



UPPSALA  
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# ***EXTENDED EZAFE PARTICLES IN TOR KURDISH***

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## **Abstract**

There are a bundle of particles in the Tor (Syriac Turabdin) dialect of Northern Kurdish, which depending on the kind of predicate and tense of the sentence can create progressive and prospective constructions. Although the particles have somewhat different forms depending on their functions and the kind of the predicate, the forms are identical to the forms of the linker Ezafe. In this study on the basis of the predicates they appear with, the function they have and their forms, these particles are divided into two groups; Group A and Group B. Group A particles appear with non-verbal predicates and do not add any semantic nuance to the sentences while Group B particles appear with locative and verbal predicates in order to create progressive and prospective constructions. This study describes these particles in the Tor dialect and compares them to similar particles in two other dialects of Northern Kurdish, Behdînî and Maraş. Also a description of the Ezafe is given in order to argue the relation between the Ezafe and these particles.

# CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>SYSTEM OF TRANSCRIPTION</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>2. AIM AND METHOD</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>3. DESCRIPTION OF THE MATERIAL</b>	<b>11</b>
3.1. FIELDWORK	11
3.2. THE DATA COLLECTED BY HELMUT RITTER	14
<b>4. PREVIOUS STUDIES</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>5. EZAFE CONSTRUCTIONS IN NORTHERN KURDISH AND THIER CONNECTION TO THE EXEZ PARTICLES</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>6. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE EXEZ PARTICLES IN TOR KURDISH</b>	<b>27</b>
6.1. GROUP A PARTICLES WITH NON-VERBAL PREDICATES	27
6.1.1. GROUP A WITH COPULA IN INDICATIVE	27
6.1.2. GROUP A WITH COPULA IN SUBJUNCTIVE	32
6.1.3. ABSENCE OF GROUP A PARTICLES	35
6.2. GROUP B PARTICLES	37
6.2.1. GROUP B WITH LOCATIVE PREDICATES	37
6.2.2. GROUP B WITH VERBAL PREDICATES	40
6.2.2.1. Group B with present tense	40
6.2.2.2. Group B with simple past tense	43
6.2.2.3. Group B with perfect participle	44
<b>7. DIALECT COMPARISON</b>	<b>46</b>
7.1 BEHDÎNÎ KURDISH	46
7.2 MARAŞ KURDISH (AKÇADAĞ AND ELBİSTAN)	52
<b>8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>9. APPENDIX</b>	<b>59</b>
THE SAMPLE TEXT	59
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>115</b>

## Abbreviations

1: *First person*

2: *Second person*

3: *Third person*

ACC: *Accusative*

ANAPH: *Anaphoric*

CAUS: *Causative suffix*

CIR: *Circumposition*

COMPR: *Comparative suffix*

COND: *Conditional*

CONT: *Continuous*

COP: *Copula*

DEM: *Demonstrative pronoun*

DIM: *Diminutive*

DIR: *Direct case*

DRC: *Directional clitic*

EXEZ: *Extended Ezafe particle*

EZ: *Ezafe*

F: *Feminine*

FUT: *Future tense particle*

GEN: *Genitive*

HIA: *Hiatus*

HOR: *Hortative*

IMP: *Imperative*

IND: *Indicative*

INDF: *Indefinite*

INF: *Infinitive suffix*

INT: *Interrogative particle*

INTERJ: *Interjection*

KUR: *Kurdish*

Lit.: *Literally*

M: *Masculine*

N: *Neuter*

NEG: *Negation*

NOM: *Nominative*

OBL: *Oblique case*

PL: *Plural*

PP: *Perfect participle*

PREF: *Verbal prefix*

PREP: *Preposition*

PRF: *Perfect*

PRS: *Present tense*

PST: *Past tense*

REFL: *Reflexive pronoun*

SBJV: *Subjunctive*

SG: *Singular*

SK: *Southern Kurmanji*

SUBJ: *Subject*

Tur: *Turkish*

VOC: *Vocative case*

WK: *Western Kurmanji*

## **System of transcription**

Northern Kurdish spoken in Turkey and Syria uses a modified Latin based alphabet consisting of 31 characters, 8 vowels and 23 consonants. The Kurdish linguist and publisher Celadet Elî Bedirxan created this alphabet and he used it for the first time in 1932 in the Kurdish magazine *Hawar* published in Syria. Therefore it is sometimes called the *Hawar Alphabet* or the *Bedirxan Alphabet*. Today this alphabet is used in almost all publication in Northern Kurdish in Turkey and Syria.

The Hawar Alphabet has also been used in the transcription of the data from the fieldwork of this study. The examples taken from Ritter (1971-1976) are also re-transcribed in the Hawar Alphabet to be more practical and compatible. However the examples in Behdînî and the dialect of Maraş taken from various sources are given in their original transcriptions. See the Hawar Alphabet on the following page.

*The Hawar Alphabet*

	Letters	IPA correspondence		Letters	IPA correspondence
1.	<b>Aa</b>	[a:]	17.	<b>Nn</b>	[n]
2.	<b>Bb</b>	[b]	18.	<b>Oo</b>	[o:]
3.	<b>Cc</b>	[d̥ʒ]	19.	<b>Pp</b>	[p] and [p <sup>h</sup> ]
4.	<b>Çç</b>	[t̪] and [t̪ <sup>h</sup> ]	20.	<b>Qq</b>	[q]
5.	<b>Dd</b>	[d]	21.	<b>Rr</b>	[r] and [r]
6.	<b>Ee</b>	[ɛ]	22.	<b>Ss</b>	[s] and [s <sup>ʕ</sup> ]
7.	<b>Êê</b>	[e:]	23.	<b>Şş</b>	[ʃ]
8.	<b>Ff</b>	[f]	24.	<b>Tt</b>	[t] and [t <sup>h</sup> ]
9.	<b>Gg</b>	[g]	25.	<b>Uu</b>	[ʊ]
10.	<b>Hh</b>	[h] and [h̥]	26.	<b>Ûû</b>	[u:]
11.	<b>Ii</b>	[ɪ]	27.	<b>Vv</b>	[v]
12.	<b>Îî</b>	[i:]	28.	<b>Ww</b>	[w]
13.	<b>Jj</b>	[ʒ]	29.	<b>Xx</b>	[χ] and [ʁ]
14.	<b>Kk</b>	[k] and [k <sup>h</sup> ]	30.	<b>Yy</b>	[j]
15.	<b>Ll</b>	[l] and [l̥]	31.	<b>Zz</b>	[z]
16.	<b>Mm</b>	[m]	32.	<b>'</b>	[ʕ]

# 1. INTRODUCTION

The present study investigates a group of particles occurring in the Northern Kurdish dialect of the Tor area (Syriac: *Turabdin*) in southeastern Turkey. The dialect of Northern Kurdish spoken in the Tor area has often been overlooked and rarely analyzed.

There are a group of particles in the dialect of Northern Kurdish (commonly known as Kurmanji) spoken in the Tor area. Depending on the kind of the predicate and person these particles are sensitive to the gender of the subject and object, and in certain situations can affect the tense of the sentence. The phenomenon described here is mentioned in a few other studies on the dialects spoken in the Behdînan area in Iraq (usually called Behdînî or Badînî) and the dialects spoken in Maraş (officially Kahramanmaraş) in Turkey (Haig & Öpengin 2015: 58-60). However there is no detailed study mentioning the existence of such a phenomenon in the dialect of Tor except for Bailey's study, where a similar particle occurring in the Northern Kurdish spoken by the Yezidi community of the Tor area is mentioned (Bailey 2005: 29-30).

The data serving as the basis of the description in this study comes from the villages around Kerboran (Tur. Dargeçit), a district in the northern part of the Mardin province in Turkey. Kerboran is a Kurdish-dominated town with approximately 28.000 residents. Most of the residents who live in the city today have moved from nearby villages by their own will or were displaced from their villages in 1990s by the Turkish state claiming the conflict with the Kurdish guerrilla as the reason.

The residents in the area, apart from their Kurdish identity, usually identify themselves as *Torî* and the variety of Northern Kurdish spoken there is called *Torîkî*. The term *Torîkî* or Tor Kurdish refers to the variety spoken in the Tor area, especially Kerboran, Midyat and the surrounding area. This dialect will be named as Tor Kurdish in this study.

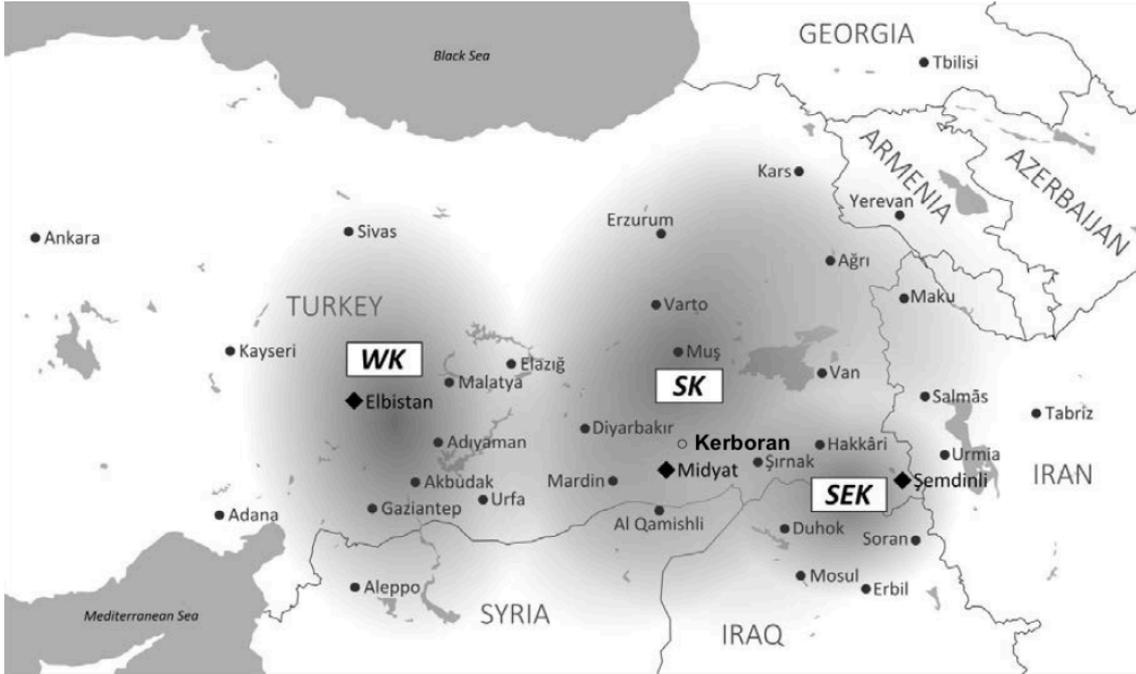


Figure 1. The three main dialect zones of Northern Kurdish according to Haig & Öpengin (2014).

According to the dialect classification made by Haig and Öpengin (2014: 147) the Tor area alongside the provinces of Batman and Mardin, and some parts of Şırnak, are included in the southern dialect area. Although the varieties spoken in these areas are gathered under the same name, there is a variation within the varieties spoken in the southern dialect region (SK). Especially the occurrence of some of the particles discussed here seems to be restricted to the Tor area. The particles disappear already within the border of the Mardin and Batman provinces. It is possible to see the particles even in some part of Şırnak along the border of Mardin, in Hezex (İdil), which are also included in the Tor area.

## 2. AIM AND METHOD

In the dialect of Northern Kurdish spoken in the Tor area there are some particles occurring in some specific situations, which are partly sensitive to the gender of the subject or object. These particles appearing with verbal predicates in present and past tenses create progressive and prospective constructions.

The analysis made for this study shows that there is a question of two different groups of particles that at first sight seem alike. However when the issue is more closely investigated it becomes clear that these two groups of particles have different forms and functions and that they also occur in different situations. Therefore in this study the particles are grouped as two paradigms, Group A and Group B, depending on what kind of predicates they are occurring with, the function they have in the sentences and also their structure (See Table 1 and Table 2). The two groups are analyzed apart from each other.

**Table 1. Group A**

	Feminine	Masculine
1.SG, 2.SG	<i>î</i>	
3.SG	<i>a</i>	<i>î</i>
PL	<i>a</i>	

**Table 2. Group B**

	Feminine	Masculine
1.SG, 2.SG	<i>ê</i>	
3.SG	<i>a/wa/ya</i>	<i>ê/wê/yê</i>
PL	<i>ê/wê/yê</i>	

Although the structure of the particles varies, the forms in both groups are identical to Ezafe forms. One of two alternative forms of the masculine Ezafe in chain constructions where more than one modifier is linked to the head noun is *-î*. Group A *-î* used for 1.SG and 2.SG and 3.SG.M is identical to this indefinite masculine singular Ezafê suffix. Group A *-a* used for 3.SG.F and PL is identical to the feminine Ezafe form.

Group B *-ê/wê/yê* used for 1.SG, 2.SG and 3.SG.M is identical to the masculine Ezafe. Also the form *-a* in Group B appearing with 3.SG.F is the same as the feminine definite

Ezafe. The Group B plural forms most probably originate from the plural Ezafe which is *-(y)ên* in written/standard Northern Kurdish. However the final *-n* is dropped in many dialects including Tor Kurdish, and it always appears as *-(y)ê*. For more information about the connection between the Ezafe and these particles see section 5.

Considering the origin of these particles and the expansion that the linker Ezafe has undergone these particles will be named as *Extended Ezafe particles*, shortened as EXEZ.

Group B particles occur more or less frequently in other varieties of Northern Kurdish. However Group A particles are not as common as Group B. Group A particles, in varying degrees and forms, occur in some of the other varieties as mentioned above, but the forms appearing in the Tor area seem to be restricted to Tor Kurdish.

Group A particles appear only with non-verbal predicates while Group B particles appear with both non-verbal and verbal predicates. Depending on the verb and tense used in the sentence, Group B particles create prospective and progressive expressions. However, the function of Group A particles is not clear from only a synchronic approach.

There are studies mentioning similar particles occurring in a couple of other varieties of Northern Kurdish, such as Behdînî and Maraş. Despite the availability of texts compiled by Ritter from Kerboran, the existence of EXEZ particles in the Tor Kurdish is not well-known. The only study in which the particles from the Tor area are briefly mentioned is Bailey's *A comparative study of grammatical relations in Northern Kurdish* (2005: 29-30).

The main aim of the present study will be to describe and analyze the EXEZ particles in order to give a detailed picture of their function. Being aware of the existence of these particles in Tor Kurdish may help in drawing a better picture of similar particles in other varieties of Northern Kurdish in general.

On the basis of the recordings and the texts from the area, this study will provide a detailed picture of the presence of the EXEZ particles, divided into Group A and Group B. The two groups will be described separately and the possible connections between them will be discussed. Group B particles seem to be more common in Northern Kurdish than Group A, and their functions differ significantly. To show the dialectal variation of the particles a comparison of the EXEZ particles in other dialects will be made separately.

Both groups of particles have a strong structural connection to the adnominal linker Ezafe. Therefore a brief description of the Ezafe constructions in Northern Kurdish will be given and the relation between the Ezafe and the EXEZ particles will be discussed.

An important question that arose when I started this study was whether I, as a native speaker, should base the explanation of the functions of the EXEZ particles on my own intuition or if I should try to behave as an outsider to whom this phenomenon is completely foreign. This question guided me to the emic and etic approaches which by many linguists and anthropologists are considered to be useful methods in drawing more accurate conclusions regarding cultural and linguistic phenomena.

These terms, emic and etic, are derived from the linguistic terms *phonemic* and *phonetic* and refer to two different approaches concerning explanations made on anthropological and linguistic issues. The terms were coined by the linguist Kenneth L. Pike in 1954 and later became popular among linguists and in scientific disciplines. Etic refers to categorizing behavior from the perspective of an outsider in ways that are applicable to different systems and can be used to compare them in order to make generalizations on the topic (Chapman & Routledge 2009: 66) and (Pike 1967: 37). An etic approach applies a previously constructed set of criteria for classifying and organizing analogous types of data from all over the world into a single system in order to compare them (Mostowlansky & Rota 2016: 322).

According to Kenneth L. Pike the etic perspective remains blind to the many events that appear similar on the surface, but differ profoundly depending on the meaning or

purpose of the actors. He considers the etic perspective a stepping stone to the emic one (Mostowlansky & Rota 2016: 323).

Scholars who use the emic perspective are actual members of the culture, in this case native speakers and are very important resources for understanding the behavior profoundly. Thus, as a native speaker of the Tor Kurdish, being able to take advantage of my own intuition in certain questions should be of great benefit when clarifying some important issues regarding the topic.

### **3. DESCRIPTION OF THE MATERIAL**

The data used in this study comes mainly from two sources, my own data that I recorded in Kerboran (Tur. Dargeçit) in January 2014 and Helmut Ritter's data from 1971-76 (Ritter 1971-1976). Data from other sources such as *Kurdish Dialect Studies I* (MacKenzie 1961), *Kurdish Dialect Studies II* (MacKenzie 1962) and *Le Kurde de 'Amādiya et de Djabal Sindjār: Analyse linguistique, textes folkloriques, glossaires* (Blau 1975) will be used when comparison with other dialects is made (see section 7). Alongside these, a book containing folkloric Kurdish text from Maraş, *Taw Dilo Akçadağ-Elbistan Ağzıyla Kürt Folkloründen Seçmeler* (Kömür 2003) will also be used for comparison with Tor Kurdish. When an example from these sources is used the source is given in parentheses under the example. The examples from my own fieldwork are not marked as long as it is not necessary.

#### **3.1. Fieldwork**

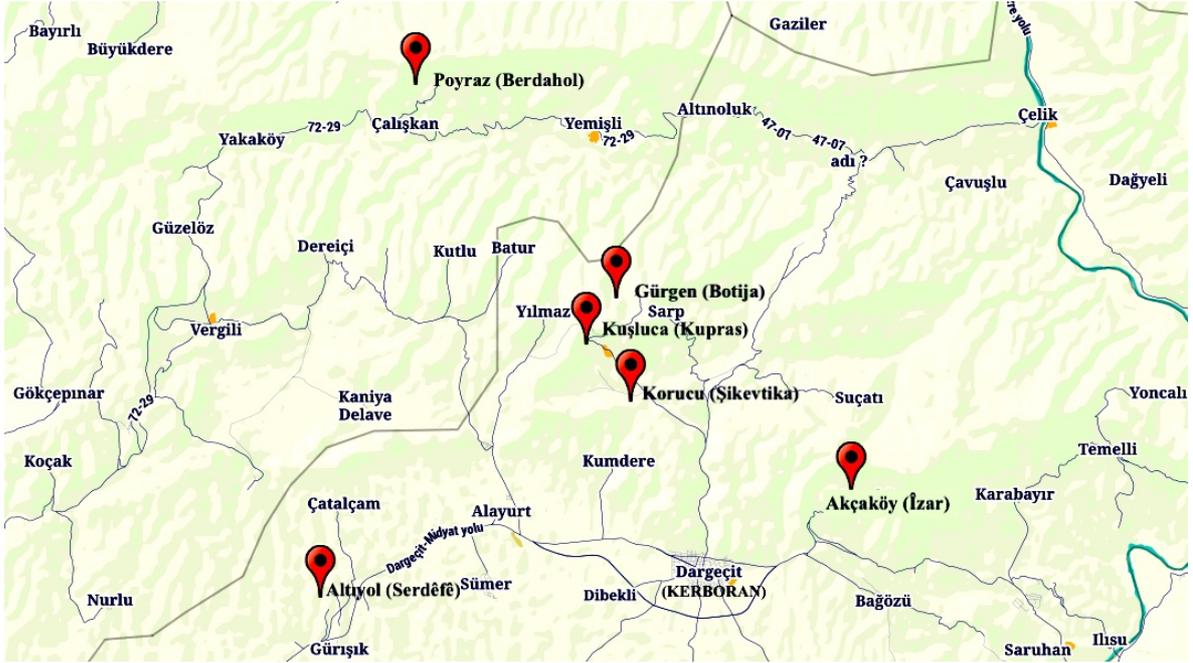
The data from 2014 consist of six texts by six different speakers, five male and one female speaker. Rather than by their surnames, the speakers are mentioned according to their villages or family nicknames which is still a very common way to refer to people in the Tor area as well as in the rest of Kurdistan when membership of tribe is not relevant. The ages of the speakers are between 51 and 85 years and all of them are from the villages around Kerboran (Tur. Dargeçit), five of them still living in Kerboran whereas one of them was living in Batman since more than thirty years until he passed

away in 2015. All of the speakers have approved that their stories can be used in this study.

The questions asked during the recordings were mostly about their life when they were younger and what they were dealing with, and what they are dealing with in the nowadays, rather than asking for tales or stories. The purpose was to make the speakers feel comfortable while speaking and provide varied language samples especially in terms of tense and expressions. Yet, due to the speakers' own desire, two of the recordings are tales.



Figure 2: The data used in this study is representative for the region inside the circle.



Figur 3: Map over the speakers' villages.

On the 10th of January 2014 I met the first speaker, the 72-year-old male *Hacı Salihê Botijî* from the village Botija (Tur. Gürgen)<sup>1</sup>, which is located 10 km north of Kerboran. The first text is mostly about the speaker's experiences traveling to İzmir on the west coast of Turkey and his experiences of the mandatory military service there. In the beginning of the text the speaker also tells about his life as a villager in Kurdistan.

The second speaker *Ehmedê Mala Kinê*, a 72-year-old male, tells about the history of his musician family and his own life as a musician and a traditional healer. Kinê is his family nickname and his village Kupras (Tur. Kuşluca) is located 8 km north of Kerboran.

The third recording, that of *Seyid Silêmanê Serdêfî*, an 80-year-old male, is about the speaker's life as a smuggler on the Turkish-Syrian border and as a partridge hunter. His village Serdêfê (Tur. Altıyol) is located approximately 12 km west of Kerboran. *Seyid Silêmanê Serdêfî* lived in Batman more than 30 years and passed away there in the autumn of 2015.

<sup>1</sup> From 1940 the Turkish state replaced all Kurdish, Arabic and Syriac names of cities and villages in Turkey with Turkish names. However the original names are more frequently used among the people of the region.

The fourth text is a tale told by *Şikriyê Şikevtikî*, a 51-year-old male. His village Şikevtika (Tur. Korucu) is located approximately 6 km north of Kerboran.

The fifth recording is of a 65-year-old male, *Emîne Îzarî*, from the village of Îzar (Tur. Akçaköy), located approximately 6 km northeast of Kerboran. The speaker tells about his life as a villager and his military service, as well as about his life today. This text is given as a sample text at the end of this study.

