EXTENDED EZAFE PARTICLES IN TOR KURDISH

Author: Robin Sahin
Supervisors: Carina Jahani and Ergin Öpengin
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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letters</th>
<th>IPA correspondence</th>
<th>Letters</th>
<th>IPA correspondence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aa</td>
<td>[ɑː]</td>
<td>Nn</td>
<td>[n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>Oo</td>
<td>[ɔː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cc</td>
<td>[dʒ]</td>
<td>Pp</td>
<td>[p] and [pʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Çç</td>
<td>[tʃ] and [tʃʰ]</td>
<td>Qq</td>
<td>[q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>Rr</td>
<td>[r] and [ɾ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ee</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>Ss</td>
<td>[s] and [sʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êê</td>
<td>[eː]</td>
<td>Şş</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ff</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>Tt</td>
<td>[t] and [tʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gg</td>
<td>[ɡ]</td>
<td>Uu</td>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hh</td>
<td>[h] and [h]</td>
<td>Ûû</td>
<td>[uː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ii</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>Vv</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Îî</td>
<td>[iː]</td>
<td>Ww</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jj</td>
<td>[ʒ]</td>
<td>Xx</td>
<td>[χ] and [ɣ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kk</td>
<td>[k] and [kʰ]</td>
<td>Yy</td>
<td>[j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ll</td>
<td>[l] and [l]</td>
<td>Zz</td>
<td>[z]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mm</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>’</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Behdinan 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.
According to the dialect classification made by Haig and Öpen (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.SG, 2.SG</td>
<td>î</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.SG</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Group B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.SG, 2.SG</td>
<td>ê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.SG</td>
<td>a/wa/ya</td>
<td>ê/wê/yê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>ê/wê/yê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ezafe 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 ’Amädiya et de Djabal Sindjär: 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 Dîlo 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)\(^1\), 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 Serdêfî (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.

\(^1\) 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 forth text is a tale told by Şikriyê Şikevtîkî, a 51-year-old male. His village Şikevtîka (Tur. Korucu) is located approximately 6 km north of Kerboran.

The fifth recording is of a 65-year-old male, Emînê Îzarî, from the village of Ízar (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 Eyşâ 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, Cebrail. 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 Midyad (Tur. Midyat).
4. PREVIOUS STUDIES

MacKenzie (1961) mentions similar particles appearing in the Behdînî 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 Ezafê appears with present tense and perfect forms in the Sûrçî and Akrê varieties of Behdînî 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 Behdînî 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) mûr-ak yê t.nâv bafrê dâ
snake-INDF EXEZ.M in snow.OBL in

‘There is a snake in the snow.’

(MacKenzie 1961)
Geoffrey Haig (2011) focuses on the occurrence of these particles in Behdînî Kurdish and points out the connection between the particles and Ezafe, as MacKenzie does as well. However, neither Haig nor MacKenzie makes a distinction between particles occurring with non-verbal predicates and those appearing with verbal predicates. This is because the EXEZ particles do not vary in Behdînî Kurdish depending on the kind of the predicates.

The term *Tense Ezafe*, which Haig uses in his study, is however not applicable for both of the paradigms made in this study. The term Tense Ezafe would fit Group B particles in Tor Kurdish, but it excludes the Group A particles which occur with non-verbal predicates in the Tor Kurdish, and it does not seem to have a tense function. Therefore the term Extended Ezafe particles, EXEZ, which is more including, is preferred in this study.

The particle group here named as Group A, appears in the grammar book of Kurmancî written by Emir Celadet Bedir Han and Roger Lescot (Bedir Han & Lescot 1990). Although there is a clear meaning difference in the sentences given as examples in the grammar book, the authors do not make any distinction between the Ezafe with demonstrative function and the Extended Ezafe particles. The examples given in the grammar book by Bedir Han and Lescot are as follows.

(4) (Question) – tu kîjan hespî di-bin-î
2.SG.DIR which horse.OBL.M IND-see-2.SG

‘Which horse are you seeing?’

(Answer) – yê soro
DEM.EZ.M soro

‘Soro’s.’

