Saeed Karami and Saloumeh Gholami

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

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

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

1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.1 The linguistic community of Gorani and its formation process

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Literature review and research questions

2.1 Literature review

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2 Research questions and objectives

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

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

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

3 Methodology

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.1 Function

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.2 Prestige

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.3 Acquisition

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

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

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

3.1.4 Literary heritage

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

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

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

3.1.5 Standardization

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.6 Stability

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

3.1.7 Grammar

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

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

3.1.8 Lexicon

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

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

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

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

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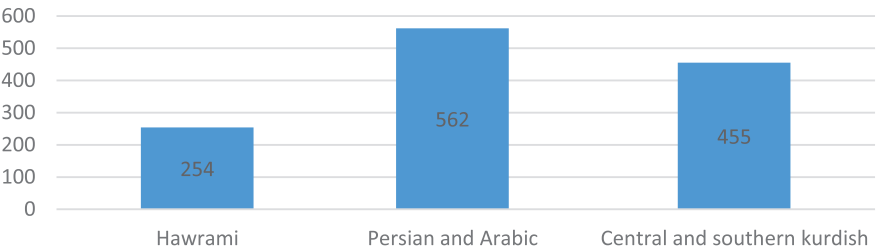
Figure 1: Nouns used in Gorani corpus.

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

Gor. *xwāhar,* Haw. *wāła* Kal. *xwayshk/xwaysheg,* Lak. *xwē/xwayshk,* Sor. *xwayshk* 'sister'

Gor. *barf/bafr* Haw. *warwa,* Kal. *wafr,* Lak. *wafr,* Sor. *bafr* 'snow'

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

3.1.9 Phonology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.1 Corpus for H variety Gorani

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.2 Corpus for L variety (Hawrami)

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

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

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

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

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

4 Results

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

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

4.1 Both Gorani and Hawrami utilize the same grammatical morphemes

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

4.1.1 Preverbs

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

(1) Gorani
Šamāl   *šo*   **hor**-*gēr*   *bə-dar*
north.wind   SUB.go.PRS.2SG   **up**-SUB.take.PRS.2SG   SUB.give.PRS.2SG
bederang
immediately
'North wind, Go and pick up and immediately give them'.

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

4.1.2 Passivization

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

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

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

4.1.3 Causativization

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

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

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

4.1.4 Affix *-awa*, *awa-*

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

(7)   Gorani
   a. *alwadā-y   āxer   **awa**-na-ām-āy=m=an*
      farewell-EZ   last   **again**-NEG-come.PRS-INF=1SG=COP.PRS.3SG
      'This is the final farewell of not returning'.
   b. *parē baład=īm   bə-kīyāna=š-**awa***
      for   guide=1SG   SUB-send.PRS.2SG=3SG-**again**
      'Return him to me as my guide'.

(8)   Hawrami (Lehon)
   a. *awa-wān-āy*
      again-read-INF
      'to reread'
   b. *wānā=m-wa*
      read.PST=1SG-**again**
      'I reread it'.

4.1.5 Indicative mood

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

(9)   **Gorani**
   a. ***ma**-zān-o   harkas   ǰa   ʔerfān   kayl=an*
      IND-know.PRS-3SG   everyone from knowledge   full=COP.PRS.3SG
      'everyone who has sufficient knowledge knows'.
   b. *šān-o=š   čon baydāx nasar mazār-ān*
      IND.send.PRS-3SG.A=3SG.P like flag   over   tomb-PL
      '[the breeze] moves it like a flag over the graves'.

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

4.1.6 Subjunctive mood in the present

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

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

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

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

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

(13) **Gorani**
    a. *wīyard*   **na**-*zānā=š*   *sīwāy*   *aw*   *han-ī*
        pass.PST.3SG   **NEG**-know.PST=3SG.A   except   3SG   exist.PRS-2SG
        'he forgave you, and no one else knew you existed except him'.
    b. *řā*   **na**-*ma-zān-ūn*   *baład*   *zarūr=an*
        way   **NEG**-IND-know.PRS-1SG   guide   necessary=COP.PRS.3SG
        'I am lost (lit, I do not know the way) and need a guide'.

---

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

(14) Hawrami (Žāwaro)   b.
      na*-zānā=š*   ***na****-ma-zān-o*
      NEG-know.PST=3SG.A   NEG-IND-know.PRS-3SG.A
      'she did not know'.   'she/he does not know'.