The sixth text is a tale told by 85-year-old *Hacî Eyşa Berdaholî*, the only female speaker in these recordings. She is from the village of Berdahol (Tur. Poyraz), located in the district of Kercos (Tur. Gercüş) approximately 30 km north of Kerboran.

### **3.2. The data collected by Helmut Ritter**

The data from 1971-1976 collected by Helmut Ritter consists of two chapters, the first named as *Kärboran* and the second as *Yeziden*. The first part begins with a description of Kerboran by speaker *Yusuf Harman*, a man in his 20s, entitled as *Gundê Kärboran*. After the description of Kerboran, Yusuf tells a story from his childhood, *Ein Unfall in meiner Kindheit*. The rest of the texts in this part are 4 folktales by Yusuf's elder brother, Musa, and Musa's son. In the introduction Ritter mentions that the main population in Kerboran is Muslim, but there are also Christians who speak Kurdish as their mother tongue. When Yusuf Harman introduces himself he mentions his father's name, which is Gabriel. On the basis of the name Gabriel we can tell that at least two of the three speakers in Ritter's text are Christians from Kerboran who speak Kurdish as their mother tongue. A Muslim would use the Arabic version of the name, *Cebraîl*. The second part of Ritter's text is titled as *Yeziden* and consists of 4 stories by a *Yezidi* elder from the village Taqe (Tur. Oyuklu) southeast of Midyat (Tur. Midyat).

## 4. PREVIOUS STUDIES

MacKenzie (1961) mentions similar particles appearing in the Behdîni variety of Northern Kurdish. However MacKenzie does not make a distinction between the particles appearing with non-verbal predicates and those appearing with real verbal predicates. In Tor Kurdish, there is an obvious difference between these particles in their forms depending on the kind of predicate they appear with. The particles which MacKenzie mentions as *demonstrative Ezafe* appears with present tense and perfect forms in the Sûrçi and Akrê varieties of Behdîni Kurdish. MacKenzie states that when the particle appears with present indicative it gives a sense of state or action in progress.

MacKenzie gives examples from the Akrê dialect where the particles appear with a nominal predicate – as seen in (1) – which is not possible in Tor Kurdish. MacKenzie claims that in these cases the particle gives a sense of temporality. In some cases the copula is omitted when the EXEZ particles appear, as seen in (2). A more detailed comparison of the topic in other dialects will be given in section 7. The particles appearing in Behdîni are distinguished for gender and number for all persons.

(1) ez-ê                      musâfir-im  
1.SG-EXEZ.M    traveller-COP.PRS.1.SG

‘I am a traveller.’

*(MacKenzie 1961)*

(2) dikan    yâ                      qapâtkirî-a  
shop    EXEZ.F    shut-COP.PRS.3.SG

‘The shop is shut.’

*(MacKenzie 1961)*

(3) mâr-ak              yê                      t.nâv              bafrê              dâ  
snake-INDF    EXEZ.M    in              snow.OBL    in

‘There is a snake in the snow.’

*(MacKenzie 1961)*



(5) rê-ya me a dūr e  
road-EZ.F 1.PL.OBL EXEZ.F long COP.PRS.3.SG

‘Our road is long.’

*(Bedir Han & Lescot 1990)*

(6) sêv-ên sor çêtir in an ên spî  
apple-EZ.PL red better COP.PRS.3.PL or DEM.EZ.PL white

‘Are the red apples better or the white ones?’

*(Bedir Han & Lescot 1990)*

(7) dūr-î te şev-ên min ên dirêj in  
far-EZ.N 2.SG.OBL night-EZ.PL 1.SG.OBL EXEZ.PL long COP.PRS.3.PL

‘Far from you my nights are long.’

*(Bedir Han & Lescot 1990)*

(8) xani-yê me ê spî ye  
house-EZ.M 3.PL.OBL DEM.EZ.M white COP.PRS.3.SG

‘Our house is the white one.’

*(Bedir Han & Lescot 1990)*

The function that Ezafe has in (4), (6) and (8) is the demonstrative/anaphoric function. But in (5) and (7) the function is not the same at all. The authors categorize the particles on the basis of their combinations with nouns, adjectives and pronouns and do not mention specifically the function of the particles.

Bailey (2005: 29-30) mentions a particle appearing with perfect in the Kurdish variety spoken by the Yezidi religious minority in the Tor area. There is a single form of the particle, î/wî, and it is not distinguished for number and gender. According to Bailey this particle follows the subject of the clause and it has a kind of indicative meaning and

speaker certainty, see (9). Bailey also mentions that when same particle is occurring with the present tense it gives an aspectual meaning, namely continuity.

(9) wan            wî            kahrik        xwari-ne  
      3.PL.OBL CONT    kid.goat     eat.PP-COP.PRS.3.PL

‘They have eaten a kid goat.’

*(Bailey 2005)*

Bailey argues that the particle *î/wî* disappears if the speaker has some doubt on the information or if the truth of the information is only assumed, see (10). It is not occurring with negation and interrogation either. Bailey does not mention any particles occurring with non-verbal predicates.

(10) belkî        wan            kahrik        xwari-ye  
      maybe 3.PL.OBL    kid.goat     eat.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG

‘Maybe they have eaten the kid goat.’

*(Bailey 2005)*

## 5. EZAFE CONSTRUCTIONS IN NORTHERN KURDISH AND THEIR CONNECTION TO THE EXEZ PARTICLES

Since the forms of the EXEZ particles are similar to Ezafe it is necessary to describe the Ezafe in Northern Kurdish. In this section Ezafe will be described based on the forms and function that occur in written/standard Northern Kurdish.

Phonologically the EXEZ particles are almost identical to the Ezafe in Northern Kurdish. Therefore knowing the Ezafe and its functions could be helpful in understanding the origin of these particles.

The name Ezafe comes from the Arabic word *idāfa*, which means *addition*. In Northern Kurdish, Ezafe refers to a group of grammatical morphemes, which occur in a number of partially overlapping functions (Haig 2011: 365).

The functions of Ezafe in written/standard Kurdish and in dialects don't differ from each other, however the forms of Ezafe can vary in dialects. The Ezafe in Tor Kurdish and in standard/written Kurdish are the same except for the plural. The plural form is –(y)ê<sup>n</sup> in written/standard Kurdish while in Tor Kurdish the final –*n* is dropped and the –(y)ê form is used regularly. The hiatus filler ‘-y-’ is applied when the preceding word ends with a vowel.

The full forms of the Ezafe in standard/written Kurdish and also in Tor Kurdish (except for the plural form) are as seen in the *Table 3* below. The secondary forms of Ezafe are used in chain Ezafe constructions where more than one modifier is linked to the head noun. In such constructions the first modifier is linked with the primary form of the Ezafe and the other following modifiers are linked with the secondary Ezafe forms.



- (13) *çav-ên*                      *min*  
 eye-EZ.PL                      1.SG.OBL

‘My eyes.’

Nouns in Northern Kurdish occur in two forms, one uninflected direct form and one oblique form where the words are inflected for gender and number. When the ezafe construction consists of a genitive attribute the second noun is in the oblique case, as seen in (14) the person name, *Osman*, is in oblique case inflected as *Osmên*. The same inflection cannot be mentioned for the noun-adjective constructions since the adjectives in Northern Kurdish are sensitive to neither gender nor number, as in (15).

- (14) *xanî-yê*                      *Osmên*  
 house-EZ.M                      Osman.M.OBL

‘Osman’s home.’

- (15) *xanî-yê*                      *mezin*  
 house-EZ.M                      big

‘The big house.’

Ezafe is also required when more than one post-nominal modifier is linked to the head noun. In such chain constructions the second Ezafe particle is still sensitive to the gender and number of the head noun, ex. (16) and (17).

- (16) *xanî-yê*                      *Osmên*                      *ê*                      *mezin*  
 house-EZ.M                      Osman.M.OBL      EZ.M                      big

‘Osman’s big house.’

- (17) *çiya-yên*                      *bilind*                      *ên*                      *kurdistanê*  
 mountain-EZ.PL                      high                      EZ.PL                      kurdistan.F.OBL

‘The high mountains of Kurdistan.’

In chain constructions with a masculine head noun the second ezafe can be ‘î’. It is a matter of choice and appears in many dialects of Northern Kurdish, as seen in ex. (18) and (19). In Tor Kurdish the second masculine Ezafe particle more frequently occurs as ‘î’. The EXEZ particles in Group A which occurs with 1.SG, 2.SG and 3.SG masculine can possibly have its origin from this form.

(18) bira-yê	min	ê	mezin
brother-EZ.M	1.SG.OBL	EZ.M	big

‘My elder brother.’

(19) bira-yê	min	î	mezin
brother-EZ.M	1.SG.OBL	EZ.M	big

‘My elder brother.’

Ezafe is employed to link modifiers to an indefinite head noun. The indefinite nouns in Northern Kurdish take the suffix *-(y)ek*, which originates from *yek* ‘one’. The Ezafe is applied after the indefinite suffix. The masculine form of Ezafe with indefinite nouns is *-î*, and the feminine form is *-e* or *-a*, as seen in (20), (21) and (22). In written/standard Kurdish *-e* occurs more frequently than *-a*.

(20) zîlam-ek-î	bejinbilind
man-INDF-EZ.M	tall

‘A tall man.’

(21) mal-ek-e	mezin
house-INDF-EZ.F	big

‘A big house.’

(22) mal-ek-a	mezin
house-INDF-EZ.F	big

‘A big house.’

Ezafe links a relative clause to the head noun. In such constructions in Tor Kurdish and many other dialects Ezafe is followed by the complementiser *ku*, as seen in (23), however it is not always obligatory. Thus, the Ezafe particle can link the relative clause directly to the head noun, as in (24).

(23) derî-yê            ku    ez            li.ber    sekinî    me  
       door-EZ.M        that 1.SG.DIR by        standing COP.PRS.1.SG

‘The door that I am standing by.’

(24) derî-yê            ez            li.ber    sekinî    me  
       door-EZ.M        1.SG.DIR by        standing COP.PRS.1.SG

‘The door I am standing by.’

Ezafe in Northern Kurdish can also be used independently. In such constructions the head noun is absent and Ezafe has an anaphoric function where the form of the Ezafe is determined by the referent. In the context demonstrative/anaphoric Ezafe indicate a previously mentioned referent. MacKenzie (1961) calls this Ezafe as demonstrative Ezafe, while Haig (2011) calls it demonstrative/anaphoric Ezafe. It exists in three forms, masculine *(y)ê*, feminine *(y)a* and plural *(y)ên*.

In (25) the Ezafe particle ‘*ya*’ refers back to the ‘apple’ in the asked question and it has the same function as the English pronoun ‘*one*’.

(25) [Tu sêva sor dixwazî? ] – Na, **ya** kesk dixwazim.  
       [Do you want the red apple] – No, the green one.

Additionally sometimes an adjective or a preposition can work as the head noun in Ezafe constructions. In such case the adjective is not substantivized and works as a simple linker. The Ezafe in such constructions has the uninflected neutral form, *-î*, see (26) and (27).

(26) dûr-î te şev-ên min ên dirêj in  
 far-EZ.N 2.SG.OBL night-EZ.PL 1.SG.OBL EXEZ.PL long COP.PRS.3.PL

‘Far from you my night are long.’

(27) li.gor-î min ev ne bûyer-ek-e  
 according-EZ.N 1.SG.OBL this.DEM.DIR NEG occurrence-INDF-EZ.F

şexsî ye  
 personal COP.PRS.3.SG

‘According to me this is not a personal occurrence.’

The plural form of Group A particles in Tor Kurdish and the equivalent of it in Behdînî is different. Behdînî follows a regular and logical pattern and copies the plural form of Ezafe, *-(y)êd/t*, while in Tor Kurdish a new form emerges which does not look to have something to do with the plural form of Ezafe, which in the case of Tor Kurdish is *-(y)ê*.

This new plural form could have a connection with two different kinds of particles in Northern Kurdish. Firstly it could be the feminine form of Ezafe, *-(y)a*, secondly it can be the nominal plural oblique suffix *-an*, which is always *-a* in Tor Kurdish and generally in spoken Northern Kurdish. However, a change of the category of the particle in this case does not seem logical. Thus, the first suggested alternative seems more reasonable, namely that the plural form of the EXEZ particles has been covered by the feminine form.

There is a relatively more regular and logical pattern in the Group B particles. The 1.SG and 2.SG are covered by masculine form *-ê*, there is a clear gender distinction in 3.SG and all plurals are *-ê*. Since the plural form of Ezafe is *-ê(n)*, here one could say that the plural form of Group B *-ê*, is the same as plural Ezafe as also seen in Behdînî (see section 7.1).

In Northern Kurdish personal pronouns are usually not inflected by gender. Even though there are two forms of personal pronouns, direct and oblique, both are gender-

free. The exception is 3.SG, which has a gender distinction in oblique forms, *wī* ‘he’ and *wē* ‘she’.

The use of Ezafe in other Iranian languages such as Persian is not as wide as in Northern Kurdish. Nowadays the Ezafe in Persian is just an uninflected linker. However a diachronic approach shows that this was not always the case.

The origin of Ezafe is traced back to Old Iranian (Old Persian and Avestan) grammatical element *hya* (*-ya* in Avestan), which had demonstrative/relative functions and was inflected for case, gender and number, Samvelian (2007: 4) and Karimi (2007: 2161). *Hya* is usually seen as a relative pronoun in Old Persian, Haig (2011: 384) argues however that the many of the *hya*-contractions are actually not relative clauses, but they are rather *loose appositive constructions*. Thus he argues that the primary function of *hya* was to introduce such appositive constructions. Therefore he suggests that a more correct translation of (28) would be *Darius, my father*. A similar construction, as in (28), is still possible in Northern Kurdish, *Elî-yê bav-ê min/Ali, my father*. When there are several relevant Alis in the context such constructions can be used to make clear the referent.

(28) [...] dāratavaum      [hya            manā        pitā]  
           darius.ACC       hya.M.NOM 1.SG.GEN father

‘Darius [who (was) my father]’

(Haig 2011)

Discussing *hya* in headless constructions as in (29) Haig points out that *hya* was also some kind of nominalizer already in Old Persian. He argues that *hya* in (29) has a generic sense as English *one*, as in *the strong one*. Although it is lost in Persian today it is still retained in Northern Kurdish, and is usually called demonstrative/anaphoric Ezafe, as discussed before (*ya kesk* ‘the green one’).

(29) *hya tauvīyā tyam skauθim naiy jatiy*  
 M.NOM strong *hya*.M.ACC weak.ACC NEG may.strike

‘(that) the strong (one) may not strike the weak (one).’

(Haig 2011)

Haig (2011: 385) argues that it is reasonable to assume that the ancestor language of Kurdish had similar functions as in Old Persian although the ancestor of the Northern Kurdish is not known. He suggests that the origin of the EXEZ particles, which he calls *Tense Ezafe*, must have been demonstrative/anaphoric Ezafe. This headless Ezafe is used to indicate a certain antecedent in the context.

According to Haig in constructions as in (30), (31) and (32) the initial nominal phrase *riwê min* ‘my face’, *halê wî* ‘his condition’ and *ez* ‘I’ are a left-dislocated topic and the EXEZ particle was a demonstrative/anaphoric Ezafe which referred back to that topic.

(30) *Hal-ê wî ê keftî-ye*  
 condition-EZ.M 3.SG.OBL EXEZ.M fall.PP-COP.3.SG

‘He is poor.’ (lit. His condition/state is fallen)

(Haig 2011)

(31) *Riw-ê min î bixumî ye*  
 face.EZ.M 1.SG.OBL EXEZ.M dirty COP.PRS.3.SG

‘My face is dirty.’

(32) *mane ez î gênc im*  
 but 1s.DIR EXEZ.SG young COP.PRES.1.S

‘ But I am young.’

(33) [My face/his state] TOPIC [that DEM/ANAPH.SUBJ is one that is dirty/that has fallen]<sub>S</sub>

(Haig 2011)

Haig suggests that “over time, this kind of constructions lost their pragmatically marked status and became the unmarked means of making such statements. Thus, even the left-dislocated topic was perceived as the subject of the clause. At this level the demonstrative/anaphoric Ezafe became unnecessary and reanalyzed as a part of the predicate, used primarily with non-verbal predicates and finally with verbal predicates.” (Haig 2011: 373).

While the Ezafe lost most of its functions in Persian and was reduced to an uninflected linker, it extended its scope into the domain of the verb and tense system in Northern Kurdish. Thus, the reanalyzed demonstrative/anaphoric Ezafe, which in the beginning appeared with non-verbal predicates, started to appear with real verbal predicates as a tense marker. (Haig 2011: 364).

## **6. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE EXEZ PARTICLES IN TOR KURDISH**

In this section the situations where the EXEZ particles appear will be shown and the particles will be described in detail. Based on their function, forms and the kind of predicates they appear with, the EXEZ particles are divided into two groups in this study, Group A and Group B. Group A (see Table 1) occurs only with adjectival and prepositional predicates which are mostly locatives. This group appears both in present and past tense, with affirmative, negative and interrogative sentences.

Group B, (see Table 2), occurs only in affirmative sentences with locative predicates and verbal predicates in present, past and perfect.

### **6.1. Group A particles with non-verbal predicates**

#### **6.1.1. Group A with copula in indicative**

Group A particles occur both in present and past tense in affirmative, negative and interrogative sentences when the predicate is an adjective or a prepositional phrase that



(37) rê            n-**a**                    xweş      bûn  
road            NEG-EXEZ.PL            nice      COP.PST.3.PL

‘The roads were not nice.’

(38) mîlet    ne-**y**                    şehreza    bû.  
people NEG-EXEZ.M    intelligent COP.PST.3.SG

‘People were not intelligent.’

There are no examples of interrogative sentences with the EXEZ particles in the data I have collected, however it is possible and an elicited example of an interrogative sentence with EXEZ particle is (39).

(39) ev      sêv                    **a**                    rizî                    ne  
these apples.PL    EXEZ.PL            rotten                COP.PRS.3.PL

‘Are these apples rotten?’

*(Elicited)*

The negation of sentences with copula both in present and past tense is made with an additional *ne* before the predicate. When the Group A particle *-a* which appear with 3.SG feminine and plurals is combined with the negation prefix the vowel of the prefix is dropped and the EXEZ particle is added to the negation as seen in (37). The EXEZ particle for 1.SG and 2.SG – which is always *-î* regardless of the gender of the subject – and for 3.SG masculine with the negative prefix *ne* becomes *ne-y*, as in (38). Also with the combination of the EXEZ particle and 2.SG in direct case (*ti* in Tor Kurdish) the inherent vowel of the pronoun ‘*i*’, is dropped and the particle *-î* is attached to the pronoun, as shown in (34). For other vowels, when the particle *-î* follows a noun or pronoun ending on a vowel it turns into ‘*y*’, as in (40).

(40) riw-ê          min          î          bixumî    ye  
 face-EZ.M    1.SG.OBL    EXEZ.SG.M    dirty    COP.PRS.3.SG

yê                  te-y                  paqij          e  
 DEM.EZ.M    2.SG.OBL-EXEZ.M    clean          COP.PRS.3.SG

‘My face is dirty, yours is clean.’

If the subject is not dropped the Group A particles follow the subject. Since the Ezafe in Kurdish is sensitive to the gender and number of the preceding head noun or pronoun it might be expected that these particles indicate the gender of subject, however that is not the case. Only in 3.SG there is a true agreement between the gender of the subject and the particle, as seen in (41), the particle has an agreement with the masculine gender of the subject. In (42) there is an agreement between the particle and the feminine gender of the subject.

(41) Milk                          î                  kêr          bû  
 property.DIR.M                  EXEZ.M                  insufficient    COP.PST.3.SG

‘The property was insufficient.’

(42) av                  a                  zahf          bû  
 water.DIR.F    EXEZ.F    much.          COP.PST.3.SG

‘There was a lot of water.’

On the other hand, the particle is always *-î* for 1.SG and 2.SG, as in (43) and (44). For 3.SG where there is a clear gender agreement between the subject and the EXEZ particles *-î* is the masculine particle (see Table 1). In (43) the subject is male and in (44) the subject is female, however the gender particles are masculine in both examples.

(43) ez                  î                  botijî          me.  
 1.SG.DIR    EXEZ.SG    botijian          COP.PRS.1.SG

‘I am from Botija.’ (Lit. I am Botijian.)

(44) go            ez            î            tî            me  
       said.3.SG    1.SG.DIR   EXEZ.SG    thirsty   COP.PRS.1.SG

‘She said I am thirsty.’

The particle is always *-a* for all plurals as seen in (45) and (46). In the 3.SG where there is a gender agreement between the subject and the EXEZ particle *-a* represents the feminine EXEZ particle. In the following two examples it can be seen that *-a* is used also when the subject is plural.

(45) em            a            li            gunda            bûn  
       1.PL.DIR   EXEZ.PL   in            villages        COP.PST.1.PL

‘We were in villages.’

(46) ew            a            arzan            bûn  
       3.PL.DIR   EXEZ.PL   cheap        COP.PST.3.PL

‘They were cheap.’

The similar particles in other dialect of Northern Kurdish, which will be discussed in section 7, show us that a full gender and number agreement between the subject and the EXEZ particles is possible, however in Tor Kurdish they have lost this agreement for 1.SG and 2.SG. If we keep inside the border of Ezafe forms we can assume that the plural form has a connection to the feminine Ezafe *-a*. Thus the masculine *-î* covers both feminine and masculine subject of 1.SG and 2.SG while feminine *-a* covers 3.SG feminine and plural.

Sometimes the 3.SG and 3.PL pronouns can be dropped in sentences with non-verbal predicates where even the gender particles occur. In such cases the particle is still appearing if it is clear who is mentioned in the sentence, as in (47) and (48). The particle works as an demonstrative/anaphoric pronoun.

(47) î            nas            bû  
 EXEZ.M    known        COP.PST.3.SG

‘He was an acquaintance.’

(48) û            a            pîs    in  
 and        EXEZ.PL    bad    COP.PRS.3.PL

‘And they are of bad quality.’

### 6.1.2. Group A with copula in subjunctive

Expressions like desire, ability, necessity, deliberative and hortative constructions in Northern Kurdish are made with subjunctive (Thackston 2006: 39-42). Group A particles can appear even when the copula of the non-verbal predicates is in subjunctive.

In (49) the speaker is not sure about what he is assuming and uses the subjunctive form of the copula to check if the information he is assuming is correct. The plural form of the EXEZ particles is present.