*(Bedir Han & Lescot 1990)*
(5) rē-ya me a dûr e
road-EZ.F 1.PL.OBL EXEZ.F long COP.PRS.3.SG

‘Our road is long.’

(Bedir Han & Lescot 1990)

(6) sēv-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) dûr-î te ṣev-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, i/wi, 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 *iḍāfa*, 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)ên 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.
Table 3. Ezafe in Northern Kurdish

Primary forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc</th>
<th>fem</th>
<th>pl</th>
<th>indef. masc</th>
<th>indef. fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-(y)ê</td>
<td>-(y)a</td>
<td>-(y)ên</td>
<td>-î</td>
<td>-e, -a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondary forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc</th>
<th>fem</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-(y)ê, -(y)î</td>
<td>-(y)a</td>
<td>-(y)ên</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The modifiers that Ezafe can link to the head noun can be an adjective, a pronoun, a noun, a prepositional phrase or a relative clause. The gender and number of the head noun decide which Ezafe particle will be used, which means that Ezafe is sensitive to the gender and number of the head noun. As seen in the (11) and (12) the gender of the head noun dest ‘hand’ is masculine, the gender of tilî ‘finger’ feminine, while çav ‘eyes’, in (13) is plural. In these examples, (11), (12) and (13), the Ezafe creates possessive constructions.

(11) dest-ê
    hand-EZ.M 1.SG.OBL

‘My hand.’

(12) tili-ya
    finger-EZ.F 2.SG.OBL

‘My finger.’
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
house-EZ.M

Osmên
Osman.M.OBL

‘Osman’s home.’

(15) xanî-yê
house-EZ.M

mezin
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
house-EZ.M

Osmên
Osman.M.OBL

è
EZ.M

mezin
big

‘Osman’s big house.’

(17) çiya-yê
mountain-EZ.PL

bilind
high

èn
EZ.PL

kurdistanê
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  
brother-EZ.M  
min  
1.SG.OBL  
ê  
EZ.M  
mezin  
big  

‘My elder brother.’

(19) bira-yê  
brother-EZ.M  
min  
î  
EZ.M  
mezin  
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 then -a.

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

‘A tall man.’

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

‘A big house.’

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

[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, -i, see (26) and (27).
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, wî ‘he’ and wê ‘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 tauvîyā 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 wi* ‘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 wi ê kefti-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.SUBL is one that is dirty/that has fallen]S

(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
indicates the location. As seen in (34), the predicate is an adjective, *gewr* ‘white’ and in (35) and (36) the predicate complements *li Îzar* ‘in Îzar’ and *di wir de* ‘in there’ are prepositional phrases indicating the location.

(34) 
```
2.SG.DIR-EXEZ.SG   gewr   COP.PRS.2.SG 
```

```
1.SG.DIR   EXEZ.SG    reş   im
```

‘You are fair-skinned, I am dark-skinned.’

(35) 
```
idî    heta    kû    ne-b-ê    şîlî    herro
```

```
ez      li       îzar    im
```

‘Then I am in Îzar every day, as long as it does not rain.’

(36) 
```
'esker    ì    di    wir    de    ye
```

```
military.M   EXEZ.M   in    there    in
```

‘The military is there.’

In (37) the sentence is negative with an adjectival predicate and the plural form of the EXEZ particle is in agreement with the number of the subject, * rê* ‘roads’. The tense of (37) is past tense. In (38) the situation is the same except for the gender and the number of the subject, *milet* ‘people’. The word *milet* in Northern Kurdish is a loanword from Arabic and it can refer to two different things; a nation and people (plural of person). In (38) it has the second meaning, and although it is morphologically singular semantically it has a plural meaning. However, in the construction it is treated as its morphological form: singular masculine. Thus the EXEZ particle in (38) is masculine *-i*. The masculine EXEZ particle *-i* becomes *-y* after the negation prefix *ne*.
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-î*, 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 ‘*î’*, 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 ‘-*îy’*, as in (40).
(40) riw-ê min â 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 â kém 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 i botijî me.
  1.SG.DIR EXEZ.SG botijian COP.PRS.1.SG

  ‘I am from Botija.’ (Lit. I am Botijian.)
‘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.
‘He was an acquaintance.’

