɾ/ (N.M) snake •

mare /ma'ræ/ (N.M) marriage • (KŞ.80); *nîkah* [marriage.M]: (JP.207); *nîkah=iş* [marriage.M=3SG.O]: (JP.233); *mare=ş* [marriage=3SG.O]: (KŞ.87)

maṛa, maṛ /maɾa, maɾ/ (V.TR) break •

mas /mas/ (N.M) yoghurt • *mas* [yoghurt.M]: (JH.39); *mas-î* [yoghurt.M-SG.OBL]: (JH.42); *mas-eke* [yoghurt.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (JH.48); *mas-ê* [yoghurt.M-PL.DIR]: (RE.67)

maşin /ma'ʃin/ (N.M) car • (JM.33)

mawa /ma'wa/ (N.M) period • *mawe-ê* [period.M-INDF]: (ZP.22)

mayîni /ma'jini/ (N.F) mare •

mazî /ma'zi/ (N.M) back •

mebal /mæ'bal/ (N.M) cell phone • *mebal-ê* [cell_phone.M-INDF]: (RE.30)

meger /'mægær/ (AUX) if_only, must • (ZP.34)

mehele /mæhæ'læ/ (N.M) neighbourhood • *mehel(e)-ê* [neighbourhood.M-INDF]: (PM.17); *mehele-(e)ke* [neighbourhood.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (PM.23)

mehrem /mæh'ræm/ (N.M) kindred • (JH.103)

mecbûrî /mædʒbu'ri/ (N.M) obligation • *mecbûrî-(î)* [obligation.M-SG.OBL]: (JP.29)

mekî /'mæki/ (N.F) salt • (JP.239)

meclis /mædʒ'lis/ (N.M) gathering • (KŞ.87)

meṭa /mæ'ta/ (N.M) mullah • *meṭa* [mullah.M]: (KŞ.88); *meṭa-êw=a* [mullah.M-INDF=COP.3SG.M:S]: (KŞ.8)

meme /mæ'mæ/ (N.M) breast • *meme* [breast.M.SG.DIR]: (ZP.44)

memke /mæm'kæ/ (N.M) breast • *memke* [breast.M]: (ZP.41); *memk(e)-êwe* [breast.M.SG.DIR-INDF]: (ZP.43)

memliket /mæmli'kæt/ (N.M) country, region • *memliket-ê* [country.M-INDF]: (ZB.5); *memleket-î* [country.M-SG.OBL]: (DG.8); *kîşwer-ê* [country-PL.DIR]: (JP.148); *kêşwer* [country]: (JP.166); *kêşwer=û* [country=and]: (JP.166); *wîlat-êwe* [country.M-INDF]: (JH.6); *kêşwer-êw=a* [country-INDF=COP.3SG.M:S]: (JM.42); *kêşwer-eka* [country-DEF.PL.OBL]: (JM.43)

memnûn /mæm'nun/ (ADJ) grateful • (JH.105)

menn, men /mænn, mæn/ (V.INTR) remain, stay • *men-o* [remain.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (ZB.23); *men-a=we* [remain.PRS.IND-3PL:S=COMPL]: (BP.33); *menê=nê* [remain.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (ZB.27); *menê=ne* [remain.PST.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S]: (ZB.42); *mene=n* [remain.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ZB.60); *meney* [remain.INF]: (ZP.25); *menn-Ø* [remain.PST.3SG.M:S]: (ZP.29); *mene=b-ê* [remain.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:S]: (HB.64); *ne-men-dê=we* [PROH-remain.PRS-2PL:S=COMPL]: (PM.22);

ne-mene=n [NEG-remain.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (§C.104); *ne-menyê=ne* [NEG-remain.PST.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S]: (PM.26); *men-ê=we* [remain.PRS-AUG.3PL:S=COMPL]: (PM.35); *men-o=we* [remain.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL]: (JP.245); *me-men-mê=re* [NEG.IND-remain.PRS-1PL:S=POVB]: (BP.118); *ne-man-Ø* [NEG-remain.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (§C.6); *me-men-o* [NEG.IND-remain.PRS-3SG:S]: (§C.82); *mene=n=iş* [remain.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=3SG:NC]: (§C.105); *mene=b-o* [remain.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:S]: (KŞ.63); *mén-mê=we* [stay.PRS.SBJV-1PL:S=COMPL]: (PM.5)

mentêqe, menteqe /mæntə'qæ, mæntæ'qæ/ (N.M) region • *mentêqe-î* [region.M-SG.OBL]: (PM.5); *mentîqe-û* [region.M-EZ.GEN]: (§C.9); *mentêq(e)-êwe=ne* [region.M-INDF=POST]: (§C.91); *menteq(e)-ê* [region-PL.DIR]: (JM.55)

menzile /mæn'zîlə/ (N.F) house • (ZP.112)

meqbol /mæq'bol/ (ADJ) acceptable, accepted • *meqbol-e* [acceptable-F]: (DG.60)

merasêm /mæra'sem/ (N.M) ceremony • *merasêm-ekey* [ceremony.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (ZP.123); *merasêm-eke* [ceremony.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (JP.256)

merď, mir /mæɽ', mîɽ/ (V.INTR) die • *mir-o* [die.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (JP.202); *merď-e* [die.PST-3SG.F:S]: (KŞ.23)

merdim /mæɽ'dim/ (N.M) people • *merďim-î* [people.M-SG.OBL]: (JP.87)

merekuř /mæɽæ'kuɽ/ (N.M) grasshopper • *merekuř* [grasshopper.M]: (PM.23); *merekuř-ekey* [grasshopper-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (PM.6)

mertebe /mæɽtæ'bæ/ (N.M) rank • (HB.1)

meře /'mæɽæ/ (N.F) cave • *eşkewt(e)-êwe* [cave.F-INDF]: (ZB.5); *meře-(e)kê* [cave.F-DEF.F.SG]: (ZB.23); *eşkewte-(e)kê* [cave.F-DEF.F.SG]: (DG.19); *meře-(e)kê* [cave.F-DEF.F.SG]: (BP.106); *meře* [cave.F]: (BP.106)

meřya, meřye /mæɽja, mæɽjæ/ (V.INTR) break • *meřya=n* [break.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (JM.9)

mesele /mæsa'læ/ (N.M) issue • *mesele-î* [issue.M-SG.OBL]: (BP.3)

mesîr /mæ'sîɽ/ (N.M) path • *mesîr-êwe=ne* [path-INDF=POST]: (JP.97)

meşî /'mæʃi/ (N.F) fly •

metiye /mæ'tijæ/ (N.F) mother's or father's sister •

mexeleqeta /mæxælæqæ'ta/ (N.M) people • *mexeleqeta-î=re* [people.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (ZP.80); *mexeleqeta-û* [people.M-EZ.GEN]: (JP.201)

mexfi /mæx'fi/ (N.M) secret • (JP.129)

mexlûq /mæx'luq/ (N.M) people • *mexlûq-î* [people.M-SG.OBL]: (HB.90); *mexlûq* [people.M]: (BP.87)

meye /'mæjæ/ (N.F) sheep •

meyl /mæjl/ (N.M) willingness • (PM.51)

meze /mæ'zæ/ (N.M) taste • *meze* [taste]: (JH.97)

mezeb /mæ'zæb/ (N.M) religion • (ZP.100)

- meşlûm** /mæʃˈlum/ (ADJ) obvious • *meşlûm=a* [obvious=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ŞC.92); *meşlûm=a=rî* [obvious=COP.3SG.M:S=POVB]: (ŞC.92)
- meşmûr** /mæʃˈmur/ (N.M) officer • *meşmûr-ê* [officer.M-INDF]: (JP.42); *meşmûr-ê* [officer.M-PL.DIR]: (BP.60); *meşmûr-î* [officer.M-SG.OBL]: (BP.40); *meşmûre* [agent.F]: (PM.34)
- mêman** /meˈman/ (N.M) guest • *mêman-ê* [guest.M-PL.DIR]: (BP.43); *mêman-eke* [guest.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=3SG:PSR]: (BP.52); *mêman-ekey* [guest.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (JH.47); *mêman-î* [guest.M-SG.OBL]: (JH.50)
- meşhûr** /mæʃˈhur/ (ADJ) famous • (PM.1)
- miçkile** /mitʃkiˈlæ/ (ADJ) young • (BP.136)
- midra, midr** /miɾˈrɑ, miɾˈr/ (V.INTR) stop • *midr-a=rê* [stop.PRS-3PL:S=POVB]: (ZB.26)
- mihtac** /mihtˈtadz/ (ADJ) needy • *mihtac-ê* [needy-PL]: (PM.39)
- mil** /mil/ (ADP) on • *mil* [on]: (JP.107); *milre* [on]: (DP.10); *mil=o* [on=POST]: (BP.210)
- milega** /milæˈga/ (N.M) top of mountain • (JP.187)
- milwên** /milˈwen/ (N.M) million • *milwên-ê* [million.M-INDF]: (JM.61); *milwên-ê* [million.M-PL.DIR]: (JM.61)
- miş** /miˈlæ/ (N.M) mouse •
- mişk, muşk** /mişk, muşk/ (N.M) property • *muşk-ê* [property.M-INDF]: (PM.18); *muşk-ekey* [property.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (PM.18); *mişk-eke=ma* [property.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=1PL:PSR]: (PM.37)
- min** /min/ (PRO) I • (PM.1)
- miqdarê** /miqˈdare/ (ADV) a little • (JP.113)
- miraxes** /miræˈxæs/ (ADJ) released • *miraxes-ê* [released-PL]: (BP.180)
- mirîçêlê** /miriˈtʃeˈlæ/ (N.M) small bird • *mirîçêl(e)-ê* [small_bird.M-INDF]: (DP.50)
- mirîd** /miˈriɾ/ (N.M) adherent • (JP.92)
- miroçe** /miroˈtʃæ/ (N.M) ant • *miroçe(e)-ê* [ant-PL.DIR]: (BP.151)
- misîbet** /misiˈbæt/ (N.M) calamity • (BP.102)
- mişar** /miˈʃɑr/ (N.M) hand saw • *mişar-î* [hand_saw.M-SG.OBL]: (BP.72); *mişar* [hand_saw.M]: (BP.73); *mişar-le* [hand_saw.M-DIM]: (BP.82)
- mişt** /miʃt/ (N.M) fist • *mişt* (JM.38)
- mitman** /mitˈman/ (N.M) trust • (DP.40)
- mizgî** /mizˈgi/ (N.M) mosque • *mizgî* [mosque.M]: (JH.18); *mizgî* [mosque.M]: (BP.54); *mizgî=ne* [mosque.M=POST]: (JH.37)
- mîjûyi** /miˈzuji/ (N.F) lentil •
- mubarek** /mubaˈræk/ (ADJ) blessed • *mubarek-e=ş* [blessed-F=3SG:R]: (JP.261)
- mudet** /muˈdæt/ (N.M) while • *mudet-ê* [while-INDF]: (KŞ.22)
- musteqer** /muʃtæˈqær/ (ADJ) settled • *musteqer-ê* [settled-PL]: (JM.51)

mutewec /mʊtæ'wæd͡ʒ/ (ADJ) aware • (DG.46)

muweqetî /mʊwæqæt'i/ (ADJ) temporary • (BP.203)

muxlis /mʊx'lis/ (N.M) disciple • (ŞC.97)

n

na /nɑ/ (CONJ) no • (JP.106)

nam /nɑm/ (ADP) inside • (JE.67)

name /nɑ'mæ/ (N.M) letter • *nam(e)-ê* [letter.M-INDF]: (KŞ.50); *name-(e)key=ne* [letter.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST]: (KŞ.57)

namerd /nɑ'mærd/ (ADJ) unjust • (KŞ.9)

namê /nɑ'me/ (N.F) name • *namê* [name.F]: (ŞC.91); *namê-(î)* [name.F-EZ.ATTR]: (JP.2); *namê-(e)we* [name.F-INDF]: (JP.143); *namê=şa* [name.F.SG=3PL.A]: (JP.185)

nan /nɑn/ (N.M) meal, bread • *nan* [meal.M]: (JP.226); *nan-ê* [meal.M-INDF]: (BP.161); *nan-ê* [meal.M-PL.DIR]: (JE.59); *nan* [bread.M]: (DG.57); *nan* [bread.M.SG.DIR]: (HB.57); *nan-î* [bread.M-SG.OBL]: (JH.40); *nan-ekey* [bread.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (JE.38)

naneşane /nɑnæ'ʃanæ/ (N.F) bread basket • *naneşan(e)-ê* [basket.F-INDF]: (RE.24)

nanewa /nɑnæ'wa/ (N.M) baker • *nanewê-(e)kê-û* [baker.F-DEF.PL.DIR-EZ.GEN]: (HB.2); *nanewa-î=ne* [baker.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (HB.73)

nanpeç /nɑn'pæt͡ʃ/ (N.M) baker • *nanpeçe* [baker.F]

nařehetî /nɑræ'hæt'i/ (N.M) sadness • *nařehetî=ene* [sadness=POST]: (ZP.25)

nařihet /nɑri'hæt/ (ADJ) sad, uncomfortable • (BP.160)

nasik /nɑ'sik/ (ADJ) thin (e.g., of objects) •

naşerîî /nɑʃær'îi/ (ADJ) unlawful •

nawe /nɑ'wæ/ (ADV) inside • (DG.51)

ne /næ/ (CONJ) nor, neither, no • (ZB.60)

nebîyey /næbi'jæj/ (N.M) non-being, poverty, shortage • *nebîyey* [poverty.M]: (JM.56); *nebîyey=we* [poverty.M=POST]: (JM.27)

neçîr /næt͡ʃir/ (N.M) hunt • *neçîr-î* [hunt.M-SG.OBL]: (ZB.56)

nefam /næ'fam/ (ADJ) inexperienced • *nefam=a* [inexperienced=COP.3SG.M:S]: (BP.135)

nefer /næ'fær/ (N.M) person • *nefer-êwe* [person.M-INDF]: (JH.8); *nefer-ê* [person.M-INDF]: (BP.141); *nefer-ê* [person.M-PL.DIR]: (JE.27); *nefer-ê* [person.M-PL.DIR]: (BP.108); *nefer-î* [person.M-SG.OBL]: (ŞC.92); *nefer-ekey=re* [person.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST]: (JE.28)

nehaî /næ'hɑ/ (N.M) valley • (JP.20)

nehar /næ'hɑr/ (N.M) lunch • *nehar-ê* [lunch.M-INDF]: (PM.14)

necat /næ'd͡ʒɑt/ (N.M) salvation • (BP.83)

nema, **nem** /næmɑ, næm/ (V.INTR) lift, grab • *neme=b-ê*

- [grab.PST.PTCP.PL=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:O]: (BP.126); *nem-o* [lift.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (DP.47)
- nere** /næ'ræ/ (N.M) oak tree • *nere-(e)key* [oak tree.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (ZB.45); *nere-(e)key=ne* [oak_tree.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST]: (ZB.48)
- nerm** /nærm/ (ADJ) soft •
- nermew goşî** /nærmæw goʃi/ (N.M) earlobe •
- neweş** /næ'wæʃ/ (ADJ) ill • *neweş-e* [ill-F]: (ZP.25)
- neweşî** /næwæʃi/ (N.M) illness • *neweşî-ê* [illness.M-INDF]: (DG.5); *neweşî-ekey* [illness.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (ZP.27)
- nexeyr** /næ'xæjɾ/ (PTCL) no • (DP.40)
- nigebanî** /niɡæba'ni/ (N.M) guardian • *nigebanî-e* [guardian-F]: (ZP.103)
- nima** /ni'ma/ (N.F) prayer • *nima* [prayer.F.SG.DIR]: (JE.18)
- nimayinde** /nimajin'dæ/ (N.M) representative • *nimayinde* [representative.M]: (PM.6); *nimayinde-î* [representative.M-SG.OBL]: (PM.7); *nimayinde-(e)ke* [representative.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (PM.10)
- nitq** /nitq/ (N.M) speech • (JP.151)
- niwîs(t), niwîs** /niwist, niwis/ (V.TR) write • *niwîs-e* [write.PST-3SG.F:O]: (KŞ.15); *niwîs-e=m* [write.PST-3SG.F:O=1SG:A]: (KŞ.13); *mi-nvîs-a* [IND-write.PRS-3PL:A]: (KŞ.50); *mi-nwîs-o* [IND-write.PRS-3SG:A]: (KŞ.56); *mi-nvîs-o* [IND-write.PRS-3SG:A]: (KŞ.79); *nivîse=n* [write.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (KŞ.71); *niwîse=b-ê=ş* [write.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-AUG.3SG:O=3SG:A]: (KŞ.99); *niwîsyê=ne* [write.PST.PASS=COP.3SG.F:S]: (KŞ.99)
- nizîk** /ni'zik/ (ADJ) close • *nizîk-ê* [close-PL]: (JP.175)
- nizm** /nizm/ (ADJ) low (of walls) •
- nîkah** /ni'kah/ (N.M) marriage • (JP.207)
- nîme** /ni'mæ/ (N.M) half • (ZP.118)
- nîmeŕo** /nimæ'ro/ (ADV) noon • *nîmeŕo* [noon]: (DP.44); *nîmeŕo=ne* [noon=POST]: (BP.38)
- nîrû, nûrûyî** /ni'ru, nuɾu'ji/ (N.M) force • *nûrûyî* [force.M]: (DP.7); *nîrû-ekey* [force.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (DP.34)
- nîšt, nîş** /niʃt, niʃ/ (V.INTR) sit • *nîş-o=re=o* [sit.PRS.IND-3SG:S=POVB=COMPL]: (ZB.6); *nîş-o=re* [sit.PRS.IND-3SG:S=POVB]: (BP.151); *nîş-dê=re* [sit.PRS.IMP-2PL:S=POVB]: (ZP.4); *me-nîş-û* [NEG.IND-sit.PRS-1SG:S]: (HB.67); *nîş-o* [sit.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (PM.23); *nîşte=na=re* [sit.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S=POVB]: (PM.45); *nîş-e=re* [sit.PRS.IMP-2SG:S=POVB]: (DG.44); *nîşte=n=re* [sit.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S=POVB]: (DP.9); *nîş-mê=re* [sit.PRS.SBJV-1PL:S=POVB]: (BP.181); *nîş-a=re* [sit.PRS.IND-3PL:S=POVB]: (ZP.56); *nîş-a* [sit.PRS.IND-3PL:S]: (ŞC.25); *nîšt-îdê=re* [sit.PST-2PL:S=POVB]: (KŞ.87); *nîştê=nê=re* [sit.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S=POVB]: (RE.24)

nîya, nîye /nija, nije/ (V.TR) put • *mi-ny(e)-o=ʃ* [IND-put.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O]: (ZB.38); *mi-ny(e)-a* [IND-put.PRS-3PL:A]: (BP.206); *mi-ny(e)-o* [IND-put.PRS-3SG:A]: (ZB.45); *nîya-Ø=m=ne* [put.PST-3SG:O=1SG:A=POVB]: (ZP.24); *mi-ny(e)-o=ʃ=re* [IND-put.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O=POVB]: (DG.32); *mi-ny(e)-o=we* [IND-put.PRS-3SG:A=COMPL]: (ŞC.46); *nîya* [put.PST]: (JP.185); *bi-nye-ydê* [IMP-put.PRS-2PL:A]: (BP.186); *bi-ny(e)-e* [IMP-put.PRS-2SG:A]: (JH.12); *bi-nye-ûne=û* [SBJV-put.PRS-1SG:A=and]: (JH.13); *bi-nye-ymê* [SBJV-put.PRS-1PL:A]: (JH.56); *nîya=m* [put.PST=1SG:A]: (RE.10); *nîyε=nê=re* [put.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O=POVB]: (JE.37); *nîyε=ne=ʃa=re* [put.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O=3PL:A=POVB]: (JE.17); *nîyε=ne=re* [put.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O=POVB]: (JE.45); *nîya=n=ʃa=re* [put.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3PL:A=POVB]: (JE.38); *nîya=n=re* [put.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=POVB]: (JE.46); *nîyε=nê=m* [put.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O=1SG:A]: (JE.67)

no /no/ (NUM) nine • (JM.26)

nobenobey /nobæno'bæj/ (ADV) one by one • (JE.47)

noker /no'kær/ (N.M) servant • *noker-û* [servant.M-EZ.GEN]: (KŞ.43)

nosebałxi /nosæbał'xi/ (N.M) teenager • (KŞ.45)

noxet /no'xæt/ (ADJ) just grown beard • (KŞ.74)

noŋ, newŋ /noŋ, næwŋ/ (N.M) kind, way • *noŋ-ê* [kind-INDF]: (ZP.24); *noŋ* [kind]: (ZP.47); *newŋ* [way]: (JM.15)

nuweye /nɔ'wæjæ/ (N.F) chickpea •

O

oge /'ʔogæ/ (ADV) there • (ZP.28)

P

pa, pey /pa, pæj/ (N.M) foot • *pey* [foot]: (ZP.45); *pa-i=ʃa=we* [foot-OBL.M=3PL:PSR=POST]: (KŞ.94)

padʃa, padʃa /padʃa, paɽʃa/ (N.M) king • *padʃε* [king.M.PL.DIR]: (DP.1); *padʃa-(e)key* [king-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (ZP.43); *padʃa-i* [king.M-SG.OBL]: (JP.258); *padʃa-ya=ʃ* [king.M-PL.OBL=3SG:O]: (JP.252); *padʃa-i=t* [king.M-SG.OBL=2SG:A]: (KŞ.12); *padʃa-i=ç* [king.M-SG.OBL=ADD]: (KŞ.40); *padʃa=m* [king.M=1SG:PSR]: (KŞ.51)

padʃagerî /padʃagæ'ri/ (N.M) kingship • (DP.17)

padʃazayê /padʃaza'je/ (N.F) princess • *padʃazayê* [princess=COP.3SG.F:S]: (ZP.102); *padʃazaye* [princess.F.SG]: (ZP.105)

pagehur, epagehur /pagæ'hɯr, ʔæpagæ'hɯr/ (ADV) up there (invisible) • (RE.48)

page, pagene /pa'gæ, pagæ'næ/ (ADV) there (invisible) • *pagene* [there]: (JE.11)

pał /pał/ (N.M) side/flank • (DG.16)