(49) go            ti-jb-ê            hûn            a            jî            wî  
 said.3.SG    IND-resemble-3.SG    2.PL.DIR    EXEZ.PL    from    3.M.OBL

welat-ê            me            b-in  
 region-EZ.M    1.PL.OBL    be.SBJV-2.PL

‘He said, it looks like you are from our region.’

The following example (50) is a conditional sentence in which if the condition is fulfilled the result happens. According to the speaker if you are rich, “if your pocket is full”, you are respected. The same situation exists in (51).

(50) îro heke berîk a tiji b-ê,  
today if pocket.DIR.F EXEZ.F full be.SBJV-3.SG

dolar û marq û ew xatir-ê mihov  
dollar and mark and 3.SG.DIR respect-EZ.M human

î zahf e  
EXEZ.M very COP.PRS.3.SG

‘Today, if your pockets are full of dollars, marks and such you are respected.’

(51) go der- a kû t-î lê b-ê  
said.3.SG place-EZ.F that 2.SG.DIR-EXEZ.SG in be.SBJV-2.SG

alim jî timam ni-kar-in bi-ştexil-in.  
intellectual.DIR.PL also all NEG-can.PRS-3.PL SBJV-talk-3.PL

‘He said even intellectuals couldn’t speak in your presence.’ (Lit: where you are)

Hortative sentences in Northern Kurdish are made with *bila* ‘let’ which precede the sentences, plus the verb or copula in subjunctive form. Group A particles occur also in such expressions in which the predicate complements are either adjectives or adpositional phrases. In (52) and (53) the predicate complements are adpositional phrases.

(52) go seyîd bila herdik-ê min  
said.3.SG sayyid let both-EZ.M 1.SG.OBL

a ji te re b-in  
EXEZ.PL from 2.SG.OBL CIR be-3.PL

‘He told me to take his two partridges.’

(Lit. He said Sayyid let my two (partridges) be yours.)

(53) teymen got-e bînbaşı go bila  
 lieutenant said.3.SG-DRC major said let

ev kurik î li.ba çîk-a te b-ê.  
 this boy EXEZ.M by thing-EZ.F 2.SG.OBL be.SBJV-3.SG

‘The lieutenant told the major to let this boy stay at his thing (service).’

There are also some cursing phrases made with *mera* ‘I wish’ plus subjunctive copula where the EXEZ particles appear. In following four examples, (54), (55), (56) and (57), the protagonist of the fairy tale curses her father and his family for abandoning her in the mountains.

(54) mera yabo rez-k-ê w-a şîn b-in  
 I.wish father.VOC vineyard-DIM-EZ.PL 2.PL.OBL-EXEZ.PL blue be.SUB-3.PL

tirh pê.ve ne-wê.  
 grape with NEG.SBJV-come.3.SG

‘Oh father, may your vineyards be green, but without grapes.’

(55) çêlek-ê w-a zayî b-in  
 cow-EZ.PL 2.PL.OBL-EXEZ.PL bred be.SBJV-3.PL

şîr tê ne-b-ê  
 milk in.it NEG.SBJV-be-3.SG

‘May your cows be bred, but without milk.’

(56) mera yabo pez-k-ê w-a zayî  
 I.wish father.VOC livestock-DIM-EZ.PL 2.PL.OBL-EXEZ.PL bred

b-in şîr tê ne-b-ê.  
 be.SBJV-3.PL milk in.it NEG.SBJV-be-3.SG

‘Oh father, may your livestock be bred, but without milk.’

(57) û kahni-ya we a şil b-ê û  
 and water.source-EZ.F 2.PL.OBL EXEZ.F wet be.SBJV.3.SG and

av tê ne-b-ê  
 water in.it NEG.SBJV-be-3.SG

‘And may your water-source be wet, but without water.’

The following two examples, (58) and (59), are conditional sentences in past tense.

(58) ê go î pîs ba-ne bîst bû,  
 DEM.EZ.M that EXEZ.SG.M bad be.SBJV.PST-3.SG twenty COP.PST.3.SG

sih bû  
 thirty COP.PST.3.SG

‘The one that was bad cost twenty, thirty.’

(59) yanî mal-a kû a xwert ba-ne  
 in.other.words house-EZ.F that EXEZ.F strong be.SBJV.PST-3.SG

çay-a wa hebû.  
 tea-EZ.F 3.PL.OBL existed.3.SG

‘In other words, the household that was rich had tea.’

Additionally the sentences (51), (58) and (59) are constructed by relative clauses. In standard/written Northern Kurdish relative clauses are introduced by the complementizer *ku* (*go* or *kû* in Tor Kurdish). In the examples above the EXEZ particles are employed even after the complementizer within the relative clause, which is preceded by the head noun carrying Ezafe suffix.

### 6.1.3. Absence of Group A particles

Group A particles do not appear regularly in sentences although all conditions are provided. In following two examples, (60) and (61), there isn’t a semantic difference,

however in (61) the EXEZ particle is absent, and replaced with the topic marker *jî* ‘also’.

(60) *milet*                      *î*                                      *kêm*      *bû*  
       people.DIR.M              EXEZ.M                                      few      COP.PST.3.SG

‘There were few people.’ (Lit. People were few.)

(61) *û*      *milet*                      *jî*                                      *kêm*                      *bû*.  
       and people.DIR.M              also                                      insufficient      COP.PST.3.SG

‘And there were few people.’ (Lit. And people were also few.)

In some examples where the adverb *wilo/halo* ‘so/like this’ appear the particle is absent, but there are other examples where both the adverb and the particle are present. Thus, a replacement by an adverbial component is not relevant. In all following three examples, (62), (63) and (64) the adverb *wilo/halo* ‘so/like this’ is present, however in (62) and (63) the particles do not appear, while in (64) the particle is present.

(62) *ça’v-ê*                      *wa*                      *halo*                      *çirihayî*                      *ne*  
       eye-EZ.PL                      3.PL.OBL like this                      torn                      COP.PRS.3.PL

‘Their eyes are torn like this.’

(63) *seyd*      *elî*                                      *wilo*                                      *bêhteng*                      *e*  
       Sayyid Ali                                      like this                                      short-tempered      COP.PRS.3.SG

‘Sayyid Ali is, like, short-tempered.’

(64) *î*                                      *wilo*                                      *foq*                                      *bû*  
       EXEZ.M                                      like this                                      vivacious      COP.PST.3.SG

‘He was, like, vivacious.’

In (65) it would be expected that plural EXEZ particle, *-a*, is employed after the subject *rez* ‘vineyards’. However, although the conditions are provided the particle is absent, and it is not replaced with another component

(65) rez                      zahf      bûn  
vineyard.PL.DIR   many      COP.PST.3.PL

‘There were many vineyards.’

So why the particles are absent sometimes? A reason can be the decay of Group A particles in Tor Kurdish. They work as some kind of subject markers indicating the gender and number. The EXEZ particles in Tor Kurdish do not have full agreement with the gender of the 1.SG and 2.SG. However the same phenomenon in other dialects, e.g. in Behdînî, with gender and number agreement for all persons can be interpreted that a full agreement was probably present even in Tor Kurdish before it started to weaken.

The variation of the sentences with and without the EXEZ particles in Tor Kurdish proves that the usage of Group A particles is more voluntary than obligatory, and in fact a decay of the Group A particles is ongoing. My own observation shows that the younger generation in the Tor area tends to use Group A particles to a lesser extent. Especially when there is a trans-dialectal communication, the particles are completely abandoned by the younger speakers of Tor Kurdish.

## **6.2. Group B Particles**

### **6.2.1. Group B with locative predicates**

Besides the verbal predicates, which will be analyzed further on, the Group B particles occur also with non-verbal adpositional predicates, which indicate the location. In this case the particles add a progressive and demonstrative sense to the sentence. The referent can be both proximal and distal.

In Tor Kurdish Group B particles with locative predicates occur only in affirmative sentences in present tense. Like Group A also Group B particles have a full gender and number agreement only in 3.SG. The particle for 1.SG, 2.SG and plurals are “wê/yê/ê”, for the 3.SG feminine it appears as “wa/ya/a” and for 3.SG masculine as “wê/yê/ê” (see Table 2).

In (66) the EXEZ particle is used to express two synchronic events. The subject sees a horseman coming while he is at hunting. Although the first clause, *rojekê ez ê li rev.û.nêçîrê me* ‘one day I am at hunting’, is in present tense, the event has occurred in the past, thus the particle employs to give a continuous sense while the past time is indicated by adverb *rojekê* ‘one day’. Thus the sense of two simultaneous states and acts is given. Also the past tense of the following sentence (*min*) *mezand* ‘I looked’ tells us that the event has occurred in the past. The same situation is present even in (67). Although the adverb of time is absent in (67) the same sense of simultaneous states in the past is given.

(66) di-bê(j-ê)      roj-ek-ê      ez      ê      li rev.û.nêçîrê  
IND-say-3.SG    day-INDF-OBL.F    1.SG.DIR    EXEZ.SG    at hunting.OBL.F

me                    û      meyzand      va                    siwar-ek      hat  
COP.PRS1.SG    and looked.1.SG    here.DEM    horseman-INDF    came.3.SG

‘He says, one day I was (am) at hunting and I saw a horseman came.’

(Ritter 1971)

(67) mêrik    çû    go    va                    keçîk-k-a            xweşik  
Man    went    that    here.DEM    girl-INDF-EZ.F    beautiful

ya                    di    bin-ê                    hêvrîstê            de    ye  
EXEZ.SG.F    in    under-EZ.F    juniper.OBL.F    in    COP.PRS.3.SG

‘The man went (and saw that) there was a beautiful girl under the juniper tree.’

In the following examples, (68) and (69), the particles add both a precision of the present tense and a demonstrative meaning about a place which is known by everybody involved even if the place is distal. In (68) the speaker points out the direction of the village with his arms.

(68) muxtar            ê            di            gund    de    ye  
       village.head    EXEZ.M    in            village    in    COP.PRS.3.SG

‘The village head is in the village.’

(69) ferş-ek                    wê            li.ber    behrê    ye  
       flat.stone.M-INDF    EXEZ.M    in.front    sea.OBL.F    COP.PRS.3.SG

‘There is a flat stone by the sea.’

*(Ritter 1971)*

Sometimes the copula is omitted when Group B appears with a locative predicate. However the clauses with omitted copula cannot appear alone and need to be a dependent clause to the sentence. Compare (70) and (71) with present and absent copulas.

(70) sê        mal    ê            di    gund    de    ne  
       three    house    EXEZ.PL    in    village    in    COP.PRS.3.PL

‘There are three households in the village.’

(71) weqatê    cîb-a        ustemen    ji        pey    wa        ve    di-veger-ê  
       when    jeep-EZ.F    lieutenant    from    behind    3.PL.OBL    CIR    IND-return-3.SG

û    t-ê,                    ga    î            tê    de  
       and    IND-come.3.SG    that    EXEZ.M            in.it    CIR

lê di-reşên-ê ew jî ustemen di-kuj-ê.  
 on IND-strew-3.SG 3.SG.DIR also lieutenant IND-kill-3.SG

‘When the lieutenant’s Jeep turns back behind them, with the lieutenant in, he shoots and kills the lieutenant.’ (Lit. he strews (bullets) on him and kills the lieutenant.)

In (71) *ga î tê de* ‘that he is inside it’ is just additional clause to clarify the location of the *ustemen* ‘lieutenant’. The particle *-î* indicates the lieutenant who has been mentioned several times before. The conjunction *ga* is possibly formed of the conjunction *ku/go* ‘that’ and the demonstrative pronoun *va,wa* ‘here, there’. Thus, *ga (ku va)* ‘that’ has a demonstrative sense.

### 6.2.2. Group B with verbal predicates

One of the main reasons for dividing the EXEZ particles into two groups is the situation they occur in. Group A particles do not appear with a verbal predicate while Group B particles – besides locative predicates – occur in sentences with verbal predicates.

Group B particles appear with verbal predicates in present and past tense to express progressive and prospective aspect, and with perfect forms in Tor Kurdish. As a difference from the Group A particles, the Group B particles with verbal predicates can also have an agreement with the object of the sentence. In such situations the EXEZ particle follows the object.

#### 6.2.2.1. Group B with present tense

In standard/written Northern Kurdish there is only one present tense, which is used to express both habitual and progressive actions. However in many dialects the EXEZ particles are used to add the progressive aspect.

Thus, in Tor Kurdish when the EXEZ particles are used it means that the act is happening during the time of speaking. In (72) the speaker is seeing *Emîn* shouting to

him and turns to *Hecî Hesên* who is standing next to him and says *Emîn î dibakê mi* ‘Emîn is calling me’ while Emîn is continuing to shout. Here the progressive meaning is added by the EXEZ particle. Note that this speaker unlike the others mixes the kind of particles, which are divided as Group A, and Group B. However because of the situation, the kind of the predicate and its function is crucial that detail is ignored here.

(72) mi go am-ê hecî hesên wele  
 1.SG.OBL said.3.SG uncle-EZ.M haji hesên in.name.of.god

emîn î di-bak-ê mi  
 Emîn EXEZ.M IND-call-3.SG 1.SG.OBL

‘I said uncle Haji Hesên, Emîn is calling me.’

The same progressive sense is present in (73) where the particles are used to specify that the action of seeing is occurring now and here. Such constructions usually appear with particles like *ha* ‘here, there’ or the demonstratives *va, wa* ‘here, there’.

(73) ha t-ê mi di-bîn-ê  
 here 2.SG.DIR- EXEZ.SG 1.SG.OBL IND-see-2.SG

‘Here you are seeing me.’

(74) is from a narrative text. Although the action has occurred in the past the protagonist uses present tense – in this case even present progressive *wê diçêrin* ‘they are grazing’ – in a subordinate clause. However the sense of past is expressed with the preceding main clause – *mi meyzand* ‘I looked’ – and, thus, a sense of past continuous tense is given. These kinds of structures are typical for narratives in Northern Kurdish (Thackston 2006:78-79). See also (66) where the combination of a temporal adverb referring to the past, *rojekê* ‘one day’, and present progressive is used in order to create a past continuous tense.

(74) ev kevok ez çû-m-e ser ting-ê helebê  
 this pigeon 1.SG.DIR went-1.SG-DRC upon dump-EZ.PL Aleppo.OBL

go mi mêzand kû wê di-çêr-in  
 said 1.SG.OBL looked that EXEZ.PL IND-graze-3.PL

‘I went on the dump of Aleppo and saw that these pigeons were (are) grazing.’

(Ritter 1971)

The same structure which is presented in (74) occurs in (75) and (76). In (75) the main clause is in past tense – *mêzand* ‘he looked’ – and the subordinate clause in present progressive with an EXEZ particle, *kû keçelonek wê ji wê ve tê* ‘that Bald-headed is coming from there’.

(75) carekî qazî di sûkê ve çû mêzand kû  
 once ghazi in bazaar CIR went-3.SG looked-3.SG that

keçelonek wê ji wê ve t-ê  
 bald.headed EXEZ.M from.CIR 3.SG.OBL.F CIR IND-come-3.SG

‘Once Ghazi passed through the bazaar, he saw (looked) that Bald-headed was (is) coming from there.’

(Ritter 1971)

(76) çû dev-ê kahniyê go...  
 went.3.SG mount-EZ.M water.source.OBL.F that

pîrek~û~mîrek ê bi stû hev de t-ê-n  
 women EXEZ.PL with neck each.other CIR IND-come-3.PL

‘She went forward to the water-source (and saw) that women were (are) fighting.’

In the world languages the progressive grammaticalizations are new (Bybee & Dahl 1989) and Northern Kurdish is not an exception. In fact, in written/standard Northern Kurdish progressive constructions made by EXEZ particles are almost never used. The

reason why such progressive constructions are avoided in the written/standard Northern Kurdish may be that they are totally ignored by Kurdish grammarians, although they appear more or less in all Northern Kurdish speaking areas.

The most common source of the progressive constructions is locative expressions paraphrased as “to be located in or at an activity” (Bybee & Dahl 1989). Since the functions of the *Ezafe* are clear to us, it can be seen that the case is not so in Northern Kurdish, namely the *Ezafe* does not add any locative meaning to the sentence in order to create a progressive construction. However a plausible explanation may be a development through constructions created with locative predicates plus the EXEZ particles as described in section 6.3.1. Thus, the EXEZ particles, which appeared with locative predicates to give a sense of ongoing existence in a location, extended their domain into verbal predicates to create progressive constructions.

#### **6.2.2.2. Group B with simple past tense**

The EXEZ particles occur with verbs of motion in past tense to emphasize the prospective constructions in Tor Kurdish. Although the tense is past the action is yet not completed, the act is going towards becoming completed in a very near future. The prospective constructions with the verbs of motion in Tor Kurdish can be created only with simple past tense as well. However the particles are used to emphasize and clarify the aspect.

The EXEZ particles, which create prospective constructions, usually appear together with a demonstrative particle, *va/va ye*, *wa/wa ye* ‘here, here it is/ there, there it is’. The same meaning would remain even if these demonstrative particles would be dropped. However if the EXEZ particle is absent the prospective meaning is not defined.

In (77) the train is not at the station yet, but the speaker sees it coming and says *va trêna hat* ‘here the train came’, which means that the train has not arrived yet, but in a very soon future it will have. (78) is an elicited example constructed to enrich the examples with past tense. The situation in (78) is the same where the sun is about to rise.

(77) go wele va trên a hat  
 said.3.SG in.name.of.god here train.DIR.F EXEZ.SG.F came.3.SG

‘They said here the train is about to arrive.’

(78) roj a hilhat  
 sun EXEZ.SG.F rose.3.SG

‘The sun is about to rise’

(Elicitid)

### 6.2.2.3. Group B with perfect participle

Present perfect verb form in Northern Kurdish is made with a perfect participle plus copula. The EXEZ particles appear with present perfect verb form. The particles with perfect participle occur only in affirmative sentences and any semantic or tense changes are not observed the sentences.

Personal endings used with present perfect tense are identical to copula and in 3.SG the personal ending is sometimes omitted when the EXEZ particles are present, as seen in (79). Thus, the predicate is a perfect participle. However the copula is always retained for other persons, as in (80). Furthermore the deletion of copula in 3.SG when appearing with EXEZ particles is more a matter of choice rather than an obligation.

(79) ew jî wê ji sûrî hatî vir  
 3.SG.DIR also EXEZ..M from Syria come.PP here

‘He has come here from Syria.’

(80) wî yê e(z) dîti-me  
 3.SG.OBL.M EXEZ.M 1.SG.DIR seen.PP.1.SG

‘He has seen me.’

As a matter of split-ergativity in Northern Kurdish the patient of the sentence decides the personal ending of verbs in past tenses. Thus, in (80) the verb *dîtin* ‘to see’ is conjugated for 1.SG which is the direct object, and not for 3.SG which is the subject of the sentence. If it was the other way around, namely if the subject was 1.SG and the object was 3.SG it would have been possible to omit the personal ending as already mentioned for (79).

MacKenzie (1961: 188) describes two different ways of creating present perfect tense in Behdînî Kurdish. The first one, which he calls Perfect I, is the common form of perfect in Northern Kurdish including Tor Kurdish. However in the second one called Perfect II the final vowel of the copula *-e* is omitted for all persons. According to MacKenzie this is an analogy of 3.SG with its omission of the copula in certain situations in Behdînî Kurdish when the EXEZ particles are present. MacKenzie does not mention any semantic difference between these two perfect forms, namely the common form Perfect I and the Perfect II with the EXEZ particles and deformed copula.

The Group B of EXEZ particles usually have a connection with the subject, but in sentences with perfect participle sometimes they have a connection with the object, as it is seen in (81), (82). Although the subject of (81) is 3.SG masculine the gender particle is feminine which shows an agreement with the gender of the object. In (82) from the story of the speaker it is clear that the subject is a male and the object is *kew* ‘partridges’. In the cases where the particle has an agreement with the object it follows the object, as seen in examples below in (81) and (82). Thus, the EXEZ particle agrees with its antecedent whether subject or object.

(81) kur-k-ê                    me                    piçek   ’erebe                    **a**                    kirî  
          son-DIM-EZ.M 1.PL.OBL some   car.DIR.F                    EXEZ.F                    bought.PP

‘Our son has bought a little car.’

(82) ga bi pênsed weraqeyî  
that with five.hundred banknote.OBL.M

kew î kirî-ne  
partridge EXEZ.PL bought.PP-COP.PRS.3.PL

‘He has bought partridges for five hundred banknotes.’

In (83) the subject is omitted, however from the context we know that it is a female, 3.SG feminine, and the object is a male 3.SG masculine. It is seen that the particle has again an interaction with the object and has the form for 3.SG.M *ê/yê/wê*. Examples (82) and (83) are not subordinate clauses even though they begin with the conjunction *ga*.

(83) ga yê biri-ye mal-ek-ê  
that EXEZ.M taken.PP-3.SG house-INDEF-OBL.F

‘She has taken him to another house.’

## 7. DIALECT COMPARISON

### 7.1 BEHDÎNÎ KURDISH

The EXEZ particles occur frequently in the dialect of Northern Kurdish spoken in Northern Iraq, usually called Badînî or Behdînî. The particles appear both with verbal and non-verbal predicates. However the particles don’t differ in forms as they do in Tor Kurdish. Thus, although their function and situation they appear in vary, it is not necessary to divide them into two groups as it has been done above for Tor Kurdish.

The EXEZ particles in Behdînî Kurdish are indistinguishable from the Ezafe form in the Behdînî Kurdish (see Table 4).

**Table 4. Ezafe and EXEZ particles in Behdîî Kurdish**

	Ezafe	EXEZ particles
M	-(y)ê	-(y/w)ê
F	-(y)a	-(y/w)a
PL	-(y)êt/d	-(y/w)êt/d

As a difference from Tor Kurdish, the EXEZ particles in Behdîî Kurdish appear also with nominal predicates. According to MacKenzie in such situations the particles used to give a sense of temporality as seen in (84). According to him the particle is absent when the sense of temporality is not meant to be expressed, as in (85) (MacKenzie 1961: 206).

(84) az            ê            musâfir    im  
1.SG.DIR EXEZ.M    traveller   COP.1.SG

‘I am traveller.’

*(MacKenzie 1961)*

(85) az            bisilmân-im  
1.SG.DIR    moslem-COP.PRS.1.SG

‘I am a Moslem.’

*(MacKenzie 1961)*

MacKenzie argues that same sense of temporality may be given with adjectives, too (MacKenzie 1961: 206). However, this can not be the case for all situations where the EXEZ particles appear in sentences with adjectival predicates, because the predicate adjective many times don’t express something temporary. Example (86) from Tor Kurdish shows that the status “to be from the village of Botija” is not something temporary for the speaker. It is rather something that will be a part of his identity and one of the main phrases when he introduces himself to others.

