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# GENDER IN KURDISH <sup>1</sup>

By D. N. MACKENZIE

IT is not yet generally accepted in European works that a distinction of grammatical gender exists in Kurdish. In the Northern group of Kurdish dialects the Izafe appears in a number of forms, e.g. *a*, *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, and the nominal oblique case ending as *-ē* and *-ī*. An analysis of these forms into a clear system, with two declensions according to grammatical gender, has been made by members of the princely family of Bedir Xan. A comparison of all the available texts in the light of their analysis serves to confirm the general validity of the paradigms and therefore of a distinction of grammatical gender, disguised to a varying extent by the generalization of certain forms. The history of a number of words of known gender suggests that the distinction is inherited.

A hitherto unexplained phenomenon is the appearance in the Central Kurdish Mukrī dialect of two forms of the nominal oblique case ending, *-ē* and *-ī*. The similarity of these forms to the corresponding Northern dialect forms is obvious. A comparison of related words in the two groups of dialects shows that in the Mukrī dialect also the difference of the forms marks a distinction of grammatical gender.

\*                     \*                     \*

Many writers on Kurdish, from the time of Garzoni's *Grammatica* of 1787 down to Socin's *Sprache der Kurden*,<sup>2</sup> have remarked on the variety of forms in which the Izafe appears, even within a particular dialect. Some have advanced theories concerning the phonetic context to account for this variety. It is simplest to quote Justi's review of these theories :<sup>3</sup>

‘ Der Genetiv wird auf dieselbe Weise wie im Persischen gebildet, nämlich mit Hülfe des zwischen das Nomen und das von ihm abhängige Wort tretende Relativpronomens altpers. *hya*, *tya*, np. *i*; dieses Pronomen erscheint in dreifacher Gestalt als *i*, *e* und *a*, bei Rhea stets *ē*. Garzoni stellt das Gesetz auf, dass hinter *b*, *f*, *m*, *r* das *e*, hinter *k* das *a*, hinter *l* mit vorhergehendem Vocal das *i*, hinter *l* mit vorhergehendem Consonant das *e* stehe; nach Chodzko p. 305 wird das *i* hinter *ق* und *غ* in *a* verwandelt. Wie die unten folgenden Beispiele lehren, sind diese Bestimmungen für das ganze Gebiet des Kurmand-

<sup>1</sup> The subject of this paper was first suggested in the course of one of many fruitful discussions with Prof. W. B. Henning and I must gratefully acknowledge here, albeit inadequately, the extent to which it has profited by his many and detailed criticisms and suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, I.2., p. 249. Bibliography, p. 253. Of the works there quoted the following are referred to in this article: Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden*, cited Lx page/line, Jaba, *Recueil de notices et récits kurdes*, Justi-Jaba, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, cited JJ page, Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, cited PS page/line, Makas, *Kurdische Texte im Kurmānġi-Dialecte*, cited Mk section/line. In some cases, which will be obvious, it has been necessary to modify in quotation the various transcriptions of different scholars.

<sup>3</sup> F. Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, St.-Petersburg, 1880, p. 127.

schicht nicht haltbar. Der erste jener Laute, *i*, ist der ursprüngliche; *e* ist aus diesem getrübt; das *a* hielt Lerch (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, v, 211) für den alten Vocal des altp. *hya*, was nicht richtig ist; es liegt vielmehr hier eine Vocalverderbniss vor, . . . ' Further Socin: <sup>1</sup> ' In welchen Fällen dieses *a* statt *e* eintritt, ist noch zu untersuchen; bisweilen mag eine gewisse Vocalassimilation oder Einwirkung der umgebenden Consonanten massgebend sein. Man beachte jedoch, dass z.B. . . . *xizmätā-vī* . . . unmittelbar neben *xizmätē-vī hamī* steht; sollte letzteres Plural sein? '

Jardine in his booklet on the Kurdish spoken in modern Iraq north of the Great Zab <sup>2</sup> states: ' Qualifying nouns and adjectives usually follow singular nouns they qualify and are connected to them by particles *e* or *a*. *e* is usually used when the qualified noun is masculine and *a* when that noun is feminine '. This is the earliest traceable mention of grammatical gender in Kurdish. Likewise the remarkable Kurdish grammar of Abbé Beidar: <sup>3</sup>

' § 8.—A proprement parler, le nom kurde n'a pas de genres; . . .

§ 13.—Pour rapporter un nom à un autre, ou pour marquer le génitif, l'article: *du*: est rendu par: *é*: qui se met à la fin du nom rapporté masculin; et par: *a*: à la fin du nom féminin. Le second nom, ou celui auquel on rapporte, se met au vrai génitif latin [sic] de la 1re. et 2me. classe, selon les genres, ex. *harakata ardé (ae)*: le mouvement de la terre; *navé khoudani (i)* le nom du maître. Et si le premier nom est au pluriel, au lieu des dites particules, il prend: *ène*: pour les deux genres, ex. *bahsène dawlata*: les nouvelles des États.'

It is proposed here to set out in some detail the evidence for the presence of distinction of gender in Kurdish. Within the last three decades a wealth of new texts has come to hand. Chief among these are the many publications of MM. Bedir Xan in Syria <sup>4</sup> and the texts published by Lescot.<sup>5</sup> This group of texts is supported by the grammar of Mir Celadet Bedir Xan <sup>6</sup> and, more recently, by the similar work of Dr. Kamuran Ali Bedir Xan.<sup>7</sup> In another dialect are the publications emanating from Erevan, Soviet Armenia.<sup>8</sup> In so far as the Izafe following singular nouns is concerned these texts do not differ from the Bedir Xan—Lescot group. Throughout the publications of MM. Bedir Xan and Lescot's texts the following paradigms are consistently observed. (The

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p. 276, § 155.

<sup>2</sup> Capt. R. F. Jardine, *Bahdīnan Kurmanji*, Baghdad, 1922.

<sup>3</sup> Abbé Paul Beidar, *Grammaire Kurde*, Paris, 1926.

<sup>4</sup> Particularly Emir Djeladet Aali, *Hawar—Revue Kurde*, Damascus, 1931—. Each number has a full bibliography of the *Kitābxana Hawarē* on the back cover. These, and the grammar (cf. fn. 7), are cited generally BX.

<sup>5</sup> Roger Lescot, *Textes Kurdes*, I, II, Paris-Beirut, 1940-42. I, *Contes, Proverbes et Enigmes*, cited Lt page/line.

<sup>6</sup> Mir Celadet Bedir Xan, *Grammaire Kurde*, Şam-Damas, 1933. Not available to me.

<sup>7</sup> *Langue Kurde. Eléments de Grammaire extraits des cours donnés à l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes par L'Emir Kamuran Aali Bedir-Xan*, Paris, 1953.