- pała** /pa'la/ (N.M) shoe • *pała-eka* [shoe-DEF.PL.OBL]: (DG.27); *pała-(e)ke* [shoe-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (RE.10); *pate* [shoe.PL.DIR]: (RE.11)
- pałing** /pa'liŋ/ (N.M) leopard •
- pan** /pan/ (ADJ) wide • *pan-e* [wide-F]: (JP.171)
- paŋze** /paŋ'zæ/ (NUM) fifteen • *pangze* [fifteen]: (DG.29)
- par** /paɾ/ (N.M) last year • *par* [last_year]: (ZP.9); *par-î* [last_year-M.SG.OBL]: (PM.38)
- parçe** /paɾ'tʃæ/ (N.M) textile • (RE.11)
- pase** /pa'sæ/ (ADV) like that, such • (RE.72)
- payebilind** /paɣæbi'liŋd/ (ADJ) grand • (DG.4)
- payn** /paɣn/ (ADP) bottom • (JH.23)
- payîz** /pa'jiz/ (N.M) autumn • (RE.70)
- peke** /pæ'kæ/ (N.F) strength • (JP.235)
- peł** /pæł/ (N.M) swarm • *peł-ê* [CLF-INDF]: (PM.1)
- peme** /pæ'mæ/ (N.M) cotton •
- pen** /pæn/ (N.M) advice • (JP.198)
- pena** /pæ'na/ (N.F) refuge • (DG.58)
- pene, penî** /pæ'næ, pæ'ni/ (ADP) to, by, with • *penî* [with]: (ZP.3); *pene* [with]: (KŞ.8); *pene* [with]: (JP.112); *pene* [to]: (JP.89); *penê* [to]: (PM.19); *penî* [to]: (ŞC.109)
- penîre** /pæ'niræ/ (N.F) cheese •
- penc** /pændʒ/ (NUM) five • (ZB.27)
- penca** /pæn'dʒa/ (NUM) fifty • (DP.8)
- perasûwe** /pæɾa'suwæ/ (N.F) rib •
- persa, pers** /pæɾsa, pæɾs/ (V.TR) ask • *pers-a* [ask.PRS.IND-3PL:A]: (ŞC.22); *pers-dê* [ask.PRS.IND-2PL:A]: (ZP.86); *pers-o* [ask.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (JP.204)
- peř** /pæɾ/ (N.M) side • (KŞ.59)
- peř** /pæɾ/ (ADJ) full • *peř-e* [full-F]: (ZB.20); *pêř* [full]: (JE.36)
- peřçeme** /pæɾ'tʃæmæ/ (N.F) flag •
- peşîman** /pæʃi'man/ (ADJ) regretful • (ŞC.95)
- peştî** /'pæʃti/ (N.F) back, back support • *peştî=ş=ne* [back.F=3SG:PSR=POST]: (JP.176)
- pet, peç** /pæt, pætʃ/ (V.TR) bake • *pete=n* [bake.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JE.19)
- petû** /pæ'tu/ (N.M) blanket •
- pey** /pæj/ (ADP) to, for • *pey* [to]: (ŞC.66); *pey* [for]: (JP.233)
- peyda, peyda** /pæj'ɾɔ, pæj'da/ (ADJ) visible • *peyda* [visible]: (ŞC.5); *peyda* [visible]: (ZP.39)
- peyxemêr** /pæjɣæ'mæɾ/ (N.M) prophet • *peyxemêr-î* [prophet.M-SG.OBL]: (DP.56)
- pêkya, pêkye** /pekja, pekjæ/ (V.INTR) smite • *pêkya* [smite.PST.PASS.3SG:S]:

(KŞ.20)

pête /pe'tæ/ (N.M) eyelid •**pêrê** /'pere/ (ADV) day after tomorrow • (JH.107)**pêse, pise** /pe'sæ, pi'sæ/ (ADV) like, as if • *pêse* [like]: (JE.72); *pise* [like]: (ZB.17); *pêse* [as_if]: (JP.125)**pêrne** /pe'snæ/ (ADV) like this, in this manner • (ZP.125)**pêt, pêç** /pet, pe'tʃ/ (V.TR) fold • *pête=n* [fold.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JE.13)**pêway** /pe'waj/ (N.M) welcoming • *pêway=ma=we* [welcoming.M=1PL:PSR=POST]: (HB.34)**pêwere** /pewæ'ræ/ (ADP) together • (JP.97)**pêwya, pêwye** /pewja, pewjæ/ (V.INTR) be visible • *pêwîy(e)-ê* [be_visible.PRS-AUG.3SG:S]: (ZP.54); *pêwy(e)-o* [be_visible.PRS-3SG:S]: (KŞ.70)**pilekanî** /pilæ'kani/ (N.F) stairs • *pilekanî* [stair.F]: (DG.62); *pilekanî* [stair.PL.DIR]: (DG.62); *pilekan(i)-êwe* [stair.F-INDF]: (JH.12); *pilekan(i)-ê* [stair.F-INDF]: (JH.25)**pilt** /pilt/ (ADJ) short (human) •**piṛa, piṛ** /piṛa, piṛ/ (V.INTR) fly • *piṛa-Ø* [fly.PST-3SG.M:S]: (ZB.56)**piṛdî** /'piṛdî/ (N.F) bridge •**piṛna, piṛn** /piṛna, piṛn/ (V.TR) break off • *piṛna=ş=re* [break_off.PST=3SG:A=POVB]: (ZB.22)**piṛne** /piṛ'næ/ (N.M) jumping • (ŞC.55)**pişqelî** /piş'qæli/ (N.F) sheep dung •**pişt** /pişt/ (ADP) back • (ŞC.63)**pitew** /pi'tæw/ (ADJ) hard (of stone) •**pijgîna, pijgîn** /piʒgina, piʒgin/ (V.TR) scatter • *pijgîn-i=şa* [scatter.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A=3PL:O]: (JP.27)**piḡê** /'pife/ (N.F) burr • *piḡê* [burr.F]: (ZP.39); *piḡ(ê)-ê* [burr.F-PL.DIR]: (ZP.39); *piḡ(ê)-ekê=we* [burr.F-DEF.F.SG=POST]: (ZQ.40)**piṛ** /piṛ/ (ADJ) old • (JM.10)**piya** /pi'ja/ (N.M) man • *piya-(e)ke* [man.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (JP.57); *piye-(ê)we* [man.M-INDF]: (ZP.2); *piya-i* [man.M-SG.OBL]: (ZP.45); *piya-ê* [man.M-INDF]: (DG.24); *piya-i=re* [man.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (DG.50); *piya* [man.M]: (JP.163); *piya-(e)key* [man.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (DG.53); *piya-i=we* [man.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (ZP.33); *piye=we* [man.M.OBL.INDF]: (ZP.66); *piya-(e)ke* [man.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (JP.132); *piye=ma* [man.PL.DIR=1PL:A]: (BP.121); *piya-(e)ke=ma* [man.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=1PL:PSR]: (JH.110); *piye* [man.PL.DIR]: (JE.79)**piyagerî** /pijagæ'ri/ (N.M) gentlemanhood • (ŞC.91)**piyaz** /pi'jaz/ (N.M) onion • *piyaz-i* [onion.M-SG.OBL]: (JP.229); *piyaz-i* [onion.M-SG.OBL]: (JP.240); *piyaz* [onion.M]: (JP.248)**poçî, pewkî** /'po'tʃi, 'pæwki/ (ADV) that is why • *pewkî* [that_is_why]: (PM.36);

pokî [that_is_why=3sg:R]: (ZP.59); *poçî* [that_is_why=3sg:O]: (ZP.96)

poła /po'ła/ (N.M) steel •

pope /po'pæ/ (N.M) top • (ZP.43)

pos /pos/ (N.M) skin • (DG.51)

pose /po'sæ/ (N.M) post •

puxte /pux'tæ/ (ADJ/ADV) clean, properly • (JP.155)

Q

qabili /qabi'li/ (ADJ) deserved • (HB.83)

qabilyet /qabil'jæt/ (N.M) capability • (JP.80)

qabilyetdar /qabil'jæt'dar/ (ADJ) decent • (BP.204)

qaç /qatʃ/ (N.M) leg • (JM.9)

qalaawe /qala'wæ/ (N.M) male raven •

qale /'qalæ/ (N.F) quarrel • (JH.3)

qaliçe /qali'tʃæ/ (N.M) carpet • (JP.235)

qanûn /qa'nun/ (N.M) law • (BP.134)

qaqez /qa'qæz/ (N.M) letter • *qaqez-ê* [letter.M-INDF]: (KŞ.70); *qaqez-e-î* [letter.M-DEF-M.SG.OBL]: (KŞ.78); *qaqez-ê* [letter.M-INDF]: (KŞ.84); *qaqez-ekey* [letter.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (KŞ.86)

qaweyî /qawæ'ji/ (ADJ) brown •

qaym /qajm/ (ADJ) thick •

qefese /qæfæ'sæ/ (N.M) cage • (DP.49)

qelb /qælb/ (N.M) heart • (DG.50)

qela /qæ'la/ (N.F) castle • *qela* [castle.F]: (JP.19); *qetê* [castle.F.SG.OBL]: (DP.32)

qen /qæn/ (N.M) sugar cube • (ZB.29)

qerar /qær'ar/ (N.M) arrangement • (JH.103)

qesab /qæ'sab/ (N.M) butcher • *qesab* [butcher.M]: (JP.250); *qesab-ê* [butcher.M-INDF]: (JP.251)

qesem /qæ'sæm/ (N.M) oath • (DP.37)

qetarle /qætar'læ/ (N.M) small wall • *qetarl(e)-ê* [small_wall-INDF]: (BP.199)

qew /qæw/ (ADP) on • (HB.61)

qewl /qæwl/ (N.M) promise, arrangement • (RE.54)

qewm /qæwm/ (N.M) relative • *qewm-a=m=e* [relative.M-PL.OBL=1SG:PSR=DEM]: (KŞ.86); *qewm-eka=ma* [relative.M-DEF.PL.OBL=1PL:PSR]: (JE.83); *qewm-eka* [relative.M-DEF.PL.OBL]: (JE.83); *qewm-î* [relative.M-SG.OBL]: (JE.83)

qewr /qæwr/ (N.M) appreciation • (RE.10)

qey /qæj/ (N.M) limit • (JP.242)

qeyîm, qedîm /qæ'jim, qæ'dim/ (N.M) old time • *qedîm-î* [old_time-M.SG.OBL]: (JH.2); *qeyîm* [old_time]: (JE.1)

- qeymî** /qæj'mi/ (N.M) the elderly • *qeymî-ê* [the_elderly-INDF]: (RE.2)
qêxa /q'e'xa/ (N.M) chieftain • (DP.46)
qiřot /q'i'rot/ (N.M) hollow • *qiřot-ekey* [hollow.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (ZP.37);
qiřot-êwe [hollow.M-INDF]: (ZP.38); *qiřot-î* [hollow.M-SG.OBL]: (ZP.39); *qiřot-ê*
[hollow.M-INDF]: (ZP.45); *qiřot-ekey* [hollow.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (ZP.50)
qiseker /qisæ'kær/ (N.M) gossip • *qiseker-ê* [gossip-PL.DIR]: (JP.125)
qisê /q'i'se/ (N.F) talk • *qisê* [talk.F.SG]: (ZB.59); *qis(ê)-a* [talk.F-PL.OBL]: (HB.44);
qisê [talk.PL.DIR=3SG:A]: (HB.46); *qisê* [talk.F.SG]: (DG.59); *qis(ê)-ekê* [talk.F-
DEF.F.SG]: (RE.8)
qiřqêre /qif'qeræ/ (N.F) female raven •
qijê /'qije/ (N.PL) hair •
qot /qot/ (ADJ) deep • (ZP.80)
qomya, **qomye** /qomja, qomjæ/ (V.INTR) happen • *qomya=ş* [hap-
pen.PST.3SG:S=3SG:R]: (ZP.14); *qomya=n* [happen.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]:
(BP.202)
qubut /qub'ut/ (ADJ) accepted • (RE.57)
qupya, **qupye** /qupja, qupjæ/ (V.INTR) misshape • *qupy(e)-o* [misshape.PRS.IND-
3SG:S]: (BP.171)
qurban /'qurbæn/ (N.VOC) sir • *qurban* [sir.VOC]: (§C.69)
qurban /qur'ban/ (N.M) sacrifice • (BP.172)
qurs /qurs/ (ADJ) heavy •
qurwaqî /qur'waqi/ (N.F) frog •
qût /qut/ (ADJ) bare, shabby • *qût-ê* [bare-PL]: (JM.30)
qûwet /qu'wæt/ (ADJ) strong •

ř

- řa** /ra/ (N.F) road • *řa* [road.F]: (HB.15); *řa=re* [road.F=POST]: (ZP.67); *řa-*
(e)kê=re [road.F-DEF.F.SG=POST]: (HB.49); *řa=re* [road.F=POST]: (JP.161); *řa=ne*
[road.F=POST]: (JP.97); *řa=rê* [road.F=POST]: (BP.99); *řa=hur* [road.F=POST]:
(JH.12); *řê* [road.SG.OBL.F]: (JH.27); *řa-(e)kê* [road.F-DEF.F.SG]: (JH.71)
řanimonî /ranimo'ni/ (N.M) guidance • *řanimonî* [guidance.M]: (DG.46)
řas /ras/ (ADJ) right, true • (ZP.123)
řas /ras/ (ADV) really • (HB.93)
řawe /'rawæ/ (N.F) hunt •
řawêj /ra'wez/ (N.M) consultation • (ZB.46)
řaze /'razæ/ (N.F) tale • (KŞ.1)
řed /ræɪ/ (N/ADJ) crossing • *řed-ê* [crossing-PL.DIR]: (JP.167)
řefêq /ræ'feq/ (N.M) friend • *řefêq* [friend]: (JH.24); *řefêq-eke* [friend-
DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (JH.37)

- řehm** /ræhm/ (N.M) mercy • (DG.59)
řema, řem /ræma, ræm/ (V.INTR) run • *řem-o* [run.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (KŞ.97)
řeng /ræng/ (N.M) colour • (JH.89)
řencber /rændʒ'bær/ (N.M) worker • (HB.69)
řeq /ræq/ (ADJ) hard •
řeza /ræza/ (N.F) satisfaction • (JE.83)
řeŋis /ræ'ŋis/ (N.M) leader • *řeŋis-eke* [leader.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (PM.5)
řisq /risq/ (N.M) living • *řisq-ê* [living-INDF]: (JM.15)
řistŭrane /ristur'anæ/ (N.F) restaurant •
řisumat /risu'mat/ (N.M) traditions • (RE.62)
řik /rik/ (ADJ) arranged • (ŞC.91)
řiš /riʃ/ (N.M) beard • *řiš-î* [beard.M-SG.OBL]: (JH.53); *řiš-ekey=ş* [beard.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=3SG:PSR]: (JH.54)
řo /ro/ (N.M) day • *řo-ê* [day.M-INDF]: (JM.49); *řo-a* [day.M-PL.OBL]: (ZB.1); ;
řo-ê [day.M-PL.DIR]: (PM.35); *řo* [day.M]: (JH.37); *řo=ne* [day.M=POST]: (DG.40);
řo-e-î=re [day-DEF-OBL.M=POST]: (JH.110)
řocyar /rodʒ'jar/ (N.M) sun •
řole /ro'læ/ (N.M) child • *řote* [child.voc]: (ZP.8)
řoşnayî /roʃna'ji/ (N.M) light • (JE.41)
řoxane /roxanæ/ (N.M) river • (ZB.22)
řozgar /roz'gar/ (N.M) epoch • (ŞC.109)
řoj /roj/ (N.M) day • (ZB.26)
řûçine /rutʃ'inæ/ (N.M) chimney • *řûçine-(e)key* [chimney.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (BP.149); *řûçine-(e)key=we* [chimney.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST]: (BP.153)
řût /rut/ (ADJ) naked, plain • *řût-ê* [naked-PL]: (JM.30)
řûwase /ru'wasæ/ (N.F) fox •
řûwe /ruwæ/ (N.F) face • *řûwe=ş=o* [face=3SG:PSR=POST]: (ZB.56); *řûwe=ş* [face=3SG:NC]: (JP.28); *řûwê* [face.OBL]: (BP.118)
řûwenane /ruwænænæ/ (N.M) animal tax • (BP.16)
řûwere /ruwæ'ræ/ (ADV) prone • (KŞ.67)

S

- sabrîn** /sab'rin/ (N.M) male goat (over two years) •
saf /saf/ (ADJ) flat (level) •
sahêb /sa'heb/ (N.M) owner • *sahêb* [owner.M]: (HB.56); *sahêb-î=ş* [owner.M-SG.OBL=3SG:PSR]: (ZP.106)
sate /'satæ/ (N.F) year • *sat(e)-a=ne* [year.F-PL.OBL=POST]: (ZB.12); *sat(e)-ê* [year.F-PL.DIR]: (ZP.9); *sat(e)-ê* [year.F-INDF]: (ZP.28); *sat(e)-ê* [year.F-PL.DIR]: (HB.68); *sate* [year.F]: (KŞ.36); *sat(e)-ê=re* [year.F-PL.DIR=POST]: (KŞ.92); *sat(e)-ê*

[year.F-PL.DIR]: (JM.8)

sana, san /sana, san/ (v.TR) take, buy • *sana=n* [take.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (BP.11); *san-ên-ê* [take.PRS-AUG-3PL:A]: (BP.16); *sanε=nê* [take.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:R]: (BP.26); *sanε* [take.PST.3PL:R]: (BP.18); *sanε=nê=ša* [take.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:R=3PL:A]: (BP.25); *bi-san-e* [IMP-buy.PRS-2SG:A]: (HB.18); *bi-san-û* [SBJV-buy.PRS-1SG:A]: (HB.22); *mi-san-o* [IND-buy.PRS-3SG:A]: (ZP.132); *mi-san-a* [IND-buy.PRS-3PL:A]: (BP.31); *mi-san-a=š* [IND-buy.PRS-3PL:A=3SG:R]: (BP.30); *bi-san-a* [SBJV-buy.PRS-3PL:A]: (BP.58)

sawa, saw /sawa, saw/ (v.TR) rub • *sáw-î* [rub.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A]: (DG.47); *sáw-e* [rub.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (DG.50)

sawale /sawalæ/ (ADJ) very young (animal) • *sawal(e)-a* [lamb-PL.OBL]: (ZP.9)

sawî /sawi/ (N.F) apple •

saxtman /saxt'man/ (N.M) building • *saxtman-ê* [building.M-PL.DIR]: (JM.40)

sayqe /saj'qæ/ (N.M) lightning • *sayqe-(e)ke=we* [lightning.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST]: (ZB.42)

sazna, sazn /sazna, sazn/ (v.TR) build • *sazn-ên-mê* [build.PRS-AUG-1PL:A]: (JM.40)

seba /sæ'ba/ (N.M) tomorrow • *seba* [tomorrow.M]: (JP.41); *seba-î* [tomorrow.M]: (JH.107)

sefer /sæ'fær/ (N.M) trip, time • *sefer-ê* [trip-INDF]: (BP.143); *sefer* [trip]: (BP.173)

sehl /sæhl/ (ADJ) easy • *sehl=a=rî* [easy=COP.3SG.M:S=POVB]: (ZP.56)

selamet, silamet /sæld'mæt, siɫd'mæt/ (ADJ) healthy • *silamet* [healthy]: (DP.50); *selamet* [healthy]: (KŞ.51)

selameti /sælamæ'ti/ (N.M) health • (JH.119)

sema /sæ'ma/ (N.M) dance • *sema-î* [dance.M-SG.OBL]: (JP.56)

sempaş /sæmpaʃ/ (N.M) poison sprayer • *sempaş-ê* [poison_sprayer-PL.DIR]: (BP.40)

sendeliye /sændæ'lijæ/ (N.F) chair •

ser /sær/ (ADP) on • *ser* [on]: (ZP.82); *ser=o* [on=POST]: (HB.37); *ser=iş=ne* [on=3SG:R=POST]: (JP.170); *serew* [from_above]: (BP.152)

seraw /sæ'raw/ (N.M) large area • *seraw-ê* [large_area-INDF]: (DG.9)

serawin /særa'win/ (N.M) top of village • (ZP.3)

serd /særɪʔ/ (ADJ) cold •

sere /sær'æ/ (N.M) head, top • *sere* [head.M]: (BP.53); *sere=re* [top.M=POST]: (BP.145)

sereko /særæ'ko/ (N.M) uphill • *sereko-ê* [uphill.M-INDF]: (JH.23)

sewad /sæ'waɪʔ/ (N.M) literacy • (KŞ.76)

seweqe /sæwæ'qæ/ (N.M) sacrifice • (DG.34)

sewz /sæwz/ (ADJ) green • (PM.35)

- sextî** /sæx'ti/ (N.M) difficulty • (JE.56)
- seye** /'sæyə/ (N.F) shade, shadow •
- seya, seye** /sæjɑ, sæjæ/ (V.INTR) rest • *sey-a=we* [rest.PRS.IND-3PL:S=COMPL]: (JP.171); *sey-ême* [rest.PRS.IND-1PL:S=and]: (BP.182)
- sefat, safet** /sæ'fat, sa'fat/ (N.M) hour • *sefat-ê* [hour.M-INDF]: (ŞC.18); *saft-ê* [hour.M-PL.DIR]: (JM.41)
- sefbe** /'sæfbæ/ (N.F) morning • *sefbe* [morning.F]: (BP.98); *sefb(e)-ê* [morning-F.SG.OBL]: (KŞ.81); *sefb=ne* [morning=POST]: (BP.38)
- sext** /sæxt/ (N.M) mountain • *sext=re* [mountain.M=POST]: (DP.35)
- sêfê** /se'fe/ (N.F) potato • *sêfê* [potato.F.SG]: (JE.32)
- sêtê** /se'te/ (N.F) husband's sister •
- sikeł** /si'kæl/ (N.M) ember • (JE.40)
- siłam** /si'lam/ (N.M) hello • (RE.68)
- simerî** /si'mæri/ (N.F) straw • *simerî* [straw.F]: (HB.36); *simerî* [straw.PL.DIR]: (HB.54)
- simêlê** /si'mele/ (N.PL) moustache •
- sinfe** /'sinfæ/ (N.F) age • *sinfe* [age.F]: (BP.123); *sinf(e)-ê* [age-F.SG.OBL]: (BP.132)
- sipart, sipar** /sipart, sipar/ (V.TR) hand over • *bi-spar-o* [SBJV-hand_over.PRS-3SG:A]: (ŞC.89)
- sirewa, sirew** /siræwɑ, siræw/ (V.INTR) heal • *sireway* [heal.INF]: (JP.168); *sirewa* [be_cured.PST.3SG.F:S]: (JP.174)
- sî** /si/ (NUM) thirty • (ZB.12)
- sîne** /si'næ/ (N.M) chest • *sîne-y* [chest.M-SG.OBL]: (DP.38); *sîne=ma=we* [chest.M=1PL:PSR=POST]: (RE.68)
- sîni** /si'ni/ (N.M) tray •
- sîwîni** /si'wini/ (N.F) voice • (ZP.37)
- sîyaw** /si'jaw/ (ADJ) black • *sîyaw* [black.M]: (ZB.17); *sîyaw-î* [black-M.SG.OBL]: (JP.157)
- sobe** /so'fbæ/ (N.M) stove • (KŞ.78)
- soł** /soł/ (ADJ) salty •
- sot, soç** /sot, soç/ (V.INTR) burn • *sóç-mê* [burn.PRS.SBJV-1PL:S]: (ZP.25)
- sultān, siłtan** /soł'tan, siłtan/ (N.M) sultan • (JH.64); *siłtan* [sultan.M]: (JH.2); *sultān-î* [sultan-M.SG.OBL]: (JH.110)
- suwale** /sɔ'wale/ (N.F) question • *suwale* [question.F]: (JP.135); *suwal-ê* [question-INDF]: (BP.211)
- suwał** /suwał/ (N.M) begging • (BP.144)
- suwar** /sɔ'war/ (N.M) riding • (KŞ.96)
- suwarî** /sɔwa'ri/ (N.M) driving • (JP.99)
- sûk** /suk/ (ADJ) light •

sûr /sur/ (ADJ) red • (JH.91)

şe /s^ha/ (NUM) hundred • (ZB.12)

Ş

şa /ʃa/ (N.M) king • şa [king.M]: (DP.12); şa-î=we [king.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (DP.3)

şana, şan /ʃana, ʃan/ (V.TR) scatter, ooze, throw • şan-o [scatter.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (JP.32); şana=t [scatter.PST.3SG:O=2SG:A]: (JP.39); şane=nê [scatter.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O]: (JP.44); şân-o [scatter.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]: (JP.46); şana [scatter.PST.3SG:O]: (JP.51); şan-o [emit.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (DG.22); şân-î=şa [throw.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A=3PL:O]: (JP.27)