(86) ez            î                    botijî      me  
 1.SG.DIR    EXEZ.SG.M    botijian    COP.PRS1.SG

‘I am from Botija.’ (Lit. I am Botijian)

Also in the (87), the speaker himself expresses that according to him Jesus is alive, and this will not change, by “he will not die”. Thus, a sense of temporality in the previous sentence is not possible.

(87) îsa    jî    pêxember-ê    xudê    ye  
 Jesus    also    prophet-EZ.M    God    COP.PRS3.SG

î                    sax            e                    na-mir-ê  
 EXEZ.M            alive        COP.PRS3.SG    NEG-die-3.SG

‘Jesus is also prophet of God, he is alive, he will not die.’

When the EXEZ particles appear in a sentence with a prepositional predicate the copula is absent in Behdîni Kurdish. This is not the case in Tor Kurdish, in such sentences the copula is present with one exception (see (71)). Compare (88) in Behdîni Kurdish and (89) in Tor Kurdish.

(88) xatûn-a    min            ya            l            hîvî-ya    te  
 lady-EZ-F    1.SG.OBL    EXEZ.F    PREP    hope-EZ.F    2.SG.OBL

‘My lady is waiting for you.’

*Behdîni (Blau 1975)*

(89) em            a                    ji            wî            milî            ne.  
 1.PL.DIR    EXEZ.PL            from    3.M.OBL    arm.OBL.M    COP.PRS.1.PL

‘We are from that side.’ (Lit. We are from that arm.)

*Tor Kurdish (Own fieldwork)*

In Behdînî Kurdish with non-verbal predicates the EXEZ particles can appear both in present tense and past tense. However, in sentences with a verbal predicate they appear only in present tense and express states or actions in progress, namely present continuous tense.

In Tor Kurdish the negation of this new present progressive is not possible. However examples from Şemzînan (Tur. Şemdinli) (Haig & Öpengin 2015: 47) and from Akrê dialect (MacKenzie 1961: 205) show that it is possible to employ negation of present progressive which is formed with EXEZ particles in Behdînî, as seen in (90) and (91).

(90) maryam-â                      t-xo-t                      az-ê                      na-xom  
 maryam-EXEZ.F                      IND-eat-3.SG 1.SG.DIR-EXEZ.M                      NEG-eat-1.SG

‘Maryam is eating, I am not.’

*(MacKenzie 1961)*

(91) axir      tu                      yê                      na-xo-y  
 finally 2.DIR.SG. EXEZ.M NEG-eat-2.SG

‘But you are not eating!’

*(Haig & Öpengin 2015)*

The EXEZ particles also appear with present perfect forms. Present perfect forms in Behdînî are formed in two different ways. The first one is formed with past participle and copula, which also exist in Tor Kurdish, (92). In the second form of present perfect the final vowel of copula, -e, is dropped, (93).

(92) çu      xarin                      ne-ma-ye  
 any      food                      NEG-stay.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG

‘There is no food left.’

*(Blau 1975)*

(93) Ez            yê            hatî-m  
 1.SG.DIR EXEZ.M        come.PP-1.SG

‘I have come.’

*(Blau 1975)*

With transitive verbs as perfect participle the EXEZ particle follows the direct object as long as it is expressed in the sentence, as seen in (94) where the particle follows the object, *ser* ‘head’, and agrees with the masculine gender of it. This case is present even in Tor Kurdish (compare (94) with (81), (82) and (83)).

(94) pîrežin-ê            ser-ê            da-na-y-e  
 old.woman-OBL.F head-EXEZ.M    PREF-put.PST-PP-DRC

se ber-ek-ê  
 on stone-INDF-OBL.M

‘The old woman has put her head on a stone.’

*(Haig and Öpengin 2015)*

Often when the EXEZ particles appear with the first form of the present perfect tense, which is created with perfect participle and copula, the copula is omitted, as seen in (95).

(95) hirç-ê            yê            xū    lē    da-y  
 bear-OBL.F EXEZ.M    self    at.him    give-PP

‘The bear has attacked him.’

*(Haig and Öpengin 2015)*

To remember, following are the major functions and usage contexts of the EXEZ particles in Tor Kurdish:

1. With adjectival and locative predicates in present and past tense without giving the sentence any semantic difference when the kind of the EXEZ particle is Group A.
2. With locative predicates giving a progressive sense when the kind of the EXEZ particle is Group B.
3. With finite verbs in present tense to create present progressive constructions.
4. With finite verbs in past tense to create prospective constructions.

Now following are the functions in which the EXEZ particles are used in Behdîî Kurdish:

1. With nominal, adjectival and locative predicates in present and past tense.
2. With finite verbs in present tense to create progressive constructions.
3. With perfect participle to create present perfect tense.

There are also some crucial differences between the EXEZ particles appearing in Behdîî Kurdish and Tor Kurdish:

1. The EXEZ particles appear also with nominal predicates in Behdîî Kurdish while that is not the case in Tor Kurdish.
2. The EXEZ particles have compatible forms which are indistinguishable from the Ezafe in Behdîî Kurdish, while in Tor Kurdish there are two different groups, Group A and B. Group A particles appear with non-verbal predicates and doesn't make any semantic difference while Group B particles create progressive and prospective constructions with finite verbs and predicates expressing location.
3. The EXEZ particles have gender agreement with the subject (or the direct object of the sentence in present perfect tense) of the sentence in Behdîî Kurdish while such an agreement is possible only in 3.SG in Tor Kurdish.
4. When the predicate is a prepositional phrase the copula is absent in Behdîî Kurdish while in such situations the copula is present in Tor Kurdish (there is an exception see (71)).

5. Creating a negated present progressive with EXEZ particles is possible in Behdînî Kurdish while this is not the case in Tor Kurdish
6. In Tor Kurdish, prospective constructions are created by combining EXEZ particles with the simple past tense of the verbs of motion while no such cases has been observed in the Behdînî Kurdish material.

## 7.2. MARAŞ KURDISH (AKÇADAĞ AND ELBİSTAN)

The EXEZ particles similar to those appearing in the Tor and Behdînî Kurdish appear also in the dialect of Northern Kurdish spoken in Maraş (officially Karamanmaraş, Kur. Meraş).

According to the dialect classification made by Haig and Öpengin (2014) the variety of Northern Kurdish spoken in Maraş (Elbistan and Akçadağ) is included in the Western Kurmanji (WK). Haig and Öpengin argue that the variety spoken in Elbistan is representative for Western Kurmanji which comprises loosely the eastern half of the Maraş Province, the western half of Adiyaman Province and the northern half of the Gaziantep province and Kurdish spoken in Sivas and Malatya.

One of the main differences between Elbistan Kurdish and standard/written Kurdish is the Ezafe forms. The Ezafe forms in Maraş Kurdish are compiled as in Table 5 by Haig and Öpengin (2015 forthcoming).

**Table 5.** Ezafe in Maraş Kurdish.

	masc	fem	pl (masc/fem.)
Definite	-î / -ê	-ê / -o	-ê
Indefinite	-î	-ê	-e
Dem. Ezafe	î	o	ê

The alternative Ezafe forms for feminine -o and -ê for masculine do not occur as EXEZ particle and instead the primary forms -î for masculine and -ê for feminine occur as EXEZ particles. The full form of EXEZ particles compiled by Haig and Öpengin (2015: 58) are as in Table 6.

**Table 6:** The EXEZ particles in Maraş Kurdish

	masc.	fem.
1.2.3.SG	-ī	-ē
1.2.PL	-e	
3.PL	-ē	

Unlike Tor Kurdish the particles in Maraş dialect are phonetically the same regardless if they appear with non-verbal or verbal predicates. The EXEZ forms used for singular pronouns correspond to the indefinite singulars while the plural indefinite Ezafe is used only with pronouns of the 1.PL and 2.PL. For the 3.PL the definite plural Ezafe is used (Haig and Öpengin 2015: 58).

Haig and Öpengin (2015: 57) mention these particles in Elbistan Kurdish as a subject marker. They argue that the particles mark the gender of the subject of sentences with a full verb predicate in present tense and the subject of the copular sentences irrespective of the tense. However it is not clear if EXEZ particles in Maraş Kurdish have progressive or prospective functions.

The examples below show the EXEZ particles in copular clauses in present tense.

æz-ī/-ē gir=in	‘I (masc/fem) am big.’
t-ī/-ē gir=æ	‘You (sg masc/fem) are big.’
æw-ī/-ē gir=æ	‘She/he (masc/fem) is big.’
æm-e gir=in	‘We are big.’
hūn-e gir=in	‘You (pl) are big.’
æw-ē gir=in	‘They are big.’

*(Haig and Öpengin 2015)*

The EZEX particles in Maraş Kurdish occur with verbal predicates in present tense whether intransitive or transitive as in (96), (97), (98) and (99).

(96) æw-ī                      t-er-i  
       3SG-EXEZ.M            IND-go.PRS-3SG

‘He goes’

(97) æz-ē                      dæ-gē-m  
       1SG-EXEZ.F            IND-reach.PRS-1SG

‘I (female) am arriving.’

(98) æz-ē                      te                      dæ-pē-m  
       1SG- EXEZ.F            2.SG.OBL          IND-wait.PRS-1SG

‘I (female) am waiting (for) you.’

(99) t-ī                      dar-an              xiš                      dæ-k-æ  
       2SG-EXEZ.M            wood-PL.OBL      cut                    IND-do.PRS-2SG

‘Are you (male) cutting the wood?’

*(Haig and Öpengin 2015)*

The EXEZ particles in Maraş Kurdish also applies to non-verbal constructions in past tense as seen in ex no. (100). However the EXEZ particles with verbal predicates in past tense are not observed.

(100) æz-ē                      dæ-zən-im              k=æw-ī                      læ vir    bû  
       1SG-EXEZ.F          IND-know.PRS-1SG      that=3SG-EXEZ.M      in here be.PST.3SG

‘I know that he was here.’

*(Haig and Öpengin 2015)*

As mentioned before the EXEZ particles in Maraş Kurdish also occur with non-verbal predicates. These predicates can be locatives, adjectives or prepositional phrases. In

(101)<sup>2</sup> where the predicate is an adjective *şîrîn* ‘sweet’ and in (102) where the predicate is a prepositional phrase *la sar hurme* ‘about the pear’. Note that in (101) the EXEZ particle follows the adverb *ba gulyan* ‘with branches’ which is uncommon.

(101) dâr ba guli-yân ê şîrîn a.  
 tree with branch-PL.OBL EXEZ.F sweet COP.PRS.3.SG

‘The tree is beautiful with the branches.’

(*Kömür 2003*)

(102) haft çerok-e hirçê he-na,  
 seven story-EZ.PL bear.OBL exist-COP.PRS.3.PL

har haft e la.sar hurme na  
 every seven EXEZ.PL on pear COP.PRS.3.PL

‘The bear has seven stories, all seven are about the pear.’

(*Kömür 2003*)

The EXEZ particles in Maraş Kurdish, as in Tor Kurdish and Behdînî Kurdish, appear with the subjunctive form of the copula as seen in (103).

(103) birâ hasp-î min î çe bi  
 may horse-EZ.M 1.SG.OBL EXEZ.M good be.SBJV.3.SG

birâ î la zavi-yê xalke bi.  
 may EXEZ.M at field-EZ.F people.OBL.F be.SBJV.3.SG

‘May my horse be good, may it be at strangers field.’

(*Kömür 2003*)

Negation can be applied when the EXEZ particles appear with non-verbal predicates as seen in (104).

---

<sup>2</sup> Here it is important to note that because of inconsequent transcription, the difference between EXEZ form in *Kömür (2003)* are not obvious.

(104) aqil na-y li bajne ye  
 reason NEG-EXEZ.M on stature.OBL COP.PRS.3.SG

î la ser-i ye  
 EXEZ.M on head-M.OBL COP.PRS.3.SG

‘The reason is not in the stature, it’s in the head.’

*(Kömür 2003)*

The EXEZ particle can be used with sentences with omitted subject where the particles have an anaphoric function and points back to the subject in the previously stated sentence, as it’s seen in (104). Additionally there are examples where the particle is appearing also with verbal predicates in present tense where the subject is dropped as seen in (105) and (106).

(105) î wa awr-ân da da-r-e  
 EXEZ.M to cloud-PL.OBL CIR IND-bark-3.SG

‘He is barking on the clouds.’

*(Kömür 2003)*

(106) î s-ân da-w-a âvê  
 EXEZ.M dog-PL.OBL IND-take-3.SG water.OBL

‘He is taking the dogs to water.’

*(Kömür 2003)*

The EXEZ particles with non-verbal predicates in Tor Kurdish can also be used in an anaphoric sense as seen in (107). However sentences with verbal predicates where the particle seems to work as a personal pronoun are not attested in Tor Kurdish. As seen in (108) the anaphoric sense of the EXEZ particles in sentences with dropped subject is attested in Behdînî Kurdish, as well.



## 8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Ezafe which is just an uninflected nominal linker in other Iranian languages appears in a much more complex and extended degree in Northern Kurdish dialects. It has retained many of its historical features from Old Iranian – as a relativizer, nominalizer and demonstrative function – and has expanded into verbal system as the EXEZ particles.

The EXEZ particles in Tor, Behdînî and Maraş Kurdish appear primarily with non-verbal predicates. In this degree the particles do not seem to give any semantic nuance to the sentence. However this can change when the particles appear with locative predicates. In Behdînî and Tor Kurdish the particles with locative predicates can express continuous presence in a location. Further the EXEZ particles in these two dialects appear with verbal predicates to create progressive and prospective constructions.

The crucial similarities of EXEZ particles in the three dialect of Northern Kurdish described in this study strengthen the hypothesis that the particles might have occurred to a wider extent, perhaps in all Northern Kurdish dialects. The variation of forms and functions in the three analyzed dialects shows that in a certain time the EXEZ particle started to develop independently in each dialect. They developed into new forms, and gained new functions.

However today they appear in limited areas, and, at least for the case of Tor Kurdish, the EXEZ particles are threatened by contact with other dialects, since they are avoided in trans-dialectal communication and written language. The risk of disappearing is higher for the EXEZ particle appearing with adjectival predicates since they do not add any extra semantic nuance to the clause.

At the same time there is a bigger chance for development for the EXEZ with verbal predicates. Although the progressive and prospective constructions they create are yet not grammaticalized, the development of negative progressive construction in Behdînî Kurdish can be regarded as one step ahead in this direction.

## 9. APPENDIX

### The Sample Text

#### Emînê Îzarî about his life as a villager

*Recounted by Emînê Îzarî*

1

*em a li gunda bûn*  
em a li gund-a bûn  
1.PL.DIR EXEZ.PL in village-PL.OBL COP.PST.1.PL

We lived in villages. (Lit. We were in villages.)

2

*me ta'b dîtiye*  
me ta'b dîti-ye  
1.PL.OBL effort see.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG

We had a demanding life.

3

*me coht dikir*  
me coht di-kir-Ø  
1.PL.OBL plough IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

We ploughed.

4

*heta êvara em a li dûv sewêl*  
heta êvar-a em a li.dûv sewêl  
until evening-PL.OBL 1.PL.DIR EXEZ.PL back livestock.M.OBL

*bûn*  
bûn  
COP.PST.1.PL

We went after the livestock all day long.

5

*em a li ber pêz bûn*  
em a li.ber pêz bûn  
1.PL.DIR EXEZ.PL by livestock.M.OBL COP.PST.1.PL

We herded the livestock.

6

*em a li çola bûn û ezyet*  
em a li çol-a bûn û ezyet  
1.PL.DIR EXEZ.PL in open.field-PL.OBL COP.PST.1.PL and torment

*bû*

bû

COP.PST.3.SG

We were in the open fields and it was demanding.

7

*em diçûne ber pêz*  
em di-çû-n-e ber pêz  
1.PL.DIR IND-go.PST-1.PL-DRC by livestock.M.OBL

We herded the livestock.

8

*û me dexil diçand*  
û me dexil di-çand-Ø  
and 1.PL.OBL grain.F.DIR IND-sow.PST-3.SG.PST

And we planted grain.

9

*me gêre dikir*  
me gêre di-kir-Ø  
1.PL.OBL threshing IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

We threshed (the grain).

10

*me paleyî dikir*  
me paleyî di-kir-Ø  
1.PL.OBL labour IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

We harvested (the grain).

11

*me li ser pišta kera tanî*  
me li.ser pişt-a ker-a t-anî-Ø  
1.PL.OBL on back-EZ.F donkey-PL.OBL IND-bring.PST-3.SG.PST

*malê*

mal-ê

home-F.OBL

We brought it home on the back of the donkeys.

12

*teketo nebû*  
teketo ne-bû  
tractor NEG-COP.PST.3.SG

There were no tractors.

**13**

*tişte*      *nebû*  
 tişt-ek      ne-bû  
 thing-INDF NEG-COP.PST.3.SG

There was nothing.

**14**

*û me xanî bi kevira (çê dikirin)*  
 û me xanî bi kevir-a çê di-kir-in  
 and 1.PL.OBL house.PL.DIR with stone-PL.OBL PREF IND-do.PST-3.PL

And we built houses with stones.

**15**

*ew nehîte xaniya*  
 ew nehît-ê xanî-ya  
 3.SG.DIR big.stone.block-EZ.M house-PL.OBL

Those enormous houses.

**16**

*heta êvara li ser pišta kera bi*  
 heta êvar-a li.ser pişt-a ker-a bi  
 until evening-PL.OBL on back-EZ.F donkey-PL.OBL with

*çarcêrka me kevir dikişandin*  
 çarcêrk-a me kevir di-kişand-in  
 carrying.pole-PL.OBL 1.PL.OBL stone.PL.DIR IND-carry.PST-3.PL

We carried stones with carrying poles on the back of the donkeys all day long.

**17**

*me dikirine avayî*  
 me di-kir-in-e avayî  
 1.PL.OBL IND-do.PST-3.PL-DRC building

We made houses of them.

**18**

*ew avayî hosta lev*  
 ew avayî host(e)-a l-ev  
 3.SG.DIR house.F.DIR master.builder-PL.OBL on-each.other

*dikir*  
 di-kir-Ø  
 IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

Builders built the house.

**19**

*bi heriyê me lev dikir*  
 bi heri-yê me l-ev di-kir-Ø  
 with mud-F.OBL 1.PL.OBL on-each.other IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

We built it with mud.

**20**

*çîmento nebû*  
 çîmento ne-bû  
 cement.F.DIR NEG-COP.PST.3.SG

There was no cement.

**21**

*tiştekek nebû di heyama me de*  
 tişt-ek ne-bû di heyam-a me de  
 thing-INDF NEG-COP.PST.3.SG in time-EZ.F 1.PL.OBL in.CIR

There was nothing in our time.

**22**

*pez bizinek a bi di weraqe û nîva*  
 pez bizin-ek a bi di weraqe û nîv-a  
 livestock.M.DIR goat-INDF EXEZ.F with two banknote and half-PL.OBL

*bû*  
 bû  
 COP.PST.3.SG

Livestock, a goat cost two and a half banknotes.

**23**

*ne milyon di weraqe û nîva bû*  
 ne milyon di weraqe û nîv-a bû  
 NEG million two banknote and half-PL.OBL COP.PST.3.SG

Not millions, it cost two and a half banknotes.

**24**

*'elba dexlê a bi nîv weraqeyî*  
 'elb-a dexl-ê a bi nîv weraqe-yî  
 bucket-EZ.F grain.DIR-F.OBL EXEZ.F with half banknote-M.OBL

*bû*  
 bû  
 COP.PST.3.SG

A bucket of grain cost a half banknote.

**25**

*'elbek yanî tenekek*  
 'elb-ek yanî teneke-k  
 bucket-INDF namely metal.bucket-INDF

A bucket, that is to say a metal bucket.

**26**

*em bêjin pazdih kêlo a bi nîv*  
 em Ø-bêj-in pazdih kêlo a bi nîv  
 1.PL.DIR SBJV-say.PRS-1.PL fifteen kilogram EXEZ.F with half

*weraqeyî bû*  
 weraqe-yî bû  
 banknote-M.OBL COP.PST.3.SG

Let's say fifteen kilograms cost a half banknote.

**27**

*mi dîtîye*  
 mi dîti-ye  
 1.SG.OBL see.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG

I have experienced (this). (Lit. I have seen.)

**28**

*û berfê devê dêrî digirt*  
 û berf-ê dev-ê dêrî di-girt-Ø  
 and snow-F.OBL mouth-EZ.M door.M.OBL IND-close.PST-3.SG.PST

And the snow blocked the entrance (of the house).

**29**

*dî sêndera de xaniyê bi dara*  
 dî sênder-a de xani-yê bi dar-a  
 in roof.overhang-PL.OBL in.CIR house-EZ.M with tree-PL.OBL

*bûn*  
 bûn  
 COP.PST.3.PL

Under the roof overhangs, they were wooden houses.

**30**

*devê dêrî qepet dibû*  
 dev-ê dêrî qepet di-bû-Ø  
 mouth-EZ.M door.M.OBL closed IND-become.PST-3.SG.PST

The entrance (of the house) got blocked.

**31**

*me bi bêra divekir*  
 me bi bêr-a di-ve.kir-Ø  
 1.PL.OBL with spade-PL.OBL IND-open.PST-3.SG.PST

We opened with spades.

32

*me nikarîbû herê hindirû*  
me ni-karî-bû her-ê hindirû  
1.PL.OBL NEG-can.PP-COP.PST.3.SG go.PRS.SBJV-3.SG inside

We could not get in (to the house).

33

*em dimane di bin de*  
em di-ma-n-e di bin de  
1.PL.DIR IND-stay.PST-1.PL-DRC in under in.CIR

We got stuck under (the snow).

34

*û sewalê me mihemih dima di*  
û sewal-ê me mihemih di-ma-Ø di  
and livestock-EZ.M 1.PL.OBL month.by.month IND-stay.PST-3.SG.PST in

*hewşê de*  
hewş-ê de  
yard-F.OBL in.CIR

And our livestock got stuck in the yard for months.

35

*me çilo tanî*  
me çilo t-anî-Ø  
1.PL.OBL branch.with.dried.leaves.M.DIR IND-bring.PST-3.SG.PST

We brought branches with dried leaves.

36

*me diçû ji çolê hêvrist me*  
me di-çû ji çol-ê hêvrist me  
1.PL.OBL IND-go.PST from open.field-F.OBL juniper.F.DIR 1.PL.OBL

*tanî*  
t-anî-Ø  
IND-bring.PST-3.SG.PST

We went and brought (branches of) juniper from the open fields.

