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GORANI IN ITS HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

Edited by Shuan Osman Karim and Saloumeh Gholami

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I Introduction

Shuan Osman Karim and Saloumeh Gholami

1 Gorani in its historical and linguistic context

Abstract: Gorani refers alternately to a subgroup of the Iranian languages spoken in the borderlands between Iraq and Iran with small islands of speakers stippling the map from the Iranian border to Nineveh or to a literary standard used widely until the decline of the Ardalan dynasty in the 19th century. Here, we explore both these uses of the term to understand the place of Gorani varieties among the regional languages. The role of Gorani has, at times, been the local idiom of minoritized groups or a prestigious literary standard. Gorani and its speakers have substantially impacted its neighbors, including Neo-Aramaic, Southern and Central Kurdish, and Laki. It has been the chosen literary language and spoken vernacular of various religious groups. The conservative character of Gorani varieties has made it essential to understand Iranian dialectology. Here, we explore all aspects of Gorani, explicitly focusing on its diachronic and sociolinguistic developments and the history of its study.

Keywords: Gorani, Laki, Kurdish, Neo-Aramaic, Diachrony, Language Contact, Literature

1 Overview of Gorani and its significance

In Western academia, "Gorani" refers to a group of under-documented and endangered language varieties spoken in the Zagros Mountains of Iran and northern Iraq. Despite the relatively small number of academic works devoted to Gorani, the language is vital for Iranian studies and linguistics. The term "Gorani" is represented variably in literature. It is spelled as "Gorani", aligning with the Hawrami and Sorani pronunciation (e.g., MacKenzie 2002), and as "Gūranī", reflecting the South Kurdish pronunciation (e.g., Bailey 2016). Various comprehensive studies on Gorani varieties are available, one notable example being in Haig's work (2019: 295). The core of the Gorani-speaking area is the Mountainous Hawraman region in the Western-Iranian provinces of Kurdistan and Kermanshah. It is well-established by scholars, including MacKenzie (2002), that Hawrami once had a wider distribution, which was then displaced by Kurdish

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and other varieties. The islands of Gorani speech in Iraq from between Halabja and Xanaqīn till the Mosul plane suggest an earlier far-reaching Gorani continuum.

Gorani represents a unique linguistic group within the Iranian language family. Its distinct phonetic, morphological, and syntactic features offer insights into the diversity and complexity of Iranian languages.

Gorani's uniqueness reinforces its status as a crucial link in tracing the historical development of Iranian languages. Gorani, in general, and Hawrami, in particular, are known to be particularly conservative compared to other Western Iranian languages.[1] Gorani's conservative qualities likely influenced scholars such as Izady (1992) and Fattah (2000) to sub-categorize Gorani with Zazaki. Zazaki is also characterized by rich complexity, especially in its nominal morphology, complexity often being equated to conservatism. According to Paul (1998b) and Karim (2021), if you also take into account other grammatical features that influence the morphological markers like attribution (genitival and attributive), animacy (animate and inanimate), and definiteness (definite, indefinite, and absolute), the number of paradigm cells increases exponentially. The rich complexity of Zazaki led Paul (1998: 172) to remark "why [the Middle Iranian language] Parthian, spoken nearly 2000 years ago, should be in its noun morphology more modern than any of the closely related NW varieties spoken today".[2] Due to this conservatism, both language groups, Zazaki and Gorani, are likely to have an outsized influence on the scholarly understanding of the historical development of the Iranian languages.

Gorani's conservative elements can shed light on the evolutionary paths of modern Iranian languages, aiding linguists in reconstructing the near ancestors of the modern Iranian languages and understanding linguistic shifts over time. The archaisms in the Gorani nominal system include the preservation of case, number, and gender and an innovative system for attribution marking. Among several noun classes, the most common – the first class – features masculine singular nominals ending in *-ø* and feminine singular nominals ending in *-e*. This declension is highly distinctive, with unique formatives in every cell, except for one notable case: there is syncretism between the feminine singular oblique and the direct plural, as illus-

1 In this work, we use the term Western Iranian in its original sense as a reference to both the Southwestern and Northwestern Iranian languages. Note that the original geographic distinctions have been questioned in recent years, and it is now thought that the two groups are only distantly related to each other. However, as the separation of the Southwestern group and the Northwestern group is generally upheld despite the change in relationship with each other, we use Western Iranian as a cover term for the two groups (for more on the current state of these subgroupings, see Korn 2016; 2019)

2 Note that Karim (2021: ch. 4–5) suggests that the conservatism of Zazaki (and Northern Kurdish) might actually be an innovation in one facet of the grammar while paradoxically preserving seemingly archaic features in another.

trated in Table 1. According to Arkadiev (2007: 694), this type of syncretism is unique to Iranian languages. The presence of this syncretism in various Iranian language varieties indicates its importance, necessitating consideration in the reconstruction of many of the immediate ancestors of the "New" Iranian languages.

Table 1: Hawrami Luhon 1st declension 'old' (adapted from MacKenzie 1966: 14).

	M.SG	F.SG	PL
DIR	*pîr-ø*	*pîr-e*	*pîr-ê*
OBL	*pîr-î*	*pîr-ê*	*pîr-a*

The Hawrami second declension class is slightly less distinguished, with masculine singular nominals ending in *-e* and feminine singular nominals ending in *-ê.* This class also features the syncretism of the 1st declension class, adding to it the feminine singular direct case (Table 2).

Table 2: Hawrami Luhon 2nd declension 'old (things)' (adapted from MacKenzie 1966: 14).

	M.SG	F.SG	PL
DIR	*kon-e*	*kon-ê*	*kon-ê*
OBL	*kon-ey*	*kon-ê*	*kon-a*

The Hawrami second declension class is the likely reflex of the *-ag extension. This assertion is based on the fact that the past participle belongs to the second class, e.g., *kere, kerê, kerê* 'done', [M.SG.DIR], [F.SG.DIR], and [PL.DIR], respectively. The cognate forms in other Iranian languages, such as Northern Kurdish *kirî,* Central Kurdish (Suleymani) *kirdû,* Central Kurdish (Sine) *kirdig*, New Persian *kærde,* Balochi *kardag,* etc., show that these are the reflexes of the Middle Iranian *-ag participle (also *-ig and *-ug). The *-ag participle itself was the reflex of the Proto-Indo-Iranian *-(V)kă extension, which, according to Whitney (1993: §1222), attached to a variety of bases to create adjectives of appurtenance, diminutives, and sometimes imparted no discernible meaning. In other contexts, these same formatives developed into definiteness markers (following Nourzaei 2020), including the Hawrami *-eke*, implying different phonological developments in different contexts. The development of a separate declension class in Hawrami from the forms with an *-ag extension has parallels across the Iranian world. For instance, the *-ag extension is the

source of the third declension in Pashto (Table 3). Note the syncretism between direct singular, oblique singular, and direct plural in the feminine, shared with the Hawrami second declension, despite Pashto's genealogical distance from Gorani.

Table 3: Pashto 3rd declension 'dog' (David 2014: 84–86).

	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
DIR	*sp-áy*	*sp-í*	*sp- áy*	*sp-áy*
OBL	*sp-í*	*sp-ó*	*sp- áy*	*sp-áyo*

The existence of this conservative *-ag declension also links Gorani with Zazaki according to Gippert's (2009:90) suggestion that the Zazaki masculine singular oblique ending has descended from masculine nouns in *-a-ka (not other classes). There are several insights that this comparative evidence gives us when reconstructing early Iranian:

(1) Whenever we observe the pattern of syncretism between oblique singular and direct plural, the *-ag participle emerges as a likely candidate for reconstructing that declension class.

(2) Various phenomena associated with *-ag participles and their reflexes can be postulated for the common ancestor of these forms. For instance, the *-ag extension is responsible for the colloquial New Persian definiteness marker *–(h)e* (following Jahani 2015, Nourzaei 2022, etc.). Reflexes in Zazaki (Paul 1998b), Vafsi (Stilo 2008), Pashto (David 2014), etc., show a definiteness and animacy distinction on nouns purportedly having this extension. No systematic corpus-based study has investigated the effects of definiteness and animacy on differential case marking in these languages. However, grammatical studies have identified differential case marking in Hawrami, Northern Kurdish, Vafsi, and Zazaki. The extent to which definiteness and animacy influence case marking in Northern Kurdish and Hawrami remains an open question.

There are further archaisms and developments in Gorani grammar that shed light on the lateness of many changes, including the preservation of the active participle in the form of the copula *hen, hene, henê*, etc. 'is [3sg.M], is [3SG.F], are[3PL]' < Proto-Iranian *hant-.[3] These conservative features and others will continue to provide insight into historical developments in languages across the Iranian world.

3 The theory that the Hawrami copula *hen* is the reflex of the active participle of 'be' Old Iranian *hant (< PIE *Hes) is well-known in Iranian linguistic circles. However, this is not the only proposal.

In addition to the historical linguistic insights that can be gleaned from Gorani varieties, the study of Gorani provides valuable information on the historical sociolinguistic interactions among various ethnic and linguistic groups in the region. For instance, using a copula from the historical imperfective present participle described in the previous paragraph is an uncommon feature in Iranian languages. However, it is ubiquitous in the Northeastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) varieties historically spoken in the same towns and villages as Hawrami. Note the past imperfective form of the copula in the NENA dialect of the Jews of Sanandaj, *'yēlē'*, derived from the imperfective active participle of the root 'h-w-y' `to be' (Khan & Mohammadirad 2023: 176). This form ultimately descends from the participle *pāʕel* form of the copula, with a shift from *w* to *y* unique to this variety, which was in contact with Gorani. The influence of Gorani varieties on neighboring Neo-Aramaic, Central Kurdish, Southern Kurdish, and Laki languages serves as a linguistic testament to historical socio-cultural exchanges in the region.

Furthermore, the immense diversity between Gorani varieties is fertile ground for dialectological research. For instance, Gorani varieties tend to have a rich pronominal system with pronouns *îne, ane, ûne, ewe, eð,* and *að*, which encode speaker, listener, and far deixis, as well as animacy and have various uses. The precise set of pronouns and their function constitutes an isogloss among Gorani varieties. The Gorani varieties spoken outside the Zagros in Iraq show different phonological developments from their core Hawrami sisters. For instance, the Shabaki varieties do not show the effects of the *Zagros d* sound shift by which postvocalic /d/ surfaces as an approximate represented here as *ð*. This difference can be observed when comparing Hawrami Luhon's *êð* 'he[PROX]' (MacKenzie 1966: 25) with Shabaki's *êd* 's/he' (MacKenzie 1956: 420).

Other morphological isoglosses include the phonologically conditioned loss of the present indicative/imperfective prefix *me-*, occurring with verbs that begin with specific consonant sequences. Compare Hawrami Taxt's *zanû* 'I know' (Mohammadirad in prep), Hawrami Luhon *mizanû* 'I know' (MacKenzie 1966: 70), Paweyane *mezanû* 'I know' (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2019: 554), and Shabaki *mezanî* 'I know' (MacKenzie 1956: 429). Additionally, the Paweyane variety exhibits a second-person singular past imperfective ending *-şî*, which may represent the preservation of the Proto-Indo-Iranian second-person singular *š/h formative, ultimately derived from Proto-Indo-European (PIE) *s. This retention suggests that the loss of this formative in most varieties represents a relatively late shift and thus may

Another possibility is that *hen* is the result of the existential prefix *he-* (also from the root *Hes) and a demonstrative element, e.g., *ne*, the result of a reparsing of the demonstrative circumpositon *în=e* > î=ne (p.c. with Masoud Mohammadirad).

not be a significant development for establishing genealogical subgroupings. Ultimately, these and other isoglosses assist linguists in evaluating and understanding regional linguistic variations within the Iranian linguistic sphere, contributing to broader dialectal mapping and comparative studies.

The unique vocabulary and grammatical structures of Gorani offer a wealth of information for lexicographers and grammarians. One example of this is conservatism in the formation of verbal stems. One feature indicative of Iranian languages is suppletive present- and past-tense verbal stems. The present-tense (non-past) stem descended from finite verbal forms, and the past-tense stem descended from the historical past participle in *-ta. For example, the New Persian verb 'to do' shows the stem *kon-* in the present and *kard-* in the past. The equivalent in Hawrami recruited another present stem allomorph yielding *ker-* and *kerd*, respectively. Gorani varieties have preserved many suppletive forms, e.g., Shabaki *gn-/ket-* 'fall' (MacKenzie 1956: 422), Hawrami Luhon *gin-/kewt-* (MacKenzie 1966: 100) cf. Vafsi *gen-/kætt-* (Stilo 2018: 711), etc.

This suppletion tends to be regularized in different varieties. For instance, Central Kurdish shows strong suppletion[4] on the verb 'to see' with the present-tense stem *bîn-* and the past-tense stem *dî(t)-*. The past-tense stem of 'to see' is regularized in some Central Kurdish varieties, e.g., Silêmanî: *bîn-/bînî-*. Older speakers use the inherited de-participial past-tense stems in the Hawrami variety spoken in Hawraman Taxt. In comparison, younger speakers tend to regularize them by adding the past suffix *-a* to the present tense stem, e.g., *taş-/taşt- vs. taş-/taşa-* 'to shave' (Mohammadirad in prep). The same pattern is observed with the Hawrami verb 'to see', which typically shows strong suppletion with the forms *wîn-/dîe-*. However, some speakers regularize it, showing *wîn-/wîna.* The regularization strategy can be seen as an isogloss among regional languages. Northern and Central Kurdish tend to regularize with the *-īd extension; Gorani tends to regularize with the *-ād extension and Southern Kurdish tends to regularize with various strategies, including the *-ist extension. These features and others in the conservative Gorani lexicon provide valuable comparative data for the grammatical analysis of Iranian languages.

Gorani also plays a significant role in studies related to language and identity. It offers insights into how language functions as a marker of ethnic and cultural identity, particularly in a multilingual and multi-ethnic context. The region where Gorani is spoken is highly multilingual, with Gorani varieties including Hawrami,

4 "Strong suppletion" is defined as suppletion from ultimately different etyma. In contrast, "weak suppletion" is defined as suppletion that developed from language-internal phonological changes that obscure the etymological unity of forms. See Kim (2019) for copious examples of both types of suppletion and examples of their development.

Northern, Central and Southern Kurdish, Laki, Luri, Neo-Aramaic, and Turkic varieties. Despite this high level of multilingualism, ethnic and linguistic identity are not perfectly coupled. Western linguistic ideologies that enforce a strict one-ethnicity-one-language correspondence are relatively new ideas in the region. Speakers of Gorani varieties can identify as Kurdish, Hawrami, Gorani, or part of the regional Hegemonic identity, Persian, Arab, etc.

Political issues complicate the ethnic and linguistic identities of various regional groups. Recognizing these languages as separate linguistic units is often coupled with political ideologies that seek to separate these groups into different ethnic identities. This type of movement has its roots in native-born desires for the equitable treatment of the local language and customs of groups within a unified "Kurdish" community and in externally imposed efforts to promote disunity and discord among groups minoritized within the nation-states. One example of the latter strategy was an effort to Arabize the Shabak as part of the Anfal genocide campaign conducted against Kurds in Iraq by Sadam Hussein and his cohort. According to Leezenberg (1994: 9), the irony of the mistreatment by the government combined with the attempts at Arabization led a Shabak to ask, "if we are Arabs as they say we are, then why did they deport us like the other Kurds?"

The study of Gorani faces numerous methodological challenges, particularly in data collection, which significantly affects the quality and validity of the data. This issue is evident in the works of scholars like Benedictsen and Mann. These early researchers had to rely on a minimal pool of informants and often conducted their work under highly unfavorable conditions. They encountered suspicion and hostility, frequently forcing them to conclude their fieldwork prematurely.

Furthermore, the current situation in the regions where Gorani is spoken remains complex, posing significant obstacles to conducting fieldwork that meets the high standards of language documentation. The variability of data and difficulty obtaining a comprehensive and representative sample continue to be significant hurdles in Gorani studies. Ensuring the reliability and accuracy of collected data under these circumstances is challenging, and overcoming these obstacles is crucial for advancing our understanding of the Gorani language and its nuances.

Using terminology in past research was not always reliable, as colonial interests and an oversimplification of complex situations heavily influenced it. This simplification was often a result of limited access to the community and a lack of understanding of the real circumstances. Despite their problematic nature, these concepts have been taken seriously in subsequent years and continue to be considered valid. However, little effort has been made to decolonize and thoroughly understand them or to address their problematic aspects. In the following sections, we discuss several of these problems.

2 Complexities in Gorani studies: An overview

The investigation of Gorani encompasses a range of intricate challenges that have captivated linguists, anthropologists, and regional specialists for years. Among the significant linguistic complexities are the subdivisions and genealogy of Gorani (section 2.1.), the challenges in defining a unified Zaza-Gorani group (section 2.2), and the evaluation of the out-of-the-Caspian hypothesis (section 2.3). From a sociolinguistic perspective, the nuanced usage of Gorani as both an endonym and exonym (see section 2.4), along with Gorani's intricate relationship to Kurdish identity (refer to section 2.5), are significant areas of complexity. The subsequent section will delve into these issues in greater detail:

2.1 Subdivisions and genealogy

Establishing the precise relationships between literary and spoken varieties of Gorani/Hawrami is significantly limited by two main factors. Comparison between spoken varieties is made difficult by the lack of documentation and the extreme endangerment of these varieties. The literary language is difficult to place in the genealogy of these languages because its precise qualities are not necessarily apparent from the text. For instance, the Perso-Arabic script does not accurately represent vowel (and sometimes consonant) quality. As such, the texts do not represent many sound changes that serve as isoglosses among the spoken varieties. According to a proposal by Karami and Gholami (Chapter 2 of this volume), the language we now know as literary Gorani is likely a formulaic version of spoken Hawrami, transformed by L2 speakers in a relationship of diglossia with their local varieties. Speakers learned Hawrami for its use in poetry and its association with Muslim and Yaresani religious traditions. Note that because literary Gorani absorbed and was transformed by speakers of other languages, it does not aid in assessing the genealogical developments within Gorani. Because of this unique cline of development, it may be more accurate to view literary Gorani as a "tree of one", much like historical linguists view Pidgins, Creoles, and Mixed Languages.

As for the spoken languages, it is recognized that there is a Hawrami core of Gorani representing what are widely thought to be the most conservative varieties (see MacKenzie 1966: 4). In addition to the Hawrami core, there are peripheral varieties spoken outside of Hawraman, such as Paweyane (as discussed in Christensen & Benedictsen, 1921), Zerdeyane (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey, 2013), and Gawrajui (Mahmoudveysi et al., 2012). These varieties are generally considered less conservative than the core Hawrami varieties, particularly evident in the case of Gawrajui. This variety has adopted many morphological features from neighbor-

ing Kurdish varieties. For instance, Gawrajui exhibits present tense verbal endings similar to Kurdish ones (see Table 4). Notably, except for the second-person singular and the vowel quality of the first-person plural, the personal affix markers in Gawrajui are more closely aligned with Southern Kurdish than with genetically related Hawrami Luhon.

Table 4: Present-tense affix person markers in Gorani and Southern Kurdish.

	H Luhon	G Gawraju	SK Kolyâi
1sg	*-û*	*-m*	*-m*
2sg	*-î*	*-î*	*-î*
3sg	*-o*	*-ê*	*-ê*
1pl	*-mê*	*-am*	*-îm*
2pl	*-dê*	*-e*	*-n*
3pl	*-a*	*-n*	*-n*

Hawrami varieties are spoken at high elevations in the Mountainous Hawraman region. Speakers of core Hawrami varieties are often fluent in other local languages. In contrast, speakers of other regional languages (Central and Southern Kurdish, Northeastern Neo-Aramaic, Persian, Laki, Luri, Turkic, etc.) do not tend to learn Hawrami as an additional language. This socio-linguistic situation is undoubtedly true today. However, this may be a recent development after the end of the diglossic situation described by Karami and Gholami (Chapter 2 of this volume).

The variety spoken in Pawe City (Iran), Paweyane, is often grouped among the innovative non-core varieties. However, it is crucial to remember that all varieties retain some inherited features, no matter how innovative. Moreover, some of those retained features could be preserved there and not anywhere else. One possible feature of this type is the second-person singular imperfective suffix *bêşî* [be. IPFV.2SG] (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2019: 550). The rest of the Gorani varieties, which have a separate past imperfective (i.e., not just a combination of the present-tense imperfective marker *me-* and the past tense stem), feature the form *bênî*. Although it has never been studied directly, the *ş* Paweyane form resembles the original *s formative (palatalized under the RUKI rule). Likewise, the present-tense imperfective/indicative marker *me-* occurs with 100% of verbs, while in core Hawrami, it only occurs with approximately 20% of verbs (see Karim & Mohammadirad, in review). The Hawrami division of verbs into classes that take the marker or do not is undoubtedly the more complicated situation and not entirely predictable synchronically. However, Karim & Mohammadirad show, as MacKenzie (1966: 32) suggested, that the m- prefix placement in Hawrami (Taxt and Luhon) is phonologi-

cally conditioned. This distribution implies that all verbs originally had the marker, which was subsequently lost in specific contexts. Additionally, this places Paweyane in the more conservative category according to this one isogloss. An innovation in the Paweyane dialect is the loss of gender marking in the first- and second-person plural of the perfect construction. For comparison, in H Luhon, we have masculine singular forms like *kerd-e-n-a* [do.PST-PTCP.SG.M-COP-1SG] and *kerd-ê-n-a* [do.PST-PTCPL.SG.F-COP-1SG], whereas in Paweyane, the equivalent form is *kerdê-n-an* [do.PST.PTCPL-COP-1SG], lacking gender distinction.

No systematic study has ever been conducted to establish the subgroupings of Gorani. Hints to a subgrouping can be found in studies of single historical changes (e.g., Karim and Mohammadirad, in review). For instance, several sound changes occurred during the loss of the imperfective prefix in core Hewramî varieties, altering the present imperfective's form (affirmative and negative). In (1), we summarize the changes presented in Karim and Mohammadirad (in review). The original imperfective marker in the vast majority of Gorani is *me-* as exemplified by the Paweyane forms in (1a). There is a pretonic reduction of the vowel *e* to *i* or *ø*, depending on the syllabification. At this point, there is a split where some varieties extend the phonologically-conditioned *mi-* prefix to the negative contexts, as Qałā and Zerdeyane in (1c2). The rest of Hewramî loses the vowel *i*, changing the stress location in the negative (1c1) and reducing the initial consonant clusters (1d1), preserved in the variety of Bzłana. Finally, the *nm* cluster is reduced, the most common result in core Hewramî varieties.

(1)	a.	*me-*	*ker*	*-ó*	~	*ní-*	*me-*	*ker*	*-o*	(Pawe)
	b.	**mi-**	ker	-ó		ní-	me-	ker	-o	
	c1.	m-	ker	-ó		**n-**	**mé-**	ker	-o	
	d1.	***ø-***	*ker*	*-ó*		*n-*	*mé-*	*ker*	*-o*	(Bzłana)
	e1.	*ø-*	*ker*	*-ó*		*ø-*	*mé-*	*ker*	*-o*	(Text)
	c2.	*mi-*	*ker*	*-ó*		*ní-*	***m-***	*ker*	*-o*	(Qałā)
		IPFV-	do.PRS	-3SG		NEG-	IPFV-	do.PRS	-3SG	
		's/he does.'								

If we examine only the feature of imperfective marking, there are several clear divisions: (1) the *mi- ním-* varieties like Qałā and Zerdeyane that diverged early in the relative chronology; (2) the *ø-/mé* group including most of core Hewramî, Taxt, Lohun, etc. (Bzłana branched off from this group before the loss of the nasal); and the *me-/níme-* group, which represents no change.

It is well established that the "only generally accepted criterion for subgrouping is shared innovation" (Campbell 2013: 175). As such, this discussion of what can be considered innovation is an integral part of the discussion on the relationships

between Gorani varieties. However, no such study has ever been conducted. The current genealogical divisions of Hawrami are based on superficial similarity and geographic unity. It is unclear whether the known groupings correspond to regional divisions in Hawraman: Hawraman-i Luhon Hawraman-i Taxt, Šāmyān and Dizlī, Hawraman Řazāw-u Kamara, Hawraman Gāwaro, and Hawraman Žāwaro (see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2019: 534).

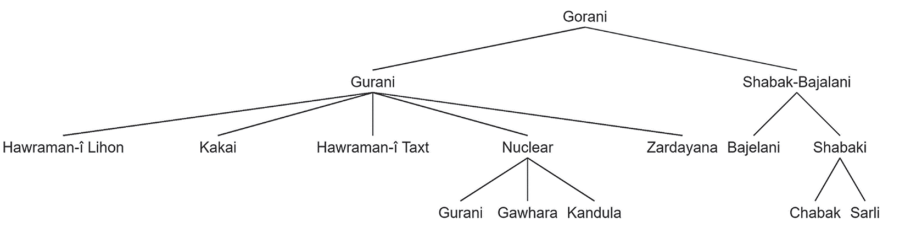

Figure 1: Tree of Gorani (based on Hammarström et al. 2020).

Note that the tree in Figure 1, based on the family tree from Glottolog, does not accurately reflect what is known about the grammar or geography of Gorani varieties. It is not immediately clear if the tree represents a distribution based on superficial similarity. Even if one were to agree with subgroupings containing both Shabaki and Bajalani hypothetically, there is no reason why other varieties like Kakai would not equally fit into that group. Little evidence suggests that Shabaki and Bajalani are linguistically distinct entities. According to MacKenzie (1956), the distinction is between Shabaki, the language and Bajalani, the tribe. According to Karim's fieldnotes, many speakers who identify as Shabak and speakers of Shabaki recognize the difference as a religious distinction: Shabaki (Sunni), Bajalani (Shi'i), and Kakai (Yarsani). Unfortunately, these varieties are sufficiently underdocumented, rendering all attempts to classify them speculative at best.

The arbitrariness of the tree in Figure 1 is further exemplified by the omission of certain varieties, such as the relatively well-studied Paweyane, and the inclusion of a group labeled 'Nuclear Gorani'. 'Nuclear Gorani' suggests a core, dense concentration of Gorani speakers. However, these varieties are spoken outside the Hawrami core, which MacKenzie (1966: 4) referred to as 'probably the most archaic.' Given the preliminary stage of Gorani research, scholars should exercise caution in creating genealogical trees. This caution is particularly warranted when considering the understudied Gorani varieties spoken in Iraq, far from both the Hawrami core and periphery. These include Shabaki, Bajalani, Sarli, Maço, and Zangana, among others. At this point, no definitive conclusions about their relationship to the varieties spoken in Hawraman or each other can be drawn.

2.2 The concept of a Zaza–Gorani language family

While the reasons for establishing the Zaza–Gorani language family do not appear to have been discussed explicitly, the language family has surprisingly been considered a relatively established subgroup of the northwestern Iranian languages. Benedictsen's (Benedictsen & Christensen 1921) and Oscar Mann's (Mann & Hadank 1932) views have played important roles in including this group within Iranian linguistics.

Benedictsen, who undertook fieldwork in the summer and autumn of 1901 in the west of Iran, stated that Awromânï and Zâzâ appeared to be isolated remnants of a group of ancient Iranian varieties that were more widespread and that their unity had been disrupted by the invasion of foreign peoples, particularly by the expansive movement of the Kurds (Benedictsen & Christensen 1921: 6). Over eight years later, in his letter of July 4, 1906, Oskar Mann mentioned that Zazaki and Gorani were closely related (Mann & Hadank 1932: 25).

In the broadest sense, a detailed comparison of Zazaki and Gorani can be traced back to 1932, beginning with the work of Mann and Hadank. Eleven years previously, E. B. Soane had highlighted the connection between Gorani and Zazaki. His theory was based on the fact that Zazaki shares 'the repugnance to initial *kh-*, giving initial *w*, where Avestic and Old Persian have initial *hw, hv*' with Gorani (Soane 1921: 60). He added that, 'Unlike Gorani, however, Zazaki is archaic in its numerals, particularly in terms of such words as *hirye* for 'three' and das for 'ten'' (Soane 1921: 60). Regarding this statement, Hadank pointed out that Soane overlooked the fact that the words *yerî* and yere for 'three' and *čûâr* 'four' were found in Kandūlayī and Hawrāmi (Mann & Hadank 1932: 24). In addition to the similarities that Hadank found between the Zazaki spoken in Siwerek and Kandūlayī, he established a list of differences between Gorani and Zazaki; these included differences in the field of phonology (containing sound levels for twelve nouns), as well as morphological characteristics, such as the conjugation system, present stem formation and the semantics of the present tense. Other salient differences that he mentioned included the lack of the durative prefix in Zazaki, the lack of the verbal particles *dô, -ô* and *wâ* in Gorani, differences in gender distinction, and the rare use of the determinative suffix in Zazaki.[5] However, despite this list of differences between Zazaki and Gorani, the topic of the independence of Zazaki and Gorani and their relationship to Kurdish remained unresolved. Many later works have been based on Hadank's list to a large extent.

5 Note the rare use of the determinative suffix in Zazaki that Mann & Hadank (1932) describe for Zazaki may be a misinterpretation of the *ek* diminutive extension, i.e., *keynek* 'girl'.

The close relationship of Zazaki and Gorani has been theorized in various works, including those by Blau (1989) and Paul (2009). Blau (1989: 337) pointed out that, despite the linguistic neighborhood and the speakers' deep feeling of belonging to the Kurdish national entity, these two languages could not be linked to Kurdish because they had not undergone the transformations that characterize Kurdish. Paul suggested that, linguistically, Zazaki was a Northwestern Iranian language that was more closely related to Gorani and the (Iranian) Azari varieties than it was to Kurdish (Paul 2009: 545). In addition to an overview of morphological and syntactic isoglosses (mainly taken from Tedesco 1921) across the Iranian speech area to 'present the typological dynamics of the Iranian languages through time and space', Windfuhr (2009: 5–42) noted several similarities between Zazaki and Gorani, including features such as the use of the imperfective and the irrealis marker *-en* (the Parthian optative *-ēndē*), word order (N-EZ1 ADJ) and the development of *z, sp, (h)r, s, w, b, rz, r.* According to Windfuhr, the continuum of isoglosses on both sides of the Alborz range reconstructed the linguistic situation during Parthian times and supported the suggestions of various other scholars (Windfuhr 2009: 30).

In his article 'The position of Zazaki among West Iranian Languages', Paul (1998) evaluated the outcomes of certain Proto-Indo-European consonants and consonant clusters in Parthian and several modern Iranian languages. These included Persian, Gorani, Āzari, Zazaki, Tāleši, Semnani, Caspian varieties, and dialects of central Iran, Balochi, and Kurmanji (referred to by Paul as Kurdish). This evaluation led him to categorize Zazaki, along with Gorani, Āzarī, and Tāleši, as part of the 'most northern' western Iranian dialects. He noted that Zazaki was closer to 'southern' Persian than Gōrānī and Āzarī, primarily because Zazaki shared the development of *y- to *ǰ-* with Persian (Paul 1998: 174). Focusing on two morphological isoglosses – kinship *-r* and present tense in *-nt – he identified a similar northern belt of northwestern dialects. However, he placed Gorani closer to the periphery, with the Semnani group more central to the 'northernness'. Paul mentioned that historical phonology and morphology separated Gorani from the 'core of northernness', possibly due to Kurdish influence (Paul 1998: 174). Based on these findings, he proposed a historical migration theory confirming 'Zazaki's origin around the ancient region of Deylam south of the Caspian Sea at pre-Achaemenian times'. In his view, centuries later, probably during the Sasanian period, Kurdish pushed Zazaki in the west more north and northwest, maintaining contact with Azari, Semnani, Talešī, and Caspian languages. Echoing MacKenzie's (1961) perspective on Kurdish development, Paul suggested that 'Gorani, on the other hand, soon found itself surrounded by a sea of Kurdish. Eventually, it was reduced to small language islands, exerting considerable influence on southern and central Kurdish varieties' (Paul 1998: 175).

However, Jügel argued against this scenario. Indicating the fact that 'language communities may split and migrate', he noted:

> 'if Kurmanji spread into Gorani speaking territory and differences among Sorani and Kurmanji are due to the Gorani sub-stratum, it is hard to explain why today's Sorani does not have morphologically marked case, because today's Kurmanji and Gorani still preserve it' (Jügel 2014: 129).

Jügel (2014: 124) provided a comparative study of different Kurdish varieties in the same article. This study focused on selected features in the nominal system, including grammatical gender, case, and articles. It also examined verbal agreement, verbal stems, and encoding patterns of clausal agreements, such as object marking. The study suggests a relative chronology for the individuation of the languages discussed.

Another essential source regarding this topic is Haig and Öpengin's (2014) article Introduction to Special Issue, Kurdish: A critical research overview. Focusing on the presence of an initial [*w*-] in Zazaki words such as "eat" and "read/study", a feature also noted by Soane and found in Gorani, Haig and Öpengin (2014: 107, 110) argued against forming a distinct subgroup for Zaza and Gorani. They pointed out that this characteristic is also present in Balochi and considered this similarity insufficient evidence to propose a Zaza-Gorani group (Haig & Öpengin 2014: 107). This feature is also shared across the Caspian region.

A detailed systematic review of the arguments for and against establishing the Zazaki-Gorani group is still lacking. Clarifying the relationship of Zazaki and Gorani to each other and their connection to other Iranian languages is a crucial part of the future of Iranian linguistics. This task requires a detailed examination of the relationships between Zazaki and Kurdish and between Gorani and Kurdish. Additionally, it involves exploring the connections of both these languages with the Caspian group, aiming to test the Caspian homeland hypothesis. The most challenging aspect is identifying significant shared innovations that could be used to support a theory of a deeper relationship between Gorani and Zazaki or with the Caspian group. No comprehensive study has been conducted to date.

2.3 The validity of the out-of-the-Caspian hypothesis

The out-of-the-Caspian hypothesis primarily concerns the origin of the Zazas. Their endonym, Dimili, has some superficial similarities with the region of Daylam near the Caspian. Despite the known origin of this term from the name of a local tribe, scholars have proposed that the Zazas have their origins in Daylam. As mentioned above, Paul (1998) presented a picture of historical migrations that confirmed the theory

of 'Zazaki's origin around the ancient region of Deylam south of the Caspian Sea at pre-Achaemenian times'. In Paul's view, centuries later, probably during the Sasanian period, in the west, Zazaki 'was driven more to the north and northwest by Kurdish but remained in contact with other languages, Azari, Semnani, Talešī and Caspian'.

As with Zazaki, many scholars such as Minorsky (1943) and Blau (1989) have pointed out that the origin of the Goran might have been in the Caspian provinces, from whence the group first moved to southern Zagros at an unknown early date, with the Iraqi Goran group moving after them to their present positions (MacKenzie 2002). Citing Felix (1995) in terms of the earlier location of Zazaki in the mountainous region of Gilan and MacKenzie (2002) regarding the origin of Gorani in the Caspian provinces, it appears that Windfuhr suggested the close relationship of Gorani and Zazaki to the Caspian group and, probably indirectly, the independence of these languages from Kurdish. A detailed multilayered linguistic comparison of Gorani and Zazaki with the languages of the Caspian area is crucial to determine whether the origin of these languages could be from that region.

2.4 Gorani as endonym and exonym

The term "Goran" is employed both as an endonym and an exonym.[6] "Goran" has undergone significant semantic evolution throughout history, reflecting the complexities of linguistic and cultural identities among the community members and outsiders.

Understanding the precise meaning of "Goran" necessitates a comprehensive knowledge of the context in which the term is used. Crucial to this understanding is recognizing whether the term is being utilized by insiders (the Gorani community) or outsiders, as well as identifying the target audience group. The interpretation of "Goran" can vary markedly depending on who employs the term and to whom it is

6 Endonyms and exonyms are terms that can refer to place names, languages, as well as ethnic groups. The use of endonyms and exonyms for ethnic groups and their languages is a significant aspect of sociolinguistics and anthropology. It often encompasses issues of self-identification, cultural respect, and political recognition. Endonyms can be a vital part of a group's cultural heritage and identity, while exonyms may reflect historical, social, or political relationships with other groups or nations. Understanding and respecting these terms is crucial in cross-cultural communication and studies of ethnic and social groups.

Endonyms in the context of ethnic groups are the names that the members of the group use to refer to themselves. This is an expression of their own cultural and linguistic identity. For example, the people and language commonly known in English as the "German" refer to themselves and their language as "Deutsch" in their own language. In Persian, the exonym "Ālmānī" is used for Germans and their language "German".

directed. This distinction is not merely about vocabulary but also about recognizing the subtle nuances of intra-group and extra-group dynamics and hierarchies that shape the term's usage and meaning.

For instance, an individual in Pawe who self-identifies as Goran might choose to describe themselves as a Kurd when conversing with someone from Tehran or a German in Germany. This decision often stems from an understanding that outsiders might not recognize the distinction between Goran and Kurd. However, in interactions within their community, particularly with individuals who identify as Kurds, this person firmly maintains their Goran identity. In such contexts, they assert the distinctiveness of their ethnic and linguistic background, emphasizing the unique aspects of their Gorani heritage as separate from Kurdish identity. This nuanced self-identification highlights the complexities of ethnic and linguistic identities in the region.

While it is possible today to study the meaning of the term "Gorani" among community members, such a study has already been conducted (see Gholami 2023), and understanding its semantic value in a historical context is challenging. This difficulty arises from the lack of manuscripts, appropriate information regarding the production of the texts, and detailed knowledge about the authors, their languages, the histories of their lives, and the audience of those books.

The study of the term "Goran" reveals a broad spectrum of meanings and associations, each contributing to a complex and layered understanding of the community's identity. This diversity of interpretations highlights the intricate interweaving of historical, cultural, and social factors that shape the community's collective memory and sense of self.

Based on fieldwork involving 120 community members, as detailed in Gholami's 2023 research, the majority of participants believe that "Goran" means "noble" (*bozorg* in the Persian language). Another interpretation of the meaning of Goran includes an adjective for high-spiritedness and a term denoting places associated with grandees (in Persian: *ǰāy-gāh-e bozorgān*). Some informants associate "Goran" with Zoroastrianism, interpreting it as a variation of the term "Gabr", which has historically been a pejorative designation for Zoroastrians.

Furthermore, the interpretation of "Goran" as symbolizing "change", as indicated by a smaller group of informants, links it to the transformational themes in the Yāri religion. This meaning embodies the cyclical nature of life and death, highlighting the spiritual and philosophical dimensions. A smaller yet significant group perceives "Goran" as a geographical term or as the name of a religious leader, specifically Sulṭān Sahāk.

Additionally, less common interpretations further enrich the diversity of meanings. Views of "Goran" as a "name for God", "a regional language", or "a polo player" highlight the term's semantic complexity.

In a historical context, however, the situation is significantly more complicated. Our understanding of how community members have designated themselves is limited to only a few manuscripts and historical records.

The term "Goran" is frequently used as an ethnic designation in these limited sources. Additionally, the term "Kurd" is often used interchangeably with "Goran", indicating that the authors of these Texts may have considered Gorans to be either a subgroup of or integrated within the greater Kurdish ethnicity.

The name "Goran" as a Kurdish tribe appears in Sharafnāmeh by Sharaf al-Din Bitlisi, a 16th-century Kurdish historian, which chronicles Kurdish tribes, including the Gorans. Similarly, the Setāyesh-nāmeye Mostūfī by poet Mīrzā Maḥmūd Moṣtūfī (also known as Maḥzūn), published in 1932, mentions the Gorani family as part of Kurdish pride. In Jonge Ashʿār's colophon, a collection of Kurdish poets' works, the author self-identifies as Kurds.

The "Divan-e Gawra" manuscript features an author who identifies as a "Kurd from the mountains", while in Sheykh Madi's manuscript, the author describes himself as a "Kurdish poet." The family name Al-Kordi Al-Gorani, appearing in a 1678 manuscript titled "Eṯāf al-Khalaf be-taḥqīqe maẕhabe al-salaf", authored by Esmā'īl Al-Kordi Al-Gorānī, combines "Kordi" and "Gorani." This fusion of names further reinforces the inclusion of Gorani within the Kurdish identity.

Contrary to other manuscripts, a few, such as the poems of Sayedi, distinctively use "Goran" and "Kurd" in their marginal notes (see manuscript Nr. Or. 9872 at the Berlin State Library, fol. 117), suggesting a separate Goran identity. However, some orthographic evidence indicates that this marginal note was likely added later to the manuscript and may reflect a more recent concept regarding the independence of the Gorani from the Kurdish identity (Gholami 2023: 96).

Another oversimplification regarding using the term "Goran" lies in the failure to recognize the linguistic and religious diversity among the community's members. While some Gorans follow the Yārī religion (Ahl-e Haqq), others are Sunni Muslims. In regions like Khorramābād, Sarpol, and Shahābād, many Shiites are present, possibly originally Gorans who transitioned from Yārsān to Shia Islam. Additionally, the Gorans' language is not solely Hawrami; they also speak Central Kurdish varieties like Jāfi and Sorani and Southern Kurdish varieties such as Kalhori. This diversity creates ambiguity in defining the Goran community and culture. Misconceptions often arise from assuming homogeneity among the Gorans, such as believing they all follow the Yāri faith or exclusively speak Hawrami, overlooking the community's diverse reality. Thus, it is crucial to recognize and consider the Gorans' heterogeneity in discussions about them.

A prime illustration of this complexity is evident in the poems of ʿĀbedin Jaf (1320–1394 AH / 1902–1977 CE), composed in the Sorani Kurdish language. Jaf, a significant figure in the Yarsan religion, uses the terms "Kurd" and "Goran" in

his poems, potentially indicating different religious affiliations rather than ethnic identities.

He was born into a Sunni family in the city of Shahrezā. His poems, composed in a syllabic meter, mostly revolve around the Yarsan religion and are written in the Sorani language (Jāfi). In the verse below, he identifies himself as Kurd and distinguishes the audience or outgroup as Goran:

min kurdim tu ew Goran	"I am a Kurd, and you are a Goran."
meyke we de'way satûran	"Let us not engage in swordplay."
esłi tu kurd û esłi min gûran	"Your origin is Kurdish, mine is Gorani."
min tîrê mewzî we kêshûn wêran	"You throw an arrow at me and destroy me."

If we consider the ʿĀbedin Jaf as a Jaf Goran, speaking the Sorani language, it seems plausible that the term "Goran" in this poem refers to the Yarsan religion rather than an ethnicity since the poet was deeply devoted to Yārī religion, and the term "Kurd" likely refers to Sunni Muslims (see Gholami 2023). An alternative interpretation of this poem suggests that Jaf underscores the triviality of using designations like Kurd and Gorani, which can lead to conflict. Contrary to the first hemistich, where he identifies himself as a Kurd, in the third hemistich, he claims his origin as Goran. This apparent contradiction might imply that he views these designations as sources of unnecessary conflict.

In the Yārī Texts, the term "Goran" is frequently used to denote the "Yāri belief" and the "Yāri religion". Vali (2022) explores the Goran people's views on their ethnicity, language, and identity using secondary sources like Yāri editions. His research finds that the Gorans see themselves as Kurds and that Yāri writers consider Gorani not a separate language but a Kurdish dialect. Additionally, Vali points out the significance of the word "Gor" in Yārī belief, suggesting its crucial role in defining the identity of the Goran people.

In Western academic works, much like emic perspectives, the definition and identification of Gorani present considerable complexity. Individual and colonial perceptions deeply influence this complexity, the authors' degree of knowledge about the community, and their particular areas of expertise. When reviewing literature from the 18th and 19th centuries, including works by Rich (1836), Rawlinson (1898), Houtum-Schindler & Justi (1884), and Zhukovski (1888), we find that Gorani is primarily viewed as an ethnic or tribal name. These authors characterize the Gorans in various ways: Rich and Rawlinson describe them as Kurds, while others perceive them as mountain inhabitants, peasants, members of an inferior caste, or tribes. Rawlinson specifically refers to them as one of the unruly mountain tribes. Rich distinguishes between Gorans and Hawramis, noting that Gorans are settled

in specific areas. Houtum-Schindler categorizes Gorans into Black Goran and White Goran tribes and sheds light on their internal differentiation.

The works from the 20th century include Soane (1921), Benedictsen & Christensen (1921), Mann and Hadank (1930), and Minorski (1943). Oskar Mann, a field researcher in 1901, was among the first to observe the Goran people and their language directly. In Nowsud, he noted that Gorans were tent and village dwellers, listing six Goran clans in Qalʿ-e Zanir. Mann indicated that some Gorans also lived in other villages like Gahvāre, Tushāmi, and Chiqā Bur. Soane suggested that Gorani, seen as a Kurmanji term meaning 'bondmen' and 'peasants', refers to a diverse tribal group in the area. Minorski viewed the Gorans as an independent ethnicity with their language distinct from Kurdish, inhabiting the mountains north of the Baghdad-Kermanshah highway.

Works from the 20th century elaborate more on Gorani as an independent language. Soane proposed that Gorani might be a Persian dialect isolated from Modern Persian's evolution due to its mountainous location. He argued that it is not a Kurdish dialect spoken by various tribes but is being replaced by Kurmanji. Soane also noted linguistic similarities between Gorani and Zazaki and mentioned the decline of the Ardalan dynasty's impact on the Gorani language.

The classification of Hawrami's subgroup of Gorani, as initially suggested by Mann and Hadank and later echoed by scholars such as MacKenzie (1965), Blau (1996), Mahmoudveysi (2016), Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012), and Bailey (2018), presents a perspective that may simplify a complex and multifaceted situation. The issue arises in determining whether Hawrami and Gorani represent a single ethnicity and language. Regarding the language aspect, the question is whether they embody different forms of a language, such as high and low varieties in a diglossic situation (as discussed in Chapter 2, this volume), or if they should be considered as two distinct languages. If the latter is the case, it becomes crucial to identify what grammatical features support the notion of these two varieties being separate languages.

The debate over whether Gorani should be regarded as a subgroup of Hawrami or vice versa has sparked serious discussions, particularly among the region's elites.[7] The preference for using "Goran" over "Hawram" by a group of elites in the region aims to assert Gorani's independence from Kurdish, especially since "Hawrami" is closely associated with Kurdish. Emphasizing "Gorani" as an inde-

7 Elites refer to influential individuals and organizations within the Gorani community, which includes academics, social activists, and writers. These elites are significant in shaping public discourse, especially through social media platforms. They use these platforms to spread their views to a larger audience, further their interests, and promote their ideologies on various topics (for more information see Gholami 2023: 102–103).

pendent identity becomes a strategy to preserve its distinctiveness. This perspective is reflected in the work of local scholars like Sajadi, who use the term "Zabān-e Goran" in his translation (Sajjadi 2021) for Mackenzie's 1966 book "The Dialect of Awroman (Hawraman-ī Luhon)". Through this approach, they view Hawrami as a subgroup of Gorani and emphasize Gorani's independence from Kurdish.

Some elites view the use of "Hawrami" instead of "Gorani" as a betrayal, believing that it signifies more significant support for pan-Kurdism groups and prioritizes Kurdish identity over a distinct and separate one. Critics of the term "Hawrami" believe that "Gorani" is more closely related to ancient Texts and, therefore, a more appropriate term for the language in broader contexts encompassing regions beyond Hawraman. They typically reference historical and poetic sources that have employed the term "Gorani" to describe the region's language and people. They argue that current Pan-Kurdish influences favor the use of "Hawrami" due to its close association with Kurdish identity. For this reason, the followers of Goranism believe it is not appropriate. Instead, they assert that "Gorani" better represents the region's independent identity.[8]

Social media platforms, particularly Telegram channels, have become essential in presenting the viewpoints associated with these trends. Each group uses these channels to share historical materials supporting their theories, effectively highlighting and reinforcing their perspectives. The Telegram channels @horamanhistory and @uromonakam have contributed a wealth of historical and contemporary materials advocating the view that Gorans are Kurds, and their language is Kurdish. In contrast, the channel @sharomag has presented historical evidence, including manuscript images, suggesting that Gorans should not be considered Kurds, and their language is distinct from Kurdish. The content on these channels typically involves interpreting or reinterpreting history, traditions, and myths to establish a coherent group identity. This process of reinterpretation or reassessment of history is a common aspect of ethnogenesis, wherein narratives about a group's origin, journey, and place in the world are constructed or redefined (for details, see Gholami 2023: 103–106).[9]

8 For an example of this kind of discussion, please refer to the Telegram group "zuvān va adab-e Gorān".

9 Goranism-movement aligns well with the theory of ethnogenesis. Ethnogenesis, a sociocultural anthropology and ethnology concept, explains how new ethnic groups, identities, or nationalities emerge, often within existing groups. A key aspect of our scenario in line with ethnogenesis is that a subgroup (in this case, "Gorani") within a group (the "Kurds") has begun to establish its own distinct identity. This process has led to further subdivisions and an increasing focus on an independent identity characterized by unique language, culture, and religion. Ethnogenesis often occurs in response to external pressures such as discrimination, conflicts, or the need for a stronger, unified group identity in the face of challenges.

2.4.1 The complexity of Gorani as language designation

In the Western academic tradition, the term Gorani has generally been used to refer to the spoken language(s) of the Goran as well as written evidence, which has traditionally been classified as a Northwestern Iranian language (Soane 1921, Minorski 1943, Mann and Hadank 1930; MacKenzie 1961, 1999, 2002; Blau 1989; Paul 2007; Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012). In contrast, using the term Gorani as an epithet for a spoken language is uncommon among community members (unless schooled in the Western academic tradition). Most speakers regard their language as a dialect of Hawrami. For instance, in Zarde, speakers frequently describe their language as "Zardayāna of Hawrami" when asked about their language. Gholami's analysis suggests that community members do not primarily use the designation Gorani to refer to a language but rather to refer to "music and songs." Only 1.6% of the interview participants consider Gorani as the language of Yārī Texts (Gholami 2023: 102, table 8).

There is another language designation, "Mačo", which has its origins in the Gorani word meaning 'he says' (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 3). This word is an apt descriptor as it varies widely among the Iranian languages, e.g., Northern Kurdish: dibêje, Central Kurdish (Mukrî): dełê, Central Kurdish (Slêmanî): *ełê*, Southern Kurdish (Bijar): *īšī*, Laki (Harsin): muše, Central Kurdish (Sine): *eyžē*, Gorani: *māčo*, Central Taleshi: *bate*, Jondani: *vājue*, Naeini: *ovāja*, Koroshi Balochi: *ašī*, Bandari: *agay*, etc. (Mackenzie 2002; Mohammadirad 2020; Belelli 2021).

Mačo has two essential uses: (1) it is used as a blanket term to refer to the Gorani varieties of Iraq Bāǰalānī, Kākāyī, Šexānī, Šabakī, and Zangana. Speakers of each of these varieties use their endonyms, sometimes substituting Mačo to emphasize the mutual intelligibility connectedness of their varieties. According to Leezenberg (1994), Mačo is one of several such blanket terms, including the more common Hawrami and the less common Gorani, used only by speakers who are familiar with the Western Academic tradition (see Leezenberg 1994: 15 and Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 3). (2) Mačo is explicitly used to refer to the Gorani variety spoken by the Kaka'i. The term Kaka'i 'Brotherhood' refers to practitioners of the Yaresan or Ahl-e Haqq religion in Iraq.

Following (Bailey 2018: 644), the Kaka'i/Mačo community is found around the towns of Tōpzāwa (near Kirkūk), Xānaqīn and Arbil. According to Leezenberg (1993), the Sarlī should also be included in this group. He describes the dialect of the Sarlī as "an intermediary between Shabak and Macho", based on his interactions with the Ibrahimi 'family' of the Kakai from the village of Sfêye near Eski Kalak. According to Moosa (1988: 168), Sarlī is an exonym intensely disliked by that particular Kaka'i community.

Although the Kaka'i/Mačo variety of Gorani is poorly documented, the little research that exists shows several distinctive features that distinguish it: (1) a merger of *ū* and *ī* to *ü*, merging the first- and second-person singular present-tense personal affixes, e.g., *me-wīn-ü* [IPFV-see.PRS-1SG], *me-wīn-ü* [IPFV-see.PRS-2SG] (Leezenberg 1994: 16). (2) The loss of final *n* after *ā*. This deletion affects the third-person plural present-tense personal affix, e.g., *me-wīn-ā* [IPFV-see.PRS-3SG], cf., Paweyane: *mu-wîn-an* [IPFV-see.PRS-3SG]. (3) The reflexive pronoun *yo*, cf. Shabaki: *hē,* Central Kurdish xo, Northern Kurdish *xwe*, Hawrami (Taxt): *wē,* etc. (4) Haig (2019: 301–302) questions the possibility that differential object marking is a feature of Mačo as there is only one example that points to such a conclusion and it is ambiguous. However, differential object marking may be a more widespread Gorani feature that has been poorly studied.

The recent classification of Gorani as a variant of Southern Kurdish was popularized by Bamshadi and his colleagues through a series of articles and dissertations (e.g., Bamshadi 2012 and Bamshadi and Ansarian 2017). They focus on the variety of Southern Kurdish spoken in the Goran regions, specifically emphasizing the city of Gahvareh and Dalahoo county.

There are many debates regarding how reliable the Gorani designation for living varieties has been. Still, its unequivocal acceptance has posed serious methodological problems, and, in our view, this has forced us always to attempt to see these varieties as having a close hereditary relationship and to link them.

A methodological problem in the Western scholarly tradition is the use of Gorani without a precise definition; thus, it is not clear that the term "Gorani" used in these sources refers to "Literary Gorani" or "living dialects". If "Gorani" refers to living dialects, to which variety does it refer, Hawrami? Since each group exhibits different linguistic features in specific cases, not considering the group and not mentioning its name poses serious obstacles to drawing any conclusions. A better solution is to use the term Hawrami independently and not as a variation of Gorani and to use the term Gorani only to refer to the literary genre to avoid unnecessary idiomatic complexities. In addition, when referring to spoken varieties, it is preferable to use the local geographic name of the dialect, such as Kandūleyī, Zardayāne and so on.

For instance, in Gippert (2008), the examples listed under the Gorani category are predominantly Hawrami forms, primarily sourced from MacKenzie (1966). A notable example is the conjugation of the verb 'to come.' What is labeled as Gorani reflects the conjugated forms in Hawrami, which, in terms of the consonant system, are more conservative than other Gorani forms.

The term "Gorani" may be appropriate for referencing literary works in this language, as it has historically been used in such Texts. However, there are debates regarding whether this designation indeed refers to a language or if it

instead denotes a particular literary genre. In this context, the question of whether "Hawrami" might be a more suitable term for the language designation arises. We will explore this topic in greater detail.

Many manuscripts provide evidence of the term "Gorani" used as a language designation. Examples include references to "Lafẓe Gorani" and "Goran Zūvānān" in a manuscript of "Molūd Nāme", dating back to the 14th century AH (19th century CE). Mulla Khadr Ravari (1725–1790), from Ravar near Marivan, referred to his poetic language as the "Gorani language", identifying its speakers as Kurdistani. Additionally, Darvish Sifoor Baniarani (1814–1877), a Yārsān leader, in one of his poems, explicitly referred to Gorani as the language of the Gorans, stating "*gûranî gûyish hozi gûranen*", which means "Gorani is the dialect of the Gorans" (see Gholami 2023: 98). This raises the question of why the term "Gorani" is not more widely used for a language designation.

Modares Saeedi (2022) presents a theory regarding language classification in manuscripts. He suggests that while the poetry in the manuscripts is primarily in the Hawrami language, only those poems written in the Qaṣīda style, consisting of ten syllables, should be classified as Gorani. This theory is supported by the "Kashkūl-e Mahmūd Pāshāy Jāf" manuscript, dated 1309 AH (1892 CE), where Gorani is mentioned alongside other literary genres. The theory that Gorani is a poetic style is exemplified in a poem from the manuscript titled "Gorani va Robāʿīyāt-e Kāk Aḥmad Khosrochāvosh", which translates to "The Gorani and Robāʿīyāt of Kāk Aḥmad Khosrochāvosh." Such evidence may explain why community members do not commonly refer to their language as "Gorani", reserving the term for specific poetic and song genres.

2.5 The complex interplay with Kurdish identity

Just like the question of the relationship between Zazaki and Gorani or among varieties within these groups, the question of their relationship to Kurdish varieties is very much an open question. This question is further complicated by European language ideologies imposed on the region. Of particular note is the belief in one-people-one-language, which has been the impetus for the oppression of linguistic minorities both by the nation-state and by other linguistic minorities with higher local prestige. These political considerations are, in a sense, a separate issue from the linguistic status of Kurdish, Zazaki, and Gorani varieties. However, linguists do not work in a vacuum, and the language of linguistic science has directly affected the politics of language in the region. During a survey conducted as part of the LOEWE research project exploring emic and etic perspectives on language and identity, a participant remarked, "well, I think we're Kurdish, but a linguist came

here and said we're not". Likewise, linguistic descriptions that refer to Zazaki and Hawrami as "not Kurdish" have been the basis of burgeoning nationalist groups at home and in the diaspora.

Irrespective of the genealogical affiliation between these language groups, there is no doubt that there are many points of convergence between Zazaki and the local Northern Kurdish varieties, as well as between Hawrami and the local Central and Southern Kurdish varieties. The scholarly literature disagrees historically with what the precise contact relationship is between these groups, with MacKenzie (1961) attributing the aspects of the divergence of Central Kurdish from Northern Kurdish in favor of affinity to Gorani as the result of Kurdish overtaking and replacing a Gorani substrate, while Leezenberg (1993) rejects this hypothesis. Karim (Chapter 6this volume) suggests that although aspects of Central Kurdish and Gorani have converged, most possible convergences are better explained through mutual inheritance from a common ancestor. In opposition to MacKenzie's (1961) account, the places where Northern Kurdish diverges from Central Kurdish are innovative features due to convergence with Zazaki.

3 Theoretical background

Despite some early work by Mann and Hadank (1930) and Christensen & Benedictsen (1921), later work by MacKenzie (1956; 1966), and more recent work by Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012)/ Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013), there has been comparatively little theoretical and documentary work on Gorani languages and varieties. Up to this point, the comparative linguistic study of Gorani has focused primarily on Tedesco's (1921) and Mann and Hadank's (1930) isoglosses.

Tedesco (1921) proposed a set of phonological and morphological isoglosses that differentiate the Southwestern Iranian language, Middle Persian, from the Northwestern, Parthian. Paul (1998), in a study focused on Zazaki, reexamined Tedesco's (1921) phonological isoglosses to determine the place within Western Iranian of not just Zazaki but Gorani, Azeri, Taleshi, Semnani, Caspian, Central Dialects, Balochi, and Kurdish. These varieties were placed an a "scale of Northernness" from Persian in the south to Parthian in the north. The significance of these isoglosses and the efficacy of their application are questionable. Furthermore, Middle Persian and Parthian represent a convenience sample of Middle western Iranian; their status as prototypes of "southwesternness" and "northwesternness" has been imposed on these varieties only because of the accident of attestation.

One example from Paul (1998) is the relationship between the reflexes of Proto-Iranian *rz and *rd, where *r* is the reflex of both Proto-Indo-European *r

and *l. He claims that Gorani has *ł, r* as the reflexes of *rd and *rz as the reflex of *rd. However, looking at only a single variety, one gets a different view. For instance, the Hawrami (Luhon) word for heart, according to MacKenzie (1966), is *ził* showing the reflex of *rd. In contrast, the preverb *hʊr* 'upward' (Cf. Avestan *ərəzu*) shows *r* as the reflex of *rz. These sound correspondences suggest that there is, in fact, a systematic distinction between there reflexes *ł* and *r*. Any difference is obscured if one looks at literary Gorani, which has forms from various vernacular languages, including those from neighboring languages. The literary Gorani developed as a high (H) variety in a diglossic situation, paradoxically simplifying the language as it was learned by adult L2 speakers outside the Hawraman heartland (see Gholami and Karami, this volume). Paul's (1998) claim that "in some words [Gorani] shows velarized *ł* beside *r* as the outcome of *rd" needs to be reevaluated based on spoken (not literary) varieties, which are more likely to show the inherited reflexes.

Another issue that may serve to obscure the type of analysis that Paul (1998) conducted is Indo-European ablaut control. Essentially, the reflex of the vocalized *r (*ərə* in Avestan) followed by a *d or *z may give a result that differs from the reflex of true consonantal *rz and *rd clusters.

Another issue with this type of analysis is the distinction between inherited forms and borrowing. It is no secret that Iranian languages have borrowed massively from genetically related languages. The word for hand in many Iranian languages is *dest, dast, des,* or other variations. These forms clearly reflect the Persian reflex of PIE *ǵ. However, in many languages, Central Kurdish, Hawrami, and Mazandarani, the forms *zest, zast, zes,* etc. occur in the restricted domain of old proverbs and idioms. To compare forms that were part of a common proto language and can, therefore, provide insight into that protolanguage, one must not just look at core vocabulary but also old or specialized domains within the relevant languages.

The final aspect of why attempts at this type of analysis have proven problematic was articulated in Korn (2003), where she shows that many of Tedesco's (1921) isoglosses are not significant in the Neo-Grammarian comparative sense. In other words, many of these developments are so common cross-linguistically that they are just as likely to have occurred independently as to have occurred when the languages were the same. One such example is the reflex of Proto-Iranian non-syllabic high front vowel *i̯, which shows up as the affricate *j* [dʒ] in Zazaki, Taleshi, Semnani, Caspian, Central Dialects, Balochi, and Persian. However, such a shift is so common that it occurs in many distant languages that could not be the result of shared innovations, e.g., English *John* from Aramaic *yoħanan*, geminus < PIE *yemH- 'twin' (Pokorny 1959: 505), etc. Indeed, the entire concept of a scale from Persian to Parthian assumes that these two varieties represent the terminal nodes on a language continuum. This hypothesis should not be taken as fact a priori.

Future work on the prehistory of the Iranian languages must incorporate traditional comparative methods with new techniques. Additionally, good data must be acquired from languages, many of which are highly endangered. Although the current volume does not represent a documentary effort, several chapters represent the only fieldwork-based empirical research on the respective varieties. For instance, Khan and Mohammadirad (this volume) look at the Northeastern Neo-Aramaic variety spoken by the Jews of Sanandaj, a variety almost exclusively known to the scholarly community from Khan's (2009) grammar and the hitherto undocumented Gorani variety of Hawraman Taxt. Rasekh-Mahand (this volume) includes a brief sketch and ethnographic survey of the Laki variety spoken in Češin, the only such study ever produced. Any future study of these varieties must use the data presented here as a foundational piece of their study.

The study of modern varieties prompts the question of what precisely these languages and subgroupings are. Perhaps the most glaring gap stems from the naming of these languages. The term Gorani, traditionally used to refer to Literary Gorani, has come to be applied by linguists to the spoken varieties and the genetic sub-family that contains them. However, the relationship between the spoken varieties and the literary language has not been established. Gholami and Karami (this volume) establish a connection between Literary Gorani and the spoken languages as one of diglossia. Literary Gorani, therefore, represents a variety that underwent massive restructuring due to an influx of L2 speakers.

As Linguists impose their perspectives on the local languages, local ideologies have internalized the linguistic ideologies of language and ethnic classification. Now, native speakers in the field often appear confused about the validity of their self-identification, based mainly on what ethnographers, elites and linguists have told them. The connection between a unified language and a culture is, in many ways, a foreign introduction to the region.

If we are to separate the political from the linguistic to understand relationships between these varieties, the question of how many languages/varieties we are dealing with remains. For instance, MacKenzie (1966), in his 17-page sketch of the Grammar of Shabaki, a language in the Gorani group spoken in an "island" far from the Hawrami core, gives a particular impression of the language. In a presentation by the documentarian Parvin Mahmoudveysi at the "Minorities in the Zagros – Language & Identity" workshop at Goethe University Frankfurt, she presented data from Shabaki speakers, showing a language different from the Shabaki described by MacKenzie (1966). One example comes from the Shabaki verbal system: Mahmoudveysi gave the example *urzā-ymē* [get.up.PST-1PL], reflecting what is observed in Hawrami (Taxt) *hurzā-ymē* [get.up.PST-1PL]. In contrast, MacKenzie (1966: 424) shows the form *urzā-y-m* [get.up.PST-INTR-1SG] (with the expected equivalent form *urzā-y-man* [get.up.PST-INTR-1PL]). Since MacKenzie's (1966) sketch of Shabaki, the

existence of a past-tense intransitive conjugation consisting of the past-tense stem, an intransitive marker, and the pronominal enclitics *-m, -t, man, -tan, šan* [-1SG], [-2SG], [-1PL], [-2PL], AND [-3PL], respectively, has been understood as a distinguishing feature of Shabaki. It is not clear whether the existence of this seemingly more conservative past tense intransitive conjugation is a variant that exists in some well-defined context or if it is the reinstatement of an older form borrowed back from its sister languages, or even perhaps mirroring the language of the documentarian's Paweyane variety.