şanî /ʃa'ni/ (N) showing • (JP.216)

şar /ʃar/ (N.M) city • şar-î [city.M-SG.OBL]: (BP.165); şar=ne [city.M=POST]: (BP.143); şar-eke=ne [city.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST]: (BP.148); şar=re [city.M=POST]: (BP.160); şar-eke [city.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (BP.174)

şazaye /ʃaza'yæ/ (N.M) prince • şazay(e)-êwe [prince.M-INDF]: (DG.70)

şemşele korî /ʃæmfælə 'kori/ (N.F) bat •

şerêfet /ʃære'fæt/ (N.M) sharia law • şerîfet-î [sharia_law-M.SG.OBL]: (JP.84);

şerêfet-î=ç=ne [sharia_law-OBL.M=ADD=POST]: (JP.88)

şerte /ʃærtæ/ (N.F) condition • (ŞC.98)

şes, şeş /ʃæs, ʃas^h/ (NUM) sixty • (DP.8)

şewe /ʃæwæ/ (N.F) night • şew(e)-ê [night.F-INDF]: (ZP.30); şew(e)-a [night.F-PL.OBL]: (ZB.8); şew(e)-ê [night-F.SG.OBL]: (BP.52); şew(e)-ê=ne [night-F.SG.OBL=POST]: (DG.41); şewe [night.F]: (KŞ.59); şew(e)-ê [night.F-PL.DIR]: (JE.9)

şexs /ʃæxs/ (N.M) person, saint • şexs-î [person-M.SG.OBL=and]: (ZP.90); şexs=e [person=DEM]: (ZP.90); şexs-î [saint-M.SG.OBL]: (PM.5); şexs-ê [saint-PL.DIR]: (ŞC.100)

şêlanê /ʃetā'ne/ (N.F) apricot •

şêr /ʃer/ (N.M) lion • şêr-ê [lion.M-INDF]: (JH.114)

şêt /ʃet/ (ADJ) crazy • (JP.128)

şêwya, şêwe /ʃewja, ʃewjæ/ (V.INTR) be confused • şêwy(e)-o [be_confused.PRS-3SG:S]: (BP.180)

şêx, şê /ʃex, ʃe/ (N.M) sheikh • şê [sheikh.M]: (PM.1); şêx-î [sheikh.M-SG.OBL]: (ZB.37); şêx [sheikh.M]: (ŞC.94); şêx-î=we [sheikh.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (HB.67); şêx-î=ne [sheikh.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (HB.68); şêx-a [sheikh.M-PL.OBL]: (DG.73)

şêxyetî /ʃexjæ'ti/ (N.M) sheikhhood • (ŞC.91)

şikar /ʃi'kat/ (N.M) complaint • (KŞ.27)

şime, êşme /ʃi'mæ, eʃmæ/ (PRO) you (pl) • (BP.185)

şimşêr /ʃim'ʃer/ (N.M) sword • (BP.128)

şimşî /ʃimʃi/ (N.F) spleen • (JP.238)

şiş /ʃiʃ/ (NUM) six • (JM.35)

şî, **ş** /ʃi, ʃ/ (V.INTR) go • *ber-şîye=n* [out-go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (JM.5); *şîye=n* [go.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (JE.9); *şî* [go.PST.3SG:S]: (KŞ.22); *ne-ş-o=we* [PROH-go.PRS-3SG:S=COMPL]: (DG.56); *me-ş-o* [NEG.IND-go.PRS-3SG:S]: (DG.69)

şîrîn /ʃi'rin/ (ADJ) sweet •

şor /ʃor/ (ADJ) loose, pendant •

şot /ʃot/ (N.M) milk • (ZB.45)

şuwane /ʃuwa'næ/ (N.M) shepherd • *şuwan(e)-û* [shepherd.M-EZ.GEN]: (ZP.9); *şuwane-î* [shepherd.M-SG.OBL]: (KŞ.27); *şuwane* [shepherd.M]: (KŞ.35); *şuwane-î* [shepherd.M-SG.OBL]: (KŞ.100);

şû /ʃu/ (N.M) husband • *şû* [husband.M]: (BP.17); *şû-ekey* [husband.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=3SG:PSR]: (KŞ.95); *şû-î* [husband.M-SG.OBL=3SG:R]: (JH.59)

şûn /ʃun/ (ADP) after • (KŞ.23)

şûnî /ʃu'ni/ (ADV) afterwards • *şûnî=re* [afterwards=POST]: (JM.6); *şûnî=ş=o* [track.F=3SG:PSR=POST]: (DP.8)

t

ta /ta/ (ADP) until • (RE.18)

tace /'tadʒæ/ (N.F) crown •

tał /tał/ (ADJ) bitter •

tam /tam/ (N.M) taste • (JH.101)

taqet /ta'qæt/ (N.M) persistence • (KŞ.40)

taşa, **taş** /taʃa, taʃ/ (V.TR) shave • *tâş-e* [shave.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (JH.53); *taş-o* [shave.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (JH.54); *taşa=ma* [shave.PST=1PL:A]: (JH.55)

tate /ta'tæ/ (N.M) father • *tate* [father.M]: (RE.34); *tate-î=ş=ne* [father.M-SG.OBL=3SG:PSR=POST]: (ZP.65); *tate-î* [father.M-SG.OBL]: (KŞ.71); *tate-î=ç=ş=o* [father.M-SG.OBL=ADD=3SG:PSR=POST]: (KŞ.65); *tate-î=ş=o* [father.M-SG.OBL=3SG:PSR=POST]: (KŞ.68)

tawa, **taw** /tawɑ, taw/ (V.TR) can • *me-taw-mê=ş* [NEG.IND-can.PRS-1PL:A=3SG:R]: (ZP.25); *me-taw-mê* [NEG.IND-can.PRS-1PL:A]: (JP.72); *me-taw-o* [NEG.IND-can.PRS-3SG:A]: (DG.54); *tawa=n=iş* [can.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A]: (ZP.9); *taw-û* [can.PRS.IND-1SG:A]: (ZP.19); *tawa=ş* [can.PST=3SG:A]: (JP.164); *me-taw-û* [NEG.IND-can.PRS-1SG:A]: (JP.161); *taw-o* [can.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (JP.84); *me-taw-î* [NEG.IND-can.PRS-2SG:A]: (JP.27); *ne-tawa=n* [NEG-can.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JP.49); *me-taw-o=ş* [NEG.IND-can.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O]: (KŞ.105); *ne-tawa=n=ma* [NEG-can.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1PL:A]: (RE.64)

tawêł, **tehweł** /ta'weł, tæh'weł/ (N.M) delivery • *tehweł* [delivery.M]: (ZP.18);

- tawêl*=û [delivery.M=and]: (BP.92)
- tayfe** /taɣ'fæ/ (N.M) tirbe • *tayf(e)-ê* [tirbe.M-INDF]: (PM.11)
- taze** /ta'zæ/ (ADJ) new (of objects) •
- taze** /'tazæ/ (ADV) anyway, just • (JP.206)
- tazeyawapene** /tazæjawapæ'næ/ (ADJ) adolescent • *taze-yawa-pene* [just-arrive.PST.PTCP.M-to=and]: (KŞ.74)
- tefre** /tæfræ/ (N.M) evasion • (KŞ.105)
- tehemul** /tæhæ'muɫ/ (N.M) patience • (JH.79)
- tecrebe** /tædʒræ'bæ/ (N.M) experience • (ZB.12)
- tekbîr** /tæk'bir/ (N.M) solution, advice • *tekbîr-î* [solution-M.SG.OBL]: (ZB.46)
- telklîf** /tælk'lif/ (N.M) option • (HB.29)
- tekmêl** /tæk'mel/ (ADJ) complete • (JP.94)
- tekna**, **tekn** /tæknæ, tækn/ (V.TR) touch sb • *ne-tekn-û* [NEG.SBJV-touch_sb.PRS-1SG:A]: (JH.103)
- tele** /tæ'læ/ (N.M) wedding gift • (JP.265)
- telefûn** /tælæ'fun/ (N.M) telephone • *telefûn-î* [telephone.M-SG.OBL]: (JM.32)
- telan** /tæ'lan/ (N.M) terrace farm • *telan-êwe=ne* [terrace_farm-INDF=POST]: (DG.31)
- temam** /tæ'mam/ (QUANT) all • (PM.18); *kul=iş* [all=3SG:PSR]: (PM.18); *gird-û* [all-EZ.GEN]: (PM.38); *gird=ma* [all=1PL:PSR]: (BP.56)
- temamna**, **temamn** /tæmamna, tæmamn/ (V.TR) finish • *temamna=n* [finish.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (ZP.16)
- temamya**, **temamye** /tæmamja, tæmamjæ/ (V.INTR) finish • *temamîy(e)-o* [finish.PRS-3SG:S]: (ZB.7); *ne-temamîye=ne* [NEG-finish.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:S]: (JE.21)
- temaşe** /tæma'ʃæ/ (N) looking • (ZP.46)
- temaşe** /tæ'maʃæ/ (N.F) greed • *temaşe* [greed.F]: (JE.58)
- teme** /'tæmæ/ (N.F) fog •
- temena** /tæmænæ/ (N.M) supplication • *temenewe* [supplication.M.INDF]: (DG.62); *temena=* [supplication.M]: (DP.29)
- teneke** /tænæ'kæ/ (N.M) sack • *tenek(e)-ê* [sack.M-INDF]: (RE.71)
- teng** /tæng/ (ADJ) not spacious •
- tenha**, **tenya** /tæn'ha, tæ'nja/ (ADV) not even, only • *tenha* [not_even]: (ŞC.105); *tenha* [only]: (PM.31); *tenya* [only]: (BP.116)
- tenûre** /tæ'nuræ/ (N.F) oven •
- teqa**, **teq** /tæqa, tæq/ (V.INTR) gush, explode • *teqa=n* [gush.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (JE.15)
- teqlîbab** /tæqlî'bab/ (N) knocking • (JH.73)
- teqna**, **teqn** /tæqna, tæqn/ (V.TR) shoot, fire • *teqna=n*

- [shoot.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (KŞ.10); *teqna* [shoot.PST]: (KŞ.98); *teqn-o* [fire.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (KŞ.6)
- teqeteq** /tæqæ'tæq/ (ADV) rattling • (DG.62)
- ter** /tær/ (PTCL) another, other • *ter* [another]: (JE.82); *ter-î* [other-M.SG.OBL]: (BP.18); *ter-ê* [other-PL.DIR]: (JM.55)
- teref** /tæ'ræf/ (N.M) side • (PM.3)
- teř** /tær/ (ADJ) wet, fresh • (KŞ.66)
- teslîm** /tæs'lim/ (N/ADJ) surrender • (KŞ.103)
- tewenî** /tæ'wæni/ (N.F) stone • *tewen(i)-ê* [stone.F-INDF]: (ZP.54); *tewen(i)-û* [stone.F-EZ.GEN]: (ZP.59); *tewen(i)-ekê* [stone.F-DEF.F.SG]: (JP.170); *tewen(i)-ekê* [stone.F-DEF.F.SG]: (ZP.54); *tewen(i)-ekê=we* [stone.F-DEF.F.SG=POST]: (JP.169); *tewenî* [stone.F]: (BP.198)
- tewerge** /tæ'wærgæ/ (N.F) hail •
- tewêle** /tæ'wełæ/ (N.M) stable • *tewêle-(e)ke* [stable.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (ŞC.64); *tewêle-î* [stable.M-SG.OBL]: (ŞC.66)
- text** /tæxt/ (N.M) throne • *text-î=we* [throne-OBL.M=POST]: (JP.161)
- texte** /tæx'tæ/ (N.M) board •
- teṣare** /tæɣɑ'ræ/ (N) 120 kilos • *teṣar-ê* [120_kilos-INDF]: (RE.70)
- terîqet, terêqet** /tæri'qæt, tære'qæt/ (N.M) denomination • *terîqet* [denomination]: (ZP.19); *terêqet-î* [denomination-M.SG.OBL]: (JP.84); *terêqet-î=ç=ne* [denomination-OBL.M=ADD=POST]: (JP.88); *terêqet* [denomination]: (JP.126)
- tersa, ters** /tærsɑ, tærs/ (V.INTR) be_afraid • *me-ters-mê* [NEG.IND-be_afraid.PRS-1PL:S]: (BP.118); *tersê=nmê* [be_afraid.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:S]: (RE.69)
- tersezał** /tærsæ'zɑł/ (ADJ) coward • (BP.100)
- tesk** /tæsk/ (ADJ) narrow (of trousers) •
- tejnay** /tæɟ'naj/ (N.M) thirst • *tejnay=ene* [thirst-INF=POST]: (ZP.25)
- tejne** /tæɟ'næ/ (ADJ) thirsty •
- têkel** /te'kæl/ (ADJ) mixed • (RE.26)
- têkefi** /tekæ'fi/ (N.M) mixture • (BP.50)
- têj** /teɟ/ (ADJ) sharp (of knife) •
- tifeng** /ti'fæng/ (N.M) gun • *tifeng-ê* [gun-INDF]: (ŞC.7); *tifeng-êwe* [gun-INDF]: (ŞC.17); *eslehe=ş* [gun.M=3SG:NC]: (KŞ.4); *tifeng-êke* [gun-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (KŞ.98)
- tifi** /'tifi/ (N.F) mulberry •
- til** /til/ (ADJ) rolling • (JP.200)
- tiła** /ti'la/ (N.M) steel •
- tirêşte** /tireʃ'tæ/ (N.M) ax • (BP.71)
- tiroq** /ti'roq/ (N.M) progress • *tiroq* [progress]: (ZP.132)
- tiş, tırş** /tiʃ, tırʃ/ (N.M) molasses • *tırş* [molasses-EZ.GEN]: (ZP.120); *tiş* [molasses]: (JP.237); *tiş-e* [molasses-EZ.CMPD]: (JP.249)

- tîre** /'tiræ/ (N.F) bullet • *tîr(e)-ê* [bullet.F-INDF]: (KŞ.6)
to /to/ (PRO) you (sg) • (JP.126)
tobe /to'bæ/ (N.M) repentance • *tobe* [repentance]: (ŞC.98)
tom /tom/ (N.M) seed • *tom-ekey* [seed.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (JP.32); *tom-eke* [seed-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (JP.39)
topa, top /topa, top/ (V.INTR) die (e.g., animal) • *top-o* [die.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (JP.202)
toreke, tûreke /toræ'kæ, turæ'kæ/ (N.M) sack • *tûreke-(e)ke* [sack.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (HB.36); *toreke-(e)ke* [sack.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (HB.54)
torya, torye /torja, torjæ/ (V.INTR) get_offended • *tory(e)-o* [get_of-fended.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (HB.74); *torya=n* [get_offended.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (HB.76); *torya=nî* [get_offended.PST.PTCP.M=COP.2SG:S]: (HB.80)
toře /'toræ/ (N.F) fish net •
tumez /'tómæz/ (ADV) surprisingly, but as it turned out • (JP.175)
tûl /tul/ (ADJ) long, vast (of areas) • *tûl* [long]: (ZP.12); *tûl-e* [long-F]: (BP.159)
tûş /tuʃ/ (N.M) encounter • (JH.8)
tûte /tu'tæ/ (N.M) dog •
tûtiye /tu'tijæ/ (N.F) parrot •
tûwale /tuwa'læ/ (N.M) shell • *tûwale-(e)key* [shell-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (JH.86)

û

- ûne** /ʔu'næ/ (DEM) that • (PM.37)
ûsna, ûsn /ʔusna, ʔusn/ (V.TR) put to sleep • *ne-wsin-mê=ş* [NEG.SBJV-put_to_sleep.PRS-1PL:A=3SG:O]: (JP.62); *b-ûsin-mê=ş* [SBJV-put_to_sleep.PRS-1PL:A=3SG:O]: (JP.63); *m-ûsn-a=ş* [IND-put_to_sleep.PRS-3PL:A=3SG:O]: (JP.65)

W

- wa** /wɑ/ (N.M) wind •
walê /wa'le/ (N.F) sister • *wal(ê)-e* [sister.F-EZ.CMPD]: (JH.40); *walê* [sister.F]: (JH.48)
walya, walye /walja, waljæ/ (V.INTR) be_astonished • *waly(e)-o=re* [be_astonished.PRS-3SG:S=POVB]: (JP.112)
wamî /'wami/ (N.F) almond •
waqêfe /waqe'fæ/ (N.M) event • *waqêfe* [event.M]: (ŞC.69)
waran /wa'ran/ (N.M) rain • *waran-ê* [rain-INDF]: (ZB.10)
wara, war /waɾa, waɾ/ (V.INTR) rain • *war-o* [rain.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (ZB.15); *war-ay* [rain.PRS-NMLZ]: (KŞ.59)
ward, wer /ward, wæɾ/ (V.TR) eat • *wer-o* [eat.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (KŞ.63); *ward*

[eat.PST]: (ZP.21); *werde=n* [eat.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (ZP.25); *warde=n* [eat.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JM.29); *ward-Ø* [eat.PST-3SG.M:O]: (HB.23); *wer-î* [eat.PRS.IND-2SG:A]: (HB.41); *warde=n=ş* [eat.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A]: (PM.27); *wér-o* [eat.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]: (DP.37); *me-wer-one* [NEG.IND-eat.PRS-3SG:A]: (JP.210); *wer-ûne* [eat.PRS.IND-1SG:A]: (JP.210); *me-wer-o* [NEG.IND-eat.PRS-3SG:A]: (JP.213); *wer-û* [eat.PRS.IND-1SG:A]: (JH.42); *me-wer-o=ş* [NEG.IND-eat.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:R]: (BP.134); *wer-a* [eat.PRS.IND-3PL:A]: (BP.147); *ward-Ø=iş* [eat.PST-3SG.M:O=3SG:A]: (KŞ.26); *ward=ma* [eat.PST=1PL:A]: (JH.55); *wér-e=şa* [eat.PRS.IMP-2SG:A=3PL:O]: (JH.94); *warde=n* [eat.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JE.48); *wardê=ne* [eat.PST.PTCP.F=COP.3SG.F:O]: (JE.29); *wardî=şa* [eat.PST-NMLZ=3PL:A]: (JM.29)

waryat /waɾ'jat/ (N.M) income • *waryat-ê* [income.M-INDF]: (JM.59)

wast, waz /wast, waz/ (v.TR) request • *waz-o* [request.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (DG.18)

wat, waç /wat, wat̪/ (v.TR) say • *m-aç-o* [IND-say.PRS-3SG:A]: (JH.12); *waç-ê* [say.PRS-AUG.3SG:A]: (KŞ.3); *wate=b-o* [say.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:O]: (ZB.59); *m-aç-î* [IND-say.PRS-2SG:A]: (JE.75); *waç-ên-î* [say.PRS-AUG-2SG:A]: (ZP.20); *wat=im* [say.PST=1SG:A]: (ZP.48); *wat=şa* [say.PST=3PL:A]: (ŞC.15); *m-aç-a* [IND-say.PRS-3PL:A]: (JP.127); *waç-dê* [say.PRS-2PL:A]: (HB.11); *ne-wat=im* [NEG-say.PST=1SG:A]: (HB.20); *wat=iş* [say.PST=3SG:A]: (KŞ.28); *wat* [say.PST]: (JP.244); *wate=n=iş* [say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A]: (DP.20); *m-aç-a=ş* [IND-say.PRS-3PL:A=3SG:O]: (JP.3); *wâç-e* [say.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (BP.165); *wate=n* [say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (RE.51); *m-aç-a=ş* [IND-say.PRS-3PL:A=3SG:R]: (JP.154); *m-aç-mê=ş* [IND-say.PRS-1PL:A=3SG:R]: (ZP.36); *m-aç-ên-ê* [IND-say.PRS-AUG-3PL:A]: (ZP.96); *wate=n=îç=iş* [say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=ADD=3SG:A]: (ZP.108); *m-aç-dê* [INDsay.PRS-2PL:A]: (ZP.126); *m-aç-dê* [IND-say.PRS-2PL:A]: (ZP.127); *m-aç-dê=ş* [IND-say.PRS-2PL:A=3SG:O]: (ZP.128); *wâç-o* [say.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]: (RE.18); *wâç-î* [say.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A]: (JP.69); *m-aç-o=ş* [IND-say.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:R]: (JH.12); *waç-ên-ê* [say.PRS-AUG-3PL:A]: (JP.168); *m-aç-mê* [IND-say.PRS-1PL:A]: (BP.68); *wat=ta* [say.PST=2PL:A]: (JP.243); *waç-ên-ê=ş* [say.PRS-AUG-3PL:A=3SG:O]: (BP.18); *m-aç-û* [IND-say.PRS-1SG:A]: (BP.19); *wâç-mê* [say.PRS.SBJV-1PL:A]: (BP.63); *wâç-e* [say.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (BP.78); *wate=n=şa* [say.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3PL:A]: (JE.49); *wâç-dê* [say.PRS.IMP-2PL:A]: (KŞ.52); *wâç-î* [say.PRS.SBJV-2SG:A]: (ŞC.101); *waç-mê=ş* [IND-say.PRS-1PL:A=3SG:R]: (JH.23); *m-aç-mê=şa* [IND-say.PRS-1PL:A=3PL:O]: (JH.87); *wat-ε=t* [say.PST-COND.AUG=2SG:A]: (JE.73); *wâç-e* [say.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (JE.74); *wat-ε=ş* [say.PST-COND.AUG=3SG:A]: (JE.77)

wawey /wa'wæj/ (ADV) again • (ZP.33)

we /wæ/ (CONJ) and • (JP.268)

weç /wæt̪/ (N.M) branch • *weç-a* [branch.M-PL.OBL]: (KŞ.5)

- wehar** /wæ'hɑr/ (N.M) spring • *wehar-î* [spring.M-SG.OBL]: (ZB.7); *wehar-ê* [spring.M-INDF]: (ZP.33)
- wekêl** /wæ'ke/ (N.M) advocate • *wekêl* [advocate.M]: (ZP.89)
- welê, welî** /'wæle, 'wæli/ (CONJ) but • *welê* [but]: (DG.68); *welî* [but]: (JP.144)
- welhasîl** /wælhɑ'si/ (ADV) in short • (ŞC.97)
- weladîm** /wæɫɑ'dim/ (ADJ) collapsed • (BP.173)
- welê** /wæ'le/ (ADP) front • *welê* [front]: (BP.105); *welê=we* [front=POST]: (KŞ.97); *ver* [front]: (BP.102); *welê=ne* [front=POST]: (BP.105)
- welêne** /wæle'næ/ (ADV) in the beginning, in the past • (JP.119)
- wena, wen** /wænɑ, wæn/ (V.TR) read • *wena=n* [read.PST=COP.3SG.M:O]: (ZP.15); *wena=n=ş* [read.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=3SG:A]: (ZP.23); *wén-o* [read.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]: (JP.72); *wen-o* [read.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (JP.79); *wena* [read.PST]: (JP.80); *wenay* [read.INF]: (JP.80); *wén-a* [read.PRS.SBJV-3PL:A]: (KŞ.86)
- wer** /wær/ (CONJ) because • *wer-û* [because-EZ.GEN]: (BP.211)
- wer** /wær/ (ADP) front, before, in front of • *wer=ew* [front.M=POST]: (BP.99); *wer=iş=ne* [front.M=3SG:PSR=POST]: (JP.176); *wer=şa=ne* [front.M=3PL:PSR=POST]: (JP.193); *ver* [front]: (BP.102); *wer-û* [front-EZ.GEN]: (KŞ.94)
- werdes** /wær'dæs/ (N.M) attendant • *werdes-î* [attendant.M-SG.OBL]: (KŞ.43)
- werg** /wærg, værg/ (N.M) wolf •
- werm** /wærm/ (N.M) dream • (ŞC.46); *werm* [sleep]: (ZP.32); *werm-ê* [sleep-INDF]: (JP.153); *werm-êke=ş=ne* [sleep-DEF.M.SG.DIR=3SG:PSR=POST]: (JP.154); *werm-êke* [sleep-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (JP.155)
- werwe** /'wærwæ/ (N.F) snow • *werwe* [snow.F]: (DP.34); *werwe-(e)kê* [snow.F-DEF.F.SG]: (DP.36)
- werzîyer** /wærzijær/ (N.M) farm labourer • *werzîyer* [farm_labourer.M]: (PM.28); *werzîyer-î* [farm_labourer.M-SG.OBL]: (PM.43); *werzîyer-êke* [farm_labourer.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (PM.44)
- wesayîl** /wæsq'jil/ (N.M) equipment • (JP.264)
- wesîle** /wæsi'læ/ (N.M) tool • *wesîle* [tool.M]: (ZP.40); *wesil(e)-êwe* [tool.M-INDF]: (KŞ.72)
- west, wez** /wæst, wæz/ (V.INTR) climb • *wéz-û=re* [climb.PRS.SBJV-1SG:S=POVB]: (JP.161)
- wesyet** /wæsjæt/ (N.M) will • *wesîyet-ê* [will.M-INDF]: (BP.184)
- weş** /wæʃ/ (ADJ) good, well • *weş-e* [well-F]: (JP.164)
- weşhał** /wæʃhɑł/ (ADJ) happy •
- weşi** /wæʃi/ (N.M) happiness • *weşi-ê* [happiness.M-INDF]: (ZP.53)
- weşkelam** /wæʃkæ'lam/ (ADJ) eloquent • (KŞ.42)
- weşle** /wæʃlæ/ (ADJ) cute, adorable • (JE.71)
- weşleyî** /wæʃlæ'ji/ (ADV) happy manner • (JE.71)