37

*me wilo xweyî dikir bi ezyet*  
me wilo xweyî di-kir-Ø bi ezyet  
1.PL.OBL so owner IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST with torment.DIR

We onerously took care of them.

38

*heta nêzîkê çil salî em mane li gund*  
 heta nêzîk-ê çil sal-î em ma-n-e li gund  
 until near-EZ.M forty year-M.OBL 1.PL.DIR stay.PST-1.PL-DRC in village

We stayed in the village for almost forty years.

39

*ev bîst û yek sal e kû em ji gundê*  
 ev bîst û yek sal e kû em ji gund-ê  
 this twenty and one year COP.PRS.3.SG that 1.PL.DIR from village-EZ.M

*xwe hatine*  
 xwe hati-ne  
 self come.PP-COP.PRS.1.PL

It has been twenty one years since we have moved out of our village.

40

*em hatine kerboran qezayê*  
 em hati-ne kerboran qeza-yê  
 1.PL.DIR come.PP-COP.PRS.1.PL Kerboran district-F.OBL

We moved to Kerboran, the district. (Lit. We came to Kerboran, the district.)

41

*ji nûka piçikkî me rehetî dîye*  
 ji nûka piçîk-k-î me rehetî dî-ye  
 from then little-INDF-M.OBL 1.PL.OBL comfort.F.DIR see.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG

Then we found some comfort here.

42

*dîse em diçine gund*  
 dîse em di-ç-in-e gund  
 again 1.PL.DIR IND-go.PRS-1.PL-DRC village

We still go to the village.

43

*em eraziyê xwe çê dikin*  
 em erazî-yê xwe çê di-k-in  
 1.PL.DIR field-EZ.PL self PREF IND-do.PRS-1.PL

We take care of our fields.

44

*û em dehlê xwe şîn dikin*  
 û em dehl-ê xwe şîn di-k-in  
 and 1.PL.DIR fruit.garden-EZ.PL self blue IND-do.PRS-1.PL

And we grow our fruit gardens.

45

*û em rezê xwe û wa dikolin*  
*û em rez-ê xwe û wa di-kol-in*  
 and 1.PL.DIR vineyard-EZ.M self and 3.PL.OBL IND-dig.PRS-1.PL

And we dig our vineyards and such.

46

*û em dikesixênin*  
*û em di-kesixên-in*  
 and 1.PL.DIR IND-prune.PRS-1.PL

And we prune (them).

47

*û dîse em diçin û tèn*  
*û dîse em di-ç-in ût-ê-n*  
 and again 1.PL.DIR IND-go.PRS-1.PL and IND-come.PRS-1.PL

And we still come and go.

48

*lê vêga xweştir e ji hingî*  
*lê vêga xweştir e ji hingî*  
 but now nice-COMPR COP.PRS.3.SG from then

But it's nicer now than before.

49

*ji çika dinyayê ve vêga xweştir e ji*  
*ji çik-a dinya-yê ve vêga xweştir e ji*  
 from thing-EZ.F world-F.OBL CIR now nice-COMPR COP.PRS.3.SG from

*lezetê ve*  
*lezet-ê ve*  
 taste-F.OBL CIR

The life is nicer regarding the comfort.

50

*lê ji aliyê misilmanetiyê ve vêga no*  
*lê ji alî-yê misilmanetî-yê ve vêga no*  
 but from side-EZ.M muslimhood-F.OBL CIR now no

But not regarding the muslimhood, no.

51

*hingî çêtir bû*  
*hingî çê-tir bû*  
 then good-COMPR COP.PST.3.SG

It was better then.

52

*hingî me limêjê xwe dikir (in)*  
hingî me limêj-ê xwe di-kir -in  
then 1.PL.OBL prayer-EZ.PL self IND-do.PST 3.PL

We prayed then.

53

*vêga jî em limêjê xwe dikin*  
vêga jî em limêj-ê xwe di-k-in  
now also 1.PL.DIR prayer-EZ.PL self IND-do.PRS-1.PL

We pray now, as well.

54

*dinya neqenc buwe*  
dinya neqenc bû-w-e  
world.F.DIR bad be.PP-HIA-COP.PRS.3.SG

The world has become bad.

55

*dinya nexweş buwe*  
dinya nexweş bû-w-e  
world.F.DIR unpleasant be.PP-HIA-COP.PRS.3.SG

The world has become unpleasant.

56

*dinya zilm buwe*  
dinya zilm bû-w-e  
world.F.DIR cruel be.PP-HIA-COP.PRS.3.SG

The world has become cruel.

57

*halê hingî ji yê vêga xweştir bû*  
hal-ê hingî ji yê vêga xweş-tir bû  
condition-EZ.M then from DEM.EZ.M now nice-COMPR COP.PST.3.SG

It was nicer then.

58

*me genim diçand*  
me genim di-çand-Ø  
1.PL.OBL wheat IND-sow.PST-3.SG.PST

We planted wheat.

59

*me nîsk diçandin*  
me nîsk di-çand-in  
1.PL.OBL lentil IND-sow.PST-3.PL

We planted lentils.

60

*me aviyê birinc diçandin*  
me avî-yê birinc di-çand-in  
1.PL.OBL paddy.field-EZ.PL rice IND-sow.PST-3.PL

We planted (rice) in paddy fields.

61

*me rez dikesixandin*  
me rez di-kesixand-in  
1.PL.OBL vineyard.PL.DIR IND-prune.PST-3.PL

We pruned the vineyards.

62

*me mewîj çê dikirin*  
me mewîj çê di-kir-in  
1.PL.OBL raisin.PL.DIR PREF IND-do.PST-3.PL

We made raisins.

63

*e ji te re bêjim me*  
e ji te re Ø-bêj-im me  
1.SG.DIR from 2.SG.OBL CIR SBJV-say.PRS-1.SG 1.PL.OBL

*dims çê dikir*  
dims çê di-kir-Ø  
grape.syrup.F.DIR PREF IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

Let me tell you, we made grape syrup.

64

*em diçûne sohrik*  
em di-çû-n-e sohrik  
1.PL.DIR IND-go.PST-1.PL-DRC Sohrik

We went to Sohrik.

65

*em diçûne werozoka îzar*  
em di-çû-n-e werozoka îzar  
1.PL.DIR IND-go.PST-1.PL-DRC Werozoka Îzar

We went to Werzoka in Îzar.

66

*di sifra de me dims me*  
di sifr-a de me dims me  
in tray-PL.OBL in.CIR 1.PL.OBL grape.syrup.F.DIR 1.PL.OBL

*di'esirand bi piyê xwe û me*  
di-'esirand-Ø bi pi-yê xwe û me  
IND-squeeze.PST-3.SG.PST with foot-EZ.PL self and 1.PL.OBL



*me tanîne mal*  
 me t-anî-n-e mal  
 1.PL.OBL IND-bring.PST-3.PL-DRC home

We put them on the back of the donkeys and took home.

**72**

*û ji wê pêve me gêre bi sewêl*  
 û ji wê pê.ve me gêre bi sewêl  
 and from 3.SG.F.OBL CIR 1.PL.OBL threshing with livestock.M.OBL

*dikir*

di-kir-Ø  
 IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

And in addition to that, we threshed the grains with the livestock.

**73**

*û wî sewalî wilo ezyet*  
 û wî sewal-î wilo ezyet  
 and 3.SG.M.OBL livestock.M.DIR-M.OBL so torment.DIR

*didît*

di-dît-Ø  
 IND-see.PST-3.SG.PST

And that livestock had such a torment.

**74**

*ew qa qersela dexlê hemû bi piya çik*  
 ew qa qersel-a dexl-ê hemû bi pi-ya çik  
 3.SG.DIR amount straw-EZ.F grain-F.OBL whole with foot-PL.OBL thing

*dikirin*

di-kir-in  
 IND-do.PST-1.PL

They (flattened) all that straw with their feet.

**75**

*û me bênderê xwe hemû çê dikirin*  
 û me bênder-ê xwe hemû çê di-kir-in  
 and 1.PL.OBL threshing.floor-EZ.PL self all PREF IND-do.PST-3.PL

And we made all of our harvest.

**76**

*me hê li ber bê didêra*  
 me hê li.ber bê di-dêra-Ø  
 1.PL.OBL already by wind.M.OBL IND-sort.out.PST-3.SG.PST

We sorted (the grains) using the wind already (there at the threshing floor).

77

*ne batoz bûn*  
ne batoz bûn  
NEG threshing.machine COP.PST.3.PL

It was not threshing machine.

78

*batoz nebû*  
batoz ne-bû  
threshing.machine NEG-COP.PST.3.SG

There were no threshing machines.

79

*tişteq nebû*  
tişt-ek ne-bû  
thing-INDF NEG-COP.PST.3.SG

There was nothing.

80

*heta sibiha pênc cara şeş cara şeş*  
heta sibih-a pênc car-a şeş car-a şeş  
until morning-PL.OBL five time-PL.OBL six time-PL.OBL six

*êvara em diçûne ber*  
êvar-a em di-çû-n-e ber  
evening-PL.OBL 1.PL.DIR IND-go.PST-1.PL-DRC by

*bênderekê heta me safî dikir û*  
bênder-ek-ê heta me safî di-kir-Ø û  
threshing.floor-INDF-F.OBL until 1.PL.OBL pure IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST and

*me tanî malê*  
me t-anî-Ø mal-ê  
1.PL.OBL IND-bring.PST-3.SG.PST home-F.OBL

We threshed five, six days all night long until we were done with sorting and took the grains home.

81

*dih pazdih bar ce dihatin*  
dih pazdih bar ce di-hat-in  
ten fifteen load barley IND-come.PST-3.PL

It made ten, fifteen loads of barley.

82

*me ce dixwar*  
me ce di-xwar-Ø  
1.PL.OBL barley IND-eat.PST-3.SG.PST

We ate barley.

## 83

*sê bar genim qey hebûn*  
*sê bar genim qey he-bûn*  
 three load wheat barely existCOP.PST.3.PL

There were barely three loads of wheat.

## 84

*ne kû rojê 'eyda bane*  
*ne kû roj-ê 'eyd-a bane*  
 NEG that day-EZ.PL holiday-PL.OBL COP.PST.SBJV.3.PL

*zêwa bane me nanê*  
*zêw-a bane me nan-ê*  
 religious.festivity-PL.OBL COP.PST.SBJV.3.PL 1.PL.OBL bread-EZ.M

*genimî nedidit*  
*genimî ne-di-dît-Ø*  
 of.wheat NEG-IND-see.PST-3.SG.PST

We did not eat wheat bread except when it was the holidays and religious festivities.

## 85

*nîsk û nanê ceyî bû*  
*nîsk û nan-ê ceyî bû*  
 lentil and bread-EZ.M of.barley COP.PST.3.SG

There were lentils and barley bread.

## 86

*tişteki dî nebû*  
*tişt-ek-î dî ne-bû*  
 thing-INDF-EZ.M other NEG-COP.PST.3.SG

There was nothing else.

## 87

*zêw digo zêwa xelîla*  
*zêw di-go-Ø zêw-a xelîla*  
 religious.festivity IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST religious.festivity-EZ.F xelîla

*zêwa kerben*  
*zêw-a kerben*  
 religious.festivity-EZ.F kerben

(There were religious festivities called zêw), they were called zêw of Xelîla, zêw of Kerben (etc).

## 88

*ew jî gundin bûn*  
*ew jî gund-in bûn*  
 3.PL.DIR also village-INDF.PL COP.PST.3.PL

They were villages, too.

**89**

*zêwa*                      *wa*                      *dikirin*  
*zêw-a*                      *wa*                      *di-kir-in*  
 religious.festivity-EZ.F 3.PL.OBL IND-do.PST-3.PL

Religious festivities of these villages were arranged.

**90**

*kahrek*                      *digurandin*                      *diçûne*                      *ser*  
*kahr-ek*                      *di-gurand-in*                      *di-çû-n-e*                      *ser*  
 kid.goat-INDF IND-slaughter.PST-3.PL IND-go.PST-3.PL-DRC on

*digo*                      *zêwa*                      *îzar e*  
*di-go-Ø*                      *zêw-a*                      *îzar e*  
 IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST religious.festivity-EZ.F Îzar COP.PRS.3.SG

They slaughtered a kid goat, went to (the tomb of the religious elder) and called it zêw of Îzar.

**91**

*digo*                      *îro*                      *zêwa*                      *vî*  
*di-go-Ø*                      *îro*                      *zêw-a*                      *vî*  
 IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST today religious.festivity-EZ.F this.M.OBL

*mişayîxî*                      *ye*  
*mişayîx-î*                      *ye*  
 tomb.of.religious.elder-M.OBL COP.PRS.3.SG

They said it is zêw of this tomb today.

**92**

*kahrek*                      *digurandin*                      *serê*                      *malê*                      *ji*                      *xwe re*  
*kahr-ek*                      *di-gurand-in*                      *ser-ê*                      *mal-ê*                      *ji*                      *xwe re*  
 kid.goat-INDF IND-slaughter.PST-3.PL on-EZ.M home-F.OBL from self CIR

*çê*                      *dikirin*                      *û*                      *wa*                      *dixwar*  
*çê*                      *di-kir-in*                      *û*                      *wa*                      *di-xwar-Ø*  
 PREF IND-do.PST-3.PL and 3.PL.OBL IND-eat.PST-3.SG.PST

Each house slaughtered a kid goat, cooked it and they ate it themselves.

**93**

*zarokê*                      *wa*                      *dixwar*  
*zarok-ê*                      *wa*                      *di-xwar-Ø*  
 child-EZ.PL 3.PL.OBL IND-eat.PST-3.SG.PST

Their children ate it.

**94**

*yanî*                      *wilo çê*                      *dikirin*  
*yanî*                      *wilo çê*                      *di-kir-in*  
 namely so PREF IND-do.PST-3.PL

They celebrated it like this.

95

*û me eziyet zahf didît*  
*û me eziyet zahf di-dît-Ø*  
and 1.PL.OBL torment.DIR very IND-see.PST-3.SG.PST

And we experienced a lot of torment.

96

*me teqin dikir bi dewêr*  
*me teqin di-kir-Ø bi dewêr*  
1.PL.OBL marsh IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST with cattle.M.OBL

We ploughed paddy fields with cattle.

97

*me birinc diçand*  
*me birinc di-çand-Ø*  
1.PL.OBL rice.M.DIR IND-sow.PST-3.SG.PST

We planted rice.

98

*me birinc direşand*  
*me birinc di-reşand-Ø*  
1.PL.OBL rice.M.DIR IND-scatter.PST-3.SG.PST

We scattered the rice.

99

*paşî me aşêfa wî birincî dikir*  
*paşî me aşêf-a wî birinc-î di-kir-Ø*  
later 1.PL.OBL hoeing-EZ.F 3.SG.M.OBL rice-M.OBL IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

Later we hoed the rice.

100

*paşî me bi dewêr gêre dikir*  
*paşî me bi dewêr gêre di-kir-Ø*  
later 1.PL.OBL with cattle.M.OBL threshing IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

Later we threshed (the grains) with the cattle.

101

*me rîsî çê dikirin*  
*me rîsî çê di-kir-in*  
1.PL.OBL straw.bundle.PL.DIR PREF IND-do.PST-3.PL

We made straw bundles.

**102**

me ew çiltúk tanî  
 me ew çiltúk t-anî-Ø  
 1.PL.OBL 3.SG.DIR paddy IND-bring.PST-3.SG.PST

*dibire* *êş* *nûka dibû*  
 di-bir-Ø-e *êş* *nûka* di-bû-Ø  
 IND-take.PST-3.SG.PST-DRC mill.M.OBL then IND-become.PST-3.SG.PST

*birinc*  
 birinc  
 rice

We took the paddy to the mill, then it became rice.

**103**

*ew birinc di bêdana* *de dikutan*  
 ew birinc di bêdan-a de di-kuta-n  
 3.SG.DIR rice in large.stone.mortar-PL.OBL in.CIR IND-pound.PST-3.PL

*û nûka ew birinc dikirine* *sîtilê û*  
 û nûka ew birinc di-kir-in-e sîtil-ê û  
 and then 3.SG.DIR rice IND-do.PST-3.PL-DRC saucepan-F.OBL and

*çê dikirin*  
 çê di-kir-in  
 PREF IND-do.PST-3.PL

They pounded the rice in mortar and then they put in saucepan and cooked it.

**104**

*heywanê me pez bû*  
 heywan-ê me pez bû  
 animal-EZ.PL 1.PL.OBL livestock COP.PST.3.SG

We had livestock as (domestic) animals.

**105**

*lipine mêşina hebûn dewar*  
 lip-in-e mêşin-a he-bûn dewar  
 grain-INDF.PL-EZ.F sheep-PL.OBL existCOP.PST.3.PL cattle.M.DIR

*hebû ga hebû*  
 he-bû ga he-bû  
 exist-COP.PST.3.SG bull exist-COP.PST.3.SG

There were some sheep, cattle and bulls.

**106**

*me bi ga coht fikir*  
 me bi ga coht di-kir-Ø  
 1.PL.OBL with bull plough IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

We ploughed with bulls.

**107**

teketor            û   ew            nebûn  
teketor            û   ew            ne-bûn  
tractor.PL.DIR   and   3.SG.DIR   NEG-COP.PST.3.PL

There were no tractors and such.

**108**

me            bi   ga            coht   dikir            me            bi  
me            bi   ga            coht   di-kir-Ø            me            bi  
1.PL.OBL   with   bull.PL.OBL   plough   IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST   1.PL.OBL   with

çêleka            coht   dikir  
çêlek-a            coht   di-kir-Ø  
cow-PL.OBL   plough   IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

We ploughed with bulls, we ploughed with cows.

**109**

û   me            'erdê            xwe   pê            tajot            heta   sih  
û   me            'erd-ê            xwe   pê            t-ajot-Ø            heta   sih  
and   1.PL.OBL   field-EZ.M   self   with.it   IND-drive.PST-3.SG.PST   until   thirty

rojî            pêncih   rojî            me            coht   dikir  
roj-î            pêncih   roj-î            me            coht   di-kir-Ø  
day-M.OBL   fifty   day-M.OBL   1.PL.OBL   plough   IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

And we ploughed our field with them, we ploughed for thirty, fifty days.

**110**

dewamî   em            a            li   çolê            bûn            rojê  
dewamî   em            a            li   çol-ê            bûn            roj-ê  
constantly   1.PL.DIR   EXEZ.PL   in   open.field-F.OBL   COP.PST.1.PL   day-EZ.PL

şilî   jî   em            diçûn  
şilî   jî   em            di-çû-n  
rainy   also   1.PL.DIR   IND-go.PST-1.PL

And we were in the field all the time, we went there even when it was rainy.

**111**

me            şîrê            heywana            jî   dikire            mast  
me            şîr-ê            heywan-a            jî   di-kir-Ø-e            mast  
1.PL.OBL   milk-EZ.M   animal-PL.OBL   also   IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST-DRC   yogurt

We made yogurt of the animals' milk.

**112**

hingî   penîr   jî            nebû  
hingî   penîr   jî            ne-bû  
then   cheese   also   NEG-COP.PST.3.SG

There was no cheese then.

**113**

*di wî wextî de penîr bi ça'va jî*  
 di wî wext-î de penîr bi ça'v-a jî  
 in 3.SG.M.OBL time-M.OBL in.CIR cheese with eye-PL.OBL also

*me nedidî*  
 me ne-di-dît-Ø  
 1.PL.OBL NEG-IND-see.PST-3.SG.PST

In that time we did not see cheese at all.

**114**

*kû carina koçerin dihatin*  
 kû car-in-a koçer-in di-hat-in  
 that time-INDF.PL-PL.OBL nomand-INDF.PL IND-come.PST-3.PL

*lorikin ji vî halo dikirîn*  
 lorik-in ji vî halo di-kirî-n  
 curd.cheese-INDF.PL from this.M.OBL so IND-buy.PST-3.PL

*pîreka dikirîn*  
 pîrek-a di-kirî-n  
 woman-PL.OBL IND-buy.PST-3.PL

Sometimes when nomads came women bought some curd cheese.

**115**

*bi mewîja û nîska dikirîn û*  
 bi mewîj-a û nîsk-a di-kirî-n û  
 with raisin-PL.OBL and lentil-PL.OBL IND-buy.PST-3.PL and

*digo îro şîva me penîrê*  
 di-go-Ø îro şîv-a me penîr-ê  
 IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST today dinner-EZ.F 1.PL.OBL cheese-EZ.M

*koçera ye*  
 koçer-a ye  
 nomand-PL.OBL COP.PRS.3.SG

They exchanged with raisins and lentils and said our dinner is nomad cheese today.

**116**

*çak li ber çê dikirin*  
 ça-k li.ber çê di-kir-in  
 tea-INDF by PREF IND-do.PST-3.PL

They made some tea for it.

**117**

*ça jî zahf nebû*  
 ça jî zahf ne-bû  
 tea also very NEG-COP.PST.3.SG

There wasn't enough tea neither.

**118**

yanî mala kû a xwert bane çaya  
 yanî mal-a kû a xwert bane çaya  
 namely home-EZ.F that EXEZ.F strong COP.PST.SBJV.3.SG tea-EZ.F

wa hebû  
 wa he-bû  
 3.PL.OBL exist-COP.PST.3.SG

Namely if a house were rich they had tea.

**119**

lorik bû ha ne penîrê serî jî  
 lorik bû ha ne penîr-ê serî jî  
 curd.cheese COP.PST.3.SG INTERJ NEG cheese-EZ.M head also

bû  
 bû  
 COP.PST.3.SG

It was curd cheese, not even lumps.

**120**

nanê şikeva çê dikirin  
 nan-ê şikeva çê di-kir-in  
 bread-EZ.M flat.bread PREF IND-do.PST-3.PL

They made flat bread.

**121**

cîranê me digo îro we penîr  
 cîran-ê me di-go-Ø îro we penîr  
 neighbour-EZ.PL 1.PL.OBL IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST today 2.PL.OBL cheese

ji koçera kiriye û we çak çê  
 ji koçer-a kiri-ye û we çak-k çê  
 from nomand-PL.OBL buy.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG and 2.PL.OBL tea-INDF PREF

kiriye  
 kiri-ye  
 buy.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG

Our neighbours said that we had bought nomad cheese and made some tea.

**122**

û nanê şikeva bû  
 û nan-ê şikeva bû  
 and bread-EZ.M flat.bread COP.PST.3.SG

And there was flat bread.