So little is known about Shabaki that it is impossible to say how many varieties with distinctive grammars exist—the problem of "how many Shabakis" cannot be solved in this volume. However, the existence of the problem can be highlighted here. Of course, the question of "how many languages" is not restricted to woefully understudied varieties. Even in the Hawrami core, there is disagreement about the number of varieties and their spread. According to Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2019: 534), Hawraman is divided into four main parts: "1) Hawraman-i Luhōn; 2) Hawraman-i Taxt; 3) Šāmyān and Dizlī; and 4) Hawraman Řazāw-u Kamara. There are also two other parts: 5) Hawraman Gāwaro and 6) Hawraman Žāwaro (these might be a part of Řazāw-u Kamara)." This grouping differs from MacKenzie (1966: 5–6), who shows the Groups Luhon, Hajij, Jwanro, Pawa, Taxt, and Razaw. Only Luhon, Taxt, and Razaw directly correspond to Mahmoudveysi & Bailey's (2019: 534) groups.

The currently most well-known varieties are Hawrami Luhon (MacKenzie 1966), Zerdeyane (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013), and Gewrecûî (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012), which are known from dedicated volumes. Each contains a sketch grammar and translated texts based on fieldwork.

MacKenzie's (1966) study is the most comprehensive and has shaped how the scholarly community perceives prototypical Hawrami features. This study can be regarded as having a generally high level of accuracy. However, it suffers from several shortfalls: (1) it is the result of interviews with a single male speaker. (2) The single male speaker was interviewed to gather information about his native dialect, the variety of Luhon. This variety was deemed his native dialect as it was the language of his family going back many generations. However, the speaker was born in a different country (Iraq), surrounded by speakers of a different variety and a different societal language. (3) The speaker eventually returned to his family's home country (Iran) to live in Pawe city, where they speak yet another variety differing in many ways from his "native" language.

The effects of these languages and varieties, mainly Kurdish, on the speaker's language obscure the nature of shared features. For instance, the speaker uses many applicative constructions (labeled "absolute prepositions" by MacKenzie), which are common in Kurdish but less common in Hawrami. Compare the Hewrami example in (1a) with the Central Kurdish Suleymanî in (1b). In both examples, the Agent is

marked by a clitic, and the verb features object indexing. Adding the post-verbal element in Hawrami *=pene* and the pre-verbal element in Central Kurdish *pê=* tell the listener how to interpret the thematic role of the object.

(1) *a.* *wat-e-b-ê* *=m* *=pene*
say.PST-M.SG-SBJ-3SG.OAPPL =1SG.A =DAT.APPL
"I would have told him."
b. *pê=* *=m* *wut*
DAT.APPL= =1SG.A say.PST. 3SG.OAPPL
"I would have told him."

Both languages can express the oblique argument with an adpositional phrase, as shown in (2). The applicative constructions are the standard way to express oblique pronominal arguments in Central Kurdish Suleymanî. However, they are much rarer in spoken Hawrami. It is unclear if the frequent use of applicative constructions in the idiolect of MacKenzie's (1966) consultant represents an influence from the dominant Central Kurdish, some effect of MacKenzie's (1966) elicitation and translation process, or a native feature of the grammar of Newsûd.

(2) *a.* *wat-e-b-ê* *=m* *be* *pya-k-an*
say.PST-M.SG-SBJ-3SG.OAPPL =1SG.A to man-DEF-PL
"I would have told the men."
b. *wut* *=im* *be* *pyaw-ek-an*
say.PST. 3SG.OAPPL =1SG.A to man-DEF-PL
"I would have told the men."

An additional issue with MacKenzie's (1966) grammatical analysis was his articulation of the ergative system. Captured within his data was a complex alignment system. There is an aspectually-split ergative system. The nominative-accusative imperfective stem is used for present, future, and past imperfective. The ergative-absolutive perfective stem is used for the simple past, perfect, pluperfect, past conditional and other past tense constructions. Like Central Kurdish, the ergative conjugation consists of the past-tense stem conjugated to index a pronominal object or as third-person singular in the presence of an overtly expressed nominal object. The agent is co-indexed by a left-leaning clitic person marker, which can never attach to the agent in which it indexes: A O=CPM V. This is the construction often referred to as remnant ergativity (Jügel 2009). In the event of a topicalized agent, the ergative structure changes, featuring the agent declined in the oblique case directly preceding the verb: O A-OBL V. This can be understood as canonical ergativity.

An idiosyncrasy of MacKenzie's (1966) data/analysis is his examples of the canonical ergative construction that occurred with impersonal subjects such as (3a). He described this construction thus: "When the agent is impersonal, it may be expressed by a noun in the oblique case." Data is now available showing canonical ergativity with personal agents (3b) and (3c). In (3b), Hîwa, a proper noun, is marked oblique *-y,* and there is no agent clitic *=ş.* Slightly less clear is (3c), where the first-person singular pronoun *min* occurs without a corresponding agent clitic *=m.* The pronoun *min* is not synchronically marked for case per se. However, historically, it is the oblique pronoun contrasting with the now defunct first-person singular direct *ez.*

(3) a. *yex-ek-e* *germa-y* *taw-n-a-we*
ice-DEF-M.SG.DIR heat-SG.OBL melt-CAUS-PST.3SG-PV
"The heat melted the snow." (MacKenzie 1966: 51)

b. *sipal-ek-e* *Hîwa-y* *şet*
cloths-DEF-M.SG.DIR PN-M.SG.OBL wash.PST.3SG.M
"Hiwa washed the clothes." (Rasekh-Mahand & Naghshbandi 2013: 22)

c. *ī* *gīr=e* *čēš* *bī* *min*
DEM.PROX hook. M.SG.DIR=DEM what COP.PST.3SG.M 1SG(OBL)
wārd
eat.PST.3SG.M
"What is this situation that I am caught in?" (Mohammadirad fieldnotes)

MacKenzie's (1966) grammatical sketch is the largest and most comprehensive to date. However, it is not enough to understand the complexities of Hawrami grammar or the spread of Hawrami features. The variety of Luhon may be particularly conservative and a prototype of the Hawrami core. However, this has not been established scientifically. Future research must be data-driven and grounded in fieldwork to establish the answers to these questions: how many Hawrami/Gorani varieties are there? What isoglosses separate groups?

Regarding field methods, two recent publications are important: *The Gorani language of Zarda* (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013) and *The Gorani language of Gawraju* (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012). These two books are sketch grammars accompanying a set of oral folktales gathered in Iran as part of the DOBES project, which funded Language documentation efforts around the globe supported by the Volkswagen Foundation. These two collections are essential reading in Gorani linguistics. However, completeness was not a goal of the authors. Many linguistic questions remain unanswered, especially regarding conditioning environments for morphological allomorphs and full paradigms. For instance, Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012: 16) show four ezafe allomorphs *-e, -y, -a,* and *-ø.* However, they were

not able to specify the environments that condition the presence of either *-a* or *-ø.*, *-e* and *-y* being identified as general and post-vocalic. Likewise, the language of *Zarda* (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013) has the allomorphs *-e, -u(-w), -ø, a* and *-ī(-y)*. However, their functions are not demarcated.

All three of these works represent a substantial increase in our knowledge of Gorani, adding significantly to the early works of Mann and Hadank (1930) and Christensen & Benedictsen (1921), as well as targeted studies such as Mahmoudveysi & Bailey's (2019) overview of Hawrami Luhon and Paweyane, Minorsky's (1943) study on the Goran people, Blau's (1989) brief sketch on Gorani, MacKenzie's (1956) brief sketch of Shabaki, and targeted linguistic studies like Rasekh-Mahand & Naghshbandi (2014), Holmberg & Odden (1966), Sultan (2011), Mohammadirad (2020), etc.

4 Objectives

To address the complexities such as those outlined in Sections 2.1 to 2.5 and to fill at least some of the research gaps, as partly discussed in Section 3, a workshop titled "Minorities in the Zagros – Language & Identity" (MIZLI) was organized on the 19th and 20th of September 2022 at Goethe University Frankfurt.

The present volume is a collection of selected articles based on the lectures given at MIZLI. The papers have been peer-reviewed for inclusion in this volume. This volume explores the Gorani language, focusing on its classification, relationship with spoken varieties like Hawrami, and sociolinguistic implications. It investigates the impact of Gorani on regional languages and cultures, with particular attention to unique traditions like Judeo-Gorani, and examines the influence of linguistic interactions on its development. The aim is to offer updated insights into Gorani, enhancing the understanding of its role and evolution in linguistic and cultural contexts.

In addressing these core objectives, the volume navigates through intricate questions. It scrutinizes the effectiveness of endonyms and exonyms, particularly 'Gorani' and 'Zazaki', as descriptive tools. It discusses the emic and etic perspectives, reflecting the complexity of the use of these terms and their influence on identity formation and identity conflicts.

Another important aim of this volume is to examine the intricate relationship between Literary Gorani and the spoken varieties known as Hawrami. It considers whether the language in the manuscripts can be seen as a written form of spoken Gorani. Additionally, the volume explores whether Gorani Texts are indeed written forms of Hawrami and investigates whether specific Literary Gorani Texts exhibit features of their authors' native languages.

Central to this volume explores the relationship between Literary Gorani and the languages of those composed in this idiom. It seeks to understand how Literary Gorani contrasts with the living spoken varieties co-existing in the same territories.

A critical issue in the dialectology of Literary Gorani manuscripts concerns the nature of the language of these Texts. Two main theories have been suggested concerning the nature of Gorani. Rieu (1881), Mackenzie (1965, 2002) and Blau (1996) viewed this literary language as a 'koine', by which they meant a variety that emerged from the contact between two or amongst several varieties of a given language.

From a different perspective, Kreyenbroek and Chamanara (2013) and Chamanara and Amiri (2018) proposed that this language is better represented as a 'continuum'. Based on their definition, a continuum refers to an idiom that is not confined to a specific language but can rather be comprised of different varieties in a given region. They claimed that this language served as an instrument to convey the culture of the Zagrossian region to the maximum number of audiences. Leezenberg pointed out that Gorani had practically become extinct as a literary dialect (Leezenberg 1993: 9).

Based on several common features, mainly in a corpus of poems from Hawraman dated to around the 1800s, which were edited versions, Mahmoudveysi (2016: 125) concluded that Literary Gorani had a single, coherent linguistic system. Following Kreyenbroek and Chaman Ara's views regarding the nature of the Gorani language, Mahmoudveysi pointed out that the poets had developed a written language for poetry that was never used as a spoken language.

One of the main objectives of this book is to update the theories regarding the nature of Gorani. To achieve this goal, Chapter 2 of this volume proposes the hypothesis that Literary Goranī and Hawrami constitute a single unified language. In this context, Goranī functions as the high variety and Hawrami as the low variety in a diglossic situation.

This volume also focuses on special cases that display the unique situation reflecting the complexity and diversity of Gorani Texts. For example, Chapter 3 focuses on the unique works of a Gorani poet, Saydi, whose compositions diverge from the mainstream Literary Gorani and reflect aspects of living languages, particularly Hawrami. The aim is to demonstrate how Literary Gorani is connected to these living varieties.

Another case study reflecting the specialty and uniqueness of Literary Gorani is the Judeo-Gorani tradition. Judeo-Gūrānī, which is absent from the study of Gūrānī literature, is an increasingly important area in investigating social, intellectual, and linguistic interactions between Jews and Muslims in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is worth knowing how the Jewish scribes used the Hebrew script to

transliterate Gūrānī Texts and how their Hebrew knowledge influenced their Text productions.

Judeo-Gūrānī Texts exhibit a variety of unique features due to the contact with different languages, such as Persian, South Kurdish, and Gūrānī. They are thus of particular importance for the study of code-switching, language convergence, borrowing, pidgins, and related topics. Chapter 4 of this book introduces this important collection and explores its significance for understanding the sociolinguistic aspects of developing the Judeo-Gorani tradition.

Regarding language contact, the volume evaluates the extent to which Gorani varieties have been shaped by their linguistic interactions. It looks into the influence of Literary Gorani or spoken Hawrami on neighboring Kurdish and Northeastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) varieties.

Finally, attention is given to the related languages, Zazaki and Laki, particularly the linguistic profile of the Laki variety spoken in Češin, an area of Gorani influence in Iran's Hamadan province. This comprehensive exploration contributes significantly to the broader understanding of Goranic linguistics, highlighting its complex interplay with neighboring languages and the cultural dynamics of the region.

5 Outline of the book

This volume comprises four parts, including this introductory chapter. This introduction by Saloumeh Gholami and Shuan Osman Karim explores Gorani in its historical, social, and linguistic contexts, primarily highlighting the challenges and research gaps in Goranic studies.

Part two focuses on Literary Gorani, the character of the Texts, the relationships between literary and spoken varieties, and the manuscript tradition. This part sheds light on major methodological questions regarding the relationship of literary Gorani to spoken varieties and the socio-cultural life of the Goran living in the Zagros mountains from the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries, contributing to our understanding of their community.

In Chapter 2, Saeed Karami and Saloumeh Gholami present a new hypothesis, examining whether Literary Gorani and Hawrami constitute a single, unified language. Although these languages have significant structural differences, people in the region and even speakers of modern Gorani varieties often conflate them. It is undoubtedly the case that Gorani has a greater affinity to modern spoken Hawrami than it does to Kurdish, Laki, Neo Aramaic, or the newly arrived Persian. However, they have wildly different morphological systems. Gholami and Karami explain

the seemingly simplified system of Literary Gorani as compared to modern spoken varieties as a type of creolization that took place as part of an influx of L2 speakers when Gorani became the H variety in a diglossic situation involving speakers of many regional languages. Hawrami, spoken in the secluded mountainous region of Hawraman, has largely retained its original form. Conversely, Goranī, utilized as a religious and literary language, has come into contact with different varieties.

Chapter 3 introduces the singular Gorani poet Saydi Hawrami. Philologists have noted that Saydi's poetry exhibits aberrant characteristics compared to other Gorani poets. This divergence from Literary Gorani is similar to the innovation seen in the works of another poet, Dizlī, who also brought a fresh perspective to the Literary Gorani tradition. Saydi's oeuvre can be divided into two distinct types. The first type aligns well with the mainstream Literary Gorani in concept and language. However, in the second type, Saydi intentionally manipulates the language, uniquely rendering it enigmatic and incomparable to any known speech type, as discussed by Habibi in 2019 (Karami et al. 2023: 480). Such deviations in Saydi's poetry led MacKenzie (1965: 268) to question the authenticity of a poem attributed to Saydi that was published in the newspaper Galawēž. As part of the European Research Council-funded ALHOME: Echoes of Vanishing Voices in the Mountains: A Linguistic History of Minorities in the Near East project, Parwin Mahmoudveysi conducted a preliminary study of the modern Hawrami variety spoken in the village of Bzłāna. She observed that numerous elements in Saydi's works, previously identified as irregular by MacKenzie (1965), were standard features in the dialect of Bzłāna village. The available data on Bzłāna's dialect is limited, and the insights from Mahmoudveysi's survey should be considered as initial findings, underscoring the necessity for more comprehensive documentation. Notably, Mahmoudveysi's research provides initial evidence supporting the notion that Gorani mirrors an actual spoken dialect in at least one instance. The concept that Gorani accurately represents any spoken dialect has not been conclusively established. Scholars have historically been puzzled by the contrast between the traditional nature of contemporary spoken varieties and the seemingly innovative features found in the earliest surviving Literary Gorani Texts.

Chapter 4 examines a recently discovered corpus of Gorani manuscripts written in the Hebrew script. Hamid Reza Nikravesh, in his chapter titled "Judeo Goranî Texts", offers an insightful examination of this collection. These manuscripts are among the richest sources for delving into the development, mechanisms, and essence of the Gorani language, showcasing unique features that highlight linguistic, cultural, and historical variances. Without reliable material, this project focuses on the Judeo-Gorani manuscripts in the National Library of Israel (NLI) for the first time. In addition to introducing the manuscripts and their translations, Nikravesh provides a detailed background on the Jewish communities in

Kermanshah, Iran. Although they no longer exist there, their history can be pieced together from secondary sources. The Judeo-Gorani manuscripts offer clues to their integration level within the local societies. The adherence of many Gorani speakers to the Ahle Haqq religious minority allowed for a deeper connection between the Gorani and the Jews of Kermanshah. This bond was notably more profound than that between either group and their Muslim neighbors, reflecting a unique socio-cultural dynamic in the region.

Part Three focuses on contact between the various regional languages. Chapter 5, "Gorani Influence on Northeastern Neo-Aramaic" by Geoffrey Khan and Masoud Mohammadirad, examines the significant convergence between Gorani and Northeastern Neo-Aramaic. This examination centers on the NENA variety spoken by the Jews of Sanandaj and the Hawrami variety of Taxt. Geoffrey Khan has previously published his foundational study "The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sanandaj" in 2009. Mohammadirad and Khan realized that the spoken Neo-Aramaic had undergone contact-induced changes. However, while preparing Mohammadirad's forthcoming grammar on the Hawrami variety of Taxt, they realized that it was not Kurdish — the current dominant regional language spoken in Sanandaj — but Hawrami that influenced these changes. This contact scenario supports the view that Gorani had a broader distribution in the past (see MacKenzie 1961) and that the Jewish communities interacted more closely with Gorani speakers than either group did with their Muslim or Christian neighbors (see Nikravesh in this volume). Following the theoretical framework of Matras and Sakel (2007), the chapter outlines 'Matter' borrowing, which includes loanwords, morphemes, calques, and phonemes, as well as 'Pattern' borrowing, encompassing aspects such as phonology, morphology, and syntax.

Chapter 6, by Shuan Osman Karim, looks at the convergence between Gorani and Southern Kurdish grammatical structures. Southern Kurdish has long been understood as highly innovative, though rarely in publication. However, these varieties, almost exclusively known through Fattah's (2000) "Les Dialects Kurd Meridineaux", are more diverse than any other subgroup. Karim's study is framed in light of the argument between MacKenzie's (1961) "Origins of Kurdish" and Leezenberg's (1993) "Gorani Influence on Central Kurdish: Substratum or Prestige Borrowing". The core of their argument is a debate over how (and when) Kurdish came to replace the indigenous Gorani population and its effect on Kurdish. Essentially, MacKenzie proposed the overtaking of the Gorani population by Kurds early on, leading to substratum effects on Kurdish brought in by the Gorani speakers shifting to Kurdish. His evidence comes from a few basic features of Central Kurdish grammar that differ from Northern Kurdish. Leezenberg argued that Gorani was

not a substrate language that was overtaken but rather a prestige variety that explicitly demarcated domains of use in early Kurdish society. Chapter 6 does not explore the sociolinguistic validity of either Leezenberg's (1993) or MacKenzie's (1961) arguments. Instead, Karim focuses on the specific examples of convergence proposed by MacKenzie (1961), showing that much of what MacKenzie proposed to be Gorani effects on Central Kurdish are widespread inherited features from Middle Iranian and the ways that Northern Kurdish differs from Central and Southern Kurdish are innovative in Northern Kurdish. Setting aside the arguments of Leezenberg (1993), MacKenzie (1961) shows real examples of convergence at the dialect level. It is possible to say that there are specific Gorani varieties that underwent significant, undeniable changes under the influence of Kurdish, and likewise, there are Kurdish varieties that have undergone changes under the influence of Gorani.

The fourth and final part of the volume, which focuses on related languages, includes two chapters. Chapter 7 focuses on the Laki language and is authored by Mohammad Rasekh-Mahand. This chapter discusses the Laki language as spoken in Češin, a village in the Hamadan province of Iran. Unlike other Laki villages, Češin is surrounded by Persian- and Turkish-speaking communities. Additionally, Češin is distinguished from its neighbors because its inhabitants follow the Ahl-e Haqq religious minority. Laki varieties are woefully understudied, and the variety of Češin is no exception. Adding to the mystique of Laki is its affinity with both the Luri languages, traditionally classified as Southwestern Iranian, and Kurdish, classified as Northwestern Iranian. Recent evidence (e.g., Korn 2021) suggests that these two groups are much more distantly related, rendering the status of Laki as a transitional variety highly unlikely. Thus, Laki's controversial relationship with Kurdish underscores the importance of its study. Rasekh-Mahand et al.'s study is based on natural data gathered through fieldwork and compared to two other Laki varieties, Laki Kakavandi and Laki Harsini, and Southern Kurdish varieties.

In Chapter 8, Mahîr Dogan presents the use of Zazaki as both an endonym and an exonym. By highlighting the importance of acknowledging the impact of historical colonialism on Kurdish communities and its influence on their linguistic practices, he emphasizes using emic glossonyms in linguistic studies to avoid perpetuating colonial and hegemonic attitudes. Although Gorani is this volume's primary focus, including a discussion on Zazaki terminology is warranted due to its intriguing parallels with the Gorani case. The necessity of including a discussion of Zazaki is particularly evident in the similar processes observed in ethnogenesis, which are also pertinent to the study of Gorani.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent
APPL	applicative
CAUS	causative
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIR	direct case
F	feminine gender
IPFV	imperfective
M	masculine gender
NEG	negative
OAPPL	applied object
OBL	oblique case
PL	plural
PN	proper noun
PROX	proximal
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
PV	pre-/post-verb
SBJ	subjunctive
SG	singular.

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II Literary Gorani

Saeed Karami and Saloumeh Gholami

2 Examining the structural differences and similarities between literary Gorani and Hawrami through the lens of diglossia

Abstract: This study evaluates the hypothesis that Literary Gorani and Hawrami constitute a single unified language. In this context, Gorani functions as the high variety (H), while Hawrami serves as the low variety (L) in a diglossic situation. High varieties (H) of languages are commonly perceived as exhibiting conservatism and resistance to linguistic change. Nevertheless, it is imperative to acknowledge that such generalizations may not universally hold. The degree of linguistic inertia in high varieties is contingent upon various determinants, including the extent of isolation within the language community and the nature of institutional support extended to the language. An illustrative examination of Gorani and Hawrami reveals that the grammatical divergences observed therein are intricately linked to the distinct historical experiences and influences encountered by each language over time. When comparing the speech patterns of Hawrami and Gorani, it becomes evident that their grammar is similar at their core. The variations that manifest primarily stem from the interaction of these languages with others. Hawrami, spoken in the remote mountain area of Hawraman, has predominantly retained its original form. In contrast, Gorani, employed in religious texts and literature, has undergone amalgamation with diverse languages. This interaction has significantly impacted the treatment of gender, case, and alignment.

Keywords: Gorani language, Hawrami dialect, Diglossia, Linguistic contact

1 Introduction

The literary Gorani language boasts a rich history that traces back to an undetermined period. Some scholars posit its origins in the early tenth century CE

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(Safizadeh 1982). It is noteworthy that this language has been employed for composing numerous literary works in the Zagros Mountains area, encompassing present-day provinces like Kurdistan, Kermanshah, Ilam, Hamedan, and Lorestan in Iran, and regions such as Sulaymaniyah, Halabja, and Kirkuk in Iraqi Kurdistan. These compositions form the primary sacred texts within the Yarsanism religion (Minorsky 1943). The zenith of the Gorani language occurred during the era of the Ardalan local government in Sanandaj, where it served as the preferred literary language for poets and writers. More than 30 poetry collections from this historical period persist, bearing testament to the enduring influence and significance of Gorani in literature (see Soltani 2010, Mackenzie 1965, Amini 2017).

However, following the dissolution of the Ardalan government around the mid-19th century CE, the prominence of Gorani waned. Simultaneously, Central Kurdish supplanted Gorani with the backing of the Baban government, thereby leading to a gradual decline in the production of literary works in Gorani (Khaznadar 2010b: 18–21).

The term "Goran" accommodates two pronunciations: "Gūrān" and "Goran". The former is characteristic of southern Kurdish dialects, while the latter is associated with the Hawrami and Central Kurdish dialects. The term "Goran" encompasses diverse connotations. In her scholarly work titled *Unpacking the Complexity of Gurān Identity: An Interdisciplinary Analysis of Historical and Cultural Sources,* Gholami (2023) undertakes a thorough exploration of the nuanced nature of the term "Gurān," considering its dual role as both an endonym and an exonym. Gholami meticulously traces the semantic evolution of the term and narrates the perspectives of the Gurān community regarding their identity, elucidating their comprehension of the term against this backdrop.

The term "Goran" can be used in multiple contexts. Firstly, it can refer to the Goran tribe, particularly a family located in the Kerend and Sarpolzahab regions of Kermanshah Province. Their current language is Kalhori, one of the southern Kurdish dialects. Secondly, in a social context, "Goran" can denote sedentary farmers who do not migrate, contrasting them with nomadic tribes. Lastly, in a religious context, the term can refer to Zoroastrianism. There is plausibly a derivational relationship between the term and "Gabrān" (see Minorsky 1943, Soltani 2001:322, 473, Gholami 2023).

Soltani (2001) carried out a comprehensive study on the Goran clan and tribe in Kermanshah, categorizing them in the following manner: 1) Goran Qalʿa-Zanjīri and neighboring clans (including Qalkhānī asparī, Qalkhāni āli, Tefangchī). 2) Goran Kerendi, which comprises clans ranging from the northwest of Islamabad to Khanqin. All these clans adhere to the Yarsan religion, speak the Kalhori language, and use Gorani as their religious language – the latter being the language of the Kalams and Yarsanism texts. 3) The Goran Jaf clans identify as Sunnis and followers

of Imam Shafi'i. They primarily communicate in Central Kurdish, particularly the Jāfī dialect.

The semantic scope of the designation "Gorani" as a linguistic entity is multifaceted, engendering confusion among scholars in the field. Notably, the term is frequently employed to encompass all spoken varieties (such as Hawrami, Zardayāna, Gawraju, Shabakī, Bājalānī, etc.) alongside literary Gorani. This expansive usage is prevalent among European linguists, as evidenced by the works of Hadank (1930), Minorsky (1943), McKenzie (2002), Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012), Bailey (2018), and others. Conversely, an alternative application of the term "Gorani" restricts it solely to literary Gorani, excluding spoken variants. Specific local designations such as Hawrami, Zardayāna, and Gawraju delineate the spoken variants in this narrower construal. This narrower interpretation finds favor among native speakers, literary figures, and local researchers in Kurdistan, Iran, and Iraq, as exemplified in the works of Kurdistānī (1930), Sajjadi (1952), Soltani (2001a), Khaznedar (2010), Soltani (2010), Sanandji (2013), Muftizadeh (2017), Chamanara & Amiri (2018), and others.

A novel application of the term "Gorani" has also emerged beyond the aforementioned usages. Bamshadi et al. (2014, 2017, among others) utilize "Gorani" to denote the colloquial Kalhori language spoken in the Goran settlement areas of the Gahwāreh district—nonetheless, the diverse interpretations surrounding the term "Gorani" present challenges for contemporary linguistic inquiries. When scholars employ the term "Gorani," its reference to either literary Gorani or spoken dialects like Hawrami, Zardayāna, Gawraju, and others becomes ambiguous.

In the context of this study, we have opted to reserve the term "Gorani" for its literary variant exclusively. To avoid confusion, we have ascribed distinctive names to each spoken dialect, e.g., Hawrami (including Taxt, Lehon, and Žāwaro), Gawraju, etc.

1.1 The linguistic community of Gorani and its formation process

To attain an intelligent comprehension of literary Gorani and its innate attributes, exploring the religious, political, and societal developments that have profoundly shaped the language's evolution is imperative. Literature serves as a reflection of the society from which it emerges, and understanding the socio-historical context in which Gorani literature unfolded is pivotal for a nuanced appreciation of the language.

Religious transformations and societal shifts have played a pivotal role in shaping the literary Gorani language. As evidenced by historical accounts and

depictions of Hawraman's past, as presented in works by Edmonds (1969), Soltani (2001a, 2001b), Ivanoff (2021), Kreyenbroek & Kanakis (2020), Khamooshi (1981), among others, Hawraman has historically served as a fertile ground for the cultivation and dissemination of religious and mystical ideologies.

Considering the inherent limitations of emic perspectives, the exclusive sources available for investigating the origins and evolution of the Yari religion are the Yari texts themselves. Kreyenbroek & Kanakis (2020: 43) makes a crucial distinction between the factual and mythical history of the Yarsan community. He contends that a substantial portion of Yarsan culture can be characterized as "mythical" or "sacred" history, emphasizing that for the average Yarsan believer, this history holds equivalent weight and significance as conventional Western historical narratives do for us.

Premised on the narrations found in 660 verses of Yarsan Kalāms, Khamooshi's investigation of the Yarsan religion carefully recounts the events leading to the formation and evolution of the religion. Khamooshi concludes that the Yarsan religion's inception can be traced back to Shāhu[1] Mountain in Hawraman, where the inaugural ritual transpired under the auspices of Soltān Sahāk[2] and his companions. According to Soltani (2001a: 324), who had access to several unique primary historical documents in the region,[3] Gorans relocated from Hawraman, Shāho Mountain, and Pālangān Castle to Dālāho Mountain and the Zahab region during the numerous battles they engaged in.

During the period referred to as Pardivari, numerous elders and companions from various regions congregated around Sultān Sahāk to lay the foundation for the Yarsan religion. Nevertheless, an intense confrontation involving Sultān Sahāk, his associates, and the army under the leadership of Sheikh Qader led to the destabilization of the foundational elements of the Yarsan religion. Consequently, the religious center underwent relocation to multiple sites beyond Hawraman, as documented by Khamooshi (1981) and Soltani (2001a). Historical records and narratives attest to the dissemination of the Yarsan religion across diverse regions, including the provinces of Kermanshah, Ilam, Lorestan, and Hamedan in Iran and Mosul in Iraq. Despite various linguistic varieties in these regions, such as Central Kurdish,

1 Shāho is a mountain situated in the central Zagros Mountain range. It lies between the cities of Kamyaran, Sarvabad, Marivan, Nowdeshah, Nowsud, Paveh, and Javanrud, thus spanning the districts of both Kurdistan and Kermanshah provinces in western Iran.

2 Sultān Sahāk was a religious leader who reformed the contemporary beliefs of Yarsanism. Furthermore, he is considered to be the fourth of seven incarnations of the deity.

3 Refer to the introduction of Soltani 2001a for a list of these historical documents.

Southern Kurdish, and Laki, the Yarsan elders predominantly opted for the Gorani language for their religious texts, with Abedin Jaf[4] being an exception.

Based on this information, it seems highly plausible that the term Gorani became popular to describe this literary and religious language after the shift in location from Hawraman to the areas where the Goran tribe resided in Dālāho and its surroundings. In contrast, the term Hawrami for it gradually fell out of use.

After the Yarsan religion significantly influenced the Gorani language, another notable religious impact emerged with the rise of Islamic mysticism, commonly known as Sufism, which enriched the Gorani tradition (refer to Modarres 2011, Tudari 1990, and Soltani 2001b). Following the introduction of Islam in Hawraman and the subsequent religious transformation, Islamic mysticism found its foothold, drawing inspiration from the pre-existing Yarsan faith. Tudari (1990) presented a comprehensive account of the mystical orders and Sufi lineages in Kurdistan and Hawraman, elucidating the methodologies employed in imparting mystical teachings and providing illustrative examples of Gorani poetry. His work, authored in 1099 AH/1687 CE, is a seminal source on the history of mysticism in Kurdistan.

Modarres (2011) underscored the significant contributions made by the elders of Hawraman in the realms of education, upbringing, and literacy within the schools under their purview. Specifically, he identified the villages of Byara and Tawila in the Hawraman district of Iraqi Kurdistan as the focal point for disseminating the teachings of this mystical order. Gorani was reaffirmed as the language of mysticism in the Khānaqāh and Hujra educational framework. Mystics composed their spiritual verses in Gorani while also teaching Arabic and Persian. With the proliferation of Islamic mysticism, the Gorani language expanded its reach across the vast regions of Kurdistan, elevating the stature of Gorani poetry. Literary figures across different regions ardently composed poetry in this language.

The Gorani language experienced notable flourishing from the 1600s to the 1800s, giving rise to many noteworthy literary works. Distinguished poets from this era include Bēsārānī (1642–1701), Qobādī (1700–1759), Saydī (1784–1852), Ranǰūrī (1750–1809), Arkawāzī (1775–1840), Ahmad Bag Komsī (1798–1878), Malāy Jabbrī (1806–1876), and Mawlawī (1806–1882), among others. As elucidated by Khaznadar (2010b), these poets infused their works with a mystical context. A notable phenomenon in Hawraman is the shared veneration held by both Yarsanis and adherents of the Naqshbandi mystic order for the elders of Hawraman. In the eyes of both communities, these Hawraman elders are esteemed as foundational figures. The

4 Abedin Jaf is a significant figure in the Yarsan religion and was one of the companions of Sultan Sahak. His poems, written in the Sorani language (Central Kurdish), revolve around the Yarsan faith.

"Ninety-nine Pīr of Hawraman" is a revered concept in both traditions. Figures such as Pir Shahryār, Sultan Sahak and his associates, Bābā Yadegar, as well as others are held in high esteem in both traditions, thus underlining the deep ties between these two orders (for more details, refer to Modarres (2011) and Taheri 2009).

In parallel, political shifts in the region profoundly influenced the literary Gorani language. The dominion of the Ardalan governors over extensive regions in western Iran and northern Iraq played a pivotal role in propagating the Gorani language. In this context, Blau (2010) highlighted the instrumental role played by Ardalan governors in championing and disseminating the Gorani language. In addition to embracing Gorani as the courtly literary language, they also composed poetry in Gorani. Mastūra-y Ardalān (1805–1848), wife of Khosro khān wālī, has left behind a collection of poems in the Gorani language (see Qaradaghi 2011).

In addition to the factors mentioned above, the Gorani community places profound value on the oral tradition of epic poetry and storytelling, commonly known as "Shahnameh-Khani." The Shahnameh, presented in Gorani and colloquially designated as "Kurdi Shahnameh," encapsulates a diverse array of mythological and heroic narratives. While numerous stories and beliefs parallel those in the Persian Shahnameh, the Gorani Shahnameh also displays distinctive structural and content variations. Moreover, it includes tales absent from the Persian counterpart (as detailed by Chamanara 2016). This tradition holds considerable sway in southern Kurdish regions, as well as in Lakestan and Luristan. The titles *Luri Shahnameh* and *Laki Shahnameh* have arisen in response to the increasing sensitivity to using the title "Kurdish," alluding to the same Shahnameh crafted in Gorani.

The religious establishments of Yarsanism and Islamic mysticism, in conjunction with the enduring political influence of the Ardalani dynasty and the cherished tradition of Shahnameh-Khani, represent the four pillars underpinning the Gorani community's formation. With the support of these institutions, the educated community, encompassing religious scholars, mystics, and writers, leveraged the Gorani language, championing its use in their respective domains.

Colloquial language usage was diverse in the Gorani community, adapting to specific regional nuances. This resulted in the prevalence of different languages in distinct areas. For instance, in Hawramanat, the predominant language was Hawrami, which was used for day-to-day conversations. On the other hand, Central Kurdish served as the go-to language for communication in regions such as the Kurdistan province of Iran and cities like Sulaymaniyah and Kirkuk in Iraq. The Laki was commonplace in Laki regions, while locals preferred the Kalhori and other southern Kurdish dialects in Kermanshah and Ilam. In Lorestan, Luri dominated as the chief communicative language.

Despite Persian serving as the language of the ruling authorities for official government and administrative matters, Gorani emerged as the preferred medium

for religious, mystical, literary, and epic discourses. Respected scholars, poets, and writers chose Gorani to express complex themes and ideas, emphasizing its profound significance in the cultural and societal fabric of the Gorani community. In essence, the choice of language within the Gorani community was shaped by a confluence of factors, encompassing regional languages, governmental directives, and enduring cultural traditions.

2 Literature review and research questions

2.1 Literature review

In all fields—religious, lyrical, epic, or educational—Gorani has predominantly been used in ten-line poems, with limited application in prose.[5] Gorani has witnessed extensive usage across a broad area, stretching from Mosul and Karkūk in Iraq to Lorestan and from Saqqez to Ilam. Central Kurdish, Southern Kurdish, Luri, and Laki were the primary media for conversation within these territories, as were languages such as Hawrami and their close varieties. However, literary Gorani remains the exclusive choice for poetry and literature. While Gorani's application is evident in religious and literary domains, no historical records validate its daily spoken use (see Kreyenbroek & Chamanara 2013). The lack of documentation concerning its colloquial use makes it onerous for researchers to comprehend the language's intricacies, thereby giving rise to inquiries into the essence of literary Gorani.

Due to its distinctive attributes, the Gorani language poses challenges for linguists and scholars. One notable aspect is Gorani's unique grammatical structure, which sharply contrasts with that of Hawrami and its similar variants, despite their status as the closest linguistic relatives of Gorani (see Moftizadeh 2017, Mackenzie 2002, and Mahmoudveysi 2016). Numerous theories within and beyond Iran have been proposed to elucidate Gorani's distinctiveness from other languages in the region.

Pioneering scholar Rieu (1881: 728–734) provided early insights into the Gorani language. As the keeper of Oriental Manuscripts at the British Museum, Rieu cataloged Persian manuscripts from 1879 to 1895. In doing so, he encountered two Gorani texts, namely "khorshīd-ī khāwar" and "Laylī and Majnūn". Rieu initially suggested that Gorani was spoken in western regions, particularly Kurdistan and

5 There is only one example of Gorani prose that is found in a French museum, and it is a translation from Arabic.

Sanandaj. However, his subsequent assertion that Gorani is fundamentally Persian, despite being spoken in Kurdistan, was misguided. Nevertheless, Rieu compiled a concise Gorani grammar overview based on the two mentioned manuscripts. He aimed to establish a connection between Gorani and Persian, highlighting phonological and grammatical similarities and proposing Persian as the origin of Gorani, which later evolved.

Rieu's focus on Gorani's literary lexicon, enriched with Persian borrowings, led him to perceive Gorani as a Persian dialect. The shared script for both Gorani and Persian texts further reinforced this idea, causing him to interpret Gorani words with Persian phonetics. It is crucial to note that while Rieu's exploration of Gorani was limited and contained inaccuracies, it inadvertently initiated two flawed traditions: the perception of Gorani as a Persian dialect and the erroneous classification of Gorani manuscripts as Persian in institutional archives.

Subsequent investigations conducted by scholars, including Minorsky (1943), MacKenzie (1965, 2002), and Blau (2010), introduced the koiné theory in the context of literary Gorani. Despite labeling Gorani as a "literary koiné," the precise rationale behind applying the term "koiné" to the language remains unclear. In its definition, a koiné functions as a bridge language in regions characterized by linguistic diversity.[6] MacKenzie (2002) bifurcates Gorani into literary and colloquial variants, asserting that the literary form diverges from all contemporary spoken Gorani versions. A pronounced distinction lies in simplifying nominal inflection, wherein gender and case markers are omitted. MacKenzie emphasizes the absence of the definite suffix *–aka* in literary Gorani, a staple in other dialects. Furthermore, MacKenzie (1965) observed intriguing phonetic nuances: when employing literary Gorani, residents of Awraman and Kermanshah infuse it with their dialectal phonetic attributes. A poignant illustration is the differential pronunciation of <ی> in Hawrami ([ī] and [ē]) compared to Kermanshahi ([ī]). This phonological aspect is expounded upon in section 3.

Nevertheless, MacKenzie's categorization of this language as a koiné lacks explicit justification, as is evident in both his works (MacKenzie 1965, 2002). In the subsequent section (Section 3), we explore whether MacKenzie's use of the term "koiné" alludes to the process of "koinéization" in Gorani. In this process, the language lost Hawrami dialectal distinctive markers such as gender and case and simplified its inflectional forms. We may find reconciliation by contextualizing MacKenzie's koiné theory within the framework of diglossia, specifically considering

6 koiné is "The spoken language of a locality which has become a standard language or lingua franca" (Crystal 2008).

the concept of koinéization. Ferguson (1959) identified standardization as a key criterion in defining diglossia.

Furthermore, Ferguson (1996) proposed three tendencies for discerning standardization, with koinéization being identified as the most significant among them. Koinéization involves creating a standard dialect by simplifying, reducing dialect differences, and avoiding salient markers of particular dialects. Our interpretation suggests that Hawrami underwent standardization by losing its dialectal markers during the process of koinéization, thus leading to the emergence of Gorani diglossia.

In the "continuum" theory, proposed by Kreyenbroek & Chamanara (2013), they rejected the theory of Gorani being a koiné because koiné typically refers to spoken varieties of languages. Furthermore, there is no historical evidence to support the assertion that Gorani has functioned solely as a spoken language. Instead, scholars argue for considering Gorani as a continuum, suggesting it is a composite language amalgamating various linguistic elements spoken in the Zagros region, including Hawrami, Central Kurdish, Southern Kurdish, Luri, and Laki.

According to this perspective, Gorani, a constructed literary language, has developed within literary contexts and displays variations based on the regional languages in which it is employed. Unlike Hawrami, Gorani is not an independent language or a written form of a specific language; its grammatical and lexical features are not tied to a particular language or dialect. One specific issue addressed in the literature is the verbal agreement in Gorani. Research findings indicate that both Yarsan Kalāms and lyrical verses in Gorani typically follow the ergative pattern for past tense verbs, with some exceptions. In contrast, Shahnameh, originating from the Luri and South Kurdish regions, utilizes a nominative-accusative pattern for past tense verbs. The authors deduced that the grammatical structure of Gorani shifts depending on the region's language, suggesting that Gorani amalgamates features from various regional languages instead of adhering to a specific language.

Karami et al. (2023) postulated that the numerous examples showcasing nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive patterns in the past tense within Mawlawi's corpus are contrary to their predictions. Mawlawi's Divan, originating from the Central Kurdish and Hawraman regions, was anticipated to adhere solely to the ergative-absolutive pattern.

Mahmoudveysi (2016) introduces an alternative theory suggesting that Gorani underwent evolution as a literary language primarily through its application in poetry. This transformation resulted in a departure from the inherent grammatical features associated with Hawrami. Poets intentionally crafted this dialect for their verses, and the grammatical characteristics of this poetic form differed from those found in spoken dialects. Mahmoudveysi identified instances of gender and case

markers in the works of Saydi (1784–1852) and Dizli (1858–1945), attributing these distinctions to changes in poetic meter. She asserts that poetic meter played a significant role in shaping the grammatical structure of Gorani. However, it is worth noting that the poets Mahmoudveysi references, namely Saydi and Dizli, diverge from the Gorani mainstream and are often perceived as anomalies. In an extensive analysis of Saydi's verses, Habibi (2019) determined that Saydi was not two separate poets; instead, he crafted his work in two distinct styles. Moreover, Habibi speculated that in a segment of Saydi's oeuvre, he deviated from conventional Gorani, intentionally incorporating linguistic artifice. Mahmoudveysi (2016:68) acknowledges that Dizli's poetry leans more towards the Hawrami vernacular, diverging from the typical Gorani style. This affinity toward Hawrami is evident in the manner in which issues of case and gender are portrayed in his poems.

In their study titled *"Gorani Dialect: The Literary Standard Dialect among Kurdish People,"* Imami & Hosseini Abbariki (2010) scrutinized Gorani's standardization. Before the emergence of Central Kurdish as the standard dialect, Gorani consistently held the position of the literary standard language among Kurds. Speakers of Kurdish from the city of Shahrezor to Ilam and Lakistan primarily utilized dialects such as Hawrami, Central Kurdish, Laki, and Kalhori, among others. However, they predominantly employed Gorani in their poetic compositions. The authors highlighted instances where speakers chose the standard Gorani lexicon over the vocabulary of their native regional varieties, i.e., Laki and Luri.

As elucidated above, Gorani's status as a "standard language" epitomizes diglossia, a concept we further unpack in section 3. The high variety (hereafter denoted as H) undergoes modifications in its grammar and lexicon in the nascent phases of standardization, culminating in a standardized language form.

Sanandaji (2013) centered his research on the etymology of verbs in the Hawrami dialect, juxtaposing it with Central Kurdish. He enumerated 1,300 elementary verb roots in Hawrami, distinguishing 138 verbs unique to literary Gorani and absent in Hawrami. This presence of unique verbs in Gorani is congruent with Ferguson's (1959) observations about diglossic languages, where specific lexemes are exclusive to the H variety and absent in the low variety (hereafter denoted as L). These facets highlighted by Sanandaji resonate with the characteristics of the H variety Gorani, a topic elaborated on further in section 3.

In the introduction to Mawlawi's Divan, Moftizadeh (2017) examined the grammatical distinctions between literary Gorani and Hawrami, employing traditional grammatical terminology to illustrate and elucidate each discrepancy. He acknowledged the longstanding use of literary Gorani as the literary language in various regions of Kurdistan for nearly a millennium, resulting in its differentiation from the spoken language of Hawrami.

Notably, Moftizadeh and Mahmoudveysi's observation regarding the prolonged use of literary Gorani by poets and writers underscores the characteristics of diglossia. In this linguistic context, an H-variety language like Gorani is employed by the educated for literary purposes. In contrast, an L-variety language such as Hawrami is used in everyday conversations.

In his introduction to Saydi's Divan, Habibi (2019) briefly discussed the grammatical and phonetic differences between literary Gorani and Hawrami under the title *General Literary Gorani Language*. Notwithstanding these differences, Habibi suggests that the two varieties share a common origin and form part of the same language family. The primary factor contributing to the divergence between Gorani and Hawrami is that the poets and writers of Gorani do not speak Hawrami and lack proficiency in the Hawrami language. Following this rationale, the texts deviate further from Hawrami grammar as they distance themselves from Hawrami-speaking regions and align more closely with Hawrami when in proximity to such regions. Consequently, the poems of Saydī, Bēsārānī, and Mawlawī exhibit a closer affinity to Hawrami. In contrast, the works of Mullah Parēshān Dīnawrī and Mīrzā Shafʿ Kolyāyī, originating from non-Hawraman regions, display a lesser alignment with Hawrami.

Notably, none of these theories can be conclusively proven or disproven due to the intricate nature of Gorani, which permits each theory to maintain some validity. However, none of these theories can comprehensively encompass all facets of the language. Given the distinctive attributes of the Gorani language, such as its limited utilization in formal religious and literary contexts, the absence of a speech community that considers it their mother tongue, the prevalence of Hawrami as the predominant spoken language in the region, and the substantial grammatical disparities between literary Gorani and Hawrami, it is plausible to hypothesize that the language exists within a diglossic situation.

Therefore, the primary goal of this study is to determine the extent to which Gorani and Hawrami can be considered to exhibit a diglossic situation according to Ferguson's theoretical framework, which focuses on examining diglossic situations worldwide (Ferguson 1959, 1991). We contemplate the likelihood that Hawrami constitutes a low variety (L) while Gorani serves as a high variety (H) predominantly employed in formal religious and literary contexts. The grammatical disparities observed between Gorani and Hawrami, as underscored by various researchers, including MacKenzie (2002), Moftizadeh (2017), and others, may be attributed to the inherent distinctions between an H variety and an L variety. In light of these considerations, this study constructs two language corpora: one based on Gorani, utilizing the manuscript of Mawlawi's Divan, and the other on spoken Hawrami language encompassing the three dialects of Taxt, Lehon, and Žāwaro (refer to

section 3). Subsequently, the two corpora were juxtaposed, and their grammatical differences were analyzed.

2.2 Research questions and objectives

This paper comprehensively analyzes the literary Gorani language and explores its potential diglossic relationship with Hawrami. Our primary objective is to ascertain the extent to which Gorani and Hawrami demonstrate a diglossic association, delving into the underlying factors shaping this dynamic. Additionally, we seek to scrutinize the grammatical differences between these two languages, specifically assessing whether these distinctions align with the H (high) and L (low) linguistic varieties. Ultimately, our research aims to present a renewed interpretation of the observed grammatical variations between the H form of Gorani and the L form of Hawrami, incorporating the principles of diglossia and the influence of other languages.

This study seeks answers to several pivotal research questions, aligning with our objectives:

1. How closely do Gorani and Hawrami align with the diglossic paradigm?
2. How is the grammatical structure of literary Gorani distinguished from that of Hawrami?
3. Can the grammatical differences between Gorani and Hawrami be attributed to the dynamics between their H and L varieties?
4. In what manner has the H form of Gorani evolved to be simultaneously less intricate than the L form of Hawrami yet more complex in terms of its borrowed grammatical features?
5. How does linguistic contact under bilingual conditions with Central Kurdish, Southern Kurdish, and Laki languages elucidate the grammatical distinctions between the H form of Gorani and the L form of Hawrami?

3 Methodology

3.1 Theoretical framework of the study (Ferguson's diglossia theory)

This section seeks to determine whether or not the historical utilization of Gorani, in conjunction with its relationship to spoken languages, aligns with the diglossic criteria outlined by Ferguson (1959, 1991).

The original description of diglossia, according to Ferguson (1959), is:

> a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

Congruent with Ferguson's definition, a diglossic community possesses two language varieties: the H variety and the L variety. The relationship between the H and L varieties transcends mere standard/non-standard or dialectal distinctions, representing a single language employed in two distinct scenarios.

It is essential to scrutinize the divergences between the H and L varieties. These disparities can manifest in myriad domains, including function, prestige, acquisition, literary heritage, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology (Ferguson, 1959). In this discussion, we examine each of these facets in relation to Gorani.

3.1.1 Function

The primary distinction between the H and L varieties lies in their roles and functions within society. The high variety is typically reserved for religious ceremonies, administration and political proceedings, formal education, personal letter-writing, and literature. However, it is not employed for everyday conversations among either individuals or families. Conversely, the L variety is the preferred daily interaction among family members, friends, and the broader community, commonly heard in streets, markets, restaurants, and other public spaces.

The analysis of Gorani as a high (H)-variety language within a diglossic context unveils its significant role in religious ceremonies conducted by Yarsān followers, both historically and in contemporary times, particularly in shrines, jam-xānes, or gatherings with esteemed elders. Khamooshi (1993) and Taheri (2007) have detailed prayers employed in Yarsan ceremonies, all of which are in Gorani. For instance, the prayer for *jowz-e sar shekastan*, recited during initiation into the Yarsan religion, and the marriage prayer are key examples.

Gorani's prominence is also evident in the realm of poetry and literature. Throughout different epochs, numerous poets like Bēsārānī (1641–1701), Taxtayī (1544–1637), Mawlawī (1806–1882), Saydī (1784–1852), and Khānāy Qobādī (1759–1700 AD) have contributed to its literary corpus (refer Khaznedar 2010, Amini 2017, Mackenzie 1965). Gorani's usage in personal letters, often alongside

Arabic and Persian, is manifested in instances like Mawlawī's correspondence with kin and Pīran-e Naqeshbandi's epistles to his disciples, as compiled by Modarres (2011). While the administrative realm largely defers to the official Persian language, Gorani remains somewhat sidelined. Even under the Ardalan rule, which held Gorani literature in high esteem, official matters were conducted in Persian, in line with broader Iranian practices. Shams (2018: 57) remarked after extensive research on local historical documents of Ardalan rulers that not a single prose line in Gorani was found.

The concept of formal education as we understand it today was absent in previous times. Instead, rudimentary classrooms and schools sufficed. Seminary education, or Hujrakhāna, was primarily dispensed in Arabic and Persian. Nevertheless, there are instances of educational texts in jurisprudence and ethics being crafted in Gorani in poetic form, exemplified by Roa Bezānī by Mollā Kheder Rowārī (1734–1795) and Khwā Yāret bo by Molla Abdollah Mofti (1856–1923). Such texts were foundational and were taught alongside Arabic and Persian in early Islamic seminary education, as collated by Mahmudi (2014).

In regions where Gorani was a literary staple, day-to-day exchanges predominantly occurred in languages such as Hawrami, Central Kurdish, Kalhori, Laki, and Luri. Keller (1982: 90) pinpointed the non-usage of the H variety in daily dialogues as the most defining trait of diglossic scenarios. Intriguingly, the boundary between the H and L varieties is sharp due to the exclusive poetic use of the H variety.

3.1.2 Prestige

A defining feature of diglossia is the prestige it holds. This feature implies that its speakers often view the H variety as superior and more valuable than the vernacular. Such esteem is attributable to the users' attitudes and perceptions of the H variety, which they often regard as beautiful, logical, and powerful. The elevated prestige of the high (H) variety can often be ascribed to its religious sanctity and significance.

Indubitably, compared to the spoken variety of Hawrami, Gorani has held a distinct status and charm. It has been seen as a marker of cultural refinement. Individuals of learning and virtue were inclined to master it, produce literature in it, and even juxtapose its prestige with that of Persian, the esteemed official language of the time.

Khānāye Qobādi (1704–1778) penned the poetic masterpiece *Shirin and Khosrow* in Gorani. In the preamble to this creation, he articulates his sentiments for the Kurdish language, which he identifies as Gorani. He mentions:

řāsan mawāčān fārsī šakaran	"It is true that they say Persian is sweet,
kurdī ǰa fārsī bal ***šīrīntaran***	but Kurdish (Gorani) is much sweeter". (Mulla Karim, 1975)

It can be inferred that Gorani and Persian occupied prestigious positions as literary languages. Sayyed Abdul Rahīm Tawgozī was honored with the pseudonym "Mawlawī Kurd" in acknowledgment of his esteemed status. Similar to Mawlana Jalaluddin Rumi, renowned as Mawlawī, Tawgozī received this designation from Razā Qulī Xan Ardalān, symbolizing his stature akin to that of Mawlāna Jalāluddīn Rumī (Khaznadar 2010c:434).

3.1.3 Acquisition

One of the most significant distinctions between H and L varieties lies in their mode of acquisition. As a case in point, the H variety is seldom learned as a first language but is instead absorbed through formal education. Conversely, the L variety is naturally acquired as a mother tongue. In diglossic situations, speakers typically learn the L variety as their native language in informal environments and later acquire the H variety within structured educational settings.

Based on this criterion of language acquisition, it becomes evident that Gorani is not naturally learned as a mother tongue, owing to the absence of any standard speech community that adopts it in such a manner. Instead, the language has traditionally been assimilated through informal education in specialized religious gatherings, such as those associated with the Yarsan community in Takya (refer to Soltani 2001b), or via engagements with Islamic scholars in Hujra. Moreover, this language was taught in the Dīwā-xān, establishments specific to the governors and monarchs of the Ardalan dynasty (see Khaznadr 2010a:75–83).

Although Gorani was not acquired as a mother tongue, it held a distinct appeal and was considered virtuous to those who could gain mastery over it. On the other hand, languages like Hawrami, Central Kurdish, Kalhori, and Laki were inherently learned as mother tongues, eliminating the need for formal education.

3.1.4 Literary heritage

Ferguson (1959) posits that the emergence of a diglossic situation is predicated on a rich literary heritage and an extensive body of literature. In communities where two languages coexist, the H variety typically boasts a significant collection of

written works and literary masterpieces, which serve as sources of pride and prestige for the community.

A vast collection of literary works written in Gorani exists within the Gorani linguistic community. This rich literary heritage in Gorani has influenced Hawrami and other languages. Such an extensive collection of literary works in a diglossic language is viewed as a source of pride and is highly valued by the community. As Mackenzie (1965) and Amini (2017) documented, there are over thirty volumes of Gorani poetry. Moreover, over 60,000 verses have been composed under the title *Shahnameh*, as noted by Chamanara & Amiri (2018). Additionally, the holy texts of Yarsan, written in Gorani, have been meticulously compiled by Taheri (2007, 2009) into a substantial collection.

3.1.5 Standardization

The H variety adheres to a strict standard of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary in a diglossic language; it is only susceptible to limited modifications. Its writing system employs a fixed script with minimal variations. Conversely, the L variety is characterized by a lack of standardization in pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, and script, and its writing principles are not fixed.

It is crucial to recognize that language standardization can either be planned or unplanned (Sarli 2008). In the context of Gorani, standardization has been an unplanned evolution, naturally developing over time under specific social conditions. To the best of the authors' knowledge, there was no existing grammar or dictionary for Gorani until Rieu's publication in 1881. Historically, foreigners often authored teaching grammars languages, but this was not the case for Gorani.

The H variety (Gorani) has evolved to a standard level, deriving its authenticity and credibility from religious tenets, specifically Yarsanism, and from the contributions of poets and writers. The standardization process has ushered in many structural and lexical changes. Such standardization is absent in the L variety (Hawrami), which remains colloquial.

Ferguson (1996: 190–191) outlines three prevalent proclivities in standardization: 1) Koineization, which diminishes dialectal disparities through dialect leveling – avoiding markers specific to particular dialects – and simplification, akin to pidginization in other contexts. 2) Variety shifting, where distinct linguistic traits serve as identifiers for specific social groups. 3) Classicization, which entails the adoption of features associated with a past prestige norm.

Because only Hawrami exhibited gender and case markers in areas where Gorani was utilized as a literary language, and others such as Southern Kurdish, Laki, and Luri lacked such markers (see Qamandar 2014: 299), it is plausible that the differences

between Literary Gorani and Hawrami stemmed due to koineization-driven standardization, leading to the loss of gender and case markers. Imami & Hosseini Abbariki (2010) examined Gorani's standardization process, highlighting instances of language users who favored Gorani's standard vocabulary over their local vernacular.

3.1.6 Stability

Another characteristic of diglossia is its longevity. Typically, diglossia endures for several centuries, and in certain instances, it can persist for over a millennium. Although some scholars, such as Safizadeh (1982:6), postulate that Gorani's history may originate from ancient religious texts from the 2nd century AH, recorded evidence based on the poetry of Mollā Parishan Dinwari, recognized as the pioneer of Gorani poetry, can be dated to the 8th century AH or the 14th century CE (Khazanhdar, 2010: 22; Ghazanfari, 2008:16). This trend continued up to the first half of the 19th century CE, signifying that Gorani has maintained its stability for over five consecutive centuries.

3.1.7 Grammar

A fundamental distinction between the high (H) and low (L) varieties is their respective grammatical structures. The high variety exhibits specific grammatical features that are conspicuously absent in the low variety.

These grammatical discrepancies become evident after a cursory evaluation of Gorani texts compared to Hawrami. Scholars who have undertaken analyses of Gorani in conjunction with Hawrami have consistently recognized these variations (refer to McKenzie 2002, Moftizadeh 2017). In the subsequent chapter, we conduct an in-depth exploration of the grammatical intricacies of Gorani, juxtaposing them with those of the low variety Hawrami.

3.1.8 Lexicon

While the H and L varieties share much of their vocabulary, distinctions emerge in form, usage, or meaning. The H variety exclusively houses technical and specialized terms suited for formal contexts, which lack equivalents in the L variety. Conversely, everyday vocabulary items are unique to the L variety, with no counterparts in the H variety. The presence of paired words is a hallmark of diglossic situations: one from the H variety and the other from the L variety. Both words

might denote a similar concept and inhabit the same usage domain, yet each is distinctly categorized as H or L. The Table 1 offers a comparison of some terms in the H and L varieties:

Table 1: Comparison of Word Usage in H and L Varieties.

Concepts	Hawrami Taxt (L variety)	Gorani (H variety)
kissed	*māčiš kard*	*bosā*
went	*luwā*	*šī*
stood	*horēst*	*xēzā*
Blood	*wənī*	*hūn*
For	*pay*	*parē*
More	*fratar*	*fēštar*
A moment	*tāwē*	*lādē*

In Gorani, a significant portion of its lexicon is borrowed from Persian and Arabic (See Figure 1), owing to its history as the language of scholars and poets. As a result, the H variety exhibits a high frequency of these borrowed terms. In the studied corpus, 562 out of 1071 distinct nouns are of Arabic or Persian origin, constituting more than half of the noun instances.

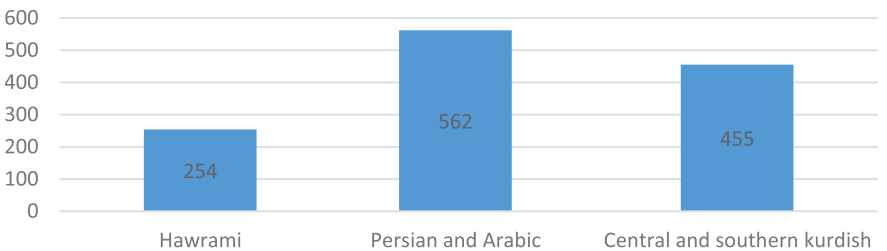

Figure 1: Nouns used in Gorani corpus.

Chamanara & Amiri (2018) compared the lexicons of Gorani with Central Kurdish, Laki, Hawrami, and Kalhori. Their findings highlighted Gorani's predilection towards borrowing from the Persian language. For instance, while the words for "sister" and "snow" differ across these languages, the H variety of Gorani utilizes the Persian terms:

Gor. *xwāhar*, Haw. *wāła* Kal. *xwayshk/xwaysheg*, Lak. *xwē/xwayshk*, Sor. *xwayshk* 'sister'
Gor. *barf/bafr* Haw. *warwa*, Kal. *wafr,* Lak. *wafr*, Sor. *bafr* 'snow'

Sanandaji (2013) compiled a list of 138 Gorani verbs exclusively used in Gorani, not Hawrami. Although he does not directly address diglossia, he implicitly alludes to the characteristics of Gorani diglossia in vocabulary selection.

3.1.9 Phonology

No universal rule distinguishes the phonological systems of H and L varieties. For example, in Greek, the phonological systems of diglossic varieties are closely related, while in Arabic and Haitian Creole, they exhibit more significant differences. Swiss-German provides another example, where the systems are entirely different from one another (Ferguson 1959).

A comparative analysis of the phonetic system of one language or dialect versus another requires access to the spoken corpora of both. Given that the Gorani variety examined in this study exists only in written form, probing its phonology becomes a challenging, if not impossible, endeavor. Gorani utilizes the Persian script, which lacks specific symbols for certain vowels and consonants or employs multiple symbols to represent a single consonant. Therefore, gaining an understanding of Gorani phonetics solely from written records is insufficient. For instance, the consonant, velarized alveolar approximant, [ɹˠ], discussed in Naqshbandi (2020), is represented as <δ> in Windfuhr (1989: 251–262), [d̪] in Makenzie (1966), or [đ] in other sources. This consonant, prominent in Hawrami and found in words like *ađā* 'mother', *āđ* 'that,' and *ēđ* 'this,' lacks a dedicated symbol in written Gorani and is represented with the symbol <ډ> for the voiced dental-alveolar plosive [d]. While Hawrami speakers pronounce these words with the velarized alveolar approximant [mađo, ēđ, āđ], those from dialects such as Central Kurdish, Southern Kurdish, and Laki articulate them with the voiced dental-alveolar plosive [mado, ēd, ād].

Given the above, it is apparent that our ability to access the standardized phonological system of the H variety Gorani is constrained. The articulations made by Gorani speakers are influenced by phonetic modifications inherent in their respective languages or dialects. Chamanara & Amiri (2018) emphasized that each region imposes its phonological system onto Gorani, introducing complexity to endeavors to delineate distinctions between the H and L varieties.

Consequently, discussing the phonetic disparities between the H and L varieties is beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, it would be inappropriate to make definitive statements in this regard. After considering the nine features of diglossia that Ferguson (1951) defined and applying them to the context of Gorani, it becomes evident that Gorani constitutes a diglossic community, with the essential characteristics for both the H and L varieties evident.

The Table 2 provides a comparison between Gorani and Hawrami based on the nine Features of Diglossia:

Table 2: Comparison of Gorani and Hawrami in the nine Features of Diglossia.

Features of Diglossia	Gorani (H variety)	Hawrami (L variety)
function	usage in religion and literature	everyday conversations and colloquial language
prestige	It has a highly esteemed status: it is considered prestigious and elevated as the sacred language of religion and the language of literature	lacks such prestige
acquisition	It is not acquired as a mother tongue	It is learned as a mother tongue
literary heritage	It has a rich literary heritage spanning hundreds of years	lacks such a heritage
standardization	standardization is unplanned, as it has occurred during a natural and historical process under specific social conditions	This standardization has not occurred and is only used in the form of colloquial language
stability	more than 500 years	–
grammar	simpler grammar(?)	more complex grammar
lexicon	more technical, religious, and literary terms	practical vocabulary for everyday affairs
phonology	unclear	clear

3.2 Data collection and selection (Gorani texts and questionnaire for Hawrami)

3.2.1 Corpus for H variety Gorani

In our study, we initially sought access to authentic handwritten versions of Kalams and Yarsani texts. Despite our earnest efforts, we encountered challenges in locating reliable old versions. This scarcity is attributed to the Yarsani tradition of orally transmitted teachings, as elucidated by Kreyenbroek & Kanakis (2020:19). These texts were transcribed in written form approximately 150 years ago, with a limited history of handwritten documentation. Additionally, scant information is available about the authors and narrators of these texts, including details about their native language and place of residence.