- weşmek** /wæʃmæk/ (ADJ) amusing • (KŞ.42)
- wext** /wæxt/ (N.M) time • *wext-î* [time.M-SG.OBL]: (DP.46); *wext-ê* [time.M-INDF]: (KŞ.87); *wext-êwe* [time.M-INDF]: (PM.41); *wext-ê* [time.M-PL.DIR]: (BP.57)
- wey** /wæj/ (N.M) raising • (JP.226)
- weya, weye** /wæja, wæjæ/ (V.INTR) wake • *wey(e)-o=we* [wake.PRS.IND-3SG:S=COMPL]: (ZB.20)
- weywe** /'wæywe/ (N.F) bride •
- wezî** /'wæzi/ (N.F) walnut •
- wefze, wafze** /'wæfzæ, 'wafzæ/ (N.F) situation • *wefze* [situation.F]: (JE.72); *wafze* [situation.F]: (DG.34)
- wêrega** /weræ'ga/ (N.F) evening • *wêrega=ne* [evening=POST]: (ZP.12); *wêrega* [evening]: (BP.70)
- wiçkile** /wiʃk'ilæ/ (ADJ) little, young • *wiçkile-(e)kê* [little-DEF.F.SG]: (JH.40)
- wilat** /wi'lat/ (N.M) region, country • *wilat-a=re* [region.M-PL.OBL=POST]: (RE.41); *wilat-êwe* [country.M-INDF]: (JH.6)
- wilax, welax** /wi'laχ, wæ'laχ/ (N.M) horse/donkey • *welax* [horse/donkey.M]: (HB.8); *wilax-a* [horse/donkey.M-PL.OBL]: (§C.60); *wilax-eka* [horse/donkey.M-DEF.PL.OBL]: (§C.64); *wilax-ê* [horse/donkey.M-PL.DIR]: (§C.66)
- wilaxdar** /wi'laχ'dar/ (N.M) stableman • *wilaxdar* [stableman]: (§C.51); *wilaxdar-ê* [stableman-PL.DIR]: (§C.66)
- winî** /'wini/ (N.F) blood • *win(i)-û* [blood.F-EZ.GEN]: (DG.47); *win(i)-ekê=ş* [blood.F-DEF.F.SG=3SG:PSR]: (DG.50)
- wirde** *wirde* /wi'r'dæ wi'r'dæ/ (ADV) little by little • (ZP.41)
- wirdikî** /wirdik'læ/ (ADJ) small • (BP.123)
- wist, wiz** /wist, wiz/ (V.TR) throw • *wis-Ø=iş* [throw.PST-3SG.M:O=3SG:A]: (ZB.22); *wiz-o=şa=re* [throw.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3PL:O=POVB]: (ZB.25); *wiz-a=ş* [throw.PRS.IND-3PL:A=3SG:O]: (ZB.31); *vist-Ø=re* [throwPST-3SG.M:O=POVB]: (HB.67); *wiz-o=re* [throw.PRS.IND-3SG:A=POVB]: (BP.146); *wiz-o=re=(e)w* [throw.PRS.IND-3SG:A=POVB=COMPL]: (HB.73); *wiz-e* [throw.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (DG.27); *wiz-o* [throw.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (DP.35); *vist=ta=we* [throw.PST=2PL:A=COMPL]: (ZP.128); *wist-Ø=re=we* [throw.PST-3SG:O=POVB=COMPL]: (JP.52); *wiz-o=re* [throw.PRS.IND-3SG:A=POVB]: (BP.145); *wiz-one* [throw.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (§C.65)
- wişk** /wiʃk/ (ADJ) dry •
- wişkesafi** /wiʃkæsa'fi/ (N.M) drought • (ZB.2)
- wişkina, wişkin** /wiʃkina, wiʃkin/ (V.TR) scour • *wişk-inε=nê* [scour.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:O]: (JE.3); *wişkina=n* [scour.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JM.13)
- wiştale** /wiʃ'talæ/ (ADJ) small • *wiştal(e)-ê* [small-INDF]: (JP.30)

wiştir /wiʃˈtɪr/ (N.M) camel •

wit, ûs /wit, ʔus/ (V.INTR) sleep • *m-ûs-a=û* [IND-sleep.PRS-3PL:S=and]: (JP.66); *wute=n* [sleep.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (JP.68); *wit-ê* [sleep.PST-3PL:S]: (BP.52); *m-ûs-a* [IND-sleep.PRS-3PL:S]: (BP.73); *b-ûs-û* [SBJV-sleep.PRS-1SG:S]: (BP.183); *m-ûs-û* [IND-sleep.PRS-1SG:S]: (BP.184); *witê=nê* [sleep.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]: (KŞ.61); *m-ûs-o* [IND-sleep.PRS-3SG:S]: (KŞ.64)

wîyerd, wîyer /vijærd, vijæt/ (V.INTR) pass • *wîyer-o* [pass.PRS-3SG:S]: (DG.55)

wîs /wis/ (NUM) twenty • (DG.29)

X

xak /xak/ (N.M) earth, soil •

xakî /xakˈi/ (ADJ) earthen • (JE.26)

xan /xan/ (N.M) chief • *xan-î* [chief.M-SG.OBL]: (KŞ.50); *xan-ê* [chief.PL.DIR]: (KŞ.93)

xaneqa /xanæˈqa/ (N.M) monastery • *xaneqa=ne* [monastery.M=POST]: (HB.5); *xaneqa-î* [monastery.M-SG.OBL]: (HB.14); *xaneqa-î=ne* [monastery.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (HB.73)

xanewade /xanæwaˈdæ/ (N.M) family • (BP.167)

xas /xas/ (ADJ) good, fine • *xas-ter* [good-CMPR]: (JM.55); *xas-e* [fine-F]: (JH.64)

xatûn /xatˈun/ (N.M) lady • *xatûn-î* [lady.M-SG.OBL]: (JP.203)

xeber /xæˈbæt/ (N.M) news • *xeber* [news.M]: (HB.75); *xeber-ê* [news.M-INDF]: (JP.124); *xeber-î* [news.M-SG.OBL]: (BP.79); *xeber-ê* [news.M-PL.DIR]: (JM.30)

xefet /xæˈfæt/ (N.M) sorrow • (HB.31)

xele /xæˈlæ/ (N.M) grain • *xel(e)-ê* [grain.M-PL.DIR]: (BP.15); *xele* [grain.M-SG.DIR]: (JE.30)

xem /xæm/ (N.M) sorrow • (PM.40)

xep̄le /xæp̄ˈlæ/ (N.F) a bread made of corn flour • *xep̄l(e)-ê* [corn_bread.F-PL.DIR]: (RE.24)

xerîk /xæˈrik/ (ADJ) busy • (BP.45)

xercî /xæɾˈdʒi/ (N.M) provision • (JP.103)

xeylê /ˈxæjle/ (ADV) so much •

xeyr /xæjɾ/ (N.M) goodness • *xeyr* [goodness.M]: (RE.25); *xeyr-î* [goodness.M-SG.OBL]: (DG.6)

xeqramay /xæjɾaˈmaj/ (N.M) welcoming • *xeqramay* [welcoming]: (KŞ.81)

xinîkna, xinîkn /xinikna, xinikn/ (V.TR) strangle • *xinîkn-o* [strangle.PRS.SBJV-3SG:A]: (ZB.35)

xirab /xiˈrab/ (ADJ) bad •

xirt /xirt/ (ADJ) round (of trays) •

xiza, xiz /xizə, xiz/ (V.INTR) creep • *xiz-one* [creep.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (ZB.5); *xiz-anê*

[creep.PRS.IND-3PL:S]: (ZB.23)

xizmet /xiz'mæt/ (N.M) service • *xizmet* [service.M]: (PM.6); *xizmet-î* [service.M-SG.OBL]: (ZP.1)

xizmetkar /xiz'mæt'kar/ (N.M) servant • *xizmetkar* [servant.M]: (RE.16)

xîş /xiʃ/ (ADJ) fat •

xîyar /xi'jar/ (N.M) cucumber • *xîyar* [cucumber.M]: (PM.37); *xîyarî* [cucumber]: (PM.43)

xuĭk, **xetk** /xuĭk, xæt'k/ (N.M) people • *xuĭk* [people.M]: (BP.139); *xetk* [people.M]: (JP.144); *xetk-ekey* [people.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (ZP.118); *xetk-ekey* [people.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (BP.51); *xuĭk-î* [people.M-SG.OBL]: (BP.100); *xetk-eke* [people.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (BP.109); *xetk-î* [people.M-SG.OBL]: (KŞ.37)

xuĭke /xuĭ'kæ/ (N.M) invitation • (JH.33)

xurmawî /xuŕ'mawi/ (N.F) date •

xuŕî, **xuŕ** /xuŕi, xuŕ/ (V.TR) shout • *xuŕ-e* [shout.PRS.IMP-2SG:A]: (HB.62); *xuŕ-o* [shout.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (ZP.68); *xuŕ-o=ş* [shout.PRS.IND-3SG:A=3SG:R]: (JP.194); *xuŕî-eymê=ş* [shout.PST-1PL:R=3SG:A]: (ŞC.44)

xwa, **xuya** /xwa, xu'ja/ (N.M) God • *xwa* [God.M]: (HB.67); *xwa-î* [God.M-SG.OBL]: (ZP.39); *xwa-î=we* [God.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (PM.34); *xwa=we* [God.M=POST]: (DG.60); *xwa-î=ne* [God.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (ŞC.88)

xwayî /xwa'ji/ (ADJ) divine • (JP.71)

xwawin /xwa'win/ (N.M) owner, God • (DG.46)

Ë

ëaric /ʔa'ridʒ/ (N.M) abroad • *ëaric=ne* [abroad=POST]: (JM.22)

ëeyb /ʔæjb/ (N.M) disappearance • (BP.196)

ëeybî /ʔæj'bi/ (ADJ) invisible • (BP.203)

y

ya, **yam** /ja, jam/ (CONJ) either, or • *ya* [either]: (RE.2); *yam* [or]: (PM.9)

yagê /ja'ge/ (N.F) place • *yag(ê)-ekê* [place.F-DEF.F.SG]: (ZB.47); *yagê* [place.F]: (ZP.5); *yag(ê)-ê* [place.F-INDF]: (JP.65); *yagê-(e)we* [place.F-INDF]: (PM.3)

yaĭ /jaĭ/ (N.M) mountain slope • *yaĭ-êwe=ne* [mountain_slope.M-INDF=POST]: (ŞC.18)

yane /ja'næ/ (N.M) house • *yane-(e)ke* [house.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (JP.188); *yan(e)-ê* [house.M-INDF]: (ZP.86); *yane-î* [house.M-SG.OBL]: (JH.118); *yane=ne* [house.M=POST]: (JH.74); *yane* [house.M]: (JH.109); *yane* [house.M.SG.DIR]: (HB.38)

yanekolê /janæko'le/ (N) moving house • (JE.71)

yanze /jan'zæ/ (NUM) eleven • *yanze* [eleven]: (JM.27)

yawa, yaw /jawa, jaw/ (V.INTR) arrive • *yawa=n* [arrive.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (ZP.18); *yawa=b-o* [arrive.PST.PTCP.M=be.PRS-3SG:S]: (PM.19); *yaw-o* [arrive.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (BP.46); *yaw-a* [arrive.PRS.IND-3PL:S]: (JP.175); *ne-yawa=n* [NEG-arrive.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:S]: (BP.123); *yawa=na* [arrive.PST.PTCP.M=COP.1SG:S]: (JM.18); *yawε=nmê* [arrive.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.1PL:S]: (JM.54)

yawna, yawn /jawnə, jawn/ (V.TR) cause to arrive • *yawn-o* [cause_to_arrive.PRS.IND-3SG:S]: (JP.124)

yeher /jæ'hæɾ/ (N.M) liver • (JP.230)

yek /jæk/ (NUM) one • *yek-ê* [one-INDF]: (BP.172); *yek* [one]: (§C.92)

yekser /jæk'sæɾ/ (ADV) totally • (BP.174)

yerê /jæ're/ (NUM) three • *yerê* [three]: (RE.54); *yerê-î* [three-M.SG.OBL]: (KŞ.27)

yewaşê /jæ'wəʃe/ (ADV) then • (KŞ.59)

yewe /jæwæ/ (N.F) barley, lucerne • *yew(e)-ê* [barley-F.SG.OBL]: (JP.27); *yew(e)-a* [barley.F-PL.OBL]: (JP.29); *yewe-(e)ka* [barley.F-DEF.PL.OBL]: (JP.36); *yew(e)-ê* [barley.F-PL.DIR=3SG]: (JP.44); *yew(e)-ê* [lucerne-OBL.F]: (HB.37); *yew(e)-ê* [lucerne-PL.DIR]: (HB.55)

yos, yoz /jos, joz/ (V.TR) find • *yos-Ø=o* [find.PST-3SG.M:O=COMPL]: (ZP.23); *yož-a=we* [find.PRS.IND-3PL:A=COMPL]: (JP.205)

yo /jo/ (NUM) one • *yo-î* [one.M-SG.OBL]: (ZP.68); *yo* [one.M]: (BP.70); *yek-ê* [one-INDF]: (BP.172); *yek* [one]: (§C.92); *dan(e)-ê=şa* [one-INDF=3PL:PSR]: (JH.85); *yo* [one.M.DIR]: (JE.70)

yuwe /jɔwæ/ (NUM) one • *yuwe* [one.F]: (ZB.1)

Z

zamdār /zam'dar/ (ADJ) wounded • *zamdār-e* [wounded-F]: (DG.49); *zamdār-ê* [wounded-PL]: (DG.64); *zamdār* [wounded.M]: (DG.65)

zana, zan /zana, zan/ (V.TR) know • *bi-zan-mê* [SBJV-know.PRS-1PL:A]: (JE.83); *bi-zan-û* [SBJV-know.PRS-1SG:A]: (JM.29); *ne-zan-ê* [NEG-know.PRS-AUG.3SG:A]: (HB.27); *ne-zana=n* [NEG-know.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (JM.36); *zana-Ø* [knowPST-3SG.M:O]: (HB.71); *zan-o* [know.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (PM.37); *bi-zan-e* [IMP-know.PRS-2SG:A]: (PM.9); *zan-a* [know.PRS.IND-3PL:A]: (§C.29); *ne-zana=n* [NEG-know.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:R]: (ZP.24); *me-zan-o* [NEG.IND-know.PRS-3SG:A]: (§C.91); *zân-a* [know.PRS.SBJV-3PL:A]: (JP.67); *bi-zan-dê* [IMP-know.PRS-2PL:A]: (BP.77); *me-zan-û* [NEG.IND-know.PRS-1SG:A]: (JM.49); *me-zan-mê* [NEG.IND-know.PRS-1PL:A]: (§C.45); *me-zan-a* [NEG.IND-know.PRS-3PL:A]: (§C.39); *zan-î* [know.PRS.IND-2SG:A]: (RE.5); *zan-û* [know.PRS.IND-1SG:A]: (JH.114); *bi-zan-o* [SBJV-

know.PRS-3SG:A]: (KŞ.71); *ne-zana=m* [NEG-know.PST=1SG:A]: (JH.26); *ne-zana=n=t* [NEG-know.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=2SG:A]: (JH.28); *zanî* [know.PST]: (JH.115); *bi-zan-mê* [SBJV-know.PRS-1PL:A]: (RE.51); *ne-zana=n* [NEG-know.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:PSR]: (JM.28); *ne-zanê=nê* [NEG-know.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:PSR]: (JM.30)

zarole, zawle, zaro /zaro'lae, zaw'lae, za'ro/ (N.M) child • *zarot(e)-ê* [child-PL.DIR]: (ZB.24); *zarote-(e)ke* [child-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (ZB.49); *zaro-ê* [child-PL.DIR]: (ZP.15); *zarote* [child]: (JP.14); *zawt(e)-êwe* [child-INDF]: (KŞ.22); *zawte-(e)ke* [child-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (KŞ.25); *zarote* [child]: (KŞ.102); *zawlê=şa* [child.PL.DIR=3PL:A]: (JE.55); *zarot(e)-ê* [child-PL.DIR]: (JM.26)

zaxêre /zaxe'ræ/ (N.M) storage • (JP.45)

zayfê /zaj'fe/ (N.F) woman • (ZP.70)

zema /zæ'ma/ (N.M) groom •

zeman /zæ'man/ (N.M) time, period • *zeman-ê* [time.M-INDF]: (RE.1); *zeman-êwe* [time.M-INDF]: (DP.53); *car-ê=ne* [time.M-INDF=POST]: (BP.86); *zeman-î* [time.M-SG.OBL]: (RE.62); *mawa-yê* [period.M-INDF]: (ZP.8); *mawe-ê* [period.M-INDF]: (ZP.22); *mawa=ş* [period.M=3SG:PSR]: (BP.149); *zemanê* [period.M]: (ŞC.1)

zemawine /zæma'winæ/ (N.F) wedding • *zemawine* [wedding]: (JP.232)

zemîn /zæ'min/ (N.M) earth, land • *zemîn-î* [earth.M-SG.OBL]: (JP.69); *zemîn-î=re* [land.M-SG.OBL=POST]: (ZB.48); *zemîn=ne* [land.M=POST]: (JP.44); *zemîn-ekey* [land.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (JP.52); *zemîn=ne* [land.M=POST]: (JP.46); *zemîn-ekey=ne* [land.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST]: (JP.51); *zemîn-eke=re* [land.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST]: (BP.196)

zengenare /zængænda'ræ/ (N.M) ploughing • (JP.35)

zengene /zængæ'næ/ (N.M) hoe • *zengene-(e)key* [hoe.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (JP.34); *zengene-(e)ke* [hoe.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (JP.35); *zengene* [hoe.M]: (JP.52)

zer /zæɾ/ (ADJ) yellow •

zeraşet /zæra'şæt/ (N.M) agriculture • *zeraşet=ne* [agriculture.M=POST]: (PM.18); *zeraşet-î* [agriculture.M-SG.OBL]: (PM.19)

zerer /zæ'ræɾ/ (N.M) harm • *zerer* (PM.5)

zerîf /zærif/ (ADJ) beautiful •

zeř /zæɾ/ (N.M) money • *zeř* [money.M]: (RE.60); *zeř-ekey* [money.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (JP.103); *zeř-e-î* [money.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL]: (JP.109)

zerewale /zæɾæwa'le/ (N.M) bee •

zeřate /zæ'ratæ/ (N.F) corn •

zeşif, zayf /zæ'şif, zajf/ (ADJ) weak •

zêle /ze'le/ (N.M) heart • (KŞ.69)

zil /zil/ (ADJ) big • *zil-ter* [big-CMPR]: (ZB.40); *zil-e* [big-F]: (ZP.54); *zil(e)-ê* [big-PL]: (JE.68)

zimsan /zim'san/ (N.M) winter • *zimsan-ê* [winter.M-INDF]: (BP.33); *zimsan-î* [winter.M-SG.OBL]: (JE.35)

zina-re, zine-re /zinaɾæ, zinæɾæ/ (V.TR) take_out • *bi-zn-e=re* [IMP-take_out.PRS-2SG:S=POVB]: (KŞ.96)

zindigî /zinɪ'ɪ'gi/ (N.M) life • (JM.57)

zînan /zi'nan/ (N.M) prison • *zînan* [prison.M]: (BP.131); *zînan-êke* [prison.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (BP.170); *zînan-êke=ne* [prison.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR=POST]: (BP.140); *zînan-î* [prison.M-SG.OBL]: (BP.148); *zînan-êkey=re* [prison.M-DEF.M.SG.OBL=POST]: (BP.173); *zînan=ne* [prison.M=POST]: (BP.179)

zînanî /zina'ni/ (N.M) prisoner • *zînanî-ê* [prisoner-PL.DIR]: (BP.180)

zîni /zi'ni/ (N.M) saddle • (ŞC.53)

zîya, zîye /ziɟa, ziɟæ/ (V.TR/V.INTR) leave, go out, grow • *mi-zy(e)-o=ş* [IND-leave.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O]: (ZB.36); *bi-zy(e)-a* [SBJV-grow.PRS-3PL:S]: (JP.27); *mi-zy(e)-a* [IND-go_out.PRS-3PL:S]: (ZP.64); *mi-zy(e)-o* [IND-go_out.PRS-3SG:S]: (ZP.63); *mi-zy(e)-a=re* [IND-go_out.PRS-3PL:S=POVB]: (BP.175); *mi-zy(e)-o=re* [IND-go_out.PRS-3SG:S=POVB]: (JH.4); *mi-zy(e)-o=ş* [IND-leave.PRS-3SG:A=3SG:O]: (ZB.36)

zîyay, zîya /zi'jaɟ, zi'ja/ (N/ADJ) increase • (JP.245); *zîya* [more]: (ZB.52); *zîya-ter* [increased-CMPR]: (PM.38); *zîyay=ne* [increased=POST]: (JP.245)

zoł /zoł/ (ADJ) cunning •

zor /zoɾ/ (N.M) force • (JP.107)

zû /zu/ (ADJ) quick • *zû* [quick]: (BP.58)

zûwan /zu'wan/ (N.M) language, tongue • (HB.88)

j

jena, jen /ɟænɔ, ɟæn/ (V.TR) play (musical instrument) • *jen-o* [play.PRS.IND-3SG:A]: (JP.54)

jenbira /ɟænbi'ra/ (N.M) wife's brother •

jenî /'ɟæni/ (N.F) woman, wife • *jen(i)-êwe* [woman.F-INDF]: (ZB.8); *jen(i)-ekê* [woman.F-DEF.F.SG]: (ZB.13); *jen(i)-ê* [woman.F.SG.OBL]: (ZB.24); *yejen(i)-ekê* [woman.F-DEF.F.SG]: (ZB.33); *jenîye* [woman.F]: (ZP.13); *jenî* [woman.F]: (ZP.87); *jen(i)-ê* [woman.F.SG.OBL]: (ZP.39); *jenîye* [woman.F]: (ZP.40); *jen(i)-ekê* [woman.F-DEF.F.SG]: (JP.62); *jen(i)-ekê=ç=re* [woman.F-DEF.F.SG=ADD=POST]: (RE.22); *jen(i)-a=şa* [woman.F-PL.OBL=3PL:A]: (RE.59); *jenî* [woman.F.SG]: (JM.2); *jenî* [woman.F.SG.DIR]: (JM.20)

jenûwe /ɟæ'nuwæ/ (N.F) sister's wife •

jerejî /ɟæ'ɾæɟi/ (N.F) female partridge •

jimare /ɟima'ɾæ/ (N.M) number • (JM.32)

jini, jin /ʒini, ʒin/ (V.TR) hear • *jinye=n* [hear.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O]: (ZB.37);
jinye=n=im [hear.PST.PTCP.M=COP.3SG.M:O=1SG:A]: (ZP.2)
jir /ʒir/ (ADJ) clever • (JH.2)
jîwya, jîwye /ʒiɰja, ʒiɰjæ/ (V.INTR) live • *jîwye=nê* [live.PST.PTCP.PL=COP.3PL:S]:
 (RE.72); *jîway* [live.INF]: (JM.13)