(15) Hawrami (Taxt)   b.
      na*-zānā=š*   ***ma****-zān-o*
      NEG-know.PST=3SG.A   NEG.IND-know.PRS-3SG.A
      'she/he did not know'.   'she/he does not know'.

4.1.8 The prefix *ma-*

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

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

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

4.1.9 The suffix *-tar*

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

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

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

4.1.10 The past participle construction

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

(20) Gorani
    *dəł-a   ward-**a**-y   nafs   gunāh   āward-**a***
    heart-VOC eat-**PTCP**-EZ evil.spirit sin   bring-**PTCP**
    'Oh, my heart, Your evil spirit, which brought you to sin, destroyed (lit., ate) you'.

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

4.1.11 Pronominal clitics

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

Table 3: Pronominal clitics in Gorani and Hawrami.

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

4.1.12 Reflexive pronouns

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

Table 4: Reflexive pronouns in Gorani and Hawrami.

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

4.1.13 Additive particle

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

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

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

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

4.2.1 Case marker in nouns

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

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

(23)   Gorani
   a. *hawr-e   naw   zārzār   kłāwawkłāw ma-gēł-o   **asrīn***
       cloud-EZ new   sorrowfully peak.to.peak IND-wander.PRS-3SG **tear**
       ma-řēz-o   tāwtāw
       IND-pour.PRS-3SG   heavily
       'The new clouds are slowly and sadly moving from peak to peak, with heavily raining tears'.
   b. *lāł   bā-m   **pay   maynat**   ǰasta xasta-ka=t*
       dumb   SUB.COP.PRS-1SG **for   suffering** body   tired-DEF=2SG
       'May I lose my tongue for the suffering of your tired body'.

(24)   Hawrami
   a. *ʔarz-aka-**y**=tā   wāč-dē*
       request-DEF.SG-**OBL.M**=2PL   IMP.say.PRS-2SG
       'well, say your request.'
   b. *lēw-ē-n-mē   **pay   āw-ē***
       go.PST-PTCP-PRF-1PL **for   water-OBL.F**
       'we used to go to the spring (water)'.

4.2.2 Gender markers on nouns

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

(25) Hawrami
   a. **M**: *kuř* (boy), *čam* (eye), *hā'na* (spring), *mā'zī* (back), *'ko* (mountain), *ža'žū* (hedgehog).
      Borrowed nouns: *mobāyl* (mobile), *māšīn* (machine).
   b. **F**: *'māng-a* (moon-F), *'warw-a (snow-F)*, *'karg-a* (chicken-F), *'lamm-a* (stomach-F), *'kənāč-ē* (girl-F), *'žan-ī* (woman-F), *žaraž-ī* (partridge-F), *šaw-a* (night-F), *'āw-ī* (water-F), *'wən-ī* (blood-F), *'māč-a* (kiss-F), *'tam-a* (fog-F) *Šerīn-a, Mənīr-a.*
      Borrowed nouns: *hīmmat-a* (help-F), *hotel-a* (hotel-F), *rasturan-a* (restaurant-F).

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

(26) Gorani
   a. *fekr-e   dāna-y   xāł   **žaraž**   xarāmān*
      thought-EZ   item-EZ   mole   **partridge**   walking.gracefully
      'the thought of a mole [on the face of loved ones who] walk gracefully like a partridge.'
   b. *čon   xīyāł   wa   **māč**   pā=t   wašħāł*
      because   thought   with   **kiss**   foot=2SG   happy
      ma-bī
      IPFV-become.PST.3SG
      'because thinking of kissing your feet makes my mind happy'.
   c. *wa   čama-y   may   **āw**   na-dər-yā bo*
      with   source-EZ   wine   **water**   NEG-give.PRS-PASS SUB.COP.PRS.3SG
      'it has not been watered by a stream from a wine source'.
   d. *dā   bazm-ī   **šīrīn**   xasraw   wa ham-dā*
      give.PST.3SG   party-EZ   **Shirin**   Khasraw   to   each.other-POST
      'he messed up Shiren and Khosrow's celebration'.

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

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

4.2.3 Definiteness and indefiniteness

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

(27) Gorani
    dəł-a   *řāga-**ka***   *xaylē*   *tārīk=an*
    heart-VOC route-**DEF** very   dark=COP.PRS.3SG
    'Oh, my heart, the way is quite dark'.