<sup>8</sup> e.g. *Nəşra hykmata Şewre Ermənistane*. Komisariata Ronkaje Şm̄bāti, Rəwan, 1930—. Cited generally Rwn. A number of these publications, school textbooks, are in the British Museum.

original spelling is given in brackets, cf. Kamuran Ali's *Langue Kurde*, p. 1, or Lescot's footnote, *Textes I*, p. vi.)

(i) Nouns ending in consonants :

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	⋮	Plur.
Nom.	—	—	⋮	} -ā(n) [-a(n)]
Obl.	-î	-ê	⋮	
Voc.	-ô [-o]	-ê	⋮	-îñô [-îno]
Izafe	ê	â [a]	⋮	-ê(n)

Nouns ending in vowels usually insert an euphonic *y* before these endings.

(ii) Nouns having the 'terminaisons -ek et -ik du nom d'unité et du diminutif' :

	Masc.	Fem.
Obl.	-î	-ê
Izafe	î	a [e]

The *Langue Kurde* gives (2me. leçon) a descriptive analysis of noun genders.

Note particularly :

'Sont du genre Féminin : ...

12°. Tous les substantifs dérivés des adjectifs.

Ex. *mezin*—grand      *mezinahî*, ou *mezinî*—la grandeur

13°. Tous les infinitifs utilisés substantivement.

Ex. *mirin*—mourir      *mirina min*—ma mort.'

Lescot, 'ne faisant pas œuvre de linguiste', confines his grammatical remarks to the main peculiarities of his own texts, which are in the dialect of Mardin.<sup>1</sup> Thus : <sup>2</sup>

'Quelques substantifs, pour la plupart dérivés de l'arabe, n'ont pas de genre fixe et sont construits tantôt comme féminins, tantôt comme masculins ; ...'

'Le cas oblique, pour les substantifs masculins comportant un *a*, se forme par flexion de cette voyelle en *ê* plutôt que par adjonction de la désinence *-î*. Ainsi : *êgir* pour *agirî*, *bajêr* pour *bajarî*, *şivên* pour *şivanî*, etc.' (cf. *Langue Kurde*, p. 18, § 19).

'Au cas oblique et à l'état construit, les terminaisons *-ek* et *-ik* du nom d'unité et du diminutif perdent fréquemment leur voyelle.'

'Lorsque le premier terme du rapport d'annexion est un nom d'unité, la désinence *-î* ou *-e* est parfois omise : ...'

'La désinence du pluriel est généralement *-a* (au lieu de *-an*) et *-ê* (au lieu de *-ên*, à l'état construit), ...'

'Le cas oblique se trouve parfois employé à la place du nominatif : *her keskî li ser textê xwe rûnişt* ; *qîzê rabû ser xwe* ; *hespekê derket*.'

It should be noted further that this confusion between the nominative and the oblique cases affects nouns in the construct state. Nouns following the Izafe appear optionally in either of the two cases. Compare :

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p. vi.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 241-244.

Lx35 <sup>7</sup> <i>bibe lau'i pašāra</i> tell the Pasha's son . . .	Lx35 <sup>8</sup> <i>dā lau'i pašē</i> gave the Pasha's son . . .
Lt46 <sup>21</sup> <i>heke lawē wī hūtī hebin</i> if there are sons of this monster	Lt48 <sup>15</sup> <i>bi destē lawē hūt girt</i> he grasped the hand of the son of the monster

As regards the antecedent, the vowel of the Izafe takes precedence of the oblique case ending, i.e. the Izafe is always added to the noun stem, even when the noun would otherwise appear in the oblique case, say following a preposition or another Izafe. Compare :

Lx3 <sup>23</sup> <i>du linqi wi,</i>	Lx14 <sup>1</sup> <i>be linqi wi girt</i> —seized his leg
Lx27 <sup>6</sup> <i>ḫirane wi,</i>	Lx10 <sup>2</sup> <i>že ḫirane xoe</i> —from his neighbours
Lx4 <sup>35</sup> <i>bōča wi,</i>	Lx48 <sup>8</sup> <i>be bōča xo</i> —on his tail
Lt2 <sup>10</sup> <i>qīza hakim,</i>	Lt10 <sup>4</sup> <i>ji qīza xwe re</i> —for his daughter
Lt66 <sup>27</sup> <i>gīha nēzīka hindurē</i>	<i>Çiyayē Şēra</i> —having come near to the Mountain of Lions

A comparison with other texts of Northern Kurdish seems to confirm the validity of at least the first paradigm above, though all such texts represent a certain fall from grace. Thus Makas' texts, from the same district of Mardin, have the oblique ending *-ē* for all nouns while the Izafe appears as *ē* and *ā*. Jaba's texts pertain, with the later Soviet publications already mentioned, to the extreme north-east of the Kurdish area where the Izafe after plural nouns appears as *بد/-ed*. It is more convenient to refer to examples quoted in Justi's publication of Jaba's dictionary. Here, although the values *ī, ē* and *ū, ō* of *ى* and *و* are insufficiently differentiated, still the two forms of the singular Izafe can be clearly discerned, namely *ى* and *ا*. The same can be said of the Kurmanji Gospels in Arabic characters.<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen from the following comparative tables that, with rare exceptions (cf. Lescot's remarks), nouns have the same gender in all these dialects.

Masculine

<i>u/amr</i> —life, age	Lt10 <sup>14</sup> <i>emrē wī</i>	JJ283	<i>oumr-i dirij</i>
	Mk1 <sup>104</sup> <i>dā 'ömrā hwa</i>	Rwn	<i>əmrə təzə</i>
<i>ār(d)</i> —flour	BX <i>ard m.</i>	JJ4	<i>ar-i be kapek</i>
		Rwn	<i>are mə</i>
<i>āš</i> —mill	Lt204 <i>ji ēş tē</i>	JJ11	<i>ach-i bai</i>
		Rwn	<i>aşə mə</i>
<i>īš</i> —work	Lt4 <sup>26</sup> <i>īşē te</i>	Mk1 <sup>7</sup>	<i>īşē tā</i>
<i>āxōr</i> —stable	Lt34 <sup>30</sup> <i>axorē hespa</i>	JJ4	<i>akhour-i hespan</i>
<i>birā</i> —brother	Lt4 <sup>22</sup> <i>birē te</i>	JJ41	<i>bera-i mezin</i>
		Mk1 <sup>42</sup>	<i>že brāū hwarā</i>

<sup>1</sup> St. Matthew's Gospel, ABS, Constantinople, 1922. Transliterated by the Rev. H. H. Riggs from the Armenian script of the 1891 translation ' by native pastors from the region of Kharput '.

مى نقيسنا عيسى بن مسيح لسر نقيسنا متى cited Mat. chapter/verse.