ŋ

ŋadət, ŋayet /ŋaˈɾˤæt, ŋaˈjæt/ (N.M) habit • (BP.100); *ŋayet* [habit]: (ŞC.28)
ŋal /ŋal/ (ADJ) good • *ŋal* [good=2SG]: (JH.104); *ŋal-ter* [good-CMPR]: (ZB.40)
ŋalemîyan /ŋalæmiˈjan/ (N.M) worlds • *ŋalemîyan-î* [worlds.M-SG.OBL]: (ZB.42)
ŋali /ŋaˈli/ (ADJ) eminent • (HB.1)
ŋalem /ŋaˈlæm/ (N.M) world • *ŋalem-î* [world-M.SG.OBL]: (JP.198)
ŋalif /ŋaˈlif/ (N.M) grass • *ŋalif* [grass.M.SG.DIR]: (JE.13)
ŋeba /ŋæˈba/ (N.F) robe • *ŋebe* [robe.F.SG.OBL]: (BP.194)
ŋefwe /ˈŋæfwæ/ (N.F) pardon • *ŋefwe* [pardon]: (DG.4)
ŋecayib /ŋædʒaˈjib/ (ADJ) astonished, unbelievable • (HB.47)
ŋelêce /ŋæˈledʒæ/ (N) treatment • *ŋelêce* [treatment.F=3SG:O]: (ZP.26)
ŋemet /ŋæˈmæt/ (N.M) deed • *ŋemet-eka* [deed.M-DEF.PL.OBL]: (JH.115)
ŋemr /ŋæmr/ (N.M) age • *ŋemr* [age.M]: (ZB.12); *ŋemr-î* [age.M-SG.OBL]: (JM.13)
ŋemre /ˈŋæmræ/ (N.F) order, command • *ŋemre-û* [order.F-EZ.GEN]: (KŞ.22);
ŋemr(e)-û [order.F-EZ.GEN]: (ZB.11)
ŋerebî /ŋæræˈbi/ (ADJ) arabic • (JP.83)
ŋerz /ŋærz/ (N.M) petition • (PM.1)
ŋesr /ŋæsɾ/ (N.M) evening • *ŋesr-î* [evening.M-SG.OBL]: (ŞC.27)
ŋeyb /ŋæjb/ (N.M) fault • *ŋeyb-ê* [fault.M-INDF]: (ŞC.81); *ŋeyb-eka* [fault.M-DEF.M.SG.DIR]: (ŞC.82)
ŋeyn /ŋæjn/ (ADV) like • *ŋeyn* [like]: (ZP.39)
ŋiʂa /ŋiˈʂa/ (N.M) evening prayers • *ŋiʂa-î* [evening prayers.M-SG.OBL]: (KŞ.59)

Appendix B: English-Hewramî glossary

a

- a little • miqdarê (adv)
a while • biřê (adv)
abroad • xaric (n.m)
acceptable, accepted • meqboł (adj)
accepted • qubuł (adj)
accomplishment • încam (n.m)
account • hesab (n.m)
added • cemî (adj/n)
adherent • mirîd (n.m)
adolescent • tazeyawapene (adj)
adolescent, unmarried • ezem (adj)
adultery • hîzî (n.m)
advice • pen (n.m)
advocate • wekêł (n.m)
after • şûn (adp)
afterwards • şûnî (adv)
again • wawey (adv)
again, every, each, any, just, emphatic
particle • her (ptcl)
age • femr (n.m)
agha • aXe (n.m)
agriculture • zerafet (n.m)
air • hewa (n.m)
alert • gurc (adj)
all • temam (quant)
all the time • deredaymê (adv)
allç every • gird (quant)
almond • wamî (n.f)
always • hemîşe (adv)
amendment • islah (n.m)
among, between • beyn (adp)
amusing • weşmek (adj)
ancestor • babîłbab (n.m)
and • we (conj)
and, both • hem (conj)
animal • heywan, heywan (n.m)
animal husbandry • heywandari (n.m)
animal tax • řûwenane (n.m)
another, other • ter (ptcl)
ant • miroçe (n.m)
any • herçîw (indf.pro)
any more, well, then, else • êtir (ptcl)
anyway, just • taze (adv)
apparent • diyar (adj)
apple • sawî (n.f)
appreciation • qewr (n.m)
apricot • şêlanê (n.f)
Arabic • ferebî (adj)
armpit • çêrû keşî (n.m)
around • dewr (quant)
arranged • řîk (adj)
arrangement • qerar (n.m)
arrive • yawa-, yaw- (v.intr)
as long as • mađam, madam (conj)
as long as, even • heta (conj)
ashamed • heyadar (adj)
ask • persa-, pers- (v.tr)
astonished, unbelievable • fecayib
(adj)
at the moment • hałêhazirî (adv)
at the place of, with, to • la (adp)
attendant • werdes (n.m)
autumn • payîz (n.m)

aware • mutewec (adj)

awareness • hay (n.m)

ax • tirêšte (n.m)

b

baby • beçke (n.m)

back • pišt (adj)

back, back support • peštî (n.f)

bad • xirab (adj)

bag • kîse (n.m)

bake • pet-, peç- (v.tr)

baker • nanpeç (n.m)

bare, shabby • qût (adj)

barley, lucerne • yewe (n.f)

bat • şemşele korî (n.f)

be confused • şêwya-, şêwye- (v.intr)

be visible • pêwya-, pêwye= (v.intr)

be, become • bî-, b- (v.intr)

be_afraid • tersa-, ters- (v.intr)

be_astonished • wałya, wałye (v.intr)

bear • heşe (n.f)

beard • řîş (n.m)

beautiful • zerîf (adj)

because • wer (conj)

bed • ket (n.m)

bee • zeřewale (n.m)

begging • suwał (n.m)

behind • cîyay (adv)

being • hen (n.m)

belief • îman (n.m)

belly • leme (n.f)

bend down • kumna-, kumn- (v.tr)

beseech • lałya-, lałye- (v.intr)

betrothal • hîcbî (n.m)

betrothed • desgîran (n.m)

big • zil (adj)

big, old • gewre (adj)

bird • bałdar (n.m)

bitter • tał (adj)

bitter almond • çeçalê (n.f)

black • sîyaw (adj)

black and white • bazbaz (adj)

blanket • petû (n.m)

blessed • mubarek (adj)

blind • kor (adj)

blood • winî (n.f)

blue • kewe (adj)

blunt (of knife) • kul (adj)

board • texte (n.m)

body • laşe (n.m)

boil • girîna-, girîn- (v.tr)

book • kitêb (n.m)

bottom • payn (adj)

bowl • baye (n.m)

boy, son • kuř (n.m)

branch • weç (n.m)

bread basket • naneşane (n.f)

break • meřya-, meřye- (v.intr)

break off • piřna-, piřn- (v.tr)

breast • memke (n.m)

bride • weywe (n.f)

bridge • pirdî (n.f)

bring • ard-, ar- (v.tr)

brother • kake (n.m.voc)

brother's wife • birajenî (n.f)

brown • qaweyî (adj)

build • sazna-, sazn- (v.tr)

building • saxtman (n.m)

bull • gaw (n.m)

bullet • tîre (n.f)

burn • sot-, soç- (v.intr)

burr • pîfê (n.f)

business • kasbî (n.m)

busy • xerîk (adj)

but • welê, welî (conj)

butcher • qesab (n.m)

butter • kerê (n.f)

C

cage • qefese (n.m)
calamity • misîbet (n.m)
call • çîrî-, çîr- (v.tr)
camel • wiştir (n.m)
can • tawa-, taw- (v.tr)
capability • qabilyet (n.m)
car • maşîn (n.m)
carpet • qalîçe (n.m)
carrot • gizerî (n.f)
castle • qeşa (n.f)
cat • kite (n.f)
cause to arrive • yawna-, yawn- (v.tr)
cave • meře (n.f)
celebration • cejne (n.f)
cell phone • mebal (n.m)
ceremony • merasêm (n.m)
chair • sendeliye (n.f)
change • faşa, faş (v.tr)
cheap • herzan (adj)
cheese • penîre (n.f)
cherry • gêlas (n.m)
chest • sine (n.m)
chickpea • nuweye (n.f)
chief • xan (n.m)
chieftain • qêxa (n.m)
child • zarolê, zawle, zaro (n.m)
chimney • řûçine (n.m)
city • şar (n.m)
clay pot • kune (n.m)
clean, properly • puxte (adj/adv)
clever • jîr (adj)
climb • west-, wez- (v.intr)
close • nizîk (adj)
cloud • hewr (n.m)
cold • serď (adj)
collapsed • weładîm (adj)
colour • řengî (n.f)

come • ama-, ê- (v.intr)
command • emre (n.f)
complaint • şikat (n.m)
complete • tekmêl (adj)
condition • şerte (n.f)
confidant • emîn (n.m)
consciousness • hale (n.f)
consultation • řawêj (n.m)
control • extîyar (n.m)
cook • çaçker (n.m)
cooperation • hemahengî (n.m)
corn • zeřate (n.f)
corn bread • xepî (n.f)
corner • kunc (n.m)
cot • bêşke (n.f)
cotton • peme (n.m)
cough • kûkya-, kûkye- (v.intr)
country • kêşwer (n.m)
country, region • memliket (n.m)
cow • gawe (n.f)
coward • tersezał (adj)
cracked wheat • hiłoşe (n.f)
crazy • şêt (adj)
creep • xiza-, xiz- (v.intr)
crooked • keç (adj)
crossing • řed (n/adj)
crown • tace (n.f)
cry • girewa-, girew- (v.intr)
cucumber • xîyar (n.m)
cunning • zoł (adj)
cut • biřî-, biř- (v.tr)
cute, adorable • weşle (adj)

D

dance • sema (n.m)
date • xurmaxî (n.f)
day • řo (n.m)
day after tomorrow • pêre (adv)

deaf • keř (adj)
dear • gîyan (n.voc)
death • fewt (n.m)
debauchery • genekarî (n.m)
decent • qabilyetdar (adj)
deed • ƣemeł (n.m)
deep • qoł (adj)
delivery • tawêł, tehweł (n.m)
demand • dawa (n.f)
demeanour • êhwał (n.m)
serpent • ijdeha (n.m)
denomination • terîqet, terêqet (n.m)
deserted • ƣoł (adj)
deserved • qabilî (adj)
desperation • adizî (n.m)
destroy, kill • fewtna-, fewtn- (v.tr)
die • merd-, mir- (v.intr)
die (e.g., animal) • topa-, top- (v.intr)
difference • ferq (n.m)
difficulty • sextî (n.m)
disability • felecî (n.m)
disabled • felec (adj)
disappearance • ƣeyb (n.m)
disciple • muxlîs (n.m)
discussion • behs (n.m)
distribute • bexşna-, bexşn- (v.tr)
divine • xwayî (adj)
do • kerd-, ker- (v.tr)
dog • tûte (n.m)
domestic animal • dewlet (n.m)
donkey • her (n.m)
donkey keeper • herbene (n.m)
door • bere (n.m)
drain • ƣekya-, ƣekye- (v.intr)
dream • werm (n.m)
dried buttermilk • keşkî (n.f)
driving • suwarî (n.m)
drought • wişkesałi (n.m)
dry • wişk (adj)

dry grass • ka (n.m)

e

each time • herkey (indf.pr)
each, every • gi (quant)
eagle • hełû (n.m)
ear • goş (n.m)
earlobe • nermew goşî (n.m)
earth, land • zemîn (n.m)
earth, soil • xak (n.m)
earthen • xakî (adj)
earthenware pipe • gunc (n.m)
easy • sehl (adj)
eat • ward-, wer- (v.tr)
egg • hêle (n.m)
eight • heşt (num)
eighty • heştâ (num)
either, or • ya, yam (conj)
elbow • keşkû bałi (n.m)
electricity • berq (n.m)
eleven • yanze (num)
ell • gez (clf)
eloquent • weşkelam (adj)
ember • sikeł (n.m)
embrace • bexeł, baxeł (n.m)
eminent • ƣalî (adj)
emphatic particle • e (ptcl)
empty • laşexel (adj)
encounter • tûş (n.m)
epoch • řozgar (n.m)
equipment • wesayil (n.m)
evasion • tefre (n.m)
evening • ƣesr (n.m)
evening prayers • ƣîşa (n.m)
event • waqêfe (n.m)
every, no matter how much, no
matter how many • heçî, heçê (quant)
everyone • girdkes (indf.pro)
everything • girdçe (adv)

except • îla (adv)
 except_for • becgem (adp)
 exclusion, time • deſfe, dehfe (n.f)
 excrement • gû (n.m)
 expensive • giran (adj)
 experience • tecrebe (n.m)
 explode • teqa-, teq- (v.intr)
 extra • îzafe (n.m)
 eye • çem (n.m)
 eyebrow • birê (n.pl)
 eyelid • pête (n.m)

f

face • řûwe (n.f)
 fahter • bawke (n.voc)
 fall • kewt-, gin- (v.intr)
 family • xanewade (n.m)
 family members • kilfet (n.m)
 famous • mêşhûr (adj)
 far • dûr (adj)
 farm labourer • werzîyer (n.m)
 fat • xîş (adj)
 father • tate (n.m)
 father-in-law • hesûre (n.m)
 fault • ſeyb (n.m)
 fellow, man • kabra (n.m)
 female dog • deſe (n.f)
 female mountain goat • bize neçîre (n.f)
 female partridge • jerejî (n.f)
 female raven • qişqêre (n.f)
 fifteen • paſze (num)
 fifty • penca (num)
 fig • hencîrî (n.f)
 fig tree • hencîr (n.m)
 find • yos-, yoz- (v.tr)
 fine sieve • hêſeke (n.f)
 finish • temamyâ-, temamyê- (v.intr)

fire • awîr (n.m)
 firewood • hêzmî (n.f)
 first • eweſ (adj)
 fish net • toře (n.f)
 fist • mişt (n.m)
 five • penc (num)
 flag • peřçeme (n.f)
 flat (level) • saf (adj)
 flood • lawaw (n.m)
 flour • hardî (n.f)
 flute • lûle (n.f)
 flute player • lûlejen (n.m)
 fly • piřa-, piř- (v.intr)
 fodder grass • lo (n.m)
 fog • teme (n.f)
 fold • pêt-, pêç- (v.tr)
 foot • pa, pey (n.m)
 for_sure • îlay (adv)
 force • zor (n.m)
 fornicate • ga-, ge- (v.tr)
 fortune teller • çareniwîs (n.m)
 forty • çil (num)
 forty days of fasting • çilê (n.f)
 four • çwar (num)
 fox • řûwase (n.f)
 free • aza (adj)
 freedom • azadî (n.m)
 fried egg • hêſeřûwenî (n.f)
 friend • řefêq (n.m)
 frog • quwaqî (n.f)
 from where • çiko (Q)
 front • weſê (adp)
 front, before, in front of • wer (adp)
 full • peř (adj)

g

garden • bax (n.m)
 gardener • baxdar (n.m)
 gate • derwaze (n.m)

gathering • meclis (n.m)
gentlemanhood • pîyagerî (n.m)
gentlemanly, good looking •
cuwanxas (adj)
get_offended • torya-, torye- (v.intr)
girl, daughter • kinaçê (n.f)
give • da-, de- (v.tr)
go • şî-, ş- (v.intr)
goat • bize (n.f)
God • xwa, xuya (n.m)
good • ʔal (adj)
good, fine • xas (adj)
good, well • weş (adj)
goodness • xeyr (n.m)
gossiper • qiseker (n.m)
governor • hukimrêw (n.m)
governorship • aḫeyî (n.m)
grab, take • gêrt-, gêr- (v.tr)
grace • lutf (n.m)
grain • xele (n.m)
grand • payebilind (adj)
grandfather • baba (n.m)
grandmother • mama (n.f)
grapes • hengûrî (n.f)
grass • ʔalif (n.m)
grasshopper • merekuř (n.m)
grateful • memnûn (adj)
graze • leweřya-, leweřye- (v.intr)
greatness • gewregerî (n.m)
greed • temaŝe (n.f)
green • sewz (adj)
groom • zema (n.m)
guardian • nigebanî (n.m)
guess • fers, ferz (n.m)
guest • mêmman (n.m)
guidance • řanimonî (n.m)
gun • tifeng (n.m)

h

habit • ʔadet, ʔayet (n.m)
habitat, oasis • aweyanî, aweḫanî
(n.m)
hail • tewerge (n.f)
hair • qijê (n.pl)
half • nîme (n.m)
hand • des (n.m)
hand cuffed • desgîr (adj)
hand lump • deseçiraw (n.m)
hand over • sipart-, sipar- (v.tr)
hand saw • mişar (n.m)
handing over • danedes (n.m)
hanging • awêzan (adj)
happen • qomya-, qomye- (v.intr)
happiness • weşî (n.m)
happy • weşhał (adj)
happy manner • weşleyî (adv)
hard • řeq (adj)
hard (of stone) • pitew (adj)
hardship • bedbextî (n.m)
harm • zerer (n.m)
he • ađ (pro)
he, that • ew (pro)
he, this • id (pro)
head, top • sere (n.m)
heal • sirewa-, sirew- (v.intr)
health • sełametî (n.m)
healthy • sełamet, siłamet (adj)
hear • jinî-, jin- (v.tr)
heart • zêłe (n.m)
hearth • awîrga (n.f)
heavy • qurs (adj)
hello • siłam (n.m)
helpless • damang (adj)
hen • kerge (n.f)
herd • gele (n.m)
herdsman • heywandar (n.m)
here • êgehe, êge (adv)
high • berz (adj)

hoe • zengene (n.m)
 hold, water • dara-, dar- (v.tr)
 hollow • qîroł (n.m)
 hook • gîr (n.m)
 horse • esb (n.m)
 horse/donkey • wîłax, wełax (n.m)
 hotel • hutêle (n.f)
 hour • sefat, safet (n.m)
 house • yane (n.m)
 how • çenî, çenîn (Q)
 how many • çin, çinê (Q)
 human • însan (n.m)
 hundred • şe (num)
 hungry • awra (adj)
 hunt • řawe (n.f)
 husband • şû (n.m)
 husband's brother • hêwer (n.m)
 husband's sister • sêtê (n.f)

i

I • min (pro)
 if • eger, er (conj)
 if_only, must • meger (aux)
 ill • neweş (adj)
 illness • neweşî (n.m)
 immediately • filfor (adv)
 in • çene (adp)
 in place of, instead of • cîya (adp)
 in short • welhasîl (adv)
 in the beginning, in the past • wełêne (adv)
 in the past • çaweł, çaweli (adv)
 in, from • ce (adp)
 in, inside • dil, dilê (adp/adv)
 income • waryat (n.m)
 increase • zîyay, zîya (n/adj)
 inexperienced • nefam (adj)
 inside • nawe (adv)

install • çeçna-, çeçn- (v.tr)
 intervention • deřalet (n.m)
 invisible • xeybî (adj)
 invitation • xulke (n.m)
 iron • asin (n.m)
 irritation • ezyet (n.m)
 Islamic jurisprudence • feqîgerî (n.m)
 island • cezîre (n.m)
 issue • mesele (n.m)

j

jollification • bezm (n.m)
 joy • diłweşî (n.m)
 jump, dance • hurpiřa-, hurpiř- (v.intr)
 jumping • piřne (n.m)
 just grown beard • noxet (adj)

k

kick • leqe (n.m)
 kill • kuşt-, kuş- (v.tr)
 kilo • kîlo (n.m)
 kind, way • nof, newf (n.m)
 kindred • mehrem (n.m)
 king • řa (n.m)
 kingship • padşagerî (n.m)
 kitchen • aşpezxane (n.m)
 knife • kardî (n.f)
 knocking • teqlîbab (n)
 know • zana-, zan- (v.tr)
 know all • girdkar (n.m)
 Kurdish region • kurdewarî (n.m)

l

labourer • karîger (n.m)
 labourer job • karîgerî (n.m)
 lady • xatûn (n.m)
 lamp • lempa (n.m)
 language, tongue • zûwan (n.m)

lap • dan (n.m)
 large area • seraw (n.m)
 last year • par (n.m)
 late • dêr (adj)
 law • qanûn (n.m)
 lead, narrate • gêlna-, gêln- (v.tr)
 leader • řeřîs (n.m)
 leaf • geľa (n.m)
 leave, go out, grow • zîya-, zîye- (v.tr/v.intr)
 leg • qaç (n.m)
 lentil • mîjûyî (n.f)
 leopard • paľing (n.m)
 leprosy • gulî (n.m)
 lesson • ders, derz (n.m)
 let • ast-, az- (v.tr)
 letter • qaqez (n.m)
 lice • heřpiřî (n.f)
 lie, falsehood • dirwê (n.f)
 life • zindigî (n.m)
 lift, grab • nema-, nem- (v.intr)
 light • sũk (adj)
 lightning • sayqe (n.m)
 like • řeyn (adv)
 like that • çane (adv)
 like that, such • pase (adv)
 like this, in this manner • pêsne (adv)
 like, as if • pêsê, pise (adv)
 lime • ahek (n.m)
 limit • qey (n.m)
 lion • řêr (n.m)
 listener • gořdar (n.m)
 literacy • sewad (n.m)
 little • kuç (adj)
 little by little • wirde wirde (adv)
 little, young • wiçkile (adj)
 live • jîwya-, jîwye- (v.intr)
 liver • yeher (n.m)
 living • řisq (n.m)

load • bar (n.m)
 long • dirêj (adj)
 long, vast (of areas) • tũl (adj)
 look • dîya-, dîye- (v.intr)
 looking • temaře (n)
 loose, pendant • řoř (adj)
 lost • gum (adj)
 low (of walls) • nizm (adj)
 lunch • nehar (n.m)

m

male goat (one year old) • gêsk (n.m)
 male goat (over two years) • sabrîn (n.m)
 male mountain goat • keľ (n.m)
 male partridge • beq (n.m)
 male raven • qaľawe (n.m)
 man • pîya (n.m)
 mare • mayîni (n.f)
 mark • dîyarî (n.m)
 marriage • nîkah (n.m)
 maternal uncle • lalo (n.m)
 maturity • bilûq (n.m)
 maybe • gahes (adv)
 meal • çastî (n.f)
 meal, bread • nan (n.m)
 means • cor (n.m)
 medication • dewayî (n.m)
 memory • hoř, wiř (n.m)
 mercy • řehm (n.m)
 migration • kũç, koç (n.m)
 milk • řot (n.m)
 mill • asaw (n.m)
 miller • asawan (n.m)
 million • milwên (n.m)
 misshape • qupya-, qupye- (v.intr)
 mixed • têkeľ (adj)
 mixture • têkeľî (n.m)
 molasses • tiř, tirř (n.m)

monastery • xaneqa (n.m)
money • zeř (n.m)
month, moon • mange (n.f)
morning • seřbe (n.f)
mosque • mizgî (n.m)
mother • eya, eđa (n.f)
mother's or father's sister • metîye (n.f)
mother-in-law • hesirwe (n.f)
mountain • sext (n.m)
mountain slope • yař (n.m)
mouse • miře (n.m)
moustache • simêlê (n.pl)
mouth • dem (n.m)
move • cima-, cim- (v.intr)
moving house • yanekořê (n)
mow, uproot • kenn-, ken- (v.tr)
much, very, a lot • fire (adj/adv)
mud • heře (n.f)
mulberry • tifi (n.f)
mule • hesere (n.f)
mullah • meřa (n.m)
mute • lař (adj)

n

naked, plain • řût (adj)
name • namê (n.f)
nap • řurt (n.m)
narrow (of trousers) • tesk (adj)
narrow (road) • barik (adj)
necessary • gerek (adj)
needle • řeni (n.f)
needy • mihtac (adj)
neighbour • hamsa (n.m)
neighbour (of the same status) • hawmař (n.m)
neighbourhood • mehele (n.m)
nest • hêlyanî (n.f)
never • hiřke (adv)

new (of objects) • taze (adj)
news • xeber (n.m)
night • řewe (n.f)
nine • no (num)
nipple, breast • řiře (n.m)
no • nexeyr (ptcl)
no one • kes (indf.pro)
nobleman • begzaye (n.m)
noise • deng (n.m)
non-being, poverty, shortage • nebiyey (n.m)
noon • nîmeřo (adv)
nor, neither, no • ne (conj)
nose • lûte (n.f)
not even, only • tenha, tenya (adv)
not spacious • teng (adj)
now • iře (adv.m)
number • jimare (n.m)