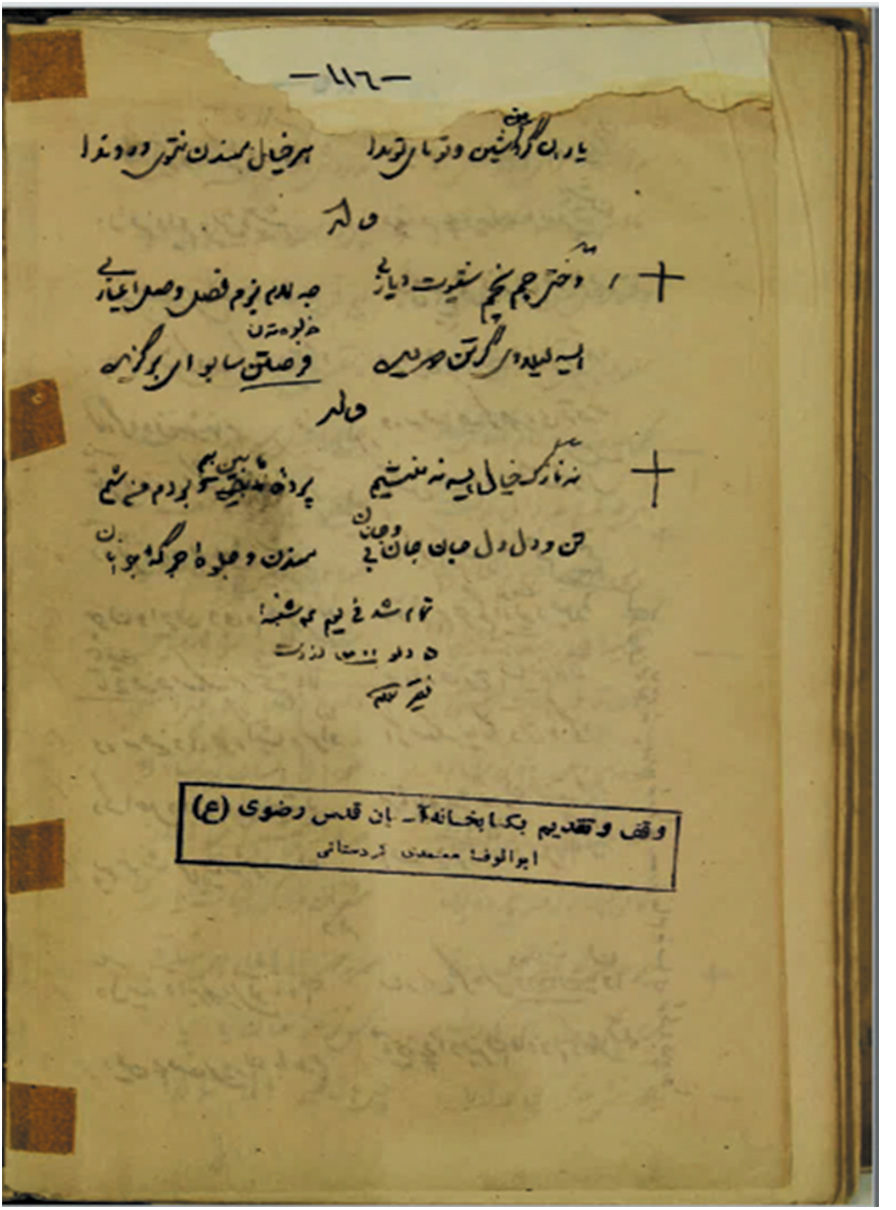

Figure 2: The manuscript 11092 Divan-ī Mawlawī, housed at the Āstān-e Qods-e Rażawī library.

Consequently, we turned our attention to poetic texts, which constitute the cornerstone of the written tradition in Gorani. Among Gorani poets, Abdulrahim Mawlawī

(1221–1300 AH/1806–1882 CE) is the most distinguished. As MacKenzie (1965:269) highlighted, the continued existence of the Gorani language owes much to the enduring popularity of Mawlawī's renowned poems.

In addition to the eight manuscripts of Mawlawī's Divan, numbered from 1991–9882 to 1991–9876 in the Berlin Library, we accessed a manuscript stored as number 11092 in the Astan Quds Razavi library Figure 2, contributed by Abu'l-Wafa Mo'tamed Kurdistan in September 1972. Completed on the fifth day of Dhu al-Qa'da in 1300 AH/1882 CE, this version includes a documented date on its final page. The introduction and conclusion of this manuscript have been scrutinized by Abduli (2015) and Samadi (2019), revealing crucial historical and literary insights. For more detailed information, readers are directed to these two sources.

The authenticity and validity of source material are of paramount importance in academic research. Therefore, we conducted a meticulous assessment of this manuscript. A noteworthy feature is its known transcription date, aligning with the year of Mawlawī's passing (refer to Modarres 1961, Khaznadar 2010c: 433). Compared to other manuscripts, the content and structure of this version further affirm its accuracy and authenticity. Notably, the manuscript is written consistently and legibly without inconsistencies or discrepancies. Moreover, its pristine and unaltered pages enhance its reliability for academic research.

3.2.2 Corpus for L variety (Hawrami)

For our study, we employed a questionnaire comprising 96 sentences spanning various grammatical aspects. We sourced our samples from all three regions of Hawraman: Taxt, Lehon, and Žāwaro. We interviewed 14 individuals, diverse in age and gender, to capture spoken data from Hawrami speakers in these regions. The participants comprised five native Hawrami speakers from villages in Lehon, including Kemnah, Dārīyān, Berawās, and Nodsha; 5 native Hawrami speakers from Hawraman Taxt, encompassing žīwār, Kamālah, and Rowarē; and four native Hawrami speakers from Žāwaro villages such as Awehang, žīnēn, Taxtah, and Galēn.

Supplementing our data collection methods, we recorded five audio clips of unrehearsed speech from Hawrami speakers. This approach enabled us to capture more organic and spontaneous verbal exchanges from native speakers.

We employed the ELAN software for annotation and translation to analyze these audio clips. ELAN facilitated the transcription and conversion of the speech data into our target language. After transcription and translation, we performed a morphological analysis utilizing the FLEX software.

In summary, our holistic data acquisition and interpretation method furnished invaluable perspectives on the Hawrami language and its inherent linguistic prop-

erties. Furthermore, taking into account Mawlawī's background of researching and living in the Hawraman regions, as mentioned in Modares 1961, and considering that our Hawrami speech data originates from the areas closely associated with Mawlawī's studies or residence, it is reasonable to conclude that these two sets of data come from a cohesive linguistic region. One is expressed in written form, while the other is conveyed verbally.

4 Results

As mentioned earlier, despite some preliminary examinations of Gorani by scholars such as Rieu (1881), MacKenzie (2002), Moftizadeh (2017), and Mahmoudveysi (2016), none have provided a comprehensive grammar description. Our study addresses this gap by utilizing the Gorani H variety corpus from Mawlawī's Divan and the L variety Hawrami corpus collected through fieldwork, allowing for a thorough comparison between these two varieties.

Our research delves explicitly into the grammatical structures of Gorani and Hawrami, focusing on the grammatical morphemes found in the corpora. Through this analysis, we classified the grammatical morphemes into four groups:

4.1 Both Gorani and Hawrami utilize the same grammatical morphemes

Regarding noun derivation, there are no significant differences between Hawrami and Gorani. Both languages utilize similar derivational morphemes to create nouns.

4.1.1 Preverbs

The following examples demonstrate that preverbs in both varieties (Gorani and Hawrami) are the same: *hor-* 'up,' *war-* 'down,' and *bar-* 'out':

(1) Gorani

Šamāl	*šo*	***hor**-gēr*	*bə-dar*
north.wind	SUB.go.PRS.2SG	**up**-SUB.take.PRS.2SG	SUB.give.PRS.2SG
bederang			
immediately			

'North wind, Go and pick up and immediately give them'.

(2) Hawrami
sāʕbē ***hor-****ēst-ē-n-mē-wa*
tomorrow **up**-stand.PST-PTCP.PL-PRF-1PL-again
'[Then, when] we woke up in the morning'.

4.1.2 Passivization

The following examples illustrate passivization in both varieties, using the PRS suffix *-y* for the present tense and the PST suffix *-yā* for the past tense:

(3) Gorani
yā xayr *ma-mař-****yā*** *panǰa-y* *pā-y* *fard=əm*
or no IPFV-break.PRS-**PSS.PST** finger-EZ foot-EZ poem=1SG
'[whether] or not, the toes of my poem were broken'.

(4) Hawrami
Alī *koš-****yā***
Ali Kill.PRS-**PSS.PST**
'Ali was killed'.

4.1.3 Causativization

The following examples demonstrate the use of causativization in both varieties: the PRS form *-ən* for the present tense and the PST form *-ənā* for the past tense:

(5) Gorani
aw *ma-tāw-****en****-o=m* *ēđ* *ma-lāw-****ən****-o=m*
that IND-melt.PRS-**CAUS.PRS**-3SG=1SG this IND-soothe.PRS-**CAUS.PRS**-3SG=1SG
'That one is melting me (i.e., making me feel ashamed), [whereas] the other is soothing me (i.e., making me feel calm)'.

(6) Hawrami
Alī *ma-geraw-****ən****-o=m*
Ali IND-cry.PRS-**CAUS**-3SG=1SG
'Ali make me weep'.

4.1.4 Affix *-awa*, *awa-*

In Hawrami Lehon, this affix serves a dual function as a suffix and a prefix. When attached to the final part of a verb, it functions as a suffix, whereas when added to the beginning of an infinitive, it operates as a prefix. Although similar affixes exist in other languages, like Central Kurdish, the distinctive feature of ambifixial usage is exclusive to Hawrami and Gorani. Its role is to impart the sense of repetition or reversal to the verb stem, whether employed as a prefix or a suffix.

(7) Gorani

a. *alwadā-y āxer **awa**-na-ām-āy=m=an*
farewell-EZ last **again**-NEG-come.PRS-INF=1SG=COP.PRS.3SG
'This is the final farewell of not returning'.

b. *parē baład=īm bə-kīyāna=š-**awa***
for guide=1SG SUB-send.PRS.2SG=3SG-**again**
'Return him to me as my guide'.

(8) Hawrami (Lehon)

a. *awa-wān-āy*
again-read-INF
'to reread'

b. *wānā=m-wa*
read.PST=1SG-**again**
'I reread it'.

4.1.5 Indicative mood

In both varieties, the indicative mood in the present uses both ma- and Ø. For example:

(9) **Gorani**

a. ***ma**-zān-o harkas ǰa ʔerfān kayl=an*
IND-know.PRS-3SG everyone from knowledge full=COP.PRS.3SG
'everyone who has sufficient knowledge knows'.

b. *šān-o=š čon baydāx nasar mazār-ān*
IND.send.PRS-3SG.A=3SG.P like flag over tomb-PL
'[the breeze] moves it like a flag over the graves'.

(10) a. awrāmī (Taxt)
zān-o
know.PRS.IND-3SG
'he/she knows'.

b. Hawrami (Lehon, Žāwaro)
ma-zān-o
IND-know-3SG
'he/she knows'.

4.1.6 Subjunctive mood in the present

In both varieties, the subjunctive mood in the Non-past demonstrates parallel usage of *bə-* and Ø:

(11) Gorani
***bə**-kīyān-o* *řēz-o* *řaħmat* *pīyāła*
SUB-send.PRS-3SG **SUB.**pour.PRS-3SG mercy cup
'May he send and pour a cup of mercy for them'.

(12) a. Hawrami (Taxt)
baškam *kīyān-o*
perhaps **SUB**.send-3SG
'May he/she send'

b. Hawrami (Lehon, Žāwaro)
baškam ***bə**-kīyān-o*
perhaps **SUB**-send-3SG
'May he/she send'

4.1.7 The prefix *na-* for negation in the past and present verb in Gorani.

Following the negative pattern of dialect Žāwaro, Gorani uses the prefix *na-* for both the present and past tenses (see 13–15). In Hawrami Taxt, *na-* is used to negate past verbs, and 'ma-' is used to negate present verbs.[7]

(13) **Gorani**

a. *wīyard* ***na**-zānā=š* *sīwāy* *aw* *han-ī*
pass.PST.3SG **NEG**-know.PST=3SG.A except 3SG exist.PRS-2SG
'he forgave you, and no one else knew you existed except him'.

b. *řā* ***na**-ma-zān-ūn* *baład* *zarūr=an*
way **NEG**-IND-know.PRS-1SG guide necessary=COP.PRS.3SG
'I am lost (lit, I do not know the way) and need a guide'.

7 In the Lehon dialect, there are two distinct negative patterns for non-past verbs that differentiate between the IND and NEG markers. The first pattern mirrors the structure observed in Hawrami Taxt. In contrast, the second pattern, exclusive to the Lehon dialect, uses stress placement to differentiate between the IND and NEG markers.

(14) Hawrami (Žāwaro)
***na**-zānā=š*
NEG-know.PST=3SG.A
'she did not know'.

b.
***na**-ma-zān-o*
NEG-IND-know.PRS-3SG.A
'she/he does not know'.

(15) Hawrami (Taxt)
***na**-zānā=š*
NEG-know.PST=3SG.A
'she/he did not know'.

b.
***ma**-zān-o*
NEG.IND-know.PRS-3SG.A
'she/he does not know'.

4.1.8 The prefix *ma-*

The prefix ma- is used for prohibitive in both varieties:

(16) Gorani
*nayčī derang=an sā **ma**-kar derang*
nay.player late=COP.PRS.3SG oh **PROH**-do.PRS.2SG.A late
'ney player, it is late, so do not hesitate'.

(17) Hawrami
ma-war
PROH-eat.PRS.2SG.A
'Do not eat'.

4.1.9 The suffix *-tar*

This suffix is used to form comparative adjectives in both Hawrami and Gorani. It is usually accompanied by the preposition *ǰa* 'than'.

(18) Gorani
řaħm=t ǰa tāwān mən farāwān-tar
mercy=2SG than crime 1SG plentiful-CMPR
'O, [God], you are more merciful than my crime'.

(19) Hawrami
Alī ǰa mən gawra=tar=an/ā
Ali than 1SG big=more=COP.PRS.3SG
'Ali is older than I am'.

4.1.10 The past participle construction

The past participle construction, which consists of the past tense and the suffix *-a*, is prevalent in Gorani:

(20) Gorani

dəł-a	*ward-**a**-y*	*nafs*	*gunāh*	*āward-**a***
heart-voc	eat-**PTCP**-EZ	evil.spirit	sin	bring-**PTCP**

'Oh, my heart, Your evil spirit, which brought you to sin, destroyed (lit., ate) you'.

Mackenzie (1966: 36) described the past participle in Hawrami and provided the following examples: *wət-a* 'having gone to sleep', *wīyard-a* 'having passed', *āward-a* 'having been brought'.

4.1.11 Pronominal clitics

In both varieties, pronominal clitics are indeed the same. The Table 3 displays the forms:

Table 3: Pronominal clitics in Gorani and Hawrami.

	singular	**plural**
1	*=əm*	*=mān*
2	*=ət*	*=tān*
3	*=š*	*=šān*

4.1.12 Reflexive pronouns

In both varieties, reflexive pronouns are indeed identical. The following table presents the corresponding forms:

Table 4: Reflexive pronouns in Gorani and Hawrami.

	singular	plural
1	*wēm*	*wēmān*
2	*wēt*	*wētān*
3	*wēš*	*wēšān*

4.1.13 Additive particle

The additive particle is *=īč* 'too' in both varieties.

(21) Gorani
dəł-aka-y *mən=**īč*** *xaylē=n* *baršī=an*
heart-DEF.SG-EZ 1SG-**ADD** very=COP.PRS.3SG run.away.PST.3SG-=PRF
'My heart has also been running away for a long time'.

(22) Hawrami
ā *waxt=**īč*** *waš* *bī*
that time=**ADD** good COP.PST.3SG
'Well, that time was good, too'.

4.2 Gorani and Hawrami use identical grammatical morphemes, but Gorani lacks gender and case markers.

4.2.1 Case marker in nouns

In Hawrami, nouns have two cases: direct and oblique forms. For masculine nouns, the direct form involves adding the suffix *–ī/y* to the end of the word, while for feminine nouns, the oblique form includes the suffix *-ē*. The absence of case markers is common in the Gorani language and extends beyond this corpus. This characteristic is observable in other Gorani texts like Yārī Kalam and Shāhnāme. Thus, the

lack of case markers on nouns in Gorani stands out as a fundamental distinction between Gorani and Hawrami (compare 23 and 24):

(23) Gorani

a. *hawr-e* *naw* *zārzār* *kłāwawkłāw* *ma-gēł-o* ***asrīn***
cloud-EZ new sorrowfully peak.to.peak IND-wander.PRS-3SG **tear**
ma-řēz-o *tāwtāw*
IND-pour.PRS-3SG heavily
'The new clouds are slowly and sadly moving from peak to peak, with heavily raining tears'.

b. *lāł* *bā-m* ***pay*** ***maynat*** *ǰasta* *xasta-ka=t*
dumb SUB.COP.PRS-1SG **for** **suffering** body tired-DEF=2SG
'May I lose my tongue for the suffering of your tired body'.

(24) Hawrami

a. *ʔarz-aka-**y**=tā* *wāč-dē*
request-DEF.SG-**OBL.M**=2PL IMP.say.PRS-2SG
'well, say your request.'

b. *lēw-ē-n-mē* ***pay*** ***āw-ē***
go.PST-PTCP-PRF-1PL **for** **water-OBL.F**
'we used to go to the spring (water)'.

4.2.2 Gender markers on nouns

According to Sajjadi (2015:118) and MacKenzie (1966:13), gender in Hawrami is distinguishable structurally and without the need for semantic evaluation. Nouns that end in a series of consonants or stressed vowels (ˈū, ˈo, ˈī, ˈa) are all masculine (25a), while those that end in unstressed vowels (ī, a) and stressed vowel (ˈē) are all feminine (25b). The gender of masculine nouns is unequivocally discernible, and no specific markers are necessary. The consonants and vowels are integral components of these nouns and cannot be separated under any circumstances. In contrast, the situation is distinct for feminine nouns. The vowels (ē, a, ī) indicate the feminine gender. For example, these markers may be attached to other words in some compound words. In addition, gender markers are attached to loanwords in Hawrami (For more information, see Sajjadi 2015).

(25) Hawrami

a. **M**: *kuř* (boy), *čam* (eye), *hāˈna* (spring), *māˈzī* (back), ˈ*ko* (mountain), *žaˈžū* (hedgehog).
Borrowed nouns: *mobāyl* (mobile), *māšīn* (machine).

b. **F**: ˈ*māng-a* (moon-F), ˈ*warw-a (snow-F),* ˈ*karg-a* (chicken-F), ˈ*lamm-a* (stomach-F), ˈ*kənāč-ē* (girl-F), ˈ*žan-ī* (woman-F), *žaraž-ī* (partridge-F), *šaw-a* (night-F), ˈ*āw-ī* (water-F), ˈ*wən-ī* (blood-F), ˈ*māč-a* (kiss-F), ˈ*tam-a* (fog-F) *Šerīn-a*, *Mənīr-a*.
Borrowed nouns: *hīmmat-a* (help-F), *hotel-a* (hotel-F), *rasturan-a* (restaurant-F).

After searching Mawlawī's Divan, we discovered that some of the aforementioned examples, which use gender markers in Hawrami, appear without gender markers in the corpus.

(26) Gorani

a. *fekr-e* *dāna-y* *xāł* ***žaraž*** *xarāmān*
thought-EZ item-EZ mole **partridge** walking.gracefully
'the thought of a mole [on the face of loved ones who] walk gracefully like a partridge.'

b. *čon* *xīyāł* *wa* ***māč*** *pā=t* *wašḥāł*
because thought with **kiss** foot=2SG happy
ma-bī
IPFV-become.PST.3SG
'because thinking of kissing your feet makes my mind happy'.

c. *wa* *čama-y* *may* ***āw*** *na-dər-yā bo*
with source-EZ wine **water** NEG-give.PRS-PASS SUB.COP.PRS.3SG
'it has not been watered by a stream from a wine source'.

d. *dā* *bazm-ī* ***šīrīn*** *xasraw* *wa* *ham-dā*
give.PST.3SG party-EZ **Shirin** Khasraw to each.other-POST
'he messed up Shiren and Khosrow's celebration'.

It is important to note that there is no special symbol for short vowels in the writing of handwritten Gorani, and only in some cases kasra (ـِ), fatha (ـَ), and dhamma(ـُ) have been used. Since gender markers are among the short vowels, they are usually not written in handwritten Gorani script. Therefore, different versions of the text were examined in detail to find gender markers, especially the manuscript 1991–9876 version in the Berlin library, which, in most cases, uses kasra, fatha, and

dhamma to represent short vowels, but even in this version, no trace of gender was found. Furthermore, for more assurance, we consulted with the popular oral narrative of the people, especially among the Hawrami speakers. We sought insights from two native experts proficient in the Hawrami language to examine gender markers in Gorani, carefully analyzing their interpretations.[8] As a result, we faced the same issue: gender markers do not exist in Gorani.

4.2.3 Definiteness and indefiniteness

According to MacKenzie (2002), the definite suffix *-aka* is absent in literary Gorani. However, this suffix has occurred 71 times in the corpus in the investigation mentioned. Notably, the *ak(a)* suffix marks definiteness not only for the noun but also for the entire noun phrase. When the noun phrase consists of a single noun, the *-ak(a)* suffix is attached to the end of the noun. Conversely, when there is an adjectival dependent, another noun, or a preposition after the head noun, the *ak(a)-* suffix is added to the end of the last dependent in the noun phrase.

(27) Gorani

dəł-a	*řāga-**ka***	*xaylē*	*tārīk=an*
heart-VOC	route-**DEF**	very	dark=COP.PRS.3SG

'Oh, my heart, the way is quite dark'.

The definite suffix *-aka* is used in Hawrami in the same manner as in Gorani. It also reflects gender: *-aka* stands for masculine, and *-akē* stands for feminine; example 28.

(28) Hawrami

*šota-**ka**-y*	*karē*	*pora-w*	*ē*
milk-**DEF.M**-OBL	do.PST.IPFV.3SG	through-and	come.PST.IPFV.3SG
*hałīza-**kē***	*žanē*		
Waterskin-**DEF.F**	shake.PST.IPFV.3SG		

'[she] would come to prepare milk and buttermilk'.

In Gorani, the indefinite suffix *-ēw, -ē* has been observed. Example (29) employs both of these forms simultaneously. Only six have the suffix *-ēw* among the items in the corpus, while the rest feature the suffix *-ē*.

8 Mr. Mohammad Fahim from Awehang village and former announcer at the Marivan radio station; and Mr. Mansour Rahmani from ženin village, a scholar and expert in Gorānī literature.

(29) Gorani
har *lutf-**ē**=š* *parē=m* *xaǰāłat-**ēw**=an*
har Kindness-**INDF**=3SG for=1SG shame-**INDF**=COP.PRS.3SG
'Any kindness from him is a shame for me.'

Hawrami has three forms of this suffix: *-ēw* for masculine, *-ēwa* for feminine, and *-ē* as a neutral form applicable to both feminine and masculine nouns. See Table 5 for a comparison of definite and indefinite suffixes in Hawrami and Gorani.

(30) Hawrami
a. *Kuř-**ēw**-ī* *ʕāl*
boy-**INDF.M**-EZ good
'a good boy'
b. *kənāč-**ēwa*** *ʕāl-a*
girl-**INDF.F** good-F
'a good girl'.

Table 5: definite and indefinite suffixes in Hawrami and Gorani.

		Gorani	Hawrami
DEF	M	*aka*	*-aka*
	F		*-akē*
INDF	M	*ēw/ē*	*ēw/ē*
	F		*ēwa*

4.2.4 Plural suffix

The suffix *-ān*, which indicates the plural form for both direct and indirect cases, was found to be highly frequent in Gorani.

(31) Gorani
*šatāw-**ān*** *čon* *sayl* *dīda=m=an* *ǰārī*
river-**PL** like flood eye=1SG=COP.PRS.3SG running
'Rivers are flowing down like a flood of my tears'.

There are two plural suffixes in Hawrami: the *-ān/ā* suffix for the oblique case and the *-ē* suffix for the direct case.

(32) Hawrami

a. *ā* *pīy-**ē*** *ā* *žan-**ā/ān*** *wīn-ā*
those man-**PL.DIR** those woman-**PL.OBL** see.PRS-3PL
'Those men see those women'.

b. *ā* *žan-**ē*** *ā* *pīy-**ā/ān*** *īn-ā*
those woman-**PL.DIR** those man-**PL.OBL** see.PRS-3PL
'Those men see those women'.

The suffix *-gal* is used less frequently as a plural marker.

(33) Gorani
dard *wa* *bān-e* *dard* *zām-**gal*** *kārī*
pain on top-EZ pain wound-**PL** fatal
'Suffering after suffering, as well as fatal wounds, [have gathered]'.

This suffix *-gal* is currently used in the Ardalani dialect of Central Kurdish, for example, *kuř-gal* (boy-PL) and *kanīshk-gal* (girl-PL). Derived from the plural noun *gal,* which means a herd or group of animals, this suffix has been grammaticalized to indicate plural for both human and non-human nouns (see Karami, 2016: 131).

4.2.5 Present and past perfect

In Gorani, another frequent construction is the present and past perfect. The past participle and present form of the copula (=an) make up the present perfect (34.a.), whereas the past participle and the past form of the copula (-bē) constitute the past perfect (34.b.). These two constructions exist in Hawrami similarly, except that they have gender and case markers in Hawrami (ex 35 and 36).

(34) Gorani

a. *mən* *xo* *kam* *zūxāw* *heǰrān=əm*
1SG indeed little festering.wound seperation=1SG
ward-a-n
drink.PST-PTCP-PRF
'Have I suffered enough pain from being apart from you?'

b. *bałām* *āxər* *to=īč* *řanǰ=ət* ***bard-a bē***
but indeed 2SG=ADD sufferring=2SG **take.PST-PTCP PST.PRF**
'Anyway, you had also suffered, too'.

(35) Hawrami

a. *ā* *Pīyā* *wət-**a bē***
this man sleep.PST-**PTCP.M PRF**.3SG
'This man had slept'.

b. *ā* *žan=ē* *wət-**ē bē.***
this woman=.DEM.DIR.SG.F sleep.PST-**PTCP.F PRF**.3SG
'this woman had slept'.

(36) Hawrami

a. *ā* *pīyā* *wət-**a-n***
this man sleep.PST-PTCP.M-**PRF.M.**3SG
'This man has slept'.

b. *ā* *žanē* *wət-**ē-n-a***
this woman sleep.PST-**PTCP-.F-PRF-F.**3SG
'this woman has slept'.

4.2.6 Possession

While both Gorani (37) and Hawrami (38) employ the existential verb *han* to convey possession, it is noteworthy that Gorani lacks the gender reflection present in Hawrami.

(37) Gorani

to=m	***han-ī***	*hanī*	*wa*	*kē=m*	*bo*	*hānā*
2SG=1SG	**have.PRS**-2SG	so.then	to	who=1SG	SUB.COP.PRS.3SG	refuge

'I have you. So who else but you can provide me with refuge?'

(38) Hawrami

a. *kəteb=ət* ***han***
book=2SG have
'Do you have a book?'

b. *kārd=əš* ***han-a***
knife=3SG **have-F**
'he has a knife'.

4.2.7 Demonstrative pronouns

In both Gorani and Hawrami, the demonstrative pronouns are similar. The main distinction is that, unlike Gorani, Hawrami expresses gender and case. A comparison of the demonstrative pronouns (see Tables 6 and 7) confirms that both languages use the same types, but only Hawrami reflects gender and case distinctions.

Table 6: The demonstrative pronouns in Hawrami.

		Singular		Plural	
		DIR	OBL	DIR	OBL
proximal	M	*īna*	*īnay*	*īnē*	*īnīšā*
	F	*īnē*	*īnē*		
distal	M	*āna*	*ānay*	*ānē*	*ānīšā*
	F	*ānē*	*ānē*		

Table 7: The demonstrative pronouns in Gorani.

	Singular	Plural
	DIR/OBL	DIR/OBL
proximal	*īna*	Not attested
distal	*āna*	Not attested

4.3 Gorani features two or more types of grammatical morphemes, one being native to Hawrami and the other to a different language.

4.3.1 Ezafa linker

In Gorani, the ezafa linker is represented as *-y/ī, -e, -ū*, which applies to genitival ezafa (indicating possession) and epithetic ezafa (for adjectives). Furthermore, a prevalent method in Gorani to denote the ezafa is placing the possessor and possessum side by side without any intervening phonetic element. This type of ezafa is denoted with the symbol <˚> in the Berlin library's manuscript 1991–9876 (see Figure 3):

(39) Gorani

a. *gēǰ-**ū*** *dūd **-ī*** *mən* *hawā =š* *pař* *Kard-a=n*
whirlpool-**EZ** smoke-**EZ** 1SG air=3SG full do.PST-PTCP-PRF
'a whirlpool of my smoke has filled the air'.

b. *wa nām* *darmān* *zāmān* *moškeł*
by name remedy wound-PL difficult
'To heal severe wounds'

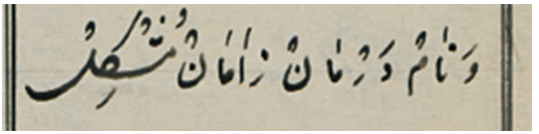

Figure 3: In the Berlin library's manuscript 1991–9876, ezafa is denoted with the symbol <˚>.

In Hawrami, two types of ezafa linkers are observed: *-ū* exclusively for genitival ezafa (indicating possession) and *–ī/y* for epithetic ezafa (used with adjectives).

(40) Hawrami

a. *yāna-**ū*** *šēxī-ī*
home-**EZ**.GEN sheik-OBL
'sheik's home'

b. *kuř-**ī*** *wašřū*
boy-**EZ**.ATT humored
'humored boy'

These ezafa likers (-ī,-e) have probably entered Gorani from other regional languages. See Table 8.

Table 8: Linguistic contact reflection in ezafa liker in Gorani.

	Hawrami	Central Kurdish	Southern Kurdish	Laki	Gorani
genitival ezafa	*-ū*	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-e*	*-ī,-ū,-e*

4.3.2 Nominalization

In Gorani, the process of forming infinitives is carried out by adding two suffixes, ay/āy (41a) and -n (41b):

(41) Gorani

a. *ma-tāw-ūn* *gošdā-**āy*** *goftogū-y* *dūrī*
NEG.IND-can.PRS-1SG listen.PST-**INF** conversation-EZ separation
'I can't stand listening to conversations about separation'.

b. *dī-**n**=ət* *toša-y* *čam* *mayl=ət* *toša-y* *dəł*
see.PST-**INF**=2SG luggage-EZ eye desire=2SG luggage-EZ heart
'Seeing you will be luggage for my eyes; your love will be luggage for my heart'.

However, only the suffix *-ay/āy* is used for infinitive formation in Hawrami (42). Interestingly, only Hawrami employs the suffix *-āy/-ay* for infinitives among the common languages in the region, such as Central Kurdish, Southern Kurdish dialects, and Laki. The suffix *-n* has been borrowed from other languages and introduced into Gorani (see Table 9).

(42) Hawrami
*wārđ-**ay***
eat.PST-**INF**
'to eat'

Table 9: The reflection of language contact in nominalization formative in Gorani.

	Hawrami	Central Kurdish	Southern Kurdish	Laki	Gorani
nominalization formative	*-āy/-ay*	*-n*	*-n*	*-n*	*-āy/-ay,-n*

4.3.3 Copula

One of the most notable differences between Hawrami and Gorani can be found in their respective copula system. In addition to the influence of gender on the differences in copula enclitics between Hawrami and Gorani, the following points are also noteworthy.

The enclitic copula =an in the third-person singular is a frequent occurrence in Literary Gorani, serving as a distinctive feature of the language. However, currently, it is only used in the Žāwaro dialect[9] of Hawrami and is not present in the

9 This kind of copula is also observed in the Paveh dialect, which is situated adjacent to the Žāwaro dialect.

Taxt and Lehon dialects. Beside the Hawrami enclitic copulas *=anī/anān* for the first- and second-person singular, the non-Hawrami forms *=ī* and *=əm* are also used in the Gorani corpus (See table 10), which can be observed in Central Kurdish and Kalhori as well. Although plural enclitic copulas are rare in Gorani, the ones used are non-Hawrami forms and are likely imported from Central Kurdish and Kalhori. For further information on copula in Gorani, refer to Karami, Naghzguye Kohan, and Gholami (2023).

Table 10: The reflection of language contact in the enclitic copulas in Gorani.

	Gorani		Hawrami (Žāwaro)	
	SG	**PL**	**SG**	**PL**
1	*=əm/anān*	*=īn*	*=anā*	*=ēnmē*
2	*=ī/anī*	*not attested*	*=anī*	*=ēndē*
3	*=an*	*=ən*	M:*=an*, F: *=ana*	*=ēnē*

4.3.4 Personal pronouns

Two significant differences become apparent upon comparing personal pronouns in Hawrami and Gorani (See Table 11). Firstly, the pronouns in Hawrami are significantly more complex in terms of reflecting gender and case than those in Gorani. Secondly, Gorani employs pronouns (*am, aw, ēwa, awān*) lacking in Hawrami. In the third person singular, both forms (*am/aw, ēđ/āđ*) are used interchangeably. It is worth noting that the pronouns (*am, aw, ēwa, awān*) have been borrowed from Central Kurdish and Kalhori into Gorani.

Table 11: The reflection of language contact in personal pronouns in Gorani.

	Gorani		Hawrami (Žāwaro)	
	SG	**PL**	**SG**	**PL**
1	*mən*	*ēma*	*mən*	*ēma*
2	*to*	***ēwa***	*to*	*šəma*
3	*ēđ/āđ*, ***am/aw***	Not attested	M: *ēđ/āđ* F: *ēđa/āđa*	*ēđē/āđē*

4.3.5 Verbal suffixes

A significant difference becomes apparent when comparing verbal suffixes in Hawrami and Gorani. For comparing verbal suffixes in Hawrami and Gorani see Tables 12 and 13. Gorani employs some verbal suffixes (*-əm -īm,-īn,-ən*) that are not present in Hawrami. Notably, the verbal suffixes (*-əm -īm,-īn,ən*) have been borrowed from Central Kurdish and Kalhori into Gorani.

Table 12: The reflection of language contact in present verbal suffixes in Gorani.

	Gorani		Hawrami	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	-ū/ūn	***-īm /īn/****mē*	*-ū*	*-mē*
2	-ī/y	*-dē*	*-ī/y*	*-dē*
3	-o/on	*-ān*	*-o*	*-ā/ān*

Table 13: The reflection of language contact in past verbal suffixes in Gorani.

	Gorani		Hawrami	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	***-əm****,-ānē (-ā/ān)*	***-īm,-īn****, -mē*	*-ā/ānē*	*-mē*
2	*-ī/y*	*Not attestd*	*-ī/y*	*-dē*
3	*-Φ*	*-ān/****-ən***	*-Φ*	*-ē*

4.3.6 Indexation in verbs

The first comprehensive study on alignment in Gorani, *A corpus-based study of alignment in Literary Gorani* by Karami et al. (2023), found that the verb indexation system for present stems is nominative-accusative in both Gorani and Hawrami. In verbs with present stems, verbal suffixes index the Agent (A) and Subject (S), while pronominal clitics mark the Patient (P).

The indexation system exhibits two concurrent patterns for verbs with past stems in Gorani: 1) It occasionally adopts an ergative pattern, where verbal suffixes index both S and P, and pronominal clitics index A. 2) At times, it adheres to an accusative pattern, where in pronominal clitics index P, and verbal suffixes index both A and S. In contrast, the indexation system in Hawrami, for past verbs, consistently follows the ergative pattern (see Table 14).

Table 14: The Verbal agreement patterns in Gorani and Hawrami.

	Gorani	Hawrami
past	**ergative-absolutive:** **A:** Pronominal clitics **S/P:** verbal suffixes	**ergative-absolutive:** **A:** Pronominal clitics **S/P:** verbal suffixes
	nominative-accusative: **A/S:** verbal suffixes **P:** Pronominal clitics	
present	**nominative-accusative:** **A/S:** verbal suffixes **P:** pronominal clitics	**nominative-accusative**: **A/S:** verbal suffixes **P:** pronominal clitics

Notably, the shift in Gorani from the ergative to the accusative pattern may have developed due to language contact in some instances since other regional languages utilize the accusative pattern. See Table 15.

Table 15: The reflection of Language contact in past-tense verbal agreement patterns in Gorani.

Agreement on past verbs	Gorani	Laki	Southern Kurdish	Central Kurdish	Hawrami
Ergative-absolutive	✓			✓	✓
Nominative-accusative	✓	✓	✓		

For more information about alignment in Iranian languages, see (Dabir Moghaddam 2013 and Haig 2008).

4.3.7 Adpositions

Hawrami's postpositions *-ara, -ana*, and *-awa* can be used independently without a preposition.[10] However, in Gorani, these postpositions are not used the same way as in Hawrami.

The preposition *na* is very common in Gorani and has a prominent place (used 41 times in the corpus) but not in Hawrami. Although *na* is not utilized as a preposition in Hawrami and instead appears as a postposition, it is used as a preposition in the Zardayāna variant (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2013).

10 For more information on the postpositions in Hawrami, see Yousefirad and Abbasi (2015).

The postposition *dā,* widely employed in Gorani, is absent in Hawrami and has been borrowed from Central Kurdish into Gorani. Additionally, the specific forms p*arē* and *aw* are unique to Gorani and find no usage in Hawrami. Instead, the equivalents *pay* and *ba* are employed in Hawrami for these respective forms. The forms *pēwa, tēdā, pēdā, tē,* and *lē*, which are used as absolute prepositions in Gorani, are not used in Hawrami and have been borrowed from Central Kurdish. However, the absolute prepositions *pē, wana, čana,* and *pana* used in Gorani also find usage in Hawrami.

4.4 Gorani incorporates specific grammatical morphemes that are absent in Hawrami

4.4.1 Past progressive

In Gorani, past progressive is formed by adding the prefix ma- to the past stem:

(43) Gorani
asāsa-y *načīr* ***ma-****āward=əm* *parē=t* *wət* *tayār*
equipment-EZ hunt **IPFV**-bring.PST=1SG for=2SG self.2SG ready
ma-*kard* *čon* *kē* *mar* *čon* *wət*
IPFV-do.PST like who as if like self.2SG
'I was constantly bringing you hunting equipment. You were preparing yourself [for hunting.] like who else but yourself (i.e., You look great in your hunting suit.)'.

The data collected through a questionnaire suggested that the prefix *ma-* is not used in any of the three Hawrami dialects to express the past progressive tense. Instead, the suffix *-ēnē* is used (ex 44).

(44) Hawrami
mən *ā* *pīyāy-a* *wīn-****ēnē***
1SG this man-DEM see.PST-**IPFV**.1SG
'I was seeing that man'.

The next probable source of borrowing could be Laki since this prefix is actively used in that language. For more information (see Qamandar 2014):

(45) Laki
har *ru* *kār* ***ma**-kərd-ən*
every day work **IPFV**-do-3PL
'They were working every day'.(Qamandar2014: 448)

Laki is one of the common languages in the Gorani linguistic community and has had contact with Gorani. The prefix *ma-* is used in the Gawraju dialect, a spoken variety closely related to Hawrami (see Bailey, 2018: 196), and similar prefixes commonly occur in other Iranian languages, such as the Persian *mī-* (see Davari & Naghzguy-Kohan 2017).

4.4.2 Possessive verb: *dāšt/dār* "to have"

In addition to the existential possession mentioned in section 4.2.6, predicative possession is also expressed in Gorani by the lexical verb *dāšt/dār* 'to have'. However, the possessive verb is not used in Hawrami; only the copula form (han) is used to indicate predicative possession.

(46) Gorani
yak *ʕarz-e* ***dār-ūn*** *oghər=ət* *xayr* *bo*
one offer-INDF **have-1SG** travel=2SG goodness SUB.COP.PRS.3SG
'I have an offer. Have a pleasant journey'.

The verb *dāšt/dār*, commonly used in Gorani, has been borrowed from Southern Kurdish into Gorani.

4.4.3 Existential copula: *hā*

In Hawrami, this copula *hā* is not used; instead, the form *īna* is used (example 48). The existential copula *hā*, used extensively in Gorani (47), does not find usage in Hawrami. Instead, the form *īna* is used in Hawrami (48). This copula has been borrowed from Central Kurdish and brought into Gorani.[11]

11 In Ardalani Kurdish, this construction is very common, such as *hā=m la māł=ā* (I am at home).

(47) Gorani

īmšaw	*har*	*xam=an*	***hā***	*na*	*kamīn-dā*
tonight	just	greif=COP.PRS.3SG	**exist.PRS.3SG**	in	ambush-POST

'Tonight, the grief is the only thing in ambush'.

(48) Hawrami

īnā-nē	*yāna-na*
exist.PRS-1SG	home-in

'I am at home'.

5 Discussion of the findings

Having examined the differences between Gorani and Hawrami, we can now discuss the simplicity and complexity of Gorani compared to Hawrami. As previously mentioned, the difference in grammar between the low (L) and high (H) varieties is one of the characteristics of diglossia. In his examination of several examples of diglossia, Ferguson (1959) concludes, "It is certainly safe to say that in diglossia, there are always substantial differences between the grammatical structures of H and L". As a case in point, Classical Arabic has three cases in the noun, marked by endings, whereas colloquial dialects lack these cases. Similarly, Swiss German has three noun cases and only one simple indicative tense, while Creole lacks gender or number in nouns.

Ferguson (1959) outlines criteria for assessing the simplicity or complexity of two languages or varieties, summarizing them as the presence of basic categories in one variety but not the other or the existence of shared categories with differing forms or strategies for expression.

5.1 Cases where Gorani grammar has become simplified compared to Hawrami

In examining Gorani grammar compared to Hawrami based on Ferguson's criteria and the discussion in Section 4, instances emerge where Gorani exhibits a less complex grammatical structure than Hawrami. This simplification is attributed to the absence of two key grammatical features—gender and case—in the H variety of Gorani, as opposed to the L variety of Hawrami. This absence is evident across various aspects of grammar, including noun and verb inflection, as well as pronouns, as detailed in Section 4.2. Notably, the lack of gender and case aligns Gorani with Central Kurdish, Southern Kurdish, and Laki, setting them apart from Hawrami.

Qamandar (2014:299) noted in a comprehensive study of Southern Kurdish, Laki, and Luri varieties that gender is not represented in these linguistic forms.

The loss of gender and case in Gorani can be attributed to an unguided standardization where these features were omitted, possibly to facilitate comprehension by speakers of other languages in the region, such as Central Kurdish, Kalhori, and other Southern Kurdish and Laki varieties. Ferguson (1996) underscores the tendency in standardization to avoid prominent markers of specific dialects, suggesting that removing the gender and case system in Gorani was a deliberate step to create a standardized language without distinct dialectal features.

Recent instances of standardization through dialect leveling and the elimination of dialectal markers are observed in Central Kurdish, particularly in the Mukri variety. Writers from Mukri consciously refrain from using gender and case markers in their writings, advising against their use to prevent linguistic sensitivity associated with the Mukri dialect. A comparison of colloquial Mukri texts collected by Mann (2006) with the writings and poetry collections of Hazhar (2001) and Himan (2003) illustrates the standardization process, highlighting the elimination of dialectal markers, particularly gender and case markers.

5.2 Cases where Gorani grammar has become more complex compared to Hawrami

The current consensus suggests that Gorani, in terms of its grammar, is considered simpler than Hawrami due to the absence of gender and case, as highlighted in previous studies by MacKenzie (2002) and Mahmoudveysi (2016). However, our investigation reveals that Gorani exhibits greater complexity in other aspects, such as the diversity of grammatical forms and strategies employed. By analyzing the two corpora, this study offers numerous examples illustrating the intricacies of Gorani in contrast to Hawrami.

The examples presented in Section 4.3 unmistakably demonstrate that Gorani possesses a higher degree of complexity than Hawrami. This complexity is evident as Gorani frequently utilizes two or more grammatical morphemes to convey a single concept simultaneously. Features such as distinct ezafa linkers, varied personal pronouns, different verbal suffixes, unique copulas, diverse adpositions, and two distinct agreement patterns in past verbs (refer to Sections 4.3.1–4.3.7), which are relatively uncommon in Iranian languages, contribute to Gorani's heightened complexity compared to Hawrami.

Another noteworthy observation from the comparison of Gorani and Hawrami grammars is their significant similarity in grammatical morphemes. Discounting the distinctions brought about by gender and case in Hawrami, it becomes evident that the grammatical morphemes in Gorani largely align with those in Hawrami,

with only a few exceptions. The examples provided in Sections 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate the unity and affinity between Gorani and Hawrami, a level of cohesion not observed between Gorani and other languages.

As mentioned earlier, our analysis has revealed that Gorani exhibits a more streamlined grammar in certain aspects compared to Hawrami. This observation prompts the pivotal question: Why does Gorani, an H variety rooted in Hawrami, appear less conservative than its L variety counterpart, Hawrami? We explore and address this question, crucially considering the influence of language contact in situations where institutional pressures are absent. Bilingualism can lead to distinct learning and acquisition paths for first and second languages. While alterations in H-variety languages often result from deliberate institutional planning, L-variety languages tend to evolve more naturally. A salient illustration is Arabic; its L variety has undergone organic changes, while its H variety has largely remained conservative, thanks to robust institutional support.

Language conservatism is not solely determined by variety type (H vs. L, official vs. colloquial) but is also influenced by specific conditions. In the case of Hawrami, the preservation of certain features, such as gender and case, can be attributed to its geographic isolation and limited interaction with neighboring languages.

On the other hand, Gorani's situation is unique. Gorani is exposed to multiple language contacts in a linguistically diverse region. Coupled with its evolution as an H variety through institutional planning, it has understandably undergone more significant linguistic changes than Hawrami.

While H-variety languages are often perceived as linguistically conservative, this is not a universal truth. Factors such as geographic settings, institutional planning, and surrounding linguistic influences play a significant role. The grammatical disparities between Gorani and Hawrami are manifestations of each language's distinct conditions.

Section 1.1 emphasized that the Yarsan religion and the mystic Islamic institution, referred to as the Hujra, have historically overseen Gorani education. Yet, the Yarsan religion lacks an organized educational infrastructure and might not offer robust theological teachings or guidelines focused on language preservation.

Meticulous and sensitive educational methodologies are essential for effective language preservation in H varieties. They must counteract linguistic shifts or impositions prompted by other languages within the educational milieu. With Gorani being taught alongside Arabic and Persian in mystic-Islamic institutions, the vigilance of these institutions towards linguistic changes becomes paramount. If unchecked, features of languages in the educational setting can infiltrate the H variety.

In addition to local colloquial languages, Persian and Arabic, extensively utilized as written mediums, have significantly shaped Gorani's educational environment. One notable influence is evident in Gorani's lexicon. As per the analyzed

corpus, out of 1,071 nouns, 562 are borrowed from Arabic and Persian. The extent of Persian influence was substantial enough for Rieu (1881) to categorize Gorani as a Persian dialect. Both languages have consistently contributed to the enrichment of Gorani's vocabulary, setting it apart from the language of the non-literate, with recurrent use of Arabic and Persian terms.

6 Conclusion

This study, drawing upon Ferguson's (1959, 1991) framework, postulates that Literary Gorani and Hawrami represent two linguistic registers within a diglossic relationship, where Gorani functions as the High (H) variety and Hawrami as the Low (L) variety. This proposal implies that Literary Gorani is fundamentally grounded in Hawrami.

Applying Ferguson's diglossia criteria, we contend that Gorani serves as the H variety, primarily employed in literary and poetic contexts. At the same time, Hawrami functions as the L variety, which is utilized in everyday discourse and acquired as a mother tongue. Gorani is predominantly taught in institutions affiliated with the Yarsan religion and in the mystic Islamic institution known as the Hujra and seminaries. This distribution of linguistic roles aligns with the classical features of diglossia.

The principal aim of this study was to compare the linguistic corpora of Hawrami and Gorani to discern their grammatical structures. Results indicate a striking similarity in the fundamental grammar of both languages, with the primary divergences stemming from the absence of gender and case in Gorani, suggesting our overarching hypothesis that their grammars are largely congruent.

Through an analysis of both corpora, the study posits that the observed grammatical disparities between Literary Gorani and Hawrami are predominantly ascribed to language contact. Hawrami has remained relatively insulated, serving as a dialect in the secluded mountainous region of Hawraman. In contrast, Gorani's widespread use as a religious and literary medium, especially among speakers of various dialects like Hawrami, Central Kurdish, Southern Kurdish, and Laki, has contributed to the erosion of some of its conservative linguistic attributes. Notably, the lack of robust institutions sensitive to linguistic shifts has led to the attrition of elements such as gender, case, and the agreement system in Gorani.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent
ADD	additive
CAUS	causative
CMPR	comparative
COP	copula
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIR	direct case
EZ	construct state (ezafe)
F	feminine
Gor	the Literary Gorānī (Gūrānī, Gorani, Gurani)
H	“high” variety in a diglossic relationship
Haw	Hawrāmī (Hewramî, Hawrami)
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative mood
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
IPFV	imperfective
Kal	Kalhori
L	“low” variety in a diglossic relationship
Lak	Laki (Lekî)
M	masculine
NEG	negative
OBL	oblique case
P	patient
PL	plural
POST	postposition
PROH	prohibitive
PRF	perfect tense
PRS	present tense
PSS	passive
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
SG	singular
Sor	Soranî
SUB	subjunctive mood
VOC	vocative.

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Parvin Mahmoudveysi

3 The Gūrānī variety of Bzłāna and the literary language of Saydī

Abstract: It has long been recognized that within the Literary Gorani tradition, several poets appear to employ a divergent grammatical system. One of these poets is Saydī Hawrāmī. A poem by Saydī published in the Kurdish literary magazine Galawēž had grammatical features that led the scholar MacKenzie (1965) to doubt the poem's authenticity as Gorani. The poet Saydī was either two different poets operating under the same penname or a single poet who composed poetry in two distinct styles. In this chapter, I investigate the grammar of the first set of Saydī's poems, which diverge from Literary Gorani. I further compare the grammar of these poems with the Hawrāmī variety spoken today in the village of Bzłāna. I claim here that the divergent aspects of Saydī's poems can be attributed to influence from the colloquial variety and represent a vernacularization of the poetic tradition.

Keywords: Gorani, Hawrāmī, Fahlavīāt, morphology, phonology

1 Introduction

In July of 2022, in Iran, the author Muhamad Amin Rashidi from Pāwa called my attention to the fact that, in a village named Bzłāna, located close to Sanandaj, people spoke a Gūrānī variety similar to the language of (First Saydī). I was unable to visit that village at the time. However, Adnan Maazi and I invited some speakers from Bzłāna to Pāwa, where I made various audio recordings for the ERC-funded "ALHOME: Echoes of Vanishing Voices in the Mountains: A Linguistic History of Minorities in the Near East" project: the ALHOME recordings and some materials collected since form the basis of this study and future research.

Gūrānī (also spelled Gorani, Gurānī, Gūrānī) refers to a subgroup of the Northwestern Iranian subfamily of the Iranian branch of Indp-European spoken in western Iran and northern Iraq. Gūrānī varieties include Hawrāmī, Kanulayī, Zardayī, Gawrajūyī, Māčo, Sayāna (the variety of Sayeds (leaders) of the religion community Yārsān or Ahl-e Haqq), and Šabakī/Bājałānī.

Many Gūrānī speakers live in Hawraman, located in the borderlands between Iran and Kurdistan of Iraq. This region has approximately 100 villages and towns

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(see Mahmoudi 2015, pages 91–95 for more information). In the Nineveh plain in and around Mosul, there is another large cluster of speakers known as Šabakī/Bājałānī (see Mahmoudveys & Bailey: Gūrānī varieties in and around Mosul known as Šabakī/Bājałānī in prep). The other large Ardalan cluster of speakers consists of the members of the Kākayī community (in Iran known as Yārsān or Ahl-e Haqq) settled in Iraq, mainly in an area between Xānaqīn and Kirukuk, and in five villages located between Arbil and Mosul. There are also many members living in other northern Iraqi cities. In Iran, members live mainly in Kirmānšā and Hamadān provinces. There are also colonies in Tehran, Karaj, Klardašt and Qazvīn.

The name Gūrānī is associated with the language used for poetry, which is called , Literary Gūrānī' (abb. LG). For many centuries, from Ilam in Iran to Kirkuk in northern Iraq, poets composed in the Literary Gūrānī language (Mahmoudveysi 2016). Gorani acquired a special position for centuries, and many literati embraced it as a poetic language alongside New Persian. Numerous writers and poets chose LG as their medium of expression, emphasizing its significance in the literary world. LG became the language of the religious hymns of the Ahl-e Haqq as well.

In general, LG poetry can be categorized by region. The first and most prominent location is the Hawrāmān region. Many poets are ascribed to this area. Some poets are for example: Saydī Hawrāmī (1784–1852), Aḥmad Bag Komāsī (1798–1878), Sayyed Abdul Karīm Tawgozī, known as Mawlawī (1806–1882), Mastura Ardałān (1805–1848), Jahānārā Pāwayī (1859–1911)

Another important center for composing Gorani poetry was Sanandaj, the last capital of the Ardalan dynasty (ruled from the 14th century until 1868). The Ardalan's interest in poetry and literature significantly contributed to the expansion and elevation of LG poetry. For example, Mastura Ardałān (1805–1848), the wife of Khasraw Xān Ardałān, composed many poems in Gūrānī. Many other poets flourished during the Ardalan dynasty.

Another significant center for composing Gorani poetry was the Dinawar region, which includes the villages of Kanūla, Šarīfāwā, and Paryān. The father of Gūrānī poetry is considered to be Mala Parīšān, who lived at the end of the fourteenth century and is from the Dinawar region.

In the region between Khanqin and the city of Kirkuk, there are Zangana, Šēxān, Jimur, Řožbayānī, Bēwyānī and Ahl-e Ħaq communities who speak the Māčo variety. In this region, Gūrānī poets can also be found. For example, the poets Mirzā Šafīʕ Jāmarēzī (1776–1836) and Malā-y Jabbārī (1806–1876) are from this region. For the biographies of LG poets, see Khaznadar (2010) and Sajjadi (2010).

There is a substantial corpus of extant manuscripts of Gūrānī poetry. Oskar Mann collected many during his two trips to Iran between 1901 and 1907. They are preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Kamal 1970:pp. v). Other collections are preserved in the libraries in London, Paris, and Heidelberg.

2 The literary language and the spoken language

Except for some rare cases, the Gūrānī poets use LG. Poets from diverse regions, such as Hawrāmān, and from areas between Ilām and Kirkuk or Nineveh, composed poetry in LG even though this language differs from the region's local languages. It seems that LG was a variety of Gūrānī developed specifically for composing poetry. I propose that the selection of LG as the poetry language was at least partly based on metrical structure. See section 4 below.

LG poems are generally written in the Perso-Arabic script, which doesn't represent all sounds found in LG. Therefore, the precise pronunciation is somewhat open to interpretation. I assume that LG has a phonological system similar to modern spoken Gūrānī varieties. The nature of the script makes the phonetic realization of forms in LG impossible to compare with the spoken varieties. However, it is possible to compare other LG features with spoken varieties. LG differs in some aspects from the (most conservative, following MacKenzie 1966) varieties of Hawrāmān. It is outside the scope of this paper to fully enumerate the differences between LG and the spoken varieties. However, a comparison between the spoken varieties Hawrāmī, Zardayī, Kanulayī, and Gawrajūyī with LG can be found in Mahmoudveysi (2016:65–126). I summarize some significant distinctive features as follows:

1. No gender distinction is made on nouns in LG and varieties such as Zarda, Šabakī/Bāǰałānī and Gawraju. According to Mann & Hadank (1930: 67–68), a grammatical distinction still exists in Kanula. They compare nouns in Kanulayī and Semnanī. The nouns listed by Mann & Hadank include those ending in a consonant, such as *äsp* 'horse', *bâkh* 'garden', *bär* 'door', *dîwr* 'wall', and *däs* 'hand', as well as two nouns ending in vowels /û/ and /ä/. The feminine nouns mentioned are *âw* 'water' and *kitî* 'cat'. The equivalent nouns in Hawrāmī are *āwī* and *kitē*, with the former ending in an unstressed -ī and the latter in a stressed -ē. These nouns resemble Hawrāmī nouns, which exhibit a clear grammatical gender distinction. Nouns ending in a consonant or a stressed -ī, -a, -ū, or -o are masculine, while those ending in a stressed *-ē*, or an unstressed *-a* or -î, are feminine. Nouns ending in a long vowel *-ā* or the semivowel *-y* can be either feminine or masculine. In Kanula, it seems nouns do not inherently possess grammatical gender distinctions anymore. However, evidence of gender can still be observed. This differentiation is solely marked by the singular definite suffixes rectus: *-äkä*, oblique *-äkäî* denotes masculine, while rectus and oblique *-äkî* indicates feminine. Additionally, the demonstrative clitic *-ä* marks masculine nouns, while *-î* marks feminine nouns (cf. Mann & Hadank 1930:107–112).

2. The lack of case marking in LG (there is oblique case marking on nouns in almost all Gūrānī varieties marked by -ī (*-y* following vowels). In Hawrāmī varieties, adjectives and masculine nouns that end in a consonant, or in stressed -ī, *-o*, or *-ū*, are marked by -ī; masculine adjectives and nouns ending in stressed *-a* are marked by *-y* in the singular oblique case and by *-ā(n)* in the plural oblique case. Feminine adjectives and nouns ending in unstressed *-a* and -ī are marked by *-ē* (feminine nouns and adjectives ending in *-a* and -ī assimilate to *-ē*). Feminine adjectives and nouns ending in stressed *-ē* have similar forms in rectus and oblique cases, with their oblique plural form being *-ā*(*n*). Masculine adjectives and nouns ending in long *-ā* have an oblique form ending in *-y*. In some Hawrāmī varieties, such as those of Nawsūđa and Notšat, feminine adjectives and nouns ending in the long vowel *-ā* coalesce into *-ɛ* in the oblique case. In other varieties, such as Pāwayī and žāwaroyī, the long vowel *-ā* is preserved and takes the oblique ending *-y*. The oblique plural form for both genders ending in long *-ā* is *-yā(n)* (compare with MacKenzie 1966: pp. 14–15);

3. In all Hawrāmī varieties, there are two Ezafa markers: (1) the Ezafa marker *-ū* (*-w* following vowels) to link a head noun to a following genitival possessor (EZ.GEN), and (2) the Ezafa marking -ī (*-y* following vowels) to link a head noun to a following attributive adjective (EZ.ATT). However, it can be displaced by certain morphemes such as oblique marker M. ī und F. *ē*.[1] In LG and the majority of other spoken varieties, there is only the Ezafa marking -ī;

4. In Hawrāmī, third-person singular personal and demonstrative pronouns have a feminine and masculine distinction, shown in Tables 1 and 2. There is no gender distinction in LG, where the proximal and distal pronouns are *ēd* and *aw*, respectively. Note that the pronoun *aw* is not generally used in the Hawrāmī system. However, it does occur in Šabakī/Bājałānī (see MacKenzie 1955) and in neighboring Kurdish varieties. The lack of a gender distinction is also reflected in most other spoken varieties.

5.

Table 1: Demonstrative pronouns, Hawrāmī, Set 1 (Mahmoudveysi & Bailly forthcoming).

			PROX	DIST
SG	**DIR**	**M**	*ēđ*	*āđ*
		F	*ēđa*	*āđa*

1 For more details see MacKenzie 1966:p. 18–19

Table 1 (continued)

			PROX	DIST
	OBL	**M**	*ēđī*	*āđī*
		F	*ēđē*	*āđē*
PL	**DIR**		*ēđē*	*āđē*
	OBL		*ēđīšā*	*āđīšā*

Table 2: Demonstrative pronouns, Hawrāmī, Set 2 (Mahmoudveysi/ Bailly forthcoming).

			PROX	DIST
SG	**DIR**	**M**	*īna*	*āna*
		F	*īnē*	*ānē*
	OBL	**M**	*īnaya*	*ānaya*
		F	*īnē*	*ānē*
PL	**DIR**		*īnē*	*ānē*
	OBL		*īnīšā*	*ānaīšā*

6. Hawrāmī and Šabakī/Bājałānī speakers use the imperfective construction to express habitual or continuous situations. In Hawrāmī, the imperfective is built on the present stem of the finite verb, the augment *-ēn* followed by the personal suffixes, e.g., *kar-ēn-mē* [do.PRS-IPFV-1PL] 'we were doing'. In Šabakī/ Bājałānī, it is built based on the present stem of the finite verb, the augment *-ē* followed by enclitics, e.g., *kar-ē-mā* do.PRS-IPFV-1PL; the other spoken varieties and LG use the past imperfective construction. It is built with the prefix ma- (or *mi-*) and the past stem of the finite verb (for other similarities and differences, see Mahmoudveysi 2016; Mahmoudveysi & Bailey in prep).

As a result of the above points, LG would be more like varieties outside of the Hawrāmān area. For instance, the morphological characteristics of Zarda and Kanūla are more similar to LG than Hawrāmī.

As mentioned before, LG is a variety developed for poetry. It is not unusual that the written language differs from the spoken language. LG poetry is consistently and artistically composed with a particular meter, mono rhyme, and rhythm schema. The meter has ten syllables per line, with a caesura after the fifth syllable. (see (9) *dangi yar mayo*) In contrast, the metric system of Persian, Kirmānjī, and Sorānī official poetry is similar to the Arabic metrical system called ʕaruz. This

system is based on syllable count and quality (i.e., their length as short or long syllables). The long and short syllables follow a regular system organized by metrical feet in each line. I mention one of these schemas in section 4.

The composers of Gūrānī poetry were familiar with Persian and Arabic poetry. We find Arabic or Persian poems based on ʕaruz in some of their works. It seems that the Gūrānī poets deliberately chose a different metric system from Arabic and Persian. Instead of emulating the knowledge of Arabic and Persian metrical systems, they knew so well, they chose to continue the Iranian poetic style native to the region.

Among the Gūrānī poets, Saydī is one of the few who, besides using a metrical system based on the number of syllables, also utilized the ʕaruz metrical system. His use of ʕaruz was not the only way he diverged from other Gūrānī poets. I argue that in his poems, he diverged from other Gūrānī poets by using the Hawrāmī variety of Bzłāna instead of LG. To support this proposal, I must first demonstrate that the Hawrāmī variety of Bzłāna more than superficially differs from LG. Then, I must show that the language of Saydī pairs with Bzłāna in ways that differ from other varieties. Unfortunately, there is not much literature available in this domain. Furthermore, comparing an understudied literary variety with an underdocumented modern spoken language inherently straddles linguistic and philological disciplines.

Geographically, Hawrāmān is divided into three main locations: Hawrāmān Lihon with the center of Pawa; Ħawrāmān Taxt with the center of Hawrāmān Taxt, and Hawrāmān Žāwaro with the center of Bēsārān (Mahmoudi, 2015, p. 40). However, the spoken varieties can not be categorized geographically. For example, Nawsūđ and Pāwa are considered part of the region Hawrāmān Lihon, while the variety of Pāwa is closer to the varieties of Hawrāmān Žāwaro.

The Gūrānī varieties spoken in Hawrāmān are mostly referred to according to their location. For example, the variety in Pāwa is called Pāwayāna, the variety in Nawsūđ is called Nawsūđī and so on. Nouns in all varieties of Hawrāmān are similarly marked for case, number, and gender (feminine and masculine). These varieties have similar present, imperfect, and past verbal constructions.

The variety of Bzłāna differs from the rest of the Gūrānī varieties spoken in Hawrāmān in terms of the vowel system. In the variety of Bzłāna, the long open central vowel /ā/ occurs as long /o/ when it precedes or follows the nasals /n/ and /m/. This distinctive feature is found in some poems of Saydī (in this paper, it is referred to as First Saydī)'s poems.

3 Two groups of poems ascribed to Saydī

As mentioned before, it is well known that the poems ascribed to Saydī belong to two different groups, featuring two different kinds of poetry:

1. One form of poetry is composed according to the metric rules of all other classic Gūrānī poetry. For example, each line contains ten syllables with a caesura in the middle and the mono rhyme with features of certain types of alliteration and assonance.
2. Other poems are based on the syllable quality. Like Arabic or Persian poetry, long and short syllables are organized into metrical feet, and lines are constructed combining the same type of foot or different types of feet.