<i>bāb/v</i> —father	Lt2 <sup>8</sup>	<i>bavē xwe</i>	JJ32	<i>bab-i mezin</i>
			Mat.6 <sup>9</sup>	یا باقی مه
<i>čarm</i> —skin	Lt68 <sup>18</sup>	<i>čermē wī</i>	JJ128	<i>tčerm-i faqir</i>
<i>čāv</i> —eye	Lt48 <sup>26</sup>	<i>čavē xwe</i>	JJ124	<i>tčhaw-i beleq</i>
	Mk3 <sup>11</sup>	<i>čāvē wī</i>	Rwn	<i>eəve wi</i>
<i>čv̄yā</i> —mountain	Lt38 <sup>13</sup>	<i>serē čv̄yē</i>	Mk20 <sup>2</sup>	<i>dā čjēra</i>
			Mat.4 <sup>8</sup>	چیاکی زحف بلند
<i>dil</i> —heart	Lt2 <sup>24</sup>	<i>dilē wī</i>	JJ188	<i>li dil-i min</i>
			Mk1 <sup>110</sup>	<i>dilē tā</i>
<i>dang</i> —voice	Lt8 <sup>26</sup>	<i>dengē Mhemmed</i>	JJ190	<i>denk-i khoch</i>
			Mk1 <sup>36</sup>	<i>dāngē kī</i>
<i>dast</i> —hand	Lt8 <sup>14</sup>	<i>bi destē xwe</i>	Rwn	<i>dəste kapitalista</i>
	Mk1 <sup>102</sup>	<i>dāstē hwa</i>	Mat.2 <sup>5</sup>	بدستی پیغمبر
<i>dav</i> —mouth	Lt28 <sup>12</sup>	<i>devē vī zalimā</i>	Mk1 <sup>154</sup>	ذ' دāvē mamu
			Mat.4 <sup>15</sup>	بدقی اشعیا پیغمبر
<i>dīwār</i> —wall	Lt20 <sup>5</sup>	<i>li dīwēr de</i>	JJ200	<i>dīvar-i kewri</i>
			Rwn	<i>gazeta dīwer</i>
<i>guh</i> —ear	Lt42 <sup>27</sup>	<i>guhē lawē pīrē</i>	JJ371	<i>dī-gouh-i vi-dā</i>
			Mk1 <sup>168</sup>	<i>guhē hwa</i>
<i>gurz</i> —mace	Lt46 <sup>34</sup>	<i>gurzē xwe</i>	JJ360	<i>gourz-i pehlivana</i>
<i>gōšt</i> —meat	Lt38 <sup>21</sup>	<i>goštē hirca</i>	JJ370	<i>goucht-i berkh</i>
			Mk4 <sup>39</sup>	<i>gōštē qalau</i>
<i>hāl</i> —condition	Lt2 <sup>22</sup>	<i>ji vī halī</i>	JJ139	<i>hal-i te</i>
	Mk1 <sup>137</sup>	<i>hālē mamu</i>	Rwn	<i>hale batraka</i>
<i>hasp</i> —horse	Lt5 <sup>23</sup>	<i>hespē Slēman</i>	JJ444	<i>hesp-i fal</i>
			Mk1 <sup>140</sup>	<i>hāspē hwa</i>
<i>ḡī, ḡih</i> —place	Lt14 <sup>7</sup>	<i>cīyē wan</i>	JJ121	<i>dḡih-i bereket</i>
			Mk1 <sup>46</sup>	<i>ḡijē hwa</i>
<i>kinḡ</i> —clothes	Rwn	<i>ḡinḡe təm̄z</i>	JJ343	<i>kindḡ-i kewin</i>
			Mat.3 <sup>4</sup>	کنجی وی
<i>kur</i> —son	Lt22 <sup>11</sup>	<i>kurē pīrē</i>	JJ347	<i>kour-i min</i>
	Mk1 <sup>5</sup>	<i>kurrē mīrē alāni</i>	Rwn	<i>kyre xwə</i>
<i>karī</i> —flock	Lt94 <sup>21</sup>	<i>kerīyē äezala</i>	Rwn	<i>kərije kolxoze</i>
<i>kurk</i> —pelisse	Lt54 <sup>4</sup>	<i>kurkē xwe</i>	Mk1 <sup>59</sup>	<i>kurkē hwa</i>
<i>kirās</i> —shirt	Lt199	<i>kīrasē mīn</i>	JJ328	<i>kiras-i mari</i>
			Mat.5 <sup>40</sup>	کراسی ته
<i>kavīr</i> —stone	Lt10 <sup>31</sup>	<i>kevīrē mermer</i>	JJ377	<i>kewr-i rech</i>
<i>lāw</i> —son	Lt6 <sup>22</sup>	<i>lawē mīn</i>	Mk1 <sup>73</sup>	<i>lāwē hwa</i>
<i>māl</i> —property	Lt16 <sup>16</sup>	<i>malē tē de</i>	JJ387	<i>mal-i miri</i>
			Rwn	<i>male gyndija</i>
<i>nān</i> —bread	Lt200	<i>nanē zēda</i>	JJ416	<i>nan-i gherm</i>
			Mat.6 <sup>11</sup>	نانی مه بی هرروز