O

oak • beřû (n.m)
oak tree • nere (n.m)
oath • qesem (n.m)
oath, swear word • diřmanî (n.f)
obedient • firmanbirdar (adj)
obligation • mecbûrî (n.m)
obvious • meřlûm (adj)
obviously • heřbet (adv)
occupied • dagîr (adj)
of course • eřbet, heřbete (adv)
officer • meřmûr (n.m)
old • pîr (adj)
old (of objects) • kone (adj)
old time • qeyîm, qedîm (n.m)
older sister • dêdê (n.f)
on • ser (adp)
once • carê (adv)
one • yuwe (num)
one by one • nobenobey (adv)

120 kilos • teḡare (n)
 onion • pîyaz (n.m)
 option • telklîf (n.m)
 or • da (conj)
 order, command • ʕemre (n.f)
 order, task • desûr (n.m)
 orphan • hetîm (n.m)
 otherwise • ena (ptcl)
 ousted • berkenar (adj)
 oven • tenûre (n.f)
 owner • saḥêb (n.m)
 owner, God • xwawin (n.m)

p

pair • hît (n.m)
 pardon • ʕefwe (n.f)
 parrot • tûtîye (n.f)
 pass • wîyerd-, wîyer- (v.intr)
 paternal uncle • mamô (n.m)
 path • mesîr (n.m)
 patience • tehemuḡ (n.m)
 people • xuḡk, xeḡk (n.m)
 performance • îcra (n.m)
 period • mawa (n.m)
 permission • îcaze (n.m)
 Persian • fars (n.m)
 persistence • taqet (n.m)
 person • nefer (n.m)
 person, saint • ʕexs (n.m)
 petition • ʕerz (n.m)
 physician • duktir, duktur (n.m)
 piece • bir (n.m)
 piety • dîndarî (n.m)
 pigeon • kawetirî (n.f)
 pity • bezeyî (n.m)
 place • yagê (n.f)
 plant • kaḡa-, kaḡ- (v.tr)
 plate • dewrî (n.m)
 play (musical instrument) • jena-, jen-

(v.tr)
 ploughing • zengenare (n.m)
 plum • heṡtaḡûyî (n.f)
 poison sprayer • sempaṡ (n.m)
 pomegranate • henar (n.m)
 poor • feḡîr (adj)
 post • pose (n.m)
 pot • heweṡ (n.m)
 potato • sêfê (n.f)
 poverty • kemûkoṛî (n.m)
 power, authority • deseḡat (n.m)
 prayer • nima (n.f)
 pregnant • lemepeṛe (adj)
 previously • çêweḡ, çêweḡî (adv)
 previously, long ago • ewse, ewsa (adv)
 prickle • diṛê (n.f)
 prince • ʕazaye (n.m)
 princess • padṡazayê (n.f)
 prison • zînan (n.m)
 prisoner • zînanî (n.m)
 product • ber (n.m)
 progress • tiroq (n.m)
 promise, arrangement • qewḡ (n.m)
 prone • řûwere (adv)
 property • miḡk, muḡk (n.m)
 prophet • peyḡemer (n.m)
 proportion • enaze (n.m)
 provision • xercî (n.m)
 put • nîya-, nîye- (v.tr)
 put to sleep • ûsna-, ûsn- (v.tr)

q

qualified • derḡwarde (adj)
 quarrel • qaḡe (n.f)
 question • suwale (n.f)
 quick • zû (adj)
 quota • beṡepîya (n.m)

R

rabbit • hewrêşe (n.f)
rain • wara-, war- (v.intr)
raising • wey (n.m)
rank • mertebe (n.m)
rattling • teqeteq (adv)
read • wena-, wen- (v.tr)
ready • amade (adj)
real • heqetîne (adj)
really • řas (adv)
red • sŭr (adj)
refuge • pena (n.f)
region • mentêqe, menteqe (n.m)
region, country • wiłat (n.m)
region, distance • beyn (n.m)
regretful • peşîman (adj)
relative • qewm (n.m)
released • mirexes (adj)
religion • mezeb (n.m)
remain, stay • menn-, men- (v.intr)
repentance • tobe (n.m)
representative • nimayinde (n.m)
request • wast-, waz- (v.tr)
respect • hurmet (n.m)
response • cŭwab, zŭwab (n.m)
rest • seya-, seye- (v.intr)
restaurant • řistŭřane (n.f)
restless • har (adj)
return, wander • gêła-, gêł- (v.intr)
rib • perasŭwe (n.f)
rich • dewłetmen (adj)
riding • suwar (n.m)
right • heq (n.m)
right, true • řas (adj)
rise, get up • hurêst-, hurêz- (v.intr)
river • řoxane (n.m)
road • řa (n.f)
robe • řeba (n.f)
rocky mountain • herd (n.m)

rolling • til (adj)
rooster • keleşîr (n.m)
round (of trays) • xirt (adj)
round, period • dewr, dewre (n.m)
rub • sawa-, saw- (v.tr)
rule, ruler • hukm, ĥukm (n.m)
run • řema-, řem- (v.intr)

S

sack • toreke, tŭreke (n.m)
sacrifice • seweqe (n.m)
sad, uncomfortable • nařihet (adj)
saddle • zîni (n.m)
sadness • nařehetî (n.m)
salary • heq (n.m)
salt • meki (n.f)
salty • soł (adj)
salvation • necat (n.m)
satisfaction • řeza (n.f)
say • wat-, waç- (v.tr)
scarf • hegał (n.m)
scatter • pijgîna-, pijgîn- (v.tr)
scatter, emit, throw • řana-, řan- (v.tr)
scour • wiřkina-, wiřkin- (v.tr)
sealed • kip (adj)
secret • mexfi (n.m)
secretly • bêdengê (adv)
see • di-, wîn- (v.tr)
seed • tom (n.m)
send • kîyas-, kîyan- (v.tr)
separate • cîya (adj)
separate, special • cîyakar (adj)
servant • xizmetkar (n.m)
service • xizmet (n.m)
set up, build • çini-, çin- (v.tr)
settled • musteqer (adj)
seven • ĥewt (num)
shade, shadow • seye (n.f)
shake • řokê (n)

shameless • bêheya (adj)
 sharia law • şerêfet (n.m)
 sharp (of knife) • têj (adj)
 shave • taşa-, taş- (v.tr)
 she • ađe, aye (pro)
 sheep • meye (n.f)
 sheep dung • pişqelî (n.f)
 sheikh • şêx, şê (n.m)
 sheikhhood • şêxyetî (n.m)
 shell • tûwale (n.m)
 shepherd • şuwane (n.m)
 shirt • gicî (n.m)
 shoe • pała (n.m)
 shoot, fire • teqna-, teqn- (v.tr)
 shopkeeper • dûkandar (n.m)
 short • kuł (adj)
 short (human) • pilt (adj)
 short, little • kem (adj)
 shortness • kotay (n.m)
 shoulder, load • koł (n.m)
 shout • xuřî-, xuř- (v.tr)
 showing • şanî (n)
 sickly, unhealthy • gûwîne (adj)
 side • teref (n.m)
 side/flank • pał (n.m)
 silly • bêfeql (adj)
 sin • guna (n.f)
 since • çûnke (adv)
 sir • qurban (n.voc)
 sister • wale (n.f)
 sister's wife • jenûwe (n.f)
 sit • nişt-, niş- (v.intr)
 situation • wefze, wafze (n.f)
 six • şiş (num)
 six kilos • kewçe (clf)
 sixty • şes, şeş (num)
 skin • pos (n.m)
 sky • asman (n.m)
 sleep • wit-, ûs- (v.intr)

small • wiştale (adj)
 small bird • mirîçête (n.m)
 small pot • camole (n.m)
 small wall • qetarle (n.m)
 smash • mała-, mał- (v.tr)
 smite • pêkya-, pêkye- (v.intr)
 snake • mar (n.m)
 snow • werwe (n.f)
 so long, so much • ênne, inne (adv)
 so much • xeylê (adv)
 sock • gorewe (n.m)
 soft • nerm (adj)
 solution, advice • tekbrî (n.m)
 some • çinnê (adv)
 sorrow • xem (n.m)
 soul • gîyan (n.m)
 sparrow • çoleke (n.f)
 speech • nitq (n.m)
 spindle • leterê (n.f)
 spleen • şimşî (n.f)
 spoon • çemçe (n.m)
 spring • wehar (n.m)
 stable • tewête (n.m)
 stableman • wiłaxdar (n.m)
 stairs • pilekanî (n.f)
 standing • berzepey (adj)
 star • hesare (n.m)
 start, turn on • gîsna-, gîsn- (v.tr)
 state • hał (n.m)
 steal • dizî-, diz- (v.tr)
 steel • tiła (n.m)
 step • hengame (n.f)
 step-father • baba piyare (n.m)
 step-mother • dêyê (n.f)
 step-son • kołebes (n.m)
 stick • çû, ço (n.m)
 stone • tewenî (n.f)
 stone marten • delek (n.m)
 stop • midra-, midr- (v.intr)

storage • zaxêre (n.m)
story • ceryan, cereyan (n.m)
stove • sobe (n.m)
strangle • xinikna-, xinikn- (v.tr)
straw • simerî (n.f)
strength • peke (n.f)
strong • qûwet (adj)
subsistence • guzeran (n.m)
subterranean canal • karêz (n.m)
such and such • fiłan (adj)
such and such person • fiłanî (n.m)
suckle • çekna-, çekn- (v.tr)
sugar cube • qen (n.m)
sultan • sułtan, siłtan (n.m)
summer habitat • hewar (n.m)
summer • hamin (n.m)
sun • řocyar (n.m)
supernatural power • keramat (n.m)
supplication • temena (n.m)
support • hîmaye (n.m)
surprisingly, but as it turned out • tumez (adv)
surrender • teslîm (n/adj)
surrounding • gerûber (n.m)
swaddling • babofê (n.f)
swarm • peł (n.m)
sweet • řîrîn (adj)
sword • řimșêr (n.m)

t

take • berd-, ber- (v.tr)
take, buy • sana-, san- (v.tr)
take_out • zina-re, zine-re (v.tr)
tale • řaze (n.f)
talk • qisê (n.f)
talk to • dona-, don- (v.tr)
taste • tam (n.m)
tax • biřewbare (n.m)
tea • çay (n.m)

teenager • nosebałxî (n.m)
telephone • telefûn (n.m)
temporary • muweqetî (adj)
ten • de (num)
tent • çawre (n.f)
terrace farm • tełan (n.m)
test • îmtîhan (n.m)
textile • parçe (n.m)
that • ûne (dem)
that is why • poçi, pewkî (adv)
that much, so much • anne (adv)
the elderly • qeymî (n.m)
theft • dizî (n.m)
then • yewașê (adv)
theologian • feqî (n.m)
there • oge (adv)
there (invisible) • page, pagene (adv)
these, they • îne (dem. pro)
they • adê (pro)
they, those • ewê, ewêșa (pro)
thick • qaym (adj)
thin • leř (adj)
thin (of objects) • nasik (adj)
thing • çîw (n.m)
thirst • tejnay (n.m)
thirsty • tejne (adj)
thirty • sî (num)
this year • êsał (adv)
this, he • îne (dem.m)
this, she • îne (dem. pro)
those, they • anê (dem pro)
thousand • hezar (num)
three • yerê (num)
throne • text (n.m)
throw • wist-, wiz- (v.tr)
tie • bîna-, bîn- (v.tr)
time • wext (n.m)
time, period • zeman (n.m)
tirbe • tayfe (n.m)

whoever

tired • manya (adj)
title • leqem (n.m)
to, by, into, with, on • be (adp)
to, by, with • pene, penî (adp)
to, for • pey (adp)
today • aro (adv)
together • pêwere (adp)
tomato • bencanî (n.f)
tomorrow • seba (n.m)
tonight • êşew (adv)
tool • wesîle (n.m)
top • pope (n.m)
top of mountain • milega (n.m)
top of village • serawin (n.m)
tortoise • kêselî (n.f)
toss • bijya-, bijye- (v.intr)
totally • yekser (adv)
touch sb • tekna-, tekn- (v.tr)
traditions • řisûmat (n.m)
tray • sînî (n.m)
treatment • řelêce (n)
tree • dar (n.m)
trip, time • sefer (n.m)
trust • mitman (n.m)
twenty • wîs (num)
two • duwê (num)

U

udder • gonî (n.m)
umbrella • çetre (n.f)
under • çêr (adp)
understood • haî (adj)
unjust • namerd (adj)
unlawful • naşerfî (adj)
unripe • kaî (adj)
until • ta (adp)
up there (invisible) • pagehur, epagehur (adv)
uphill • sereko (n.m)

upset • adiz, řadiz (adj)
urine • gimêz (n.m)
use • îstifade (n.m)

V

valley • nehaî (n.m)
vernacular of Hewramî • hewramîyane (n.m)
very young (animal) • sawate (adj)
village • dêhat (n.m)
village, habitat • away (n.m)
visible • peyda, peyda (adj)
voice • sîwînî (n.f)
volition • îraye (n.m)

W

wake • weya-, weye- (v.intr)
walnut • wezî (n.f)
warm • germ (adj)
water • awî (n.f)
water spring • hane (n.m)
we • ême (pro)
weak • zeřif, zayf (adj)
wedding • zemawine (n.f)
wedding gift • tele (n.m)
weigh, pull • kêşa-, kêş- (v.tr)
welcoming • xeyramay (n.m)
wet, fresh • teř (adj)
what • çêş (Q.m)
what ever, however much • herçî, herçê (indf.pro)
wheat • genmî (n.f)
where • koge (Q)
whether • aya (ptcl)
which • kam (Q)
while • mudet (n.m)
white • çerme (adj)
who • kê (Q)
whoever • herkam (indf.pro)

whoever, anyone, everyone • heçkes,
herkes (indf.pro)
why • çî (Q)
wide • pan (adj)
wife • hereme (n.f)
wife's brother • jenbira (n.m)
will • wesyet (n.m)
willingness • meyl (n.m)
wind • wa (n.m)
winter • zimsan (n.m)
wish • arezû (n.m)
with • gel (adp)
without • bê (adp)
wolf • werg (n.m)
woman • zayfê (n.f)
woman, wife • jenî (n.f)
woodland • daresan (n.m)
work • hermane (n.f)
work, task • kar (n.m)
worker • řencber (n.m)

world • řalem (n.m)
worlds • řalemîyan (n.m)
worm • kirmî (n.f)
worthiness • layiqetî (n.m)
wounded • zamdar (adj)
write • niwîs(t)-, niwîs- (v.tr)

y

year • saîe (n.f)
yell, succour, cry • dađ (n.m)
yellow • zer (adj)
yes • erê (conj)
yesterday • hîzî (adv)
yet, still • heîay (adv)
yoghurt • mas (n.m)
you (pl) • řime, êşme (pro)
you (sg) • to (pro)
young • miçkile (adj)
youth • cuwan (adj/n.m)

Appendix C: Verb list

This chapter lists the simple verbs of Tekht Hewramî. The list also includes causative verbs and derived verbs, which, in their citation form, contain a preverb or a postverb. For each verb, the transitivity is specified.

Each verb is inflected for 3sg person in the present tense. In stems which end in vowel *e*, the vowel is deleted before 3sg inflection *-o* to avoid vowel hiatus. The deleted vowel is represented in parenthesis. The stem ‘to come’ presents an exception to this pattern, where the two vowels coalesce into *ê*; see also the verb *hur-amay*.

A note on the structure of the present indicative is in order. As discussed in §9.1.1, there are two classes of verbs in the present indicative. For the majority of verbs, no indicative marker is prefixed to the verb, e.g., *ber-o* [take.PRS.IND-3SG] ‘he/she takes’. In the second class, which features around 5 per cent of the verbs, the indicative marker *m-* is prefixed to the verb, e.g., *m-aç-o* [IND-say.PRS-3SG] ‘he/she says.’

INFINITIVE	Gloss	PST	PRS	3SG
<i>amay</i>	‘come’ (INTR)	<i>ama-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>m-ê</i>
<i>arđey</i>	‘bring’ (TR)	<i>arđ-</i>	<i>ar-</i>	<i>m-ar-o</i>
<i>astey</i>	‘let’ (TR)	<i>ast-</i>	<i>az-</i>	<i>m-az-o</i>
<i>bařyay=we</i>	‘bleat’ (INTR)	<i>bařya=we</i>	<i>bařye=we</i>	<i>bařy(e)-o=we</i>
<i>berđey</i>	‘take’ (TR)	<i>berđ-</i>	<i>ber-</i>	<i>ber-o</i>
<i>ber-arđey</i>	‘take out’ (INTR)	<i>ber-arđ-</i>	<i>ber-ar-</i>	<i>ber m-ar-o</i>
<i>ber-šîey</i>	‘go out’ (INTR)	<i>ber-šî-</i>	<i>ber-š-</i>	<i>ber mi-šo</i>
<i>bestey=we</i>	‘tie, turn off’ (TR)	<i>best=we</i>	<i>bes=we</i>	<i>bes-o=we</i>
<i>bexşay</i>	‘forgive’ (TR)	<i>bexşa-</i>	<i>bexş-</i>	<i>bexş-o</i>
<i>bexşnay=we</i>	‘distribute’ (TR)	<i>bexşna=we</i>	<i>bexşn=we</i>	<i>bexşn-o=we</i>
<i>bezyay</i>	‘be vanquished’ (INTR)	<i>bezya-</i>	<i>bezye-</i>	<i>bezy(e)-o</i>
<i>beznay</i>	‘overcome’ (TR)	<i>bezna-</i>	<i>bezn-</i>	<i>bezn-o</i>
<i>bêzyay</i>	‘disgust’ (INTR)	<i>bêzya-</i>	<i>bêzye-</i>	<i>bêzy(e)-o</i>
<i>bêznay</i>	‘disgust’ (TR)	<i>bêzna-</i>	<i>bêzn-</i>	<i>bêzn-o</i>

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<i>bijyay</i>	‘toss’ (INTR)	<i>bijya-</i>	<i>bijye-</i>	<i>bijy(e)-o</i>
<i>birıqyay=we</i>	‘glimmer’ (INTR)	<i>birıqya-</i>	<i>birıqye-</i>	<i>birıqy(e)-o=we</i>
<i>biřfanay</i>	‘abduct’ (TR)	<i>biřfana-</i>	<i>biřfan-</i>	<i>biřfan-o</i>
<i>biřyey</i>	‘cut’ (TR)	<i>biři-</i>	<i>biř-</i>	<i>biř-o</i>
<i>birêştey</i>	‘roast’ (TR)	<i>birêşt-</i>	<i>birêj-</i>	<i>birêj-o</i>
<i>bîyey</i>	‘be, become’	<i>bî-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>b-o</i>
<i>bînay</i>	‘tie, bind’ (TR)	<i>bîna-</i>	<i>bîn-</i>	<i>bîn-o</i>
<i>bořnay</i>	‘moo’ (TR)	<i>bořna-</i>	<i>bořn-</i>	<i>bořn-o</i>
<i>bołnay</i>	‘growl’ (TR)	<i>bołna-</i>	<i>bołn-</i>	<i>bołn-o</i>
<i>bûştey</i>	‘kill’ (TR)	<i>bûşt-</i>	<i>bûş-</i>	<i>bûş-o</i>
<i>çeknay</i>	‘suckle’ (TR)	<i>çekna-</i>	<i>çekn-</i>	<i>çekn-o</i>
<i>çekyay</i>	‘drain’ (INTR)	<i>çekya-</i>	<i>çekye-</i>	<i>çeky(e)-o</i>
<i>çemyay</i>	‘bend’ (INTR)	<i>çemya-</i>	<i>çemye-</i>	<i>çemy(e)-o</i>
<i>çemnay</i>	‘bend’ (TR)	<i>çemna-</i>	<i>çemn-</i>	<i>çemn-o</i>
<i>çeqnay</i>	‘stick, insert’ (TR)	<i>çeqla-</i>	<i>çeqln-</i>	<i>çeqln-o</i>
<i>çikyay=re</i>	‘drip, ‘wake with a start’ (INTR)	<i>çikya=re</i>	<i>çikye=re</i>	<i>çiky(e)-o=re</i>
<i>çılaknay=re</i>	‘startle sb awake’ (TR)	<i>çılakna=re</i>	<i>çılakn=re</i>	<i>çılakn-o=re</i>
<i>çılözyay</i>	‘be scorched’ (INTR)	<i>çılözya-</i>	<i>çılözye-</i>	<i>çılözy(e)-o</i>
<i>çılöznay</i>	‘scorch, sting’ (TR)	<i>çılözna-</i>	<i>çılözn-</i>	<i>çılözn-o</i>
<i>çinyey</i>	‘pick, pluck, weave’ (TR)	<i>çinî-</i>	<i>çin-</i>	<i>çin-o</i>
<i>çiřyey</i>	‘call’ (TR)	<i>çiři-</i>	<i>çiř-</i>	<i>çiř-o</i>
<i>çiznay</i>	‘sting’ (TR)	<i>çizna-</i>	<i>çizn-</i>	<i>çizn-o</i>
<i>çiknay</i>	‘sing (birds)’ (TR)	<i>çikna-</i>	<i>çikn-</i>	<i>çikn-o</i>
<i>čořyay</i>	‘drip, leak’ (INTR)	<i>čořya-</i>	<i>čořye-</i>	<i>čořy(e)-o</i>
<i>daray</i>	‘irrigate, hold’ (TR)	<i>dara-</i>	<i>dar-</i>	<i>dar-o</i>
<i>daryay=we</i>	‘collapse’ (INTR)	<i>darya=we</i>	<i>darye=we</i>	<i>dary(e)-o=we</i>
<i>day</i>	‘give’ (TR)	<i>da-</i>	<i>de-</i>	<i>mi-ď(e)-o</i>
<i>day wene</i>	‘set off’ (TR)	<i>da=wene</i>	<i>de=wene</i>	<i>mi-ď(e)-o wene</i>
<i>demnay</i>	‘start (morning)’ (TR)	<i>demna-</i>	<i>demn-</i>	<i>demn-o</i>
<i>dêwyay</i>	‘become angry’ (INTR)	<i>dêwya-</i>	<i>dêwye-</i>	<i>dêwy(e)-o</i>
<i>dêwnay</i>	‘make angry’ (TR)	<i>dêwna-</i>	<i>dêwn-</i>	<i>dêwn-o</i>