Not only does the poem based on syllable quantity differ from other Gūrānī poetry, but also the Gūrānī variety used in these poems differs from almost all other Gūrānī poems. The people in Hawrāmān until now call this dialect Hawrāmī kona 'Old Hawrāmī'.

In the Hawrāmān area, it is widely known that there are two poets referred to by the name Saydī: First Saydī and Second Saydī. There is some doubt about the life of First Saydī, and relatively little is known. The newspaper Zhin (13.2.1958, no. 1381) published a poem by Saydī. The author claimed that the poet lived at the end of the fifteenth century. Furthermore, according to Rouhani (1985, band 1, p. 147), the full name of First Saydī was Sayed Muhamad Sadeq, and he lived around the fifteenth century.

We know more about the life of Second Saydī. Mala Muhamad Sulayman (1784–1849/50?), the son of Haji Sayd Mahmoud Hawrāmī, was born in Khanaqā, a village close to Pāwa. His name and the names of his children are included in the family registry of the Sar-ū Pīrī- people. His grandchildren still preserve their grandfather's house (see Kardoxi 1996; Habibi 2019). All the poems of Saydī have been edited and collected by Kardoxi (1996), and Habibi (2019) has edited a new version. In one manuscript preserved in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Hs. or. 9872), we see all the poems ascribed to First Saydī. Kardoxi (1996), Habibi (2019), Maazi (2023), and some other authors assume that there was only one Saydī, who wrote poems in both his own and the older Gūrānī dialect (i.e., LG). However, they do not provide any linguistic support for this assertion.

MacKenzie (1965), in his article "Some Gūrānī Lyric Verse," cited a poem of Saydī from the newspaper Galawēž and expressed his doubt about the accuracy of these lines: "The form in which the text was printed, [[with?]] its internal inconsistencies, must leave considerable doubt as to its accuracy. The various forms in -o, -on, -no are unexplained". (MacKenzie 1965 p. 268). However, in this chapter, I

propose that the forms that led MacKenzie (1965) to question their accuracy are attested features of the variety of Bzłāna.

According to the first view, it appears that Saydī did not have many successors. Just from a single poet, Sayd Abdulāh Kaljīnī (Biłbarī) (see Maazi 2023), there are 32 couplets available that are written in this manner. Maazī (2023) points out that Kaljīnī married Saydī's son's widow. She brought the poems of Saydī with her and gave them to him. Kaljīnī thus tried to compose in the manner of Saydī.

From another point of view, the speakers of Bzłāna claim that Saydī was not the only poet who composed in this manner and that a distinct form of poetry existed. However, the poems are orally transmitted and are not recorded. Thus, it appears that there have been other poets before or after Saydī who composed poetry in this manner. Nowadays, there are poets in Bzłana who continue to compose poetry according to the manner of Saydī. For example, one of these poets is Jamshid Moezi, whose poems are available on social media. In any case, the poems ascribed to Saydī can be classified into two groups, and they differ according to the meter and other features and themes. See examples in Table 3:

Table 3: Themes in First Saydī and Second Saydī.

Poetic feature	**First Saydi**	**Second SaydiI**
Meter	ʕaruz	Classic Gūrānī
Gūrānī variety	Close to the variety of Bzlana	Classic Literary Gūrānī
Female names	*Nīšāt*, *Rīyon*, as well as the name of the father of *Nīšāt: Bārom*	*Šīrīn*
Types of flowers	*wanawša* 'violet'	*šawbo* 'gilly flower,' *čnur* 'chenor,' *sosan* 'lilly,' *nargəs* 'narcissus,' *sonbol* 'hyacinth,' *wanawša* 'violet,' *řēħan* 'basil,' *nasrīn* 'jonquil,' *yāsaman* 'jasmine'
Locations:	*sarū pīrī* *žīwār*	*sarū pīrī* *ħaft awdāłān; kosāłān, pīr rosam*
Personification	no	yes
Epithets of the addressee	*Papula* 'butterfly'; *ay ħūr* 'oh nymph,' *Qībla* 'altar'	*Qīblam* 'my altar,' *črāx* 'oil lamp,' *fřīšta* 'angel,' *A* *y ħūr al-ʕayn* 'oh nymph of (my) eye'

Table 3 (continued)

Poetic feature	First Saydi	Second SaydiI
Rhetorical style devices: metaphor, allegory, simile	*mong* 'moon' *mongła dīm* 'face (like) moon' *dāw*=ū *ašq*-ī 'trap of love' *yāw*=ū *ašqī* 'fever of love' *šəkar* 'sugar' *qand* 'sugar cube' *nabāt* 'sugar(?!)'	*šāy sosan xāłān* 'the king of lily-birthmarked' *kogāy xarmānān* 'collection of wheat (the source of goodness') *bāday ʕēšq* 'wine of love' *spāy gułān* 'army of flowers' *xāł muškīn* 'black- birthmarked' *jamīn jām* 'forehead like mirror' *guł-andām* 'flower-figured' *bīābān-gēł* 'desert-hiker' *sārā-gard* 'field-hiker' *qurs qamar sīmā* ,face like round moon'

As we can see, the differences are numerous. If one accepts the theory that there was only a single Saydi, one must explain why the poems occur in two different metrical styles, with differing imagery, rhetorical devices, etc. It is curious that in the poems ascribed to the first group, an expression such as *šāy sosan xāłān*, which is quite popular among most of the Gūrānī poets, is absent. In the next section, we look at the meter of the first group, which has some similarities to the kind of poetry better known as fahlavīāt.

4 The meter of Saydī's poems and Fahlavīāt

The meter of the first group is mainly based on the *hazaǰ-e mosadas-e maḥzuf*. This type of meter is based on three feet: *mafāʕīlon, mafāʕīlon faʕūlon*. Each foot is based on one short syllable and three long syllables: (S L L L | S L L L | S L L) . Some other poems of the first group are based on four structures of *mostafʕelon*; in each line, there are two long syllables, one short following one long: (L L S L | L L S L | L L S L | L L S L).

This type of meter, *hazaǰ-e mosadas-e maḥzuf*, is similar to the meter found in Fahlavīāt, a term derived from the area fahla/pahal. It referred to a geographical area and included the cities of Hamadan, Masbazan, Samira, Qom, Nahāvand, Dīnavar, and Kermānshah (see Azkāyī 2006: 171–172). Fahlavīāt consists of two couplets based on the spoken varieties in Fahla. The other name of Fahlavīāt is dobaytī, tarāna, and Awrāma. This last name is especially significant for the present study.

Qays Rāzī (about 1233 AD) noted that the melodies of Awrāma are the most pleasant types of melodies of Fahlavīāt. This type of meter, of course, was also used

in other types of Persian poetry. For example, Vahshi Bafqi (1532–1583) used only this type of meter in two of his works (Nāzer o manzūr & Farhād o šīrīn). However, this meter is nevertheless known as the Fahlavī meter.

The poets of Fahlavīāt are mostly unknown, though there are some famous poets, such as Bābā Tāher Hamadānī. While the poems of the first group are not couplets, the similar metric system and the assertion of the speaker of Bzłāna[2] that "there are many orally transmitted poems in this manner contribute to the assumption that there may indeed be a connection between the metrical form of Fahlivīāt, the name of Awrāma, and the lyrics of the first group of poems. Azkaii (1995:196) indicates, "Dubeti" or "Fahlavi song" had another name, which was the word "Orama". The name Orama is related to "Awrāmān,"the Persian pronunciation of Hawrāmān. Hawrāmān is located in the area which was classically known as fahla/pahla. It is perhaps this geographical connection that brought the term "Orama" into use refering to any Fahlavi verse or couplet.

It seems the tradition of poetry composed in the manner of the first group probably existed before the life of Saydī. Here, in the table below, I present some lines from the poems of the first group. I have marked several features of phonetic aberration and certain morphological features. At a later point in the paper, I explain the forms in more detail:

(1)	S	L L L	S L L	L	S L L	
	az	*auromon*	*makon=əm*	*bē*	*wałat=əm*	
	1SG.DIR	PN	place=1SG	COP.PST.3SG	country=1SG	
	'Hawrāmān was my place, my land.'					

(2)	S L	L L	S L	L	L	S L L
	sar=ū	*pīr-ī*	*xəwā-y*	*dā*	*bē*	*najāt=əm*
	above=EZ.GEN	old-OBL	god-OBL	give.PST.3SG	COP.PST.3SG	salvation=1SG
	'I have been released by God with Sarū Pīrī.'					

(3)	S L	L L	S L	L L	S L L
	bur-o	*darwēš*	*ləv-o*	*sayr=ū*	*wałāt-o*
	become.PST-1SG	dervish	go.PST-1SG	observation=EZ.GEN	land-OBL.PL
	'It did not calm in no land my peace (my peace did not reside in any country).'				

2 In a personal communication with Jamshid Bzłāna, on of the residents of the village Bzłāna.

(4) S L L L S L L L S L L
na-nīšt-o *hīč* *wałāt=ēw=na-y* *nasāt=əm*
NEG-sit.PST-1SG no land=INDF=in-OBL peace=1SG
'My peace did not reside in any land.'

(5) S L L L S L L L S L L
ləv-o *žīwār* *bur-o* *šēt=ū* *nəšāt-ē*
go.PST.3SG PN be.PST-1SG crazy=EZ.GEN PN-OBL.F
'I went to Zhiwar and have been crazy for Neshat.'

(6) S L L L S L L S L L
nəšāta *šēwʲnā=š* *ʕayš=ū* *nəšāt=əm*
PN destroy.PST=3SG life=and happiness=1SG
'Neshat destroyed my life and happiness.'

(7) S L L L S L L L L S L L
nəšāta=w *kāka* *bārom-ī* *xəjʲł=no*
PN=EZ.GEN Mr. PN-OBL busy=COP.PRS.1SG
'Neshat, (daughter) of Mr. Bārām, has kept me busy.'

(8) S L L L L S L L L L S L L
xam-ē=š *barg=əm* *pažāra=š* *bo* *xałāt=əm*
sadness-PL=3SG closes=1SG unhappiness=3SG be.PRS.3SG present=1SG
'Her sadness (is) my close, her unhappiness is my present.'

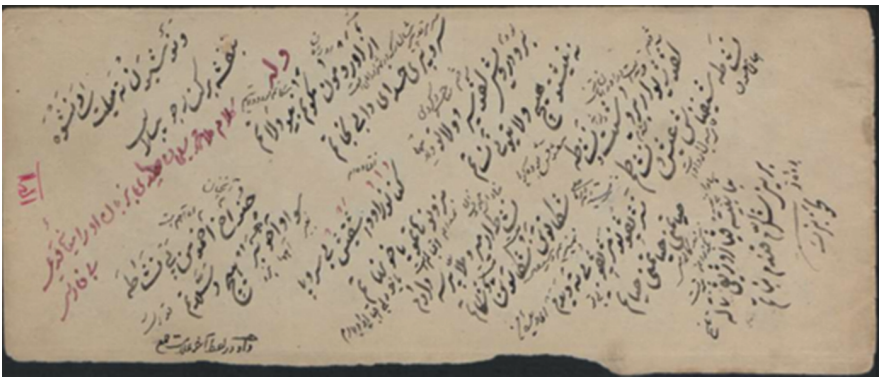

Figure 1: [DE-SBB] Hs. or. 9872 Staatbibliothek zu Berlin.

For comparison, we can look at one of the poems of the Second Saydī. As we see in this poem, the first line is based on five syllables, and the others are based on ten. After the fifth syllable, there is a caesura in the middle. The translation does not fully capture the beauty of the verses. See the following examples (9–14)

(9) a.

L L	L	L L
dang=ī	*yār*	*m-ay-o*
voice=EZ.ATT	beloved	IND-come.PRS-3SG

'The beloved's voice is coming.'

b.

L	L	L	L L	L L	L L	L
hay	*dāđ*	*hay*	*bēdāđ*	*dang=ī*	*dang=ī*	*yār*
Oh	sore	oh	unfair	voice=EZ.ATT	voice=EZ.ATT	beloved

S L
m-ay-o
IND-come.PRS-3SG

'Oh dear, the beloved's voice is coming.'

(10) a.

S L	L L	L	L S L	S L
sađā=y	*nāła=w*	*āx*	*dardadār*	*m-ay-o*
voice=EZ	wail=and	moanful	diseased	IND-come.PRS-3SG

'The wailing and groaning of the beloved is coming.'

b.

L L	L L L	L	S L	S L
dang=ē	*nāłīn=iš*	*pař*	*zigār*	*m-ay-o*
voice=EZ	doleful=3SG	full	sorrow	IND-come.PRS-3SG

'(and) it is full of pain and sorrow.'

(11) a.

L L	L L	L	L	L	L	L L
ēšaw	*kayf=ī*	*mən*	*čun*	*har*	*šaw*	*n-iyan*
tonight	well.being=EZ	1SG	like	any	night	NEG-exist.3SG

'My well-being tonight is unlike any other night.'

b.

L	L L	L L	L L	L	L L
aw	*dīđa=y*	*mast=əš*	*jūyā=y*	*xaw*	*n-iyan*
3SG	eye=EZ	mesmerizing=3SG	seek=EZ	sleep	NEG-exist.3SG

'Her mesmerizing eyes aren't seeking rest.'

(12) a.

L	L S L	L L	L L L
ēš	*dīđa=š=an*	*dīđa=m*	*bē-kayf=an*
pain	eye=3SG=COP.PRS.3SG	eye=1SG	without-joy=COP.PRS.3SG

'Her eyes are in pain; my dear beloved is desolate.'

b. L L L L L L L L
dīđa=y bad ēš-o dīđa=y yār ħayf=an
eye=EZ evil ache.PRS-3SG eye=EZ beloved pity=COP.PRS.3SG
'May the evil's eyes suffer, oh such pity it is that of the beloved's.'

(13) a. L L S L L S L L L
yā muʃjəza=y das masīħa=y Maryam
oh miracle=EZ hand messiah=EZ Mary
'Oh, by the miracle of Mary's Messiah,'

b. L S L L L L L S L L L
ēš=e dīđa=y yār ēšaw bi-b-o kam
pain=EZ eye=EZ beloved tonight SUB-be.PRS-3SG less
'may the beloved's pain diminish tonight.'

(14) a. L L S L L L S S L
šīrīn ma-nāł-o ēš=e čaw=iš=an
PN IND-wail.PRS-3SG pain=EZ eye=3SG=COP.PRS.3SG
'Shirin is wailing; her eyes are in pain.'

b. L L S L L S L L S L
Saydī na řo xurd na šaw xāw=iš=an
Saydi not day food not night sleep=3SG=COP.PRS.3SG
'Saydī cannot eat by day nor rest at night.'

In section 2, I claim that the language of First Saydī is likely the same language spoken in the village of Bzłāna today. In the following section, I present some features of the morphology of the Bzłāna variety that distinguish it from neighboring varieties. I also provide some notes about the morphological system in the first group of Saydī's poems for comparison.

5 The variety of Bzłāna and the literary language of the first group of poems

At the outset, it's important to clarify that this study provides an initial, concise description of the variety of Bzłāna and compares it with the literary language of Saydi, a Gūrānī poet. The study does not present an exhaustive and comprehensive analysis. Such an analysis is impossible at this time due to the limited availability

of material; the descriptions herein serve only as a preliminary overview. The data provided here should make clear that the variety of Bzłāna is sufficiently different from other varieties to elevate the priority of its documentation, an endeavor of future research.

The data employed in this study came from audio recordings I collected with speakers of the Bzłāna variety recorded in Pāwa as part of the ERC-funded ALHOME project. Grammatical forms that were unclear or ambiguous from the recordings were confirmed or clarified in consultation with a speaker in Bzłāna, Jamshid Moezi. As mentioned earlier, the source of Saydī's poems is a manuscript preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, part of a collection that probably belongs to a more extensive work. The poems belong mainly to Saīdī <صیدی>, and toward the end, there are three pages belonging to <عارف> ʿAref (Sayd Abdullah Biłbarī (Kaljīnī). In this manuscript, there are twenty-four poems. Seventeen of them employ two languages, Persian and Gūrānī, while seven of them are only in Gūrānī. As both the samples of First Saydī and the ALHOME recordings represent a small corpus, many elements are absent or questionable.

The orthography of manuscripts is based on Arabic script; the short vowels /a/, /u/ and /ə/ are represented by a dash, a small symbol, or a line above or below the Arabic letters. The long vowels /o/ and /ū/and the short vowel /u/ are all represented by one orthographic symbol, /و/.

The long vowels /ī/ and /ē/ and the semivowel /y/ are also represented by only one orthographic symbol, /ی/. The uvular plosive /q/ is sometimes represented by /ک/, and in rare cases, by /ق/. The examples from the manuscript are glossed as 'S,' together with the page number of the manuscript; the examples for Bzłāna are from my collected recordings and are glossed as 'B'.

5.1 Consonants

The position of consonants in Bzłāna is shown in Table 4:

Table 4: Consonant phonemes.

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
Stop	pʰ b		tʰ d			kʰ g	q		ʔ
Affricate				tʃʰ dʒ					
Fricative	(v)	f	s z	ʃ ʒ		x		ħ ʕ	h
Nasal	m		n			(ŋ)			

Table 4 (continued)

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
Trill			r						
Tap			ɾ						
Lateral			l ɬ						
Glide	w				y				

The phonemic system of Bzłāna is similar to those of the Gūrānī varieties of Pāwa, Nawsūđ, Notša, and other varieties in the Hawrāmān area. Some important phonological features of Bzlana shared by many varieties are as follows:

/d/: The alveolar plosive /d/ maintains its obstruent articulation in word-initial position and after the tap alveolar /ɾ/. For instance: *dała* 'female dog'; *dəł* 'heart'; *dām* 'I gave'; dam 'mouth'; *bē_dang* 'silent'; bard 'took,' *mard* 'died'; *kard* 'did'. This plosive undergoes lenition in postvocalic environments. Examples include *ađā* 'mother'; *sađ* 'hundred'; *āđam* 'human'; *xuđā* 'God'. Sometimes, the alveolar plosive /d/ is reduced to a semivowel or is absent. See (15):

(15) min *zāt=im* *nīyo* *bi-(đ)ya-w* *pay* *mār-ī*
1SG dare=1SG COP.NEG.3SG SUB-look.PRS-1SG to snake-OBL
'I don't dare look at the snake'[3]

In the manuscripts, /d/ is maintained in word-initial position. Occasionally, a diacritic is found above the symbol of /d/ in postvocalic position. The use of the diacritic may show that this sound /d/ is in postvocalic position, similar to its occurrence in all other Gūrānī varieties in the Hawrāmān area, undergoes lenition. See (16):

(16) a. *dāđ=əm* [complaint=1SG] 'my complaint' (Saydī.131)
b. *dīđa=m* [eye=1SG] 'my eye (my beloved one)' (Saydī.131)

The copy of the manuscript in Figure 1 shows these diacritics above d.

/w/: In Bzlana, the voiced labio-velar approximant /w/ in my materials is consistently realized as [w]. Examples include *warwē* [wərwe] 'snow'; *wā* [wa] 'wind'; *wahār* [wəhaɾ] 'spring'; *wārān* [waran] 'rain'; *wārāy wārā* [waɾaj waɾa] ('it is raining'); *wīn-ū* [winu] [see.PRS-1SG] ('I see'). The fricative /v/ appears mostly in free

3 Note that in other Gūrānī varieties, e.g., Pawayana, one would say: amən zātəm niy**an** bəđyaw pay marī (or bəđyao maryara)

variation with [w] as in Pawa (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey, 2019, p. 541). In Hawrāmī varieties like Notša, Nawsūđ Hawrāmān Taxt, and Kanūla varieties /w/ and /v/ are in free variation (see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey forthcoming).

In Saydī's manuscript, the sound /w/ is mostly recorded as /ڤ/ (v). In some varieties, such as Notša and Hawrāmānū Taxtī, /v/ is an alternative for /w/ or /wv/ (see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2018, p. 541). As an alternative for /w/, it (that is, /v/) occurs in places where /w/ is realized in other varieties. Some examples include: ڤریسی *varēsē* 'rope' (Saydī.116); ئاڤ *āv* 'water' (Saydī.117); ڤاری *vārē* 'it was raining' (Saydī.118); یکشڤی *yak šavē* 'one night' (Saydī.116), لڤو *lv-o* go.PST-1SG 'I went' (Saydī.131)

/ʕ/: The voiced pharyngeal plosive /ʕ/ occurs in Arabic loanwords: *ʕadālat* 'justice'; *ʕāđat* 'habit'. In the Saydī manuscript, /ʕ/ is sometimes omitted in initial position; in other cases, it is maintained, for instance:

(17) a. عاشق/(139) آشقنو (138) <ʕāšq>/ <ʔāšqnw> 'in love'
b. اکلیت/ عکلیت ، (138) <ʔklyt>/ <ʕklyt> 'your rationality'

5.2 Vowels

The position of vowels in Bzłāna is shown in Figure 2[4]:

As mentioned before, MacKenzie (1965) expressed some doubt about the accuracy of the lines ascribed to Saydī, and he found the forms in *-o, -on,* and *-no* to be unexplained. Based on a cursory analysis of forms in Bzlana, we can see that these forms are found not only in Saydī's poetry but also in the variety of Bzłana.

In Bzłana and Saydī, the long open central vowel /ā/ occurs as long /o/ when it precedes or follows the nasal /n/(in expectation of the 3SG suffix in PRS). It also appears as /o/ preceding the nasal /m/. See examples from Bzłāna in (18) and examples from First Saydī in (19)

4 Figure 2 shows the vowel space of a single speaker (Jamshid Moezi) from the Bzłana recordings to get a clear idea of the articulator properties of their vowels. Formant frequencies were measured in Praat. Here, I focus on getting a baseline for vowels, ignoring how the vowel articulation places vary in different phonetic environments. To ensure a comprehensive analysis, I selected a diverse set of words containing the target vowels. These words were chosen to represent a variety of environments, taking into account factors such as surrounding consonants. By comparing the formant values across different words and environments, I identified average formant frequencies for each vowel.

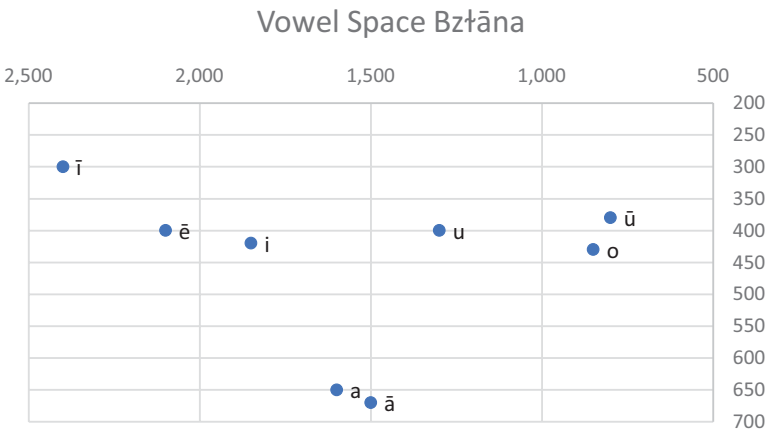

Figure 2: Vowel phonemes.

(18) a. *omāy* 'to come'
b. *yona* 'house'
c. *hona* 'water spring'
d. *mə-son-ī* [buy.PRS-2SG] 'you buy'
e. *wīn-ā* [see.PRS-3SG.PRS] 'he/she sees'

(19) a. *nəšāta=w kāka bārom-ī* [Neshat=EZ Mr. Bārām-OBL] 'Neshat of Kak Bārām'
b. *mong* 'moon' (Saydī.116)
c. *yona* 'house' (Saydī.121)
e. *omā* 'she came' (Saydī.134)
f. *zom* 'wound' (Saydī.139)

There are other common phonological developments between Bzłana and Saydī. In both Bzłana and Saydī, the final long /o/ occurs either as long /ā/ or short /a/. For example, the third-person singular present-tense suffix person marker is *-ā,* while in other varieties, it is *-o*, see (20).

(20) a. *war-ā* [eat.PRS-3SG] 'he/she eats' (cf. Takht: *war-o*)
b. *kar-ā* [do.PRS-3SG] 'he/she dose' (cf. Takht varieties *kar-o*)

There are other changes in Saydī which cannot be found in Bzłāna. For example, /y/ or /ī/ occur as /ur/ in Saydī.[5] See (21).

(21) a. *bur-o* [become .PST-3SG] 'I became' (cf. Lihon: *byā(nē)*) (Saydī. 131)
b. *šur* [go.PST] 'went' (cf. Lihon: *šī*)

In Saydī, the long open central vowel /ā/ occurs as long /o/ in medial and final positions. In the Bzłāna variety, it remains as long /ā/ in these cases. Examples:

(22) a. *yora=m* [friend.F.=1SG 'my friend' (cf. Lihon: *yāram*) (Saydī. 134)
b. *dast=əš fišār-o* [hand=3SG press-OBJ.1SG] 'he/she pressed my hand (cf. Lihon: *dast=əš fišārā(nē)*) (Saydī.134)

5.3 Some morphological features of nouns

Here are some morphological features of the Bzlana variety to compare them with the literary language of Saydī. The main conceptual categories associated with Bzłāna nouns are grammatical gender (masculine/feminine), case (direct/oblique), number (singular/plural), definiteness, and indefiniteness.

5.3.1 Grammatical gender

In Bzłāna, grammatical gender is evident in the form of the noun stem. These grammatical gender distinctions are similar to those found in the Hawrāmī variety in which a masculine noun stem can end in a consonant, a stressed vowel a, ī, -o or ū, or often in the stressed vowel ā (MacKenzie 1966:13). The Bzłāna examples include:

– Masculine Nouns
-C: wārān 'rain'(Bzłāna); *zom* 'wound' (Saydī.126)
-a: *məža* 'fog'(Bzłāna); yona 'house' (Saydī.121)
-i: *tawargī* 'hail' (Bzłāna);
-o: *bro* 'eyebrow'
-ū: *parāsū* 'rib';
-ā: *wā* 'wind'; zamā 'groom'

5 The shift from *byā* to *bur* may be analogical. There are no known phontetic or etymological facts that can explain this correspondence. However, there are examples of verbs with intrusive /r/s in other varieties. For instance, in Lihon, the present stem of 'to wash' is *šor-*. The /r/ is not etymological and is missing from other Iranian languages, e.g., Central Kurdish *šo-*.

– Feminine Nouns
  Unstressed -a: *tawēła* ‘forehead’; *varesa* ‘rope’(Saydī.116)
  Stressed -ē: *yāgē* ‘place’ (Bzłāna);
  Unstressed -ī: *makī* ‘salt’; *harsī* ‘tear’(Saydī.118) *vəlī* ‘flower’ (Saydī.139)
  -ā: *ađā* ‘mother’

5.3.2 Definiteness

Definiteness in Bzłāna is expressed through the suffixes *-aka* [-DEF.M.SG], *-akay* [-DEF.M.SG.OBL], *-akē* [-DEF.F.SG]/[-DEF.PL.DIR], and *-ako* [-DEF.PL.OBL]. See examples in (23):

(23) a. *kuř-aka* [boy-DEF.SG.M] ‘the boy’ (Bzłāna)
  b. *kənāč(ē)-akē* [girl-DEF.SG.F] ‘the girl’ (Bzłāna)
  c. *pīā-kē* [man-DEF.PL] ‘the men’ (Bzłāna)
  d. *žan-akē* [woman-DEF.PL] ‘the women’ (Bzłāna)
  e. *mən ašē zāřoła-ko bar-ū bar* ‘[1SG should child-DEF.OBL.PL take.PRS-1SG ou] ‘I should take the kids out’)

In Saydī’s poems, there are no clear examples of definiteness marking.

5.3.3 Indefiniteness

The morphemes -ēw and -ēwa express indefiniteness on masculine and feminine nouns, respectively. Examples of indefiniteness marking include:

(24) a. *kuř-ēw* [boy-INDF.M] ‘a boy’ (Bzłāna);
  b. *knāč-ēwa* [girl-INDF.F] ‘a girl’ (Bzłāna);
  c. *ħakīm-ēw* [doctor-INDF] ‘a doctor’ (Saydī.122);
  d. *kom-ēw* [relative-INDF] ‘one relative’ (Saydī.122)

5.3.4 Number

The suffix -ē expresses plurality in the direct case and -o in the oblique case. The form frequently appears suffixed to the definiteness marker *-akē, -ako:*

(25) a. *pažār-ē=š* [sorrow-PL=3SG] ‘her sorrows’ (Saydī.131)
  b. *xam-ē=š* [worry-PL=3SG] ‘her worries’ (Saydī.132)

c. *qs(a)-ē* [speech-PL] ‘speeches’ (Saydī.132)
d. *žan-akē* [woman-DEF.PL] ‘the women’ (Bzłāna)
e. *pīā-kē* [man-DEF.PL] ‘the men’
f. *mən zāřoła-ko bar-ū bar=wa* [I child-DEF.OBL.PL take.PRS-1SG=POSTP out]
‘I take the kids out’

A numerative marker is also found in Bzłāna. The suffix -a is used in contexts of a noun phrase modified by a numeral. It is found in noun phrases in which the head noun is modified by a number *duwa* ‘two’ or higher. No examples of the numerative marker are found in Saydī’s poems.

This suffix is not evident in the other varieties of Hawramān. However, it is found in Šabakī/Bājłāni, and there are irregular traces of it found in Zardayāna. An example of it in Bzłāna is shown (26a). Compare the equivalent sentence in Notša (26b), where there is no numarative and the enumerated noun *gāw-ē* is marked as plural. Just as in Bzłāna in Shabaki/Bajalani, enumerated nouns take a special enumerative suffix *-a* as in (26c). Note that the typical plural suffix in Shabaki/Bajalani is -gel, e.g., *nan-gel* [bread-PL]. Here, the suffix *-a* cannot be mistaken as an allomorph of the plural suffix.

(26) a. *yara* *gāw-a* *īnā-y* *bāx=nā*
three cow-NUM exist.PRS-3PL.PRS garden=in
‘there are three cows in the field’ (Bzłāna)
b. *yarē* *gāw-ē* *īnā-y* *məłk=ana*
three cow-PL exist.PRS-3PL.PRS garden=in
‘there are three cows in the field’ (Notša)
c. *hāft* *nān-a=m* *b-ār-ē*
seven bread-NUM=1SG IMP-bring.PRS-2PL
‘Bring me seven (loaves of) bread!’ (Shabaki/Bajalani)

5.3.5 Case

The oblique case on masculine singular nouns is marked with -ī (-y following vowel) and via *-ē (-y* following *-a*) on feminine singular nouns. See examples from Bzłāna in (27a) and (27b). These Bzłāna forms essentially match what is observed in the poems of Saydī, e.g., (27c) and (27d).

(27) a. *mən* *ħasan-ī* *šənās-ū*
1SG PN-OBL.M know.PRS-1SG.PRS
‘I know Hasan’ (Bzłāna)

b. māšīn=ū parwin-ē čarm=an
car=EZ.GEN PN-OBL white=COP.PRS.3SG
'Parvin's taxi is white' (Bzłāna)
c. xałk=ū xudā-y
people=EZ.GEN god-OBL
('the people of God') (Saydī.116)
d. ləv-o žīwār bur-o šēt=ū nəšāt-ē
go.PST-3SG PN COP.PST-1SG crazy=EZ PN-OBL
'I went to Zhiwar and have been crazy for Neshat.' (Saydī.116)

5.3.6 Ezafe constructions

Two forms of the ezāfe linking particle are evident in Bzłāna and Saydī's poems. The ezāfe particle, =ī (=*y* following a vowel), links a head noun phrase with an attributive adjective. Another form of the ezāfe particle, =*ū* (=*w* following a vowel), links a head noun phrase with another noun phrase, pronoun, preposition, or adverb. This ezafe can be observed for Bzłāna in (28a) and for First Saydī in (28b), (28c), and (28d).

(28) a. *brā=w ħasan-ī*
brother=EZ.GEN PN-OBL
`Hassan's brother' (Bzłāna)
b. *čā warēs=ī tīta řənd=ī bo-waš=ət*
from rope=EZ.ATT plait beautiful=EZ.ATT smell-well=2SG
'from your long plait/braid well-scented' (Saydī.116)
c. *bāłā=w ta*
figure=EZ.GEN 2SG
'your figure' (Saydī.119)
d. *dlē=w zułf=ū ta=nē*
in=EZ.GEN hair=EZ.GEN 2SG=COP.PRS.3SG
'it is in your hair' (Saydī.119)

5.4 Pronouns

Compare the first- and second-person independent personal pronouns in Table 5. It is difficult to say much about the forms in Saydī as they only occur in the singular. However, the second-person singular pronoun *ta* observed in Saydī matches what

is found in Bzłāna. Note that these varieties differ from what is observed in other Gorani varieties, as exemplified by Lihon, which has the pronoun *to*. The use of the archaic first-person singular (DIR) pronoun *az* by Saydī is a feature of Gorani poetry that is not a part of any modern spoken Gorani variety. It is still used in Northern Kurdish.

Table 5: First- and second-person pronouns in Bzłāna and Saydī.

	Bzłāna	**Saydī**	**Lihon**
1SG	*min*	*az/min*	min
2SG	*ta*	*ta*	*to*
1PL	*ēma*	?	*ēma*
2PL	*šima*	?	*šima*

Similar to other varieties in Pāwa, Nawsouđ, Notša, and Hawrāmān Taxt, the variety of Bzłāna has a set of pronominal forms with third-person reference but also a proximal and distal distinction, as shown in table 6. These forms function as personal pronouns and also as demonstratives.

Table 6: Third-person proximal and distal pronouns.

			PROX	**DIST**
SG	DIR	M	*ēđ*	*āđ*
		F	*ēđa*	*āđa*
	OBL	M	*ēđī*	*āđī*
		F	*ēđē*	*āđē*
PL	DIR		*ēđē*	*āđē*
	OBL		*ēđīšā*	*āđīšo*

Only the forms *āda* ‘she’ and *ēđ* ‘he’ occur in Saydī’s poems.

5.5 Enclitic pronouns

The enclitic pronouns distinguish person (first, second, and third) and number (singular and plural). In both Bzłāna and Saydī, the enclitic pronouns have the same forms: =*əm* [=1SG], =*ət* [=2SG], =*əš* [=3SG], =*m*ā [=1PL], =*t*ā [=2PL], =šā [=3PL].

5.6 Affix person markers

In addition to the clitic person markers presented in 5.6, a series of affix person markers occur on present-tense, past-imperfective, and past-tense stems. These forms differ slightly depending on the stem. For instance, the imperfective stem is based on the present-tense stem with the extension *-ēn*. Likewise, the past-tense stem is the Old Iranian past participle in *-ta, which carries gender and number agreement. This gender agreement is neutralized in the singular where the masculine ending *-ø* and the feminine *-a* are subsumed by the following vowel. However, the plural -ī *(-*y) surfaces as part of the complex plural markers, e.g., *-īmā*. Table 7 shows the present, past imperfective and simple past affix person markers in both Bzłāna and Saydī:

Table 7: Present indicative and past imperfective affix person markers in Bzłāna and Saydī.

		Bzłāna			Saydī		
		PRS.IND	**PST.IPFV**	**PST.PFV**	**PRS.IND**	**PST.IPFV**	**PST.PFV**
SG	1	*-ū*	*-ēno*	*-(n)o*	*-ū*	*-ēnē/-ēno*	*-o*
	2	*-ī*	*-ēnī*	*-ī (-y)*	*-ī*	*-nī*	*-ī*
	3	*-ā*	*-ē*	*-ø (M)/-a (F)*	*-ø*	*-ē*	*-ø (M)/-a (F)*
PL	1	*-mā*	*(-ēnmā)*	*-īmā (-ymā)*	*?*	*?*	*?*
	2	*-yē*	*-ēnyē*	*-yē*	*?*	*?*	*?*
	3	*-o*	*-ēnē*	*-y*	*?*	*?*	*?*

As we can see, both Bzłāna and Saydī are very similar regarding the present-tense verbal suffixes. However, not all the suffixes occur in Saydī's poems. Examples of present verb suffixes in Saydī include those in (29).

(29) a. *hars-ī wār-ē* [tear-OBL rarin.PRS-3SG.IPFV] 'it rained tear' (Saydī.118)
b. *šəmār-ē* [count-3SG.IPFV] 'he counted' (Saydī.118)
c. *na-zon-ēno* [NEG-know.PRS-IPFV.1SG] 'I did not know' (Saydī.133)
d. *gur-ēno* [cook.PRS-IPFV.1SG] 'I cooked' (Saydī.133)
e. *war-ēnē* [eat.PRS- IPFV.1SG] 'I ate' (Saydī.136)

As in other Gūrānī varieties, alignment in past-tense verb constructions is conditioned by the transitivity and aspect. In a finite verb construction with an intransitive verb in the perfective past tense, the appropriate person-number suffixes attach directly to the verb. In these constructions, the person-number suffixes

index the single argument of the intransitive verb (S). For third person singular, the suffix also distinguishes gender (with masculine as unmarked). In Saydī, only the singular suffixes occur. See (30a)–(30c) for examples from Bzlāna and (30d)–(30f) for examples from Saydī.

(30) a. *šma dēr omā-yē*
2PL late come.PST-2PL
'You (PL) came late' [2.8] (Bzlāna)

b. *yāwā*
reach.PST.3SG.M
'he reached'

c. *hor-ēst-a*
up-stand.PST-3SG.F
'she stood up' (Bzlāna)

d. *bur-o darwēš ləv-o sayr=ū wałāt-o*
become.PST-1SG Darwish go.PST-1SG observe=EZ land-OBL
'I become a Darwish went to observe the land' (Saydī.131)

e. *ništ-a*
sit.PST-3SG.F
'she sat' (Saydī.135)

f. *ništ*
sit.PST
'he sat' (Saydī.135)

The Agent (A) of a transitive verb is indexed by a clitic pronoun in the perfective past tense. However, the enclitics do not attach directly to the verb. Instead, other elements can host the enclitics. O of a past transitive verb is indexed with the appropriate affix person marker and attaches directly to the verb. Examples of constructions with past transitive verbs are included in (31):

(31) a. *min ħasan=im ĵa bāzāř=nā dī-ø*
1SG PN=1SG at bazaar=at see.PST-3SG.M.PST
I saw Hasan at the bazaar [4:15]

b. *min parwīna=m ĵa bāzāř=nā dī-ya*
1SG PN=1SG at bazaar-at see.PST-3SG.F.PST
I saw Parvin at the bazaar [4.16]

c. *nəšāta šēwnā=š ʕayš=ū nəšāt=əm*
PN destroy.PST=3SG life=and gladness=1SG
'Neshat destroyed my life and gladness.' [S:131]

5.7 Summary of finite verb constructions

Like the rest of Gorani and other regional languages, the variety of Bzłāna has a rich system of verbal morphology. Finite verbs are built upon two stems: imperfective (glossed as PRS) and perfective (glossed as PST). These stems combine with affixes to form the present Indicative, present subjunctive, (past) imperfect(ive), imperative, past (perfective) (i.e., simple past), and past subjunctive or past conditional. These forms are summarised below.

The present indicative is formed with the imperfective stem, the imperfective prefix *mi-*, and the present-tense affix person markers (see Table 7). See (32a). The present subjunctive is formed with the imperfective stem, the subjunctive/imperative prefix *bi-*, and the present-tense affix person markers. The imperfect (i.e., past imperfective) is formed by the imperfective stem, the imperfective suffix *-ē(n)*, and a unique set of affix person markers. The imperative is formed with the imperfective stem, the subjunctive/imperative prefix *bi-*, and one of two imperative affix person markers: *-a* [-2SG.IMP] or *-yē* [-2PL]. The simple past is formed with the perfective stem and the past-tense affix person markers indexing the S/O arguments; An enclitic pronoun in the Verb-Phrase-second position indexes A. The past subjunctive is formed with the perfective stem, the subjunctive suffix *-ya*, and the past-tense affix person markers indexing the S/O arguments. An enclitic pronoun in the Verb-Phrase-second position indexes A.

(32) a. Present Indicative:
mi-son-ā
IND-know.PRS-3SG.PRS
'(he) buys'

b. Present Subjunctive
gāhaz *bi-l-ū* *pay* *bāzār-ī*
maybe SUB-go.PRS-1SG to market-OBL
'I may go to the market.'

c. Imperfect
min *māšīn* *na-son-ēn-o*
1SG car NEG-buy-PST.IPFV-1SG
'I was not buying a car'.

d. Imperative
māst *b-ār-a*
yogurt IMP-bring-PRS.2SG.IMP
'Bring yoghurt!' [2.19]

e. Simple Past (intransitive)
ēma dēr omā-y-mā
1PL late come.PST-PL-1PL
'We came late.' [2.7]

f. Simple Past (transitive)
ēma māŋāw-ēwa=mā sā
1PL cow-IND.F=1PL buy.PST
'We bought a cow' [3.7]

g. Past Subjunctive (Conditional)
min bātī=w ta bī-yā-yno
1SG instead=EZ 2SG be.PST-SUB-1SG
'I'd be in your place.' [8.10]

6 Conclusion

While this chapter aims to contribute to understanding the Bzłāna dialect, it is essential to note that the observations and conclusions drawn are tentative due to the absence of a thorough grammatical description of the dialect. As such, the points raised should be seen as preliminary insights that may require further verification as more comprehensive data becomes available. However, as we have seen, the literary language of the first group and the variety of Bzłāna exhibit many common features. Some of them are as follows:

– the forms with -o, -on, -om, and -no exist in both the Bzłāna variety and the poems of Saydī;
– similar grammatical gender and number distinctions in both varieties, common in Hawrāmī but not Literary Gorani;
– similar definiteness and indefiniteness distinction on nouns in both varieties;
– similar case marking distinctions in both varieties;
– the same unique verb affix person markers in both varieties.

Of course, many of these features are also shared by the Hawrāmī varieties. However, these features are not commonly found in LG as a whole. The first feature, the *o*-form suffixes that cause MacKenzie (1965) to question the authenticity of Saydī's poetry, is unique to the first group of Saydī poems and Bzłāna variety. There are many other convergent features concerning Ezafe construction, enclitics, and pronouns.

The editors of Saydī's diwan (Kardoxi and Habibi) indicate that they have never found a manuscript in which all the poems of Saydī have been recorded. Habibi

(2019: 162–174) refers to nineteen manuscripts through which he has searched and found the poems ascribed to Saydī. However, the poems ascribed to First Saydī (first group) are all found in one collection preserved at Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. The reason why many poems ascribed to Second Saydī (second group) are not in this collection remains a mystery.

We should also consider the claim of Bzłāna speakers that Second Saydī was not the only poet who composed in this manner. In addition, all the differences mentioned in the first sections concerning the meter, rhetorical style devices, the names of women, places, Awrāma, etc., suggest the conclusion that there are two different poets. If not, Saydī Hawrāmī may have been familiar with some orally transmitted poetry similar to what is ascribed to First Saydī and close to the variety of Bzłāna.

Another critical point is that the Bzłāna residents believe they immigrated to this place around 700 years ago from the area of Nwen and Kalji (close to Hawrāmān Taxt and Sar-ū pīrī). According to one of the speakers of the Bzłāna variety Jamshid Bzłāna (private communication), the oldest tree in the village is 700 years old. That would imply that the village is around 700 years old and close to the time of immigration. In addition to this, the residents also believe that the variety of Bzłāna was that which was spoken in the villages of Nwēn and Kaljī. It is unclear if this variety was spoken during the lifetime of Mala Muhamad Sulayman (he lived in 1784–1849/50?), known as the poet Saydī Hawrāmī. However, the poems of Sayd Abdullah Kaljīnī (Bəłbarī) (1853–1898?!) confirm that this variety existed even at a later time.

Finally, I would like to point to the Persian poems of Saydī. One rhetorical style device common to these poems is to use a line from a well-known poet and compose other lines in this manner (tazmīn تضمین). Saydī also employed this technique. In one of his poems (Habibi 202:607), he starts with a line from Abdulrahman Jāmī (1414–1492) and composes some other lines in the manner of Jāmī. Habibi (Merdok 2019) points to another poem of Saydī, which recognizes certain similarities with one of the poems of Vahshi Bafqi (1532–1583). This referential work suggests that Saydī knew Jami's and Bafqi's poems. If there was separate a First Saydī, it is unlikely that he lived before the time of Jāmī and Bafqi.

I cannot claim with certainty whether there were one or two Saydīs. However, all the differences mentioned above between the two kinds of poems support the idea that it is more likely to assume there was an older poet who composed in the style of Fahlavīat poems, also known as 'Awrāma'. Whether the Second Saydī had access to some of the First Saydī's poems and also composed in that manner is a possibility not addressed here. Only further research will give us insights, allowing us to answer questions about the single or multi-authorship of the poems attributed to saydī and into the unique features of the Bzłāna variety.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
COP	copula
DEF	definite
DIR	direct case
EZ	construct case (ezafe)
EZ.ATT	attributive construct case (attributive ezafe)
EZ.GEN	possessive construct case (genitival ezafe)
F	feminine
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
IPFV	imperfective
LG	Literary Gorani
M	masculine
NEG	negative
OBL	oblique case
PL	plural
PN	proper noun
PRS	non-past (present)
PST	past tense
SBJ	subjunctive
SG	singular.

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4 Judeo-Gūrānī: Tracing the emergence of a literary corpus

Abstract: The Jewish community in Kermanshah, despite its extensive historical presence, remains a relatively obscure segment within Iran's religious landscape. The recent discovery of five manuscripts, collectively known as the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus, has revealed a complex layer of nineteenth-century intellectual history. These manuscripts stand as a vibrant testament to the intricate backdrop of Kermanshah's nineteenth-century Jewish community, showcasing a diverse tapestry of linguistic encounters stemming from varied social interactions and cultural exchanges. This article is structured into two parts: The first section unravels the sociocultural milieu surrounding the emergence of the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus. Kermanshah, predominantly Kurdish-speaking, experienced dynamic social, religious, and cultural transformations during the nineteenth century. This era witnessed the ascendancy of literary Persian, championed by the Dowlatšāhī cadet branch of the Qajar dynasty, alongside successive waves of Jewish migration that ultimately reshaped the region's linguistic landscape. Within the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus, this multilingual environment is reflected primarily through literary Gūrānī texts, accompanied by a single literary Persian piece and colophons in Persian and Hebrew. Moreover, this period marked the emergence of two religious dynamics—the rise of state-sponsored Shi'ism and Christian missionary endeavors—impacting non-Shiite religious communities, leading to conversions within the Jewish community and the Ahl-e Ḥaqq. Shared experiences among marginalized religious minorities likely fostered a closer cultural affinity, observable in at least one text within the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus, potentially influenced by the association between the Jewish community and the Ahl-e Ḥaqq. The article's second part conducts an in-depth analysis of each codex, examining their contents and comparing them with parallel manuscripts of the same texts, offering deeper insights into this unique corpus.

Keywords: Judeo-Gūrānī, Gūrānī literature, Jews of Kermanshah

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1 Introduction

Despite its centuries-long presence in the region, the Jewish community of Kermanshah remains among the least-known religious communities in Iran. Several travelogues are the main sources of our information about this once-prosperous community, yet little is known about their social and cultural life, let alone their intellectual activities and cross-communal relations with their neighboring religious communities, such as the Ahl-e Haqq, Shi'ite, and Sunnis. However, a recent discovery has presented new first-hand materials that may augment our understanding of their nineteenth-century intellectual history – that is, a corpus of five manuscripts covering several literary Gūrānī texts transcribed in Hebrew characters and henceforth referred to as the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus.

Over centuries, literary Gūrānī served as a conduit for transmitting a rich and multifaceted literary tradition within the Kurdish community inhabiting the western Iranian plateau. However, the discovery of the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus sheds unprecedented light on the fact that this literature also found its way into the hands of select members within the Jewish community of Kermanshah. Kermanshah is the epicenter of this phenomenon, situated in the heart of the Zagros region, marked by a predominantly Kurdish population. The presence of a substantial collection of Gūrānī texts within this corpus, encompassing diverse literary genres, all transcribed in Hebrew characters during the latter half of the nineteenth century, prompts intriguing inquiries into the social and intellectual milieu of the Jewish community in Kermanshah during this epoch.

This article is structured into two parts. The first part endeavors to illuminate the social and cultural milieu of the Jewish community in Kermanshah within their broader regional context. It seeks to uncover possible explanations for how and under what circumstances Jewish individuals embraced and transcribed the ostensibly non-Jewish Gūrānī literature. Additionally, it explores the potential roles played by social, religious, and cultural factors in this process. The second part presents a comprehensive overview of the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus.

An investigation into this understudied corpus is crucial for both Jewish as well as Gūrānī Studies. For the former, because it provides first-hand sources from within the community, which has barely any presently known traces, and for the latter, because it opens new horizons in the field by providing new valuable data which will increase our understanding of the nature, social status, and linguistic variability of literary Gūrānī.

Before delving into the main discussion, two points should be clarified: firstly, in this article, Kermanshah is referred to in two senses, first as 'the city,' which is the modern center of the eponymous province, and second in a larger sense, which

roughly corresponds to the modern borders of the modern province itself. Kermanshah in the latter sense includes the city of Kermanshah and several other towns such as Sahneh, Kangavar, Harsin, Harunabad, Islamabad, Kerend, Gahvareh, Qasr-e Shirin, among others; the western extreme of this region is the city of Khanaqin in Iraq, the southern extreme is Lorestān-e Kūčak, or Pošt-e Kūh, while the eastern extreme is the city of Asadabad in the province of Hamadan. The northern extreme is the city of Sanandaj.

Secondly, it should be noted that this article is specifically focused on the manuscripts that were copied in Kermanshah. The corpus being investigated in this study comprises five manuscripts, four of which were copied in Kermanshah during the 19th century and are collectively referred to as the Kermanshahi group throughout this article. The fifth manuscript, on the other hand, was produced in 1926 in the village of Choplu near Tekab, West Azerbaijan Province. This manuscript is a 28-folio historical epic that narrates the rebellion of Ismail Aqa Semko (d. 1930) in Azerbaijan. Due to the different social, historical, and cultural contexts in which it was produced, the fifth manuscript requires a separate study. Therefore, to provide a more cohesive analysis of the Kermanshahi group, this article will exclusively focus on the four manuscripts copied in Kermanshah during the 19th century. By doing so, we can better understand the distinctive features and cultural significance of this specific group of manuscripts.

2 Jews of Kermanshah

2.1 Sources

Today, there are few, if any, Jews living in Kermanshah province[1]. Their population decreased drastically following the 1979 Revolution in Iran. Nothing is known about the early history of the Jews in Kermanshah. For centuries, the Jews in Kermanshah lived on the edge of Babylonia's once-prosperous Jewish academies and in the vicinity of other flourishing Jewish communities in Hamadan and Nahavand from the

1 An informal census estimates their population to 100 individuals in 2011. This census is documented in https://www.adyan-iran.com (access date: 12.12.2022).

other side. However, the Jews of this region are almost absent from all the pre-Islamic and Islamic sources[2], indifferent to the religious background of the source[3].

For the Europeans, whose primary source for the antiquity of the Jews was the Old Testament, the Jewish communities of west and northwestern Iran, as well as northern Iraq and southern Turkey, were the descendants of those "lost in the land of Assyria" (Isiah 27:13), living in *terra incognita.* Their travelogues and itineraries comprise the main sources of our understanding of these Jewish communities. Although recorded controversial information, the itinerary of the twelfth-century Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela is the earliest account of the Jewish communities of Kermanshah. According to his account, near the river of Holwan, one finds "the abodes of about four thousand Jews" (Asher 1840: 120)[4].

History is silent about the aforementioned Jewish communities for the next seven centuries after Benjamin of Tudela. Only in the nineteenth century did they come out of the shadows. From this century, there have been several travelogues that can be categorized into three types of sources. The first type is the works of European Jewish travelers who aspired to find their lost cousins. The itineraries of rabbi David D'Beth Hillel (1832), Israel Joseph Benjamin, known as Benjamin II (1846–1855), and Ephraim Neumark (1884–5) were more focused on the Jewish communities, and therefore, provided more detailed information. Another set of sources containing valuable information about the Jewish communities of Kermanshah is provided by several Christian missionaries hoping to get in touch with the Jewish communities of the region; among them, Joseph Wolff (1837) and Henry Stern (1854) are to be mentioned. The last but not least set of sources is offered by the European diplomats or inquisitive travelers who visited the Jews in Kermanshah or heard something about them. The travelogues of Henry Rawlinson (1839), Edward Ledwich Mitford (1884), and Eugene Aubin (1908) are to be mentioned under the latter category.

Although the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus, in particular, is an unseen piece of evidence, the Jewish communities of Kermanshah and their social and cultural aspects are the topic of some studies in recent scholarship. Habib Levi (1960), in his seminal

2 There is an implication in the work of al-Maqdisī, who in the course of his fairly long description of *Jibal* including the city of Qarmisin (the historical name of Kermanshah), sufficed to mention that "the Jews in this region are more than Christians" (Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm, 394). He also reports that *darb al-Yahūd* is one of the neighbourhoods of Hulwan, and outside the city, there is a synagogue built from plaster and stones and is highly venerated (ibid, 123).

3 Even in the Judeo-Persian narrative of Babai bin Lotf, the seventeenth century Jewish chronicler from Kashan, there is no mention of the Jewish community in Kermanshah.

4 This account should be used cautiously. Reportedly, Benjamin himself did not travel beyond Baghdad, and his reports of Kurdish regions are based on the information he obtained from others (Brauer 1993:38; Fischel 1994: 196).

work *The History of Iranian Jews*,[5] provides invaluable information on the Jews of Kermanshah and their historical background as part of the broader picture of Jews in Iran. The comprehensive book of Avraham Cohen (1992), *The Jewish Community in Kermanshah (Iran) from the Beginning of the 19th Century until World War II*[6], focuses on different social, cultural, and religious aspects of the Jewish community in the city of Kermanshah and its adjacent regions. Heshmatollah Kermanshahchi (2007), in the book *Iranian Jewish Community, Social Developments in the Twentieth Century,* dedicates an entire chapter to the Jewish community of Kermanshah City. Since the author was a former community member, this chapter resembles an autobiography with an excursion to what he has already heard from older Jewish generations of the city. Willem Floor and Parisa Mohammadi (2018), in the chapter "The Jewish Community of Kermanshah" in Willem Floor's book, *Kermanshah, City & Province, 1800–1945*, collect the available data from different primary sources, such as itineraries, autobiographies, and legal documents, and present a concise account of the Jews in Kermanshah during the period of the book.

2.2 Jews of Kermanshah in the nineteenth century

As these sources suggest, the Jewish communities of the province of Kermanshah in the nineteenth century had a diverse and dynamic nature, consisting of different Jewish groups with varying linguistic and cultural backgrounds. For instance, according to D'Beth Hillel, in the cities of (sic.) *Karmasa* and *Zaho* (=Kermanshah and Zohab), respectively, 300 and 40 Jewish families lived who were Neo-Aramaic speakers (D'Beth Hillel 1832:88–90)[7]. Using Neo-Aramaic as vernacular indicates

5 In Persian: Tārīx-e Yahūd-e Īrān

6 In Hebrew: ha-Ḳehilah ha-Yehudit be-Kermanshah (Iran) be-me'ot ha-19 ṿeha-20 'ad la-Milḥemet ha-'Olam ha-Sheniyah

7 What David D'Beth Hilel reports about the Neo-Aramaic vernacular of the Jews in Kermanshah goes in contrast to what Hopkins (1999: 319) and following him Borjian (2017) stated regarding the exclusion of the city of Kermanshah from the domain of Neo-Aramaic dialect area. According to David D'Beth Hilel the Jewish community in the city shares similar "manners, customs, and languages as those of Bahadina" (D'Beth Hillel 1832: 89). In his earlier chapter on the language spoken in Bahadina, which is "the same language as prevail among the Israelites of Zachoo " (ibid, 56), David D'Beth Hilel notes that this language is known as *Lyshana-Yahoodayah* (ibid, 58), and is also spoken by the Jews of Zachoo. Moving backwards to his account of the Jews in Zachoo demonstrates that this language had to be a certain variety of Neo-Aramaic. In this chapter he reveals that the Jews of Zachoo share the same vernacular with the Christian inhabitants of Pasoover, a small village in the vicinity of Mosul speaking in "the Caldees language, which is very similar to the language written in some chapters of Ezra and Daniel, they call it Lishanah Yahoodiya (i.e. Jewish

that these communities were part of the larger Northeastern Neo-Aamaic (NENA) map that used to live in Iran, Iraq, and Turkey. Based on the oral tradition of these people[8], they are descendants of the oldest Jews who were exiled "in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (2 Kings 17:6; 18:11) when Israel and Judah were conquered by the Mesopotamian kings in 8th and 6th BCE (Ben-Zvi 1955: 57, Sabar 1982: xxvii–xxix)[9].

Historically, these Neo-Aramaic communities coexisted with speakers of different varieties of Kurdish, Turkish (mainly Azeri) and Arabic dialects in Iraq, Turkey, and Iran. Due to this coexistence, the NENA speakers were mainly bilingual or trilingual (Khan 2018: 15). Recent scholarship proves that Jewish NENA settlements in Kermanshah, in addition to what is reported by D'Beth Hillel, also existed in other cities of the region, such as Kangavar, Kerend, and Qasr-e Shirin (Hopkins 1999: 319; Khan 2018: 11, Borjian 2017). By the end of the nineteenth century, Jewish families were scattered across the province, often living among different Kurdish tribes (Aubin 1908: 333).

The Jewish community in Kermanshah City in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was even more heterogeneous regarding linguistic and cultural background. In the nineteenth century, the Jewish community living in the city witnessed several waves of Jewish refugees and immigrants from different cities of Iran and, later in the twentieth century, from Iraq.[10] Ephraim Neumark mentions a certain Hakham *Yaḥazqal Yazdī* as one of the highly esteemed members of the Jewish community in nineteenth-century Kermanshah (Neumark 1967: 73). His epithet clearly shows that he is from Yazd and was thus not a native of the city he came to reside in. Moreover, in the aftermath of the forced conversion of Jews in Mashhad in 1839, known as *Allāhdād*, Kermanshah was among the safe places where the Jewish refugees from Khorasan relocated (Tsadik 2011: 34–36; Sarshar 2011:158–60). Perhaps due to this mixed linguistic background, the non-Jewish

language), and Arabs call it Jabali" (ibid, 50, 51). This is also attested in the work of Aubin, where he writes there are 300 hundred Jewish families in the city of Kermanshah who, like other Jews of Kurdistan, speak in "un jargon syriaque"(Aubin, 1908: 336.)

8 Sabar remarks the significant role of orality in transmitting religion among Jews of Kurdistan (Sabar 1982: xxviii).

9 The Assyrian kings, Shalmaneser V, and his successor Sargon II conquered the land of Samaria and expelled many Jews from their homeland in 8th century BCE (Yamada & Yamada 2017: 406–09). A later wave of banishment came when Nebuchadnezzar II, the Babylonian king, destroyed Jerusalem and captured the people of Judah in 586 BCE and settled them in Mesopotamia (Beaulieu 2018: 228).

10 For the refugees from Bukhara prior to the Iranian Constitutional Revolution in 1905–11 see.: Pirnazar 2017. For the Neo-Aramaic/ Arabic speaker who sought refuge from Iraq, mainly from Baghdad., see.: Avraham Cohen 1992: 15–16; Alavikia 2019: 77.

vernaculars of Kermanshah, Farsi, and Kurdish were adopted by the local Jewish population for communication within their community in the city.[11]

There is a general agreement that the general population of Kermanshah in the nineteenth century varies between 300000 to 350000 (Floor 2018: 181). Regarding the census of Jewish communities of Kermanshah, Levi provides detailed information (Table 1; Levi 1960c: 813–14). It seems that the Jews in the aforementioned century were less than 1% of the whole population:

Table 1: Census of Jewish communities of Kermanshah, based on Levi (1960c).

City	Census
Kermanshah	1406 individuals
Gahvareh	18 families
Kerend	30 families
Qasr-e Shirin	12 families
Sarpol-e Zohab	30 families
Bilavar	4 families
Dinavar	4 families
Sonqor Kolya'i	12 families
Payravand	4 families
Sum	≈ 2000 individuals (if one considers each family about 5 individuals)

As sources reveal, these communities lived humble lives, both economically and socially. D'Beth Hilel reports that most Jewish families living in Kermanshah and Zohab are poor (1832: 89–90). Stern, a Christian missionary who visited the Jewish community in the city of Kermanshah on 27 February 1852, observed that the Jews live a miserable life, and their synagogue is an "insignificant mud building" situated in "an unhealthy part of the town" (Stern 1852: 236). Some of these Jews were small-scale traders, according to D'Beth Hillel reports. Benjamin II met a Jewish Mullah who deceived Persians [i.e., non-Jewish people] by making amulets for them (Benjamin II, 1863: 253). According to Levi's report, in 1900, Jews of Kermanshah were mainly small-scale traders, itinerant herbalists, and hawking drapers (1960c: 813). Apparently, Jews were not allowed by Muslims to open stores, which accounts for the hawking jobs they were involved in (Floor and Mohammadi 2018: 486). In

11 This is reflected in an autobiography of Heshmatullah Kermanshahchi: "one of the interesting facts about the Jews of [the city of] Kermanshah was that, compared to the other inhabitants of the city, they did not have any distinguished and different dialect, which might be due to the short historical presence of them [in the city]" (Kermanshahchi 2007: 357)

Kermanshah City, they lived in their own neighborhood and had three synagogues. Seemingly, it was not only the Muslim majority who wanted them to live separately, but also the Jews themselves preferred to live in their ghetto to keep the cohesiveness of their Jewish identity (ibid: 488–89).

The Jewish educational institutions in this century were limited to schools for boys. In the classical *maktabs*, mainly held in the rabbis' houses, students learned to read and write Hebrew, studied the Torah, and memorized Jewish daily prayers.[12] Reportedly, among the Jews of Iran, those who knew the Hebrew language and the Assyrian alphabet were known as Mollā (Levi 1960c: 657). Although written in Hebrew characters, Persian literature was part of their curriculum as well (Floor and Mohammadi 2018: 498). By the turn of the twentieth century, the classical curriculum of the Jews in Kermanshah was terminated by establishing two modern schools in Kermanshah. Christian missionaries established a school in Kermanshah in 1902 to spread their Christianity. Following this, a branch of Alliance School Israélite Universelle (AIU) was opened in Kermanshah (Floor and Mohammadi 2018: 498–99) and later, in 1926, in Kerend (Alavikia 2019:83).

3 Linguistic background

The accounts provided by Rabino (1900: 17–40) and Curzon (1892: 557) regarding the demographic map of Kurdish nomadic and sedentary tribes, along with their respective districts in Kermanshah, bear a striking resemblance to the current geographical configuration. Kalhor, Sanjābī, Zangena, and Gūrān tribes were in the western and southwestern zones, the Jāf tribes (Šarafbayānī, Fattāḥbeigī, Morādī) were in the western and northwestern zones, Kolīyā'ī tribe in the northern, northeastern, and eastern zones, Ḥamadvand and its branches (Ḥamadvand Bohtoui and Ḥamadvand Čalabī) in western zones close to the city of Qasr-e Shirin, the Lak tribes (Jalālvand, Osmānvand and Kākāvand) in southern and southwestern regions. Bājalānī tribe, who migrated from Mosul in the eighteenth century during the rule of Ottomans, settled eventually in the western zones, in the vicinity of the Zohab region (Rawlinson 1839: 107). Except for Jāf tribes, whose dialect is categorized as a branch of central Kurdish dialects (Hamzeh'ee 2008), and Bājalānī tribe,

12 It seems the knowledge of Hebrew was not common among the ordinary Jews. This is reflected from the Stern's narrative, where, in order to decrease the influence of his speech, he was asked by a rabbi in the synagogue to speak in Hebrew with the Jews, so that nobody can understand it. He refused, and answered " it was my duty to declare the saving message in a language understood by all".(Stern 1854:237)

whose spoken variety is considered a subgroup of Gūrānī dialects (Oberling 1988a), the other tribes were speakers of the southern Kurdish varieties (Borjian 2017).