<i>nāv</i> —name	Lt16 <sup>1</sup> <i>navē wī</i>		
	Mk1 <sup>22</sup> <i>lę nāvē mä</i>	Mat.10 <sup>42</sup>	بنافی شاگرد
<i>nāv</i> —middle	Lt16 <sup>30</sup> <i>nāvē şevē</i>	JJ428	<i>niv-i chewi</i>
<i>pōr</i> —hair	Lt76 <sup>19</sup> <i>porē wī</i>	Mk1 <sup>60</sup>	<i>pōrē zīnē</i>
<i>rū</i> —face, cheek	Lt92 <sup>14</sup> <i>rūē bīrē xwe</i>	JJ211	<i>rou-i ve</i>
		Mat.5 <sup>39</sup>	لروئی ته بی راستی
<i>sar</i> —head	Lt2 <sup>17</sup> <i>serē min</i>	JJ237	<i>ser-i tchīia</i>
		Mk1 <sup>100</sup>	<i>serē me</i>
<i>şū/wīr</i> —sword	Lt56 <sup>31</sup> <i>şwīrē xwe</i>	JJ263	<i>shour-i khourousané</i>
		Mk1 <sup>74</sup>	<i>şwīrē hwa</i>
<i>zimān</i> —tongue	Lt42 <sup>15</sup> <i>zimanē wī</i>	JJ224	<i>ziman-i āmīli</i>
		Mat.	ژ عزمانی اصلیی یونانی
<b>Feminine</b>			
<i>āv</i> —water	Lt64 <sup>7</sup> <i>ava heyatē</i>	JJ14	<i>aw-a gherm</i>
		Mat.10 <sup>42</sup>	طاسک آفا صار
<i>baḥr</i> —sea	Lt30 <sup>5</sup> <i>gihan ber behrē</i>	JJ38	<i>behr-a bepel</i>
		Mat.4 <sup>18</sup>	لبر بحرا جلیلی
<i>bīr</i> —mind	JJ65 <i>bira men tet</i>	Mat.5 <sup>23</sup>	بیه بیرا ته
<i>burj</i> —tower	BX <i>bure f.</i>	JJ43	<i>bourdj-a feleki</i>
		Mat.4 <sup>5</sup>	برجا مالا خدی
<i>dē</i> —mother	Lt12 <sup>4</sup> <i>dīya wan</i>	JJ169	<i>diia chiri</i>
		Mat.1 <sup>18</sup>	دیا وی مریم
<i>dī/ukān</i> —shop	Lt126 <sup>10</sup> <i>dikana yekī sayiṭ</i>	JJ187	<i>doukan-a kasabi</i>
<i>dār</i> —tree	Lt124 <sup>2</sup> <i>li bin darē</i>	JJ170	<i>dar-a servi</i>
		Mat.3 <sup>10</sup>	هردارا کو بری قنج نینه
<i>dōr</i> —circle	Lt50 <sup>2</sup> <i>çiyayē dora wē</i>	JJ193	<i>dor-a hiwi</i>
		Mk1 <sup>169</sup>	<i>lę-dōra bakō</i>
<i>dīwān</i> —court	BX <i>dīwan f.</i>	JJ200	<i>dīwan-a khounākar</i>
		Rwn	<i>dīwana şewreda</i>
<i>gārān</i> —herd	Lt2 <sup>20</sup> <i>garana xwe</i>	JJ355	<i>garan-a tchīlekan</i>
<i>γ/xam</i> —sorrow	Rwn <i>xama mēn</i>	JJ287	<i>ghem-a dili</i>
<i>ḥaif</i> —pity	Lt44 <sup>3</sup> <i>heyfa wī</i>	JJ147	<i>heif-a khou</i>
<i>hasp</i> —horse	Lt28 <sup>2</sup> <i>hespeke te</i>		
(Note, 'hesp employé au féminin est absolument incorrect dans tous les dialectes.')			
<i>hētīn</i> —nest	Lt20 <sup>6</sup> <i>ser hētīna xwe</i>	Mk2 <sup>38</sup>	<i>hetīna ḥaḥḥaḥīkē</i>
<i>ḥauš</i> —courtyard	Lt4 <sup>7</sup> <i>li hewşa min</i>	JJ146	<i>haouš-a tchīlekan</i>
<i>hāwār</i> —cry	Lt189 <i>hawara te</i>	JJ454	<i>hewar-a khoudi</i>
<i>ḥivāt</i> —Ar. جماعة	BX <i>civat f.</i>	JJ116	<i>djīwat-a djenazei</i>
		Mat.	جفتا کتبا مقدسی

<i>kač(ik)</i> —daughter	Lt32 <sup>11</sup>	<i>kečika hūtē</i>	JJ326	<i>keccia picciuk</i>
			Mk1 <sup>6</sup>	<i>kečika mīrā</i>
<i>kēmāsī</i> —fault	BX	<i>kēmāsī f.</i>	JJ354	<i>kimasiiva odjag-a ve</i>
			Rwn	<i>kemasija koperative</i>
<i>kōnāγ</i> —house, stage	Lt40 <sup>26</sup>	<i>konaša nīv saetē</i>	JJ319	<i>qonag-a qonsol</i>
<i>qīz</i> —daughter	Lt2 <sup>9</sup>	<i>qīza hakim</i>	JJ310	<i>qyz-a khouhi</i>
	Mk1 <sup>11</sup>	<i>qīzā mīne</i>	Rwn	<i>qiza xəbatkar</i>
<i>mah</i> —moon, month	Lt22 <sup>32</sup>	<i>moneta mehkē</i>	JJ409	<i>meh-a nou</i>
<i>māl</i> —house	Lt2 <sup>1</sup>	<i>mala wī</i>	JJ387	<i>mal-a bilind</i>
	Mk18 <sup>2</sup>	<i>māla farašē</i>	Rwn	<i>mala zara</i>
			Mat.4 <sup>5</sup>	برجا مالا خدی
<i>nav</i> —middle	Lt88 <sup>26</sup>	<i>nava darē</i>	JJ415	<i>naw-a ziki</i>
			Rwn	<i>lnava gynd</i>
<i>pišt</i> —back	Lt12 <sup>28</sup>	<i>li pišta xwe</i>	JJ79	<i>pycht-a tchoki</i>
			Mat. 3 <sup>4</sup>	لپشتا وی بو
<i>rē</i> —road	Lt44 <sup>25</sup>	<i>bi ser kīja rēyē</i>	JJ215	<i>rīia pan</i>
	Rwn	<i>rja sosjalizmeja</i>	Mat.4 <sup>15</sup>	بریا بحری
<i>rīh</i> —beard	Lt40 <sup>2</sup>	<i>rīha hūt</i>	Mk4 <sup>6</sup>	<i>rihā tama'kār</i>
<i>rō(ž)</i> —day	Lt62 <sup>3</sup>	<i>roja cara</i>	JJ212	<i>rouj-a kotchi</i>
	Mk1 <sup>161</sup>	<i>rōzā īnē</i>	Rwn	<i>roza inglaba proletara</i>
			Mat.27 <sup>62</sup>	روزا دن
<i>sē</i> —shade	Lt90 <sup>6</sup>	<i>li ber sīyē</i>	JJ249	<i>sei-a daran</i>
			Mat.4 <sup>16</sup>	سیا مرنی
<i>sāl</i> —year	Lt206	<i>būkēn salē</i>	JJ233	<i>sal-a nou</i>
			Rwn	<i>sala pença</i>
<i>šū/wīn</i> —place, trace	Lt62 <sup>15</sup>	<i>šwīna ningē wan</i>	JJ265	<i>sciun-a men</i>
			Mk1 <sup>85</sup>	<i>šwīnā mamu</i>
<i>tāv</i> —sun, light	BX	<i>tav f.</i>	JJ92	<i>taw-a hivi</i>
			Mat.5 <sup>45</sup>	طاڤا خو
<i>tōz</i> —dust	Lt48 <sup>1</sup>	<i>di nav tozē</i>	JJ277	<i>toz-a āchi</i>
<i>xū/wašk</i> —sister	Lt60 <sup>27</sup>	<i>xūška min</i>	Lt102 <sup>27</sup>	<i>xweška dīnyaē</i>
			Mk1 <sup>18</sup>	<i>hwaškā mīr</i>
<i>xū/wīn</i> —blood	Lt42 <sup>29</sup>	<i>di nav xwīnē de</i>	Mk1 <sup>67</sup>	<i>hwīna hwa</i>
			Mat.27 <sup>24</sup>	ژ خونای صادقی
<i>žin</i> —wife	Lt4 <sup>11</sup>	<i>jina wī</i>	JJ230	<i>jin-a awisē</i>
	Mk1 <sup>67</sup>	<i>ženā tā</i>	Rwn	<i>žna wi</i>