‘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.

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

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.

He told me to take his two partridges.’
(Lit. He said Sayyid let my two (partridges) be yours.)
(53) teymen got-e bînbaşî 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 şiñ 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
şiir të 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 şiir të 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.’
The following two examples, (58) and (59), are conditional sentences in past tense.

(58) ë go î pis ba-ne bist 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 complimentizer 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  
   people.DIR.M  EXEZ.M  few  COP.PST.3.SG

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

(61) û milet  
   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 wilô/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 wilô/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  
   eye-EZ.PL  wa  halo  çirihayî  ne  like this  torn  COP.PRS.3.PL

‘Their eyes are torn like this.’

(63) seyd  elî  wilô  bêhnteng  e  
   Sayyid  Ali  like this  short-tempered  COP.PRS.3.SG

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

(64) î  
   EXEZ.M  wilô  foq  bû  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 Behdini, 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) meyzand ‘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
INDSay-3.SG day-INDF-OBL.F 1.SG.DIR EXEZ.SG at hunting.OBL.F

me ū 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 xwêşîk
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 uestemen 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 ji uestemen 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 uestemen ‘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 Hesen 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 hesen wele
1.SG.OBL said.3.SG uncle-EZ.M haji hesen in.name.of.god

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

‘I said uncle Haji Hesen, 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 diçérin ‘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.
‘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 – mèzand ‘he looked’ – and the subordinate clause in present progressive with an EXEZ particle, kû keçelonêk wê jî wê ve tê ‘that Bald-headed is coming from there’.

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

keçelonêk wê jî wê ve tê
baldheaded 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 tê-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 paraphraseable 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 retain 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 say va trên a 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.
‘They said here the train is about to arrive.’

‘The sun is about to rise’

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

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

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.

‘He has come here from Syria.’

‘He has seen me.’

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

(80) wî yê e(z) dîti-me
       3.SG.OBL.M EXEZ.M 1.SG.DIR seen.PP.1.SG
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 *diṭin* ‘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 ye 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 BEHDİNİ 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 Behdînî Kurdish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ezafe</th>
<th>EXEZ particles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>-(y)ê</td>
<td>-(y/w)ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>-(y)a</td>
<td>-(y/w)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>-(y)êt/d</td>
<td>-(y/w)êt/d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a difference from Tor Kurdish, the EXEZ particles in Behdînî 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 musâîr im
    1.SG.DIR  EXEZ.M  traveller  COP.1.SG

‘I am traveller.’

(MacKenzie 1961)

(85) az bisîlmân-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.
‘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.

‘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 Behdînî Kurdish. This is not the case in Tor Kurdish, in such sentences the copula is present with one exception (see (71)). Compare (88) in Behdînî Kurdish and (89) in Tor Kurdish.

‘My lady is waiting for you.’

‘We are from that side.’ (Lit. We are from that arm.)
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) çû xarin ne-ma-ye
any food NEG-stay.PP-COP.PRS.3.SG

‘There is no food left.’

(Blau 1975)
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-ē ser-ē da-na-y-e 
old.woman-OBL.F head-EXEZ.M PREF-put.PST-PP-DRC

se ber-ek-ē 
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) hîrî-ē yê xû lê 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 Behdînî 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 Behdînî Kurdish and Tor Kurdish:

1. The EXEZ particles appear also with nominal predicates in Behdînî Kurdish while that is not the case in Tor Kurdish.
2. The EXEZ particles have compatible forms which are indistinguishable from the Ezafe in Behdînî 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 Behdînî 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 Behdînî 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 Bedhînî 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc</th>
<th>fem</th>
<th>pl (masc/fem.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Definite</strong></td>
<td>-ɾ / -ē</td>
<td>-ē / -ɔ</td>
<td>-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indefinite</strong></td>
<td>-ɾ</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dem. Ezafe</strong></td>
<td>ɾ</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.2.3.SG</td>
<td>-ı</td>
<td>-ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.PL</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-ı/-ê gir=im ‘I (masc/fem) am big.’
t-ı/-ê gir=æ  ‘You (sg masc/fem) are big.’
æw-ı/-ê gir=æ  ‘She/he (masc/fem) is big.’
æm-e gir=in  ‘We are big.’
hün-e gir=in  ‘You (pl) are big.’
æw-ê 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
daē-gē-m
1SG-EXEZ.F IND-reach.PRS-1SG

‘I (female) am arriving.’