Due to the strategic position of Kermanshah, situated on the road connecting the Iranian plateau to Iraq, and the rule of the Persian-speaking Qajars, the Persian language, as a *lingua franca*, was prevalent in the city of Kermanshah in this century.[13]However, as Aubin portrays, this Persian spoken "mixed with Kurdish expressions" (Aubin 1908: 338). The settled speakers of Hawrami, reportedly categorized as a subgroup of Gūrānī dialects, live in the northwestern corner of Kermanshah. The Gūrānī dialects stretched southwards to the cities of Kerend and some villages such as Gawrajū and Zardah in its vicinity (Bailey 2018: 7–9; Borjian 2017). Also, a Turkish population existed in Sonqor, a northeastern town in Kermanshah (Floor 2018: 181–82).

As illustrated by this linguistic map, it is highly probable that during this century, the Jewish community in the province of Kermanshah maintained contact with Kurdish speakers (particularly the southern and central dialects) in regions such as Zohab, Qasr-e Shirin, Kangavar, and the city of Kermanshah. Furthermore, it is plausible that Kerend and its surrounding areas, historically with a significant Jewish population, were also in contact with the local Gūrānī speakers.

4 Religious landscape

The religious landscape of nineteenth-century Kermanshah was a vibrant amalgamation of diverse faiths and beliefs. Despite earlier attempts in the eighteenth century to enforce the conversion of its inhabitants to Shi'ism[14], the majority of Kurdish tribes in nineteenth-century Kermanshah continued to adhere to the Ahl-e

13 In nineteenth century, Kermanshah was under the rule of a cadet branch of Qajar dynasty. Moḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā Dowlatšāh (rule 1806–1821), the oldest son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Šāh Qājār, his sons Moḥammad-Ḥosayn Mīrzā Hešmat-al-Dowleh (1821–1826), and Emāmqolī Mīrzā ʿEmād al-Dowleh (1852–1875), ruled over Kermanshah. It was in their time that Persian in this region was not only an administrative language, but also through the migrations of different families, mainly bureaucrats and Shiite clerical ones, from other Iranian cities to Kermanshah, Persian language became more common in this region (Boushasbgusheh & Azadian 2021:159–162). Soltani has discussed the formative role of Dowlatšāh as the patroniser and reviver of Persian poetry in Kermanshah (Soltani 2015: 153–236).

14 Shi'ism in this article refers to the Post-Safavid Twelver Shi'ism. For a panoramic account of the evolution of Twelver Shi'ism during the Safavid era in Iran, from 1501 to 1722, see Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University Press, 2002). For the dialectic relationship between Twelver Shi'ism and the Qajar political ideology see "Part three: The Shi'ite

Ḥaqq faith (Floor 2018: 44). These sedentary and pastoral Ahl-e Ḥaqq communities primarily resided in the cities, villages, and plains between Zohab and Kermanshah, where the main Jewish settlements were also located. Reportedly, their substantial presence in Kermanshah served as a counterbalance to the authority of Shiite clerics, who were relatively few during this period and, therefore, had limited influence in the city (Aubin 1908: 337).

Notwithstanding their majority in number, the Ahl-e Ḥaqq were tolerant in treating followers of other religions (Binder 1887: 348), most likely due to the vernacular nature of Ahl-e Ḥaqq faith. This atmosphere of religious tolerance is reflected in the observations of Neumark, who noted that the hatred against Jews in Kermanshah is not so extreme compared to other central Iranian cities (1967: 73). Evidence suggests a close association between the Jewish and Ahl-e Ḥaqq communities.[15] For instance, during his visit to Zohab, D'Beth Hillel encountered the Ahl-e Ḥaqq[16] of the city and "stayed with them to better understand their faith" (D'Beth Hillel 1832: 89). Upon revealing his Jewish identity, he was warmly received, and the Ahl-e Ḥaqq

Hierocracy and the State, 1785–1890" in Amir Arjomand, Said. 1984. *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam. pp.* 213–273. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

15 This closeness is endorsed by some other accounts from this century. In his march from Zohab towards Khuzistan, Major Rawlinson visited Ahl-e Haqq community in 1838. In a passage, based on etymological analysis of (sic.) Ḥolwán and its supposed association with the name of the ancient city of Halah, he argues that the (sic.) Kalhurs and (sic.) Gúráns, who are offsets of Kalhurs, as well as their faith, Ahl-e Haqq (he calls them 'Alí Iláhí), are reminiscent of the Jews who were captured by the Assyrians in ancient time and settled in this region. He writes: "Jewish traditions abound in this part of the country, and David is still regarded by the tribes as their great tutelar prophet. If the Samartian captives can be supposed to have retained to the present day any distinct individuality of character, perhaps the Kalhur tribe has the best claim to be regarded as their descendants. . .They [referred to Kalhors] have many Jewish names amongst them, and, above all, their general physiognomy is strongly indicative of an Israelish descent. . .a part of them [referred to Kalhors] with the Gúráns, are still of the 'Alí Iláhí persuasion- a faith which bears evident marks of Judaism, singularly amalgamated with Sabæan, Christian and Mohammedan legends"(Rawlinson 1838:35–36). Later on, he adds that those 50,000 families of Jews of Hhuphthon mentioned by the Spanish Benjamin of Tudela, may have been the Ahl-e Haqq adherents whose faith at the time of Benjamin "may have been less corrupted" (ibid. 36–37). Julius Heinrich Petermann visited the region of Kermanshah at large in 1865. In Kerend he met several Ahl-e Haqq believer, including his own mule rider. He writes: " Gegen die Juden sind sie sehr freundlich gesinnt, und unser Qatirdschi sagte einst zu einem Juden unserer Begleitung, dass ihre Religion und die seinige eigentlich gleich sein. Dieses ist möglicherweise auch nicht so ganz unrichtig, da sie nach Allem, was wir über sie erfahren konnten, ein verzerrtes Judentum haben, und vielleicht von den Juden der Gefangenschaft abstammen "(Petermann 1865: 263). He also saw that an Ahl-e Haqq lady smoke from the same nargileh from which two Jews had already smoked (ibid. 263), and noted that the recipe of baking a bread by an Ahl-e Haqq lady was similar to the Jewish Mazzoth (ibid. 265).

16 D'Beth Hillel designates this community as *davoodee* (D'Beth Hillel 1832:89.)

expressed a sense of spiritual kinship, stating that "there is no more than the skin of an onion between their faith and that of the Israelites" (D'Beth Hillel 1832: 89–90). To support this statement, D'Beth Hillel enumerates several similarities between the two faces, such as practicing circumcision, believing "in one God of Abraham, Isac, and Jacob," and "in Moses who is called by them "Moosa Rabbina" (sic.) and "in Benjamin" and "in King David".[17] This passage not only highlights the aspect of physical proximity but also underscores the presence of a remarkable openness and receptivity, a characteristic especially pronounced within the Ahl-e Ḥaqq community.

However, despite this general peaceful coexistence between the Ahl-e Ḥaqq and the local Jewish community, Kermanshah, especially the city, experienced a concerted effort in the nineteenth century to promote Shi'ism in the region organized through cooperation between *'ulama* and the local government, to promote Shi'ism in the region. The residence of notable cleric families in the city, whom the governors usually invited to guide the local people, and later the establishment of *madrasa* under the ʿEmād al-Dowleh governorship in 1868 might have accelerated this process. This dynamic soon targeted non-Shi'i religious communities, namely the Ahl-e Ḥaqq and the Jews, and attempted to convert them to Shi'ism(Floor 2018: 45).

Āqā Moḥammad ʿAlī Behbahānī, also recognized as Āqā Moḥammad ʿAlī Kermānšāhī, stands out as one of the radical Shiite clerics who took up residence in Kermanshah during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Originally hailing from Behbahan, a city situated in the modern province of Khuzistan in southwestern Iran, Āqā Moḥammad ʿAlī relocated to Kermanshah at the invitation of Allāh-Qolī Xān Zanganeh, who served as the governor of Kermanshah during the latter half of the 1700s (Floor 2018: 44). During his tenure in Kermanshah, particularly under the governance of Ḥājjī 'Alī Xān Zanganeh, the son of Allāh Qolī Xān, the early stages of organized efforts to convert the Ahl-e Ḥaqq to Shi'ism reportedly transpired (Floor 2018: 44). Notably, Āqā Moḥammad ʿAlī Kermānšāhī earned a reputation for his stringent and uncompromising stance against Sufis in Kermanshah, a stance that led to his epithet of *Ṣūfī-koš* meaning "the sufi-slayer". While there is no documented record of any encounters between Āqā Moḥammad ʿAlī and the Jewish community of Kermanshah during his residency in the city, his polemical treatise titled *Rādd Šubahāt al-Kuffār* ("The Refutation of the Infidels' Doubts") provides insights into his views on Judaism and Christianity. According to his treatise,

17 These names happened to represent the highly venerated figures of the Ahl-e Haqq history, i.e., Sultān Isḥāq, and his disciples Mūsā, Benyāmīn, and Dāvūd. For a short overview of their deeds in the Ahl-e Haqq faith, see Kreyenbroeck, Phillip G. (2020) *"God First and Last". Religious Traditions and Music of the Yaresan of Guran.* pp. 53–4. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

he considered Judaism and Christianity true religions, albeit with elements that had become mixed with falsehoods over time.[18]

Another instance of polemical activities carried out by Shiite clerics against various religious communities in Kermanshah is found in a treatise titled *Hedāyat al-Nuṣayrīyyah* ("The Guidance of the *Nuṣayrīs*") authored by ʻAlī ibn Moḥammad ʻAlī al-Hoseynī al-Meybodī in the year 1898. As indicated by his epithet, al-Meybodī hailed from the central Iranian city of Meybod. The opening chapter of his treatise recounts his pilgrimage to the sacred shrines of Najaf and Karbala and subsequent residence in Kermanshah to guide the astray *Nuṣayrī*s.[19] The author systematically critiques and refutes Nuṣayrī beliefs in this treatise, demonstrating their faith's perceived corruptions and exaggerations.[20]

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18 *Rādd Šubahāt al-Kuffār* is a polemical treatise composed in response to theological inquiries posed by Fatḥ ʿAlī Šāh, a ruler of the Qajar dynasty (Rādd, 4). In its concluding chapter titled "Ethbāt Nabovvat-e Xāṣṣe" (The Argument for Special Prophethood), Āqā Moḥammad ʿAlī Kermānšāhī addresses "šobahāt va adelle" (doubts and arguments) raised against "melale tholāth" (the three religious communities), namely Jews, Christians, and Muslims (ibid, 24). Here, the author supports the prophethood of Moses, Jesus, and Mohammad by presenting evidence and constructing arguments. However, in a subsequent subchapter titled "Xāteme dar dhekr-e baʿẓī az maṭāʿen va abḥāth-e vārede bar ṭāyefe-ye yahūd-e ʿanūd" (An epilogue on certain objections and refutations against the hostile tribe of Jews), the author critiques certain Jewish beliefs and narratives, labelling them as "kofrīyāt" (blasphemies), "hadhyānāt" (delirious ideas) (ibid, 198), and "harze" (absurdity) (ibid, 201). The context surrounding the creation of this treatise and the sources from which Āqā Moḥammad ʿAlī Kermānšāhī derived his information about Judaism and Christianity have been explored by R. Pourjavadi and S. Schmidtke (2006) as well as M. K. Rahmati (2007).

19 *Nuṣayriyya* is commonly known as the title for a Shiite extremist religious group currently live in Syria and southeastern Turkey (see. Nuṣayriyya. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Brill). However, this name was apparently in use during Qajar time to denote the Ahl-e Haqq, for it is attested in a small treatise written by Mohammad Hossein Foroughi for Naser al-Din Shah to "ascertain the truth about the religion and ways of the *ʿAlī Allāhī*s who are also known as *Nuṣayrī*, *Ghālī*, and *Ahl-e Ḥaqq*" (Kurin 2021: 2). Meybodī designs the treatise in a short preface, and three chapters: "dar bayān-e sabab va manšaʾ-e īn madhhab (On the reason and origin of this denomination)" (*Hedayat*, f.4r), "dar bayān-e bad va gholov va haqīqat-e īn madhhab (on the badness, exaggeration, and truth of this denomination)"(*ibid*, f.22r), and "dar bayān-e jahāt-e boṭlān-e īn madhhab (on the reasons of the falseness of this denomination)" (*ibid*, f.38r).

20 The tensions between Shiites and Jews in Kermanshah occasionally escalated beyond intellectual disputes. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a series of significant pogroms occurred, with three particularly noteworthy incidents taking place between 1893 and 1909. These events were identified within the Jewish community of Kermanshah as the first, second, and third 'plunders' (Kermanshahchi 2007: 324–25). These violent episodes were primarily incited by the city's fundamentalist *ʿulama* (Islamic scholars) and carried out by angry mobs. Regrettably, the authorities, it is reported, hesitated to address the grievances of the Jewish community due to their apprehension of the *ʿulama*. In an effort to defuse these conflicts, the Jewish community adopted a strategy of mass conversion to Islam after each plunder. This decision was influenced by the

In addition to the Shiite institutionalized efforts aimed at marginalizing the Ahl-e Ḥaqq and Jews, both communities were also exposed to the influence of foreign missionary activities in Kermanshah. Before the nineteenth century, little information was available regarding the presence of Christians in Kermanshah. However, as missionary activities began to gain momentum in Iran during the nineteenth century, Kermanshah became one of their destinations. Given that conversion to Christianity was prohibited for Muslims throughout the Qajar dominions, missionaries primarily focused their efforts on religious minorities as potential converts. Kermanshah, with its sizable Ahl-e Ḥaqq population and the presence of Jewish communities, became an attractive ground for missionary work (Whipple 1900: 814, Floor 2018:52). Henry Stern, a German-born British missionary, provided a vivid account of his interactions with the Jewish community in Kermanshah. While there, he met Mollā Rachamim, the chief rabbi of Kermanshah city. According to Stern, the pressure exerted by Muslims on the Jewish community, coupled with their difficult living conditions, made them receptive to the message of Jesus (Stern 1854: 236–7).

These illustrative examples shed light on the intricate socioreligious dynamics that characterized nineteenth-century Kermanshah. During this period, both the Ahl-e Ḥaqq and Jewish communities experienced a collective sense of marginalization. This marginalization resulted from the combined impact of two influential forces: the Shiite clerical establishment and the endeavors of Christian missionaries. The shared status of 'other' within Kermanshah's predominantly Muslim environment may have played a pivotal role in fostering closer ties between the neighboring communities of Ahl-e Ḥaqq and Jews. Facing similar challenges and forms of marginalization, these communities may have found common grounds for intellectual and communal interactions.

5 Gūrānī literature

Over centuries, the people in the western Iranian plateau have employed a poetic idiom known as literary Gūrānī for literary purposes. Literary Gūrānī was a predominant idiom not only in Kermanshah but also in a larger area roughly corresponding to the central Zagros region, namely the modern provinces of Kurdistan, Kermanshah, Ilam, northern parts of Lorestan, and some zones in the Iraqi Kurd-

Islamic inheritance law, which stipulates that if a Muslim and a non-Muslim are both heirs of an individual, the Muslim inherits everything. This legal factor played a role in prompting some Jews to embrace Islam (Tsadik 2010: 241–42).

istan, such as the old city of Shahrizor and its vicinity. The relationship between this literary idiom and the spoken language of the region, particularly a group of dialects collectively known as Gūrānī, and the very nature of it is still among the open questions of the field.[21]

The vast corpus of Gūrānī literature consists of numerous versified texts, mainly in ten-syllabic verses. As Kreyenbroeck (2010: 70) has previously discussed, orality was the predominant domain of the Gūrānī tradition in Kurdistan, which would account for the relatively late date of the extant Gūrānī manuscripts. The earliest dated manuscript in literary Gūrānī, Ms. Or. 6444 at the British Library, is dated 1782/4 (Mackenzie 1965: 256). According to the proliferation of the Gūrānī manuscripts written in the nineteenth century, it seems that this period was a turning point in the textual history of the Gūrānī literature, a century in which the transition from oral records to the written form accelerated. This phenomenon has also been referred to as *textualization*. However, some Gūrānī texts are evidently composed several centuries before what the so-called oldest Gūrānī manuscript suggests. A blatant example of this chronological difference is *Parīšān Nāmeh* by Mollā Parīšān, a Ḥurūfī[22] follower living in the late-fourteenth/early-fifteenth century in Dinavar (Dehqan 2011:57). However, the earliest manuscripts dated to the nineteenth century, almost 500 years after the composition of *Parīšān Nāmeh* (Hosseini Abbariki 2021: 1)[23].

Regarding stylistics, Minorsky (1943: 89) categorized Gūrānī literature into three "classes": epic, lyric, and religious. Chamanara & Amiri (2018: 629–31) divide Gūrānī literature into three main "groups": religious thoughts, epics and romances,

21 For more discussion on this topic, see: Kreyenbroeck, Philip G. & Behrooz Chamanara .2013. Literary Gurāni: Koinè or Continuum? In Hamit Bozarslan & Clémence Scalbert-Yücel (eds.), *L´e´ternelle chez les Kurdes*, 151–169. Paris: Karthala; and Mahmoudveysi, Parvin. 2016. *The Meter and the Literary Language of Gūrānī Poetry*. Hamburg: University of Hamburg dissertation (Chapter 5. pp.65–136). Gholami in her recent article (2023) discusses thoroughly different uses and meanings of the terms Gūrān and Gūrānī.

22 Ḥurufīyyeh was a non-mainstream-Islamic and messianic movement evolved by Faẓl Allāh Astarābādī in fourteenth century. The central concept of this movement was the manifestation of God in the world through the letters, "ḥurūf". Astarābādī's main teachings comprise numerological interpretations of the Arabic and Persian alphabets, in order to perceive God, and his sealed book, Quran (Algar 2012, Bausani 2012).

23 For a list of the oldest manuscripts of this text kept in the Iranian libraries, which are predominantly copied as late as the nineteenth century, see: Bidaki, Hadi. 2016. The Descriptive Catalogue of the Kurdish Manuscripts in the Iranian Libraries; the Religious and Romance Texts [*Fehrest-e Towṣīfī-ye Motūn-e Xatī-ye Kordī dar Ketābxāneh-hā-ye Irān: Manẓūmeh-hā-ye Dīnī va ʿāšeqāneh*], *Kashkul Journal* 5 & 6. 192–221

and lyrical poetry.[24] From a historical perspective, however, three stages are distinguishable in the development of Gūrānī literature: the early period, the Ahl-e Ḥaqq texts, and the Ardalan era. Looking back to history, some works such as Mārfatū Pīr Šālīyār composed, reportedly, in the late-eleventh/early-twelfth century and *Parīšān Nāmeh* by Mollā Parīšān composed in fourteenth-early-fifteenth century suggest that prior to the advent of Ahl-e Ḥaqq faith, who institutionalized literary Gūrānī, Gūrānī literature in particular manner existed in different Zagros spots (Fuad 1970: xi–xii).

It seems that the Ahl-e Ḥaqq were the first who elevated literary Gūrānī to the status of a sacred language. For centuries, they expressed their faith, the story of creation, and the early history of their community by using it (Chamanara 2011: 127). As far as the religious memory of the Ahl-e Ḥaqq community is concerned, most of the saintly figures of their religious tradition were Gūrānī poets inspired by their incarnated divine essence, known as *ẕāt*. Indeed, the most remarkable Ahl-e Ḥaqq religious corpus, collectively known as *Saranjām,* is an anthology predominantly in Gūrānī which is arranged chronologically, according to their emic understanding of history as cycles (or *dowra*) in which the divine essence is incarnated in human form.[25] It should be noted that literary Gūrānī remained the preferred Ahl-e Ḥaqq language until the nineteenth century. The latest Ahl-e Ḥaqq texts were versified in the first half of the nineteenth century in the Tūtšāmī village, in the vicinity of Kerend, by a religious figure, Āqā Seyed Birāka and his thirty-six dervishes (Heydari Guran 11–28).

Apparently, in the late sixteenth century, the house of Ardalan, who may have embraced the Ahl-e Ḥaqq faith, began to encourage poets to compose in literary Gūrānī (Blau 2010:7).[26] It was under their patronage that literary Gūrānī flourished

24 The problem in this categorization is the fact that the Gūrānī literature here is not categorized based on one single criterion; for example, in Chamanara & Amiri (2018:629), the category of "religious thought" encompasses Ahl-e Ḥaqq texts, a group of epic texts, such as *Rustam o Moqātil,* and didactic texts such as *Rūla Bizānī,* in terms of their shared themes, and the fact that all these texts are faith oriented. However, the other two groups, namely epics/romances and lyrical are categorized based on the genre. In this category, some texts, such as *Rustam o Moqātil,* may fall under two categories.

25 There are Ahl-e Haqq corpora in Persian (see., Ivanow, W. (1953). *The Truth-worshippers of Kurdistan: Ahl-i Haqq Texts Edited in the Original Persian and Analysed by W. Ivanow*. E. J. Brill.) and Turkish (see the unpublished doctoral thesis of Geranpayeh, B. (2006). Yārıstān – die Freunde der Wahrheit: Religion und Texte einer vorderasiatischen Glaubensgemeinschaft, Die Philosophischen Fakultät, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen.)

26 A Kurdish emirate with Sanandaj or "Sinnah" as the capital city. The early history of this emirate is not clear, but they came to the scene after Mongol invasion in thirteenth century. In the sixteenth century, they reached an agreement with the Safavids and played a key role in their conflict

in faith-neutral (genres such as lyrical and romance. The Ardalani poets developed an interest in trying new ideas, such as introducing the new poetry form, Gūrānī Ghazal, by Yūsef Yāska (1592–1636) or translation, with marginal modifications, of notable Persian poetical works such as *Leylī va Majnūn* composed initially in Persian by Nizami (d. 1209) and translated into literary Gūrānī by Xānā Qobādī (1700–59) (Ibid, 8; Chamanara & Amiri 2018: 631)

A remarkable amount of Gūrānī texts, consisting of historical, epic, romance, and didactic genres, were produced in the eighteenth century. Although many texts in this corpus, particularly the epic texts under the name of *Šānāma*, *Razmnāma*, or *Jangnāma*, have deep roots in the Zagros culture and orally prevailed in this region over centuries, the extant texts are mainly the eighteenth-century redactions of these old stories. In this century, Dīnavar and Kanduleh, located in the Kermanshah region, became prosperous centers of Gūrānī literature with figures such as Almās Xān Kandūleh'i and Mīrzā Šafīʿ Dīnavarī. The epic and romance narratives of this century usually have a religious worldview that shows close ties with the Ahl-e Ḥaqq faith (see., Chamanara 2011, 2015), thus suggesting shared sources or a formative impact of Ahl-e Ḥaqq worldview on these texts in their oral phase.

The extensive and diverse body of Gūrānī literature, encompassing a wide range of genres including religious, romantic, and historical texts, stands as the cultural memory of the region.[27] This literary tradition has served as a profound means by which the inhabitants of this region have externalized and codified their religious experiences, love stories, and epic narratives. They remembered *their* past through it (especially when one considers the epic and historical accounts) and defined their present by it (specifically in religious Ahl-e Ḥaqq texts.)

6 Judeo-Gūrānī

As expounded by the aforementioned sources, the Jewish communities of Kermanshah lived an intersectional life during the nineteenth century shaped by a confluence of diverse trends and societal changes that irrevocably transformed their

with the Ottomans during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The last *valī* of Ardalan, Amānollāh Xān II, was deposed in 1867–68 by the Qajar King, Naser al-Din Shah (Oberling 1988b).

27 According to Assman (2008: 110) cultural memory "is a kind of institution. It is exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms that, unlike the sounds of words or the sight of gestures, are stable and situation-transcendent: They may be transferred from one situation to another and transmitted from one generation to another… Things do not "have" a memory of their own, but they may remind us, may trigger our memory, because they carry memories which we have invested into them, things such as dishes, feasts, rites, images, stories and other texts…".

collective identity. Their society witnessed various factors that informed their personal and social identities, including differences in culture, language, and religion, which paved the way for potential cultural encounters. Indeed, on a larger scale, these communities faced two mobilized dynamics in the religious landscape of Kermanshah. The first of these was the pervasive presence of state Shi'ism, which sought to assert its influence over the region's diverse religious communities, including the Jews. The second dynamic came from Christian missionaries, who similarly attempted to convert the Jewish population to their faith. These pressures exerted by external religious forces undoubtedly impacted the Jewish communities of Kermanshah, profoundly shaping their personal and collective identities. On the intra-communal level, the arrival of Jewish migrants from various other cities and regions, each bringing their unique cultural backgrounds, further altered the nature of the Kermanshahi Jewish community. These changes, in turn, played a significant role in shaping the hybrid identity that would ultimately be expressed through the corpus of Judeo-Gūrānī.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that the Jewish communities of Kermanshah lived in a society rife with political and economic turmoil during the nineteenth century. In many ways, Kermanshah served as a microcosm of the larger geopolitical realities of the time, characterized by instability and uncertainty. Indeed, while there were brief periods of relative peace and security during the governorships of Dowlatšāh (r. 1809–21) and his son, ʿEmād al-Dowleh (r. 1852–75), the city was plagued by the instability of political power and the oppressive rule of governors appointed by the Qajar authorities. The powerful tribes of the region, while nominally allied with the central power, were, in reality, always poised to revolt at the first opportunity, adding yet another layer of uncertainty to an already tumultuous situation. The economic impact of this instability was also severe, with the people of Kermanshah suffering from widespread impoverishment due to the constant upheaval and uncertainty that characterized their daily lives. In many ways, the challenges faced by the Jewish communities of Kermanshah mirrored those faced by the broader society.

The linguistic hybridity[28] of the Kermanshahi corpus of Judeo-Gūrānī is a testament to the diverse cultural encounters and influences that shaped the lives of

28 I borrow the term 'hybridity' from Homi Bhabhai seminal work, *The Location of Culture* (1994). Homi Bhabha's theory of hybridity proposes that cultural identities are not fixed or pure, but are constantly in a state of flux and negotiation, shaped by colonial encounters and cultural exchanges. He argues that hybridity disrupts dominant cultural narratives and opens up new possibilities for cultural innovation and transformation. Bhabha's theory emphasizes the importance of recognizing and valuing cultural diversity and hybridity, rather than seeking to impose homogenizing

the Jewish community in the region.[29] The coexistence of three languages, Gūrānī, Persian, and Hebrew, reflects the intricate web of interactions within and beyond the community. The Gūrānī language dominates the corpus, with most of the texts being versified Gūrānī texts, except for one text, Ms. Heb. 28°4385, f.84r–f.97r are known from other sources written in the Persian script. In writing headings, when they are included, the copyists used the Persian language, as other Gūrānī texts in the Persian alphabet attest. The only Persian text in this corpus is *Ḥeydar Bag va Ṣanambar,* recorded in Ms. Heb. 28°4385, f.1r, and f.49r–f.83v. The use of Persian in this context indicates the influence of Persian, as an important cultural idiom of the time, on the Jewish community. Most of the colophons are in Persian; however, some words, particularly in Ms. Heb. 28°4388, f.227v, reflect the influence of Kurdish on the employed Persian, a fact that reminds the account mentioned above of Aubin about the Persian dialect of Kermanshah.

Moreover, the presence of Hebrew in the corpus is a testimony to the Jewish identity of the community and its ties to the larger Jewish world. In this corpus, dates, when provided, are recorded following the Jewish calendar in Hebrew, a practice that underscores the community's adherence to Jewish religious customs and traditions. The two shorter colophons written entirely in Hebrew in Ms. Heb. 28°4389, f.13v clearly indicate the community's connection to the Hebrew language and its use in various contexts. The integration of Hebrew sentences and phrases into Persian colophons, as seen in Ms. Heb. 28°4388, f.228v and Ms. Heb. 28°4389, f.121v, exemplifies the fluidity of language use in the community and the creative ways in which they negotiated the diverse linguistic and cultural influences around them. Overall, the hybrid language status of the Kermanshahi corpus of Judeo-Gūrānī shows clearly the complex cultural and linguistic exchanges that occur in the multicultural society of Kermanshah.

Notable to mention is the predominant coverage of epic and romantic works of the Gūrānī literature by the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus. The Jewish community's delib-

forms of cultural assimilation or purity. He suggests that cultural hybridity provides a productive site for negotiating power relations and challenging colonial forms of domination.

29 In his book *Hybrid Judaism* (2016), Darren Kleinberg explores the influence of social encounters on the development of Jewish identity in the United States in the 20th century. Through his analysis, Kleinberg highlights the pivotal role that these encounters played in shaping the context from which a controversial Jewish scholar, and his mentor, Irving Greenberg, emerged. Greenberg is known for his contributions to the theology of encounter, which emphasizes the importance of dialogue and interaction between different cultures and religions. Kleinberg argues that Greenberg's ideas were deeply rooted in his own personal experiences of encountering diverse cultures and communities, particularly during his time as a soldier in World War II. Ultimately, Kleinberg's work demonstrates the complex interplay between personal experience, social context, and the evolution of Jewish identity in Greenberg's personal and academic status.

erate selection of faith-neutral genres for internalization is also evidenced among their Yiddish counterparts in Europe. Recreational literary works drew inspiration from German heroic epics, chivalrous tales, European folk songs, and folk plays (Mark 1949: 860–61). The preference for epic and romance works within the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus may suggest that the community was open to communication with the outside world while maintaining its distinct Jewish identity and was committed to its religious faith. It also indicates these genres' popularity and broader circulation among the Zagros people.

In the whole corpus, the names of three copyists are attested. Our knowledge about the copyists is limited. As reflected in two colophons, Ms. Heb. 28°4385, f.82v and Ms. Heb. 28°4389, f.121v, Benyāmīn bin Elyāhū was in contact with another copyist, Yaḥazqal bin Yūnā, and borrowed the books for copying from him. Benyāmīn bin Elyāhū is known from at least three Judeo-Persian liturgical manuscripts. He is the copyist of the manuscripts number 2160[30] and 2167[31] at Klau Library of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, USA, and a single manuscript, JER HEKHAL Qu. 71[32], courtesy of Hekhal Shlomo, Jerusalem, Israel (Spicehandler 1968: 125–6)[33]. Moreover, Yaḥazqal bin Yūnā and the third copyist, namely Nāser Askar bin Yūnā, might have been brothers, as their equal paternal name, Yūnā, suggests.

Two colophons reveal that these texts are copied initially from a written *vorlage*. In Ms. Heb. 28°4385, f.82v and Ms. Heb. 28°4389, f.120v, Benyāmīn bin Elyāhū states that this כתב "book"[34] belongs to Yaḥazqal bin Yūnā. Moreover, these original written texts were most likely written in Persian scripts. This hypothesis relies on the fact that misspellings may appear only in a text which can only occur in a text written in the Persian alphabet. For example, כובל "mace" (Ms. Heb. 28°4385, f.2r) is the Hebrew transliteration of کوپال, which represents the regular alternation of پ to ب. Moreover, סיתן "*Sītān(<Sīstān)" (Ms. Heb. 28°4385, f.4r) which is a misspelling of سیستان most likely because the second س was written flatly as سیـــتان in the original manuscript.

This corpus reflects a complex interplay of Jewish culture and literary Gūrānī tradition, resulting in a unique form of expression that transcends the boundaries of both components. The use of Hebrew script and Jewish calendrical systems in the Judeo-Gūrānī texts situates this corpus within the Jewish tradition. Yet, their

30 A collection of hymns and *piyyutim*.

31 A *tafsīr* of the hymn known as אם אפס. The manuscript is tagged by the Spicehandler to be composed in Hamadan (1968: 126).

32 Sermons of *haftarah*.

33 This manuscript is digitized and accessible in the NLI website: https://www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH990001773770205171/NLI?volumeItem=1#$FL32258541.

34 In Ms. Heb. 28°4389, f.120v, it is spelled as כאתב.

content draws heavily on the literary and cultural heritage of the Zagros people. Combining these diverse elements creates a corpus that cannot be entirely attributed to any single cultural identity. The internalization of Gūrānī literature by the Jews in nineteenth-century Kermanshah suggests a desire to deepen their engagement with the cultural memory of the Zagros region. The resulting hybridization of Jewish literacy and literary Gūrānī tradition allowed these Jewish communities to expand their cultural horizons and become members of a broader community. This phenomenon highlights the porous nature of cultural boundaries and the potential for cultural exchange and hybridization to create new forms of expression. The Judeo-Gūrānī corpus is a compelling example of how cultural hybridity catalyzes creative innovation and cross-cultural understanding.

In the following passages, I provide a brief overview of each manuscript by presenting its contents, themes, and codicological descriptions.

6.1 Ms. Heb. 28°4385

The manuscript contains 129 folios, 11×17.5 cm. The lines of each page vary between 19 and 30. Each folio has the foliation sequence starting at the inside front cover with 1 and terminates at the last folio with 127; these numbers are written in Arabic numerals by pen and located in the top left corner of the recto side of each folio. The codex contains miscellaneous texts written in Gūrānī and Persian by different scribes and five colophons dated 1877, 1878, and 1879. The place of copy is not provided in the manuscript; however, as the online catalog suggests, it was copied in Kermanshah.

f.1r: *Ḥeydar Bag va Ṣanambar*: The page contains the first two couplets of the Persian romance, *Ḥeydar Bag va Ṣanambar* composed by Balākeš Kūh Nārvani in 16th CE (Netzer 1973: LXII). This text is known from other Judeo-Persian manuscripts (Moreen 2015: 54, 290). The page is damaged on the right edges and affixed later to its current place.

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
alāhī ey tūtī notq šekar...	אלהי אי תותי נותק שכר...

Translation: O! Thou the mel[lifulous] parot…

f.2r–f.4v: *Babr-e Bayān*: The composer of this Gūrānī epic is anonymous. The story in the JG manuscript portrays a splendid banquet at the court of Kaykāvūs, the Kīyānī king, attended by the heroes of Iran. Suddenly, the banquet is interrupted by

a group of mourning people appealing to the king to kill a monster. This text is also known in the Persian alphabet from several manuscripts (Chamanara 2015:231–3; Fuad 1970:45) and is regarded as part of the so-called Kurdish *Šāhnāma* (Advay 2013: 62; Chamanara, ibid). The JG text is incomplete at the end.

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
kizah kabāb [u] mazah šahd šūr	כזה כבב מזה שהד שור
pīyāla [u] bazm miy sāqīyān ža dowr...	פיילה בזם מיי סאקין ז דור...

Translation: The smell of kebab, the taste of wine
chalice and wine's banquet, pages [are] circling . . .

f.4r–f.47r: *Rustam u Sohrāb*: This Gūrāī epic, which narrates the tragic battle between Sohrab and Rustam, is versified by Almās Xān Kandūleʾī, eighteenth century (Fuad 1970: 32, 57; Mardoukh Rouhani 2003: 239). The text is well known in the Persian alphabet and is regarded as an essential component of the so-called Kurdish Šāhnāma (Chamanara 2015, passim). The JG text is incomplete in the beginning. It begins with delivering the news of Sohrāb's birth to Rustam.

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1-sūwār bī šī ba Sītān[35] " baʾaw ziyd	1-סוואר בי שי בסיתנ " באוו זיד מאוא באוו
māwā baʾaw milk [u] makān...	מלכ מאכן...

Translation: [he] mounted and went to Sistan " to that settlement and shelter, to that estate and land. . .

Colophon, f.47r:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1-hezārān sojūt hezārān salām bar	1-הזארן סהגות הזארן סהלם בר סחיב תביב
sāheb tabīb elāhī salām·:	אילהי סלם
2-tamām šod īn ketāb dar rūz došabat	2-תמם שוד אין כיאתב דר רוז דושבת כ"א
<21> čāhār māh iyār <5637> šanat	גיהר מהי אייר תרלז שנת תרלז.
5637[36].	

35 A misspelling for סיסתאן "Sīstān".
36 It corresponds to 17.04.1877.

Translation: Thousands of bended knees, thousands of greetings to the lord, the divinely wise, [to him] greeting. This book was finished on Monday, the fourth of Iyyar, year 5638.

f.49r–f.83v: *Ḥeydar Bag va Ṣanambar*: This text corresponds to f.1r (see above).

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
alāhī ey tūtī notq šekar xā	אלהי אי תותי נותק שכר כאה
be-zendān qafas tā ka konīd jā	בזנדאן קפס תא כא כוניד גא ...

Translation: O! Thou the mellifluous parrot
how long would you dwell in the prison cage…

Colophon, f.82v:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1-īn ketāb māl-e yaḥezqal ben ha-mollā yūnā	1-איו כתב מל יחזקל בנ ם "ה יונה
2-be xat kamtarin xāja ben ha-mollā lyāhū	2-בכת כמתרין כאגה בנ ם "ה ליהו
3-tamām šod dar rūz 4 šab <...>5 māh	3-תמם שוד דר רוז ד' שב <...> ה" מה
4-iyār šanat <...>5638[37].	4-אייר שנת <...> תרלח.

Translation: This book, belonging to Yaḥezqal ben ha-mollā Yūnā, was finished by the humblest, Xāja ben ha-mollā Elyāhū on day 4th, night 5th of Iyyar, the year 5638.

Beneath the colophon, in the Persian alphabet, written in pencil:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
ketāb ḥeydar bag ṣanambar	کتاب حیدربگ و صنمبر

Translation: The book of Ḥeydar Bag Ṣanambar

f.84r–f.97r: This Gūrānī historical epic is unknown from other sources. The text begins with a description of the battle between Amānollāh Beyg Vakīl and Amānollāh Xān II, known as Xolām Šāxān, the last vālī of Ardalan, happened in June 1846 (Ardalan 1953:198).

37 It corresponds to 07.05.1878.

Heading:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
daʿvā kardan[-e] vakīl bā xolām šāxān vālī kordestān	דעוא כרדן ווכיל בא כולאם שאכאן ואלי כורדסתאן

Translation: The battle of Vakīl with Xolām Šāxān, the governor of Kurdistan.

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
tifangčī ābdār nīm zarʿī dirāz“ dō angušt das vatāy tāj naqšsāz	תפנגׄי אבדאר נים זרעי דראז" דו אנגושת דס וואתאי האגׄי נקשסאז

Translation: The prepared rifleman [with a rifle which was] half a *zarʿ* long” two fingers at the end of [rifle's] stock

Colophon, f.97r:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1-nevešta šod rūz-e 1 šabat	1-נושתא שוד רוזי א' שבת
2-šīšom mā-[y]e tamūz šanat	2-שיש הום מאי תמוז שנת
3-5638[38], amen neṣaḥ selah va-ʿed[39]	3-תר'לח' אנס''ו

Translation: [It] was written on Sunday, sixth of month Tamuz, the year 5638. Amen! Forever and ever.

f.99v–f.100v: *Babr-e Bayān* in Gūrānī. The text corresponds to f.2r–f.4v.

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
kizah kabāban mazah šahd šūr bīyāle bazmī sāqīyān na-dowr	כזה כבבאן מזה שהד שור ביילה בזמי סאקין ...נדור

Translation: The smell of kebab, the taste of wine banquet's chalice, pages [are] circling around…

38 It corresponds to 07.07.1878. It is noteworthy that the text is transcribed in the Hebrew alphabet- only if there existed an original text written in the Persian alphabet, 32 years after the historical event happened in 1846. Given the proximity between the date of this manuscript and the date of actual event, it is remarkable to see how well-informed these Jews were of the political and intellectual discourse of Kurdish region.

39 אנס"ו is an acronym for the Hebrew phrase אמן נצח סלה ועד “Amen! forever and ever.”

f.100r–f.122v: *Leyl-e Majnūn*: This text is a Gūrānī romance versified by Mīrzā Šafīʿ Kolyāʾī, eighteenth century (Rouhani 2003: 266). The story is a famous motif in Persian literature and has been versified several times by Persian poets, such as Nezāmī and Amīr Xosrow Dehlavī (Seyed-Ghorab, 2009). The Gūrānī text is well-known from different manuscripts in the Persian alphabet as Nowfel Nāmeh or Leylī o Majnūn (Fuad 1970:27, Hosseini Abbariki 2015: passim). The JG text begins with a haunting scene of Šā Nowfel.

Heading (written on f.99v in Persian alphabet):

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
ketāb leyl[-e] majnūn	کتاب لیل مجنون

Translation: The book of Leyl[-e] Majnūn (Figure 1)

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
mīrzām šekār kird	מירזאם שכאר כרד“
yak rūz šāy nowfil ʿazm-e šekār kird	יך רוז שאי נוופיל עזם שכאר ... כרד

Translation: My master hunted; one day, king Nowfel decided to hunt

Colophon, f.122v:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1-īn ketāb neveštam dar	1-איו כיתאב נווישתם דר
2-rūz 3 šabat 11 šabaṭ	2-רוז ג שבת יא שבט
3-šanat 5639[40] nevešta-ye	3-שנת תרלט ניווישתאי
4-<...> Askar.	4-<...>אסכאר

Translation: I wrote this book on Tuesday, 11th of Shəvaṭ, year 5639, written by <...> Askar.

f.122r–f.123v: This text is a short Gūrānī *mathnavī* by Mīrzā Šafīʿ Kolyāʾī.

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
čarxīm čarxīm xeyr bū	גרכים גרכים כייר בו
dūs del navāz yādet va xeyr b[ū]...	...דוס דל נווז יאדית וכייר ב

40 It corresponds to 04.02.1879.

Translation: I turned, I turned, may it be blessed
Oh! Beloved friend, may your memory be blessed…

f.123v–f.124r: This text is a short Gūrānī mathnavī by Mīrzā Šafīʿ Kolyāʾī.

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
falak jādūjāt	פלך גִאדוגִת
namāz čīš karūn gardūn jādūjāt	נמז גִיש כרון גרדון גִאדוגת

Translation: The firmament [is full of] conjuration " Why should I pray, [when] The firmament [is full of] conjuration

f.124v–f.125v: This text is a Gūrānī tarjīʿ band by Seyyed Yaʿqūb Māhīdaštī[41], nineteenth century (Soltani 1998: 14).

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
dela d[ā]manī, dela d[ā]manī	דלא דמני דלא דמני
dāyem gīrūda ḥalqiy dāmanī	דאים גירודא חלקי דמני

Translation: The heart is a trap; the heart is a trap " [it is] constantly caught in the circle of trap…

f.125v–f.127r: Gorbe u Mūš: this Gūrānī mathnavī is composed by Almās Xān Kandūleʾī. The text is well known in the Persian alphabet (Advay 2013: passim; Fuad 1970:19–20).

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
mīrzām gūš bidar! mīrzām gūš bidar!	מירזם גוש בידר מירזם גוש בידר…

Translation: Listen, O! My master; listen, O! My master.

41 Seyyed Yaʿqūb Māhīdaštī born in 1808 in Māhīdašt, Kermanshah was an Ahl-e Haqq poet who composed his poets in Kurdish, literary Gūrānī, and Persian (Soltani 1998: 14–15).

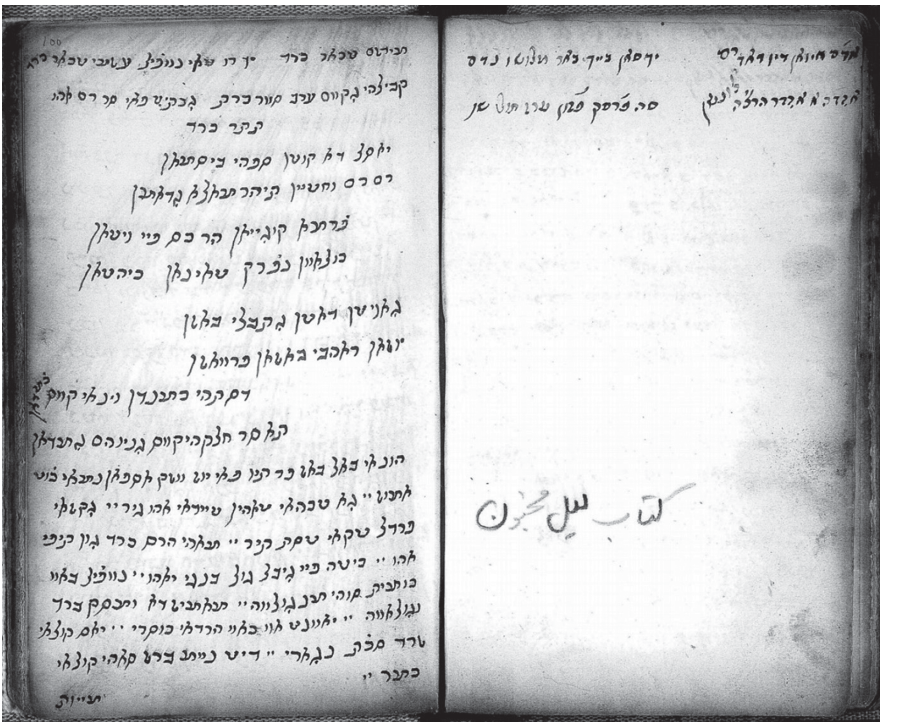

Figure 1: Ms. Heb. 28°4385, f.99v & f.100r.

Colophon, f.128r:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1-aškam javāher	1-אשכם גוואהר
2-por šoda 25 māh [A?]	2-פור שודא כ"ד מה [א...]
3-šabaṭ rūz[-e] čāhār šabat.	3-שבט רוז גֹהר שבת

Translation: The phrase *aškam javāher por šoda* has no clear meaning. The rest means: “25th of month Shəvaṭ, [on] Wednesday”.

6.2 Ms. Heb. 28°4386

The manuscript contains 86 folios, 10.5×17.5 cm. The lines of each page vary between 20 and 24. Each folio has the foliation sequence starting at the inside front cover with 2 and terminates at the last folio with 86; these numbers are written in Arabic numerals by pen and located in the top left corner of the recto side of each folio. The codex contains one complete text written in Gūrānī with a colophon

dated 1877. The place of copy is not provided in the manuscript; however, as the online catalog suggests, it is apparently copied in Kermanshah.

f.2v–f.85r: *Xoršīd-e Xāvar:* This text is a Gūrānī romance, which is also known as Xoršīd u Xarāmān depicting the love story between Xoršīd, a prince of Xāvar and Xarāmān, the princes of China. It seems that the text had different variations, as fundamental differences among the extant manuscripts may reveal (Shams, 2019). A single manuscript of Staatsbibliotheck Berlin registered as Ms. or. oct. 1171 contains a different variation compared to the manuscript of Tehran University, registered as 4181. The one in the Library of Iran Parliament, registered as 17299/1, mentions the name of the composer as Mollā Nūr Alī Kolyā'ī, while some scholars attribute the composition of this text to Almās Xān Kandūleh'ī (Fuad 1970: 37, Rouhani 2003: 239). The uncertainty about the composer of this text has led scholars to date the texts differently. While some scholars, such as Minorsky, date the composition of *Xoršīd-e Xāvar* to the early nineteenth century, others date it back to the eighteenth century (Minorsky 1943: 90, Bidaki 2016: 207).

Heading:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
hāzā ketāb xoršīd xāvar	הזא כתב כֹורשיד כֹאוור

Translation: This is the book of *Xoršīd-e Xāvar* ("The Sun of East")

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
pādišāhī bī na-mulk xāvar	פדשאהי בי נמולכ כֹאוור
wa-farmāniš bī xāvar saransar...	ופֹרמנש בי כֹאוור סרנסאר...

Translation: There was a king in the kingdom of *Xāvar*
The whole east was under his command.

Colophon, f.86r (Figure 2):

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1-tamām šod ketāb xoršīd xāvar	1-תמם שוד כתב כֹורשיד כֹאוור
2-dar rūz 4 šabat 24 māh	2-דר רוז ד' שבת כ"ד" מהי
3-šabaṭ šanat 5637[42], tam tam.	3-שבת שנת תרלז תם תם

Translation: The book of *Xoršīd Xāvar* ("The sun of the East") was finished on Wednesday, 24th of Shəvaṭ, year 5637, finished finished.

42 It corresponds to 07.02.1877.

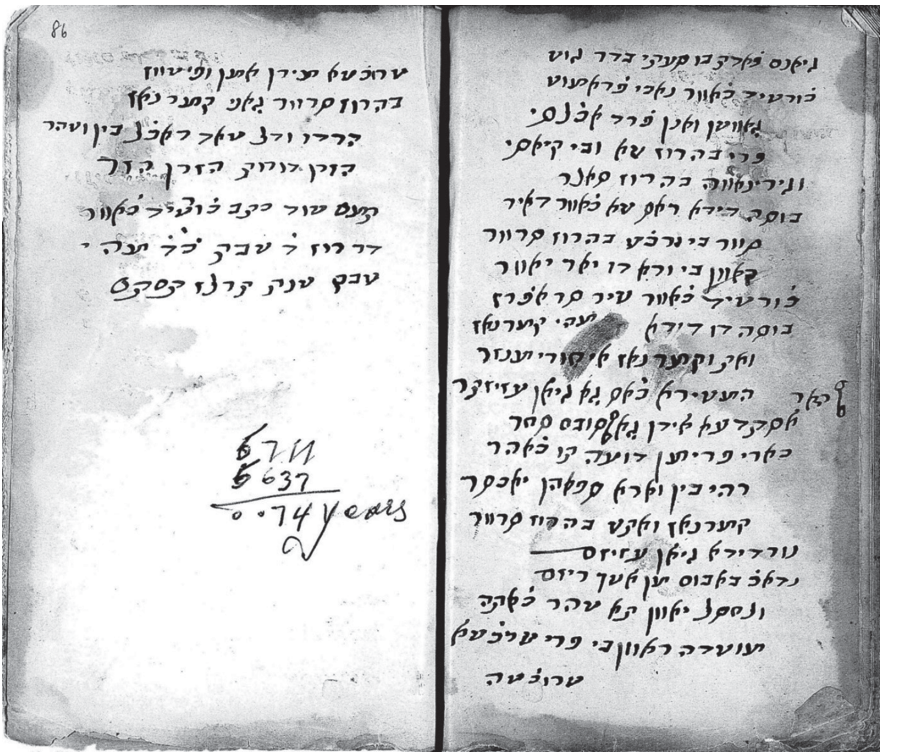

Figure 2: Ms. Heb. 28°4386, f.85v & f.86r.

The last folio of the codex, f.87v, contains a page apparently attached later. On the top right corner of the page, the number 1 is indicated. The first two lines (to the middle of the second line) are written in Persian; however, the rest has remained obscure.

Colophon, f.87v:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
ra(?) barādar ʿazīz nūr-e čaš[m]	ר בראדר עזיז נורי גש[ם]
be-salāmat būdeh bāšad...	בסלמת בודה בשת...

Translation: . . .dear brother, apple of eyes,
would be healthy. . .

6.3 Ms. Heb. 28°4388

The manuscript contains 228 folios, 11×18 cm. The lines of each page vary between 12 and 18. Each folio has the foliation sequence starting at the first folio with 1 and terminates at the last folio with 227; these numbers are written in Arabic numerals by pen and located in the top left corner of the recto side of each folio. The codex contains one complete text written in Gūrānī with a colophon dated 1885. The place of copy is not provided in the manuscript; however, as the online catalog suggests, it is apparently copied in Kermanshah.

f.1r–f.227v: *Ketāb-e Nāder* or *Nāder Nāmeh*: This Gūrānī epic is composed by Almās Xān Kandūleʾī in the second half of 18th CE. The text verifies the wars of Nader, the Afsharid king of Iran, against Afghans and Turks in the eighteenth century (Hosseini Abbariki 2017). There are several copies of this text in the Persian alphabet (Bidaki 2017: 78–80, Fuad 1970: 16–18, 54–5).

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
na-ča-tūf tūfān har na-tarsanān	נגַתוּפ תופאן הר נתרסנאן
č[?]ʾr čvvrh hāwāl pirsanā[n]	גְ[.]אר גְוורה הוואל פרסנאן...

Translation: They are not afraid of the storminess of a storm
… [they are] inquiring after affairs

Colophon I, f.227r (Figure 3):

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1-katavti bi-shəvilsiman tov āqā dāvūd binū āšir[43]	1-כאתבתי בשביל [ס"ט אג]א דאוו[ד בנו] אשר
2-tamām šod ketāb nāder nāder rūz 1	2-תמאם שוד כתאב נאדר נאדר [ר]וז א
3-rūz 1 šabat 21om ḥodeš ādār šanat	3-רוז א שבת כא אום חודש אדר שנת
4-šanat 5645[44], har ke [ḫā]nad az doʿā	4-שנת תרמה הרכה [כ]אנד אז דועא
5-man bandeh gonah kār [...]	5-מן בנדה כונה כאר [...]
6-...del šād...	6-[...] דל שאד[...]
7-...*d* laʿnat xodā...*d*	7-[...] ד לענת כודא [.]ד
8-...jahat yādegār	8-[...] גְהת יאדגאר
9-man namānam xat	9-מן נמאנם כת
10-bemānad rūz-	10-במאנד רוז

43 The first line is written in Hebrew. The lacunae are reconstructed according to what is provided in the online catalogue.

44 It corresponds to 08.03.1885.

11-gār man	11-גאר מן
12-īn neveš-	12-אין ניויש
13-tam	13-תאם
14-tam	14-תם

Translation: I wrote it as a good sign for Āqā Dāvūd binū Āšir. The book of Nāder was finished on Sunday, the 21st of the month, Adar, of the year 5645. Who reads this, [do not forget] me, the sinful man…from praying… the curse of God… I will not survive; the script will remain in the world. I wrote this. Finish!

Diagonal, right

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1-ketābī nevešt ... ʿaz nāz be vaqt javānī	1-כתאבי נו[ש]ת [.]סד עז נאז בווקת גִוואני
2- ʿom[r] derāz yādegārī zamāneh	2-עים[ר] דראז יאדגארי זמאנה
3-bāšad ḥonar ...	3-באשד חונאר ר[.]ד[.]
4-neveštam	4-נוישתאם

Translation: A book…from blandishment in the time of youth of the long life. The remembrance in the world is art… I wrote.

Diagonal, left

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1-agar dīdī xat zeštam manʿ makon dar *[.]m[g] ny*	1-אגר דידי כת זשתם מנע מכון דר [.]מ[ג] ני
2-neveštam dar īn tārī ke borūn az qalam	2-נווישתם דרין תארי כה [ב]רון אז קלם
3-šod darānī būd gandom ham	3-שוד דראני בוד גנדום הם
4-čaman šod	4-גמן שוד

Translation: if you see my awful handwriting, do not blame [me], in… I wrote [it]; in the darkness which came out of the pen, was simultaneous to the time that wheat grew into the grass.

Colophon, II, f.227v:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1-ani ha-saʾir[45] yazqal bin ha-mollā yūnā[46]	1-אני הסאיר יאזקל בן ה"ם יונה

45 This word is a misspelling of הצעיר.

46 This line is written in Hebrew.

Figure 3: Ms. Heb. 28°4388, f.226v & f.227r.

2-tamām kardīm ketāb	2-תמאם כרדים כהתאב
3-nāder rūz 1 šabat 5 ādār	3-נאדר רוז א שבת דא אדר
4-rīšon mā ketāb nāder	4-רישון מא כתאב נאדר
5-neveštam be ḥāl ḫerāb	5-נושתם בחאל כיראב
6-qamgīn maḥzūr nātām	6-קמגין מחזון נאתאם
7-na kāsebī dāštam na kesmī[47]	7-נכסבי דאשתם נכסמי
8-az dast-e qaumal zāle-	8-אז דאסתי קאומאל זאלי
9-mīn sad naʿlat[48] bād be qaum	9-מינ סד נאעלת באר בקוום
10-bad naʿlat bar rīše-ye	10-באד נעאלת באר רישאייא
11-qaum bad naʿlat tamām	11-קאוום באד נעאלת תאמאם

Translation: I [am] the humble Yazqal ben Yūnāh. We finished the book of Nader on Sunday, the 5th of the first Adar month. I wrote [this book] in a desolate, sorrowful,

47 This word is a south Kurdish variation of the Arabic كسب "trading, job" (Jalilian 2009: 580).
48 This word is a south Kurdish variation of the Arabic لعنت "curse" (Jalilian 2009: 732).

restricted [and] defective manner. I had no market or job because of the harm-doers (Arabic: *qaum al-ẓālimīn*). May hundred curses be upon the harm-doers. May the harm-doers be cursed (abbreviately written as *qaum*), may the root of the harm-doers be cursed (abbreviately written as *qaum*), may [it] be cursed. Finish!"[49]

6.4 Ms. Heb. 28°4389

The manuscript contains 122 folios, 11×17.5 cm. The lines of each page vary between 18 and 22. Each folio has the foliation sequence starting at the inside front cover with 2 and terminating at the last folio with 122; these numbers are written in Arabic numerals by pen and located in the top left corner of the recto side of each folio. A page with 1 on the top left side is attached on f.2r. The codex contains two complete texts written in Gūrānī by different scribes and two colophons, both dated to 1885. The place of copy is not provided in the manuscript; however, as the online catalog suggests, it is apparently copied in Kermanshah.

f.1v: This page contains 20 *beyt*s of an anonymous Gūrani text. The top and bottom edges are severely damaged by water, which hinders reading.

Incipit:

Transcription	*Transliteration:*
men xamān ja del rahāndah	מן כ̇אמן גִא דל רהנדה

Translation I set free sorrows from my heart

f.2r: Seven lines in the Hebrew alphabet are written on this page. The first two lines are hardly readable due to the severe water damage. It is a list of some edible materials paired with some measurements.

Colophon, f.2r:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1- ... ... *mišā dim*	... ...-1 מְשָׁ דִם
2- *d.g h... ... ... dm*	...ד.ג ה ... ... דם ...-2
3- ... *s*... samq šāx-e *bvr* armanī *tvvš. zk vzlnr* :	... ס... סמק שׂכי בור ארמני תווש. זק וזלנר : -3

49 This colophon takes on significant meaning when viewed within the context of the aforementioned pogroms, which were referred to by the Jewish community of Kermanshah as "ghārat" (plunder).

4- ..*nq* qalui[50] toxmehsefīt : darmān-dart .*q*.l — 4-..נק קלוי תוגמהספת : דרמנדרת .ק.ל
5- *kf*… qan sefīt 3 šemšeh : toxmehsefīt 100 — 5-כפ... קן ספת ג' שמשה : תוכמספת ק
6- ..3 *rmnh xh* 2 mesqāl qan 1 mesqāl — 6- ..ג' רמנה כה ב מסקל קן א' מסקל <...>
7- …*l* — 7- ...ל

Translation:
1-
2-
3-. …gum of twig of Armenian …
4- …roasted white sunflower seed: the pain cure…
5- …white cube sugar, 3 *šemšeh*[51]: white sunflower seed 100
6- . .3 … 2 *mesqāl,* cube sugar 1 *mesqāl*
7- …

f.3r–f.12v: *Vasf-e Masīḥāy Miryām* (Figure 4): The JG text is written partly in vocalized Hebrew characters. The story is one of the Gūrānī versions of the famous worldwide tale of a miraculous dialogue between Jesus and a King's skull.[52] Two manuscripts bearing the title of سلطان جمجمه are known, which are kept in Staatsbibliothek Berlin registered as Ms. or. oct. 1153 and Ms. or. oct. 1179 (Fuad 1970: 15, 47). However, none of them complies with the JG text.[53]

50 Thanks to Dr. Geoffry Khnn for suggesting this reading.

51 It originally means "ingot" but in this context it is the unite of counting cube-sugar because the shape of product looks like ingot.

52 For the Persian version of the story, see.: Zolfaghari, Hassan. 2020. سلطان جمجمه [Sultān Ğomğomeh]. In *The Great Islamic Encyclopedia* (Vol. 5). Tehran: The Centre for the Great Islamic Encyclopedia. For a historical study of the talking skull's motif, see.: Grypeou, Emmanouela. (2016). Talking Skulls: On Some Personal Accounts of Hell and Their Place in Apocalyptic Literature. *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 20(1), 109–126.

53 In 12.02.2022, I have come across an audio recitation of a text entitled سلطان جمجمه [Solṭān Jomjomah] in a Telegram group. Surprisingly, the recitation complied to the JG text almost fully. I began to search for the reciter of the text. He is Mr. Shahram Baba'i, a local researcher from Sar Pol Zohab with profound knowledge of Gūrānī literature. In 18.02.2022, he informed me that this version of Solṭān Jomjomah is composed by Mollā Valad Xān Gūrān who lived in eighteenth century, in vicinity of Kerend (Rouhani 2003: 235). According to Mr. Baba'i, the manuscript, which he has in disposal, copied by Morād Kāka'i, an Ahl-e Haqq adherent from the scribal family of Kāka'i lived in Gahvareh, in the first half of the twentieth century.

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
dānende-y dānā	۱-دَنِنْدَی دَنَه
aftedām wa-nām dānende-y dānā	۲-اَفْتِدَم وَنَم دَنِنْدَه دَنَه

Translation: The wise who knows " I begin with the name of the wise who knows

Colophon I, f.13v:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1- yom šnei šabat …	۱- یوم شَنیی شبت <אללו> טט
2- elul ...	۲- אלול <תל>ת

Translation: Monday. . .Elul

Colophon II, f.13v:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1- 18 elul yom šnei šabat 5634[54]	۱- יח אלול יום شَני شَبت תרלד
2- 5635[55] nasra askar ben yūnā	۲- תרלה <ל>נסרא אסכר בן יונה

Translation: 18th of Elul, Monday, 5634, by Nāser Askar ben Yūnā

f.13r–f.120r: *Bahrām o Golandām*: This Gūrānī romance narrates the love story of *Bahrām*, son of the king *Kešvar*, and *Golandām*, the princess of China. The Gūrānī text is known, at least, from two other manuscripts in the Persian alphabet, one in Staatsbibliotheck Berlin registered Ms. or. oct. 1181, and another in the British Library registered as Add. 23,554; however, they are not identical with the JG text (Fuad 1970: 49–50; Rieu 1881: 734). The composer of this Gūrānī text is unknown.

Heading I, f.13r:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
hāzā ketāb bahrām golandām	הזא כתב בהרם גולאנדם

Translation: This is the book Bahrām Golandām

54 This date is wrong because 31.08.1873 was Sunday, not Monday.
55 It corresponds to 31.08.1874.

Heading II, f.13r:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
barām golandām	برام گلندام[56]

Translation: Barām Golandām

Incipit:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
yak farzandī dāšt kešvar safdar	יך פַרזנדי דאשת כשוור ספַדר
čūn šamʿ xāvar madrā barābar	גִון שמע כַאוור מדרא בראבר...

Translation: The brave Kešvar had a child
Like the candle of the east stood in front

Colophon, f.121v:

Transcription:	*Transliteration:*
1- tamām šod īn ketāb dar rūz	1-תמם שוד אין כאתב דר רוז
2- jomʿeh 21 māh e ādar rīšon	2-גִומעה כ"א מהי אדר רישון
3- šabat 5635[57] dar xat ḥaqīr	3-שנת תרלה דר כַאת חקיר
4- sar tā pā taqsīr benyāmīn ben	4-סרתפה תקסיר בניאמין בן
5- ha-mollā elyāhū, man neveštam īn	5-ה"ם ליהו מן נוושתם אין
6- ketāb be xoš rūzgār, man namānam	6-כתב בכַש רוזגר מנ נמנם
7- xat bemānd yādegār, tamaʿ doʿā	7-כַאת במנד יאדגר תמע דועה
8- dāram zān ge man bandeh	8-דארם זאנג מן בנדה
9- gonah kāram	9-כונה כארם
10- īn ketāb māl yaḥazqal ben	10-אין כאתב מל יחזקל בן
11- ha-mollā yūnā, tam və-nišlam	11-ה"ם יונה תם ונשלם

Translation: This book was finished on Friday, the first Adar month, in the handwriting of the humble [and] fallible, Benyāmīn ben ha-Mollā Elyāhū. I wrote this book in a pleasant time; I will not survive [but] the handwriting will. I covet [your] prayer because I am a sinful man. This book belongs to Yaḥazqal ben ha-mollā Yūnā, finished and concluded.

56 It seems that the Persian heading has been added later. The drop of postvocalic -h- in *Barām* without compensatory lengthening in the previous vowel is odd here.
57 It corresponds to 28.03.1875.

Figure 4: Ms. Heb. 28°4389, f.3v & f.4r.

7 Conclusion

The Judeo-Gūrānī corpus showcases a unique hybrid entity. It is simultaneously a Gūrānī and a non-Gūrānī collection of texts, and it bears the marks of both Jewish and non-Jewish intellectual traditions. The codices in the corpus embody a fascinating tapestry of linguistic contacts borne of the diverse social encounters and cultural exchanges that characterized the milieu in which they were produced. The objectives of this article were twofold: first, to delve into the cultural and social context from which this corpus emerged, and second, to provide a comprehensive overview of the contents and codicological attributes of four specific codices, collectively referred to as the Kermanshahi corpus within this article.