The limited extent of Lerch's texts allows a comprehensive analysis to be made. Here the Izafe appears as *a*, *e*, and *i*, the oblique ending as *e* and *i*. With 61 certain masculine nouns the Izafe appears 41 times as *i*, 37 times as *e*—everywhere, that is, as a high front vowel. With feminine nouns the Izafe appears, in sure cases, 42 times as *a*, 11 times as *i* or *e*—a 4 : 1 ratio in favour of



the *a*-Izafe. The evidence for the oblique case endings is not so clear. With masculine nouns *-i* appears 8 times, *-e* twice. There are 4 cases of the mutation of internal *-ā-* to *-ē-*. With feminine nouns *-e* appears 17 times, *-i* 5 times. The 4 : 1 ratio again, *i* : *e* for masculine, *e* : *i* for feminine nouns, may be a gauge of the phonetic accuracy of Lerch's transcription or, alternatively, of the degree of generalization of the forms. It must be remembered that the texts represent a number of dialects, the widest divergence from the paradigm appearing in the texts of the Zaza speaker, Ḥasan.<sup>1</sup>

Representative examples :

<i>îş</i> —work	Lx11 <sup>12</sup>	<i>îşi wi heiye</i>	Lx12 <sup>3</sup>	<i>çi îşe wi heiye</i>
<i>bāv</i> —father	Lx3 <sup>20</sup>	<i>bāve wān</i>	Lx40 <sup>3</sup>	<i>bāvi kâçik dî</i>
<i>zik</i> —stomach	Lx9 <sup>13</sup>	<i>zike mârûân</i>	Lx40 <sup>11</sup>	<i>ziki me</i>
<i>padişā</i> —king	Lx20 <sup>4</sup>	<i>padişāhi jena'urān</i>	Lx7 <sup>5</sup>	<i>mârû'i padişē go</i>
<i>îzn</i> —permission	Lx30 <sup>8</sup>	<i>be îzna Xode</i>	Lx39 <sup>8</sup>	<i>îzne wān dā</i>
<i>kul</i> —hole	Lx48 <sup>1</sup>	<i>že kula xoe</i>	Lx48 <sup>6</sup>	<i>leber kuli rûvida</i>
<i>ziaret</i> —visit	Lx23 <sup>1</sup>	<i>sār ziareta wā</i>	Lx29 <sup>3</sup>	<i>sār ziareti wi</i>

The collections of Prym and Socin from Tūr 'Abdīn and Bohtān present an even greater divergence from the paradigm. The oblique ending is generally *-ē*, rarely *-î*. Both forms of the Izafe occur, nouns appearing elsewhere as masculine having *always* *ē*, feminine nouns having sometimes *ā*, often *ē*, as Socin has partly noticed. However, there can be no doubt that Oskar Mann's strictures on these texts<sup>2</sup> are just. Particularly in the Tūr 'Abdīn texts, but also in those from Bohtān, both the influence of the speaker's mother tongue and his imperfect knowledge of Kurdish are evident—consider the recurrent Semitic word order with the subject placed after the verb, the persistent pronunciation of *w* as *v*, the uncertainty in the use of grammatical inflections generally. Most telling is the appearance of the Izafe in the masculine form *ē* with such nouns as *kač*, *qīz*—daughter, *žin*—woman. Also the very difference of the versions recorded at times by Prym and Socin respectively obliges us to doubt the hyper-accurate transcription adopted.

The following nouns appear with masculine forms in Lescot's texts, otherwise our criterion of 'accuracy', but elsewhere as feminine :

<i>baxt</i> —grace	Lt46 <sup>5</sup>	<i>bextē te</i>	but JJ39	<i>bekht-a emir</i>
<i>bāzār</i> —town	Lt72 <sup>33</sup>	<i>bajarē Stambūlē</i>		
	Mk3 <sup>1</sup>	<i>bāžēr</i>	Mk3 <sup>2, 4</sup>	<i>bāzāra mērdinē</i>
	JJ35	<i>bajîr</i>		
	PS4 <sup>7</sup>	<i>bāžēr</i>	PS4 <sup>16</sup>	<i>le bāzārā-ḥwā</i>
	Rwn	<i>bazare mada</i>	Rwn	<i>bazara mā</i>
<i>şav</i> —night	Lt217	<i>şevē reş</i>	Lt50 <sup>5</sup>	<i>nîvê şevē</i>
	Mk1 <sup>2</sup>	<i>şävê çwînî</i>	JJ258	<i>chew-a tari</i>

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., Pt. I, p. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Oskar Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden* I, II, Berlin 1906-9 (cited hereafter as MM page/line). II, p. xxvi, footnote 1.

The following feminine nouns appear occasionally with masculine forms outside Lescot's texts.

<i>bēn</i> , <i>bihn</i> —	Lt40 <sup>27</sup>	<i>bēna īsanē</i>		
breath, smell	Mk3 <sup>10</sup>	<i>bīhna ŷunnetē</i>	but	Mk3 <sup>9</sup> <i>bīhnē qabrgā</i>
	JJ62	<i>bihn-a khoch</i>		
	PS93 <sup>9</sup>	<i>bēnā-min</i>		
<i>dē</i> —mother	Lt12 <sup>11</sup>	<i>dīya wī</i>		
	PS1 <sup>14</sup>	<i>dī<sup>v</sup>a-hwa</i>		PS3 <sup>14</sup> <i>dī<sup>v</sup>ē-vī</i> [sic]
<i>dār</i> —tree	Lt124 <sup>2</sup>	<i>li bin darē</i>		PS9 <sup>14</sup> <i>dārē hēyris</i>
	JJ170	31 × <i>dar-a</i> . . .		2 × <i>dar-i</i> . . .
<i>kač(ik)</i> —daughter	Lt32 <sup>11</sup>	<i>kecika hūtē</i>		
	Mk1 <sup>6</sup>	<i>kečika mīrā</i>		
	PS75 <sup>7</sup>	<i>kācā bākrōk</i>		PS2 <sup>17</sup> <i>kācē mīr</i> [sic]
<i>kēf</i> —pleasure	Lt6 <sup>17</sup>	<i>kēfa gavan</i>		Mk1 <sup>145</sup> <i>kēfē wī</i>
	JJ353	<i>keif-a vé</i>		
	PS9 <sup>12</sup>	<i>kēfā-ta-ya</i>		PS7 <sup>20</sup> <i>kēfē-min</i>
<i>qīz</i> —daughter	Lt2 <sup>9</sup>	<i>qīza hakim</i>		
	Mk1 <sup>11</sup>	<i>qīzā mīne</i>		PS6 <sup>8</sup> <i>qīzē dālū mīrhān</i> [sic]
<i>žin</i> —wife	Lt40 <sup>13</sup>	<i>jīna wī</i>		PS1 <sup>3</sup> <i>žinē-vi</i> [sic]
	Mk1 <sup>21</sup>	<i>ženā tā</i>		PS3 <sup>15</sup> <i>že žinē-hwā</i>