<i>dirknay</i>	‘divulge’ (TR)	<i>dirkna-</i>	<i>dirkn-</i>	<i>dirkn-o</i>
<i>dirkyay</i>	‘happen to speak’ (INTR)	<i>dirkya-</i>	<i>dirkye-</i>	<i>dirky(e)-o</i>
<i>diřyey</i>	‘tear’ (TR)	<i>diři-</i>	<i>diř-</i>	<i>diř-o</i>
<i>diřyey</i>	‘tear down’ (INTR)	<i>diřya-</i>	<i>diřye-</i>	<i>diřy(e)-o</i>
<i>diřikyay</i>	‘prickle’ (INTR)	<i>diřikya-</i>	<i>diřikye-</i>	<i>diřiky(e)-o</i>
<i>diřiknay</i>	‘prickle’ (INTR)	<i>diřikna-</i>	<i>diřikn-</i>	<i>diřikn-o</i>
<i>dizyey</i>	‘steal’ (TR)	<i>dizî-</i>	<i>diz-</i>	<i>diz-o</i>
<i>diyey</i>	‘see’ (TR)	<i>dî-, wîna-</i>	<i>wîn-</i>	<i>wîn-o</i>
<i>diyay</i>	‘look’ (INTR)	<i>dîya-</i>	<i>dîye-</i>	<i>mî-dîy(e)-o</i>
<i>donay</i>	‘talk to’ (TR)	<i>dona-</i>	<i>don-</i>	<i>don-o</i>
<i>doştey</i>	‘milk’ (TR)	<i>doşt-</i>	<i>doş-</i>	<i>doş-o</i>
<i>êşay</i>	‘hurt’ (INTR)	<i>êşa-</i>	<i>êş-</i>	<i>m-êş-o</i>
<i>êşnay</i>	‘hurt’ (TR)	<i>êşna-</i>	<i>êşn-</i>	<i>m-êşn-o</i>
<i>êjyey</i>	‘value’ (INTR)	<i>êjî-</i>	<i>m-êj-</i>	<i>m-êj-o</i>
<i>êjyay=re</i>	‘lie down’ (INTR)	<i>êjya=re</i>	<i>êjye=re</i>	<i>m-êjy(e)-o=re</i>
<i>fařay</i>	‘change’ (TR)	<i>fařa-</i>	<i>fař-</i>	<i>fař-o</i>
<i>fařyay</i>	‘change’ (INTR)	<i>fařya-</i>	<i>fařye-</i>	<i>fařy(e)-o</i>
<i>fermaway</i>	‘order’ (TR)	<i>fermawa-</i>	<i>fermaw-</i>	<i>fermaw-o</i>
<i>fewtyay</i>	‘die’ (INTR)	<i>fewtya-</i>	<i>fewtye-</i>	<i>fewty(e)-o</i>
<i>fewtnay</i>	‘destroy’ (TR)	<i>fewtna-</i>	<i>fewtn-</i>	<i>fewtn-o</i>
<i>fişartey</i>	squeeze (TR)	<i>fişart-</i>	<i>fişar-</i>	<i>fişar-o</i>
<i>fîsay=we</i>	‘overflow’ (INTR)	<i>fîsya-</i>	<i>fîsye-</i>	<i>fîsy(e)-o</i>
<i>fîsnay</i>	‘soak’ (TR)	<i>fîsna-</i>	<i>fîsn-</i>	<i>fîsn-o</i>
<i>gay</i>	‘copulate’ (TR)	<i>ga-</i>	<i>ge-</i>	<i>mî-g(e)-o</i>
<i>gefay</i>	‘bark (dog)’ (INTR)	<i>gefa-</i>	<i>gef-</i>	<i>gef-o</i>
<i>genay</i>	‘rot’ (INTR)	<i>gena-</i>	<i>gen-</i>	<i>gen-o</i>
<i>gestey</i>	‘bite’ (TR)	<i>gest-</i>	<i>gez-</i>	<i>gez-o</i>
<i>gêlay</i>	‘wander, turn’ (INTR)	<i>gêla-</i>	<i>gêl-</i>	<i>gêl-o</i>
<i>gêlnay</i>	‘turn over, narrate’ (TR)	<i>gêlna-</i>	<i>gêln-</i>	<i>gêln-o</i>
<i>gêrtey</i>	‘seize’ (TR)	<i>gêrt-</i>	<i>gêr-</i>	<i>gêr-o</i>
<i>gireway</i>	‘cry’ (INTR)	<i>girewa-</i>	<i>girew-</i>	<i>girew-o</i>
<i>girewnay</i>	‘make weep’ (TR)	<i>girewna-</i>	<i>girewn-</i>	<i>girewn-o</i>
<i>girînay</i>	‘boil’ (TR)	<i>girîna-</i>	<i>girîn-</i>	<i>girîn-o</i>
<i>gîrsay</i>	‘coagulate, stiffen’ (INTR)	<i>gîrsa-</i>	<i>gîrs-</i>	<i>gîrs-o</i>
<i>giřay</i>	‘burn (fire)’ (INTR)	<i>giřa-</i>	<i>giř-</i>	<i>giř-o</i>

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<i>giryay</i>	‘boil’ (INTR)	<i>giry-</i>	<i>giry-</i>	<i>giry(e)-o</i>
<i>gijyay</i>	‘fight’ (INTR)	<i>gijya-</i>	<i>gijye-</i>	<i>gijy(e)-o</i>
<i>gijnay pêwe</i>	‘make two people fight’ (TR)			
		<i>gijna- pêwe</i>	<i>gijn- pêwe</i>	<i>gijn-o pêwe</i>
<i>gîryay</i>	‘be blocked’ (INTR)			
		<i>gîrya-</i>	<i>gîrye-</i>	<i>gîry(e)-o</i>
<i>gîsyay=ne</i>	‘shine’ (INTR)	<i>gîsya=ne</i>	<i>gîsy=ne</i>	<i>gîsy(e)-o=ne</i>
<i>gîsnay=ne</i>	‘light, start, turn on’ (TR)			
		<i>gîsna=ne</i>	<i>gîsn=ne</i>	<i>gîsn-o=ne</i>
<i>hařay</i>	‘grind’ (TR)	<i>hařa-</i>	<i>hař-</i>	<i>hař-o</i>
<i>hîlyay</i>	‘neigh’ (INTR)	<i>hîlya-</i>	<i>hîlye-</i>	<i>hîly(e)-o</i>
<i>hur-amay</i>	‘emerge’ (INTR)			
		<i>hur-ama-</i>	<i>hur-e-</i>	<i>hur-m-ê</i>
<i>hur-amay=we</i>	‘come off’ (INTR)	<i>hur-ama=we</i>	<i>hur-e=we</i>	<i>hur-m-ê=we</i>
<i>hur-bizyay</i>	‘rise (facing sky)’ (INTR)			
		<i>hur-bizya-</i>	<i>hur-bizye-</i>	<i>hur-bizy(e)-o</i>
<i>hur-daryay</i>	‘fall off’ (INTR)	<i>hur-darya-</i>	<i>hur-darye-</i>	<i>hur-dary(e)-o</i>
<i>hur-diřay</i>	‘cut into pieces’ (TR)			
		<i>hur-diřa-</i>	<i>hur-diř-</i>	<i>hur-diř-o</i>
<i>hur-êstey</i>	‘wake up’ (INTR)	<i>hur-êsta-</i>	<i>hur-êz-</i>	<i>hur-m-êz-o</i>
<i>hur-êznay</i>	‘wake up’ (TR)	<i>hur-êzna-</i>	<i>hur-êzn-</i>	<i>hur-m-êzn-o</i>
<i>hur-gêrtey</i>	‘lift’ (TR)	<i>hur-gêrt-</i>	<i>hur-gêr-</i>	<i>hur-gêr-o</i>
<i>hur-kenney</i>	‘strike (storm)’ (TR)			
		<i>hur-kenn-</i>	<i>hur-ken-</i>	<i>hur-ken-o</i>
<i>hur-kewtey</i>	‘appear’ (INTR)	<i>hur-kewt-</i>	<i>hur-gin-</i>	<i>hur-gin-o</i>
<i>hur-kêřay</i>	‘pull up’ (TR)	<i>hur-kêřa-</i>	<i>hur-kêř-</i>	<i>hur-kêř-o</i>
<i>hur-lûřtey</i>	‘swallow’ (TR)	<i>hur-lûřt-</i>	<i>hur-lûř-</i>	<i>hur-lûř-o</i>
<i>hur-piřay</i>	‘dance’ (INTR)	<i>hur-piřa-</i>	<i>hur-piř-</i>	<i>hur-piř-o</i>
<i>hur-řêwnay</i>	‘mix’ (TR)	<i>hur-řêwna-</i>	<i>hur-řêwn-</i>	<i>hur-řêwn-o</i>
<i>hur-řêwyay</i>	‘mix’ (INTR)	<i>hur-řêwya-</i>	<i>hur-řêwye-</i>	<i>hur-řêwy(e)-o</i>
<i>hur-teknay</i>	‘wink’ (TR)	<i>hur-tekna-</i>	<i>hur-tekn-</i>	<i>hur-tekn-o</i>
<i>hur-siparay</i>	‘hang up (gun)’ (TR)			
		<i>hur-sipara-</i>	<i>hur-sipar-</i>	<i>hur-sipar-o</i>
<i>hur-tiřîřnay</i>	‘rip’ (TR)	<i>hur-tiřîřna-</i>	<i>hur-tiřîřn-</i>	<i>hur-tiřîřn-o</i>
<i>hur-westey</i>	‘climb’ (INTR)	<i>hur-west-</i>	<i>hur-wez-</i>	<i>hur-wez-o</i>
<i>hur-wistey</i>	‘hang up’ (TR)	<i>hur-wist-</i>	<i>hur-wiz-</i>	<i>hur-wiz-o</i>
<i>iřtafnay</i>	‘steal (objects)’ (TR)			
		<i>iřtafna-</i>	<i>iřtafn-</i>	<i>iřtafn-o</i>
<i>iřyay</i>	‘must’ (INTR)	<i>iřya-</i>	<i>iřye-</i>	<i>mi-řy(e)-o</i>

<i>cenıyay</i>	‘mince’ (TR)	<i>cena-</i>	<i>cen-</i>	<i>cen-o</i>
<i>ceřyay</i>	‘be tight’ (INTR)	<i>ceřya-</i>	<i>ceřye-</i>	<i>ceřy(e)-o</i>
<i>ceřnay</i>	‘wring, squeeze’ (TR)			
		<i>ceřna-</i>	<i>ceřn-</i>	<i>ceřn-o</i>
<i>cımay</i>	‘move’ (INTR)	<i>cıma-</i>	<i>cım-</i>	<i>cım-o</i>
<i>cımıay</i>	‘move’ (TR)	<i>cımna-</i>	<i>cımn-</i>	<i>cımn-o</i>
<i>cırıkıay</i>	‘chirp, click’ (TR)	<i>cırıkna-</i>	<i>cırıkı-</i>	<i>cırıkı-o</i>
<i>cıqıay</i>	‘squeal’ (TR)	<i>cıqına-</i>	<i>cıqı-</i>	<i>cıqı-o</i>
<i>cûrıay</i>	‘use up’ (TR)	<i>cûrına-</i>	<i>cûrı-</i>	<i>cûrı-o</i>
<i>coıyay</i>	‘crawl’ (INTR)	<i>coıya-</i>	<i>coıye-</i>	<i>coıy(e)-o</i>
<i>coııay</i>	‘move’ (TR)	<i>coıına-</i>	<i>coıı-</i>	<i>coıı-o</i>
<i>cořıay</i>	‘drain’ (TR)	<i>cořına-</i>	<i>cořı-</i>	<i>cořı-o</i>
<i>kaıay</i>	‘plough’ (TR)	<i>kaıa-</i>	<i>kaı-</i>	<i>kaı-o</i>
<i>kenıey</i>	‘uproot, mow’ (TR)			
		<i>kenn-</i>	<i>ken-</i>	<i>ken-o</i>
<i>kerıey</i>	‘do’ (TR)	<i>kerd-</i>	<i>ker-</i>	<i>ker-o</i>
<i>kewıey</i>	‘fall’ (INTR)	<i>kewt-</i>	<i>gıı-</i>	<i>gıı-o</i>
<i>kewıey=ıe</i>	‘receive’ (INTR)	<i>kewt=ıe</i>	<i>gıı=ıe</i>	<i>gıı-o=ıe</i>
<i>kêřıey</i>	‘pull, weigh’ (TR)	<i>kêřı-</i>	<i>kêřı-</i>	<i>kêřı-o</i>
<i>kırıay</i>	‘gnaw, scratch’ (TR)			
		<i>kırına-</i>	<i>kırı-</i>	<i>kırı-o</i>
<i>kızıyay</i>	‘burn’ (INTR)	<i>kızıya-</i>	<i>kızıye-</i>	<i>kızıy(e)-o</i>
<i>kııyastey</i>	‘send’ (TR)	<i>kııyast-</i>	<i>kııyan-</i>	<i>kııyan-o</i>
<i>kořay</i>	‘try’ (INTR)	<i>kořa-</i>	<i>kořı-</i>	<i>kořı-o</i>
<i>kumıay=ıe</i>	‘bend down’ (TR)	<i>kumıa=ıe</i>	<i>kumı=ıe</i>	<i>kumı-o=ıe</i>
<i>kuřıay=ıe</i>	‘turn off’ (TR)	<i>kuřıa=ıe</i>	<i>kuřı=ıe</i>	<i>kuřı-o=ıe</i>
<i>kuřıey</i>	‘kill, beat’ (TR)	<i>kuřı-</i>	<i>kuřı-</i>	<i>kuřı-o</i>
<i>kuıay</i>	‘beat, knock’ (TR)	<i>kuıa-</i>	<i>kuı-</i>	<i>kuı-o</i>
<i>kûkıyay=ıe</i>	‘cough’ (INTR)	<i>kûkıya-</i>	<i>kûkıye-</i>	<i>kûkıy(e)-o</i>
<i>laıyay=ıe</i>	‘beg’ (INTR)	<i>laıya=ıe</i>	<i>laıye=ıe</i>	<i>laıy(e)-o=ıe</i>
<i>lerıay</i>	‘tremble’ (INTR)	<i>lerza-</i>	<i>lerzı-</i>	<i>lerzı-o</i>
<i>leweřıay</i>	‘graze’ (INTR)	<i>leweřıya-</i>	<i>leweřıye-</i>	<i>leweřıy(e)-o</i>
<i>lêıay</i>	‘lick’ (TR)	<i>lêı-</i> , <i>lêıa-</i>	<i>lêı-</i>	<i>lêı-o</i>
<i>lıkıay</i>	‘stick, affix’ (TR)	<i>lıkına-</i>	<i>lıkıı-</i>	<i>lıkıı-o</i>
<i>lıkıyay</i>	‘stick’ (INTR)	<i>lıkıya-</i>	<i>lıkıye-</i>	<i>lıkıy(e)-o</i>
<i>luıay</i>	‘go’ (INTR)	<i>luıa-</i>	<i>lı-</i>	<i>lıı-l-o</i>
<i>lûrıay</i>	‘howl’ (TR)	<i>lûrıa-</i>	<i>lûrı-</i>	<i>lûrı-o</i>
<i>maıay</i>	‘sweep’ (TR)	<i>maıa-</i>	<i>maı-</i>	<i>maı-o</i>
<i>maııay</i>	‘be tired’ (INTR)	<i>maııa-</i>	<i>maııye-</i>	<i>maııy(e)-o</i>

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<i>mařay</i>	‘break’ (TR)	<i>mařa-</i>	<i>mař-</i>	<i>mař-o</i>
<i>masay</i>	‘swell’ (INTR)	<i>masa-</i>	<i>mas-</i>	<i>mas-o</i>
<i>mařay</i>	‘collect’ (TR)	<i>mařa-</i>	<i>mař-</i>	<i>mař-o</i>
<i>menney</i>	‘remain’ (INTR)	<i>menn-, mana-</i>	<i>men-</i>	<i>men-o</i>
<i>merđey</i>	‘die’ (INTR)	<i>merđ-</i>	<i>mir-</i>	<i>mir-o</i>
<i>merzîyay=re</i>	‘settle’ (INTR)	<i>merzîya=re</i>	<i>merzîye=re</i>	<i>merzîy(e)-o=re</i>
<i>merznay=re</i>	‘settle’ (TR)	<i>merzna=re</i>	<i>merzn=re</i>	<i>merzn-o=re</i>
<i>meřyay</i>	‘break’ (INTR)	<i>meřya-</i>	<i>meřye-</i>	<i>meřy(e)-o</i>
<i>midray</i>	‘stop, stand’ (INTR)			
		<i>midra-</i>	<i>midr-</i>	<i>midr-o</i>
<i>micay</i>	‘spill’ (INTR)	<i>micya-</i>	<i>micye-</i>	<i>micy(e)-o</i>
<i>minay</i>	‘look for’ (INTR)	<i>mina-</i>	<i>min-</i>	<i>min-o</i>
<i>miřořnay=we</i>	‘disturb’ (TR)	<i>miřořna-</i>	<i>miřořn-</i>	<i>miřořn-o</i>
<i>misay</i>	‘learn’ (INTR)	<i>misya-</i>	<i>misye-</i>	<i>misy(e)-o</i>
<i>miřtey</i>	‘suck up’ (TR)	<i>miřt-</i>	<i>mij-</i>	<i>mij-o</i>
<i>mitey</i>	‘spill’ (TR)	<i>mit-</i>	<i>mic-</i>	<i>mic-o</i>
<i>mîyawnay</i>	‘meow’ (TR)	<i>mîyawna-</i>	<i>mîyawn-</i>	<i>mîyawn-o</i>
<i>mîznay</i>	‘grunt’ (TR)	<i>mîzna-</i>	<i>mîzn-</i>	<i>mîzn-o</i>
<i>namnay</i>	‘bend’ (TR)	<i>namna-</i>	<i>namn-</i>	<i>namn-o</i>
<i>namyay=we</i>	‘bend down’ (INTR)			
		<i>namya=we</i>	<i>namye=we</i>	<i>namy(e)-o=we</i>
<i>naway</i>	‘lubricate’ (TR)	<i>nawa-</i>	<i>naw-</i>	<i>naw-o</i>
<i>nemay</i>	‘lift’ (INTR)	<i>nema-</i>	<i>nem-</i>	<i>nem-o</i>
<i>neřnay</i>	‘roar’ (TR)	<i>neřna-</i>	<i>neřn-</i>	<i>neřn-o</i>
<i>nivîsey</i>	‘write’ (TR)	<i>nivîss-</i>	<i>nvîs-</i>	<i>mi-nvîs-o</i>
<i>nîřnay=re</i>	‘make sit’ (INTR)	<i>nîřna=re</i>	<i>nîřn=re</i>	<i>nîřn-o=re</i>
<i>nîřtey</i>	‘stay’ (INTR)	<i>nîřt-</i>	<i>nîř-</i>	<i>nîř-o</i>
<i>nîřtey=re</i>	‘sit’ (INTR)	<i>nîřt=re</i>	<i>nîř=re</i>	<i>nîř-o=re</i>
<i>nîyay</i>	‘put’ (TR)	<i>nya-</i>	<i>nye-</i>	<i>mi-ny(e)-o</i>
<i>nîyay=re</i>	‘unload, make’ (TR)			
		<i>nya=re</i>	<i>nye=re</i>	<i>mi-ny(e)-o=re</i>
<i>nûzyay</i>	‘howl’ (TR)	<i>nûzya-</i>	<i>nûzye-</i>	<i>nûzy(e)-o</i>
<i>parêznay</i>	‘protect’ (TR)	<i>parêzna-</i>	<i>parêzn-</i>	<i>parêzn-o</i>
<i>patey</i>	‘chop, cut (hair)’ (TR)			
		<i>pat-</i>	<i>paç-</i>	<i>paç-o</i>
<i>permay</i>	‘trust’ (TR)	<i>perma-</i>	<i>perm-</i>	<i>perm-o</i>
<i>persay</i>	‘ask’ (TR)	<i>persa-</i>	<i>pers-</i>	<i>pers-o</i>
<i>peřoknay</i>	‘disturb, annoy’ (TR)			
		<i>peřokna-</i>	<i>peřokn-</i>	<i>peřokn-o</i>