The primary inquiry of the initial segment of this article sought to elucidate the sociocultural milieu underpinning the emergence of the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus. It was expounded that during the nineteenth century, Kermanshah experienced a rapid and transformative series of social, religious, and cultural dynamics that left an indelible mark on the region's cultural landscape. From a linguistic stand-

point, the predominant vernacular in the region was Kurdish, complemented by the presence of a literary idiom known as literary Gūrānī. Nevertheless, over the nineteenth century, literary Persian ascended in prominence, primarily championed by the Dowlatšāhī, a cadet branch of the Qajar dynasty, which held dominion over Kermanshah during this epoch. The linguistic milieu of the city's Jewish population also underwent significant transformations due to successive waves of Jewish migration from diverse urban centers. This rich tapestry of linguistic diversity is conspicuously reflected in the multilingual composition of the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus. The majority of the texts are composed in literary Gūrānī, accompanied by a singular literary Persian text (Ms. Heb. 28°4385, f.49r–f.83v: *Ḥeydar Bag va Ṣanambar*), alongside colophons in both Persian and Hebrew.

Additionally, during this century, two religious dynamics, namely the ascendance of state-sponsored Shi'ism and the advent of Christian missionary endeavors, made their presence felt in Kermanshah. Both of these developments were aimed explicitly at non-Shiite religious communities. Consequently, the Jewish community and the Ahl-e Ḥaqq, another local non-Shiite group with deep-rooted connections to Gūrānī literature, found themselves significantly impacted by these evolving religious dynamics, which resulted in waves of conversions within their communities.

The shared experience of both communities as marginalized religious minorities likely fostered a closer cultural affinity between these historical neighbors. The outcome of this cross-religious association is also discernible within the Judeo-Gūrānī corpus. Notably, the inclusion of poems by Ahl-e Ḥaqq poets like Seyyed Yaʿqūb Māhīsaštī (Ms. Heb. 28°4385; f.124v-f.125v) and the parallel transmission of *Vasf-e Masīḥāy Miryām* (Ms. Heb. 28°4389; f.3r–f.12v), also known as *Sulṭān Jojomeh*, within both Jewish and Ahl-e Ḥaqq contexts[58], may indicate that the Jewish community received elements of the Gūrānī tradition through their association with the Ahl-e Haqq. This association likely intensified due to the prevailing circumstances in the region during that period.

In the second part, each codex has been analyzed individually. The contents of each manuscript have been thoroughly examined and compared with parallel manuscripts of the same text.

58 See the footnote 55.

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III Language contact

Geoffrey Khan and Masoud Mohammadirad

5 Gorani influence on NENA

Abstract: North-eastern dialects of Neo-Aramaic (NENA) have a long history in northern Mesopotamia. Vernaculars of NENA have been in contact with Iranian, Semitic, Armenian, and Turkic languages. Kurdish has often been assumed to be the language that has had the most crucial influence on the morphosyntax of NENA dialects. This paper shows the impact of Gorani on NENA, highlighting that Gorani has had a deeper impact on NENA than Kurdish. The Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Sanandaj is presented as a case study. Our survey shows that features of Gorani origin in Jewish NENA are the result of both imposition and borrowing. Adopting Van Coetsem's (1988) model of language contact, we argue that borrowing and imposition reflect different layers of historical contact between Gorani and NENA, suggesting a shift in the linguistic dominance of NENA speakers.

Keywords: language shift, convergence, imposition, borrowing, agentivity

1 Preliminary remarks

Spoken vernacular varieties of Aramaic, generally known as Neo-Aramaic dialects, have survived down to modern times in four subgroups: Central Neo-Aramaic (spoken in south-eastern Turkey west of the Tigris); North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (or NENA), spoken in Northern Iraq east of the Tigris, Western Iran and south-eastern Turkey; Neo-Mandaic (spoken in south-western Iran); and Western Neo-Aramaic (spoken in the north of Damascus).

The Neo-Aramaic dialects spoken in the region of Sanandaj belong to the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) subgroup of Neo-Aramaic. NENA is a highly diverse subgroup of over 150 dialects spoken by Christians and Jews originating from towns and villages east of the Tigris river in northern Iraq, south-eastern Turkey and western Iran. Within NENA itself, one may identify a number of subgroups on the basis of linguistic structure and lexicon.

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Jewish NENA dialects are classified into two main subgroups according to their location relative to the Great Zab river. The subgroup to the west of the Zab river is spoken in the Duhok province in Northern Iraq and neighbouring regions in south-eastern Turkey. This subgroup is generally referred to as *lišana deni* ('our language').

The subgroup to the east of the Great Zab river is spoken in Iraq, north-western Iran and western Iran. This subgroup is generally referred to as trans-Zab (following Mutzafi 2008). The Jewish NENA dialect of Sanandaj (hence JSNENA) belongs to a cluster of dialects spoken by Jewish communities in various localities in the Kordestan and Kermanshah provinces in Iran in an area that includes Sainqala, Bokan, Saqqez on its northern border, Sanandaj in the centre, Bijar on the eastern border, and in the south Kerend and Qasr-e Širin (Hopkins 1999; Khan 2009; Israeli 1998). The Jewish NENA dialect of Sanandaj has been studied in detail in the grammar published by Khan (2009).

Sanandaj (Kurdish *Sine*), a town in western Iran, was home to a Jewish Aramaic-speaking community since its foundation early in the 17th Century. The town gained historical importance, especially in the 17th and 18th Centuries, during the rule of the Ardalan principality. We know that some of the Jewish communities who settled in the towns of western Iran originally lived in surrounding villages. The Jews of Sanandaj, for example, moved into the town after its foundation in the 17th Century from a village known as Qalʿat Ḥasan-ʾābād (Khan 2009, 1).

During this period JSNENA must have been in contact with Gorani (Hawrami) dialects in the region. There is also evidence that Gorani was widely spoken in Sanandaj. In 1900 the Danish linguist Åge Meyer Benedictsen made a visit to Sanandaj. In the introduction to his book 'the grammar of Hawrami of Pawa,' he gives a report about the language situation in Sanandaj. He writes that 'learned people' in the city knew and spoke *Maço* (an epithet of Gorani/Hawrami, meaning 'S/he says'). He adds:

> À Sänä où le kurde est maintenant la langue commune hors des communautés persane, juive et syrienne, on prétendait que l'awromānī y avait été communément entendu autrefois ('In Sänä [Sanandaj, Kurdish Sine], where Kurdish is now the common language outside of the Persian, Jewish and Syriac communities, it was claimed that Awromānī [Hawrami] had been commonly heard there in the past] (Christensen & Benedictsen 1921)

A more concrete account of the language shift in Sanandaj from Gorani (Hawrami) to Kurdish is found in a translation of the Bible into Hawrami Gorani by Kurdistānī (1930). The author was a famous physician from Sanandaj named Dr. Saʾeed Khan Kordestani (1863–1943). The author reports with sadness that when he returned to his hometown Sanandaj after an absence of fifty years, "Hawrami, the original

'sweet' dialect of the city, is now completely extinct and can be seen spoken only by a handful of old women in the corners and alleyways of Sanandaj".[1]

There is thus little doubt that JSNENA was in contact with Gorani (Hawrami) in earlier times. This could imply that Jews were first bilingual in NENA and Gorani, and more recently, the bilingualism pattern shifted to NENA and Kurdish (Khan's informants who grew up in Sanandaj in the first half of the 20th Century did not speak Gorani).

This paper is a follow-up to Khan and Mohammadirad's book (2024) on the convergence of NENA with Iranian languages in the Sanandaj region. The authors show that JSNENA has recorded a trace of a language shift from Gorani to Kurdish. Here, we focus, in particular, on the impact of Gorani on JSNENA. Occasionally, evidence is brought from other NENA dialects spoken in the south-eastern Trans-Zab region.

The paper is organised as follows. §2 gives an overview of the main mechanisms in language contact and the terminology relating to these. §3 deals with Gorani borrowings in JSNENA. §4 concerns the pattern replication of Gorani features in JSNENA. §5 discusses the possible scenarios to accommodate both borrowing and imposition of Gorani features in JSNENA. §6 presents some features in Gorani that may have been motivated through contact with NENA. The data for the Gorani material in this paper comes primarily from the vernacular of Hawraman Takht in west Iran, generally referred to as Hawrami Takht. We use the general term 'Gorani' in place of Hawrami throughout the paper.

2 Mechanisms of language contact and language shift

Linguistic outcomes of contact-induced change lead to either language maintenance or language shift. Under the historical socio-linguistic approach to language contact in Thomason & Kaufman (1988), intensity and duration of contact are important factors in language maintenance. In this model, borrowing is associated with maintenance, and shift is associated with 'substratum interference'.

Matras and Sakel (2007b) offer a typology of mechanisms involved in contact-induced contexts involving language maintenance. The two major mechanisms are matter borrowing and pattern replication. In the former, lexical and grammatical elements (usually derivational morphemes) are borrowed from the source language (SL) into the recipient language (RL). In the latter, the RL uses its

1 see Mohammadirad (2024a) for an overview of Gorani substrate in CK Sanandaj.

own language-internal tools to match a corresponding construction in the source language through a process known as 'pivot matching'. In other words, the pattern of distribution of grammatical and semantic meaning and of formal-syntactic arrangement at various levels are modelled on the basis of the SL, which acts as a pivot for the speakers of the RL.

Van Coetsem (1988) offers a different model of language contact. In this model, the linguistic dominance relations of languages in contact play a major role in the outcomes of contact-induced change (see Winford 2005). In borrowing, lexical and grammatical elements are brought into RL by speakers for whom RL is the dominant language. In imposition, by contrast, phonological and structural features are brought into the RL by the speakers who are dominant in the SL. In bilingual situations, it is often the case that the speakers of a minority language are more linguistically dominant in the language of the socially dominant group than in their own ancestral language. This could pave the way for the imposition of phonological and structural features from the SL into RL through the agency of speakers for whom SL is linguistically dominant.

Given this background, this paper studies the impact of Gorani on JSNENA. It will be seen that features in JSNENA that originate in Gorani include both borrowing and imposition. Moreover, in some cases, JSNENA has converged with the Gorani model. We use the term 'convergence' to refer to a scalar process involving various degrees of approximation of patterns and systems of JSNENA with those of Gorani. In various places, features of JSNENA are said to 'match' features in Iranian. This reflects a process that lays the ground for convergence and replication, whereby a particular feature in Iranian is perceived to correspond to a particular feature in JSNENA. This process is equivalent to what Matras and Sakel (2007a) call 'pivot matching' in the replication of syntax or morphosyntax.

3 Matter borrowing

In this section, we enumerate borrowings of different types collectively grouped under matter replication. As will be seen, the process involves full or partial transfer of lexical and grammatical features from the SL, sometimes in phonetic form.

3.1 Loanwords

Loanwords are the most conspicuous type of borrowing. JSNENA has extensively borrowed vocabulary from Gorani. These loanwords of Gorani origin have even entered semantic domains such as body-part terminology (1) and kin terms (2), con-

stituting basic vocabulary. In the following examples corresponding CK Sanandaj lexicon are given for comparison.

(1)	JSNENA	Gorani/Kurdish
father	*tāta*	G. *tāta*; K. *bawk*
step-father	*bāwa pyāra*	G./K. *bāwa pyāra*
maternal uncle	*lāla*	G. *lāla, lālo*
paternal uncle	*māma*	G. *māmo*; K. *māma*
betrothed	*dasgīrān*	G. *dasgīrān*; K. *dazūrān* (cf. Sulemaniyya K. *dasgīran*)
grandson	*nawā-ga*[2]	K./G. *nawa*

A feature that many of the borrowed kin terms have in common is that they refer to family members who are senior from the perspective of the speaker ('father', 'step-father', 'uncle'). Kinship terms that refer to immediate family members equal in seniority[3] from the perspective of the speaker have not been replaced by borrowing in JSNENA, e.g. 'brother' (*ʾaxona*), 'sister' (*xaləsta*). The motivation for borrowing in such cases is likely to increase the formality in social interaction to express politeness. From an anthropological point of view, the expression of formality in a social situation is linked to the increased structuring of discourse that links it to norm and tradition (Irvine 1979). From a language contact point of view, this formal structuring of discourse would involve JSNENA speakers adopting the linguistic norms of the socially dominant Iranian community.

(2)	JSNENA	Gorani/Kurdish
upper arm	*qoḷa*	G. *qoḷ*
wing	*bāḷa*	G./ K. *bāḷ*
index finger	*gəlka* (pl.*gəlke*)	G. *gʊlka*; K. *kəlk*
lock (of hair)	*čīn*	G. *čīn*
armpit	*hangəḷta*	G. *hangəḷ*; Sul. K. *bənhangaḷ*
feather	*paře*	G. *paře*; K. *pař*; P. *par*
clitoris	*baḷūka*	G. *baloka*; K. *balūka*
penis of young boy	*guna*	G./K. *gun*

2 The *-ga* in *nawāga* is a diminutive ending originating from Iranian languages.

3 The term for grandchildren is also borrowed from Iranian, and is apparently an exception to this claim. However, grandchildren are not in the immediate family members category.

rib	*parāsū*	G./ K. *parāsū*
pupil	*gəlka ʾēna*	G. *glēna*[4]; K. *glēna-y čāw*

As can be seen, the Gorani borrowing in the domain of body part terms includes parts that show a low tendency to be borrowed cross-linguistically, e.g. 'arm,' 'wing' (see Tadmor 2009, 71, Leipzig-Jakarta list of basic vocabulary), external body parts, e.g. 'index finger,' and internal body parts, e.g. 'rib'.

Some body parts have been borrowed due to social factors such as association with emotion, cultural formality and taboo. 'Pupil' is used in the affectionate expression 'the pupil of my eye' which is equivalent to the English expression 'the apple of my eye'. The term 'penis of young boy' may have been borrowed due to its association with the ceremony of circumcision. This would be a case of the expression of linguistic formality associated with ceremonial by borrowing from the dominant Iranian culture. Taboo seems to be the factor triggering the borrowing of 'clitoris'. The borrowing of these loanwords from Gorani shows that social factors outrank linguistic inhibitions against the borrowability of body part terminology (Pattillo 2021).

Gorani borrowings of vocabulary in JSNENA extend as well to basic cultural objects:

(3)	JSNENA	Gorani/Kurdish
spoon	*čamča*	G. *čamča, čəmča*; K. *kawčək*
cushion	*sarīna*	G. *sarīna, sarəngā*; K. *sanyā*
reel, spool (for thread)	*groḷī*	G. *groḷē*
loofah	*ləfka*	G. *ləfka*
earrings	*gošwārē*	G. *gošawāra*
knife	*kārd*	K. *kārd*; G. *kārdī*
grindstone	*hāra*	G. *hāřa*, K. *hāř*
quilt	*laʿēfa*	G. *lēfa*; K. *lāf*
plate	*dawrī*	G./K. *dawrī*
fork	*čəngāḷ*	G./K. *čəngāḷ*
small pot	*gozala*	G. *gozaḷē*; K. *gozaḷa*
small pot for dry produce	*humba*	G./K. *huma*

4 One of the reviewers has suggested that the Gorani term *glēna* might be a contraction of *gəlka ʾēna* and hence a borrowing from JSNENA into Gorani. However, *gəlka* does not have a clear Aramaic/Semitic etymology, and the *-ka* may be a diminutive ending. The term *glēna* in Gorani/Kurdish could mean 'bitter-vetch' (a type of grain), and it is possible that this was sematically extended to mean 'pupil'.

clothes	*jəl*	G./K. *jəl*
bag	*torqa*	G. *toraka*; K. *tūraka*
sword	*šəmšēr*	G./K. *šəmšēr*
ceramic container	*kūzī*	G./K. *kūzī*

Words of Gorani origin have been borrowed for almost every lexical category in JSNENA, including prepositions: *mangol* 'like,' cf. literary Gorani *mangor)*; adjectives, e.g. *āmēta* 'mixed,' verbs, e.g. *p-s-n* 'to choose' cf. G. *pasnāy*, etc. (see Khan and Mohammadirad 2024: Ch. 11 for a comprehensive list).

3.2 Borrowed bound morphemes

JSNENA has borrowed a number of bound affixes from Gorani. Many of these relate broadly to discourse management. These include the definite suffix *-akē* and the additive clitic *īč*, the preverbal deontic particle *bā*, and the telicity particle *-o* (having the form *-aw* in Kurdish). The definite suffix *-akē* is invariant in NENA, and can be used in the singular and plural alike:

(4) JSNENA

kalba	'dog'	*kalbakē*	'the dog'
kalbe	'dogs'	*kalbakē*	'the dogs'

The *-akē* suffix in NENA used to be considered to be a borrowing from Kurdish (e.g. Khan 1999: 10; Coghill 2020: 510). The definite suffix in Kurdish, however, has the invariant form *-aka*, which combined with the plural suffix yields *-akān.* In Gorani, it is inflected for case and gender (see Table 1):

Table 1: The paradigm of definiteness in Gorani.

	Direct	Oblique
m.	*-aka*	*-akay*
f.	*-akē*	*-akē*
pl	*-akē*	*-akā*

In terms of phonetic shape and paradigm organization, the Gorani paradigm is a much closer match for the borrowed *-akē*. Furthermore, Khan and Mohammadirad (2024) show that in a corpus of seven spoken narratives from Gorani (Hawrami),

-akē has the highest frequency among the competing definite forms. This implies that JSNENA has borrowed the most frequent definite form of Gorani. The definite form that appears in NENA has the form *-akē* in the Trans-Zab region, e.g., J. Sulemaniyya (Khan 2004); J. Arbel (Khan 1999), reflecting that these dialects have been in contact with Gorani.

The borrowed *-akē* has generally converged with the syntax of Gorani *-akē*. Thus, in JSNENA, as in the Gorani model, it does not combine with a demonstrative (5). Also, in the structure of both languages *-akē* appears on the attribute rather than the head nouns (6):

(5) a. Gorani

ī	*žanī*	/**ī*	*žan-akē*
DEM.PROX	woman	DEM.PROX	woman-DEF.F

b. JSNENA

ʾay	baxta	/* ay	*baxtakē*
DEM.PROX	woman	DEM.PROX	woman-DEF.F

'this woman'

(6) a. Gorani

yāna *gawra-(a)ka*
house big-DEF
'the big house'

b. JSNENA

baxta *rabt-akē*
woman old-DEF
'the older wife'

However, there are some constraints in the use of *-akē* in JSNENA, not shared by the Gorani model. In Gorani, the definite suffix can be combined with a possessive suffix. In JSNENA, however, the definite suffix is not compatible with a possessive suffix:

(7) a. Gorani

kināčakē=m
girl.DEF.F=1SG

b. JSNENA

brāt-ī */*brāt-akē-y*
daughter-1sg
'my daughter'

While the lack of compatibility of definite suffix with the possessive suffix may be a reflection of typological difference between JSNENA and Gorani, it is more likely that borrowed definite suffix was not as integrated in JSNENA as it was in Gorani. Further support comes from the placement of the definite suffix with respect to the plural suffix, in which JSNENA and Gorani opt for opposing directionalities:

(8) JSNENA
ʾaxon-awālē 'brothers' *ʾaxon-awāl-akē* 'the brothers'

This then reflects a lesser degree of morphological integration of the loaned suffix in the composition of the word than in the SL.

JSNENA has replicated the discourse function of the Gorani definite marker. Thus, *-akē* is used in anaphoric contexts (e.g. '*A boy and a girl came in.* ***The girl*** *sat down*'.) and associative/bridging contexts (e.g. '*The room was dark and we couldn't find* ***the light switch***') in JSNENA. A case of lack of replication of function is the use of the definite suffix in a diminutive sense. This is the original meaning of the *-ak* suffix of Iranian (Haig & Mohammadirad 2019; Nourzaei 2021; Karim 2021), which has been preserved down to present-day Gorani. In the following example, the definite suffix appears on the kinship term when used vocatively. This term expresses endearment.

(9) Gorani
žan-akē 'Wife!'

NENA either uses the bare form in parallel constructions or more frequently uses inherited Aramaic diminutive suffixes to express endearment with kinship terms:

(10) JSNENA
báxta 'Wife!'
bróna 'Son!' (< *br* + diminutive *-ona*)

This confirms Weinreich's (1953, 33) observation that languages are highly resistant to borrowing bound morphology unless there is a ready function for it. It is likely, however, that the discourse management function of *-akē* was more easily transferred to JSNENA than its lexical-level function of marking the diminutive.

The Gorani additive clitic *=īč* 'too, even, even if' is highly productive in JSNENA. As in the Gorani model, the generic function of the particle is to express some kind of additive focus. The various functions can be classified broadly into those in which the focus of the particle has scope over a clause constituent and those in which it has scope over the proposition as a whole.

In JSNENA telicity distinctions of verbs are expressed by the post-verbal particle *-o*. This morpheme and its function are borrowed from Gorani (the relevant Kurdish form is *-aw*). Some examples:

(11) a. Gorani
kard=īč=š=o
do.PST=ADD=3SG:A=TELIC
'He opened it too'.
b. JSNENA
tara k-o-n-ēf-ò./
door IND-do.PRS-1SG.M:A-3SG.M:O-TELIC
'I am opening the door'.

3.3 Loan-blends

In JSNENA, loanblends are of different types. In some cases, a lexical item is transferred from Iranian, but the accompanying Iranian affix is replaced by a corresponding native JSNENA affix. In (12), NENA diminutive suffix *-ona* has replaced Iranain *-ka*.

(12)

	JSNENA	Gorani/Kurdish
breast	*mam-ona*	G./K. *mam-ka*

Loanblends can also be frequently identified in light verb constructions. Here, the non-verbal element is retained from Gorani, and the light verb is translated into NENA.

(13)

	JSNENA	Gorani
'betrothal by intermediary'	*həjbī ʾ-w-l*	*hījbī karday*

In some cases, loanblends occur in the structure of compound nouns.

(14)

	JSNENA	Iranian
grandfather (lit. big father)	*tāta ruwa*	G. *tāta gawra, bābā*; K. *bāwa gawra*
pregnant (lit. two souls)	*trē gyānē*	G. *dəva gīyāna*; K. *dū gīyān*

3.4 Phonetic matching

A phenomenon that is associated with matter borrowing is the process where an innovative form in JSNENA develops by a matching of the phonetic form of a JSNENA

word with that of a Gorani model. For example, phonetic matching takes place by the borrowing by JSNENA of an Iranian form that has the same or similar phonetic shape as the native NENA form. JSNENA, for example, has borrowed the Iranian preposition *bayn* 'between,' which replaces the phonetically similar native form *bēn*.

3.5 Borrowed phonemes

Contact with Iranian languages (Gorani and Kurdish) has led to the borrowing of some consonant phonemes in JSNENA, including */č/* [ʧʰ], */f/* [f], */j/* [ʤ], */ř/* (trilled rhotic), and */ž/* [ʒ]. These are only marginal phonemes in JSNENA and are limited to loanwords.

4 Pattern replication

This process involves the replication by JSNENA of patterns in the Iranian source language(s) without the borrowing of Iranian material.

4.1 Phonology

The phonological system of JSNENA has extensively replicated that of Gorani by matching JSNENA phonemes with Gorani (and Kurdish) phonemes. For instance, the original interdental consonants of NENA have been lost in JSNENA since they do not form part of the phonological system of Iranian languages. Similarly, the JSNENA co-ordinating particle *ū* replicates the prosody of the corresponding Iranian particle as an enclitic, which differs from historical Aramaic, in which the particle was a proclitic

JSNENA has also adopted the patterns of distribution of the Gorani phonemes. As an example, there is an innovative phonemic distinction developing within NENA that has been reinforced by matching with a parallel distinction in Gorani. In JSNENA, the phoneme that is transcribed */w/* is realised as a labio-dental [v] in most cases, e.g.

(15) JSNENA

ṣīwá [siːˈva]	'wood'
hawé́ [haˈveː]	'may he be'
hēwālé́ [heˑvaːˈleː]	'(that) he could'

This is matched by the same feature in Hawrami dialects Takht and Luhon. In these dialects of Gorani */w/* is sometimes realised as a labio-dental [v] in in the context of open unrounded vowels, e.g.

(16) Gorani

waná [væˈnæ]	'at'
wắt=əm [ˈva:t-əm]	'I said'
āwī [ˀa:vi:]	'water'
sāwī [ˈsa:vi:]	'apple'

A feature of Iranian languages of the region is the intervocalic lenition of /d/, known as 'Zagros d' (Windfuhr 1989), e.g. CK. *bāwim* 'almond' (cf. Persian *bādām*). This has spread through contact to Non-Iranian languages as well, e.g. Turkic (Bulut 2018a, 413–14), and Neo-Aramaic (Khan 2018c, 386). JSNENA matches this lention of */d/*, whereby */d/* in post-vocalic position shifts to the sonoral lateral /l/. In such cases the ultimate historical origin of post-vocalic */d/* in JSNENA is a voiced interdental **ð* or an unvoiced interdental **θ*. These first developed into a */d/* and then were lenited to */l/*.

(17) JSNENA

ʾīlá	'hand'	< **ʾīðā*
ʾēlá	'festival'	< **ʿēðā*
hol	'he does'	< **ʿāwəð*
mālá	'village'	< **māθā*
belá	'house'	< **bayθā*
mīlá	'dead'	< **mīθa*

The lenition of /d/ in the Kurdish dialects of the regions results typically in a semi-vowel /w/, e.g. *pāwšā* 'king' (cf. Pers. *pādšā*); *āwəm* 'human' (cf. Pers. *ādam*). A closer match with JSNENA, however, comes from the Hawrami dialects of Gorani where intervocalic and postvocalic /d/ are realised as an alveolar approximant [ɹ] represented as <đ>, and sometimes as a lateral /l/ (especially in Gorani Hawrami dialects outside of Hawraman, see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2018: 541).

(18) Gorani

xuđắ [xuˈɹa:], [xuḷā]	'God'	cf. Pers. *xodā*
ʾắđa [ˈʔa:ɹæ]	'she (3sg.f direct)'	
ʾāđ [ˈʔa:ɹ]	'he (3sg.m direct)'	

Therefore, lenition of /d/ in JSNENA exhibits closer matching with Gorani than with Kurdish, since in both the main outcome is a sonorant consonant. This is reminiscent of a process in contact phonology described by Blevins (2017) as the 'perceptual magnet effect', whereby speakers of a language match a sound in their L1 with a sound that is perceived to be similar, even if not objectively identical.

4.2 Morphology

JSNENA has replicated many Iranian morphosyntactic patterns. In most cases, morphosyntactic pattern replication results only in partial convergence rather than complete replication. We shall present some cases of replication here.

4.2.1 Morphology of nouns

Both Gorani and JSNENA mark grammatical gender on nouns, where the gender assignment system is primarily morpho-phonological. Thus, nouns are assigned gender on the basis of the endings they take. In JSNENA, nouns of Aramaic stock that end in the feminine marker *-ta* or its phonetic variants are feminine, and most words that end in *-a* are masculine, e.g. *lēš-a* (m) 'dough'; *gup-ta* (f) 'cheese'.

In Gorani Hawrami, masculine nouns end in a consonant, and stressed *-á, -ī́, -ó, -ū́*. A subset of nouns ending in *-ā́* are likewise masculine. By contrast, nouns ending in unstressed *-ī*, unstressed *-a* and stressed *-é* are feminine. Examples: *varg* (m) 'wolf'; *čamčá* (m) 'spoon'; *məzgī́* (m) 'mosque'; *gałā́* (m) 'leaf'; *máya* (f) 'sheep'; *nāmé* (f) 'name'; *hā́rdī* (f) 'flour'.

Gorani loanwords in NENA are generally borrowed together with their gender. In some cases, Gorani loanwords in JSNENA have a slightly different phonological shape, but they have, nevertheless, preserved the Gorani gender. This reflects a high level of bilingualism in Gorani among JSNENA speakers.

(19)

	JSNENA	Gorani
'language'	*zwān* (m)	*zwān* (m)
'spoon'	*čamča* (m)	G. *čamča, čəmča* (m)
'plate'	*dawrī́* (m)	*dawrī́* (m)
'fruit'	*mēwá* (m)	*mēwá* (m)
'chair'	*sandalī́* (f)	*sandalī́a* (f)
'pillow, cushion'	*sarīná* (f)	*sarīna* (f)/*sərangā́* (f)
'frog'	*qurbāqá* (f)	*qurwā́qī* (f)

A feature common to conservative dialects of Gorani and JSNENA is that numerals above one are combined with plural nouns in both languages, whereas Kurdish lacks this feature.

(20) JSNENA
yāla trèsar šənē,| *xamsar šənē dòq-wā-lē.*|
boy twelve years fifteen years hold.PRS.3SG.M:A-PSTC-OBL.3SG.M:O
'A boy twelve years old (and one) fifteen years old would observe it (the fast)'.

(21) Gorani
pànj řo-ē hurpř-ēn-mē.|
five day-PL.DIR dance.PRS-PSTC-1PL:S
'We would dance for five days'.

(22) Kurdish
haft kanìšk a-w-ən.|
seven girl IND-be.PRS-3PL:S
'They were seven girls'.

The existence of plural marking with numerals above 'one' helped preserve in JSNENA the pattern that was inherited from earlier Aramaic. This is then a case of constraint on a change inhibited by contact if the contact language shares the same feature. Similarly, Khan (2020) reports that in NENA dialects in contact with Arabic, interdental consonants */θ/* and */ð/* have been preserved due to their presence in Arabic. Dickey (2011) uses the term 'replica preservation' in discussing the conservative influence of German on the Western Slavic verbal system.

4.2.2 Morphology of pronouns

In JSNENA, an innovative oblique case inflection has developed in the third-person pronouns, which is historically derived from the fusion of the oblique particle *d* + pronoun, see (23). This matches the oblique case inflection of third-person Gorani pronouns (24). Note that the Kurdish of Sanandaj has lost case inflection and could not have been a model for JSNENA.

(23) JSNENA

	Direct	Oblique
3SG	*ʾo*	*do*
3PL	*ʾoni*	*doni*

(24)

	Gorani		Kurdish
	Direct	Oblique	
3SG.M	*āđ*	*āđī*	*aw*
3SG.F	*āđa*	*āđē*	
3PL	*āđē*	*āđīšā*	*awān*

Similarly, deixis pronouns in JSNENA are inflected for case following the Gorani model. Examples are from near deixis pronouns.

(25) JSNENA

	Direct	Oblique
SG	*ʾay,*	*day,*
	ʾē	*dē*
PL	*ʾaynī, ʾənyē*	*daynī, dənyē*

(26) Gorani

	Direct	Oblique
SG.M	*īna*	*īnay*
SG.F	*īnē*	*īnē*
PL	*īnē*	*īnā, īnīšā*

4.2.3 Morphology of verbs

In JSNENA verbs inflect for TAM by root and pattern morphology. Discontinuous lexical roots consisting of three, or in some cases four, consonants are mapped onto discontinuous morphological patterns of vowels and consonants, e.g.

(27) JSNENA
root *g-r-š* 'to pull' + present pattern *CaCəC* > *garəš*
root *s-m-x* 'to stand' + past intransitive pattern *CCiC* > *smīx*

In addition to the basic pattern of TAM inflection, referred to as Form I, the verbal system has derivational patterns, referred to as From II and Form III, the main function of which is to increase the valency of the verb.

A distinctive feature of JSNENA verbal morphology is the use of different past stems and resultative participles for transitive agentive verbs, on the one hand, and intransitive unaccusative or passive verbs on the other. Thus in the following stems the morphology of passive and intransitive stems is identical, in contrast to the morphology of agentive stems.

Form I

(28) *g-r-š* 'to pull' (tr.), *s-m-x* 'to stand' (intr.)

	Agentive	Intransitive unaccusative	passive
Past stem	*grəš-*	*smīx-*	*grīš-*
Resultative participle	*gərša*	*smīxa*	*grīša*

Form III

(29) *m-ršx* 'to cause to walk' (tr.), *m-skr* 'to become lost' (intr.)

	Agentive	Intransitive unaccusative	passive
Past stem	*mərxəš-*	*məskīr-*	*mərxīš-*
Resultative participle	*mərxša*	*məskīra*	*mərxīša*

This innovation in the morphology of verb stems in JSNENA is triggered by Gorani, in which the passive morpheme (PRS. *-īa*, pst *-īā*, e.g. *kušīa* 'is killed,' *kušīā* 'was killed') is also used in the stem of some intransitive verbs.

(30) Gorani
agentive *wātay* 'to say'; intransitive unaccusative verb *mařīāy* 'to break'

	Active transitive	Passive	Intransitive
Present stem	*wāč*	*wāč**īa***	*mař**īa***
Past stem	*wāt*	*wāč**īā***	*mař**īā***
Participle	*wāta*		*mařīā(a)*
Infinitive	*wātay*		*mařīāy*

This morphological alignment of passive and intransitive unaccusative morphology corresponds to the alignment of past stems in JSNENA, whereby the same pattern is used for passive and intransitive unaccusative verbs

Another innovation in the morphology of verb stems in JSNENA is that the causative inflection pattern of verbs in Form III has been extended to the pattern of agentive verbs in Form I, as seen above in vocalic patterns of Form I and Form III in (28)-(29).

We shall now consider the possible Iranian background of this extension in JSNENA. In Gorani (and in Kurdish), the valency of verbs is increased by adding a causative affix *-n* to the intransitive stem, e.g. *ēšāy* 'to hurt': int.prs. *ēš-*, int.pst *ēšā-*; caus.prs. *ēš-n-*, caus.pst. *ēš-n-ā-*.

It is significant that the Iranian causative morphemes in Gorani and Kurdish are also used in agentive intransitive verbs expressing the emission of sound, i.e. unergative verbs. This indicates that the suffixes may also mark agentivity without the increase in valency that is characteristic of causative:

(31) Gorani
*qēř**n**āy* ‘to shout’
*qīž**n**āy* ‘to scream’
*qūl**n**ā=š* ‘it crowed’
*hīl**n**ā=š* ‘it neighed’

This extension of a causative morphology to the marking of agentive irrespective of valency is matched by the JSNENA agentive patterns in the past stem and participle. This convergence between JSNENA and Gorani is, therefore, a case of the replication of a grammatical category but not its exponence, i.e. the manner of expressing it, which is a recognised phenomenon in language contact studies (Hickey 2010: 11).

Another area of convergence is the indexation of core arguments in the periphery of verbs. JSNENA replicates the Gorani pattern of expressing pronominal objects ergatively by direct verbal person affixes, except for the fact that in JSNENA the object expressed by the direct verbal person suffixes is mostly restricted to 3rd person.[5]

(32) JSNENA
a. *gərš-á́-lē*
pull.PST-3SG.F:O-3SG.M:A
‘He pulled her’.
b. *gərš-ī́-lē*
pull.PST-3PL:O-3SG.M:A
‘He pulled them’.

(33) Gorani[6]
a. *ārd-ē=š*
bring.PST-3PL:O=3SG:A
‘S/he brought them’.
b. *ārd-īmē=š*
bring.PST-1PL:O=3SG:A
‘S/he brought us’.

Another area of convergence is the formation of perfect constructions. In JSNENA, the realis resultative perfect is expressed by a compound construction consisting of the resultative participle combined with the present enclitic copula, e.g. *smīxá=y*

5 This is widespread but not universal feature in NENA dialects, see Coghill (2016); Khan (2017); and Noorlander (2021).
6 see Öpengin & Mohammadirad (2022) for an overview of patterns of argument indexing across Kurdish.

[stand_up.PST.PTCP.M=3SG:S] ‘He has stood up’. The participle is inflected for gender and number (e.g. ‘stand up’ sg.m *smīxa*, sg.f *smīxta*, pl *smīxe*).

With transitive active resultative participles, this perfect construction is only available where the agent of the transitive action is third person. The participle and the copula cliticised to it do not agree with this agent but rather with the undergoer of the action, analogously to the inflection of the transitive past stem with direct suffixes. However, unlike the construction with the transitive past stem, in which the agent is marked by L-suffixes, the agent in the resultative-perfect construction is not marked.

(34) JSNENA
  a. *grəštē=ya*
     pull.PST.PTCP-3SG.F=COP.3SG.F:O
     ‘he/she/they has/have pulled her’
  b. *gəršē=n*
     pull.PST.PTCP.3PL=COP.3PL:O
     ‘he/she/they has/have pulled them’

The formation of the perfect in JSNENA, and other NENA dialects, by a construction consisting of a resultative participle and a copula is an innovation under the influence of Iranian languages. The perfect in Gorani is formed by combining the resultative participle with the copula. The resultative participle inflects for gender and number, e.g. ‘to sleep’ SG.M *wəta,* SG.F, *wətē*, PL. *wətē*. As in JSNENA, the perfect constructions in Gorani are characterised by the agreement of both the participle and the copula with the intransitive subject and the transitive object, i.e. the perfect aligns ergatively. However, unlike JSNENA, it is not limited to the third person.

(35) Gorani
  a. *wətē=na*
     sleep.PST.PCTP.3SG.F=COP.3SG.F:S
     ‘She has slept’.
  b. *dīē=nī=šā*
     see.PST.PCTP.F=COP.2SG.F:O=3PL:A
     ‘They have seen you (f)’
  c. *dīē=nmē=šā*
     see.PST.PCTP.PL=COP.1PL:O=3PL:A
     ‘They have seen us (f)’

In many NENA dialects, there is only partial convergence with the Iranian model (Khan 2020). In most NENA dialects that form the perfect with a participle, for example, its alignment in transitive clauses is not ergative but accusative, in contrast to the Iranian model in the various regions. In JSNENA, the convergence is greater in this respect since the alignment of transitive perfect constructions is ergative. It does not, however, replicate all details of the Gorani model.

4.3 Syntax

JSNENA matches the Iranian languages of the Sanandaj region in having the SOV as the default word order.[7] In JSNENA, the placement of the object after the verb is sometimes used to give prominence to an indefinite noun with a newly introduced referent that plays a role in the ensuing discourse. This is matched by (37) from Gorani.

(36) JSNENA
rasm *dè=ē-lē*| *ʾafsarè*| *ʾartèš*| *rakw-ī-wa*
custom OBL.this=COP.PST-OBL.3SG.M:S officers army ride.PRS-3PL:S-PSTC
sūsì.|
horse
'It was the custom that officers in the army would ride on a horse'. (A:15)

(37) Gorani
āđ-īč *Ø-čəř-o* ***Alī*** ***Ašraf*** ***xàn*** ***ū*** ***Yāwar*** ***jafar***
3SG.DIR.M IND-call.PRS-3SG:A PN PN khan and PN PN
xàn-ī.| *sarlaškar-è* *b-ēn-ē.*|
khan-OBL.M major.general-PL.DIR be.PRS-PSTC-3PL:S
'He summons Ali Ashraf Khan and Yawar Jafar Khan. They were major generals'.

Another area of convergence is differential object marking. In Gorani, an object of a present-stem verb is in the oblique case when it is human or it is non-human but has the definite article suffix *-aka* (see 38.a) or alternatively when the nominal is definite but is not marked with *-aka* (38.b). Indefinite direct objects generally do not have case marking (38.c):

7 Relatedly, nominal addressees and recipients tend to overwhelmingly occur post-verbally in both languages, an instantiation of constructional calquing or 'metatypy' in terms of Ross (2019). See Mohammadirad (2024b) for an overview of the word order profile of Kurdic dialects in Sanandaj region.

(38) Gorani

a. ***har-aka-y*** *Ø-wəz-o* *tawèḷa-(a)ka=w*|
donkey-DEF-OBL.M IND-put.PRS-3SG:A stable-DEF=and
'He puts the donkey in the stable'.

b. ***lāla*** ***Hasan-ī*** *mə-žnās-ù̀,*| ***Rahmān-ī*** *mə-žnās-ù̀.*|
uncle PN-OBL.M IND-know.PRS-1SG:A PN-OBL.M IND-know.PRS-1SG:A
'I know uncle Hasan, I know Rahman'.

c. ***zamāwəna=š*** *pē* *Ø-gēr-òn.*|
wedding=3SG:R for IND-take.PRS-3SG:A
'He throws a wedding ceremony for her'.

This oblique marking of the object is replicated in JSNENA by the oblique prefixed particle *həl-*. In JSNENA, however, only human objects have this oblique marking, see (39.a). As in Gorani, indefinite direct objects are not flagged (39.b).

(39) JSNENA

a. *ʾay-bronà*| ***həl-day*** ***brāta*** *g-bè.*|
this-boy OBL-this girl IND-love.PRS.3SG.M:A
'The boy loves the girl'.

b. *šamaš=ē* *knīštà*| *g-ēzəl-wa* ***sūsì***
beadle=EZ synagogue IND-go.PRS.3SG.M:S-PSTC horse
k-mē-wa.|
IND-bring.PRS.3SG.M:A-PSTC
'The beadle of the synagogue went to fetch a horse'. (A:43)

This can be regarded as another example of how JSNENA has replicated the general principle of an Iranian morphosyntactic pattern but has applied a slightly different distribution of this feature internally.

Another case of partial replication is the expression of progressive. In JSNENA, the progressive is formed by placing the infinitive before a realis present stem form of the same verb. This construction replicates the Gorani pattern of constructing progressives (41).

(40) JSNENA

k-xolē *k-əx-na*
IND-eat.INF IND-eat.PRS-1SG.M:A
'I am eating'

(41) Gorani
mə-l-āy *mə-l-ū*
IND-go-ADV IND-go.PRS-1SG:S
'I am going'

It is notable that in Gorani, the inflected realis form is preceded by a form composed of the present stem and the ending *-āy*. This is not the same form as the infinitive, but its ending resembles that of infinitives, which usually end in *-ay* (and much less frequently in *-āy*). This can be identified, therefore, as a case of imperfect matching in that the Iranian form has been matched with the inherited JSNENA infinitive in the progressive construction.

In JSNENA, the subject nominal in a copula clause is occasionally placed after the predicate–copula resulting in the order *predicate—copula—subject*. The postposed subject has a referent that has been evoked previously (see 42). This feature exhibits matching with both the form and function of an Iranian construction (43).

(42) *xa* provèrb=*yē-lē* ***ʾēa.***|
one proverb=COP.PST-OBL.3SG.M:S this
'This was a proverb'. (B:65)

(43) *mamnòʿa* *bī* ***qəsa*** ***karđ-ay.***|
forbidden COP.PST.3SG:S talk do.PST-INF
'Speaking was forbidden'.

5 Scenarios for contact-induced change originating from Gorani

We have seen throughout the paper that features in JSNENA that originated in Gorani include both borrowing (see §3) and imposition (see §4). As noted, borrowing and imposition involve inverse agentivity relations on the part of RL and SL. In borrowing, RL is the linguistically dominant language for the RL speakers. Here both languages are maintained, and what is imported is typically lexical items and less frequently derivational morphology. Imposition, by contrast, occurs in two situations, the first of which concerns a language shift by speakers, whereby speakers of the language that is for them linguistically dominant (i.e. the SL) acquire through imperfect learning a second language (i.e. the RL), which is less dominant. The dominant SL in such situations is termed the substrate language, and the less dominant RL is the superstrate language. Imposition may occur through the agency

of a linguistically dominant language in a bilingual situation where this dominant language is not a substrate in a language shift to a less dominant language. This is typically the case where the RL is a maintained ancestral language of a small community, and the dominant SL that has the agentivity is an external language of the wider society that exerts cultural pressure on the smaller community.

If, as remarked, borrowing and imposition involve inverse agentivity relations on the part of RL and SL, how is it possible that we can identify both Gorani borrowings and imposition features in JSNENA. Some scenarios suggest themselves.

A first model would be to take historical layers of contact into account. It is significant that the majority of Iranian loanwords in JSNENA are from Gorani rather than Kurdish. This would mean that most of the lexical borrowing took place at an earlier historical period, before the shift to Kurdish in the population of the region at the end of the nineteenth Century. If the NENA dialects of the region were on a trajectory of language shift to Iranian, this would have involved a shift in dominance in the languages of bilinguals. It can be hypothesised that at an earlier period, the bilingual NENA-speaking communities were NENA-dominant, which gave rise to borrowing vocabulary from Gorani. As we have discussed (§3.1), there is often a functional motivation for the borrowing of basic vocabulary in JSNENA, e.g. the expression of formality in the naming of senior members of the family or the association of words with emotion. This selection of loanwords for the sake of lexical enrichment would seem to be a feature of RL agentivity. At a later period, the linguistic dominance of NENA would have given ground to the dominance of Iranian. As a consequence, imposition of Iranian features would have taken place through SL agentivity. As we have seen, many of the syntactic and morphosyntactic patterns that were imposed on JSNENA were specifically those of Gorani, which suggests that this process of Iranian-dominant SL agentivity had begun while Gorani was still widely spoken in the region.

Another possible scenario would be the diffusion of Gorani features into JSNENA through the bilingualism of Gorani speakers in NENA. Before the foundation of the town of Sanandaj, the Jews in the region lived in small villages. They may have had Gorani-speaking Muslim neighbours in the same village. In such small village communities, it is possible that the Gorani-speakers learnt some of the NENA of their Jewish neighbours. If the Gorani-speaking inhabitants in the villages learnt NENA, this is likely to have been imperfect learning, which would have resulted in the imposition of features from the linguistically dominant Gorani language. This could have resulted in the diffusion of Gorani's syntactic and phonological features into JSNENA.

6 The convergence of Gorani with NENA

As remarked, the deep extent of Gorani's influence on JSNENA reflects a long period of contact between the two languages. In fact, the direction of this influence may not have been only from Gorani to JSNENA. This applies, for example, to the Gorani past converter suffix on present-stem verbs, which expresses past imperfective.[8]

(44) Gorani
vraš-én-ī
sell.PRS-PSTC-2SG:A
'You used to sell/ were selling'.

(45) JSNENA
garš-í-wa
pull.PRS-3PL:A-PSTC
'They used to pull/ were pulling'.

The expression of the progressive with a constituent resembling an infinitive preposed before the verb is a further feature that resembles JSNENA (see ex. 40–41). Another possible candidate is the Gorani plural ending *-ē* on nouns in the direct case and adjectives in the direct case.[9] Interestingly, this is identical phonetically to the NENA plural ending *-ē*. It could be the case that the NENA plural suffix *-ē* reinforced the inherited Gorani plural direct marker.

Similarly, in JSNENA and Gorani, direct object clitics in present tense constructions follow the subject person suffixes. This is an inherited feature in JSNENA, but it is not clear that it is inherited in Gorani:

(46) Gorani
mə-sān-ū=š
IND-buy.PRS-1SG:A=3SG:O
'I (will) buy it'.

8 This feature is additionally only attested in Taleshi among West Iranian languages. The Gorani convertor suffix *-ēn* is claimed to derive from earlier optative endings *-ē/-ēn (Windfuhr 1995).
9 This plural ending is also attested in some Tatic dialects, e.g. Vafsi, Khoini (see Stilo 2008), spoken far from the mountainous Gorani heartland.

(47) NENA
garš-ētu-lē
pull.PRS-2PL:A-3SG:O
'You pull him'.

The Gorani constructions could be explained as inner Iranian developments, but their existence in Gorani could have been induced or at least reinforced by contact with NENA, causing Gorani to differ from developments in other Western Iranian languages. Indeed, a number of loanwords from NENA can be identified in Gorani, e.g. *šarmgā* 'pubis' <NENA *šərma* 'fundament'. If the hypothesis that NENA had an impact on the structure of Gorani is correct, then the most likely explanation would be that there was a language shift of many NENA-speakers to Gorani at some period.

Abbreviations

A	transitive subject
ADD	additive
ADV	adverbial
CLF	classifier
COP	copula
CP	complex predicate
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	dimunitive
DIR	direct
DRCT	directional
EP	epenthesis
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
IPFV	imperfective
O	object
OBL	oblique
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
POST	postposition
PP	prepositional phrase
PROX	proximative
PRS	present
PRSNT	presentative
PST	past
PSTC	past convertor formative

PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
R	Adposition complement
Ar.	Arabic
Av.	Avestan
Bah.	Bahdini Northern Kurdish
CK	Central Kurdish
K.	Kurdish
MP.	Middle Persian
NK	Northern Kurdish
Pth	Parthian
S	Intransitive subject
SK	Southern Kurdish
YA.	Young Avestan.

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6 Pattern borrowing/convergence in the Southern Kurdish Zone

Abstract: A cursory examination of the grammar of Kurdish and Gorani varieties shows the existence of convergence. In this chapter, I examine several obvious and several less apparent examples of pattern borrowing (in the sense of Sakel 2007), grammatical constructions borrowed from a donor language and expressed with inherited formatives in the recipient language. Based on new data and new analyses, I refute some long-standing examples of convergence and propose some potential ones.

Keywords: Kurdish, Gorani, Contact, Convergence

1 Introduction

Fattah's (2000) study "Les dialectes kurdes méridionaux" has given us great insight into the diversity of Southern Kurdish varieties. Additionally, recent works like Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012) and Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013), coupled with previous works such as Hadank (1930), MacKenzie (1956), and Blau (1989) begin to clarify the picture of Gorani varieties. Although there is much that remains unknown about these languages, it is clear that the diversity among them increases as their geographical distance increases from the Hewramî[1] core (for the most complete description of a core Hewramî variety, see MacKenzie 1966). The more peripheral varieties, such as Shabaki, Bājalāni, Gawrajui, Zerdeyane, Kaka'i, Macho, and others, are spoken in the heart of areas with substantial populations speaking Kurdish, Aramaic, Turkic, and possibly Indo-Aryan varieties.

In contrast, the towns and villages in the Hewramî core are deep in the Zagros mountains. It may be inferred from their location that, in the words of (Urban 2020), "this mountain world offers a refuge space granting freedom and autonomy," with implications for "social structures," as well as "language geography, linguis-

1 Here I use the term Hewramî to refer to the Gorani varieties spoken in the regions Lihon, Jawero, Pawe, Text, and Rezaw, and the term Gorani to refer to all the languages of the Gorani subbranch of Iranian including Hewram î varieties.

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tic diversity, patterns of language contact and spread, and perhaps, as has been argued especially recently, language structure". One such implication is a conservative quality that is a defining characteristic of the varieties of the Hewramî core, although there has never been a study of these varieties from the perspective of how geography influences multilingualism and language convergence.

My thesis in this chapter is that as one moves away from the Hewramî core, there are areas where the local Kurdish varieties have what may be seen as Hewramî features in their grammar. In these same zones, there are likewise Gorani varieties that have taken on a Kurdish character (For a discussion of how Gorani varieties differ as they move further away from the Hewramî core, see Naqshbendi this volume). This may be, as MacKenzie (1961) suggested, the result of Kurdish displacing a Gorani substrate. Although, this theory has been dismissed in recent times, perhaps due to an anachronistic view of substratum effects that were prevalent in MacKenzie's time (see Leezenberg 1993).

Based on limited data from grammars and innovative studies of specific phenomena in Southern Kurdish and Gorani, I attempt to update the record and make some predictions for future study of Gorani and Kurdish contact. In section 2, I look at possible contact-induced convergences. I begin in section 2.1 with features in Kurdish proposed by MacKenzie (1961) to be the result of a Gorani substratum. Then, in section 2.2, I outline some Kurdish features that appear in Gorani varieties and Gorani features in Kurdish varieties, some of which are not likely to be the result of mutual inheritance. Since the focus of this chapter is superficial convergence, I do not attempt to establish through the principles of historical linguistics whether any feature has been innovated, inherited, or contact-induced. If a form or pattern was present in a known ancestor, I claim that it is a possible example of inheritance. Likewise, if a form has a known developmental cline in one group, I claim that it is a possible example of borrowing from that group into another.

2 Kurdish-Gorani convergence

The logical place to begin when discussing Kurdish-Gorani contact is with MacKenzie's (1961) seminal study on The Origins of Kurdish, where he first proposes the displacement of the Goran by a Kurdish invasion. In this study, MacKenzie proposes several innovations in Kurdish that have given it a Gorani character separating it from Northern Kurdish (Kurmancî). Here I focus on MacKenzie's (1961) morphological claims; for a discussion of the validity of MacKenzie's (1961) sociolinguistic analysis, see Leezenberg (1993).

After addressing the arguments of MacKenzie (1961) and Leezenberg (1993), I continue to examine the phenomenon of Kurdish-Gorani convergence. In this chapter, I take convergence to mean that similar patterns occur in multiple varieties. This convergence has several possible explanations: (1) mutual inheritance: they are similar because the pattern was preserved from a common ancestor; (2) borrowing: they are similar because the pattern in one language was modeled after the pattern in the other; and (3) coincidence: they are similar because the pattern was generated by a typologically common process. I make some proposals based on the comparison of forms in Kurdish and Gorani varieties as to directionality when possible. These proposals are based on the ways that some varieties differ from a core. For Gorani, I assume that the varieties known as Hewramî represent that conservative core. The data for core Hewramî comes primarily from MacKenzie (1966) supplemented by Paweyane forms from a variety of sources such as Christensen & Benedictsen (1921), Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2019), Holmberg & Odden (1966), and my own field notes. For the languages of the Gorani Periphery, data comes from studies such as Shabaki/Bajelanî (MacKenzie 1956), Gawrajuî (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012), and Zerdeyane (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013). For Kurdish, I propose the most conservative core to be varieties like Erbil-Rewanduz Soranî (MacKenzie 1961a) or Mukriyanî (Öpengin 2016). The latter assumption is based on the conservation of case, the full imperfective prefix *de-*, remnant ergativity, and other features. It is often assumed that Northern Kurdish or Kurmancî is the most conservative group as it has more fully preserved case, number, and gender marking on nouns and an ergative system that is more than the remnants found in Central Kurdish. However, I take the view common among historical linguists that varieties that appear conservative have also innovated, and varieties that appear highly innovative preserve features perhaps lost in more conservative varieties. There is some evidence to suggest that in Kurmancî, innovation along one axis preserved things along another; see Karim (2021). Additionally, MacKenzie (1961) proposed convergences between Gorani and Central Kurdish based on where Central Kurdish differed from Kurmancî but agreed with Gorani. Leezenberg (1993) suggests that Central Kurdish differs from Kurmancî in many of these examples due to innovations in Kurmancî, a view that I believe will stand the test of time.

Following Sakel 2007: 15), there are generally two types of borrowings Matter (MAT) and Pattern (PAT). With MAT borrowings, “morphological material and its phonological shape from one language is replicated in another language”. With PAT borrowings, “only the patterns of the other language are replicated, i.e. the organization, distribution and mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning, while the form itself is not borrowed”. Many studies have proposed hierarchies of borrowability, e.g., Haugen (1950), Matras (2007), Matras (2007a), etc. According to Matras

(2007a), that hierarchy ranges from nouns, the most easily borrowed, to inflectional affixes, the least easily borrowed 1.

(1) Nouns, conjunctions > verbs > discourse markers > adjectives > interjections > adverbs > other particles, adpositions > numerals < pronouns > derivational affixes > inflectional affixes

Note that all the elements of the hierarchy 1 are MAT borrowings. Discussion of PAT borrowings tends to be associated with linguistic areas (sprachbünde) following Sakel (2007: 16). Both MAT and PAT borrowing are relevant to the languages of the Kurdish zone, defined as any place where people who consider themselves to be Kurds live. However, I focus mainly on the convergence of patterns in this chapter.

2.1 MacKenzie's (1961) "substratum" effects

MacKenzie (1961), citing Professor K. Barr, attributes some differences within Kurdish to Gorani influence on the Southern dialects.[2] He further argues that "there is no avoiding the conclusion that [Central] dialects of Kurdish have overlaid a Gorani substratum,[3] while the Northern dialects have to a much greater extent preserved their purity" (MacKenzie 1961: 86). Leezenberg (1993) rejects this claim asserting that in addition to Gorani contact, the convergences between Central and Southern Kurdish and Gorani could also be explained as common inheritance, "parallel innovations of a Sprachbund-like nature, as prestige borrowings, or as innovations specific to Kurmancî". He provides a more theoretically-driven approach rooted in the tradition of Thomason & Kaufman (1988). His goal is to analyze the type of contact that resulted in the borrowing from Gorani found in Central and Southern Kurdish. Essentially, he challenges the narrative, conjured up by MacKenzie's (1961) use of the term substratum, of a Gorani-speaking population shifting to Kurdish and bringing along aspects of their language as a result. His ultimate conclusion is that

2 Based on the Kurdish varieties surveyed by MacKenzie (1961a) in his (1960–61) "Kurdish Dialect Studies," it is likely that what he meant by Southern Kurdish is what scholars today would refer to as Central Kurdish. These varieties are characterized by the retention of "remnant ergativity" as described in Jügel (2009), the near complete loss of case, the likely complete loss of gender, and (sometimes lenited) imperfective prefixes. He does not include any references to varieties that have a total loss of ergativity, ones that lack imperfective markers, or those with imperfective suffixes or circumfixes, all characteristics of Southern Kurdish.

3 There is no way of knowing what precisely MacKenzie (1961) meant by substratum by his analysis. However, it is unlikely that in 1961 the term carried much of the theoretical weight it does today (p.c., Lezzenberg apud p.c., MacKenzie); see Leezenberg (this volume).

the borrowings attested in Kurdish are of the type that could be prestige borrowing from an elevated literary Gorani. The so-called Gorani Koiné flourished during the Erdelan dynasty as many Erdelanî poets produced their poetry in this variety. The Erdelan dynasty was a time and place when the Gorani language flourished, and many poets composed in Gorani despite being speakers of other varieties.

MacKenzie (1961) proposes several direct Gorani borrowings. There is a synthetic passive construction built with *-rê/ra-* in Central Kurdish and *-y/-ya* in Gorani but absent from Northern Kurdish that MacKenzie considers a borrowing from Gorani. Leezenberg (1993), on the other hand, points out that the *y*-form passive is well attested in Avestan, Old Persian, and Sanskrit. Therefore, the Kurdish form could be explained by mutual inheritance alone.

MacKenzie (1961) proposes that the definite suffix *-eke*, occurring in Gorani and Zazaki, must also be borrowed from Gorani, as it is notably absent from Kurmancî. According to Leezenberg (1993), this alone is not a good basis for assuming massive substrate effects and language shifts. However, there may be a reason to reject this as convergence entirely. A form of the *k*-type definite suffix can be found in many Iranian languages (Karim in-review).[4] Additionally, there is some evidence that builds a circumstantial case that this marker once existed in Northern Kurdish and was lost (Karim 2021: ch. 4).[5] In light of these two points, I propose that this, too, is likely an example of mutual inheritance and not necessarily Gorani borrowing.

Additionally, MacKenzie (1961) proposes what he calls the open-compound construction[6] is also an example of Gorani borrowing. This construction features a reduced form of the ezafe particle when a noun phrase is definite (e.g. Central Kurdish: *kiç-î cwan* 'beautiful girl' vs. *kiç-e cwan-eke*} 'the beautiful girl'). For MacKenzie (1961), this was clear evidence of Goranî borrowing as they both share this construction. However, the phenomenon is much more widespread with examples

4 Emāmzāda Esmā'īlī (Fars): *doft-ak-ō* 'the girls [girl-DEF-PL]' (Windfuhr 2012), Buşehrī (Fars): *ī havā-y-akū* 'this weather' (Windfuhr 2012),, Gīonī (Lor): *asp-{Ø* gap-eka "the big horse [horse-DEF.EZ big-DEF]" (McKinnon 2001), Northern Lori: *-(e)ka* (McKinnon 2011), Dezfuli and şuştari (S Lori): *-aka* (McKinnon 2011), Bakhtiāri (S Lori): *-ekū* (McKinnon 2011), *-(e)ke* (Anonby & Taheri-Ardali 2019: 452), Central Kurdish: *-eke* (MacKenzie 1961a), Southern Kurdish: *-aka -aga* and *aǧa*} (Fattah 2000: 245), Hewramî (Lihon): *-aka* (MacKenzie 1966), Paweyane: *-eke* (Holmberg & Odden 1966), Zerdeyane: *-aka* (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013), and Gawrajuî: *-aka* (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012).

5 Note that the ultimate source of the k-form definite suffixes are the Proto-Indo-Iranian diminutive/evaluative extension *-Vkă. These forms are retained in Northern Kurdish, e.g., on kinship terms *mêrik* 'husband,' *jinik* 'wife,' etc. The forms of the diminutive extension that were lost in Northern Kurdish according to (Karim 2021: ch. 4) were intervocalic, i.e., when followed by a demonstrative clitic or ezafe particle.

6 The open-compound construction (MacKenzie 1961b) is also referred to as the close ezafe Thackston (2006) and the definite ezafe (Karim 2022).

in Colloquial New Persian (Samvelian 2005; Karim 2022, e.g., *pesœr-e bozorg* 'big boy' vs. *pesœr-ø bozorg-é* 'the big boy' McKinnon 2011) and Luri (e.g. *kwak-e gap* 'big boy' vs. *kwak-ø* gap-aka 'the big boy' McKinnon 2011). It seems that this, too, can be seen as a more widespread phenomenon with parallels across the Iranian languages.

Perhaps the only one of the morphological changes proposed by MacKenzie (1961) that may have been Gorani borrowing is the postverb *-ewe*, which is a preverb in northern and western Northern Kurdish *ve-* and western Southern Kurdish varieties *ew-* (< PIr. *apa 'away'). Gorani has preserved a medial stage in the shift from preverb to postverb, where it is preverbal in the infinitive (Paweyane: ewe-wardey 'to drink') and postverbal in finite forms (e.g., Paweyane: muwery-ewe 'you drink'). The motivation for this shift is not necessarily clear. In Central and Southern Kurdish, the postverb *=ewe* (also *=ew, =ewe, =o,* and *=oewe*) has a different (vowel-initial) phonological shape than all other preverbs (e.g., *ra=, da=, wer=, ber=, heł=,* etc.) This could be the motivation for both the developments in Kurdish and Gorani, which are not identical. The postverbal position is a feature of Central and Southern Kurdish, and the ambifixial preverbs (e.g., *=ewe=, =ene=,* and *=ere=*) are a feature of Gorani. Other preverbs with the same phonological shape lost their initial vowels, e.g., the *we-* in *westan* 'to stop' (< PIr. *awa + *stā 'to stand'), as did the cognate of the *=ewe* in Northern Kurdish *ve=*. As *ewe* does not behave as expected, for Central Kurdish, I tentatively count it among Gorani patterns in Kurdish.

These "convergences" form the core of the Gorani substratum hypothesis proposed by MacKenzie (1961). Leezenberg (1993) proposes that mutual inheritance is a better explanation for convergence between Gorani and Central Kurdish. Places where Gorani and Central Kurdish agree but not Northern Kurdish are better explained by innovation in Northern Kurdish than convergence. This is certainly true for the use of pronominal clitics in Gorani and Central and Southern Kurdish, which are well attested in Old, Middle, and New Iranian languages. They were lost in Northern Kurdish and not innovated in Central Kurdish. A further example that Leezenberg (1993) does not include is the simplified ezafe system. MacKenzie (1961) proposed that Gorani and Central and Southern Kurdish had simplified their ezafe (attribution marking) systems by eliminating case, number, and gender distinctions. However, it may be the case that Kumancî and Zazaki have innovated gender and sometimes case marking on the ezafe (Karim 2021). According to Karim (2021: 208ff), a phonological reduction of intervocalic *k* before the loss of gender may have preserved gender marking on both the possessor and possessum in possessive constructions and on definite accusative arguments and ergative agents. This proposal is based on early sound changes affecting languages of the Northern belt, including Zazaki, Tati, and Talyshi (and even Sogdian, dating back to the Middle Iranian period). Northern Kurdish does not genealogically belong to this

group. However, it often converges with these languages in terms of morphology and phonology.

Leezenberg (1993) rightly rejects MacKenzie's (1961) examples, but there are other examples that MacKenzie (1961) missed. I believe there is a greater range of actual morphological borrowing between Gorani and (Central) and Southern Kurdish. However, these changes did not affect the core of Central Kurdish or the Hewramî core of Gorani. From here on, I confine my discussion to what I propose to be actual convergence. These convergences can be understood as changes in peripheral varieties, resulting in similarities with other local languages. I restrict this discussion to Kurdish-Gorani contact. However, I acknowledge that there are examples of Gorani-Aramaic and Kurdish-Aramaic contact, explored in Khan and Mohammadirad (this volume), as well as possible examples of Gorani-Turkic and Gorani-Indo-Aryan contact that have yet to be explored.

2.2 Kurdish patterns in Gorani and Gorani patterns in Kurdish

As in other Iranian languages, Kurdish and Gorani have two verbal stems traditionally referred to as past and present, although the present-tense stem is more accurately categorized as non-past. The non-past stem serves as the basis for the present subjunctive, present/future indicative (glossed non-past), imperative, and prohibitive. The past-tense stem is the basis for the past-imperfective, the perfective (glossed past), the present perfect, the past perfect, the past subjunctive, and several conditional moods. Through the remainder of this chapter, the distinction between MAT and PAT is largely irrelevant as it focuses only on pattern convergence in the verbal system of Kurdish zone varieties. Each variety employs native formatives, albeit from different sources, to create the same verbal pattern, e.g., (TAM-)STEM(-TAM)-AGR.