We can assume that Lescot's and the Bedir Xans' texts, closely following the paradigm, represent the most archaic, or perhaps archaistic, dialects and that in the other dialects considered a progressive generalization of the oblique form *-ē* and of the masculine Izafe *ē* has taken place. The forms given in the second paradigm above, of nouns having either *-k* suffix, do not appear consistently in the other texts. All the dialects seem to have introduced innovations in these positions, with the possible exception of the oblique case endings in the Lescot—Bedir Xan texts. It must be borne in mind that there is also an adverbial ending *-ē*, rarely *-ī*, cf. M. Pers. *-īhā*, N. Pers. *-hā*, e.g. :

Lt12 <sup>10</sup>	<i>dawīyē</i> —finally	Lt15 <sup>17</sup>	<i>wē rojē</i> —that day
Lt pass.	<i>wē gavē</i> —then	Lt4 <sup>5, 12</sup>	<i>sībehē</i> —in the morning
Lt76 <sup>34</sup>	<i>pašē</i> —afterwards	Lt68 <sup>32</sup>	<i>wē ševē</i> —that night
Lt2 <sup>2</sup>	<i>rojekē</i> —one day	BX	<i>tinē/ī</i> —only, N. Pers. <i>tanhā</i>

That this is not the ending of an oblique case used adverbially is suggested, though owing to the possibility of the generalization of the *-ē* oblique form not proven, by its appearing with masculine nouns also, e.g. :

<i>žār</i> —time	BX	<i>carekī dī</i>	:	Lt8 <sup>15</sup>	<i>tu carē</i> —never
	JJ112	<i>djar-i beri</i>	:	Lt pass.	<i>carē</i> —then
<i>žī/ih</i> —place	Lt14 <sup>7</sup>	<i>cīyē wan</i>	:	BX	<i>cihē</i> —separately
	BX	<i>cihē civandin</i>			
	JJ121	<i>djih-i tenghi</i>			

If we assume this ending to have had a separate origin from the oblique case

ending it may well have been instrumental in bringing about the generalization of *-ē* as the oblique ending in some dialects.

The origin of this differentiation of grammatical genders in Kurdish is obscured by the paucity of nouns of known etymology. Considering the generalization of the masculine form of the *Izafe*, which mainly betrays the gender of a noun, only nouns showing the specifically feminine form can be used as evidence. The following examples suggest that the distinction is inherited but their variety does not permit us to reconstruct with any certainty an hypothetical state of the old language which had likewise two declensions according to gender. The appearance of the same word in another Iranian dialect preserving the distinction of gender provides, in some cases, corroboration of the inheritance of both word and gender. Otherwise it can only bear witness to the arbitrary nature of the allocation of gender to loanwords. In this connexion one can compare, among Western Iranian dialects, *Gūrānī*,<sup>1</sup> *Zaza*,<sup>2</sup> and *Sem-nānī*<sup>3</sup> and the main living Eastern Iranian language, *Pashto*.<sup>4</sup>

## Feminine

<i>āv</i> —water	Av.	<i>āp</i> - f.	cf. G, BZ <i>āū</i> f., Sem. <i>ōw</i> f., Pšt. <i>ōbə</i> f.pl.
<i>hēvī</i> —hope	Av.	<i>upamaiti</i> - ? f.	
<i>mērg</i> —pasture	Av.	<i>marəyā</i> - f.	SZ <i>marg</i> f.
<i>mēš</i> —fly	Av.	<i>maxšī</i> - f.	but BZ <i>maša</i> m.—gnat
<i>mašk</i> —waterskin	OP.	<i>maškā</i> - f.	
<i>pišt</i> —back	Av.	<i>paršti</i> - f.	BZ <i>pāštī</i> f., Pšt. <i>puštaī</i> f.
	Skt.	<i>prṣṭi</i> - f.	
<i>rē</i> —road	cf.	Sogdian <i>r'δh</i> f.	SZ <i>rāī</i> f., Sem. <i>raej</i> f. Pšt. <i>lār</i> f.
<i>sih</i> —shade	cf.	Skt. <i>chāyā</i> - f.	
<i>sāl</i> —year	Av.	<i>sarəd</i> - f.	Sem. <i>sālā</i> f. but G <i>sāl</i> m.
<i>šav</i> —night	Av.	<i>xšap(an)</i> - f.	SZ <i>šau</i> f., KZ <i>šōū</i> f. Sem. <i>šōw</i> f., Pšt. <i>špa</i> f. but G <i>šau</i> m.
<i>tan</i> —person	Av.	<i>tanū</i> - f.	
<i>xūn</i> —blood	Av.	<i>vohunī</i> - f.	BZ <i>gūnī</i> f., Pšt. <i>wīna</i> f.pl.
<i>zīyān</i> —loss	Av.	<i>zyānā</i> - f. <i>zyānī</i> - f.	
<i>ēš</i> —pain	Av.	<i>aošah</i> - n.	
<i>buhār</i> —Spring	Av.	<i>vaṅhar</i> - n.	G <i>vahār</i> (f). but Sem. <i>bāhār</i> m.

<sup>1</sup> Mann/Hadank, *Mundarten der Gūrān*, Berlin, 1930. Kāndūlāī dialect, cited G.

<sup>2</sup> Mann/Hadank, *Mundarten der Zāzā*, Berlin, 1932. Dialect of Siverek cited SZ, of Bijaq cited BZ, and of Kor cited KZ.

<sup>3</sup> Christensen, *Le dialecte de Sāmnān*, Copenhagen, 1915. Cited Sem.

<sup>4</sup> Morgenstierne, *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo, 1927, and *NTS*, vol. xii, pp. 88 seq., cited Pšt. I am indebted to Mr. G. Morrison for his advice in this connexion.

<i>dār</i> —tree	Av.	<i>dāru</i> - n.	Sem. <i>dāra</i> f. but G <i>dār</i> m.
<i>gāv</i> —time	cf.	Av. <i>gāman</i> - n.	
<i>hīva</i> ]rōn moon]light	Av.	<i>raoxšnu</i> - n. <i>raoxšnā</i> - f.	
<i>hāvīn</i> —summer	Av.	<i>hāmīna</i> - n.	
<i>rōž</i> —day	Av.	<i>raočah</i> - n.	Pšt. <i>rwa</i> j f. but G <i>rū</i> m., Sem. <i>rū(ž)</i> m.
<i>tanūr</i> —oven	Av.	<i>tanura</i> - n.	
<i>zōr</i> —force	Av.	<i>zāvar</i> - n.	
<i>anī</i> —forehead	Av.	<i>ainīka</i> - m.	but Skt. <i>anīka</i> - n.

Chodzko, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> in his description of the Sulaimaniya dialect of Central Kurdish mentions only the occasional deviation of the Izafe from the form *i*. In this he has perhaps confused the proper Izafe *ī* with the compound vowel *a* commonly occurring in this dialect. To quote briefly from a recent description<sup>2</sup>:

‘Compound nouns may be formed in several ways:

(c) The Izafe *-y* is changed to *-e*:

*bēchuw y ga* makes *bēchuw-e-ga*—calf

*kilk y bēlh* makes *kilk-e-bēlh*—spade-handle.’