<i>peşokıyay</i>	‘be perturbed’ (INTR)			
		<i>peşokıya-</i>	<i>peşokıye-</i>	<i>peşokıy(e)-o</i>
<i>pesnay</i>	‘choose’ (TR)	<i>pesna-</i>	<i>pesn-</i>	<i>pesn-o</i>
<i>petey</i>	‘bake’ (TR)	<i>pet-</i>	<i>peç-</i>	<i>peç-o</i>
<i>pêçıyay</i>	‘turn (snake)’ (INTR)			
		<i>pêçıya-</i>	<i>pêçıye-</i>	<i>pêçıy(e)-o</i>
<i>pêkay</i>	‘hit (a mark)’ (TR)	<i>pêka-</i>	<i>pêk-</i>	<i>pêk-o</i>
<i>pêtey</i>	‘fold (grass)’ (TR)	<i>pêt-</i>	<i>pêç-</i>	<i>pêç-o</i>
<i>pêwıyay</i>	‘be visible’ (INTR)	<i>pêwıya-</i>	<i>pêwıye-</i>	<i>pêwıy(e)-o</i>
<i>pirêsay</i>	‘pray’ (TR)	<i>pirêsa-</i>	<i>pirês-</i>	<i>pirês-o</i>
<i>piřxnay</i>	‘snore’ (TR)	<i>piřxn-</i>	<i>piřxn-</i>	<i>piřxn-o</i>
<i>pirûnay</i>	‘rub off (eye)’ (TR)	<i>pirûna-</i>	<i>pirûn-</i>	<i>pirûn-o</i>
<i>piřay</i>	‘fly’ (INTR)	<i>piřa-</i>	<i>piř-</i>	<i>piř-o</i>
<i>piřçnay</i>	‘chop (stone)’ (TR)	<i>piřçna-</i>	<i>piřçn-</i>	<i>piřçn-o</i>
<i>piřnay=re</i>	‘throw away’	<i>piřna=re</i>	<i>piřn=re</i>	<i>piřn-o=re</i>
<i>piřoknay</i>	‘exhaust’ (TR)	<i>piřokna-</i>	<i>piřokn-</i>	<i>piřokn-o</i>
<i>piřokıyay</i>	‘be exhausted’ (INTR)			
		<i>piřokıya-</i>	<i>piřokıye-</i>	<i>piřokıy(e)-o</i>
<i>piřoznay</i>	‘scorch’ (TR)	<i>piřozna-</i>	<i>piřozn-</i>	<i>piřozn-o</i>
<i>piřozyay</i>	‘be scorched’ (INTR)			
		<i>piřozya-</i>	<i>piřozye-</i>	<i>piřozy(e)-o</i>
<i>piseřay</i>	‘wipe’ (TR)	<i>piseřa-</i>	<i>piseř-</i>	<i>piseř-o</i>
<i>pıtyay</i>	‘blink (eyes)’ (TR)	<i>pıtya-</i>	<i>pıtye-</i>	<i>pıty(e)-o</i>
<i>piĵġıyay</i>	‘scatter’ (INTR)	<i>piĵġıya-</i>	<i>piĵġıye-</i>	<i>piĵġıy(e)-o</i>
<i>piĵġınay</i>	‘scatter’ (TR)	<i>piĵġına-</i>	<i>piĵġın-</i>	<i>piĵġın-o</i>
<i>piĵmay</i>	‘sneeze’ (INTR)	<i>piĵma-</i>	<i>piĵm-</i>	<i>piĵm-o</i>
<i>pîmay</i>	‘measure’ (TR)	<i>pîma-</i>	<i>pîm-</i>	<i>pîm-o</i>
<i>pořay</i>	‘put on’ (TR)	<i>pořa-, pořt-</i>	<i>poř-</i>	<i>poř-o</i>
<i>pořnay</i>	‘cover’ (TR)	<i>pořna-</i>	<i>pořn-</i>	<i>pořn-o</i>
<i>pûyay</i>	‘rot’	<i>pûya-</i>	<i>pûye-</i>	<i>pûy(e)-o</i>
<i>qařnay</i>	‘howl (jackal)’	<i>qařna-</i>	<i>qařn-</i>	<i>qařn-o</i>
<i>qařyawı</i>	‘squeak’ (INTR)	<i>qařıyay=we</i>	<i>qařıye=we</i>	<i>qařıy(e)-o=we</i>
<i>qêřnay</i>	‘shout’ (TR)	<i>qêřna</i>	<i>qêřn-</i>	<i>qêřn-o</i>
<i>qıraznay</i>	‘cluck’ (TR)	<i>qırazna-</i>	<i>qırazn-</i>	<i>qırazn-o</i>
<i>qırtnay</i>	‘wink’ (TR)	<i>qırtna-</i>	<i>qırtn-</i>	<i>qırtn-o</i>
<i>qıřnay</i>	‘caw, quack’ (TR)	<i>qıřna-</i>	<i>qıřn-</i>	<i>qıřn-o</i>
<i>qîjnay</i>	‘scream’ (TR)	<i>qîjna-</i>	<i>qîjn-</i>	<i>qîjn-o</i>
<i>qomyay</i>	‘happen’ (INTR)	<i>qomya-</i>	<i>qomye-</i>	<i>qomy(e)-o</i>
<i>qořıyay=we</i>	‘moo’ (INTR)	<i>qořıya=we</i>	<i>qořıye=we</i>	<i>qořıy(e)-o=we</i>

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<i>qozay</i>	‘cough’ (INTR)	<i>qoza-</i>	<i>qoz-</i>	<i>qoz-o</i>
<i>quncnay</i>	‘make fit’ (TR)	<i>quncna-</i>	<i>quncn-</i>	<i>quncn-o</i>
<i>quncyay</i>	‘fit’ (INTR)	<i>quncya-</i>	<i>quncye-</i>	<i>quncy(e)-o</i>
<i>qupyay</i>	‘distort’ (INTR)	<i>qupya-</i>	<i>qupye-</i>	<i>qupy(e)-o</i>
<i>qupnay</i>	‘distort’ (TR)	<i>qupna-</i>	<i>qupn-</i>	<i>qupn-o</i>
<i>qûcnay</i>	‘close (eyes), turn off’ (TR)	<i>qûcna-</i>	<i>qûcn-</i>	<i>qûcn-o</i>
<i>qûcyay</i>	‘turn off’ (INTR)	<i>qûcyä-</i>	<i>qûcyä-</i>	<i>qûcy(e)-o</i>
<i>řagêrtey</i>	‘observe’ (TR)	<i>řa-gêrt-</i>	<i>řa-gêr-</i>	<i>řa-gêr-o</i>
<i>řaznay=we</i>	‘adorn’ (TR)	<i>řazna=we</i>	<i>řazn=we</i>	<i>řazn-o=we</i>
<i>řemay</i>	‘run’ (INTR)	<i>řema-</i>	<i>řem-</i>	<i>řem-o</i>
<i>řemnay</i>	‘make run’ (TR)	<i>řemna-</i>	<i>řemn-</i>	<i>řemn-o</i>
<i>řeştey</i>	‘apply kohl to the eyes’ (TR)	<i>řešt-</i>	<i>řeş-</i>	<i>řeş-o</i>
<i>řêstey</i>	‘spin’ (TR)	<i>řêst-</i>	<i>řês-</i>	<i>řês-o</i>
<i>řinyey</i>	‘scratch’ (TR)	<i>řinî-</i>	<i>řin-</i>	<i>řin-o</i>
<i>sanay</i>	‘buy’ (TR)	<i>sana-</i>	<i>san-</i>	<i>(mi)-san-o</i>
<i>saway</i>	‘rub’ (TR)	<i>sawa-</i>	<i>saw-</i>	<i>saw-o</i>
<i>saznay</i>	‘build’ (TR)	<i>sazna-</i>	<i>sazn-</i>	<i>sazn-o</i>
<i>seřay</i>	‘bray’ (INTR)	<i>seřa-</i>	<i>seř-</i>	<i>seř-o</i>
<i>seyay=we</i>	‘rest’ (INTR)	<i>seya=we</i>	<i>seye=we</i>	<i>sey(e)-o=we</i>
<i>sipartey</i>	‘spare’ (TR)	<i>sipart-</i>	<i>sipar-</i>	<i>sipar-o</i>
<i>sireway</i>	‘heal’ (INTR)	<i>sirewa-</i>	<i>sirew-</i>	<i>sirew-o</i>
<i>soçnay</i>	‘burn’ (TR)	<i>soçna-</i>	<i>soçn-</i>	<i>soçn-o</i>
<i>sotey</i>	‘burn’ (INTR)	<i>sot-</i>	<i>soç-</i>	<i>soç-o</i>
<i>şanay</i>	‘sow, emit, scatter’ (TR)	<i>şana-</i>	<i>şan-</i>	<i>şan-o</i>
<i>şaray=we</i>	‘hide’ (TR)	<i>şart=we</i>	<i>şar=we</i>	<i>şar-o=we</i>
<i>şêlay</i>	‘press, rub’ (TR)	<i>şêla-</i>	<i>şêl-</i>	<i>şêl-o</i>
<i>şêwyay</i>	‘get confused’ (INTR)	<i>şêwya-</i>	<i>şêwye-</i>	<i>şêwy(e)-o</i>
<i>şêwnay</i>	‘confuse’ (TR)	<i>şêwna-</i>	<i>şêwn-</i>	<i>şêwn-o</i>
<i>şikaway</i>	‘slice’ (TR)	<i>şikawa-</i>	<i>şikaw-</i>	<i>şikaw-o</i>
<i>şileqnay</i>	‘churn milk’ (TR)	<i>şileqna-</i>	<i>şileqn-</i>	<i>şileqn-o</i>
<i>şinyay</i>	‘shiver’ (INTR)	<i>şinya</i>	<i>şinye-</i>	<i>şiny(e)-o</i>
<i>şinyay=re</i>	‘fall down, be ashamed’ (INTR)	<i>şinya=re</i>	<i>şinye=re</i>	<i>şiny(e)-o=re</i>
<i>şitey</i>	‘wash’ (TR)	<i>şit-</i>	<i>şor-</i>	<i>şor-o</i>
<i>şîyey</i>	‘go’ (INTR)	<i>şî-</i>	<i>ş-</i>	<i>mi-ş-o</i>

<i>şoknay</i>	‘shake’ (TR)	<i>şokna-</i>	<i>şokn-</i>	<i>şokn-o</i>
<i>tasyay</i>	‘get confused’ (INTR)	<i>tasya-</i>	<i>tasye-</i>	<i>tasy(e)-o</i>
<i>taşay</i>	‘shave, cut’ (TR)	<i>taşt-, taşa-</i>	<i>taş-</i>	<i>taş-o</i>
<i>taway</i>	‘can’ (TR)	<i>tawa-</i>	<i>taw-</i>	<i>taw-o</i>
<i>tawnay</i>	‘melt’ (TR)	<i>tawn-</i>	<i>tawn-</i>	<i>tawn-o</i>
<i>tawyay</i>	‘melt’ (INTR)	<i>tawya-</i>	<i>tawye-</i>	<i>tawy(e)-o</i>
<i>tawyay=we</i>	‘melt out’ (INTR)	<i>tawya-</i>	<i>tawye-</i>	<i>tawy(e)-o</i>
<i>teknay</i>	‘shake (carpet)’ (TR)	<i>tekna-</i>	<i>tekn-</i>	<i>tekn-o</i>
<i>telefyan</i>	‘vanish, fade’ (INTR)	<i>telefya-</i>	<i>telefye-</i>	<i>telefye(e)-o</i>
<i>temamnay</i>	‘finish’ (TR)	<i>temamna-</i>	<i>temamn-</i>	<i>temamn-o</i>
<i>temamyay</i>	‘finish’ (INTR)	<i>temamya-</i>	<i>temamye-</i>	<i>temamy(e)-o</i>
<i>temyay</i>	‘get sad’ (INTR)	<i>temya-</i>	<i>temye-</i>	<i>temy(e)-o</i>
<i>teqay</i>	‘dig’ (INTR)	<i>teqa-</i>	<i>teq-</i>	<i>teq-o</i>
<i>teqnay=we</i>	‘explode’ (TR)	<i>teqna=we</i>	<i>teqn=we</i>	<i>teqn-o=we</i>
<i>temasyay</i>	‘get confused’ (INTR)	<i>temasya-</i>	<i>temasye-</i>	<i>temasy(e)-o</i>
<i>tersay</i>	‘be afraid’ (INTR)	<i>tersa-</i>	<i>ters-</i>	<i>ters-o</i>
<i>tewesnay=we</i>	‘to discourage’ (TR)	<i>tewesna=we</i>	<i>tewesn=we</i>	<i>tewesn-o=we</i>
<i>tikay</i>	‘drip’ (INTR)	<i>tikya-</i>	<i>tikye-</i>	<i>tiky(e)-o</i>
<i>tilyay</i>	‘roll down’ (INTR)	<i>tilya-</i>	<i>tilye-</i>	<i>tily(e)-o</i>
<i>tilnay</i>	‘set revolving’ (TR)	<i>tilna-</i>	<i>tiln-</i>	<i>tiln-o</i>
<i>tiruskyay</i>	‘glimmer, glitter’ (INTR)	<i>tiruskya-</i>	<i>tiruskye-</i>	<i>tirusky(e)-o</i>
<i>tirusknay=we</i>	‘lit’ (TR)	<i>tiruskna=we</i>	<i>tiruskn=we</i>	<i>tiruskn-o=we</i>
<i>tiřay</i>	‘fart’ (INTR)	<i>tiřa-</i>	<i>tiř-</i>	<i>tiř-o</i>
<i>tisay</i>	‘break wind’ (INTR)	<i>tisa-</i>	<i>tis-</i>	<i>tis-o</i>
<i>tişyay</i>	‘go sour’ (INTR)	<i>tişya-</i>	<i>tişye-</i>	<i>tişy(e)-o</i>
<i>topay</i>	‘die (animal)’ (INTR)	<i>topa-</i>	<i>top-</i>	<i>top-o</i>
<i>topnay</i>	‘kill’ (TR)	<i>topna-</i>	<i>topn-</i>	<i>topn-o</i>
<i>toqay</i>	‘be scared, scare’ (INTR, TR)	<i>toqa-</i>	<i>toq-</i>	<i>toq-o</i>

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<i>toryay</i>	‘get offended’ (INTR)			
		<i>torya-</i>	<i>torye-</i>	<i>tory(e)-o</i>
<i>wałyay=re</i>	‘notice’ (INTR)	<i>wałya=re</i>	<i>wałye=re</i>	<i>wały(e)-o=re</i>
<i>waray</i>	‘rain’ (INTR)	<i>wara-</i>	<i>war-</i>	<i>war-o</i>
<i>wardey</i>	‘eat’ (TR)	<i>werd-, ward-</i>	<i>wer-</i>	<i>wer-o</i>
<i>warnay</i>	‘disperse’ (TR)	<i>warna-</i>	<i>warn-</i>	<i>warn-o</i>
<i>wastey</i>	‘request, beg’ (TR)	<i>wast-</i>	<i>waz-</i>	<i>waz-o</i>
<i>watey</i>	‘say’ (TR)	<i>wat-</i>	<i>aç-, waç-</i>	<i>m-aç-o</i>
<i>wenay</i>	‘read, crow, hiss, hoot coo, croak’ (TR)			
		<i>wenn-, wena-</i>	<i>wen-</i>	<i>wen-o</i>
<i>westey</i>	‘climb’ (INTR)	<i>west-</i>	<i>wez-</i>	<i>wez-o</i>
<i>westey=re</i>	‘get off’ (INTR)	<i>west=re</i>	<i>wez=re</i>	<i>wez-o=re</i>
<i>wetey</i>	‘doff’ (TR)	<i>wet-</i>	<i>wej-</i>	<i>wej-o</i>
<i>weyay=we</i>	‘wake up’ (INTR)	<i>weya=we</i>	<i>weye=we</i>	<i>wey(e)-o=we</i>
<i>weznay=re</i>	‘drop (sb/sth) down’ (TR)			
		<i>wezna=re</i>	<i>wezn=re</i>	<i>wezn-o=re</i>
<i>wêłyay=we</i>	‘be spread’ (INTR)	<i>wêłya=we</i>	<i>wêłye=we</i>	<i>wêły(e)-o=we</i>
<i>wêqnay</i>	‘gecker, grunt’ (TR)			
		<i>wêqna-</i>	<i>wêqn-</i>	<i>wêqn-o</i>
<i>wêtey</i>	‘sift’ (TR)	<i>wêt-</i>	<i>wêç-</i>	<i>wêç-o</i>
<i>wirastey</i>	‘sew’ (TR)	<i>wirast-</i>	<i>wiraz-</i>	<i>wiraz-o</i>
<i>wiřaway</i>	‘talk incoherently’ (INTR)			
		<i>wiřawa-</i>	<i>wiřaw-</i>	<i>wiřaw-o</i>
<i>wiretey</i>	‘sell’ (TR)	<i>wiret-</i>	<i>wireş-</i>	<i>wireş-o</i>
<i>wisnay</i>	‘put to sleep’ (TR)	<i>wisna-</i>	<i>ûsn-, wisn-</i>	<i>m-ûsn-o</i>
<i>wistey-(re)</i>	‘throw’ (TR)	<i>wist=re</i>	<i>wiz=re</i>	<i>wiz-o=re</i>
<i>wişknay</i>	‘scour’ (TR)	<i>wişkna-</i>	<i>wişkn-</i>	<i>wişkn-o</i>
<i>witey</i>	‘sleep’ (INTR)	<i>wit-</i>	<i>ûs-</i>	<i>m-ûs-o</i>
<i>witey=re</i>	‘lie down (animal)’ (INTR)			
		<i>wit=re</i>	<i>ûs=re</i>	<i>m-ûs-o=re</i>
<i>wîyaray</i>	‘pass time’ (INTR)	<i>wîyara-</i>	<i>wîyer-</i>	<i>wîyer-o</i>
<i>wîyerdey</i>	‘pass’ (INTR)	<i>wîyerd-</i>	<i>wîyer-</i>	<i>wîyer-o</i>
<i>wîznay</i>	‘buzz’ (TR)	<i>wîzna-</i>	<i>wîzn-</i>	<i>wîzn-o</i>
<i>wiryêy</i>	‘itch’ (INTR)	<i>wiryê-</i>	<i>wirye-</i>	<i>wiry(e)-o</i>
<i>wuřay</i>	‘collapse’ (INTR)	<i>wuřa-</i>	<i>wuř-</i>	<i>wuř-o</i>
<i>wuřnay</i>	‘destroy’ (TR)	<i>wuřna-</i>	<i>wuřn-</i>	<i>wuřn-o</i>
<i>xefnay</i>	‘make damp’ (TR)	<i>xefna-</i>	<i>xefn-</i>	<i>xefn-o</i>
<i>xefyay</i>	‘damp’ (INTR)	<i>xefya-</i>	<i>xefye-</i>	<i>xefy(e)-o</i>

<i>xetetyay</i>	‘be deceived’ (INTR)			
		<i>xetetya-</i>	<i>xetetye-</i>	<i>xetety(e)-o</i>
<i>xetetnay</i>	‘trick’ (TR)	<i>xetetna-</i>	<i>xetetn-</i>	<i>xetetn-o</i>
<i>xemnay</i>	‘to bend’ (INTR)	<i>xemna-</i>	<i>xemn-</i>	<i>xemn-o</i>
<i>xemyay</i>	‘curve’ (INTR)	<i>xemya-</i>	<i>xemye-</i>	<i>xemy(e)-o</i>
<i>xerepyay</i>	‘reach one’s dotage’ (INTR)			
		<i>xerepya-</i>	<i>xerepye-</i>	<i>xerepy(e)-o</i>
<i>xêzyay</i>	‘wake up’ (INTR)	<i>xêzya-</i>	<i>xêzye-</i>	<i>xêzy(e)-o</i>
<i>xiciłnay</i>	‘entertain’ (TR)	<i>xiciłna-</i>	<i>xiciłn-</i>	<i>xiciłn-o</i>
<i>xicityay</i>	‘be entertained’ (INTR)			
		<i>xicitya-</i>	<i>xicitye-</i>	<i>xicity(e)-o</i>
<i>xilafnay</i>	‘distract’ (TR)	<i>xilafna-</i>	<i>xilafn-</i>	<i>xilafn-o</i>
<i>xiniknay</i>	‘strangle’ (INTR)	<i>xinikna-</i>	<i>xinikn-</i>	<i>xinikn-o</i>
<i>xinikyay</i>	‘suffocate’ (INTR)	<i>xinikya-</i>	<i>xinikye-</i>	<i>xiniky(e)-o</i>
<i>xirabnay</i>	‘make worse’ (TR)	<i>xirabna-</i>	<i>xirabn-</i>	<i>xirabn-o</i>
<i>xirabyay</i>	‘get worse’ (INTR)	<i>xirabya-</i>	<i>xirabye-</i>	<i>xiraby(e)-o</i>
<i>xirimnay=re</i>	‘munch’ (TR)	<i>xirimna=re</i>	<i>xirimn=re</i>	<i>xirimn-o=re</i>
<i>xirimyay</i>	‘boom’ (INTR)	<i>xirimya-</i>	<i>xirmye-</i>	<i>xirmy(e)-o</i>
<i>xisnay</i>	‘to castrate’ (TR)	<i>xisna-</i>	<i>xisn-</i>	<i>xisn-o</i>
<i>xisyay</i>	‘be castrated’ (INTR)			
		<i>xisya-</i>	<i>xisye-</i>	<i>xisy(e)-o</i>
<i>xişnay</i>	‘drag on earth’ (TR)			
		<i>xişna-</i>	<i>xişn-</i>	<i>xişn-o</i>
<i>xizay</i>	‘slip’ (INTR)	<i>xiza-</i>	<i>xiz-</i>	<i>xiz-o</i>
<i>xulnay</i>	‘spin’ (TR)	<i>xulna-</i>	<i>xuln-</i>	<i>xuln-o</i>
<i>xulqnay</i>	‘create’ (TR)	<i>xulqna-</i>	<i>xulqn-</i>	<i>xulqn-o</i>
<i>xulyay</i>	‘spin, wander’ (INTR)			
		<i>xulya-</i>	<i>xulye-</i>	<i>xuly(e)-o</i>
<i>xuřay</i>	‘shout’ (TR)	<i>xuřa-</i>	<i>xuř-</i>	<i>xuř-o</i>
<i>xuřay wene</i>	‘shout at’ (TR)	<i>xuřa- wene</i>	<i>xuř- wene</i>	<i>xuř-o wene</i>
<i>xuway</i>	‘laugh’ (INTR)	<i>xuwa-</i>	<i>xuw-</i>	<i>xuw-o</i>
<i>yaray</i>	‘dare’ (INTR)	<i>yara-</i>	<i>yar-</i>	<i>yar-o</i>
<i>yaway</i>	‘arrive’ (INTR)	<i>yawa-</i>	<i>yaw-</i>	<i>yaw-o</i>
<i>yaway=we</i>	‘spread’ (TR)	<i>yawa=we</i>	<i>yaw=we</i>	<i>yaw-o=we</i>
<i>yawnay</i>	‘cause to arrive’ (TR)			
		<i>yawna-</i>	<i>yawn-</i>	<i>yawn-o</i>
<i>yawyay=we</i>	‘spread’ (INTR)	<i>yawya=we</i>	<i>yawye=we</i>	<i>yawy(e)-o=we</i>
<i>yostey=we</i>	‘find’ (TR)	<i>yos(t)=we</i>	<i>yož=we</i>	<i>yož-o=we</i>
<i>zanay</i>	‘know’ (TR)	<i>zana-</i>	<i>zan-</i>	<i>zan-o</i>

C Verb list

<i>zay</i>	‘give birth’ (INTR)	<i>za-</i>	<i>z-</i>	<i>mi-z-o</i>
<i>zinay</i>	‘create’ (INTR)	<i>zinî-</i>	<i>zn-</i>	<i>mi-zn-o</i>
<i>zinay=re</i>	‘take out’ (TR)	<i>zina=re</i>	<i>zin=re</i>	<i>zin-o=re</i>
<i>zîyay=re</i>	‘go out’ (INTR)	<i>zîya=re</i>	<i>zîye=re</i>	<i>mi-zîy(e)-o=re</i>
<i>jenay</i>	‘shut, play’ (INTR)	<i>jena-</i>	<i>jen-</i>	<i>jen-o</i>
<i>jîteqnay</i>	‘squash’ (TR)	<i>jîteqna-</i>	<i>jîteqn-</i>	<i>jîteqn-o</i>
<i>jilewyay</i>	‘move’ (INTR)	<i>jilewya-</i>	<i>jilewye-</i>	<i>jilewy(e)-o</i>
<i>jimartey</i>	‘count in number’ (TR)			
		<i>jimart-</i>	<i>jimar-</i>	<i>jimar-o</i>
<i>jinasay</i>	‘know’ (TR)	<i>jinasa-</i>	<i>jinas-</i>	<i>mi-jnas-o</i>
<i>jinyey</i>	‘hear’ (TR)	<i>jinî-</i>	<i>jnew-</i>	<i>mi-jnew-o</i>
<i>jîway</i>	‘live’ (INTR)	<i>jîwa-</i>	<i>jîw-</i>	<i>jîw-o</i>

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358, 386, 392, 394, 434

A grammar of Hewramî

This book is a comprehensive grammatical description of the Hewramî variety of Tekht, grounded in current linguistic methods. Hewramî is one of the most morphologically complex West Iranian languages. It is spoken by several thousand people in the high mountainous Hewraman region situated between Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan.

This work is primarily based on a corpus of 46 narratives, collected during several trips to the Hewraman region between 2016 and 2023. This corpus was supplemented by elicitation tasks to provide a detailed account of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Hewramî. Additionally, the grammar touches on prosody and information structure. The analysis is grounded in linguistic theory, particularly informed by the functional-typological approach.