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

‘I (female) am waiting (for) you.’

(99) t-ī
dar-an xiš daē-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
daē-zən-im k=æw-ī læ vir bū
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
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 guliyan ‘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 hîrçê 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-i min û çe bi
   may horse-EZ.M 1.SG.OBL EXEZ.M good be.SBJV.3.SG

birâ û 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).

---

2 Here it is important to note that because of inconsequent transcription, the difference between EXEZ form in Kömür (2003) are not obvious.
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 Behdini Kurdish, as well.
‘He was an acquaintance.’

_Tor Kurdish (Own fieldwork)_

‘He was great and had a lord’s condition.’

_Behdînî Kurdish (Blau 1975)_

To sum up the comparison between three dialects, Tor, Behdînî and Maraş Kurdish, the main differences and similarities in both dialect are as below:

1. The EXEZ forms in Maraş and Behdînî Kurdish do not vary depending on the kind of the predicate as they do in Tor Kurdish.
2. The particles in Behdînî Kurdish appear even with nominal predicates whereas this is not attested in Tor and Maraş Kurdish.
3. The EXEZ particles in Tor and Behdînî Kurdish add tense and aspect nuances and occur with past tense forms, while in Maraş Kurdish the particles occurring with verbal predicates seem to be restricted to present tense.
4. In Behdînî Kurdish when the EXEZ particles appear with locative predicates the copula is omitted. This is not the case for Tor and Maraş Kurdish.
5. In Tor and Behdînî Kurdish, the EXEZ particles are used to create progressive constructions, while the particles in Maraş Kurdish do not seem to have this function.
6. Finally, in Tor Kurdish the EXEZ particles create prospective constructions, which are not attested in Maraş and Behdînî Kurdish.
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 ditiye
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.
We were in the open fields and it was demanding.

We herded the livestock.

And we planted grain.

We threshed (the grain).

We harvested (the grain).

We brought it home on the back of the donkeys.

There were no tractors.
There was nothing.

And we built houses with stones.

Those enormous houses.

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

We made houses of them.

Builders built the house.
We built it with mud.

There was no cement.

There was nothing in our time.

Livestock, a goat cost two and a half banknotes.

Not millions, it cost two and a half banknotes.

A bucket of grain cost a half banknote.

A bucket, that is to say a metal bucket.
Let’s say fifteen kilograms cost a half banknote.

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

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

Under the roof overhangs, they were wooden houses.

The entrance (of the house) got blocked.

We opened with spades.
We could not get in (to the house).

We got stuck under (the snow).

And our livestock got stuck in the yard for months.

We brought branches with dried leaves.

We went and brought (branches of) juniper from the open fields.
We stayed in the village for almost forty years.

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

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

Then we found some comfort here.

We still go to the village.

We take care of our fields.

And we grow our fruit gardens.
And we dig our vineyards and such.

And we prune (them).

And we still come and go.

But it’s nicer now than before.

The life is nicer regarding the comfort.

But not regarding the muslimhood, no.

It was better then.
We prayed then.

We pray now, as well.

The world has become bad.

The world has become unpleasant.

The world has become cruel.

It was nicer then.

We planted wheat.

We planted lentils.
60  
me  aviyê  birinc  diçandin  
me  avi-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-kësixand-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  Õ-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-Ô  
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-cûn-e  sohrik  
1.PL.DIR  IND-go.PST-1.PL-DRC  Sohrik  

We went to Sohrik.

65  
em  diçûne  werozoka  ûzar  
em  di-cûn-e  werozoka  ûzar  
1.PL.DIR  IND-go.PST-1.PL-DRC  Werozoka  ûzar  

We went to Werzoka in Ùzar.