‘If the adjective is a constant epithet the *-y* of the Izafe is changed to *-e* and the whole is considered to be a compound noun:

*Hemed y rhes*h makes *Hemed-e-rhes*—Swarthy Hamad

*Mērg y pan* makes *Mērg-e-pan*—Broad Meadow.’

‘When used with the definite article (the suffix *-eke*) or the demonstrative adjectives (*em*, *ew* invariably followed by the suffix *-e*) the noun and epithet adjective must first be put in the form of a compound noun:

<i>mīnalh y ziyrek</i>	—clever children
<i>mīnalh-e-ziyrek</i>	—the clever child
<i>mīnalh-e-ziyrek-ek-an</i>	—the clever children
<i>em mīnalh-e-ziyrek-e</i>	—this clever child
<i>em mīnalh-e-ziyrek-an-e</i>	—these clever children.’

(Cf. also Mann, op. cit. I, p. LIV, § 21.)

This compound vowel *a* is probably the relic of an *-aka* suffix, akin to the final *-a* of a noun qualified by the demonstrative adjective. Elsewhere throughout the Central and Southern Kurdish dialects the Izafe appears as *ī*.

Chodzko also mentions<sup>3</sup> an *accusative* ending *i*. Modern Sulaimaniya Kurdish,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Justi (above) from M. A. Chodzko, ‘Etudes philologiques sur la langue kurde (dialecte de Solémanié)’, *JA*, Avril-Mai 1857, p. 304 bottom.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Edmonds, with whom I have been fortunate enough to study this dialect, for permission to reproduce these and later extracts from his manuscript grammatical notes.

<sup>3</sup> op. cit., p. 305.

however, has no oblique case ending, Mukrî alone among the Central Kurdish dialects recorded having this distinction. Mann states <sup>1</sup>:

‘Die . . . Darstellung Justis gibt an, dass ausser dem Nominativ, . . . noch ein echter . . . Casus erhalten sei, der die Bedeutung des Akkusativs und des Dativs zugleich habe. . . . Im Mukrî erscheint nun diese durch Anfügung von *ê*, *î* gebildete Kasusform auch als Vertreter des Genetivs. . . . Es ist leider nicht zu entscheiden, weshalb im Mukrî dieser Casus obliquus promiscue teils auf *-ê*, teils auf *-î* auslautet, oder vielmehr unter welchen Bedingungen der eine oder der andere Vokal einzutreten hat. Mîrzâ Jâwâd vermutete, dass der den Nominalstamm schliessende Laut dabei von Einfluss sei, . . . doch zeigen die aus den Texten gesammelten Beispiele völlige Regellosigkeit in der Verwendung von *ê* und *î* nach dieser Richtung hin. Es scheint allerdings bei jedem Nomen nur die eine Form gebraucht zu sein, entweder *ê* oder *î*. Ich glaube, es bleibt nichts anderes übrig, als auf die durch sonstige Vertauschungen von *ê* und *î* bewiesene nahe Verwandtschaft der beiden Vokale hinzuweisen; ich muss aber zugeben, dass mir stets ein deutlicher Unterschied hörbar war.’

An adverbial ending *-ê* also appears frequently, as in the Northern dialects (cf. Mann, *ibid.* I p. LIII). After *-êk* this shares with the oblique ending *-ê* the mutation to *-î* mentioned below, e.g.

MM pass.	<i>êwârê</i> —at evening	MM24 <sup>25</sup>	<i>rôzhêkî</i> —one day
MM3 <sup>29</sup>	<i>qadîrêkî</i> —a while	MM pass.	<i>sibhâînê</i> —in the morning
MM3 <sup>4</sup>	<i>nîwâshâwê</i> —at midnight	MM pass.	<i>awê shâwê</i> —that night
MM1 <sup>13</sup>	<i>rôzhê</i> —daily	MM3 <sup>26</sup>	<i>shâwêkî</i> —one night

Fossum <sup>2</sup> stands by the theory of phonetic context. The oblique cases, he says, ‘generally take the case-ending *ئ* (*î*) or (*e*); . . . It is very difficult to give a perfect rule as to which nouns take (*î*) and which take (*e*) as case-endings; but most nouns ending in the vowel *ا* or *و*, or the consonants, usually take the case-ending (*î*); and most nouns ending in the vowels *و* or *ئ*, or in the consonants *ن* *م* or *ر* (preceded by *ا*, “zabar” or *و*), or in the consonants *ل* or *غ* (preceded by *ا* or “zabar”), usually take the case-ending (*e*).

Examples: *brâ-î*, *qîssa-î*, *bâb-î*, *dâîk-î*


*shaw-e*, *chôm-e*, *mâl-e*.’

Although unambiguous examples of the oblique case ending are not abundant in Mann’s texts it is possible to find a number of examples with cognates in the Kurmânjî dialects. Alongside these there are words having a natural gender. These examples together show that the apparently arbitrary nature of the Mukrî oblique case formation is actually a reflexion of the inherited grammatical gender of the noun. Thus:

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, I, pp. L et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. L. O. Fossum, *Practical Kurdish Grammar*, Inter-Synodical Ev. Lutheran Orient-Mission Society, 1919, p. 37.

## Masculine.

Lt8 <sup>4</sup>	<i>ser ēgîr</i>	MM3 <sup>10</sup>	<i>lâ sâr âwirî</i>	fire
JJ41	<i>ber-i achi</i>	MM24 <sup>4</sup>	<i>hâr cândî bârdî</i>	stone
BX	<i>đînē Ibrahîm</i>	MM15 <sup>27</sup>	<i>lâ sâr đînî</i>	faith
JJ373	<i>ghîia-i hechk</i>	MM24 <sup>5</sup>	<i>hâr cândî gîār</i>	grass
Lt16 <sup>23</sup>	<i>heya hukmē esir</i>	MM4 <sup>5</sup>	<i>agar hukmî bekā</i>	Ar. 
JJ448	<i>hewir-i awi</i>	MM17 <sup>33</sup>	<i>pē bekāin hawîrî</i>	dough
Lt4 <sup>34</sup>	<i>kesî dey ne kir</i>	MM5 <sup>20</sup>	<i>fulân kâsî bēnin</i>	person
Lt32 <sup>8</sup>	<i>malē min tamam çû</i>	MM45 <sup>23</sup>	<i>mālî wârg'rim</i>	wealth
JJ395	<i>mergh-i min</i>	MM39 <sup>11</sup>	<i>bō khâtîrî doktor mānî</i>	Mann
Mk14 <sup>5</sup>	<i>zenārâki b'linjî</i>	MM20 <sup>14</sup>	<i>lâ hâzârî dâb're mârğî</i>	death
BX	<i>peyxemberē min</i>	MM16 <sup>9</sup>	<i>lâ nizârî</i>	rock
BX	<i>stoyē seyekî</i>	MM8 <sup>3</sup>	<i>la hikâyâtî pêghambarî</i>	prophet
Lt44 <sup>30</sup>	<i>jî şerē fēris</i>	MM10 <sup>21</sup>	<i>â kin sâgî</i>	dog
Lt22 <sup>22</sup>	<i>ya wezîrē min</i>	MM23 <sup>22</sup>	<i>shârî dâkâin</i>	fight
		MM24 <sup>18</sup>	<i>kurî wâzîrî</i>	Vizier
		MM12 <sup>2</sup>	<i>wâ bâr khuḷār</i>	God
		MM13 <sup>1</sup>	<i>dîlî khānî</i>	Khan
		MM13 <sup>26</sup>	<i>lâ shār hattâ khundkārî</i>	king