Kurdish and Hewramî verbal categories are presented for comparison in Table 1, where Kurdish is represented by the Central Kurdish variety of Hewlêr (my field notes) and Gorani is represented by the variety of Lihon (MacKenzie 1966). The non-past stem of 'to give' is *de-* in Kurdish and *de-*[7] in Hewramî, although the addition of the suffixes beginning with the mid-vowels *ê* and *o* obscure the final vowel *e*. However, the Hewramî form is distinguished by lenition signified by *ð*. According to MacKenzie (1966), this is a non-syllabic schwa. Perhaps the current

7 I give all examples in the standard (Hawar) Kurdish script to facilitate comparability between varieties. The exceptions to this convention are limited to my use of *e* in Hewramî (following the orthography of Holmberg & Odden 1966) for what would be *e* in the Hawar script. I use this convention regardless of the system employed by the original authors.

best understanding comes from Naghshbandi (2020), who concludes that this realization is a velarized alveolar approximate [ɹˠ]. The past stem is *da-* in Kurdish and Hewramî. The inflectional formatives and choice of stem mark the differences between the language groups.

Table 1: TAM categories 'give.3SG'.

TAM	K Hewlêr	G (Lihon)
NPST.SBJ	*bi-dat* (< *bi-de-et)	*bi-ð-o*
NPST	*de-dat* (< *de-de-et)	*mi-ð-o*
NPST.IMP	*bi-de*	*(bi-)ð-e*
NPST.PRH	*me-de*	*me-ð-e*
PST	*da*	*da*
PST.IPFV	*de-da*	*d-ê(n)*
PRS.PRF	*da-y-e*	*da-n*
PST.PRF	*da-bû*	*da-b-ê(n)*
PST.SBJ	*da-b-ê*	*da-b-o*
PST.COND	*bi-da-ya-ye*	*dɛ(n)* (< *da-a[8]-ê(n))
PST.PRF.COND	*bi-da-b-a*	*dɛ-bîɛ(n)* (< *da-ê-bâ-ê(n))

Among the non-past forms, both Kurdish and Hewramî seem to have parallel constructions. The subjunctive and imperative are formed with the prefix *bi* attached to the non-past stem. The non-past indicative is formed by the addition of an imperfective prefix *de-* in Kurdish and *mi-* in Paweyane and peripheral Gorani, but only with certain verbs in core Hewramî; the present is the exclusive domain of the imperfective. The prohibitive is formed with the prohibitive prefix *me-* in Kurdish and *me-* in Hewramî.

The past forms differ both superficially and substantially between the languages. The perfective (plain) past is unmarked in both Kurdish and Hewramî. The past imperfective is marked with the same imperfective prefix as the non-past tense. In Kurdish, *de-* attached to the past-tense stem *da*. However, Hewramî builds the past imperfective on the non-past stem *de-* with an opaque[9] imperfective form-

8 This reconstruction is based on MacKenzie's (1966) claim that the source of *ɛ* is a coalescence of *a* and *ê*. Note that according to MacKenzie (1966), the vowels *ɛ* and *e* are differentiated by length and not duration.

9 Windfuhr (1995) proposed that the Hewramî imperfective "derived from earlier optative endings *-ē/-ēn, which already in OIr. could express imperfective past". However, there seem to be some phonological issues with this reconstruction, e.g., the Paweyane second-person singular ending *-îşî*, the *n* formative in all but the third-person singular, etc.

ative *-ê(n)*.[10] The interpretation proposed by Karim (2020) is that this should be seen as an imperfective stem differing from both the non-past and past stems.

The present perfect is formed from the past participle, which is the past-tense stem with the suffix *-î/y* in the Kurdish variety of Hewlêr and the enclitic copula *-e*.[11] In Hewramî, the present perfect is formed in the same way. The example *dan* obscures the difference between the past stem and the past participle. The past stem inflects for number and gender in Hewramî: masculine singular *-ø* feminine singular *-e*, and plural (underspecified for gender) *-ê*. In contrast, the participle endings are masculine singular *-e* feminine singular *-ê*, and plural (underspecified for gender) *-ê*. The masculine and feminine perfective forms merge for phonological reasons with the vowel-final verb *da-* 'give'. However, the difference is clear with a consonant final stem, e.g., *kerð* 'did him' *kerðen* 'have done him'. Just as in Kurdish, the Hewramî enclitic copula *-n* completes the present perfective construction.

The past perfect differs between the groups. In Kurdish, the past form of the copula *-bû* is added to the past stem. By contrast, Hewramî adds the imperfective of the copula to the participle.

The past subjunctive is the same in both groups. It is built on the past tense stem *da-* and the non-past tense of the copula *b-* with only the person-number suffixes differing between the languages.

The formatives that make up the two conditional moods are synchronically opaque. I share some thoughts on these forms based on Karim (2020), which are based on the reconstruction of imperfective markers. Note that these proposals are speculative. The Hewramî past conditional *dɛ* is a combination of the past stem with a suffix *a* and the imperfective forming suffix *ê(n)*, which in the imperfective attached to the non-past stem. Likewise, the past perfect conditional is formed by the past participle with the past stem of the copula, a suffix *a*, and the imperfective-forming suffix. This is obscured by the phonological coalescence of the stem-final *a* and the suffix-initial *-ê*, resulting in *ɛ* and the coalescence of like vowels *a* and *a* to a single *a*. The Kurdish forms are synchronically opaque. Karim (2020) evaluates the possibility of Kurdish using the same formatives as Hewramî. The first point of divergence is the inclusion of the subjunctive prefix *bi-* with both conditionals. Objectively, this prefix does not occur with the Hewramî forms. However, this may be a result of the use of the participle, as opposed to the past stem, in Hewramî. The Kurdish form is built with the past stem, the old past passive participle. The Kurdish past conditional has the formative *-(y)a* followed by the enclitic copula *ye*.

10 The *n* of the imperfective suffix does not surface in the third-person singular. I have included it here as it shows in all other person-number combinations and can be considered part of the imperfective marker.

11 The participle suffix *-û/w* is more common than *-î/y* and other forms such as *-ey* also occur.

The ultimate origin of the suffix *-(y)a* is unknown. However, Karim (2020) reconstructs an imperfective stem-forming suffix *ya* (< *-da) for all of Kurdish based on its existence in Southern Kurdish varieties and remnants preserved in morpho-syntax. Likewise, the past perfect conditional can be understood as the copula with the same *-a* suffix. These proposals favor shared patterns between Kurdish and Hewramî. However, the formative *-a* in the Hewramî conditionals is unaccounted for and could be cognate with the *-a* in the Kurdish conditionals. As Hewramî did not have an imperfective suffix in *-a* (< *-da), the Kurdish and Hewramî forms are either not cognate or the Kurdish form is not imperfective.

Taking the verbal categories of the core varieties described in Table 1 as a starting point, There are several possible examples of pattern borrowing in the Kurdish zone.

2.2.1 Kurdish imperfective symmetry

One example of possible pattern borrowing is the symmetry of the Kurdish imperfective system that occurs in the Gorani variety of Gawraju as described in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012). In Table 2, the Kurdish Model provided by the Central Kurdish variety of Hewlêr (my field notes) is juxtaposed with the Gorani variety of Gawraju (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012) and two models from the Hewramî core Lihonî (MacKenzie 1966) and Paweyane (Christensen & Benedictsen 1921). In Lihonî, the non-past tense (imperfective) is characterized by an imperfective prefix *mi-* with some verbs (e.g., *mi-ðé-w* 'I give' and not with others (e.g., *ker-ú́* 'I make').[12]

Table 2: The Kurdish symmetrical system in Gorani.

		K Hewlêr	G Gawraju	G Pawe	G Lihon
NPST	1SG	*de-ke-m*	*me-ker-im*	*me-ker-û*	*ker-ú́*
	2SG	*de-ke-ît*	*me-ker-î*	*me-ker-î*	*ker-í́*
	3SG	*de-kat* (< *de-ke-et)	*me-ker-ê*	*me-ker-o*	*keró*
	1PL	*de-ke-în*	*me-ker-am*	*me-ker-im*	*ker-mé́*
	2PL	*de-ke-n*	*me-ker-ê*	*me-ker-dê*	*ker-dé́*
	3PL	*de-ke-n*	*me-ker-in*	*me-ker-an*	*ker-á*

12 To my knowledge, there has never been a systematic study of the linguistic (morphological, phonological, morphological, syntactic, or semantic) conditions that dictate which verbs belong to the *mi-* prefix category and which belong to the affixes category. Note that there is a similar phenomenon in New Persian, where the verb *dašten*} 'to have' does not take the imperfective prefix *mi-* in the non-past tense (e.g., *dar-em* 'I have'), but virtually all other verbs do (cf. *mi-kon-em* 'I make').

Table 2 (continued)

		K Hewlêr	G Gawraju	G Pawe	G Lihon
PST	1SG	*de-kird-im*[13]	*me-kerd-im*	*ker-ên-ê*	*ker-ê*n-ẽ
	2SG	*de-kird-ît*	*me-kerd-î*	*ker-ê-şî*	*ker-ê*n-î
	3SG	*de-kird-Ø*	*me-kerd-Ø*	*ker-ê-Ø*	*ker-ê-Ǿ*
	1PL	*de-kird-în*	*me-kerd-yam*	*ker-ên-mê*	*ker-ên-mẽ́*
	2PL	*de-kird-in*	*me-kerd-îê*	*ker-ên-dê*	*ker-ên-dẽ́*
	3PL	*de-kird-in*	*me-kerd-în*	*ker-ên-ê*	*ker-ên-ẽ́*

In contrast, the Hewramî variety spoken in Pawe city (Iran) has regularized the imperfective prefix as *me-* affixed to all verbs in the non-past tense. With this prefix, the asymmetry of the Gorani system is most clear. There is either a prefix conjugation or no imperfective marker in Lihonî and a prefix conjugation in Paweyane in the non-past tense, and there is a suffix conjugation in the past tense or perhaps a unique imperfective stem in the past.

The Kurdish model provided by Hewlêrî shows a prefix conjugation regardless of tense. The Gorani variety of Gawraju has the inherited imperfective prefix *me-* in the non-past tense. However, Gawrajuî does not feature the inherited past imperfective. Instead, it builds an innovative past imperfective using the Kurdish pattern: the inherited imperfective prefix *me-*, past tense stem *kerd*, and the past tense person number endings. Additionally, there is a partial convergence of person-number markers between Kurdish and Gawrajuî, with the Kurdish non-past first-person singular *-im*, third-person singular *-ê(t)*, and third person -(i)n replacing the inherited forms *-û*, *-o*, and *-an*, respectively. In the past, the Kurdish first-person singular *-(i)m* replaces the inherited *-an* (Paweyane) *-a* (Lihon), and a nasal third-person plural marker *-în* replacing the inherited *-ê*.[14]

2.2.2 Gorani imperfective asymmetry/imperfective stem

Just as the imperfective symmetry of Kurdish became a part of the Gorani variety of Gawraju, some Southern Kurdish varieties spoken in historically Gorani areas

13 Note that the K Hewlêr forms follow the ergative pattern in the past (imperfective). Thus, *dekirdim* translates to 'used to make me' and must occur with an agent affix in VP second position. This is different from G Lihon, for instance, where *kerênê* translates to 'I used to make'.

14 These formatives are based on the perfective-past conjugation, not the imperfective, e.g., Lihonî: *kerd-a(nê)* 'made me,' *kerd-î* 'made you,' *kerd-Ø* 'made him,' *kerd-e* 'made her,' *kerd-îmê* 'made us,' *kerd-îdê* 'made y'all,' *kerd-ê* 'made them'.

have developed an asymmetrical system like Gorani, albeit using inherited formatives. These convergences can take several different forms, as illustrated in Table 3 (G Lihon: MacKenzie 1966, K Kirmanşa: Fattah 2000, G Pawe: Christensen & Benedictsen 1921, K Bilawâr: Fattah 2000, K Bijâr: Fattah 2000, and K Hewlêr: my field notes).

Table 3: The Gorani asymmetrical system in Kurdish.

		G Lihon	K Kirmanşa[15]	G Pawe	K Bilawâr	K Bijâr	K Hewlêr
NPST.IPFV	1SG	*b-û*	*bu-m*	*me-w-û*	*e-w-im*	*d-u-im*	*de-b-im*
	2SG	*b-Ǵ*	*bü-d*	*me-w-î*	*e-ẅ-d*	*d-u-îd*	*de-b-ît*
	3SG	*bó*	*bu-d*	*me-w-o*	*e-w-id*	*d-u-Ø*	*de-b-êt*
	1PL	*b-îmẽ́*	*bü-m*	*me-w-im*	*e-ẅ-n*	*d-u-man*	*de-b-în*
	2PL	*b-îdẽ́*	*bü-n*	*me-w-dê*	*e-w-in*	*d-u-in*	*de-b-in*
	3PL	*b-á*	*bu-n*	*me-w-an*	*e-w-in*	*d-u-in*	*de-b-in*
PST.IPFV	1SG	*b-ên-ẽ́*	*bü-a-m*	*b-ên-ê*	*e-ẅ-a-m*	*d-ü-at-im*	*de-bû-m*
	2SG	*b-ên-Ǵ*	*bü-a-y(d)*	*b-î-şî*	*e-ẅ-a-yd*	*d-ü-at-îd*	*de-bû-ît*
	3SG	*b-ê-Ǿ́*	*bü-a-d*	*b-ê-Ø*	*e-ẅ-a-Ø*	*d-ü-at-Ø*	*de-bû-Ø*
	1PL	*b-ên-mẽ́*	*bü-a-ym*	*b-ên-mê*	*e-ẅ-a-yn*	*d-ü-at-iman*	*de-bû-în*
	2PL	*b-ên-dẽ́*	*bü-a-yn*	*b-ên-dê*	*e-ẅ-a-n*	*d-ü-at-in*	*de-bû-n*
	3PL	*b-ên-ẽ́*	*bü-a-n*	*b-ên-ê*	*e-ẅ-a-n*	*d-ü-at-in*	*de-bû-n*

Here, I use the verb 'to be' as an example because several southern Kurdish varieties only feature the imperfective stem on verbs ending in high vowels.[16] However, some Southern Kurdish varieties feature the imperfective-stem formatives on all verbs, e.g., Kirmanşahî. In Hewramî Lihon, the non-past imperfective[17] is formed by the non-past stem *b-* and the person-number suffixes, e.g., *b-û* [be.NPST-1SG]. The past-imperfective stem is formed by the non-past stem *b-* and the imperfective forming suffix *-ê(n)*. Then, the past-imperfective person-number suffixes are added, e.g., *b-ê*n-ẽ́ [be.NPST-IPFV-1SG] or alternatively *bê*n-ẽ́ [be.PST.IPFV-1SG] as proposed by Karim (2020). Likewise, in the Southern Kurdish variety of Kirmanşa, the non-past

15 The Kirmanşa forms presented here are from Fattah's (2000) Kırmîanşîah (2), which differs from what is observed in other parts of Kirmanşa, e.g., past tense *bim, bid, bi,* etc. with no distinction between perfective and imperfective except with he negation marker, e.g., *ne-* [NEG.PRFV-] *nye-* [NEG.IPFV-].

16 The past imperfective of 'to be' in these varieties is primarily used to express the irrealis mood.

17 The primary function of the non-past imperfective of the copula is as a narrative tense, expressing timeless aspects of stories.

imperfective is formed by the non-past stem *b-* and the person-number suffixes, e.g., *bu-m* [be.NPST-1SG]. This variety does not feature an imperfective prefix.[18] Just as in Hewramî Lihon, the past-imperfective stem is formed by the non-past stem *bu-* and the imperfective forming suffix *-ya* with the coalescence of the high vowel *u* and the glide *y* as the high-front-rounded vowel *ü*. Then, the past-imperfective person-number suffixes are added, e.g., *bü-a-m* [be.NPST-IPFV-1SG] or alternatively *büa-m* [be.PST.IPFV-1SG].

There is a similar convergence between Paweyane and the Southern Kurdish varieties of Bilawâr and Bijâr (Karim's (2020) Southern Kurdish type 1). The non-past imperfective is built from the imperfective prefix, the non-past stem, and person endings, e.g., Paweyane: *me-w-û*, Bilawâri: *e-w-im*, Bijâri: *d-u-im* [IPFV-be.NPST-1SG]. Of course, the convergence in the non-past is not significant here as it is identical with the core Kurdish form, Hewlêrî: *de-b-im* [IPFV-be.NPST-1SG]. In the past imperfective, the Southern Kurdish varieties shown here diverge from the Kurdish core with a unique past-imperfective stem or suffix conjugation. This parallel is inexact due to the fact that the imperfective prefix is retained in the past as well. Compare Paweyane *b-ê*n-ẽ [be.NPST-IPFV-1SG] with Bilawâri *e-ẅ-a-m* and Bijâri *d-ü-at-im* [IPFV-be.NPST-IPFV-1SG], perhaps better characterized as Paweyane *bê*n-ẽ [be.PST.IPFV-1SG], Bilawâri *e-ẅa-m*, and Bijâri *d-üat-im* [IPFV-be.PST.IPFV-1SG]. According to Karim (2020), the presence of the prefix in the past (and negative) is the preservation of an older circumfix *de-V-da, and the Kurdish core forms built on the past-tense stem with the prefix constitute leveling. However, the etymological discussion constitutes a tangent from the main point here; the (Southern) Kurdish varieties spoken closest to the core Hewramî area show a unique past-imperfective stem differing from the stem by the addition of a suffix. The same is true of the varieties of the Hewramî core.

2.2.3 m- series imperfective

The imperfective prefixes of the Hewramî core and the Gorani periphery are characterized by the *m* formative. This may be related to the Persian *mi-* prefix with vowels differing from expectation in analogy to other verbal prefixes, e.g., Lihonî *mi-* in analogy to *bi-*, etc. I foresee the development of these forms and the selection of stems in Lihonî to be an important area of exploration in Gorani linguis-

18 A remnant of the imperfective prefix is preserved as a unimorphated negative-imperfective marker *nye-* (< *ni-de); see Karim (2020) for more details.

tics. In Kurdish, the most widespread imperfective prefix is *di-*, However, across the Kurdish zone there are several others, e.g., NK Sersink *ti-*, Tepkê *t-*, Hewlêr: *de-*, Sleymanî: *e-*, Bijari: *d(i)-* (past), Kolyâi: *=y* (preposed enclitic), and Kordali *ø-*. According to Karim (2020), these all have a unified etymon, a proposal rejected by MacKenzie (1961a) due to a lack of Southern Kurdish evidence, which preserves the totality of variation observed in Northern and Central Kurdish combined. Regardless of whether one accepts Karim's (2020) proposal about its origins and scope, an imperfective circumfix *(d)(e)-V-ya can be reconstructed minimally for Southern Kurdish. All these elements, as well as the Hewramî forms, occur simultaneously in some varieties.

In the Southern Kurdish varieties of Bisıtun, Çıhr, Hârsin, Pâyrawand, and parts of Sahana are referred to as Laki-KermanşahÎ. These varieties are seen as an intermediary between Kurdish to the north and Northern Luri to the south. The tendency among linguists is to consider these as separate languages and not a direct members of the Kurdish continuum. However, issues of language, religion, and ethnicity are complex in the region. In this chapter, I wish to avoid imposing a determination; see Gholami (this volume) for a discussion on internal distinctions versus external ascriptions. Here, I will use the term Laki-KermanşahÎ to refer to these varieties while grouping them under the Kurdish umbrella.

In Table 4, I show the juxtaposition of the Laki-KermanşahÎ variety of Bisıtun with the Southern Kurdish variety of Bilawâr and the Goranî varieties of Pawe and Gawraju (G Gawraju: Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012, G Pawe: Christensen & Benedictsen 1921, L Bisıtun: Fattah 2000, and K Bilawâr: Fattah 2000). As described in section 2.2.1, the Gorani variety of Gawraju shows the Kurdish core model of imperfective marking; the past imperfective is formed with the imperfective prefix, the past stem, and the person-number markers. As described in section 2.2.2, the Southern Kurdish variety of Bilawâr features a unique past imperfective stem; compare *w-* [NPST], *ẅa-* [PST.IPFV], and *bü-* [PST]. This is in line with the core Hewramî pattern, e.g. Paweyane: *w-* [NPST], *bê(n)-* [PST.IPFV], and *bî-* [PST].

Table 4: M-prefixes in Laki-KermanşahÎ.

		G Gawraju	G Pawe	L Bisıtun	K Bilawâr
NPST(.IPFV)	1SG	*me-w-im*	*me-w-û*	*=e me-w-m*	*e-w-im*
	2SG	*me-w-î*	*me-w-î*	*=e me-ẅ*	*e-ẅ-d*
	3SG	*me-w-u*	*me-w-o*	*=e me-w-(d)*	*e-w-id*
	1PL	*me-w-am*	*me-w-im*	*=e me-ẅ-m*	*e-ẅ-n*
	2PL	*me-w-e*	*me-w-dê*	*=e me-ẅ-dan*	*e-w-in*
	3PL	*me-w-in* &	*me-w-an*	*=e me-w-n*	*e-w-in*

Table 4 (continued)

		G Gawraju	G Pawe	L Bisıtun	K Bilawâr
PST.IPFV	1SG	*me-wîs-îm*	*bên-ê*	*=e me-ẅa-m*	*e-ẅa-m*
	2SG	*me-wîs-î*	*bî-şî}*	*=e me-ẅa-y*	*e-ẅa-yd*
	3SG	*me-wîs*	*bê-Ø*	*=e me-ẅa-Ø*	*e-ẅa-Ø*
	1PL	*me-wîs-yam*	*bên-mê*	*=e me-ẅa-ym*	*e-ẅa-yn*
	2PL	*me-wîs-îe*	*bên-dê*	*=e me-ẅa-ydan*	*e-ẅa-n*
	3PL	*me-wîs-în*	*bên-ê*	*=e me-ẅa-n*	*e-ẅa-n*

Laki-KermanşahÎ varieties, represented here by the variety of Bisıtun, are characterized by the Southern Kurdish and Gorani forms side by side. Laki-KermanşahÎ features the Kurdish imperfective prefix *e-* and the past tense imperfective past imperfective stem *ẅa-* (< *bya) exactly as the Southern Kurdish of Bilawâr. The one difference is that the imperfective prefix *e-* surfaces as a preposed enclitic *=e*. However, this is not strange when compared to other regional languages. Of the Southern Kurdish varieties that compose their past-imperfective forms in this way (i.e., with a circumfix), SK Dinawar, Bilawâr, Pâyrawand, Kolyâi, Qorwa, and Bayray, the latter three show the imperfective marker as both a prefix and a preposed enclitic. Compare the sentences in (1). When a vowel-final word precedes the verb, the imperfective prefix occurs as the enclitic *=y*, and it occurs as the prefix *e-* in all other environments (reflecting the original prefix *de- with the expected postvocalic outcome of *d).

(1) a. *xormâ=y xwa-m*
date=IPFV eat.NPST-1SG
'I eat dates' (Bay. Xayrsuni, Fattah 2000: 372)

b. *ar a-çü-n*
PV IPFV-go.PST-3PL
'they went out' (Bay. Xayrsuni, Fattah 2000: 437)

In Laki-KermanşahÎ, the Gorani imperfective prefix is superimposed on top of the Kurdish system yielding not one but three separate imperfective formatives, pushing the limits of multiple exponence. The form *=e me-ẅa-m* can be parsed as [=IPFV IPFV-COP.PST.IPFV-1SG].

2.2.4 *ni-* negative imperfective

Another widespread feature of the Kurdish varieties spoken in near proximity to the Gorani-speaking areas is the Gorani negative-imperfective marker *ni-*. In the Hewramî variety of Pawe (Paweyane), the main negation marker is *ne-* used with all forms except for the non-past formed with the imperfective prefix *me-*; see Table 5. This is true of Hewramî/Gorani varieties that have generalized the *m*-form imperfective marker to all verbs (and for some varieties, all tenses). However, the Hewramî varieties with the negation marker *mé-* in the non-past tense do not use this negative marker regardless of the imperfective strategy; compare Hewramî Lihon: *kerû́* 'I make' *mékerû* 'I don't make' and *miðéw* 'I give' *méðew* 'I don't give' with the forms from Paweyane in Table 5.

The core Kurdish strategy for negation is similar to the Hewramî model in that there is a main negative prefix *ne-*, used with the past-tense forms and the non-past subjunctive, and there is a unique non-past imperfective negative marker. For the vast majority of Kurdish varieties, this negation marker is *na-*, reflecting the expected outcome of the inherited negation marker *ne- and the inherited imperfective marker *de-, with the sound change, sometimes referred to as Zagros *d*.[19] In Central Kurdish, the past imperfective consists of the imperfective indicative form with the addition of the inherited negation marker *ne-* preserving the separability of both the negation and imperfective markers; e.g., Zaxo: *ne-di-kirim* 'wasn't doing me' Sleymanî: *ne-ʔ e-kirdim* 'wasn't doing me'. Note that these past-imperfective forms must be later developments through analogy as neither the sequences *eʔ e* nor *edi* would result from regular sound changes. In contrast with Central Kurdish, Southern Kurdish varieties show much more diversity. Some varieties have the expected *na-* prefix (e.g., Dinawar, Bilawâr, Sahana, Kolyâi, Qorwa, and Bayray). Some varieties show other negative imperfective markers from *ne-de due to regular sound changes, e.g., Qorwa (in part): *neye-* and Xânaqin: *nee-*.

Many other Southern Kurdish varieties show the reflex of the Gorani negative imperfective marker *ni-*. However, in some cases, this is obscured by regular sound changes, i.e., Zagros *d*. Some of these groups contain many varieties. In Table 5, I show what might be considered a representative sample. In the Laki-KermanşahÎ[20] variety of Hârsin, where the peripheral Gorani imperfective marker *me-* is used

19 According to (McCarus (2009), "As a widespread regional feature, termed the "Zagros d" (Windfuhr), postvocalic *d* is softened to glide-like *-i-*, or *-w-*, and contracts with adjacent high vowels: *a-da-m* note *a-ia-m* 'I give'; *nadir ~ nair* 'Nadir' (masc. proper name); *bad ~ bai* 'bad'; *xwa ~ xuwa* 'God' [< *xuda]". (597)

20 I call the *me-* and *ni-* markers Gorani because of their existence in peripheral, but not core, Gorani varieties. N.B. these markers are even more prolific in Laki, occurring in every variety.

Table 5: Negation across the Kurdish zone.

	G Pawe	K Bijâr	L Hersin	K Xânaqin	K Sanjabi
NPST	*mekerû*	*dikem*	*=e mekem*	*kem*	*kem*
NEG.NPST	***nimekerû***	***nîkem***	***nimekem***	***nyekem***	***nyekem***
PST.IPFV	*kerênê*	*dîkirdim*	*=e mekirdim*	*ekirdim*	*kirdyam*
NEG.PST.IPFV	*nekerênê*	***nîkirdim***	***nimekirdim***	*neekirdim*	***nyekirdyam***
PST	*kerdan*	*kirdim*	*kirdim*	*kirdim*	*kirdim*
NEG.PST	*nékerdan*	*nekirdim*	*nekirdim*	*nekirdim*	*nekirdim*

outright, the negative marker *ni-* attaches directly to it. In the Southern Kurdish variety of Bijâr, the negative imperfective marker *nî* is the expected outcome of the Gorani negative marker *ni-* and the extant imperfective prefix *d(i)-*. Likewise, in SK Sanjabi, the negative imperfective marker *nye-* is the expected outcome of the Gorani negative *ni- and the inherited imperfective marker *de, the only remnant of the imperfective marker in Sanjabi and similar varieties. The variety that points to a Gorani origin most is the Southern Kurdish variety of Xânaqin. Many residents of Xânaqin belong to the Bâjalân tribe and were historically Gorani (i.e., Bâjalâni) speakers. In this variety, the negative imperfective marker is *nye-* (< *ni-de-) in the non-past tense but not in the past tense, where *ne-e* is observed (< *ne-de). This is odd from a Kurdish perspective as there is no clear reason why the *ni-* form would be licensed in the non-past tense but not in the past, given that they are morphologically marked in the same way. One possible explanation for this asymmetry is that Gorani/Hewramî features this imperfective strategy only in the non-past tense; cf. G Pawe in Table 5. The pattern was copied from Gorani.

2.2.5 Directional particle

Another possible example of convergence is the directional particle. This is a verbal formative that conditions the placement of a post-predicate goal. MacKenzie (1961a) refers to this marker as a reduced form of a preposition (presumably *be* 'to') encliticized to the verb. The directional particle is a widespread feature of Kurdish, as illustrated by the examples in (2). It occurs in all varieties of Central Kurdish represented here by the variety spoken in Sleymanî (2c). The northernmost varieties of Northern Kurdish or Kurmancî do not feature the directional particle. However, it does occur in the spoken varieties increasingly as one moves southward, as illustrated in (2a) and (2b). Note that it is not used uniformly in the southernmost varieties, e.g., Zaxo, Gulli, etc.

(2) a. *ewê* *got=e* *min*
3SG.OBL.F tell.PST.3SG=DRCT 1SG.OBL
'She told me'. (South Eastern Kurmancî, Haig 2019: 135)

b. *bɔv-ē* *xe* *čū-ye* *alwistan-ē*
father-EZ.M REFL go.PST-DRCT place.name-OBL.F
'His/her father has gone to Elbistan. (Western Kurmancî, Haig 2019: 149)

c. *būk=yān* *hēnā=ye* *māl=ewe*
bride=3PL bring.PST=DRCT home=ASP
'They brought the bride back home' (Kurdish Suleymanî, MacKenzie 1962: 62, apud Haig 2019: 280)

The directional particle is not a feature of the languages of the Hewramî core. See (3), where the preposition *pey* 'to/for' is employed in a post-predicate construction.

(3) *lwá* *pey* *bazár-î*
go.PST.3SG to market-M.SG.OBL
'he went to the market'. (MacKenzie 1966: 66)

In contrast, the Gorani variety of Gawraju uses the directional particle regularly; see (4).

(4) *řeft=e* *asman*, *hame=ye* *wer*
go.PST.3SG=DRCT sky come.PST.3SG=DRCT down
'(he) went up to the sky, (and) came down'. (G. Gawraju, Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 57)

According to Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012: 57), "[i]t seems likely that this is actually the reflex of the simple preposition (w)a, which has become cliticized to the verb", reflecting MacKenzie (1961a) suggestion for Central Kurdish. Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2019: 553) include the distribution of the preposition *pey* 'to' and the directional particle *=e* as "further areas of morphosyntax that deserve more study". Additionally, they give example (5), showing the directional particle in the construction *girt=a war* 'took forth'.

(5) *řa=w* *ber-şîıye=yş* *girt=e* *wer*
way=EZ2 out-go.INF2=3SG take.PST=DIR.PTCL ahead
'going out, he fled'. (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2019: 559)

This context is restricted in comparison to its use for all goals and some "'resultant state[s],' treated as a goal[s]" in Gorani Gawraju (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 57), mirroring Kurdish usage. I take this as a sign that the construction is a new addition in Paweyane. Two additional pieces of evidence support this view: the directional particle does not occur in MacKenzie (1966), and it never occurs in the speech of HŞ, a consultant of mine who left Pawe city in the 1970s and relocated to the United States.

Regardless of its ultimate etymon, the directional particle seems to be a feature of Kurdish grammar that has made its way into Gorani Gawraju, and based on Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2019), it is beginning to make its way into other varieties.

2.2.6 The periphrastic progressive *xerîk bûn*

It is difficult to say what direction the periphrastic progressive *xerîk bûn* was borrowed. It likely represents a regional feature as it occurs in Central and Southern Kurdish and some Gorani varieties but not Hewramî Lihon or the majority of Kurdish varieties.

The *xerîk bûn* periphrastic progressive is formed in with two basic strategies. The first consists of the adjective *xerîk* 'busy' to an infinitival form of the verb followed by the copula, which carries TAM and agent agreement, e.g., (6a), (6b), (6c), and (6d). Note that the Kerkûk form shows the order of the ezafe construction without an overt formative. It is unclear whether this is a mistake in the transcription or a feature or the idiolect captured in the Manchester corpus Matras et al. (2016). These examples only differ in the way the direct object of the verb is connected to the infinitive. In G Pawe, the noun precedes the verb forming a compound form *kitêw-ewewaney* 'book-reading'. In K Urmia[21] and K Merîwan, the direct object connects to the verb through an ezafe construction.

(6) a. *kuř-e* *wuçkle-ke* *xerîk-û* *kitêw-ewewaney=en*
boy-EZ.DEF small-DEF.SG.M busy-EZ.GEN book-read.INF=COP.3SG.M
'The small boy is reading books'. (G Pawe, my field notes)

b. *kurr-e* *çikoł -eke* *xerîç-î* *xwêndinewê* *kitêb=e*
boy-EZ.DEF small-DEF.SG.M busy-EZ.GEN read.INF-EZ book=COP.3SG
'The small boy is reading books'. (K Urmia, Matras et al. 2016)

21 Note that this example from the Manchester database represents a Mukriyanî variety of Central Kurdish, not the indigenous Northern Kurdish variety of Urmia. This is one of several problems with the Manchester database caused by the participation of recent immigrants in the surveys.

c. *kiç-e* *biçûk-eke* *xerîk-î* *xwendinewe-y* *kitêb =e*
girl-EZ.DEF small-DEF.SG.M busy-EZ.GEN read.INF-EZ book =COP.3SG.M
'The small girl is reading books'. (K Merîwan, Matras et al. 2016)

d. *jin-eke* *xerîç* (!xerîk-î)} *sirrînew(e)* *mêz-ekan=î*
woman-DEF.SG busy-EZ polish.INF table-DEF-3SG.POS
bû *be* *dirêjayî* *paşnîwerro*
COP.PST.3SG with length afternoon
'The woman was wiping her tables long into the afternoon'. (K Kerkûk, Matras et al. 2016)

The second strategy is for the adjective *xerîk* to be followed by the copula, which carries TAM and agent agreement and full VP consisting of a finite verbal form, e.g., (7b) and (7a). According to my informant HŞ., this strategy is equally acceptable in Paweyane, e.g., (7c).

(7) a. *kur-e* *çikol-eke* *xerîk=e* *kitêb* *de-xwên-êt-ewe*
boy.EZ.DEF small-DEF.SG.M busy=COP.3SG.M book IPFV-read.NPST-3SG-PV
'The small boy is reading books'. (K Kamyaran, Matras et al. 2016)

b. *kiç-e* *biçuk-eke* *xerik=e* *ktêb a* *xwên-êt-ewe*
girl-EZ.DEF small-DEF.SG busy=COP.3SG book IPFV-read.NPST-3SG-PV
'The small girl is reading books'. (K Seqiz, Matras et al. 2016)

c. *kuř-e* *wuçkle-ke* *xerîk=en* *kitêw* *mu-wan-o-we*
boy-EZ.DEF small-DEF.SG.M busy=COP.3SG.M book IPFV-read.NPST-3SG-PV
'The small boy is reading books'. (G Pawe, my field notes)

The emergence of the *xerîk bûn* construction in Gorani/Hewramî varieties seems to be a later innovation on the core Hewramî reduplicated progressive construction. The progressive aspect occupies a subsection of the imperfective domain. As such, the main verb is in either the non-past (imperfective) or the past imperfective. Either of these forms is preceded by a reduplicant consisting of the non-past stem (also the root of the past imperfective) plus the marker *-ay*, which is phonologically identical with the infinitive suffix *-ay*, albeit attaching to a different stem. In the non-past progressive construction, the imperfective prefix *mi-* is added to both the finite verb and the reduplicant, as in (8a). The past imperfective in (8b) neither shows this marker on the stem nor the reduplicant. Finally, as seen in (8c), the core Hewramî variety of Hewreman Taxt can combine the *xerîk bûn* construction with the inherited reduplicated progressive.

(8) a. *mi-ðiā́y=mi-ðié-w*
IPFV-PROG=IPFV-see.NPST-1SG
'I am looking' (MacKenzie 1966: 50)
b. *diāý=ðiéń-ê*
PROG=see.PST.IPFV-1SG
'I was looking' (MacKenzie 1966: 50)
c. *xerîk=en-a* *Weray=werû*
busy=COP- 1SG PROG=see.NPST-1SG
'I am eating' (Text, field notes of Masoud Mohammadirad)

The most common strategy among the Kurdish varieties in the Manchester corpus for forming the emergent periphrastic progressive is with a locative construction. This takes several forms reflecting the following examples. In the Central Kurdish variety of Sleymanî (9a), the locative circumposition *le* NP=*a* 'in NP' surrounds the infinitive form of the verb followed by the copula with tense and person-number marking. The same construction is also used in the Central Kurdish variety of Oshnaviyeh (9b), featuring the locative circumposition *de* NP *=da* 'in NP' and the copula *(y)e* 'he is'. However, this construction differs from K Sleymanî by the inclusion of the form *ḥali kiye* 'the state that,' rendering the periphrasis as 'he is in the state of reading books' instead of 'he is in the reading of books'.

(9) a. *le řoyştin=a=în*
in go.INF=IN=COP.1PL
'I am going'. (K Sleymanî, McCarus 2009: 619)
b. *mindał-e* *çuk-e* *de* *ḥał*i *kiye* *xwêndinewe-y* *kitêb =da=ye*
child-EZ.DEF small-DEF in state which read.INF-EZ book =in=COP.3SG
'The small child is reading books'. (K Oshnaviyeh, Matras et al. 2016)

The emergence of innovative, progressive marking in languages that feature only a single form for the entire imperfective domain is so typologically common that it has been known to occur many times throughout the history of a language. Deo (2015) has referred to this as a semantically motivated cline. Because of this motivation, it is nearly impossible to say that these constructions did not arise independently in each of these varieties. Likewise, it is impossible to determine directionality as the formatives used in each of these constructions were available in all the languages. The emergence of the *xerîk bûn* construction is merely one case of an innovative feature being shared on both the Kurdish and Gorani branches of Iranian.

2.2.7 Applicatives

Another innovative feature of verbal morphology that seems to be shared between the Kurdish and Hewramî cores is the existence of applicatives (in the terms of Karim & Salehi 2022).[22] Although this is a feature shared by both groups, a complete study of this phenomenon has never been attempted for Hewramî. Very little is known about their position in the verbal hierarchy, whether they are stress-attracting formatives, their semantic opacity, or their adpositional status. Additionally, the phenomenon has either developed independently with varying combinatoric properties across time and space in the Iranian world, or they have been inherited from the Middle Iranian ancestors of many modern Iranian languages, e.g., "place-holder constructions" in Middle Persian (MacKenzie 1964; Jügel 2016) and Tat (Suleymanov 2020), and "absolute prepositions" in Laki-KermanşahÎ, Khansari, Meymei, Abuzeydabadi, Badrudi, Nikabad-Jondun, Naeini, Yazdi (Zoroastrian), Sivandi, Koroshi, Davani, Nodani, Behbahani, Dashti, Delvari, Lari, Bastaki, Bandari, and Minabi (Mohammadirad 2020).

According to Karim (in-press), Kurdish applicatives (under the area studies designation "Absolute Prepositions") are a set of verbal formatives, like preverbs, that attach to a verb, deriving a new form that encodes an additional oblique argument in the verbal morphology. This applied phrase can only be in the form of an indexed argument and not an overt nominal object(a common feature of some applicative systems, e.g., locative applicatives in Bukusu, Peterson 2007: 12–14). As the similarities of the systems have not been fully explored, I limit this discussion to point out two basic points: (1) applicatives exist in both groups, and (2) they are not identical.

In Hewramî Lihon, the applicative can attach to the beginning of the verbal complex as in (10a). The applicative çené} attaches to *ne*-sa-ymẽ telling us that the first-person plural oblique argument *ymê* is to be interpreted as an ablative, i.e., 'from me'. In (10b), the same construction in Kurdish is felicitous with the same meaning.

22 The term applicative was applied to these formations by Karim & Salehi (2022) due to their syntactic, semantic, morphological, and phonological properties. However, the term typically used in the Kurdish linguistic literature has been "Absolute Preposition". This term is based on the fact that some (but not all) of these formatives have adpositional etyma. It has been employed despite the fact that they are not prepositions but rather part of the verbal system.

(10) a. *î zemîn=e=tá* *çené=ne-sa-ymẽ*
DEM.PROX land=DEM=2PL.A ABL.APP=NEG-buyPST-1PL.O_{APP}
'You did not buy this land from us'. (MacKenzie 1966: 53)
b. *em zewî=ye=tan* *lê=ne-křî-în*
DEM.PROX land=DEM=2PL.A ABL.APP=NEG-buyPST-1PL.O_{APP}
'You did not buy this land from us'.

In contrast, the Hewramî Lihon sentence in (11a) shows the applicative *pené*, which follows the verb, indicating that the second-person singular oblique argument *-î* should be interpreted as dative. However, in Kurdish (11b), a post-posed form is not allowed while maintaining agreement on the verb. The corresponding construction in Kurdish requires the applicative *pê* to precede the verb to assign a case relation to the indexed noun as in (11c). A post-posed position is possible for full prepositional phrases formed by an adpositional form and its complement (11d).

(11) a. *né-wat-î=m=pené*
NEG-SAY.PST-2SG.O_{APP}=1SG.A=DAT.APP
'Did I not say to you?' (MacKenzie 1966: 53)
b. **ne=m-wut-î=pê*
NEG=1SG.A-say.PST-2SG.O_{APP}=DAT.APP
c. *pê=m=ne-wut-î*
DAT.APP=1SG.A=NEG-say.PST-2SG.O_{APP}
'Did I not say to you?'
d. *ne=m-wut pê=t* / *be to*
NEG=1SG.A-say.PST to=2SG / to you
'Did I not say to you?'

The inexact parallels between these constructions necessitate that a comparative study be conducted. It is an open question whether these are pattern borrowing, mutual inheritance, or if they feature the same etyma.

3 Conclusion

There are many features shared between the Kurdish and Gorani branches of Iranian. The question of whether these convergences are due to contact phenomena, mutual inheritance, or, as MacKenzie (1961) suggested, substratum effects is not so clear from the data alone. This is in line with Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) claim that it is difficult to prove a substratum hypothesis without corroborating

socio-historic evidence (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 111). See Leezenberg (1993) for more on the substratum hypothesis. This chapter has focused on the long-known and recently-proposed convergences and what we know about them. Many of the convergences that MacKenzie (1961) proposed can now be said to certainly be the result of mutual inheritance. However, there are many more that seem to be innovative regional features shared across branches. Among these, there are just a few that can be said to have originated in one branch and spread to another. They are summarized in Table 6. Recall that the four examples of Kurdish forms in Gorani are only in the Gorani variety of Gawraju (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012).

Table 6: Inheritance and Innovation in the Kurdish Zone.

	Inheritance	K in G	G in K	Unclear
Definite Ezafe	✓			
Synthetic Passive	✓			
k-definiteness marker	✓			
Unique Past-imperfective stem	✓			
Imperfective symmetry		✓		
1SG *-im*		✓		
3SG *-ê*		✓		
3PL *-in*		✓		
m-imperfective			✓	
ni-negative			✓	
Postpositive Preverbs			✓	
Applicative Constructions				✓
Directional Particle				✓
xerîk bûn Progressive				✓

The definite ezafe (MacKenzie's (1966) open-compound construction), where the ezafe is reduced on the head noun when the adjectival modifier is marked with a definite suffix, is likely inherited and not an example of convergence. This is based on the existence of the definite ezafe in languages across the Iranian world, including Luri and Colloquial New Persian in addition to Kurdish and Hewramî. As Leezenberg (1993) points out, the synthetic passive is also likely inherited, with the Kurdish *-ra* marker extended from the combination of the inherited *-ya* marker with the old non-past form of the verb *kirdin* 'to do' *ker-. Finally, the *k*-form definite suffixes are a widespread Iranian feature that may even be reconstructible for Kurmancî (Northern Kurdish) and Zazaki (following Karim 2021). The absence of this marker from Kurmancî was MacKenzie's (1961) impetus for suggesting that this was an example of Gorani's influence on "Southern" (i.e., Central) Kurdish. I consider the use of a unique imperfective stem as a Gorani feature. That being said,

the Southern Kurdish imperfective stem is likely an inherited feature of Kurdish shared between all subgroups of Southern Kurdish with potential remnants in Northern and Central Kurdish. I propose that, following Karim (2020), the preservation of this as opposed to leveling in favor of the more transparent combination of imperfective prefix and past stem was likely reinforced by the Hewramî system.

The clear examples of Kurdish forms in Gorani come from the variety of Gawraju (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012). Various aspects of the verbal system have been borrowed from Kurdish. This includes a past imperfective built on the non-past-imperfective prefix *me-* and the perfective past-tense stem. In addition to this, some of the Gorani affix person markers have been replaced with the Kurdish equivalents, e.g., the Gorani first-person singular non-past *-û* and the past *-a(n)* were replaced with the Kurdish *-(i)m*. The third-person singular non-past *-o* was replaced by the Kurdish *-ê* in some environments, and the third-person plural non-past *-a(n)* and past *-ê* were replaced by the Kurdish *-(i)n*. The number of convergences with Kurdish in this variety points to the likely hood that this is not a mere coincidence.

Gorani forms in Kurdish seem not to be confined to just a few varieties. The use of the *m*-form imperfective marker, in addition to the inherited Kurdish prefix (and suffix), is a feature of the Southern Kurdish referred to as Laki-KermanşahÎ. The use of the *ni-* negative only when occurring before an imperfective prefix is another feature that separates the Northern varieties of Southern Kurdish lacking *ni-*, e.g., Dinawar, Bilawâr, Sahana, Kolyâi, Qorwa, Kirind, and Bayray, from Laki-KermanşahÎ and all other Southern Kurdish varieties, e.g., Bijâr, Xanaqîn, Malikşahî, Myexas, îlam, Mihran, Rîka (Serne), Saleh abad, Wermizyar, Zurbatiye, Kordelî, Kał hor (Shahabad), Çemçemał, Heresem, Kirmanşah, Qesri Şîrîn, Sanjabi, Xałêse, Erkwazî, Duşeyx, Îwan, Keprat, Mendilî, Serpol, and Şerwan. Finally, it is not necessarily clear whether *ewe* has the same motivation in Kurdish. Rather, *ewe* may be related to the ambifixial preverbs of Hewramî *ene*, *ewe*, and *ere*. In Hewramî, their position is morpho-phonologically conditioned. It is telling that the postpositive preverb of Kurdish *ewe* is the only vowel initial preverb in Central Kurdish (< PIr. *apa ‘away’). Other preverbs with the same phonological shape lost their initial vowels, e.g., the *we-* in *westan* ‘to stop’ (< PIr. *awa + *stā ‘to stand’), leading me to count it among Gorani patterns in Kurdish.

There are several convergences that are not clearly inherited or loans from Kurdish to Gorani or vice versa. The Applicative forms are not well enough understood to decide if they are independent innovations “cooking with the same ingredients,” inheritance from a common ancestor, or a borrowed pattern. The directional particle is a typically Kurdish feature that shows up in the Gorani variety of Gawraju. This variety has many pattern borrowings from Kurdish, especially in the verbal domain. As such, it is not a stretch to conclude that this has come into the language from Kurdish. However, the phonological post-vocalic lenition of *b* and

syntactic position of "post-predicate goals" ensures that the conditioning environment for the development of the directional particle is available synchronically in G Gawraju. Additionally, this particle may be emerging in other Gorani varieties in recent times. Finally, the periphrastic progressive *xerîk bûn* is certainly a regional feature. However, this type of development is very common and the formatives are readily available in all the regional languages. As such, it is impossible to say for certain where it originated or how it spread.

In this chapter, I ignored most convergences in the nominal system, except where suggested by MacKenzie (1961) and discussed by Leezenberg (1993). There are likely more examples of convergence between these languages. As we learn more about the etyma of forms in these languages and the quality of documentation of Iranian languages increases, many new convergences will become apparent.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent
COP	copula
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIR	direct case
DIST	distal
EZ	construct state (ezafe)
F	feminine
IMP	imperative
INDF	indefinite
IPFV	imperfective
INF	infinitive
M	masculine
NEG	negative
NPST	non-past tense
OBL	oblique case
P	patient
PL	plural
PRF	perfect tense
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal
PST	past tense

PTCP participle
SG singular
SUB subjunctive mood.

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IV Related languages

Mohammad Rasekh-Mahand

7 The Laki of the Ahl-e Haqq community in Češin: Some morphosyntactic features

Abstract: This paper introduces one Laki vernacular, spoken in a small village near Hamedān named Češin, surrounded by Persian- and Turkish-speaking communities. This community has two outstanding features: first, they are followers of the Ahl-e Haqq creed in a Shi'a-dominated region, and they have kept their native language, Laki. Laki and its varieties are among the lesser-studied languages spoken in western Iran. Moreover, their relationship to the Kurdish language group is controversial: some consider it a language of its own, others classify it within the Kurdish language group, and others consider it a transitional variety between Kurdish and Luri. This study is based on natural data gathered through fieldwork. I have described some of the morphological features of nominals in this variety: definiteness, plurality, Ezafe construction, demonstrative =*a*, and personal clitics. These forms are compared with two other Laki dialects, Laki Kakavandi and Laki Harsini, and Southern Kurdish dialects. Lastly, it is shown that the alignment pattern of this variety is accusative, similar to Southern Kurdish dialects. However, some of the examples suggest the presence of remnants of a tense-sensitive alignment system, particularly in the third person.

Keywords: Laki, Southern Kurdish, Clitics, Alignment, Nominal morphology

1 Introduction

This paper focuses on an understudied minority community and their language in Češin, a village near Hamedān, in the west of Iran. This community has two outstanding features, which make it an interesting case study. First, the inhabitants of Češin, also called Kišin by locals, are followers of the Ahl-e Haqq creed. Orthodox branches of Islam, both Shi'a and Sunni, regard Ahl-e Haqq beliefs as heresies (*ghuluww*). Therefore, the followers of this faith are advised to keep their beliefs and ideas as secret as possible, which, to a certain degree, hinders open encounters and inquiries to these people about religious themes. It is agreed that this sect originated as a variant of Sufism in Kurdistan and remained a popular religion among nomadic tribespeople and peasants (Mir-Hosseini 1996: 112). Then, it spread

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from Kurdistan to other parts of Iran and Iraq. Second, the Ahl-e Haqq community in Češin is unique in having kept its native tongue, while most Ahl-e Haqq believers living in other parts of Hamedān Province are now speaking Turkish or Luri. Having kept their original religion and native language, the Ahl-e Haqq community of Češin provides a chance to study their conservative religious and linguistic habits. Ethnolinguistic vitality is defined as "a group's ability to maintain and protect its existence in time as a collective entity with a distinctive identity and language" (Ehala 2015: 1). Normally, a group transmits its language and cultural practices to new generations. When a group successfully keeps its heritage, it can be considered a high-vitality group; on the other hand, low-vitality groups lack agency and are prone to assimilation. In this sense, the inhabitants of Češin can be classified as a high-vitality group.

The populace of Češin asserts that they speak Laki. Laki's status among Iranian languages is not well-defined. It is an Iranian language spoken mainly in the Zagros region of western Iran, though its area of diffusion extends to the east of Iraq. It is traditionally considered a member of the Northwestern branch of Iranian languages, along with its neighbor to the north, Kurdish. However, to the south, it neighbors Luri, a south-eastern Iranian language. The contact effects caused controversies over the status of Laki. It is considered to be a dialect of Kurdish (Lazard 1992, Fattah 2000), sometimes a transitional dialect between Kurdish and Luri (Asatrian 2009), and sometimes an independent language (Izadpanah 2012). Difficulty establishing the position of the Laki dialect continuum is partially caused by its location surrounded by Kurdish and Luri (Shahsavari 2010). Despite Lazard (1992) introducing the Laki language at the end of the 20th century, there is still no agreed-upon position on its status, and comprehensive research on the language is yet to be conducted. The existing classifications of Laki among Iranian languages are generally based on intuitions and native speakers' perceptions of their language (Anonby 2004–5: 11, Aliyari Babolghani 2019). Anonby (2004–5) argues that Laks are ethnically associated with the Luri population of Luristan, but their language, Laki, is a Northwestern Iranian language, genetically very close to Kurdish. Dabir-Moghaddam (2013: 862) also asserts that Laki is a Northwestern Iranian language. The case of Češin, as a small village surrounded by Persian and Turkish languages and preserving their vernacular (Laki), is an exceptional case that can help better understand this language and clarify its status among Iranian languages.

This religious minority group preserved its historical roots in a city whose primary religion is Shi'a Islam. Both religion and language play a pivotal role in defining their identity: Laki speakers of Češin typically define themselves as an Ahl-e Haqq community who is ethnically Lak, which shows the importance of both features in their self-identification. The main goal of this study is to describe some of the main morphosyntactic features of the Laki of Češin and compare them with

other varieties of Laki, especially the Laki of Harsin (Belelli, 2022) and Southern Kurdish. This comparison shows how this vernacular differs from other Laki variants spoken in western Iran and neighboring languages and sheds light on some contact-induced changes in this specific variety. In section 2, we introduce the Češin community, its geography, population and history. Section 3 is devoted to a discussion of the linguistic placement of Laki, its general features, and its relation to other Iranian languages, especially Southern Kurdish. A selection of morphosyntactic features of the Laki of Češin are further described in section 4 and compared with equivalents in the Laki of Harsin and Southern Kurdish, whenever possible.

2 Geography and population of Češin

The village of Češin (also called Kišin by local people) (34° 44′ 32″ N, 48° 33′ 9″ E l) is located to the south-east of Hamedān, the capital city of the homonymous Province of western Iran (Figure 1). Češin has an overall extension of 130 km2 and is surrounded by the locations of Pol-šekaste, Abaru, Enjelās, Simin, Xāku, Tafrijān, and Hamedān (Figure 2). While the primary language of Hamedān Province is Persian, the population of the villages surrounding Češin speak Turkish and Luri, besides Persian. Like other non-Persian-speaking regions of Iran, many people in this area are bi- or multilingual.

The population of Češin is about 1400 people based on the 2015 census of the Statistical Centre of Iran. It includes about 800 men and 600 women, only 70% literate. Historically, the inhabitants of Češin migrated from Kurdestān, Kermānšāh, Noorābād and Tuyserkān. They either define themselves as Laki-speaking Kurds or as Laks altogether. They also distinguish themselves from the inhabitants of the nearby village of Xāku based on the linguistic affiliation of the latter to Northern Luri. One can observe an increasing tendency among native speakers in Češin to neglect to teach Laki to younger generations.

The inhabitants try to hide their religious affiliation to preserve their cultural and religious heritage from external assimilatory pressure so that they do not talk about the fundamental differences between their creed and the official religion of Iran in the public sphere. For this reason, many ordinary people consider the Ahl-e Haqq religion as a branch of Islam. This study is based on field research since 2021, which led to 89 minutes of video recordings and audio files. Whenever needed, we addressed specific questions to our native-speaking consultants.

Figure 1: Iran's administrative provinces (ostān).

3 Linguistic situation

Notwithstanding recent attempts at a comprehensive study of the different Iranian languages spoken in the core Kurdish-speaking region (see Gündoğdu et al. 2019 for a general discussion), many varieties at this region's frontiers are still severely under-documented. There are some completely undocumented vernaculars in the western and southern borders of the Kurdish-speaking region. One of these is the Laki of Češin. Understanding the linguistic status of Laki is impossible without some background knowledge of different varieties of Kurdish, especially Southern Kurdish, spoken mainly in Kermānšāh and Ilām Provinces. Southern Kurdish varieties are not as well-studied as Northern and Central Kurdish (Haig 2008: 202, though see Fattah 2000 for dialectology of Southern Kurdish). Therefore, there is

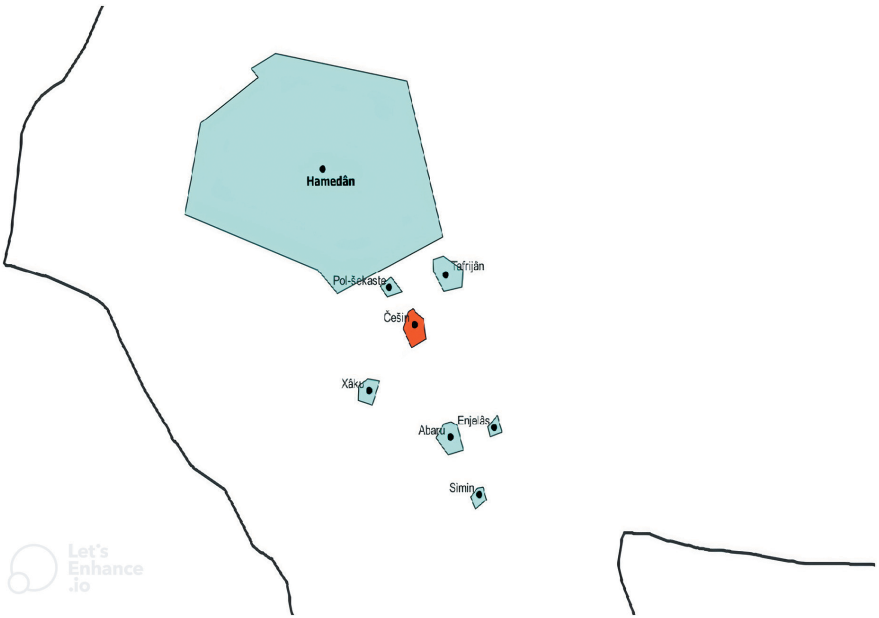

Figure 2: Geography of Češin.

no complete consensus on the different branches of Southern Kurdish. Laki's status with respect to them is also an open question.

Generally, Laki refers to the dialects spoken by Laks, an ethnic group living in the northwestern areas of historical Lorestān. Nowadays, Laki dialects are spoken in an area wedged between the Southern Kurdish and the Luri-speaking regions of western Iran. Small exclaves of Laki speakers are also found in other parts of Iran and beyond the Iraqi border (Belelli 2021: 21). Fattah (2000:4) estimates that the population of Laki speakers is around one million people, but Belelli (2021: 22) considers this figure probably overstated. Laki's genetic affiliation within the Iranian languages is disputed: as already pointed out, the language is commonly considered as a Northwestern Iranian variety constituting the southernmost cluster of the Kurdish language group (Minorsky 1943: 75; Windfuhr 1989a: 248, 1989b: 294; Blau 1989: 328, 1993: 93; Lazard 1992: 215; Schmitt 2000: 77; Fattah 2000: 55–62; Asatrian 2009: 12). Some admit that Laki is a Kurdish dialect which developed several commonalities with Northern Luri due to contact, so that it could be called a mixed language (Anonby (2004–2005). Other marginal views, such as Izady's (1992: 174–175), assert a closer affinity of Laki to Gorani/Hawrami.

Typologically, Laki has OV word order but is a tendentially head-initial language. Belelli (2021: 22–23), studying Laki of Harsin, refers to some commonalities between Laki and Kurdish varieties. For example, some shared phonological features include phonemic opposition between /l/ and /ɬ/ and /r/ and /ř/; common realization of the group *ng* as [ŋ], some shared morphological features; such as the presence of a definite marker *-a/-ka* and of an 'open compound construction,' and some lexical traits. However, Laki differs from Southern Kurdish and Luri in its alignment patterns, showing forms of ergativity in past transitive verbs. Belelli (2021: 23) emphasizes that "mutual intelligibility between Laki and most SK varieties is possible, although it may require a certain degree of effort and acclimatization, especially on the part of SK speakers." Laki also has different dialects, although little is known about its internal variation. Belelli's (2021) study of the Laki of Harsin provided a reliable base to study other Laki varieties and to compare them. In this paper, we compare some of the morphosyntactic traits of the Laki of Češin with those of the Laki of Harsin to highlight aspects of internal variation found in the Laki dialect group.

4 Some morphosyntactic features

This paragraph describes some of the morphosyntactic features of the Laki of Češin in the nominal domain (4.1) and its alignment patterns in (4.2).

4.1 Nominal morphology

The morphosyntactic features typically marked on Laki nouns are number (singular/plural) and definiteness. Some other markers may occur on nouns, e.g., the Ezafe marker. In this section, we discuss (in)definiteness, plural marking, the Ezafe construction, the demonstrative particle *=a*, and personal clitics.

Definite and indefinite markers. In the Laki of Češin, the definite marker is the stressed suffix *-a*, which attaches to nouns and noun phrases. It marks the nominals whose referents are recoverable in discourse or identifiable by the hearer (1). When the NP refers to a generic noun, the definite marker is absent (2):

(1) *gerdu-a* *hard=i*
walnut-DEF eat.PST=3SG
'He ate the walnut.'

(2) *gerdu* *hard=i*
walnut eat.PST=3SG
'He ate walnuts.'

This Laki suffix is one of the variants of K-suffixes existing in Iranian languages (Nourzaei 2021, 2022; Haig and Mohammadirad 2019; Haig 2019; see Taghipour 2021 for a different analysis), which were initially used as an evaluative, traditionally called diminutive, marker. Its variants, among which *–(a)ka, -ok, -ek, -e*, are used in Kurdish, Luri, Persian, and some Iranian languages to mark definiteness. The equivalent form used in colloquial Persian is *-e* (Rasekh-Mahand 2010; Nourzaei 2022); however, in some parts of Hamedān, the *-a* variant is also used (Karim 2021: 95; Rasekh-Mahand & Saburi 2022).

In the Laki of Češin, the *–(a)ka* variant appears in nouns ending in /ā/, such as *dā-ka* 'mother-DEF.' However, in our data, the *–(a)ka* variant is also used as a kind of demarcative suffix. Fattah (2000: 259) observes that its presence is particularly frequent when certain kinds of kinship relations are implied. However, in this usage, they are very similar to vocative markers since they appear after the noun being used as a term of address:

(3) *berā-ka=m*
brother-VOC=1SG
'My brother!'

(4) *koř-aka=m*
son-VOC=1SG
'My son!'

Belelli (2019: 86) asserts that *-aka/-aga* and *-a* are the two allomorphs marking definiteness in Southern Kurdish varieties. Fattah (2000: 246) argues that towards the north, the varieties use exclusively *-aka, -aga*, and the varieties in the southern part favor *-a*. Other Southern Kurdish vernaculars allow variation between these two forms. Based on this analysis, the Laki of Češin is similar to southern vernaculars of Southern Kurdish.

The indefinite noun phrases in New Western Iranian languages could have specific and indefinite interpretations (Karim 2021: 91). These languages have an indefinite marker. The Laki of Češin is among Iranian languages that have two types of indefinite markers: *yak* (< **aika*) and *ew* (< **aiwa*). In this respect, it is similar to New Persian and Hawrami, which have a hybrid system consisting of both *yak* and *ew*. In (5), both of these markers are used:

(5) *ye* *det-ī* *der-em* *o* *ye koř-ī*
one daughter-INDF have-1SG and one son-INDF
'I have a daughter and a son.'

The unstressed indefinite suffix *-ī* alone also marks indefiniteness, as in (6):

(6) *e* *māł* *det-ī* *hāt*
from house girl-INDF came.3SG
'A girl came out of a house.'

If a modifier follows an indefinite noun, the indefinite suffix attaches after the modifier as in (7):

(7) *māł* *xās-ī*
house good-INDF
'a good house.'

The indefinite markers in the Laki of Češin are identical to those in the Laki of Harsin (Belelli 2021: 77).

Plurality. The definite plural marker in the Laki of Češin is the suffix *-ela*, bearing stress on the definite component -a. This is a definite plural marker combining PL -al and the definite marker -a, with a regular reduction of the unstressed /a/ of the plural suffix bordering a stressed syllable. It marks countable nouns but does not appear on mass nouns.

(8) *koř-ela* *har* *siyān* *žen* *san-en=a*
boy-DEF.PL all three wife take-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG
'All of the three boys got married. (Lit.: took a wife.)'

(9) *dār* / *dār-ela*
tree / tree-DEF.PL
tree(s) / the trees

(10) *ku* / *ku-ela*
mountain / mountain-DEF.PL
mountain(s) / the mountains

When the plural marker appears after /a/ and /ā/, it is further reduced to *-la* (11, 12):

(11) *ča / ča-la*
well / well-DEF.PL
well(s) / the wells

(12) *nana / nana-la*
mother / mother-DEF. PL
'mother(s)' / 'the mothers'

The plural suffix in Laki of *Češin* is very similar to Southern Kurdish dialects, while in Northern and Central Kurdish dialects, it is normally *-ān* (Belelli 2021: 80).