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  

d’ësirand  bi  piyê  xwe  ü  me  
d’ësirand-Ô  bi  pi-yê  xwe  ü  me  
IND-squeeze.PST-3.SG.PST  with  foot-EZ.PL  self  and  1.PL.OBL
We squeezed the grapes with our feet and put it in trays and we made grape syrup of it.

And we put it in ceramic vats and took home.

There were no metal buckets then.

We put (them) in the ceramic jars and took them home.
We put them on the back of the donkeys and took home.

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

And that livestock had such a torment.

They (flattened) all that straw with their feet.

And we made all of our harvest.
It was not threshing machine.

There were no threshing machines.

There was nothing.

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

It made ten, fifteen loads of barley.

We ate barley.
There were barely three loads of wheat.

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

There were lentils and barley bread.

There was nothing else.

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

They were villages, too.
Religious festivities of these villages were arranged.

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

They said it is zêw of this tomb today.

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

Their children ate it.

They celebrated it like this.
And we experienced a lot of torment.

We ploughed paddy fields with cattle.

We planted rice.

We scattered the rice.

Later we hoed the rice.

Later we threshed (the grains) with the cattle.

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

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

We had livestock as (domestic) animals.
There were no tractors and such.

We ploughed with bulls, we ploughed with cows.

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

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

We made yogurt of the animals’ milk.

There was no cheese then.
In that time we did not see cheese at all.

Sometimes when nomads came women bought some curd cheese.

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

They made some tea for it.

There wasn’t enough tea neither.
Namely if a house were rich they had tea.

It was curd cheese, not even lumps.

They made flat bread.

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

And there was flat bread.
Those neighbours came and said that they were our guests.

It was Turkish tea then.

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

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

And then sugar appeared.

I remember (have seen) that the sugar did not exist at all.
There was red candy that they gave to children on holidays.

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

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

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

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

80
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 xwämalî bü
qelî he-bû ji xwämalî bü
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 bü
hingî ne halo bü
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.
Livestock was not sold at all.

Women churned the drinking yogurt.

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

They churned inside it.

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

And there was no cooking oil and such anyway.

There was no cooking oil in that time.
They got along with fried meat and with the butter.

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

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

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

I went to the village today.

I went there this morning.

I cleaned a vegetable garden and I cleaned my grapevines.
And I dig between the grapevines and such.

158
ú e bi tenê me
ú 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 ji nakê
na-yê arî mi ji na-kê
NEG-come.PRS.3.SG help 1.SG.OBL also NEG-do.PRS.3.G.S.PRS

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

160
ú tebat-a mi nayê
ú tebat-a mi na-yê
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 zarokê 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 naşıxulin
dí-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
diwar-ekî 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
We have a (demolished) wall, they have made a road to Germav and (during the construction) our wall was demolished by the bulldozer.

I am begging them since one year.

There are many stones along (the demolished wall).

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

It is comfortable to live in Kerboran actually.
But I can’t make without working.

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

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

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

I (usually) go to (collect) kindlings, I carry branches with dried leaves for my livestock.
173

e   dêzê  çîlo  çê  dikim
e   dêzê-ê  çîlo  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

e  ji  gund  tênine  vê  dé  li
e  ji  gund  t-ên-im-e  vê  dé  li
1.SG.DIR  from  village  IND-bring.PRS-1.SG-DRC  this.F.OBL  place.F.OBL  at

vê  dé  çê  dikim
vê  dé  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

bîst  pezekî  me  heye  li
bîst  pez-ek-i  me  he-ye  li
twenty  livestock.M.DIR-INDF-EZ.M  1.PL.OBL  exist-COP.PRS.3.SG  in

vê  dé  xweyî  dikim  û  e
vê  dé  xweyî  di-k-im  û  e
this.F.OBL  place.F.OBL  owner  IND-do.PRS-1.SG  and  1.SG.DIR

dîçime  ber  dora  pêz
dîç-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

e   ji  kerboran  dîçime  gund  ber  dora
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

ez  ê  siba  ji  çîm  ê
ez  ê  siba  ji  Ō-ç-im  ê
1.SG.DIR  FUT  tomorrow  also  SBJV-go.PRS-1.SG  1.SG.DIR.FUT

dîsîba  ji  çîm  heta  heftîkkî
dîsîba  ji  Ō-ç-im  heta  heftî-kk-i
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.
I am in Îzar every day as long as it doesn’t rain.