**123**

wa cîrana jî dihatin digo  
 wa cîran-a jî di-hat-in di-go-Ø  
 3.PL.OBL neighbour-PL.OBL also IND-come.PST-3.PL IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST

*îro em mēhvanê we ne*  
 îro em mēhvan-ê we ne  
 today 1.PL.DIR guest-EZ.M 2.PL.OBL COP.PRS.1.PL

Those neighbours came and said that they were our guests.

**124**

*hingî çaya tirkî bû*  
 hingî ç-a-ya tirkî bû  
 then tea-EZ.F Turkish COP.PST.3.SG

It was Turkish tea then.

**125**

*piştire xelk çûne sûrî diçûne qaçax*  
 piştire xelk çû-n-e sûrî di-çû-n-e qaçax  
 later people go.PST-3.PL-DRC Syria IND-go.PST-3.PL-DRC smuggling

Later people started to go to Syria to smuggle (goods).

**126**

*ji sûrî ça tanîn û miho ji wa*  
 ji sûrî ça t-anî-n û miho ji wa  
 from Syria tea IND-bring.PST-3.PL and human from 3.PL.OBL

*dikirî*

di-kirî-Ø  
 IND-buy.PST-3.SG.PST

They brought tea from Syria and we bought it from them.

**127**

*û nûka îdî şekir çê bû*  
 û nûka îdî şekir çê bû-Ø  
 and then then sugar PREF become.PST-3.SG.PST

And then sugar appeared.

**128**

*mi dîtiye kû şekir ji binî jî peyde*  
 mi dîti-ye kû şekir ji bin-î jî peyde  
 1.SG.OBL see.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG that sugar from under-M.OBL also existent

*nedibû*

ne-di-bû-Ø  
 NEG-IND-become.PST-3.SG.PST

I remember (have seen) that the sugar did not exist at all.

**129**

*şekirkê sor hebû didane*  
 şekir-k-ê sor he-bû di-da-n-e  
 sugar-DIM-EZ.M red exist-COP.PST.3.SG IND-give.PST-3.PL-DRC

*zaroka li 'eyda*  
 zarok-a li 'eyd-a  
 child-PL.OBL at holiday-PL.OBL

There was red candy that they gave to children on holidays.

**130**

*şekirê sipî yê çayê ji binî mi*  
 şekir-ê sipî yê ça-yê jî bin-î mi  
 sugar-EZ.M white DEM.EZ.M tea-F.OBL from under-M.OBL 1.SG.OBL

*dîtiye kû nebû*  
 dîti-ye kû ne-bû  
 see.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG that NEG-COP.PST.3.SG

I remember (have seen) that there was no white sugar for tea at all.

**131**

*me di 'eyda de yê kû birincê wa*  
 me di 'eyd-a de yê kû birinc-ê wa  
 1.PL.OBL in holiday-PL.OBL in.CIR DEM.EZ.PL that rice-EZ.M 3.PL.OBL

*hebane kêlok birinc çê dikir*  
 he-bane kêlo-k birinc çê di-kir-Ø  
 exist-COP.PST.SBJV.3.SG kilogram-INDF rice PREF IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

In the holidays those who had rice made one kilogram rice.

**132**

*yê kû nebane şorbiha birinc şîr lê*  
 yê kû ne-bane şorbih-a birinc şîr lê  
 DEM.EZ.PL that NEG-COP.PST.SBJV.3.SG soup-EZ.F rice milk on.it

*dikirin û dixwarin*  
 di-kir-in û di-xwar-in  
 IND-do.PST-3.PL and IND-eat.PST-3.PL

Those who did not have enough rice made rice soup with milk and ate it.

**133**

*digo 'eyda me vê sibihê*  
 di-go-Ø 'eyd-a me vê sibih-ê  
 IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST holiday-EZ.F 1.PL.OBL this.F.OBL morning-F.OBL

*şorbiha şîr e*  
 şorbih-a şîr e  
 soup-EZ.F milk COP.PRS.3.SG

They said that our holiday food is milk soup this morning.

**134**

*hineka kû jê hatibane birinca*  
 hin-ek-a kû jê hati-bane birinc-a  
 some-INDF-PL.OBL that from.them come.PP-COP.PST.SBJV.3SG rice-EZ.F

*sax birinca si'ê bû weke vêga kû wilo si'ê çê*  
 sax birinc-a si'ê bû weke vêga kû wilo si'ê çê  
 whole rice-EZ.F whole COP.PST.3.SG like now that so whole PREF

*dikin û hişk çê dikirin*  
 di-k-in û hişk çê di-kir-in  
 IND-do.PRS-3.PL and hard PREF IND-do.PST-3.PL

Those who could effort cooked whole rice grains like people cook nowadays and they cooked it dry.

**135**

*û goşt hebû dermale çê dikirin*  
 û goşt he-bû dermale çê di-kir-in  
 and meat exist-COP.PST.3.SG fatling PREF IND-do.PST-3.PL

And there was meat, people had fatlings.

**136**

*qelî hebû ji xwemalî bû*  
 qelî he-bû ji xwemalî bû  
 fried.meat exist-COP.PST.3.SG from homemade COP.PST.3.SG

There was fried meat, it was homemade.

**137**

*pezê me hebû*  
 pez-ê me he-bû  
 livestock.M.DIR-EZ.M 1.PL.OBL exist-COP.PST.3.SG

We had livestock.

**138**

*me sê çar pez dikirine dermale*  
 me sê çar pez di-kir-in-e dermale  
 1.PL.OBL three four livestock.M.DIR IND-do.PST-3.PL-DRC fatling

We slaughtered three or four livestock. (Lit. We made three-four livestock fatlings.)

**139**

*hingî ne halo bû*  
 hingî ne halo bû  
 then NEG so COP.PST.3.SG

It was not like this then.

**140**

*nedihate firotin*  
 ne-di-hat-Ø-e firot-in  
 NEG-IND-come.PST-3.SG.PST-DRC sell-INF

They were not sold.

**141**

*pez ji binî nedihate*  
 pez ji bin-î ne-di-hat-Ø-e  
 livestock.M.DIR from under-M.OBL NEG-IND-come.PST-3.SG.PST-DRC

*firotin*  
firot-in  
sell-INF

Livestock was not sold at all.

**142**

*dew dikeyandin pîreka*  
dew di-keyand-in pîrek-a  
drinking.yogurt IND-churn.PST-3.PL woman-PL.OBL

Women churned the drinking yogurt.

**143**

*ew mast dikirine meşka de ew*  
ew mast di-kir-in-e meşk-a de ew  
3.SG.DIR yogurt IND-put.PST-3.PL-DRC churn-PL.OBL in 3.SG.DIR

*meşkê wilo 'eyarê pêz*  
meşk-ê wilo 'eyar-ê pêz  
churn-F.OBL so skin-EZ.M livestock.M.OBL

They put the yogurt in the churns of skin of livestock.

**144**

*tê de dikeyandin*  
tê de di-keyand-in  
in.it in.CIR IND-churn.PST-3.PL

They churned inside it.

**145**

*ew nivîşkê ser re digirtin dikirine*  
ew nivîşk-ê ser re di-girt-in di-kir-in-e  
3.SG.DIR butter-EZ.M on CIR IND-pick.PST-3.PL IND-put.PST-3.PL-DRC

*denika de*  
denik-a de  
ceramic.jar-PL.OBL in

They took the butter which gathered on the top and put in ceramic jars.

**146**

*û jixwe yax û ew nebû*  
û ji.xwe yax û ew ne-bû  
and anyway oil and 3.SG.DIR NEG-COP.PST.3.SG

And there was no cooking oil and such anyway.

**147**

*yax wê heyamê nebû*  
yax wê heyam-ê ne-bû  
oil 3.SG.F.OBL time-F.OBL NEG-COP.PST.3.SG

There was no cooking oil in that time.

**148**

*bi qeliyê û bi wî nivîşkî*  
 bi qeli-yê û bi wî nivîşk-î  
 with fried.meat-F.OBL and with 3.SG.M.OBL butter-M.OBL

*diqedandin*  
 di-qedand-in  
 IND-get.along.PST-3.PL

They got along with fried meat and with the butter.

**149**

*şîr dikirine mast ew mast jî*  
 şîr di-kir-in-e mast ew mast jî  
 milk IND-do.PST-3.PL-DRC yogurt 3.SG.DIR yogurt also

*dikirine meşkê de 'eyarê pêz*  
 di-kir-in-e meşk-ê de 'eyar-ê pêz  
 IND-put.PST-3.PL-DRC churn-F.OBL in skin-EZ.M livestock.M.OBL

*bû tê de dikeyandin*  
 bû tê de di-keyand-in  
 COP.PST.3.SG in.it in.CIR IND-churn.PST-3.PL

They made yogurt of the milk, put the yogurt in the churn of skin of livestock and churned in it.

**150**

*ne weke yê vêga yê ceylanê û wa*  
 ne weke yê vêga yê ceylan-ê û wa  
 NEG like DEM.EZ.PL now DEM.EZ.PL electricity-F.OBL and 3.PL.OBL

*bûn û heta êvara dikirine çîkê*  
 bûn û heta êvar-a di-kir-in-e çîk-ê  
 COP.PST.3.PL and until evening-PL.OBL IND-put.PST-3.PL-DRC thing-EZ.M

*de dikeyandin û bi wî nivîşkî me*  
 de di-keyand-in û bi wî nivîşk-î me  
 in IND-churn.PST-3.PL and with 3.SG.M.OBL butter-M.OBL 1.PL.OBL

*îdare dikir*  
 îdare di-kir-Ø  
 daily.bread IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

It was not the electric ones like they are now, and they put it in the thing (churn) and churned it all day long and we got by with that butter.

**151**

*cêrik dihilandin mala kû pezê*  
 cêr-ik di-hiland-in mal-a kû pez-ê  
 ceramic.jar-INDF IND-save.PST-3.PL home-EZ.F that livestock.M.DIR-EZ.M

*wa zahf hema cêrik dihilandin*  
 wa zahf hema cêr-ik di-hiland-in  
 3.PL.OBL very just ceramic.jar-INDF IND-save.PST-3.PL

The family who had many livestock saved just a ceramic jar (of butter).

**152**

*cêrik qelî jî ji dermalê xwe çê*  
 cêr-ik qelî jî ji dermal-ê xwe çê  
 ceramic.jar-INDF fried.meat also from fatling-EZ.PL self PREF

*dikirin bi wê sala xwe diqedandin*  
 di-kir-in bi wê sal-a xwe di-qedand-in  
 IND-do.PST-3.PL with 3.SG.F.OBL year-EZ.F self IND-finish.PST-3.PL

They made a ceramic jar of fried meat of the fatlings and they got by one year with this.

**153**

*vêga diçime gund*  
 vêga di-ç-im-e gund  
 now IND-go.PRS-1.SG-DRC village

I go to the village now-

**154**

*ez îro çûm*  
 ez îro çû-m  
 1.SG.DIR today go.PST-1.SG

I went there today.

**155**

*vê sibihê e çûm*  
 vê sibih-ê e çû-m  
 this.F.OBL morning-F.OBL 1.SG.DIR go.PST-1.SG

I went there this morning.

**156**

*avîk mi paqij kir û mi*  
 avî-k mi paqij kir û mi  
 vegetable.garden-INDF 1.SG.OBL clean do.PST and 1.SG.OBL

*mêwê xwe paqij kirin*  
 mêw-ê xwe paqij kir-in  
 grapevine-EZ.PL self clean do.PST-3.PL

I cleaned a vegetable garden and I cleaned my grapevines.

**157**

*û ez wilo kolana nav mêwa û*  
 û ez wilo kolan-a nav mêw-a û  
 and 1.SG.DIR so digging-PL.OBL among grapevine-PL.OBL and

*wa dikim*  
wa di-k-im  
3.PL.OBL IND-do.PRS-1.SG

And I dig between the grapevines and such.

**158**

*û e bi tenê me*  
û e bi tenê me  
and 1.SG.DIR with alone COP.PRS.1.SG

And I am alone.

**159**

*wele e bi tenê me kes*  
wele e bi tenê me kes  
in.the.name.of.god 1.SG.DIR with alone COP.PRS.1.SG anyone

*nayê arî mi jî nakê*  
na-yê arî mi jî na-k-ê  
NEG-come.PRS.3.SG help 1.SG.OBL also NEG-do.PRS-3.SG.PRS

I promise (in the name of God), I am alone and nobody even comes to help me.

**160**

*û tebata mi nayê*  
û tebat-a mi na-y-ê  
and patience-PL.OBL 1.SG.OBL NEG-HIA-come.PRS.3.SG

And I do not have patience.

**161**

*vêga mesela zarokê me dibê em bi wir*  
vêga mesela zarok-ê me di-bê em bi wir  
now for.instance child-EZ.PL 1.PL.OBL IND-say.PRS 1.PL.DIR with there

*ve naçin*  
ve na-ç-in  
CIR NEG-go.PRS-3.PL

Now my children, for instance, say that they do not want to go there.

**162**

*dibê em naçin naşixulin*  
di-bê em na-ç-in na-şixul-in  
IND-say.PRS 1.PL.DIR NEG-go.PRS-3.PL NEG-work.PRS-3.PL

They say that won't go and work.

**163**

*dîwarekî me heye rê birine*  
dîwar-ek-î me he-ye rê biri-ne  
wall-INDF-EZ.M 1.PL.OBL exist-COP.PRS.3.SG road take.PP-COP.PRS.3.PL

*germavê dûzerê lê daye*  
 germav-ê dûzer-ê lê da-ye  
 Germav-F.OBL bulldozer-F.OBL on.it give.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG

We have a (demolished) wall, they have made a road to Germav and (during the construction) our wall was demolished by the bulldozer.

**164**

*ev salek e e li ber wa didim*  
 ev sal-ek e e li.ber wa di-d-im  
 this year-INDF COP.PRS.3.SG 1.SG.DIR by 3.PL.OBL IND-hit.PRS-1.SG

I am begging them since one year.

**165**

*ew qa kevir ê li ber in*  
 ew qa kevir ê li.ber in  
 3.SG.DIR amount stone EXEZ.PL by COP.PRS.3.PL

There are many stones along (the demolished wall).

**166**

*zarokê me arî mi nakin û taqeta*  
 zarok-ê me arî mi na-k-in û taqet-a  
 child-EZ.PL 1.PL.OBL help 1.SG.OBL NEG-do.PRS-3.PL and strength-EZ.F

*mi nîne kû ez wî dîwarê*  
 mi nîn-e kû ez wî dîwar-ê  
 1.SG.OBL exist.NEG-COP.PRS.3.SG that 1.SG.DIR 3.SG.M.OBL wall-EZ.M

*xwe çê kim*  
 xwe çê Ø-k-im  
 self PREF SBJV-do.PRS-1.SG

Our children do not help me and I do not have the strength to make (repair) my wall.

**167**

*rastî ya kerboran xweşiya wê rehetiya*  
 rastî ya kerboran xweşi-ya wê reheti-ya  
 actually DEM.EZ.F Kerboran comfort-PL.OBL 3.SG.F.OBL comfort-EZ.F

*me heye*  
 me he-ye  
 1.PL.OBL exist-COP.PRS.3.SG

It is comfortable to live in Kerboran actually.

168

*lê tebata me bê şixul nayê*  
*lê tebat-a me bê şixul na-y-ê*  
 but patience-EZ.F 1.PL.OBL without work NEG-HIA-come.PRS.3.SG

But I can't make without working.

169

*em berê 'elimîne em di şixul de*  
*em berê 'elimî-ne em di şixul de*  
 1.PL.DIR in.the.past learn.PP-COP.PRS.1.PL 1.PL.DIR in work in.CIR

*rabûne tebata me*  
*rabû-ne tebat-a me*  
 grow.up.PP-COP.PRS.1.PL patience-PL.OBL 1.PL.OBL

*nayê*  
*na-y-ê*  
 NEG-HIA-come.PRS.3.SG

We have learned it like this in the past, we have grown up in work, we can't stand (without working).

170

*e diçime dara*  
*e di-ç-im-e dar-a*  
 1.SG.DIR IND-go.PRS-1.SG-DRC tree-PL.OBL

I go and collect kindlings. I just brought a load of kindlings, I put them on my donkey this morning and brought them.

171

*vêga mi barek dar anî vê*  
*vêga mi bar-ek dar anî-Ø vê*  
 now 1.SG.OBL load-INDF tree bring.PST-3.SG.PST this.F.OBL

*sibihê mi li kerê kir mi*  
*sibih-ê mi li ker-ê kir mi*  
 morning-F.OBL 1.SG.OBL on donkey-F.OBL do.PST 1.SG.OBL

*anî*  
*anî-Ø*  
 bring.PST-3.SG.PST

I just brought a load of kindlings, I put them on my donkey and brought them this morning.

172

*ez ê çime dara çilo*  
*ez ê Ø-ç-im-e dar-a çilo*  
 1.SG.DIR FUT SBJV-go.PRS-1.SG-DRC tree-PL.OBL branch.with.dried.leaves

*ji pezê xwe re dikişênim*  
*ji pez-ê xwe re di-kişênim*  
 from livestock.M.DIR-EZ.M self CIR IND-carry.PRS-1.SG

I (usually) go to (collect) kindlings, I carry branches with dried leaves for my livestock.

173

<i>e</i>	<i>dêzê</i>	<i>çilo</i>	<i>çê</i>	<i>dikim</i>
e	dêz-ê	çilo	çê	di-k-im

1.SG.DIR batch-EZ.PL branch.with.dried.leaves PREF IND-do.PRS-1.SG

I make batches of branches with dried leaves

174

<i>e</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>gund</i>	<i>tênime</i>	<i>vê</i>	<i>dê</i>	<i>li</i>
e	ji	gund	t-ên-im-e	vê	dê	li

1.SG.DIR from village IND-bring.PRS-1.SG-DRC this.F.OBL place.F.OBL at

<i>vê</i>	<i>dê</i>	<i>çê</i>	<i>dikim</i>
vê	dê	çê	di-k-im

this.F.OBL place.F.OBL PREF IND-do.PRS-1.SG

I bring here from the village and make (batches) here

175

<i>bîst</i>	<i>pezekî</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>heye</i>	<i>li</i>
bîst	pez-ek-î	me	he-ye	li

twenty livestock.M.DIR-INDF-EZ.M 1.PL.OBL exist-COP.PRS.3.SG in

<i>vê</i>	<i>dê</i>	<i>xweyî</i>	<i>dikim</i>	<i>û</i>	<i>e</i>
vê	dê	xweyî	di-k-im	û	e

this.F.OBL place.F.OBL owner IND-do.PRS-1.SG and 1.SG.DIR

<i>diçime</i>	<i>ber dora</i>	<i>pêz</i>
di-ç-im-e	ber dor-a	pêz

IND-go.PRS-1.SG-DRC by queue-EZ.F livestock.M.OBL

We have approximately twenty livestock, I take care of them here and I take my turn of (herding) livestock

176

<i>e</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>kerboran</i>	<i>diçime</i>	<i>gund</i>	<i>ber dora</i>
e	ji	kerboran	di-ç-im-e	gund	ber dor-a

1.SG.DIR from Kerboran IND-go.PRS-1.SG-DRC village by queue-EZ.F

*pêz*  
pêz  
livestock.M.OBL

I go to the village from Kerboran to take my turn of herding the livestock

177

<i>ez</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>siba</i>	<i>jî</i>	<i>çim</i>	<i>ê</i>
ez	ê	siba	jî	Ø-ç-im	ê

1.SG.DIR FUT tomorrow also SBJV-go.PRS-1.SG 1.SG.DIR.FUT

<i>disiba</i>	<i>jî</i>	<i>çim</i>	<i>heta heftikkî</i>
disiba	jî	Ø-ç-im	heta heftî-kk-î

day.after.tomorrow also SBJV-go.PRS-1.SG until week-INDF-M.OBL

I will go tomorrow as well, I will go the day after tomorrow also, a whole week

**178**

*îdî heta kû nebê şilî herro ez î*  
 îdî heta kû ne-b-ê şilî her-ro ez î  
 then until that NEG.SBJV-be.PRS-3.SG rainy every-day 1.SG.DIR EXEZ.SG

*li îzar im*  
 li îzar im  
 in Îzar COP.PRS.1.SG

I am in Îzar every day as long as it doesn't rain

**179**

*e diçime îzar di wê ca'dê de*  
 e di-ç-im-e îzar di wê ca'd-ê de  
 1.SG.DIR IND-go.PRS-1.SG-DRC Îzar in 3.SG.F.OBL road-F.OBL in.CIR

*diçim*  
 di-ç-im  
 IND-go.PRS-1.SG

I go to Îzar on that road

**180**

*kurkê me piçek 'erebe a kirî*  
 kur-k-ê me piçek 'erebe a kirî  
 son-DIM-EZ.M 1.PL.OBL little car EXEZ.F buy.PP

Our son has bought a small car.

**181**

*carina bi wê 'erebê mi*  
 car-in-a bi wê 'ereb(e)-ê mi  
 time-INDF.PL-PL.OBL with 3.SG.F.OBL car-EZ.M 1.SG.OBL

*dibê û carina li kerê xwe*  
 di-b-ê û car-in-a li ker-ê xwe  
 IND-take.PRS-3.SG.PRS and time-INDF.PL-PL.OBL on donkey-EZ.M self

*siwar dibim*  
 siwar di-b-im  
 rider IND-be.PRS-1.SG

Sometimes he drives me (to the village) with the car and sometimes I ride my donkey (to the village).

**182**

*îro di roj e e li kerê xwe siwar*  
 îro di roj e e li ker-ê xwe siwar  
 today two day COP.PRS.3.SG 1.SG.DIR on donkey-F.OBL self rider

*dibim diçim*  
 di-b-im di-ç-im  
 IND-be.PRS-1.SG IND-go.PRS-1.SG

These last two days I rode my donkey and went.

**183**

*nêzîkî vir e çarêk qey heye pênc*  
*nêzîk-î vir e çarêk qey he-ye pênc*  
 near-EZ.N here COP.PRS.3.SG quarter barely exist-COP.PRS.3.SG five

*kîlometre ye*  
*kîlometre ye*  
 kilometer COP.PRS.3.SG

It is close to here, it takes barely a quarter, it is five kilometers

**184**

*daweta mi tê bîra mi berf*  
*dawet-a mi t-ê bîr-a mi berf*  
 wedding-EZ.F 1.SG.OBL IND-come.PRS.3.SG memory-EZ.F 1.SG.OBL snow

*bû*  
*bû*  
 COP.PST.3.SG

I remember there was snow when It was my wedding.

