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### 3 The Gūrānī variety of Bzlāna and the literary language of Saydī

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

**Keywords:** Gorani, Hawrāmī, Fahlaviāt, morphology, phonology

## 1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2 The literary language and the spoken language

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.

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

		PROX		DIST
SG	DIR	M	<i>ēd</i>	<i>ād</i>
		F	<i>ēda</i>	<i>āda</i>

<sup>1</sup> For more details see MacKenzie 1966:p. 18–19

Table 1 (continued)

		PROX	DIST
	OBL	M <i>ēđī</i>	<i>āđī</i>
		F <i>ēđē</i>	<i>āđē</i>
PL	DIR	<i>ēđē</i>	<i>āđē</i>
	OBL	<i>ēđīšā</i>	<i>āđīšā</i>

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

			PROX	DIST
SG	DIR	M	<i>īna</i>	<i>āna</i>
		F	<i>īnē</i>	<i>ānē</i>
	OBL	M	<i>īnaya</i>	<i>ānaya</i>
		F	<i>īnē</i>	<i>ānē</i>
PL	DIR		<i>īnē</i>	<i>ānē</i>
	OBL		<i>īnīšā</i>	<i>ānāīšā</i>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3 Two groups of poems ascribed to Saydī

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Table 3:** Themes in First Saydī and Second Saydī.

Poetic feature	First Saydī	Second Saydī
Meter	ṡaruz	Classic Gūrānī
Gūrānī variety	Close to the variety of Bzłāna	Classic Literary Gūrānī
Female names	<i>Niṡāt</i> , <i>Riyan</i> , as well as the name of the father of <i>Niṡāt</i> : <i>Bārom</i>	<i>Šīrīn</i>
Types of flowers	<i>wanawṡa</i> 'violet'	<i>ṡawbo</i> 'gilly flower,' <i>čnur</i> 'chenor,' <i>sosan</i> 'lilly,' <i>nargas</i> 'narcissus,' <i>sonbol</i> 'hyacinth,' <i>wanawṡa</i> 'violet,' <i>īṡhan</i> 'basil,' <i>nasrīn</i> 'jonquil,' <i>yāsaman</i> 'jasmine'
Locations:	<i>sarū pīrī</i> <i>žiwār</i>	<i>sarū pīrī</i> <i>haft awdātān</i> ; <i>kosātān</i> , <i>pīr rosam</i>
Personification	no	yes
Epithets of the addressee	<i>Papula</i> 'butterfly'; <i>ay hūr</i> 'oh nymph,' <i>Qībla</i> 'altar'	<i>Qīblam</i> 'my altar,' <i>črāx</i> 'oil lamp,' <i>frīṡta</i> 'angel,' <i>A</i> <i>y hūr al-ṡayn</i> 'oh nymph of (my) eye'



Table 3 (continued)

Poetic feature	First Saydī	Second SaydīI
Rhetorical style	<i>mong</i> ‘moon’	<i>šāy sosan xātān</i> ‘the king of lily-birthmarked’
devices: metaphor,	<i>mongta dīm</i> ‘face (like) moon’	<i>kogāy xarmānān</i> ‘collection of wheat (the
allegory, simile	<i>dāw=ū ašq-ī</i> ‘trap of love’	source of goodness’)
	<i>yāw=ū ašqī</i> ‘fever of love’	<i>bāday fēšq</i> ‘wine of love’
	<i>šakar</i> ‘sugar’	<i>spāy guṭān</i> ‘army of flowers’
	<i>qand</i> ‘sugar cube’	<i>xāṭ muškin</i> ‘black- birthmarked’
	<i>nabāt</i> ‘sugar(?)’	<i>jamīn jām</i> ‘forehead like mirror’
		<i>guṭ-andām</i> ‘flower-figured’
		<i>bīābān-gēṭ</i> ‘desert-hiker’
		<i>sārā-gard</i> ‘field-hiker’
		<i>qurs qamar sīmā</i> ‘face like round moon’