I go to Îzar on that road.

Our son has bought a small car.

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

These last two days I rode my donkey and went.
It is close to here, it takes barely a quarter, it is five kilometers

I remember there was snow when It was my wedding.

Heznî from Îzar and Nezîrê Tahir were my groomsmen.

It was silliness then.

So people (the world) were not intelligent
They took me and put me in a pond in the snow

189
*hewzek e*
hewz-ek e
pool-INDF COP.PRS.3.SG

It is (was) a pool

190
ez kirime té de
ez kir-im-e té de
1.SG.DIR put.PST-1.SG-DRC in.it in.CIR

They put me in it.

191
ú kurikkî dî jî yê gundiyyê
ú kur-ik-k-i dî ji yê gundi-yê
and young.man-DIM-INDF-EZ.M other also DEM.EZ.M villager-EZ.M
me xwe bi mi re kiriyê
me xwe bi mi re kir-iyyê
1.PL.OBL self with 1.SG.OBL CIR put.PST-(in)to.it.DRC

And also another young man from our village got into (the pond) with me.

192
milet gotiyê go heyra ya
milet got-iyyê go-Ø heyra ya
people say.PST-to.him.DRC say.PST-3.SG.PST oh.dear DEM.EZ.F

wî halhewal e ya te çi hewal
wî halhewal e ya te çi hewal
3.SG.M.OBL reason COP.PRS.3.SG DEM.EZ.F 2.SG.OBL what reason

*e*
COP.PRS.3.SG

People told him oh dear he has a reason (to get in the pool) what is your reason?

193
go degena netirsê
go-Ø de.qe.na ne-tirs-ê
say.PST-3.SG.PST so.that NEG.SBJV-fear.PRS.3.SG

He said (he did it) so that I would not get scared.
When I got out of the pool my hair got frozen.

They tried to comb it.

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

It got frozen.

Near to the water pond they danced.
They brought me, they put my clothes on and brought me home.

They made me stay with a family from Îzar.

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

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

The groomsmen would say let him bring a chicken.
Some people would ask for a livestock (from the one which was punished), but the groom would say "he shouldn’t, he is poor".

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

There were dried fruit candies and dried fruit pulps and raisins.
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
direqisin    bi deng  digotin
di-reqisi-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
cirok       digotin  lawik  digotin
cirok  di-got-in  lawik  di-got-in

They sang about tales and sang songs.

211
digo         mihemedê  tahirô
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
eyêkî     izzari    bü
yek-i      izzari    bü
one-EZ.M  from.Îzar  COP.PST.3.SG

He was from Îzar.

213
i       wilô  foq  bü
i       wilô  foq  bü
EXEZ.M  so  vivacious  COP.PST.3.SG

He was, like, vivacious.

214
êvi       digot       û xelkê  lê
êvi  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 direqisin  milet  direqisi
di-ve.gerand-Ø  û  di-reqisi-n  milet  di-reqisi
IND-return.PST-3.SG.PST  and  IND-dance.PST-3.PL  people  IND-dance.PST.3SG

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

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

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

There are vineyards and fig trees around Kerboran.

There are mostly grapevines and pistachio trees and such things.
There are peach trees and apple trees and it is so around us.

There are many pomegranate trees in Ïzar.

Our fruit gardens are full of fig trees.

They are full of grapevines.

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

There are three families in the village.
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

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 kavîlê rût 
yê dar-a hemû ketî-ne kavîl-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 ND-come.PRS.3.SG memory-EZ.F

mi cilê cawî me li xwe dikirin 
mi cil-ê cawî me li xwe di-kir-in 

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

230  
ev kirask a li me bûn û gumlek 
ev kiras-k a li me bûn û gumlek 
3.SG(DIR dress-DIM EXEZ.PL in 1.PL.OBL COP.PST.3.PL and 3.SG.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
We had those dresses on us and we wore shirts.