**185**

*hezniyê îzarî birazavayê mi bû û*  
*hezni-yê îzarî birazava-yê mi bû û*  
 Heznî-EZ.M from.Îzar groomsmen-EZ.M 1.SG.OBL COP.PST.3.SG and

*nezîrê tahirî birazavayê mi bû*  
*nezîr-ê tahir-o birazava-yê mi bû*  
 Nezîr-EZ.M Tahir-M.VOC groomsmen-EZ.M 1.SG.OBL COP.PST.3.SG

Heznî from Îzar and Nezîrê Tahirî were my groomsmen.

**186**

*hingî 'ehmeqî bû*  
*hingî 'ehmeqî bû*  
 then silliness COP.PST.3.SG

It was silliness then.

**187**

*wilo dinya na şehreza bû*  
*wilo dinya n-a şehreza bû*  
 so world NEG-EXEZ.F intelligent COP.PST.3.SG

So people (the world) were not intelligent

**188**

*e di berfê de e birim*  
*e di berf-ê de e bir-im*  
 1.SG.DIR in snow-F.OBL in.CIR 1.SG.DIR take.PST-1.SG



**194**

*wextê kû ji birkê derketim pora mi*  
 wext-ê kû ji birk-ê der.ket-im por-a mi  
 time-EZ.M that from pond-F.OBL exit.PST-1.SG hair-EZ.F 1.SG.OBL

*cemidand*  
 cemidand-Ø  
 freeze.PST-3.SG.PST

When I got out of the pool my hair got frozen.

**195**

*şe danê de*  
 şe da-n-ê de  
 comb give.PST-1.PL-to.it.DRC in

They tried to comb it.

**196**

*kir û nekirin guliya mi*  
 kir û ne-kir-in gulî-ya mi  
 do.PST and NEG-do.PST-3.PL fringe-EZ.F 1.SG.OBL

*nehate qulibandin*  
 ne-hat-Ø-e quliband-in  
 NEG-come.PST-3.SG.PST-DRC turn-INF

They tried so hard, but couldn't do my hair.

**197**

*bûz girt*  
 bûz girt-Ø  
 ice get.PST-3.SG.PST

It got frozen.

**198**

*ji birkê û vir de li wê dê govend*  
 ji birk-ê û vir de li wê dê govend  
 from pond-F.OBL and here in.CIR in 3.SG.F.OBL place.F.OBL dance

*digirtin*  
 di-girt-in  
 IND-keep.PST-3.PL

Near to the water pond they danced.

**199**

*ez wilo anîm cilkê mi li mi*  
 ez wilo anî-m cil-k-ê mi li mi  
 1.SG.DIR so bring.PST-1.SG clothes-DIM-EZ.PL 1.SG.OBL on 1.SG.OBL

*kirin û ez anîm*  
 kir-in û ez anî-m  
 put.PST-3.PL and 1.SG.DIR bring.PST-1.SG

They brought me, they put my clothes on and brought me

**200**

*e li maleka îzariya rûnandim*  
 e li mal-ek-a îzarî-ya rû.n-and-im  
 1.SG.DIR at home-INDF-EZ.F from.Îzar-PL.OBL sit.PRS-CAUS.PST-1.SG

They made me stay with a family from Îzar

**201**

*digo birazava hene bîst mirîşk sih*  
 di-go-Ø birazava he-ne bîst mirîşk sih  
 IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST groomsmen exist-COP.PRS.3.PL twenty chicken thirty

*mirîşk serê malê mirîşkek ji wa*  
 mirîşk ser-ê mal-ê mirîşk-ek ji wa  
 chicken head-EZ.M home-F.OBL chicken-INDF from 3.PL.OBL

*distantin*  
 di-stand-in  
 IND-take.PST-3.PL

There were groomsmen who took a chicken from each house and gathered twenty-thirty chickens.

**202**

*weke cindirma yek ê yekî girê*  
 weke cindirm(e)-a yek ê yek-î Ø-gir-ê  
 like gendarme-PL.OBL one FUT one-M.OBL SBJV-close.PRS-EZ.M

*bê ma dizayê vî çî ye*  
 Ø-bê ma diza-yê vî çî ye  
 SBJV-say.PRS INT punishment-EZ.M this.M.OBL what COP.PRS.3.SG

Like gendarmes, one would take another and ask what his penalty was.

**203**

*birazava yê bê bila mirîşkkî*  
 birazava yê bê bila mirîşk-k-î  
 groomsmen FUT say.PRS.SBJV HOR chicken-INDF-M.OBL

*bênê*  
 b-ên-ê  
 SBJV-bring.PRS-3.SG.PRS

The groomsmen would say let him bring a chicken

**204**

*hineka*                      *digot*                      *digo*                      *bila*  
 hin-ek-a                      di-got-Ø                      di-go-Ø                      bila  
 some-INDF-PL.OBL IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST HOR

*pezekî*                      *bênê*                      *lê* *zavê*  
 pez-ek-î                      b-ên-ê                      lê zavê  
 livestock.M.DIR-INDF-M.OBL SBJV-bring.PRS-3.SG.PRS but groom.M.OBL

*digo*                      *bila* *neyênê*                      *gunih*  
 di-go-Ø                      bila ne-y-ên-ê                      gunih  
 IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST HOR NEG.SBJV-HIA-bring.PRS-3.SG sin

*e*  
*e*  
 COP.PRS.3.SG

Some people would ask for a livestock (from the one which was punished), but the groom would say “he shouldn’t, he is poor”.

**205**

*sih* *çil* *mirîşk* *li daweta* *mi* *û* *li* *wê*  
 sih çil mirîşk li dawet-a mi û li wê  
 thirty forty chicken at wedding-EZ.F 1.SG.OBL and in 3.SG.F.OBL

*dê* *gurandine* *û* *birazava*  
 dê gurandi-ne û birazava  
 place.F.OBL slaughter.PP-COP.PRS.3.PL and groomsmen.DIR

*çûne* *li mal* *çê* *kirine* *û*  
 çû-ne li mal çê kiri-ne û  
 go.PP-COP.PRS.3.PL at home PREF do.PP-COP.PRS.3.PL and

*xwarine* *û* *em* *jî* *birine* *ser*  
 xwari-ne û em jî biri-ne ser  
 eat.PP-COP.PRS.3.PL and 1.PL.DIR also take.PP-COP.PRS.1.PL on

The groomsmen slaughtered thirty-forty chickens at my wedding, they cooked (the chickens) home and ate and invited us to eat too.

**206**

*hemû helîl* *û* *basîq* *û* *mewîj bûn*  
 hemû helîl û basîq û mewîj bûn  
 all dried.fruit.candy and dried.fruit.pulp and raisin COP.PST.3.PL

There were dried fruit candies and dried fruit pulps and raisins.

**207**

*tiştê* *wilo* *tanîn* *darka* *zavê* *çê*  
 tişt-ê wilo t-anî-n dar-k-a zavê çê  
 thing-EZ.PL so IND-bring.PST-3.PL tree-DIM-EZ.F groom.M.OBL PREF

*dikirin* *nexş* *dikirin* *û* *tiştê* *halo*  
 di-kir-in nexş di-kir-in û tişt-ê halo  
 IND-do.PST-3.PL decoration IND-do.PST-3.PL and thing-EZ.PL so

*dikirin*  
di-kir-in  
IND-do.PST-3.PL

They brought such things and made the grooms tree, they decorated it, and they made such things.

**208**  
*mitirb                    nebûn*  
mitirb                    ne-bûn  
musician.DIR.PL NEG-COP.PST.3.PL

There were no musicians.

**209**  
*direqisîn                    bi    deng    digotin*  
di-reqisî-n                    bi    deng    di-got-in  
IND-dance.PST-3.PL with sound IND-say.PST-3.PL

They sang without instruments and danced.

**210**  
*çîrok   digotin                    lawik                    digotin*  
çîrok   di-got-in                    lawik                    di-got-in  
tale    IND-say.PST-3.PL song.DIR.PL IND-say.PST-3.PL

They sang about tales and sang songs.

**211**  
*digo                                    mihemedê                    tahiro*  
di-go-Ø                                    mihemed-ê                    tahir-o  
IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST Mihemed-EZ.M Tahir-M.VOC

There was a guy called Mihemedê Tahiro.

**212**  
*yekî            îzarî            bû*  
yek-î            îzarî            bû  
one-EZ.M from.Îzar COP.PST.3.SG

He was from Îzar.

**213**  
*î            wilo    foq    bû*  
î            wilo    foq    bû  
EXEZ.M so    vivacious COP.PST.3.SG

He was, like, vivacious.

**214**  
*wî                    digot                                    û    xelkê                    lê*  
wî                    di-got-Ø                                    û    xelk-ê                    lê  
3.SG.M.OBL IND-say.PST-3.SG.PST and people-F.OBL to.him

*divegerand                                    û    direqisîn                                    millet    direqisî*  
di-ve.gerand-Ø                                    û    di-reqisî-n                                    millet    di-reqisî  
IND-return.PST-3.SG.PST and IND-dance.PST-3.PL people IND-dance.PST.3SG

*heta kû dawet bela bûbane*  
 heta kû dawet bela bû-bane  
 until that wedding dispersed become.PST-COP.PST.SBJV.3SG

He sang and people repeated after him and they danced until the wedding was dispersed.

**215**

*û îro jî vêga xelk mitirba tênin*  
 û îro jî vêga xelk mitirb-a t-ên-in  
 and today also now people musician.DIR.PL-PL.OBL IND-bring.PRS-3.PL

*û li kerboran hero dahol û zirne ne*  
 û li kerboran he(r)-ro dahol û zirne ne  
 and in Kerboran every-day drum and zurna COP.PRS.3.PL

And today people bring musicians and people play drums and zurnas every day in Kerboran.

**216**

*hemû kemaçe ye dinya hemû tikan*  
 hemû kemaçe ye dinya hemû tikan  
 all three.stringed.instrument COP.PRS.3.SG world all shop.PL.DIR

*in û hemû dinya xwert buwe û zengîn*  
 in û hemû dinya xwert bû-w-e û zengîn  
 COP.PRS.3.PL and all world strong be.PP-HIA-COP.PRS.3.SG and rich

*buwe*  
 bû-w-e  
 be.PP-HIA-COP.PRS.3.SG

There are kemançes and the world is full of shops and people has become strong and rich.

**217**

*li dora kerboran rez in hejîr*  
 li dor-a kerboran rez in hejîr  
 in queue-EZ.F Kerboran vineyard.DIR.PL COP.PRS.3.PL fig.DIR.PL

*in*  
 in  
 COP.PRS.3.PL

There are vineyards and fig trees around Kerboran.

**218**

*axlebe û mêw in û fistaq*  
 axlebe û mêw in û fistaq  
 mostly and grapevine.DIR.PL COP.PRS.3.PL and pistachio.DIR.PL

*in û tiştê wilo ne*  
 in û tişt-ê wilo ne  
 COP.PRS.3.PL and thing-EZ.PL so COP.PRS.3.PL

There are mostly grapevines and pistachio trees and such things.

**219**

*tomanî ne û sêv in û li*  
 tomanî ne û sêv in û li  
 peach.DIR.PL COP.PRS.3.PL and apple.DIR.PL COP.PRS.3.PL and in

*dora me jî wilo ne*  
 dor-a me jî wilo ne  
 queue-EZ.F 1.PL.OBL also so COP.PRS.3.PL

There are peach trees and apple trees and it is so around us.

**220**

*li îzar jî hinar a zahf in*  
 li îzar jî hinar a zahf in  
 in Îzar also pomegranate.DIR.PL EXEZ.PL very COP.PRS.3.PL

There are many pomegranate trees in Îzar.

**221**

*dehlê me hemû hejîr in*  
 dehl-ê me hemû hejîr in  
 fruit.garden-EZ.PL 1.PL.OBL all fig.DIR.PL COP.PRS.3.PL

Our fruit gardens are full of fig trees.

**222**

*hemû mêw in*  
 hemû mêw in  
 all grapevine.DIR.PL COP.PRS.3.PL

They are full of grapevines.

**223**

*zeytûn jî vêga xelk dest pê dikin zeytûna*  
 zeytûn jî vêga xelk dest pê di-k-in zeytûn-a  
 olive.DIR.PL also now people hand with.it IND-do.PRS-3.PL olive-PL.OBL

*diçênin*  
 di-çên-in  
 IND-sow.PRS-3.PL

Also olive trees, now people have started to plant olive trees.

**224**

*sê mal ê di gund de ne*  
 sê mal ê di gund de ne  
 three home.DIR.PL EXEZ.PL in village in.CIR COP.PRS.3.PL

There are three families in the village.

**225**

*muxtar ê di gund de ye û di malê*  
 muxtar ê di gund de ye û di mal-ê  
 village.head EXEZ.M in village in.CIR COP.PRS.3.SG and two home-EZ.PL

*dî a tê de ne*  
*dî a tê de ne*  
 other EXEZ.PL in.it in.CIR COP.PRS.3.PL

There is a village head in the village (Lit.: the village head is in the village), and there are two other families there.

**226**

*gund hemû xira buwe avayî xira*  
*gund hemû xira bû-w-e avayî xira*  
 village all ruined be.PP-HIA-COP.PRS.3.SG house.PL.DIR ruined

*bûne*  
*bû-ne*  
 be.PP-COP.PRS.3.PL

The whole village is ruined, the houses are ruined.

**227**

*hinek ji yê betonî mane*  
*hin-ek ji yê betonî ma-ne*  
 some-INDF from DEM.EZ.PL of.concrete stay.PP-COP.PRS.3.PL

Some of the concrete (houses) are left.

**228**

*yê dara hemû ketine kaviî rût*  
*yê dar-a hemû ketî-ne kaviî-ê rût*  
 DEM.EZ.PL tree-PL.OBL all fall.PP-COP.PRS.3.PL ruin-EZ.PL bare

*in*  
*in*  
 COP.PRS.3.PL

The wooden (houses) are all ruined, they are bare ruins.

**229**

*wextê em a biçûk tê bîra*  
*wext-ê em a biçûk t-ê bîr-a*  
 time-EZ.M 1.PL.DIR EXEZ.PL little IND-come.PRS.3.SG memory-EZ.F

*mi cilê cawî me li xwe dikirin*  
*mi cil-ê cawî me li xwe di-kir-in*  
 1.SG.OBL clothes-EZ.PL of.white.fabric 1.PL.OBL in self IND-do.PST-3.PL

I remember when we were children we wore clothes of white fabric.

**230**

*ew kirask a li me bûn û gumlek*  
*ew kiras-k a li me bûn û gumlek*  
 3.SG.DIR dress-DIM EXEZ.PL in 1.PL.OBL COP.PST.3.PL and shirt.DIR

*me li xwe dikir me ew kirask li*  
*me li xwe di-kir-Ø me ew kiras-k li*  
 1.PL.OBL in self IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST 1.PL.OBL 3.SG.DIR dress-DIM in

*xwe dikirin*  
xwe di-kir-in  
self IND-do.PST-3.PL

We had those dresses on us and we wore shirts.

**231**

*û em zarok bûn*  
û em zarok bûn  
and 1.PL.DIR child COP.PST.1.PL

And we were children.

**232**

*em wilo bi kêvir dileyîstin*  
em wilo bi kêvir di-leyîst-in  
1.PL.DIR so with stone.M.OBL IND-play.PST-1.PL

We played with stones.

**233**

*em bi pîrka reşonek dileyîstin*  
em bi pîrka.reşonek di-leyîst-in  
1.PL.DIR with a.game IND-play.PST-1.PL

We played ‘pîrka reshonek’.

**234**

*em di koxa û wa de me xwe*  
em di kox-a û wa de me xwe  
1.PL.DIR in cattle-shed-PL.OBL and 3.PL.OBL in.CIR 1.PL.OBL self

*diveşart û em diçûne di*  
di-ve.şart-Ø û em di-çû-n-e di  
IND-hide.PST-3.SG.PST and 1.PL.DIR IND-go.PST-1.PL-DRC in

*koxa de wilo em lev*  
kox-a de wilo em l-ev  
cattle-shed-PL.OBL in.CIR so 1.PL.DIR PREP-each.other

*digeran*  
di-gera-n  
IND-search.PST-1.PL

We hid us in cattle-sheds and such places and we searched each other.

**235**

*pîlavê me lastîk bûn*  
pîlav-ê me lastîk bûn  
shoe-EZ.PL 1.PL.OBL rubber COP.PST.3.PL

We had rubber shoes.

**236**

*pêşî yê çermê dewêr bûn*  
*pêşî yê çerm-ê dewêr bûn*  
 first DEM.EZ.PL skin-EZ.M cattle.M.OBL COP.PST.3.PL

Before they were from cattle skin.

**237**

*paşî bûne solê reş*  
*paşî bû-n-e sol-ê reş*  
 later become.PST-3.PL-DRC shoe-EZ.PL black

Later there were black rubber) shoes.

**238**

*li va da nebûn ji sêrtê*  
*li va da ne-bûn ji sêrt-ê*  
 in these.OBL place.PL.OBL NEG-COP.PST.3.PL from Siirt-F.OBL

*tanîn*  
 t-anî-n  
 IND-bring.PST-3.PL

There weren't here, they brought them from Siirt.

**239**

*û em diçûne sêrtê*  
*û em di-çû-n-e sêrt-ê*  
 and 1.PL.DIR IND-go.PST-1.PL-DRC Siirt-F.OBL

And we went to Siirt.

**240**

*bi qonaxa nizam çi qasî sêrt ji*  
*bi qonax-a ni-za(n)-m çi qas-î sêrt ji*  
 with duration-EZ.F NEG-know.PRS-1.SG what amount-M.OBL Siirt from

*me a dûr e*  
*me a dûr e*  
 1.PL.OBL EXEZ.F far COP.PRS.3.SG

Siirt is I-don't-know-how-long away from us.

**241**

*em bi kera diçûn*  
*em bi ker-a di-çû-n*  
 1.PL.DIR by donkey-PL.OBL IND-go.PST-1.PL

We went on donkeys.

**242**

*me fêkiyê xwe dibire sêrtê*  
*me fêkî-yê xwe di-bir-Ø-e sêrt-ê*  
 1.PL.OBL fruit-EZ.M self IND-take.PST-3.SG.PST-DRC Siirt-F.OBL

We took our fruits to Siirt.

## 243

*mewîj dims me dibirine 'erasa*  
*mewîj dims me di-bir-in-e 'eras(e)-a*  
 raisin grape.syrup 1.PL.OBL IND-take.PST-3.PL-DRC market-EZ.F

*sêrtê*  
*sêrt-ê*  
 Siirt-F.OBL

We took raisins and grape syrup to the market of Siirt.

## 244

*nîvê şêva me bar fikir û em*  
*nîv-ê şêv-a me bar di-kir-Ø û em*  
 half-EZ.M night-PL.OBL 1.PL.OBL load IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST and 1.PL.DIR

*diçûn bi gemiyê em derbas dibûn*  
*di-çû-n bi gemî-yê em derbas di-bû-n*  
 IND-go.PST-1.PL with boat-F.OBL 1.PL.DIR crossing IND-become.PST-1.PL

We loaded (our donkeys) in the midnights and we crossed (the river) on boats.

## 245

*em diçûne çêlik û em diçûne*  
*em di-çû-n-e çêlik û em di-çû-n-e*  
 1.PL.DIR IND-go.PST-1.PL-DRC Çêlik and 1.PL.DIR IND-go.PST-1.PL-DRC

*wî aliyê avê*  
*wî alî-yê av-ê*  
 3.SG.M.OBL side-EZ.M water-F.OBL

We went to Çêlik and we crossed the water.

## 246

*ca'dek bû 'erebe tê de diçûn lê*  
*ca'd(e)-ek bû 'erebe tê de di-çû-n lê*  
 road-INDF COP.PST.3.SG car.PL.DIR in.it in.CIR IND-go.PST-3.PL but

*a teng bû*  
*a teng bû*  
 EXEZ.F narrow COP.PST.3.SG

There was a road, cars could pass through, but it was narrow.

## 247

*me ker disekinandin heta 'erebek kû*  
*me ker di-sekin-and-in heta 'ereb(e)-ek kû*  
 1.PL.OBL donkey.PL.DIR IND-stop-CAUS.PST-3.PL until car-INDF that

*dibûrî em lê siwar dibûn*  
*di-bûrî-Ø em lê siwar di-bû-n*  
 IND-pass.PST-3.SG.PST 1.PL.DIR on.it rider IND-become.PST-1.PL

*diçûne*                      *sêrtê*  
 di-çû-n-e                      sêrt-ê  
 IND-go.PST-1.PL-DRC Siirt-F.OBL

We stopped the donkeys and (waited) until a car passed by, we got on the car and went to Siirt.

**248**

*ew*            *fêkiyê*        *xwe me*            *difirot*                      *û*    *careka*  
 ew            fêkî-yê        xwe me            di-firot-Ø                      û    car-ek-a  
 3.SG.DIR    fuit-EZ.M    self 1.PL.OBL    IND-sell-3.SG.PST and    time-INDF-EZ.F

*dî*    *li*    *piyê*            *paş me*            *di*    *'elb*    *xwê li*    *kerê*            *xwe*  
 dî    li    pi-yê            paş me            di    'elb    xwê li    ker-ê            xwe  
 other at    foot-EZ.M    back 1.PL.OBL    two bucket salt on donkey-EZ.M self

*dikirin*  
 di-kir-in  
 IND-do.PST-3.PL

We sold our fruits and we loaded immediately two buckets of salt on our donkeys.

**249**

*xwê jî*    *nebû*                      *li va*            *da*            *me*            *ji*  
 xwê jî    ne-bû                      li va            da            me            ji  
 salt also    NEG-COP.PST.3.SG in these.OBL    place.PL.OBL 1.PL.OBL from

*sêrtê*            *xwê tanî*  
 sêrt-ê            xwê t-anî-Ø  
 Siirt-F.OBL salt    IND-bring.PST-3.SG.PST

There was no salt neither here, we brought it from Siirt.

**250**

*û*    *em*            *diçûne*                      *bamerd me*            *mewîj*  
 û    em            di-çû-n-e                      bamerd me            mewîj  
 and 1.PL.DIR    IND-go.PST-1.PL-DRC Bamerd 1.PL.OBL    raisin.PL.DIR

*dibirin*                      *me*            *didane*                      *bi*    *gênim*  
 di-bir-in                      me            di-da-n-e                      bi    gênim  
 IND-take.PST-3.PL 1.PL.OBL    IND-give.PST-3.PL-DRC with wheat.M.OBL

And we went to Bamerd, we took raisins with us and exchanged with wheat.