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

(28) Hawrami
    *šota-**ka**-y*   *karē*   *pora-w*   *ē*
    milk-**DEF.M**-OBL do.PST.IPFV.3SG through-and come.PST.IPFV.3SG
    *hałīza-**kē***   *žanē*
    Waterskin-**DEF.F** shake.PST.IPFV.3SG
    '[she] would come to prepare milk and buttermilk'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.4 Plural suffix

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.5 Present and past perfect

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

(34)   Gorani
    a. *mən   xo   kam   zūxāw   heǰrān=əm*
        1SG   indeed   little festering.wound   seperation=1SG
        ward-a-n
        drink.PST-PTCP-PRF
        'Have I suffered enough pain from being apart from you?'
    b. *bałām   āxər   to=īč   řanǰ=ət   **bard-a bē***
        but   indeed   2SG=ADD   sufferring=2SG   **take.PST-PTCP PST.PRF**
        'Anyway, you had also suffered, too'.

(35)   Hawrami
    a. *ā   Pīyā   wət-**a bē***
      this   man   sleep.PST-**PTCP.M PRF**.3SG
      'This man had slept'.
    b. *ā   žan=ē   wət-**ē bē***.
      this   woman=.DEM.DIR.SG.F   sleep.PST-**PTCP.F PRF**.3SG
      'this woman had slept'.

(36)   Hawrami
    a. *ā   pīyā   wət-**a-n***
      this   man   sleep.PST-PTCP.M-**PRF.M.**3SG
      'This man has slept'.
    b. *ā   žanē   wət-**ē-n-a***
      this   woman   sleep.PST-**PTCP-.F-PRF-F.**3SG
      'this woman has slept'.

4.2.6 Possession

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

(37) Gorani
    *to=m   **han-ī**   hanī   wa   kē=m   bo   hānā*
    2SG=1SG   **have.PRS**-2SG   so.then   to   who=1SG   SUB.COP.PRS.3SG   refuge
    'I have you. So who else but you can provide me with refuge?'

(38)   Hawrami
    a. *kəteb=ət   **han***
      book=2SG   have
      'Do you have a book?'
    b. *kārd=əš   **han-a***
      knife=3SG   **have-F**
      'he has a knife'.

4.2.7 Demonstrative pronouns

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

Table 6: The demonstrative pronouns in Hawrami.

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

Table 7: The demonstrative pronouns in Gorani.

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

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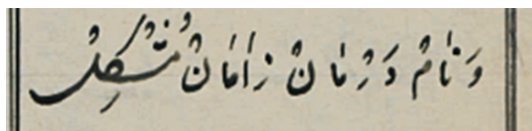
4.3.1 Ezafa linker

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

(39)   Gorani
   a. *gēǰ-**ū**   dūd -**ī**   mən   hawā =š   pař   Kard-a=n*
      whirlpool-**EZ**   smoke-**EZ**   1SG   air=3SG   full   do.PST-PTCP-PRF
      'a whirlpool of my smoke has filled the air'.
   b. *wa nām   darmān   zāmān   moškeł*
      by name   remedy   wound-**PL**   difficult
      'To heal severe wounds'

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

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

(40)   Hawrami
   a. *yāna-**ū**   šēxī-ī*
      home-**EZ**.GEN   sheik-OBL
      'sheik's home'
   b. *kuř-**ī**   wašřū*
      boy-**EZ**.ATT   humored
      'humored boy'

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

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

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

4.3.2 Nominalization

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

(41) Gorani
   a. *ma-tāw-ūn*   *gošdā-**āy***   *goftogū-y*   *dūrī*
       NEG.IND-can.PRS-1SG listen.PST-**INF**   conversation-EZ   separation
       'I can't stand listening to conversations about separation'.
   b. *dī-**n**=ət*   *toša-y*   *čam*   *mayl=ət*   *toša-y*   *dəł*
       see.PST-**INF**=2SG luggage-EZ   eye   desire=2SG   luggage-EZ   heart
       'Seeing you will be luggage for my eyes; your love will be luggage for my heart'.

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

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

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

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

4.3.3 Copula

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.4 Personal pronouns

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

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

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

4.3.5 Verbal suffixes

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.6 Indexation in verbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.7 Adpositions

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

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

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

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

4.4 Gorani incorporates specific grammatical morphemes that are absent in Hawrami

4.4.1 Past progressive

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4.3 Existential copula: *hā*

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

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

(47) Gorani

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

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

(48) Hawrami

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

'I am at home'.

5 Discussion of the findings

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

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

5.1 Cases where Gorani grammar has become simplified compared to Hawrami

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6 Conclusion

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

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

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

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

Abbreviations

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

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