And we were children.

We played with stones.

We played ‘pirka reshonek’.

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

We had rubber shoes.
Before they were from cattle skin.

Later there were black rubber) shoes.

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

We went to Siirt.

We went on donkeys.

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

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

We went to Çêlik and we crossed the water.

There was a road, cars could pass through, but it was narrow.
We stopped the donkeys and (waited) until a car passed by, we got on the car and went to Siirt.

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

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

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

wêjît xwê tani
sêrtê xwê tanî
Siirt-F.OBL salt IND-bring.PST.3.SG.PST

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

And we went to Bamerd, we took raisins with us and exchanged with wheat.
We took a load of raisins and brought a load of wheat, we put it on donkeys.

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

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

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

We exchanged our load of raisins with wheat.
We brought it and took to the mill.

Those mills were not electric mills.

They (worked) with water.

There were quern stones, they moved on each other and they poured water on the barrel of the mill and it rolled with (the water) and made flour.

And we stayed two nights at the mills along the cliffs until it was our turn.
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.

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

I made military service.

I joined the military when I was nineteen years old and you leave (the military service) when you are twenty one.

It (the military service) was two years in my time.
When I made my military service during two years I went to school there.

There were no schools then, I was illiterate.

I could say only water and bread.

It was ‘ekmek’ and ‘su’.

I went to the school.

They taught us.

I knew nothing.

---

3 These are the Turkish words for bread and water.
I understood nothing.

I went to the school for three months.

They plagued us a lot.

There were no schools in our village in that time and we had not come to the cities.

We had not seen the cities.

Kerboran was also a village.
I stayed there at the school for three months (and) I understood nothing (and) I got sick.

I went to the hospital in Ankara (and) I stayed there (at the hospital) for a week.

The doctor told me, “go home my son”.  

He said he would give me six months of sick leave. (Lit.: he said, “I will give me six months of sick leave”).  

(The doctor said) “go home, you have caught a cold at the school”.

"go home my son".
bê
Ø-bê
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 sê na-y-ê-n-e
three months NEG.SBJV-HIA-come.PRS-3.PL-DRC count-F.OBL

doesbê sê na yêne
doesbê sê na-yê-ne
hesêbê
count-F.OBL three three months 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 zewici bûm
hingî e zewici 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 nedît kû ciya mi ji
mi ne-dît-Ø kû dê-ya mi ji
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 ü mi jinek
bav-ê mi tenê he-bû ü mi jin-ek
father-EZ.M 1.SG.OBL only exist-COP.PST.3.SG and 1.SG.OBL wife-INDF

anîbû
ani-bû
bring.PP-COP.PST.3.SG

My father was alone and I was married (Lit.: I had brought a wife).
I was worried about my father and my sisters.

And I did not have children then.

I was newly married.

I married the same year I joined the military service.

And he (the doctor) told me to go home. (Lit.: And he said, “go home my son”.)

I stayed (home) for six months and (then) I went to Ağrı.

I stayed in Ağrı for six months.
They placed me by a handheld transceiver.

There was a commandant from Diyarbakır.

He said stay here my son and answer when there is a thing (call).

I answered who ever called.
They (those three months) were not counted.

The lieutenant told the major let this boy stay at your thing (service).

Let him serve your tea.

I spent three month like this and I got discharged.

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.
He put me in a vehicle from Batman and told (the driver) to take me to Batman.

He was an acquaintance, he brought often diesel fuel for them.

(He) took me to Batman.

Shikrîyê Hacî Chachan’s father in law lived there (in Batman) then, I said I know his home.
I went to the neighborhood on the hill, I went to his (their) home.

When it was morning I took a car and I came to Midyat.

There was a donkey carriage from Midyat, (I took it) and came to Kerboran.

There were no vehicles going to the village from Kerboran so I went to Îzar by feet.
REFERENCES