**251**

*me*            *barek*            *mewîj dibir*                      *me*            *barek*  
 me            bar-ek            mewîj di-bir-Ø                      me            bar-ek  
 1.PL.OBL load-INDF    raisin    IND-take.PST-3.SG.PST 1.PL.OBL load-INDF

*genim tanî*                      *li*    *ker-a*                      *me*  
 genim t-anî-Ø                      li    ker-a                      me  
 wheat IND-bring.PST-3.SG.PST on donkey-PL.OBL 1.PL.OBL

*dikir*

di-kir-Ø

IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

We took a load of raisins and brought a load of wheat, we put it on donkeys.

**252**

*em diçûn li gunda digeran heta*  
em di-çû-n li gund-a di-gera-n heta  
1.PL.DIR IND-go.PST-1.PL in village-PL.OBL IND-wander.PST-1.PL until

*kû me ew mewîjê xwe serf dikirin*  
kû me ew mewîj-ê xwe serf di-kir-in  
that 1.PL.OBL 3.PL.DIR raisin-EZ.PL self spend IND-do.PST-3.PL

We went and wandered from village to village until we finished our raisins.

**253**

*pîreka yê kû werê sênikka xwe*  
pîrek-a yê kû wer-ê sênîk-k-a xwe  
woman-PL.OBL DEM.EZ.M that come.PRS.SBJV-3.SG plate-INDF-EZ.F self

*bibê yê kû legeneka xwe*  
bi-b-ê yê kû legen-ek-a xwe  
SBJV-be.PRS-3.SG DEM.EZ.M that washtub-INDF-EZ.F self

*bibê*

bi-b-ê

SBJV-be.PRS-3.SG

Some women came and took a plate of raisins, some a washtub (of raisins).

**254**

*mala kû genimê wê zahf bane*  
mal-a kû genim-ê wê zahf bane  
home-EZ.F that wheat-EZ.M 3.SG.F.OBL very COP.PST.SBJV.3.SG

*'elbek dibir*

'elb-ek di-bir-Ø

bucket-INDF IND-take.PST-3.SG.PST

The families who had a lot of wheat took a bucket (of raisins).

**255**

*me barê xwe yê mewîj dida bi genim*  
me bar-ê xwe yê mewîj di-da-Ø bi genim  
1.PL.OBL load-EZ.M self EZ.M raisin IND-give.PST-3.SG.PST with wheat

We exchanged our load of raisins with wheat.

**256**

*me tanî û me*  
me t-anî-Ø û me  
1.PL.OBL IND-bring.PST-3.SG.PST and 1.PL.OBL



**261**

*me bar dikir û me ji zarokê xwe*  
 me bar di-kir-Ø û me ji zarok-ê xwe  
 1.PL.OBL load IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST and 1.PL.OBL from child-EZ.PL self

*re tanî gund û li tenûra*  
 re t-anî-Ø gund û li tenûr-a  
 CIR IND-bring.PST-3.SG.PST village and on clay.oven-PL.OBL

*dikirin û dikirine nan û dixwarin*  
 di-kir-in û di-kir-in-e nan û di-xwar-in  
 IND-do.PST-3.PL and IND-do.PST-3.PL-DRC bread and IND-eat.PST-3.PL

We loaded and took it to the village for our families (children) and they baked it in the clay ovens and made bread and ate it.

**262**

*me ev dîtîye*  
 me ev dîti-ye  
 1.PL.OBL this see.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG

We have experienced this. (Lit. We have seen this.).

**263**

*e çûme 'eskeriyê*  
 e çû-m-e 'eskerî-yê  
 1.SG.DIR go.PST-1.SG-DRC military.service-F.OBL

I made military service.

**264**

*ez nozdih salî çûme 'eskeriyê bîst*  
 ez nozdih salî çû-m-e 'eskerî-yê bîst  
 1.SG.DIR nineteen year.old go.PST-1.SG-DRC military.service-F.OBL twenty

*û yekî miho tê*  
 û yek-î miho t-ê  
 and one-M.OBL human IND-come.PRS.3.SG

I joined the military when I was nineteen years old and you leave (the military service) when you are twenty one.

**265**

*di wê heyama mi de di sal bûn*  
 di wê heyam-a mi de di sal bûn  
 in 3.SG.F.OBL time-EZ.F 1.SG.OBL in.CIR two year COP.PST.3.PL

It (the military service) was two years in my time.

**266**

*wextê kû di sala mi 'eskerî*  
 wext-ê kû di sal-a mi 'eskerî  
 time-EZ.M that two year-PL.OBL 1.SG.OBL military.service

*kir e çûme oqilê*  
kir-Ø e çû-m-e oqil-ê  
do.PST-3.SG.PST 1.SG.DIR go.PST-1.SG-DRC school-F.OBL

When I made my military service during two years I went to school there.

**267**

*hingî oqil nebûn yaziya mi nebû*  
hingî oqil ne-bûn yazî-ya mi ne-bû  
then school NEG-COP.PST.3.PL literacy-EZ.F 1.SG.OBL NEG-COP.PST.3.SG

There were no schools then, I was illiterate.

**268**

*navê avê û nê tenê mi*  
nav-ê av-ê û nê tenê mi  
name-EZ.M water-F.OBL and bread.M.OBL only 1.SG.OBL

*zanîbû*

Ø-zanîbû-Ø  
IND-know.PST-3.SG.PST

I could say only water and bread.

**269**

*di go ekmek û sû*  
di-go ekmek û sû  
IND-say.PST bread and water

It was ‘ekmek’ and ‘sû’.<sup>3</sup>

**270**

*e diçûme oqilê*  
e di-çû-m-e oqil-ê  
1.SG.DIR IND-go.PST-1.SG-DRC school-F.OBL

I went to the school.

**271**

*ders didane me*  
ders di-da-n-e me  
lesson IND-give.PST-3.PL-DRC 1.PL.OBL

They taught us.

**272**

*mi nizanîbû tiştekî*  
mi ni-zanîbû-Ø tişt-ek-î  
1.SG.OBL NEG-know.PST-3.SG.PST thing-INDF-M.OBL

I knew nothing.

---

<sup>3</sup> These are the Turkish words for bread and water.

273

*mi tişteş fêhm nedikir*  
 mi tişt-ek fêhm ne-di-kir-Ø  
 1.SG.OBL thing-INDF understanding NEG-IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

I understood nothing.

274

*ez sê miha mame di oqilê de*  
 ez sê mih-a ma-m-e di oqil-ê de  
 1.SG.DIR three month-PL.OBL stay.PST-1.SG-DRC in school-F.OBL in.CIR

I went to the school for three months.

275

*hingî ezyet didane me*  
 hingî ezyet di-da-n-e me  
 then torment.DIR IND-give.PST-3.PL-DRC 1.PL.OBL

They plagued us a lot.

276

*li gundê me mektebe nebûn wê*  
 li gund-ê me mektebe ne-bûn wê  
 in village-EZ.M 1.PL.OBL schools NEG-COP.PST.3.PL 3.SG.F.OBL

*heyamê û em nehatibûne bajara*  
 heyam-ê û em ne-hati-bûn-e bajar-a  
 time-F.OBL and 1.PL.DIR NEG-come.PP-COP.PST.1.PL-DRC city-PL.OBL

There were no schools in our village in that time and we had not come to the cities.

277

*me bajar nedibûn*  
 me bajar ne-dî-bûn  
 1.PL.OBL city.PL.DIR NEG-see.PP-COP.PST.3.PL

We had not seen the cities.

278

*kerboran jî gund bû*  
 kerboran jî gund bû  
 Kerboran also village COP.PST.3.SG

Kerboran was also a village.

279

*li wê derê e sê miha*  
 li wê der-ê e sê mih-a  
 in 3.SG.F.OBL place-F.OBL 1.SG.DIR three month-PL.OBL

*mame di oqilê de mi tişteş*  
 ma-m-e di oqil-ê de mi tişt-ek  
 stay.PST-1.SG-DRC in school-F.OBL in.CIR 1.SG.OBL thing-INDF

<i>fêhm</i>	<i>nekir</i>	<i>ez</i>	<i>nexweş</i>	<i>ketim</i>
fêhm	ne-kir-Ø	ez	nexweş	ket-im
understanding	NEG-do.PST-3.SG.PST	1.SG.DIR	sick	fall.PST-1.SG

I stayed there at the school for three months (and) I understood nothing (and) I got sick.

**280**

<i>e</i>	<i>çûme</i>	<i>qistexanê</i>	<i>enqera</i>	<i>ez</i>
e	çû-m-e	qistexan(e)-ê	enqera	ez
1.SG.DIR	go.PST-1.SG-DRC	hospital-F.OBL	Ankara	1.SG.DIR

<i>heftikî</i>	<i>mame</i>	<i>tê</i>	<i>de</i>
heftî-k-î	ma-m-e	tê	de
week-INDF-M.OBL	stay.PST-1.SG-DRC	in.it	in.CIR

I went to the hospital in Ankara (and) I stayed there (at the hospital) for a week.

**281**

<i>tixtor</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>oxlim</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>malê</i>
tixtor	go-Ø	oxlim	here	mal-ê
doctor	say.PST-3.SG.PST	my.son	go.IMP.SG	home-F.OBL

The doctor told me, “go home my son”.

**282**

<i>go</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>şeş</i>	<i>mih</i>	<i>hewa degîşimê</i>
go-Ø	ê	şeş	mih	hewa.degîşim(i)-ê
say.PST-3.SG.PST	1.SG.DIR.FUT	six	month	sick.leave-F.OBL

<i>dime</i>	<i>te</i>
Ø-d-im-e	te
SBJV-give.PRS-1.SG-DRC	2.SG.OBL

He said he would give me six months of sick leave. (Lit.: he said, “I will give me six months of sick leave”.)

**283**

<i>here</i>	<i>malê</i>	<i>lê</i>	<i>sermayê</i>	<i>daye</i>	<i>te</i>
here	mal-ê	lê	serma-yê	da-ye	te
go.IMP.SG	home-F.OBL	but	cold-F.OBL	give.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG	2.SG.OBL

<i>di oqilê</i>	<i>de</i>
di oqil-ê	de
in school-F.OBL	in.CIR

(The doctor said) “go home, you have caught a cold at the school”.

**284**

<i>şeş miha</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>heta</i>	<i>wilo</i>	<i>dinya</i>	<i>yê</i>	<i>xweş</i>
şeş mih-a	here	heta	wilo	dinya	yê	xweş
six month-PL.OBL	go.IMP.SG	until	so	world	FUT	nice

*bê*

Ø-b-ê

SBJV-become.PRS-3.SG

“Go (home) for six months and the weather will be nicer until then”.

**285**

*sê mih ê ji te re êne*  
sê mih ê ji te re Ø-ê-n-e  
three months FUT from 2.SG.OBL CIR SBJV-come.PRS-3.PL-DRC

*hesêbê sê nayêne hesêbê*  
hesêb-ê sê na-y-ê-n-e hesêb-ê  
count-F.OBL three NEG.SBJV-HIA-come.PRS-3.PL-DRC count-F.OBL

“Three months will be counted for you and three will not”.

**286**

*hingî e zewicî bûm*  
hingî e zewicî bûm  
then 1.SG.DIR married COP.PST.1.SG

I was married then.

**287**

*mi mitala pîreka xwe dikir*  
mi mital(e)-a pîrek-a xwe di-kir-Ø  
1.SG.OBL worry-EZ.F wife-EZ.F self IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

I was worried about my wife.

**288**

*mi nedit kû ciya mi jî*  
mi ne-dît-Ø kû dê-ya mi jî  
1.SG.OBL NEG-see.PST-3.SG.PST that mother-EZ.F 1.SG.OBL also

*mir*

mir-Ø

die.PST-3.SG.PST

I did not see when my mother died.

**289**

*bavê mi tenê hebû û mi jinek*  
bav-ê mi tenê he-bû û mi jin-ek  
father-EZ.M 1.SG.OBL only exist-COP.PST.3.SG and 1.SG.OBL wife-INDF

*anîbû*

anî-bû

bring.PP-COP.PST.3.SG

My father was alone and I was married (Lit.: I had brought a wife).

**290**

*mi mitala bavê xwe û xuhê xwe*  
 mi mital(e)-a bav-ê xwe û xuh-ê xwe  
 1.SG.OBL worry-EZ.F father-EZ.M self and sister-EZ.PL self

*dikir*

di-kir-Ø

IND-do.PST-3.SG.PST

I was worried about my father and my sisters.

**291**

*û zarokê mi jî hingî nebûn*  
 û zarok-ê mi jî hingî ne-bûn  
 and child-EZ.PL 1.SG.OBL also then NEG-COP.PST.3.PL

And I did not have children then.

**292**

*mi nûka jin anîbû*  
 mi nûka jin anî-bû  
 1.SG.OBL then wife bring.PP-COP.PST.3.SG

I was newly married.

**293**

*wê salê mi anî wê*  
 wê sal-ê mi anî-Ø wê  
 3.SG.F.OBL year-F.OBL 1.SG.OBL bring.PST-3.SG.PST 3.SG.F.OBL

*salê e çûme 'eskeriyê*  
 sal-ê e çû-m-e 'eskerî-yê  
 year-F.OBL 1.SG.DIR go.PST-1.SG-DRC military.service-F.OBL

I married the same year I joined the military service.

**294**

*îdî go oxlim here mal*  
 îdî go-Ø oxlim here mal  
 then say.PST-3.SG.PST my.son go.IMP.SG home

And he (the doctor) told me to go home. (Lit.: And he said, “go home my son”.)

**295**

*şeş miha mam û e çûme axrî*  
 şeş mih-a ma-m û e çû-m-e axrî  
 six month-PL.OBL stay.PST-1.SG and 1.SG.DIR go.PST-1.SG-DRC Ağrı

I stayed (home) for six months and (then) I went to Ağrı.

**296**

*e şeş miha li axriyê mam*  
 e şeş mih-a li axrî-yê ma-m  
 1.SG.DIR six month-PL.OBL in Ağrı-F.OBL stay.PST-1.SG

I stayed in Ağrı for six months.

**297**

*e dame ser têlsizekî*  
*e da-m-e ser têlsiz-ek-î*  
 1.SG.DIR give.PST-1.SG-DRC on handheld.transceiver-INDF-M.OBL

They placed me by a handheld transceiver.

**298**

*amirekî diyarbekirî bû*  
*amir-ek-î diyarbekirî bû*  
 commandant-INDF-EZ.M from.Diyarbakır COP.PST.3.SG

There was a commandant from Diyarbakır.

**299**

*go oxlim go hema li vê dê*  
*go-Ø oxlim go-Ø hema li vê dê*  
 say.PST-3.SG.PST my.son say.PST-3.SG.PST just in this.F.OBL place.F.OBL

*be kû carê çîk hat tê*  
*be kû car-ê çîk hat-Ø t-ê*  
 be.IMP.SG when time-F.OBL thing come.PST-3.SG.PST 2.SG.DIR-FUT

*ciwaba wa dê*  
*ciwab-a wa Ø-d-ê*  
 answer-EZ.F 3.PL.OBL SBJV-give.PRS-2.SG

He said stay here my son and answer when there is a thing (call).

**300**

*kûder diştexilîn mi ciwaba wa*  
*kûder di-ştexilî-n mi ciwab-a wa*  
 where IND-speak.PST-3.PL 1.SG.OBL answer-EZ.F 3.PL.OBL

*dida*  
*dî-da-Ø*  
 IND-give.PST-3.SG.PST

I answered who ever called.

**301**

*paşî kû sê mihê mi man ew her sê*  
*paşî kû sê mih-ê mi ma-n ew her sê*  
 later that three month-EZ.PL 1.SG.OBL stay.PST-3.PL 3.PL.DIR each three

*mihê kû mi hewa degîşimê standin ez*  
*mih-ê kû mi hewa.degîşim(i)-ê stand-in ez*  
 month-EZ.PL that 1.SG.OBL sick.leave-F.OBL take.PST-3.PL 1.SG.DIR

*mame li paşiya hevala*  
*ma-m-e li paşî-ya heval-a*  
 stay.PST-1.SG-DRC in after-PL.OBL friend-PL.OBL

Then when there were three months left, I was behind my friends because of those three months of sick leave.

**302**

*ew nehatine hesêbê*  
 ew ne-hat-in-e hesêb-ê  
 3.PL.DIR NEG-come.PST-3.PL-DRC count-F.OBL

They (those three months) were not counted.

**303**

*teymen gote bînbaşî go bila ev*  
 teymen got-Ø-e bînbaşî go-Ø bila ev  
 lieutenant say.PST-3.SG.PST-DRC major say.PST-3.SG.PST HOR this

*kurik î li ba çîka te bê*  
 kur-ik î li ba çîk-a te b-ê  
 boy-DIM EXEZ.M in by thing-EZ.F 2.SG.OBL be.PRS.SBJV-3.SG

The lieutenant told the major let this boy stay at your thing (service).

**304**

*carê bila çaya te bêne*  
 car-ê bila çay-a te b-ên-ê  
 time-F.OBL HOR tea-EZ.F 2.SG.OBL SBJV-bring.PRS-3.SG.PRS

Let him serve your tea.

**305**

*her sê mihê mi wilo çûn û mi*  
 her sê mih-ê mi wilo çû-n û mi  
 each three month-EZ.PL 1.SG.OBL so go.PST-3.PL and 1.SG.OBL

*deskera xwe stand*  
 desker(e)-a xwe stand-Ø  
 military.discharge.paper-EZ.F self take.PST-3.SG.PST

I spent three month like this and I got discharged.

**306**

*wî teymenê diyarbakirî go*  
 wî teymen-ê diyarbakirî go-Ø  
 3.SG.M.OBL lieutenant-EZ.M from.Diyarbakır say.PST-3.SG.PST

*'erebê batmanê benzîne tênine*  
 'ereb(e)-ê batman-ê benzîn-ê t-ên-in-e  
 vehicle-EZ.PL Batman-F.OBL gas-F.OBL IND-bring.PRS-3.PL-DRC

*bêlûka me ez ê te belaş*  
 bêlûk-a me ez ê te belaş  
 military.company-PL.OBL 1.PL.OBL 1.SG.DIR FUT 2.SG.OBL free.of.charge

*şiyênime batmanê*  
 Ø-şiyên-im-e batman-ê SBJV-send.PRS-1.SG-DRC Batman-F.OBL

That lieutenant from Diyarbakır said that vehicles from Batman brought gas to our military company, (he said) I will send you to Batman for free.

**307**

*ez kirime 'erebekka batmanê de û*  
 ez kir-im-e 'erebe-kk-a batman-ê de û  
 1.SG.DIR put.PST-1.SG-DRC car-INDF-EZ.F Batman-F.OBL in.CIR and

*go vî zilamî bibe nava*  
 go-Ø vî zilam-î bi-b-e nav-a  
 say.PST-3.SG.PST this.M.OBL man-M.OBL IMP-take.PRS-SG inside-EZ.F

*batmanê*  
 batman-ê  
 Batman-F.OBL

He put me in a vehicle from Batman and told (the driver) to take me to Batman.

**308**

*î nas bû her carekê mazot ji*  
 î nas bû her car-ek-ê mazot ji  
 EXEZ.M known COP.PST.3.SG each time-INDF-F.OBL diesel.fuel from

*wa re tanî*  
 wa re t-anî-Ø  
 3.PL.OBL CIR IND-bring.PST-3.SG.PST

He was an acquaintance, he brought often diesel fuel for them.

**309**

*go pera jê nestêne*  
 go-Ø per(e)-a jê ne-stên-e  
 say.PST-3.SG.PST money-PL.OBL from.him NEG.IMP-take.PRS-SG

He (the lieutenant) told him to not charge me (for the travel).

**310**

*ez anîme batmanê*  
 ez anî-m-e batman-ê  
 1.SG.DIR bring.PST-1.SG-DRC Batman-F.OBL

(He) took me to Batman.

**311**

*hingî ev şikriyê hacî çaçan xezûrê wî heso*  
 hingî ev şikrî-yê hacî çaçan xezûr-ê wî heso  
 then this Şikrî-EZ.M Hajji Çaçan father.in.law-EZ.M 3.SG.M.OBL Heso

*î li wir bû mi go ez*  
 î li wir bû mi go-Ø ez  
 EXEZ.SG in there COP.PST.3.SG 1.SG.OBL say.PST-3.SG.PST 1.SG.DIR

*mala wî nas dikim*  
 mal-a wî nas di-k-im  
 home-EZ.F 3.SG.M.OBL known IND-do.PRS-1.SG

Şikriyê Hacî Chaçan's father in law lived there (in Batman) then, I said I know his home.

**312**

*ez çûme mihela serê gir e*  
 ez çû-m-e mihel(e)-a ser-ê gir e  
 1.SG.DIR go.PST-1.SG-DRC area-EZ.F head-EZ.M hill 1.SG.DIR

*çûme mala wa*  
 çû-m-e mal-a wa  
 go.PST-1.SG-DRC home-EZ.F 3.PL.OBL

I went to the neighborhood on the hill, I went to his (their) home.

**313**

*buwe sibih û ez li 'erebê siwar*  
 bû-w-e sibih û ez li 'ereb(e)-ê siwar  
 be.PP-HIA-COP.PRS.3.SG morning and 1.SG.DIR in car-EZ.M rider

*bûm ez hatime midyatê*  
 bû-m ez hat-im-e midyat-ê  
 be.PST-1.SG 1.SG.DIR come.PST-1.SG-DRC Midyat-F.OBL

When it was morning I took a car and I came to Midyat.

**314**

*ji midyatê 'erebekka kera hat*  
 ji midyat-ê 'erebe-kk-a ker-a hat-Ø  
 from Midyat-F.OBL car-INDF-EZ.F donkey-PL.OBL come.PST-3.SG.PST

*ez hatime kerboran*  
 ez hat-im-e kerboran  
 1.SG.DIR come.PST-1.SG-DRC Kerboran

There was a donkey carriage from Midyat, (I took it) and came to Kerboran.

**315**

*ji xwe ji kerboran 'erebe nediçûne gund*  
 ji xwe ji kerboran 'erebe ne-di-çû-n-e gund  
 from self from Kerboran car.PL.DIR NEG-IND-go.PST-3.PL-DRC village

*e bi piya çûme îzar*  
 e bi pî-ya çû-m-e îzar  
 1.SG.DIR with foot-PL.OBL go.PST-1.SG-DRC Îzar

There were no vehicles going to the village from Kerboran so I went to Îzar by feet.

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