Ezafe construction. In Ezafe construction in many Iranian languages, various modifiers can be linked with the head noun, most often with an Ezafe particle, /e/ or /i/. However, Fattah (2000: 261–5) observes inconsistent use of the Ezafe particle in Southern Kurdish dialects. Belelli (2021: 83) argues that while in the Laki of Harsin, the two elements in the Ezafe construction can be simply juxtaposed, some traces of using the Ezafe particle are observed. She nonetheless observes that juxtaposition is the dominant tendency in this dialect.

Our data from the Laki of Češin shows that the speakers do not use the Ezafe particle, and they simply juxtapose the head and dependent element:

(13) *māšin barā-k=am berd-en*
car brother-DEF-1SG steal.PST-3SG
'They stole my brother's car.'

(14) *kor gujer=am*
boy last=1SG
'My last son.'

(15) *nāma Ali xān-em*
letter Ali read-1SG
'I read Ali's letter.'

(16) *dam dar-a hāt*
Beside door-DEF sleep.PST.3SG
'He slept beside the door.'

(17) *nana Ahmad merd*
Mother Ahmad die.PST.3SG
'Ahmad's mother died.'

Demonstrative particle =*a*. In the Laki of Češin, like in other Kurdish varieties, an unstressed particle =*a* attaches to the end of a noun or noun phrase determined by a demonstrative adjective (Belelli 2021: 87):

(18) *a* *boy=a*
that bride=DP
'That bride'

(19) *i* *daftar=a*
this notebook=DP
'This notebook'

(20) *i* *žen=a* *hat*
This woman=DP come.PST.3SG
'This woman came.'

The demonstrative particle follows a plural marker:

(21) *a* *gol-el=a*
That flower-PL=DP
'Those flowers.'

When following a complex noun phrase, the demonstrative particle appears in the final position after the dependent word/modifier:

(22) *i* *kor* *lař=a*
this boy slim=DP
'This slim boy.'

Clitics/ bound personal pronouns. The free and bound personal pronouns of Laki of Češin are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Free and bound personal pronouns.

	Singular		Plural	
	Free	**bound**	**free**	**Bound**
1	*me(n)*	*=m*	*Ima*	*=mān*
2	*to(n)*	*=it*	*homa*	*=tān*
3	*ow*	*=ē / =ey*	*awāna*	*=yān*

These bound personal pronouns correspond to the pronominal clitics attested in the Laki of Harsin (Belelli 2021: 96). Mohammadirad (2020: 379) lists the personal clitics in Kakavandi Laki, in which the 3SG clitic is only *=ē*. The clitics in the Laki of Češin have different functions and occur in different distributions: they function as adnominal possessor, object marker, adpositional complement, and indirect participant in very few clauses. However, they are not used as A-past markers as in related languages showing forms of Tense-based Split Alignment (Haig 2008, Gholami 2018, Mohammadirad 2020). Notably, they are used as A-past markers in Kakavandi Laki of Kakavandi, which show tense-sensitive alignment (Mohammadirad 2020: 377) but do not play this function in Laki of Harsini (Belleli 2021).

They are used as possessors in possessive construction:

(23) *nana=m* 'my mother'
bow=at 'your father'
māl=ey 'your room'
dit=mān 'our daughter'
māl=tān 'your (PL) room'
qāliya=tān 'their carpet'

In the following examples, the clitics are used as adpositional complements:

(24) *ča* *an=tān* *bar-am*
what for=3PL bring-1SG
'What should I bring for you?'

(25) *ajen=ē* *be-pors*
from=3SG IMP-ask
'Ask from him.'

(26) *vagar=et* *šuxi* *kerd-em*
with=2SG fun do.PST-1SG
'I made fun of you.'

Clitics may mark an indirect participant (Haig 2008) or subject-like argument (Mohammadirad 2020: 379) in some sentences involving verbs of necessity and wanting, liking (as in 27 below), and non-controlled internal physical and emotional states:

(27) *e* *māl-a=tān* *xoš=em* *hat*
from house-DEF=3PL like=1PL come.PST.3SG
'I liked your house.'

In this sentence, the 1SG clitic *=em* marks the experiencer of the sentence, while the verb is in the 3SG form. Belelli (2021: 100) reports that clitics can also mark an indirect participant, such as a benefactive or experiencer, in more or less fixed expressions that describe physical or mental states in the Laki of Harsin.

In the periphrastic verb construction in (28), the clitic referring to the experiencer is introduced by a preposition:

(28) *hers* *ben=et* *gert=i*
anger to=2SG take.PST=3SG
'He became angry.' (Lit: Anger took over me.)

The last function of pronominal clitics is to indicate direct objects. This feature is common in various Iranian languages (Rasekh-Mahand 2014, Haig 2018, Mohammadirad 2020). In Laki, spoken in Češin, pronominal clitics mark direct objects, regardless of whether they are explicitly expressed as noun phrases. It is noteworthy, however, that these clitics do not represent fully developed object agreement markers, primarily because their usage is not mandatory.

(29) xerř-m=ē
buy.PST-1SG=3SG
'I bought it.'

A notable characteristic of object-marking clitics in the Laki language of Češin is that the clitic attaches to a dummy preposition in most cases where object indexing occurs. As reported by Mohammadirad (2020: 558), this type of dummy preposition, lacking any inherent meaning, has also emerged as a host for clitics in the Bandari language. This phenomenon highlights the influence of language contact and the potential for similar linguistic features to arise in unrelated languages through contact-induced change. In the following examples, the Laki preposition *ben* (glossed as PREP) is a dummy preposition acting as a host for object clitics:

(30) *ben=et* *di-m*
PREP=2SG see.PST-1SG
'I saw you.'

(31) *di-m* *ben=etān*
see.PST-1SG PREP=3SG
'I saw you (PL).'

(32) *ona* *ben=em* *xeri-n*
they prep=1SG buy.PST-3PL
'They bought me (something).'

This is an example of an independent development, apparently not observed in the Laki of Harsin or other Laki dialects in the region.

4.2 Alignment

Haig (2017) argues that one of the typological features of some Iranian languages is that they show a tense-based alignment split affecting the conjugation of transitive verbs in the past. However, differently from other Kurdish varieties, Southern Kurdish dialects are characterized by a straightforward accusative alignment throughout their verbal system. The core arguments (Subject, Agent, and Object) are morphologically unmarked. The Agent/Subject of any verb, irrespective of transitivity and tense, is normally cross-referenced via an agreement suffix on the verb, ultimately deriving from the set of bound pronouns reanalyzed as agreement markers (Belelli 2021: 17). However, Fattah (2000: 61–2) argues that Laki differs from both its neighbors, i.e., Southern Kurdish and Luri, in its alignment patterns. Laki shows forms of ergativity in the conjugation of past transitive verbs. The past-tense Agent is cross-referenced via personal clitics, much like Central Kurdish. Mohammadirad (2020: 377) also reports that Kakvandi Laki shows tense-sensitive alignment. He also observes that the agreement pattern in the dialects, which he terms 'proper Laki,' based on data from Kakavandi and Aleshtari Laki, is nominative-accusative in the present tense, but ergative-like in past-based tenses. He further notes that these Laki varieties differ from transitional, mixed Laki dialects in the northern periphery (like the Laki of Harsin), which have lost tense-sensitive alignment due to contact with different dialects of Southern Kurdish. Fattah (2000) reports that all Laki-Kermānshāhi dialects differ from 'proper Laki' in using certain verbal endings and in showing accusative alignment. "This feature has been taken by Fattah (2000) as the primary isogloss distinguishing Southern Kurdish varieties from Laki, as well as the main reason for including Harsini and related Laki-Kermānshāhi vernaculars within the SK dialect group" (Belelli 2021: 31). This quote means that Southern Kurdish varieties do not show tense-sensitive alignment and a variety like Harsini, in this feature, groups with these dialects.

Our data from Laki of Češin show that this dialect does not show tense-sensitive alignment consistently. Even in past transitive constructions, it uses a nominative-accusative pattern with personal affixes on the verb. The affixes which appear after consonant-final stems are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Personal endings.

	Singular	**Plural**
1	*-em*	*-imin*
2	*-in*	*-inān*
3	*-ē* (present) *-e* (present of 'go') *-ø* (past)	*-en*

The following examples show the use of the personal endings in accusative alignment patterns with a Present intransitive verb (33), a Past intransitive verb (34), a Present transitive verb (35), and a Past transitive verb (36):

(33) *me* *ma-č-em*
I IND-go-1SG
'I go.'

(34) *me* *či-m*
I go.PST-1SG
'I went.'

(35) me Ali=a m-in-em
I Ali=IND IND-see.PRS-1SG
'I see Ali.'

(36) me Ali di-m
I Ali see.PST-1SG
'I saw Ali.'

Using an accusative pattern throughout the verbal system bundles the Laki of Češin with the Southern Kurdish group. However, some of the examples provided earlier (such as 1, 2, and 8) suggest the presence of remnants of tense-sensitive alignment in the third person. This means that the choice of verb form in these examples is influenced by the tense of the sentence, which is a characteristic of tense-sensitive alignment. While it appears that tense-sensitive alignment is not a fully developed

feature of the Laki language, the examples suggest that it may have had some influence on the language's grammar in the past.

This manuscript serves as a concise introduction to the Laki of Češin, a language variety spoken by a small community outside the core region commonly referred to as Lakestān. This work aims to describe distinctive morphosyntactic features of nominals and alignment patterns in this specific Laki variety while highlighting any similarities or differences with other varieties of Laki and Southern Kurdish. Through this analysis, a more comprehensive understanding of language diversity in the region may be achieved, particularly regarding Laki varieties that have been insufficiently studied and comprise an understudied language cluster.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
COP	copula
DEF	definite
DP	demonstrative postposition
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
PREP	preposition
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
SG	singular
VOC	vocative

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8 Problems in Zazakî nomenclature

Abstract: This chapter investigates the complex issue of Zazakî nomenclature within Kurdish linguistics, critiquing the ambiguous use of 'Kurdish' and advocating for a more accurate and sensitive approach to language naming and classification. It combines an analysis of Zazakî speakers' emic perspectives, historical and external viewpoints, and the scientific community's understanding, highlighting the tendency of linguists to adopt established names without fully considering their sociocultural and historical implications. As a solution, the chapter proposes integrating indigenous insights and ethical research practices to redefine linguistic labels. This approach aims to recognize the historical, cultural, and emotional significance of these labels to speaker communities, thereby promoting a more inclusive methodology in the categorization and identification of languages like Zazakî.

Keywords: Zazaki, Kurdish, Endonyms, Language Naming, Classification

1 Introduction

Linguists who study Kurdish languages encounter a common conundrum: to which specific language are they actually referring when they utilize the term Kurdish? The reason for this confusion lies, of course, in the fact that multiple related, yet distinct varieties and speaker communities exist under the designation Kurdish. Additionally, another obstacle pertains to the inconsistent and ambiguous usage of the term itself, particularly in the case of Zazakî and Hawramî. Various actors of different time periods have adopted differing positions regarding the Kurdishness of these languages. Although there have been several attempts to define Kurdish, both linguistically and extralinguistically, e.g., Haig & Öpengin (2014), Scalbert-Yücel (2006), or Fattah (2000) to name a few, there is still no widely accepted consensus among scholars and the Kurdish people. While it has become conventional in Western literature to employ Kurdish linguistically to denote merely the three varieties of Northern Kurdish (Kurmancî), Central Kurdish (Soranî), and Southern

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Kurdish, the term is additionally used to refer to speakers of Zazakî and Hawramî (Goranî)[1] both by native speakers and in sources outside of linguistics. Given the heterogeneous and multilayered complexity of the matter, not only does this paper abstain from seeking a universal definition of 'Kurdish' and 'Kurds,' but it also acknowledges that the prerogative to delineate glossonyms and ethnonyms ultimately resides with the respective indigenous populations. One might think that it is a futile endeavor to begin with since discussions about names and definitions have long since left the academic domain. However, it is precisely because of the ambiguous and inconsistent usage of the term 'Kurdish' that today's nomenclature needs improvement. Consequently, this study aims to promote a more sensitive and accurate approach to language naming, aspiring to impart a more nuanced understanding of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Kurdish people through an examination of the naming traditions of Zazakî and its speakers.

Disputes concerning names are not a new phenomenon, nor limited to the Kurdish people. There are prominent examples around the world in which multiple stakeholders claim a name or where a designation is dependent on the interpretation of any party involved – one just has to follow the discussions about definitions and identity politics concerning the designations Macedonian, Arab, Iranian, Turk, and many more. The term Kurd has had its fair share of dissection in academic research as well, a circumstance partly attributable to the heterogeneous nature of the Kurdish people, foremost in religion, customs, and language. Early scholars did not pay much attention to naming conventions and emic sentiments during linguistic documentation, contributing to the present-day ambiguity. However, naming practices are more than a mere scientific exercise in taxonomy. Naming does not happen in a vacuum, nor does it stay contained within the scientific community. On the contrary, it is often scientific research that shapes naming processes and solidifies power structures (Vaughan, Singer & Garde 2023: 84–86), mostly without consulting the local population, thus – knowingly or unknowingly – making academics anything but a neutral descriptive force.

While there has been considerable debate on language revitalization, language rights, and language identity, language naming practices, albeit crucial, have only recently come into the focus of linguistics, with notable contributions by Léglise & Migge (2006) and Vaughan, Singer & Garde (2023) to the growing body of literature.[2] The same is true for Kurdish Studies. Understandably, academic focus has

1 The term *Goranî* has notably been used ambiguously, as it has been applied to both Southern Kurdish and Hawramî, thereby sparking ongoing debates, see Gholami (this volume).

2 For instance, language naming has been explored within the context of language mapping and perceptional dialectology (Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila 2001), folk linguistics (Albury 2017), and minority languages (Bradley 2019).

largely been on language policy (Zeydanlıoğlu 2012, Haig 2004) and language shift (Leinonen 2022, Çağlayan 2014), whereas language naming practices were often treated in passing. The main point in linguistic discussion has revolved around categorization, i.e., whether Zazakî or Hawramî should be classified as Kurdish dialects or separate languages (Haig & Öpengin 2014, Paul 2002 among others). However, this debate overlooks a crucial aspect: even if all these varieties were to be categorized as separate languages by any criteria or list of isoglosses, who ultimately has the authority over the terminological ownership of the designation 'Kurdish'? If the term Kurdish, a broad sociocultural term by nature, is being used by linguists to exclusively refer to a few select varieties without consulting the native population, it risks denying the other varieties their status as being a legitimate part of the broader Kurdish nation and undermines the recognition of Kurds as a diverse ethnic group with linguistic and cultural heterogeneity, which is an essential part of their group-identity.

Inevitably, the question of who owns Kurdish must be analyzed within the framework of decolonization[3] and indigenous rights. Throughout history, colonialist ideologies have played a significant role in shaping how non-Kurds perceive and describe the various tribes, regions, and languages of Kurdistan. The impact of Western Orientalism cannot be overlooked in this process, as it largely influenced research methods utilized to conduct various linguistic and anthropological studies (cf. Houston 2009 and Blommaert & Verschueren 1998). The heterogeneous nature of Kurdish languages was often incommensurate with the established ideas of clearly defined ethnic groups. As such, labels were assigned with scant regard for how speakers identify themselves or construct their individual identities vis-à-vis others around them. This arbitrary classification system inevitably resulted in the exclusion of certain languages spoken by Kurds – such as Zazakî – from recognition due solely to external observers' preconceived notions about what constitutes 'Kurdish' or an ethnic group per se.

In order to examine and reevaluate the existing nomenclature, this chapter will first introduce the emic perspective of Zazakî speakers, exploring how Zazas name their language, the social dynamics that shape various endonyms, and the factors determining the identity of the speakers. Subsequently, an overview of Zazakî from external sources will be provided, elucidating how the language and its people have been described throughout history, especially in linguistic sources.

3 It was İsmail Beşikçi who forcefully coined the term "international colony" with regards to Kurdistan (Beşikçi 1991). Beşikçi argues that, despite never attaining full independence or autonomy, the Kurdish people – and by extension their culture, customs, and language – were subject to colonial treatment. Since then, a remarkable body of literature about colonialism in Kurdistan has been published.

Lastly, a discussion is offered to reconcile the divergent views of the speakers and the scientific community.

2 Emic perspectives

2.1 Indigenous naming practices

Since Zazakî has a late written tradition, or at least very little of it survived, historical sources of emic names written in Zazakî are rare. Purportedly, the earliest existing Zazakî material dates back to the 18th century; it is a manuscript from 1798 that has been described by Dehqan (2010) but has yet to be publicly disclosed. Besides the aforementioned manuscript, the first written materials are religious works from the beginning of the 20th century by Ehmedê Xasî in 1903, Osman Esad Efendîyo Babij in 1933 (Malmîsanij 2021: 676), and Şêx Ensarî (written in 1947 and 1948, but unpublished until Zîlan 2017). Among these, a glossonym appears only in Xasî's work, namely *Kirdî* 'Kurdish' (Xasî 2013), whereas the works of Babij and Ensarî lack any self-description. There was a considerable gap in publication until the 1960s, with significant consistent publishing commencing in the 1970s and 1980s. Thus, when discussing traditional endonyms or glossonyms, these labels are mostly not written in Zazakî. We know of these designations because either they were orally transmitted and recorded in various non-Zazakî sources of the time, such as archives, official reports, or scientific (and occasionally pseudoscientific) studies, or they were described by Zaza natives in a foreign language (e.g., Ewnî 1933).

Bearing this in mind, the speakers of Zazakî have traditionally known and utilized a substantial number of glossonyms and ethnonyms, the use of which varies depending on regional and sociocultural factors, often independently of each other. Fig. 1 shows a rough geographical distribution of emic glossonyms. Generally speaking, five major language names are known to the natives. The following list summarizes detailed discussions found in Dogan (2022: 17–25) and Malmîsanij (2021: 664–669; 1996); for historical records, see also Çağlayan (2016).

– Zazakî
  This designation is the most known name both internationally and in Western scholarship, as is also evident from the title of this chapter. Among the Zazas themselves, it is mainly used in the regions of Xarpêt (Elazığ), Pali (Palu),

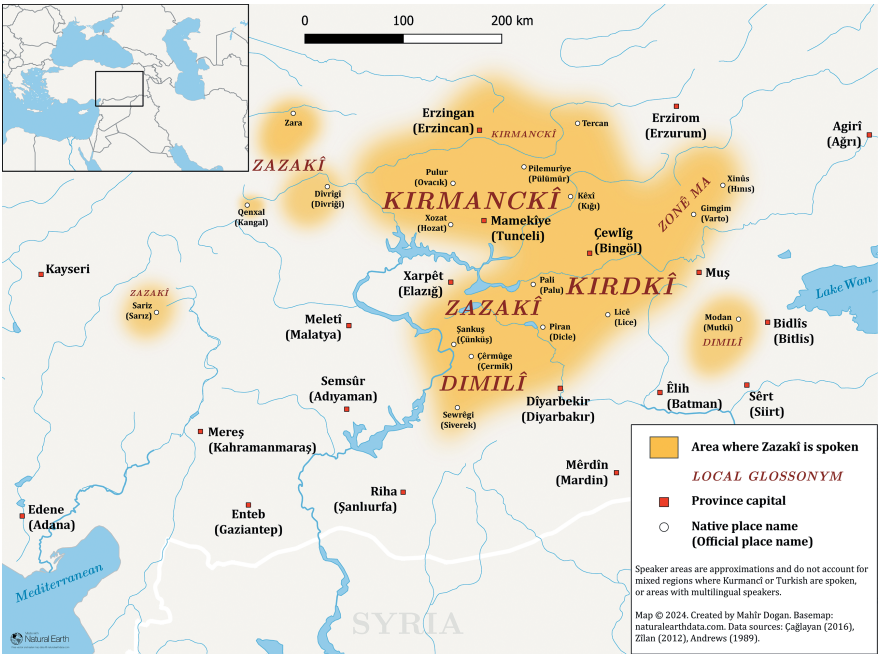

Figure 1: An approximate distribution of emic glossonyms of Zazakî.

Sariz, and parts of Koçgîrî (near today's Sivas). Historically, Zaza[4] used to be the name of a tribe and is attested as such in various reports and documents (see section 3.1 below). The popularity of usage in today's literature most likely stems from its exonymic application by Turkish speakers (Malmîsanij 2021: 668). Additionally, the name's phonological distinctiveness from other Kurdish varieties may have contributed to its widespread adoption.

– Dimilî / Dimlî

  Like Zazakî, the glossonym *Dimilî*, or alternatively *Dimlî*, is of tribal origin. Dimilî traces back to the Kurdish tribe Dunbulî resp. Dumbulî, which is attested in various historical sources since the 12th century. At the beginning of the 20th century, scholars believed that the name stemmed from the Daylam region along the Caspian Sea (as per Christensen 1921 and Mann & Hadank 1932). However, substantial evidence in historical and social descriptions strongly disagrees with that hypothesis. Nonetheless, the claim that the designation represents a

4 In some descriptions, the name Zaza has been used for both the speakers and the language. However, strictly speaking, *Zaza* is the name of the people whereas *Zazakî* (with the suffix *-kî*) denotes the language.

metathesized form of Daylam still persists, especially within Zaza nationalist circles (see Dogan 2022: 19–20 for a discussion).[5] Presently, Zazakî speakers in Çêrmûge (Çermik), Şankuş (Çünküş), Aldûş (Gerger), Motkan (Mutki), and Sêwregi (Siverek) call themselves Dimilî. Speakers in Hewêl (Baykan) in the Siirt province still employ the emic designation *Dimbilî* (Eroğlu 2019: 9; 87).

– Kirdkî / Kirdî
  Outside of the speaker community, the least well-known designation for Zazakî is probably the glossonym *Kirdkî* resp. *Kirdî*, which translates to 'Kurdish'. Although speakers in the regions of Çewlîg (Bingöl), Xarpêt (Elazığ), and in the north of Dîyarbekir (Diyarbakır) still call themselves *Kird* 'Kurd,' their language *Kirdkî* or *Kirdî* 'Kurdish,' and their inhabited area *Kirdane* 'land of the Kurds' (Çağlayan 2016: 39), and given that the name is both the oldest documented self-designation written in Zazakî (Xasî 2013) as well as in linguistic research (Lerch 1857: 78), it is hardly mentioned in modern linguistic literature.
– Kirmanckî
  Kirmanc as an ethnonym and *Kirmanckî* as a glossonym is mainly used in the Dêrsim region, which comprises today's Tunceli and its surrounding areas. The terms typically translate to 'Kurd' resp. 'Kurdish' (van Bruinessen 1997: 20, Sermîyan 2020: 80–81), although the ethnonym can also connote a narrow meaning in the sense of 'Alevi Kurd,' thus excluding Sunni Zazas (Firat 1997: 143)[6]. One can also find the expression *Kirmancîye*, which can both mean 'land of the Kirmanc' or 'Kurdish-dom'. It is safe to assume that *Kirmanckî* is the same word as *Kurmancî*, which is one of the emic names for the Northern Kurdish language (Haig & Öpengin 2014: 104).

5 The primary argument hinges on the observation that some languages around the Caspian Sea exhibit phonological and morphological parallels with Zazakî, leading to speculations of a shared origin with the Daylam region. However, this hypothesis lacks substantial extralinguistic backing. Notwithstanding the debate's validity, evidence indicates that the *designation's* etymology is rooted in the name of the ancient Dumbulî tribe.

6 While some argue that the term *Kirmanc* is exclusively used to refer to Alevis or peasants (Keskin 2010), emic sources show that despite often excluding Sunnis and carrying additional connotations related to status, the term has a clear meaning in the sense of Kurdish (Sermîyan 2020 and Firat 1997). It is not uncommon for ethnic labels to have secondary, socio-status related meanings. Within Kurdistan, regional nuances exist as well. For instance, in Dêrsim, *Kirmanc* might have traditionally excluded the clergy, even though folklore frequently describes religious figures with this term. A parallel can be drawn to Gêl (Eğil) where the endonym *Kird* generally refers to Kurdish-speaking peasants but excludes the local aristocracy (Malmîsanij 1996: 3). Similarly, the term *Kurmanc*, depending on its usage in Northern and Central Kurdish areas, can represent a non-tribal Kurdish peasant (cf. van Bruinessen 1992: 107–122).

– Zonê Ma
  Zonê Ma, or local variants of it, like *Janê Ma*, simply translates to 'our language'. The name can be found in Dêrsim alongside *Kirmanckî* or in the Gimgim (Varto) region, where it is traditionally used as the sole self-designation. There, people refer to themselves as *Şarê Ma,* 'our people'. Interestingly, *Şarê Ma* does include Alevi Kurmancî speakers, although their language is called Kurmancî. *Kurmanc*, as an ethnonym, however, is only used for Sunni Kurmancî speakers.

In addition, there are a number of exoglossonyms given to the language of the Zazas by their Kurmanc neighbors, mostly derived from tribal names, such as *Ginî*, *Lolî* or *Çarekî* (from the tribes Ginîyan, Lolan, and Çarekan respectively, cf. Zîlan 2012: 390). Another term, particularly utilized in Dêrsim, is *So-Bê*, literally 'Go-Come' (Blau 1989: 338, Firat 1997: 28).

It is important to note that ethnonyms like *Kirmanc* or *Şarê Ma* can also encompass speakers of Kurmancî Kurdish sharing the same religious affiliation and sociocultural status. Yet, the corresponding glossonyms, such as *Kirmanckî*, are exclusively associated with the Zazakî language, presenting a glossonymic specificity in comparison to their ethnonymic counterparts. However, to distinctly refer to Kurmancî speakers, many Zazakî-speaking regions alternatively utilize the exonym *Kirdas* and the exoglossonym *Kirdaskî*, which derive from the core *kird* 'Kurd'. Consequently, although speakers of Zazakî and Kurmancî (of the same denomination) do collectively form an ethnic unit, distinct terminologies are employed to demarcate their respective languages (Firat 1997: 28; 143–144; Ishakoglu 2018: 195).

With increased education and interchange, the above-mentioned designations start to lose their old connotations. While one can assume that each local grouping still knows and utilizes its own glossonym, the influence of identity politics, media, and the ubiquity of the Turkish language has led to either the inclusion or exclusion of certain parts of the Zazakî speaking population. For example, older generations of Alevi Zazas refused to be called *Zaza* since this name is associated with Sunni Muslims (Andrews 2002: 28)[7]. However, in contemporary times, it's not uncommon to encounter a Zazakî speaker from Dêrsim or Gimgim referring to their language as *Zazakî*, especially when conversing in Turkish or another foreign language. Likewise, increased inter-regional interactions and heightened awareness are pushing self-designations beyond their traditional confines, leading to their synonymous use irrespective of religious or geographic connotations. This especially holds true among the media and the intelligentsia. Those advocating for the distinctiveness of

7 Taşcı (2006) similarly observed that some speakers of both Zazakî and Kurmancî associate the term 'Kurd' with Sunni Islam.

Zazas from Kurds almost exclusively use the term *Zazakî*, whereas the expressions *Kirmanckî* or *Kirdkî* are more frequent in Kurdish-oriented sources. The leading institution for standardizing Zazakî, the Vate Group, prefers the use of *Kirmanckî*, followed by *Zazakî* in parentheses (cf. Grûba Xebate ya Vateyî 2012).

2.2 On identity

When linguists speak of speech communities, they refer to the people who actively speak the language, including heritage speakers.[8] However, at the same time, they often ascribe ethnic names to said communities, like German, Arab, or Kurd. This is not completely unwarranted since language and identity are intertwined concepts (cf. Arslan 2019). At the same time, one has to acknowledge that identity is a multilayered and complex issue that can shift not only over generations but within one individual.[9] It is often based on subjective interpretations rather than objective factors, constantly negotiating the boundaries of the Self and the Other. For Kurds, the relevant factors have been their respective homeland, tribal association (if existent), religion, and language. Naturally, there is a spectrum of different weightings and variances to each and every one of these dimensions, making the whole concept of ethnic group identity rather fluid. Over the years, the social sciences have delved deeply into the dynamics of ethnicity and identity formation, yielding rich discussions and diverse perspectives. One of the most influential works in anthropology in that regard is the introductory chapter of Barth (1969),[10] which establishes that ethnicity is determined by ethnic boundaries, i.e., as long as an ethnic group is capable of maintaining a clear boundary between itself and its environment, the ethnic identity of a group remains intact, even if the group's culture exhibits internal variation or undergoes substantial transformations over time (van Bruinessen 2006: 29–30). Barth (1969: 13–14) argues that the critical features are self-ascription and ascription by others and that "the features that are taken

8 As pointed out by Vaughan, Singer & Garde (2023: 87), one can claim ownership of a language and express belonging to it without actually being able to speak the language. I have encountered many young Kurds who do not speak the mother tongue of their parents but nevertheless identify as speakers of a certain Kurdish variety. Similar observations can be found in Taşcı (2010).

9 In addition, multilingualism resp. translingualism blurs the boarders of self-perception (cf. Canagarajah 2022), which will not be addressed here.

10 While Barth's work, now classified under social constructivism, remains one of the most cited anthropological texts, its widespread impact has led to a diverse range of (sometimes even contradictory) interpretations. See Jakoubek (2019a; 2019b) for an overview and critique.

into account are not the sum 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant".

Most foreign ascriptions describe the Zazas as Kurds (see section 3). Regarding self-ascription, we have seen that a considerable part of the Zazakî population calls themself *Kirmanc* and *Kird*, i.e., 'Kurdish'. The other designations, namely *Dimilî* and *Zaza*, are remnants of Kurdish tribes. Since Zazas are no monolith, there are natural semantic variations in identity. For instance, a Zazakî speaker from Dêrsim may define and call himself Kurdish but at the same time may choose to differentiate himself from a speaker outside of Dêrsim. This underscores the polysemous nature of the term Kurdish: it can be subjectively interpreted by various subgroups of the population, yet it maintains a concrete boundary that does not exclusively follow linguistic demarcations.

Religious affiliation was and is another criterion of the Kurdish group identity. The Zazas are divided along religious lines, where half identify as Alevi and the other half are affiliated with Sunni Islam. (Çağlayan 2016: 108–109). Since the 1990s, there has been extensive research on Alevism and Alevi identity.[11] Numerous scholars have pointed out that among Kurdish Alevis, religious identity takes precedence over language; thus, they feel ethnically closer to Turcophone Alevis rather than Sunni Kurds (Çelik 2003, Kehl-Bodrogi 1999). Indeed, intermarriage between Alevis and Sunnis was very rare until recently. However, Kurdish Alevis, i.e., both speakers of Zazakî and Kurmancî, show cultural differences when compared to Turkish Alevis, particularly concerning their religious hierarchy, sacred rituals, and belief systems (van Bruinessen 1997, Deniz 2019). With urbanization and displacement, especially in the diaspora, these differences started to diminish, and a new separate Alevi identity emerged for some (cf. Taşcı 2006). It is worth noting that Kurdish Alevis have historically been involved in Kurdish nationalist movements, as seen in the Koçgîrî Rebellion of 1920 (Kieser 1998, Olson 1989: 28–39). However, despite a shared sense of Kurdish identity, substantial interaction between Kurdish Alevis and Sunnis remained limited until the advent of leftist nationalist movements.[12]

Starting in the 1980s, some Zaza intellectuals in the diaspora started to drift away from religious and tribal features and emphasized a new group identity

11 Some examples worth mentioning are van Bruinessen (1997), Taşcı (2006), Massicard (2013), Aydın (2018), Gültekin (2019), Gezik & Gültekin (2019).

12 The Zaza-dominant Şêx Saîd Rebellion, which was organized by the clandestine Kurdish nationalist organization Azadî, famously failed to amend existing tribal and religious rivalries between Alevi and Sunni Zazas (Olson 1989: 94–96). A small but mentionable exception is the story of Şêx Saîd's brother Şêx Evdirehîm and his small group of followers who tried to come to the aid of the Dêrsim Kurds during the Dêrsim revolts of 1937, but were ambushed and killed by Turkish forces near Dîyarbekir before they could reach their destination (Dersimi 1952: 318, Espar 2017: 9–41).

based on linguistic differences. This Zaza nationalist movement, sometimes dubbed Zazaism, is based on the idea that Zazas, regardless of religious denomination, are a distinct people from the Kurds. Like Kurdish nationalism, Zaza nationalism mirrored its Turkish counterpart[13] in that it made use of some revisionist narratives, such as claiming a distinct Zaza history, postulating an origin in the Daylam region, and propagating the idea of "one language, one people" (Kehl-Bodrogi 1999: 449–452). Zaza nationalism's pioneer was Ebubekir Pamukçu, a Sunni Zaza who started publications in Sweden. Since then, there have been a number of prominent proponents of a distinct Zaza ethnicity, e.g., the linguists Selcan (1998) and Keskin (2010) or the writer and politician Seyfi Cengiz.[14] Recently, a Zaza-exclusive party has been founded in Turkey, albeit with a marginal following (Alan 2019).[15] The main line of argument in Zazaist circles is that since Zazakî is not a Kurdish dialect, as classified by linguists, the Zaza people consequently cannot be Kurds. This view, of course, ignores many other factors, like self-designations and shared ethnic boundaries. It is not by accident that authors like Selcan (1998) or Werner (2017) give a lengthy review of Zaza sources and identity but conveniently miss out on the self-designation *Kird,* which was documented in both Lerch (1857) and Xasî (2013). Furthermore, neither historical evidence nor sociological studies show a sociocultural split between Kurmancî speakers and Zazakî speakers along linguistic lines. As described above, historically, religious denomination served as a more significant criterion for separation. If not for language, it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish Alevi Zazas from their neighboring Alevi Kurmanc or Sunni Zazas from their adjacent Sunni Kurmanc. In essence, these communities share a great deal in terms of cultural identity and ethnic boundaries and are inherently intertwined with one another (cf. van Bruinessen 2006).

13 Which in turn is inspired by the Western ideals of Orientalism and nationalism, cf. Houston (2009) and Leezenberg (1993: 13).

14 Zaza nationalism is no monolith either. Cengiz, for example, promotes two Zaza nations: one Alevi, one Sunni (Kehl-Bodrogi 1999: 453). Nowadays, Cengiz seems to be in favor of a distinct Dêrsim identity.

15 There seems to be a common pattern with some early Zazaist figures, namely that they were involved in Kurdish or even Turkish movements before developing a distinct Zaza identity. Pamukçu himself had written poems commemorating his Turkishness before advocating his new ideology (van Bruinessen 1997: 19, Pamukçu 1970: 32–33). Cengiz was initially an active member and fighter of the leftist Kurdish movement (White 1995). Selcan used to subsume the Zazas under a Kurdish identity before changing his view on the matter, and subsequently the titles of his old publications (Haig & Öpengin 2014: 104). This development was partially fostered by non-pluralistic attitudes within Kurdish nationalist movements and individually experienced discrimination that alienated some Zazas (Uçarlar 2009: 219–224; Kehl-Bodrogi 1999: 452).

Another argument from some of the proponents of a distinct Zaza identity posits that Kurdish nationalists incorporate Zazas merely to enlarge the prospective borders of a proposed Kurdish homeland. This line of thought presumes that the Zazas lack the agency to create their own political will and thus have been co-opted by Kurmancî speakers for a presumably foreign cause. However, this narrative ignores the integral role Zazakî speakers have played in the evolution of modern Kurdish nationalism. From the Koçgîrî rebellion and the revolts of Şêx Saîd to the establishment of Kurdish nationalistic parties in the 20th century – with the most recent example being the imprisoned co-chair of the pro-Kurdish People's Democratic Party HDP, Selahattin Demirtaş – many Kurdish nationalist movements in Turkey did and do have a significant amount of active Zaza participants.[16] It would be fallacious to portray these Zazas as mere anomalies or manipulated participants, as doing so oversimplifies a complex history. Given that Zaza nationalism did not occur before the 1980s and is primarily based on linguistic grounds, it is reasonable to assume that Zazakî speakers have consistently identified with and contributed to Kurdish nationalist movements out of a genuine sense of belonging to the broader Kurdish narrative and not out of coercion or confusion.[17] As it stands, Zaza nationalism currently remains a minority perspective among Zazas, whose proponents mostly agree on not being Kurdish but otherwise show a variety of competing sub-identities.

There are no definitive statistics about the Zazakî speaking population that specifically consider ethnic identity. In the first census of the Republic of Turkey in 1927, Zazakî was not distinguished as a separate category but rather included under "Kurdish" (TCBDİE 1929: 31–32). This approach changed in subsequent censuses conducted between 1950 and 1965. In these, Kurdish was divided into three subcategories: "Kurdish and Kirmanc," "Kirdash," and "Zaza" (cf. TCBİGM 1961: VIII; 142–144). This division reflects a lack of understanding of emic endonyms on the part of the surveyors, given that 'Kirdash' (*Kirdaş*) is the exonym that Zazakî speakers use for Kurmancî speakers. The 1965 census was the last to list the Zazas and their language separately. However, these censuses present inconsistencies;

16 Certainly, there have been Zazas who have engaged in pro-Turkish movements and parties, often in tandem with an adoption of a (pan-)Turkish identity, as will be seen in the subsequent section.

17 Although not relevant for identity structures, there have been genetic studies regarding the Kurds (Nasidze et al. 2005 to name one), which found no difference between Zazakî and Kurmancî speakers from Turkey. This result should not be surprising, since genetic relations are rather indicative about human mating habits than significant features of ethnic boundaries, yet it remains a trending topic in popular science with various DNA project groups circulating on social media platforms and news outlets reporting on allegedly shocking revelations about ethnic origins.

for instance, the 1965 census indicated only seven Zazakî speakers in the province of Tunceli, likely due to the fact the natives of Dêrsim rejected the designation Zaza, which they associate with Sunnis (Çağlayan 2016: 55–56; cf. also Andrews 1989: 53).

Apart from official censuses, the question of ethnic identity among Zazas has been the subject of several smaller studies, each offering unique perspectives influenced by their methodology and scope. In her 2019 survey of 382 Zazas in Mamekîye (Tunceli city), Güntaş Aldatmaz (2021) found that a majority (71,5%) identified as Kurds, while 19,6% responded with "Turk," and 4,5% with "Zaza". A generational divergence is evident: younger participants, predominantly under 18, showed a higher inclination (39.7%) towards a Turkish identity, as opposed to the elderly, 70–80% of whom resonated with a Kurdish affiliation. This correlates with the loss of mother tongue among the youth (Güntaş Aldatmaz 2021: 131; 151). In stark contrast, another study of 823 Alevi Zazas across diverse regions by Rençber (2013) found 70% self-identifying as Zaza Alevi, 20% as Turkish Alevi, and only 10% as Kurdish Alevi. However, Rençber's methodology is questionable. The survey's structure, embedding the term "Zaza" in the question, can be seen as leading. Coupled with reliance on dubious sources like Ziya Gökalp and Hayri Başbuğ (see below), Rençber's findings warrant critical scrutiny. Both Güntaş Aldatmaz and Rençber utilized questionnaires in Turkish with multiple-choice answers, a method that might influence the outcome. Adding further complexity is Yıldırım's (2011) study, which encompassed 64 Zazas in Lice and Hani. Employing a unique multilingual approach, his survey probed identity by asking questions in Turkish, Kurmancî, and Zazakî, revealing a strong linguistic dimension to self-designation. When respondents communicated in Turkish, 54.7% aligned with the identities "Kurd" or "Kurd who speaks Zaza," while 37.5% identified as Zaza. Interestingly, switching to Zazakî altered this distribution.[18] Furthermore, the wording in Turkish had significant influence: a mere shift from "What are your origins?" to "Are you a Kurd?" led to a surge from 54.7% to 92.2% in Kurdish self-identification. Such a stark discrepancy among the same respondents underscores the risks of drawing conclusions from a singular question.

18 In his findings, when respondents spoke in Turkish, 64,1% predominantly used the term *Kürt* 'Kurd' to refer to Kurmancs. Yet, when the conversation was held in Kurmancî or Zazakî, none used the equivalent term for Kurmancî speakers. Instead, they favored the native endonyms *Kurmanc* or *Kurmonc* (Yıldırım 2011: 41).

3 Zazakî in outside sources

3.1 Historical descriptions of Zazas and Zazakî

Like most Kurds, a considerable part of the Zazas is tribally organized, although nowadays, it mostly remains a relic inherited from older generations. The major tribes consist of speakers of both Kurmancî and Zazakî and often possess a rich oral history (for a list of tribes, see Sykes 1908, Dersimi 1952). Early historical records that describe the various Kurdish tribes, dynasties, and settlements do not distinguish between Zazas and other Kurds. On the contrary, up until the 19th century, the descriptions depict the Zazas as part of the Kurdish community.

The earliest evidence associated with today's Zaza Kurds stems from medieval times. The first appearance of the name Zaza itself is a tribal designation in a genealogical tree in Dêrsim, presumably from the 14th century (Malmîsanij 2021: 668; Selcan 1998: 119). The Dunbulî or Dumbulî tribe, from which the modern ethnonym and glossonym Dimilî is derived, is well documented in various works of Arab, Persian, and Ottoman scholars. The designation appears from the 12th century onwards in various descriptions of lands and people, often connotated with the Kurds (Çağlayan 2016: 36–39). There is a debate about the semantics of Kurdishness in medieval sources and whether the designation Kurd (*Akrād*) bears any ethnological meaning. While some scholars emphasize the shifting nature of ethnic identity and thus argue that Kurd was a mere socioeconomic description (e.g., Özoğlu 2004, Jwaideh 2006), James (2014) forcefully shows that starting with the 11th century, Arabic sources utilize the attribute Kurd in a consistent ethnonymic way.[19]

It is not uncommon for designations to change meaning over time. Dumbulî and Zaza may have been used in a much broader sense in medieval sources than their present-day connotations since early Arab and Ottoman sources rarely elaborate on the languages of the Kurdish people they describe. Although some of the documented tribes and locations match today's settlement areas, there is no inductive information about their linguistic composition. The first explicit mention of the

19 Similarly, some authors, such as Halaçoğlu (1996) claim that in Ottoman sources, the term *Akrād* refers to a nomadic lifestyle, thus not functioning as an ethnonym This is somewhat aligned with James (2014), who acknowledges potential semantic associations with nomadism but shows that 'Kurd' is not strictly synonymous with 'nomad'. Contrarily, numerous Ottoman documents clearly deploy *Akrād* in an ethnonymic manner (cf. Çağlayan 2016: 63–77). In another instance, the term's use for mixed tribes, such as the Kara Ulus of the Qara Qoyunlu Turkomans, prompted Halaçoğlu (1996: 144) to interpret it as 'nomad' or 'mountain people'. However, it is crucial to highlight that the Kara Ulus are, in all likelihood, a tribe of Kurdish origin serving the Qara Qoyunlu (Demirtaş 1949: 30).

languages of the Kurds is found in the 16th-century chronicle *Şerefname*. There, the author Şeref Xan Bidlisî lists the Dunbulî as a Kurdish tribe, although in another geographic location (Çağlayan 2016: 66). Şeref Xan subsumes Zazas under a Kurdish umbrella and counts their dynasties as Kurdish. However, he does not mention Zazakî in his list of Kurdish languages.[20] This omission could stem from Şeref Xan's possible lack of awareness or indifference towards linguistic distinctions, or perhaps the ruling families did not self-identify with the term.[21]

Thus, the first known historical document that distinctly describes the Zazas with regard to their language is Evliya Çelebi's famous 17th-century travelogue *Seyahatname*. Çelebi explicitly includes the Zaza among the Kurds. Zazas are listed as one of the Kurdish tribes, described as *Ekrād-i Zāzā* 'Zaza Kurds' who speak *lisān-i Zāzā-i Ekrād* 'the language of the Zaza Kurds' resp. 'the language of the Kurdish Zaza tribe' (Çağlayan 2016: 67–69). One can presume that these Zaza Kurds spoke a vernacular different from their neighbors and thus are a good candidate to be the predecessors of today's Zazakî speakers since the attested regions still lie in the core of the Zazakî speaking area.

Ottoman chronicles of later periods often do not mention the Zazas explicitly; they are subsumed under a Kurdish identity. Occasionally, expressions like *Zāzā-i Ekrād* or *Dünbüli-i Ekrād* are found in Ottoman tax registers (*tahrir*). In the 1844 census, for example, Kurds are listed as an ethnic group, but there is no separate category for the Zaza identity (Çağlayan 2016: 74). This changes with the *Salname-i Vilayet*, the official annals for the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The first province records were published in 1867, providing demographic and linguistic data on native Zaza populations. Depending on the province, Zazakî is either listed as a separate language from Kurdish and Persian, described as "aberrant" (*muharref*), or not mentioned as a separate entity at all. The sanjaks of Dîyarbekir and Maden, which hold a considerable Zaza population, for example, are reported to speak Kurdish, Turkish, or Arabic, whereas in the sanjaks of Muş and Genc, Zazakî is listed alongside Kurdish (Çağlayan 2016: 75–76). Similar to the aforementioned censuses of modern Turkey in 1950–1965, the Ottoman *Salname* records seem somewhat inconclusive at first sight. One might assume that the surveys have been conducted poorly. However, another possible explanation is that parts of the local

20 The 19th century scholars Lerch (1857: XXI) and Justi (1880: XXV) remarked that Zazas should be incorporated as a fifth column in the *Şerefname*.

21 The *Şerefname* primarily describes ruling families and dynasties, thus possibly excluding lower tribes (van Bruinessen 2011: 17). Interestingly, in 1682 the court scribe of Yensûr Bey of Palu translated the *Şerefname* into Ottoman Turkish (Bidlīsī & Oktay 2016). This version emphasizes and extends the history of the Mirdasî principality, indicating a belongingness to other Kurdish dynasties. Presently, the Mirdasî are a Zazakî speaking tribe.

population did not use the glossonym *Zaza,* and thus, their language has been registered as Kurdish by the Ottoman surveyors, especially if the speakers of Zazakî were socioculturally indistinguishable from their Kurmanc neighbors[22]. It is also likely that the Turkish expression 'Kurdish' was already reserved for the much more widespread Kurmancî, and thus Zazakî was named differently, although the population considered itself Kurdish – a theme that continued throughout the following decades of outsiders' descriptions.

The *Salname* is one of the first records that linguistically list Zazakî separately from Kurdish, although inconsistently. The 19th century seems to be a turning point in so far as descriptions that show Zazakî as a separate language start to emerge. This development is also reflected in European, Armenian, and Russian sources. Early accounts subsume the Zaza as part of the Kurdish people, either as a tribe without any further description, such as in Carsten Niebuhr's travelogue from the 18th century (Niebuhr 1778: 417) or as a subgroup resp. Tribe, like in the 19th century reports of Rich (1836: 376), Lerch (1857: XVIII), and Chantre (1895: 92–93). Lerch's work was the first linguistic description of Zazakî (see section 3.2). However, other depictions have also attempted to document the linguistic constitution, even if only superficially. Lacking a detailed grammatical understanding until the end of the first third of the 20th century, most observers note that Zazakî is a Kurdish dialect. Which, however, differs severely from Kurmancî Kurdish to a degree of unintelligibility. There are a few remarkable British documents that deal with various aspects of Kurdish life. Albeit brief, the earliest description of the language is made by James Taylor, the consul at Dîyarbekir, who journeyed to Kurdistan in 1861–1863 and documented the use of "Zaza Kurdish" in Nerib, in today's Hani district (Taylor 1865: 39). The notorious diplomat Mark Sykes (1915) gave a detailed report on the various Kurdish tribes with the respective language they speak. Here, the term Zaza has both a tribal and a linguistic connotation. However, Sykes does not describe the language per se, and one can conclude from his remarks that he did not fully comprehend the various dialects of Zazakî, e.g., describing the Zazakî of Dêrsim as a "special dialect" which is "closely allied to Zaza" (Sykes 1915: 571). The British vice-consul Louis Molyneux-Seel (1914: 68) describes the Zaza dialect – the words language and dialect are used interchangeably – of the Dêrsim Kurds, coming to the conclusion that it differs widely from Kurmancî, "the principal Kurdish language," and that it is considered a Kurdish dialect, though he is skeptical of its philological justification.

22 It is worth noting that the designation *Kurmanc/Kirmanc* is not present in Ottoman documents, despite the fact that it serves as the self-referential term for both Kurmancî and Zazakî speakers.

As close neighbors of the Zazas, it is not surprising to find some Armenian sources that mention linguistic features. The famous Armenian author Khatchatur Abovyan describes Zazakî as a Kurdish dialect, which is not intelligible to a Kurd who did not study it (Abovyan 1848). Antranik, who traveled the Dêrsim region at the end of the 19th century and who is supportive of the claim that most Kurds from Dêrsim are of Armenian origin, claims that the language of the Zazas is a mixture of Kurdish (Kurmancî), Persian, Arabic, Armenian, and Zaza (Dimilî), with the latter constituting three-quarters of the language (Antranik 2017: 180).

With the rise of Turkish nationalism and the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, a new narrative started to emerge. While initial reports from the 1920s resemble Western accounts in listing the Zazas as Kurds, for example, in Mustafa Kemal's *Nutuk* (Kemal 1970: 100) or the often-cited revisionist report of Ziya Gökalp, the ideological forefather of Turkish nationalism (Gökalp 2011: 33)[23], later works make a twofold alteration. First, an emphasis is made on Turkification, i.e., using pseudoscientific methods in order to declare Zazas and Kurmanc as original Turks who went astray and lost their alleged roots (cf. Zeydanlıoğlu 2008, Houston 2009). To illustrate, one author, Firat (1961: 7), posited in his 1945 report on the Eastern provinces that the "old Turkish and Turkmen tribes are called Kurds today because they speak the languages Kormanci and Zaza". According to him, the "Turks" in the Eastern provinces are divided into three branches: Baba-Kurds, Kurmanco, and Zazas. The second alteration emerged gradually in the 1930s and represented a small deviation inside the same ideological frame: Kurmanc and Zazas are no longer treated as a unit but as two separate entities, both targeted for Turkification. The policy of divide and conquer was applied to seek separation among ethnic minorities in Turkey, which was famously done on religious and linguistic grounds (cf. Ishakoglu 2018: 113–136). Once a separate Zaza nationalism began to surface (as discussed in section 2.2), Turkish nationalists were quick to capitalize on it.[24] The separation of Zazas and Kurmanc picked up pace after the coup d'état in 1980, most famously with Hayri Başbuğ's[25] contributions and the establishment of the Institute for Research of the Turkish Culture (*Türk Kültürünü Araştirma Enstitüsü*)

23 Gökalp had most likely Zaza roots himself. For a synopsis of Gökalp's theories and their pivotal role in shaping Turkish nationalism, refer to Nefes (2018).

24 The narrative in Kurdish circles often suggests that Zaza nationalism was a strategic creation of the Turkish intelligence service. Although official attempts in dividing Zaza and Kurmanc predate the emergence of Zaza nationalism, it remains ambiguous whether the movement arose organically within the Zaza community and was later co-opted by Turkish nationalists and ultimately incorporated into the state doctrine, or if it was externally orchestrated from the outset.

25 Ironically, Başbuğ himself is most likely of Zaza origin, stemming from Hênî (Hani) in Dîyarbekir (Diyarbakir).

(Scalbert-Yücel 2006: 119; see also Anuk 2022). This assimilatory philosophy is not without a good number of contradictions and rearrangements. However, as flawed as it may appear in retrospect, it has impacted the local population, further fostering identity shifts.

In conclusion, the kinship between Zazas and Kurmanc has been described in non-linguistic descriptions of the past two centuries while simultaneously highlighting differences in speech. This is due to the ill-defined concepts of language and dialect that continue to affect Kurdish politics and academia. Over time, numerous authors have attempted to reconcile the fact that a single ethnic group speaks different vernaculars. This complexity is further compounded by the term Kurdish, which historically referred to linguistically diverse tribes and communities, but in the 19th and 20th centuries, it began to refer primarily to the Kurmancî language. Labels, once established, often persist, even when they become inaccurate or imprecise. Thus, although Zazakî speakers identified as Kurdish, external forces gradually limited the label to Kurmancî speakers only. Surprisingly, despite their Turkification efforts, Turkish pseudoscientific sources provide rather nuanced descriptions of self-designations among Kurds.

3.2 Zazakî in linguistic descriptions

Serious linguistic work on Zazakî started in the 19th century. The first linguistic research on Zazakî was done by Peter Lerch in 1857, where he gathered material in Russia from a prisoner of the Crimean War of Pali (Palu) origin. Lerch describes "Zaza" as one of the two vernaculars resp. dialects of Kurdish – the other being Kurmancî – and states that the Kurmancs do not understand Zazakî (Lerch 1857: XXII). Although Lerch acknowledges the linguistic differences between Zazakî and Kurmancî, he describes them both as Kurdish. In his writings, Lerch calls the language "Zaza". However, in one of the tales of the informant, the self-designation *Kird* 'Kurd' is being used (Lerch 1857: 78). This is the first documented case of an endonym from a native speaker. After Lerch, various linguistic publications surfaced, such as Müller (1865), Soane (1912), and Tedesco (1921). Most of these initial works say little about ethnic composition; Zazas are treated as Kurds who speak a different language.

The first impactful publication in that regard is the work of Mann & Hadank (1932). Oskar Mann collected his material in 1906 in situ, but it was left for Karl Hadank to prepare and publish Mann's work posthumously. Mann was the first linguist to advocate a separation of Zazakî from Kurdish. Linguistically speaking, the analysis is justified. Based on isoglosses in phonology and morphosyntax, it is reasonable to argue against a genealogical subgrouping of Kurmancî and Zazakî. Mann

was the first to realize that. The problematic part lies in the use of the term Kurdish. No discussion on the nature of Kurdish identity is provided; the label is assumed for the Kurmancî speaking population. It remains unclear whether this was influenced by prevailing Turkish naming practices or if these early scholars were simply uninterested in a more sensitive approach to native sentiments. Regarding nomenclature, it is noted that "dim^{i}lä" resp. "Dimlî" is an endonym of the local population, whereas Zaza is the language name chosen by the Turks (Mann & Hadank 1932: 1; Kolivand 2014: 515). It is worth noting that neither Mann nor Hadank traveled to the Northern Zazakî regions, despite Mann's initial intentions (Selcan 1998: 15–16). The source of their information was an informant from Siverek, with no explicit mention of the self-designation of the other speakers (Mann & Hadank 1932: 2).

After Mann and Hadank, a number of linguists started to adopt the new classification. Two much-referenced works are provided by David MacKenzie (1961; 1989). In his analysis, MacKenzie not only differentiates Zazakî, Goranî, and Kurdish as distinct languages but also critiques scholars for counting these speakers as Kurds. Once again, linguistic difference is being equated with ethnic affiliation. Although, over the years, many linguists and Iranologists commented on the nature and categorization of Zazakî, the next grammar to emerge was Todd's 1985 dissertation. Again Todd's informant was from Siverek; thus, he used the glossonym Dimilî. Although acknowledging the linguistic classification that Zazakî is not a Kurdish dialect, Todd (2008: 1) states that "[s]peakers of Dimili are Kurds psychologically, socially, culturally, economically, and politically. It is quite possible, especially since the term Kurd has always been ill-defined [. . .] that speakers of Dimili should be identified as Kurds today".

1998 marks the year when three grammars of Zazakî were published: Selcan (1998), Paul (1998), and Smirnova & Ejubi (1998). Following the Russian school of Kurdish linguistics, Smirnova and Ejubi classify Zazakî as Kurdish, whereas Paul and Selcan speak of separate languages. Selcan's bias regarding naming and ethnic identity has been explained above: the author explicitly uses the term "Zaza language," although his informants stem from the Northern dialect regions where this designation has a negative connotation. Paul (1998; 2002) approaches the subject with more differentiation, remarking that a big part of the Zazakî speakers identify as Kurds and perceive their language as a form of Kurdish. However, he also acknowledges the consensus among European linguists that Zazakî stands distinct from Northern, Central, or Southern Kurdish. At this point, Kurdish is a well-established linguistic category that excludes Zazakî, and Paul tries to reconcile that by differentiating language affiliation from ethnic identity. Remarkably, only Smirnova & Ejubi (1998: 6), citing Malmîsanij, reference the emic ethnonym *Kird*. This designation is absent in the grammars of Mann & Hadank (1932), Todd (2008), Paul (1998), and Selcan (1998).

Numerous contemporary linguistic works address some aspects of Zazakî. Regarding language naming, the designation *Zazakî* has established itself in English literature, whereas one finds a variety of uses in modern Zazakî literature, foremost *Kirmanckî* and *Kirdkî*. With rising awareness that emic perspectives are incongruous with the established taxonomy, several authors have tried to address this by suggesting their own classification systems (Table 1). The debate remains unsettled. Many scholars within Kurdish Studies still speak of *two Kurdishes*: the narrow linguistic designation assigned by linguists to the three varieties Northern, Central, and Southern Kurdish and the broader, sociocultural term that includes both Zazakî and Hawramî. This more inclusive classification mirrors the perspectives of the majority of speakers. Commendably, some authors, like Anonby, Hayes & Oikle (2020), have applied alternative forms of categorization that factor in ethnic identification. Nonetheless, the primary issue, namely determining who owns the term 'Kurdish,' still remains unsolved.

Table 1: Nomenclature of Kurdish varieties in modern literature.

The categorization of Zazakî (and/or Goranî/ Hawramî)	Northern, Central, and Southern Kurdish	Source
'Kurdish dialects' in a wider, ethnic sense	Kurdish proper	Leezenberg 1993
Kurdo-Caspian	Northern, Central, and Southern Kurdish	Fattah 2000
Kurdish in an ethnical/ political sense	Kurdish	Paul 2008
Kurdophone	Kurdic	Stilo 2009
Zaza (although ethnically labeled as Kurds)	Kurdish proper	van Bruinessen 2011
Labeled as "related varieties"	Kurdish	Haig & Öpengin 2014
Subsumed under "Gesamtkurdisch"	Kurdish in a narrow sense	Haig 2017
Kurdish varieties	Kurdish varieties, Kurdish proper	Maisel 2018
Kurdistani languages	Kurdish	Chyet 2019
Kurdish in a sociolinguistic sense	Kurdish in a narrow linguistic sense	Öpengin 2021
Kurdic	Kurdish	Anonby 2022
Kurdish Zone (languages)	Kurdish	Karim 2022

4 Conclusion

The debate regarding the Kurdishness of Zazakî and its speakers remains an intricate and highly politicized topic. It is understandable that linguists shy away from the hornet's nest of identity politics when documenting and describing languages. However, as highlighted in this chapter, merely adopting an established name for reasons of convenience or perceived neutrality without acknowledging its sociocultural and historical implications often inadvertently leads to the opposite outcome and thus cannot be the final solution. Iranology and Iranian linguistics must acknowledge that academic authority, even when unintentional, is a crucial factor in the naming of languages and the shaping of identities (Vaughan, Singer & Garde 2023: 84).

Leezenberg (1993: 12) and Haig & Öpengin (2014) defend early linguists' assessment by arguing that their distinction was purely of a linguistic nature and should not be extrapolated to ethnic implications.

> Mann's views were entirely based on linguistic/philological facts; they actually entail no consequences in terms of speakers' perceived identities, and initially, the discussion on the position of Zazaki was largely confined to Iranian philology (Haig & Öpengin 2014: 104)

However, a closer look into the world views of these early academics reveals that their analysis often extended beyond pure linguistic assessment. It would be remiss to ignore the fact that European colonialism has shaped scientific methodologies[26] and linguistic descriptions. Take Karl Hadank as a case in point. While he may have been a diligent and meticulous scholar, it is crucial to question the ideological paradigms that have guided his endeavors in other areas, particularly in anthropology. Hadank's staunch support for the Nazi regime during the Third Reich and his adherence to their racial ideologies[27], along with his propagation of anti-Semitic conspiracy theories (Paul 2020: 303–305), cannot be ignored. This background seemingly illuminates Hadank's underlying belief: one distinct people speaks one language.[28] This becomes evident in Hadank (1938), where he defines Kurds as those "who speak Kurdish":

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26 Consult Smith (2021) for a general view on theories in the decolonization of research methods.

27 The concept of race of course predates the Third Reich. Physiognomic descriptions of indigenous people are frequently found in works from scholars of the 19th and early 20th century, see for example Chantre (1895). In his descriptions of the Kurds, Lerch (1857: XXIII) also does attribute his interviewees' outer appearance to the "Indo-European race".

28 It is worth noting that there were diverging views and even contradictions within Nazism (even before the Third Reich) with regards to race, nation, and language. However, language and especially mother-tongue was intertwined with the concept of *Volk* and in the eyes of its proponents,

> Here, I emanate from historical ethnology (*Völkerkunde*) and the linguistic concept of the Kurds as those who speak Kurdish, and hence do not count the Lur, the Guran and the Zaza towards the Kurds [Hierbei gehe ich von der historischen Völkerkunde und vom sprachlichen Begriff der Kurden als der Kurdisch Sprechenden aus und rechne danach die Luren, die Gūrān und die Zāzā nicht zu den Kurden.] (Hadank 1938: 6, footnote 4)

The appropriation of the term Kurdish is not Hadank's merit since we see similar depictions since late Ottoman times. However, it seems that, like many linguists of his time, he appears to have adopted the established nomenclature without further scrutiny because he was either disregarding or unaware of the various emic designations of the Zazas that also identify their language as Kurdish. Therefore, his logic dictated him to reach the above-quoted conclusion. Consequently, he criticizes Lerch's "ethnography of the Kurdish tribes" for including the Zazas (Mann & Hadank 1932: 9), insinuating a linguistic uniformity in tribal structures. MacKenzie (1961; 1989) does not confine his analysis to linguistics, either. He ventures into historical and geographical speculations regarding possible migrations of Zazas and Kurds, implying a historical continuum of ethnic identities in which Zazas and Kurds somehow have always been separate entities. Again, we lack any attempt to consult emic labels and perspectives.

Thankfully, there has been a heightened level of awareness among linguists, with a particular focus on conducting research ethically and recognizing the influence of power dynamics within knowledge. A quote from Jügel, referenced in Anonby, Hayes & Oikle (2020: 49), summarizes the linguist's ethics in classification as follows: "Linguists have to understand that they cannot tell people who they are, and language communities should understand that [genealogical] language affiliation is not the same as identity affiliation". While this statement pertains to genealogical taxonomy, i.e., which languages constitute meaningful entities, the aspect of naming these varieties is equally important. Should linguists wish to avoid partaking in Kurdish identity formation, they subsequently have to rethink the labels used in their classification. These labels are more than mere tags; they bear historical, cultural, and emotional significance and ultimately belong to the speakers of said communities. As we have seen in section 2.2, a huge part of the debates about a separate Zaza identity revolves around the fact that academics have decided that

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thus anthropologically determinative (cf. Hutton 1999). A similar sentiment is paralleled in the foundations of Turkish nationalism, where the notion of nationhood is bound to linguistic identity, summarized in the notorious slogan of Kemalism "one nation, one flag, one language". It is one of the reasons why pro-Kurdish publications emphasize the word dialect, since it implies a common ethnic origin.

Zazakî is not a Kurdish language.[29] Had early linguists been more considerate and judicious in their choice of terms, we might have reached the conclusion that the Kurdish people are a diverse linguistic community by allowing the Kurds to name their languages on their own terms.

There is a need to recognize the impact of historical colonialism and its legacies on Kurdish communities and how it has shaped linguistic practices. By using emic glossonyms, linguists can avoid perpetuating colonial and hegemonic attitudes towards language that have plagued the field for too long. Admittedly, as seen with the Zaza Kurds, this approach can present challenges, given the diverse spectrum of identities and names, each imbued with its own sociocultural connotations. Nevertheless, the pursuit of simplicity should not come at the expense of local realities. While definitive statistics are absent, it is reasonable to assume that a significant majority of Zazakî speakers historically identified with the Kurdish nation. A considerable portion likely still does (cf. van Bruinessen 2006), and that portion still holds the naming rights to their language. The current nomenclature does not represent this sentiment. Speakers of Zazakî might rightfully ask the scientific community on what right they exclude Zazas by appropriating a name that has traditionally belonged to them. For future research, perhaps it is best to reserve the term Kurdish for its broader sociocultural and historical meaning and, followingly, use specific emic glossonyms for linguistic studies. This approach would represent more a restoration than a redefinition of the expression Kurdish, offering a possible path forward to reconcile scientific research with indigenous systems of knowledge.

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29 Another salient, albeit anecdotal, example is provided by Hamid Nikravesh who conducted field work for Goranî in Gahvara in 2013. In an interview with a 47-year-old speaker regarding his ethnic identity, the speaker conveyed that, left to his own devices, he would identify as Kurdish. However, given that academic discourses label him as a Goran, he expressed lingering uncertainty (Nikravesh, 23.03.2023, p.c.).

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