## Feminine

Lt5 <sup>16</sup>	<i>ber avekē</i>	MM4 <sup>5</sup>	<i>âwē nâ furōshē</i>	water
BX	<i>đi nav bayē ēvarē de</i>	MM5 <sup>15</sup>	<i>tâ ēwārē</i>	evening
Lt28 <sup>3</sup>	<i>heşpa behrē</i>	MM9 <sup>28</sup>	<i>lâ nēū bahrē-dâ</i>	sea
BX	<i>buhîşt f.</i>	MM16 <sup>31</sup>	<i>bâhâshhtë bâ shîr bek'ra</i>	heaven
Lt126 <sup>10</sup>	<i>dîkana yekî sayiä</i>	MM84 <sup>35</sup>	<i>âurîshmî dîkânē</i>	shop
Lt8 <sup>16</sup>	<i>li dinyae</i>	MM20 <sup>24</sup>	<i>lâ dinyē</i>	world
BX	<i>daristan f.</i>	MM5 <sup>31</sup>	<i>lâ wâlâtî dâristânē</i>	forest -istân
JJ287	<i>ghem-a dîli</i>	MM12 <sup>1</sup>	<i>lâbâr awē ghāmē</i>	sadness
Lt208	<i>đizka kevanîyē</i>	MM17 <sup>25</sup>	<i>jēi kâbânē</i>	housekeeper
Lt92 <sup>13</sup>	<i>bi qodreta Xwedē</i>	MM20 <sup>32</sup>	<i>pād'shâr qudrâtē</i>	power
Lt62 <sup>14</sup>	<i>di meydanē de</i>	MM16 <sup>4</sup>	<i>bârdî mâidânē</i>	plain
Lt64 <sup>4</sup>	<i>li mala te</i>	MM9 <sup>34</sup>	<i>lâ mālē-dâ</i>	house
Lt196	<i>mēşka dîmsē wî</i>	MM83 <sup>34</sup>	<i>sâr zârî shîr mâshk'ē</i>	water-skin
Lt22 <sup>20</sup>	<i>di wē navē</i>	MM5 <sup>34</sup>	<i>cünâ nēwē</i>	middle
Lt56 <sup>21</sup>	<i>ser pişta qesrē</i>	MM14 <sup>19</sup>	<i>dâ pishtë</i>	back
Lt54 <sup>26</sup>	<i>bi kîja rēyē de</i>	MM LIII	<i>rēyē</i>	road
Lt16 <sup>30</sup>	<i>nîwē şevē</i>	MM5 <sup>8</sup>	<i>khârjî au shauē</i>	night
Lt10 <sup>18</sup>	<i>xewa min tē</i>	MM28 <sup>22</sup>	<i>rēi khâwē-î . . . girt</i>	sleep
Lt42 <sup>29</sup>	<i>đi nav xwînē de</i>	MM238 <sup>27</sup>	<i>bâ khûenē-dâ</i>	blood
Mk1 <sup>102</sup>	<i>hanjara hwa</i>	MM81 <sup>37</sup>	<i>dâstî dâ khânjârē</i>	dagger
BX	<i>jan f.</i>	MM41 <sup>17</sup>	<i>bâ ghâir âz . . . zhânē</i>	sorrow
Lt62 <sup>26</sup>	<i>jinka ji min cētîr</i>	MM11 <sup>10</sup>	<i>lâ zhînē</i>	woman

The infinitives of verbs are always feminine. Compare :

BX	<i>dî xwendinê de</i>	MM24 <sup>18</sup>	<i>dâbâr khwêndinê-îân</i>	reading
Lt50 <sup>3</sup>	<i>xwarinê çêbikî</i>	MM6 <sup>24</sup>	<i>bô mirîshîk khwârdinê</i>	food, eating
Rwn	<i>xwaji krîna dewer</i>	MM1 <sup>12</sup>	<i>bâ gal'ât durus kirdinê</i>	making
Rwn	<i>cnina zaviya kolxoze</i>			harvesting
Lt34 <sup>26</sup>	<i>girêdana xwe</i>			tying, belt
Lt56 <sup>30</sup>	<i>wextê razanê</i>			sleeping
		MM6 <sup>7</sup>	<i>bô mâr dizînê</i>	stealing
		MM5 <sup>35</sup>	<i>â gârânê</i>	wandering
		MM14 <sup>34</sup>	<i>hâtâ hâzhîânê</i>	motion

Likewise abstract nouns ending in *-î* are feminine. Compare :

BX	<i>bilîndîya Xwedê</i>			eminence
Lt20 <sup>13</sup>	<i>qencîyê li min bikî</i>			goodness
BX	<i>mîzgîniya xweşiyê</i>			good news
BX	<i>rîya rastiyê</i>			truth
		MM1 <sup>15</sup>	<i>bârgî dârwêshîâ</i>	derwish state
		MM8 <sup>11</sup>	<i>kâsîbîê bô tu dâkâ</i>	business
		MM1 <sup>23</sup>	<i>zôr la zîadîâ dâya</i>	increase

The forms appearing after the 'definite and indefinite articles' <sup>1</sup> *-â* and *-êk* are innovations parallel to those in the Northern dialects. If the normal Mukri oblique endings *-î*, *-ê* are then inherited, the Izafe, which constantly appears as *î*, must be a new formation, in all probability a borrowing from a Persian dialect.

One final manifestation of gender remains to be mentioned, the vocative forms of Central Kurdish. In these Mann <sup>2</sup> sees an abnormal use of the oblique case ending. Edmonds, however, recognizes simply the 'definite article' suffixes, used normally for the vocative in Sulaimaniya also.

'Alternative and less common forms of the definite article (i.e. than the suffix *-eke*) are the suffixes *-e* (masculine and feminine) and, more rarely, *-ê* (feminine).

*jin-e chu, derk-eke-y kirdewe* —the woman went and opened the door  
*puwrê hateve* —the aunt returned  
*chaw-be-xumarê* —the girl with sparkling eyes.'

The forms quoted by Mann from his own texts are in fact both feminine with the ending *-ê*. This, unlike the Northern dialect form, has no masculine counterpart.

<sup>1</sup> Mann, *ibid.* I, pp. XLVII et seq.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* I, p. LV, § 24.