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

## 4 The meter of Saydī’s poems and Fahlavīāt

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

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

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

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

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

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

- |     |                                                                                 |                |                 |                    |                 |                 |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (1) | S                                                                               | L L L          | S L L           | L                  | S L L           |                 |
|     | <i>az</i>                                                                       | <i>auromon</i> | <i>makon=əm</i> | <i>bē</i>          | <i>wałat=əm</i> |                 |
|     | 1SG.DIR                                                                         | PN             | place=1SG       | COP.PST.3SG        | country=1SG     |                 |
|     | ‘ <i>Hawrāmān</i> was my place, my land.’                                       |                |                 |                    |                 |                 |
|     |                                                                                 |                |                 |                    |                 |                 |
| (2) | S L                                                                             | L L            | S L             | L                  | L               | S L L           |
|     | <i>sar=ū</i>                                                                    | <i>pīr-ī</i>   | <i>xəwā-y</i>   | <i>dā</i>          | <i>bē</i>       | <i>najāt=əm</i> |
|     | above=EZ.GEN                                                                    | old-OBL        | god-OBL         | give.PST.3SG       | COP.PST.3SG     | salvation=1SG   |
|     | ‘I have been released by God with <i>Sarū Pīrī</i> .’                           |                |                 |                    |                 |                 |
|     |                                                                                 |                |                 |                    |                 |                 |
| (3) | S L                                                                             | L L            | S L             | L L                | S L L           |                 |
|     | <i>bur-o</i>                                                                    | <i>darwēš</i>  | <i>ləv-o</i>    | <i>sayr=ū</i>      | <i>wałāt-o</i>  |                 |
|     | become.PST-1SG                                                                  | dervish        | go.PST-1SG      | observation=EZ.GEN | land-OBL.PL     |                 |
|     | ‘It did not calm in no land my peace (my peace did not reside in any country).’ |                |                 |                    |                 |                 |

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

- (4) S L L                      L    S L L L                      S L L  
*na-nišṭ-o                      hič    waṭāt=ēw=na-y                      nasāt=əm*  
 NEG-sit.PST-1SG    no    land=INDF=in-OBL    peace=1SG  
 ‘My peace did not reside in any land.’
- (5) S L                      L L                      S L                      L L                      S L L  
*lāv-o                      žīwār    bur-o                      šēt=ū                      nəšāt-ē*  
 go.PST.3SG    PN                      be.PST-1SG    crazy=EZ.GEN    PN-OBL.F  
 ‘I went to Zhiwar and have been crazy for Neshat.’
- (6) S L L    L S L                      L L                      S L L  
*nəšāta    šēw<sup>4</sup>nā=š                      ʔayš=ū                      nəšāt=əm*  
 PN                      destroy.PST=3SG    life=and    happiness=1SG  
 ‘Neshat destroyed my life and happiness.’
- (7) S L L                      L S                      L L L                      S L L  
*nəšāta=w    kākā    bārom-ī    xəj<sup>4</sup>t=no*  
 PN=EZ.GEN    Mr.    PN-OBL    busy=COP.PRS.1SG  
 ‘Neshat, (daughter) of Mr. Bārām, has kept me busy.’
- (8) S L                      L L                      S L L                      L                      S L L  
*xam-ē=š                      barg=əm                      pažāra=š                      bo                      xaṭāt=əm*  
 sadness-PL=3SG    closes=1SG    unhappiness=3SG    be.PRS.3SG    present=1SG  
 ‘Her sadness (is) my close, her unhappiness is my present.’

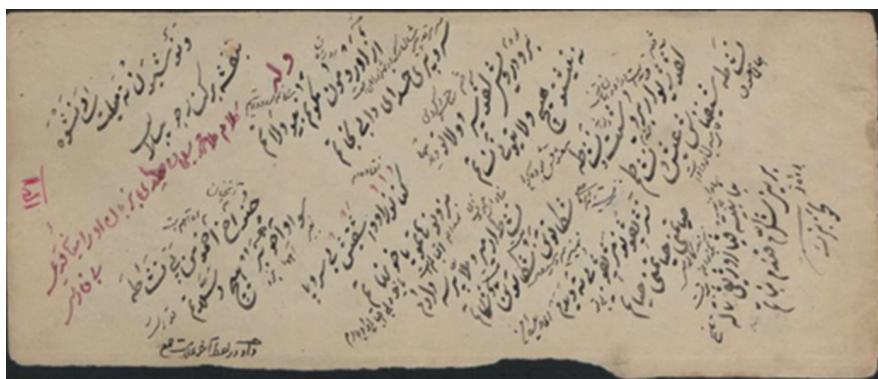


Figure 1: [DE-SBB] Hs. or. 9872 Staatbibliothek zu Berlin.

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

- (9) a. L L                      L                      L L  
*dang=ī                      yār                      m-ay-o*  
 voice=EZ.ATT    beloved    IND-come.PRS-3SG  
 ‘The beloved’s voice is coming.’
- b. L    L    L    L L    L L                      L L                      L  
*hay   dād   hay   bēdād   dang=ī                      dang=ī                      yār*  
 Oh    sore   oh    unfair   voice=EZ.ATT    voice=EZ.ATT    beloved  
 S L  
*m-ay-o*  
 IND-come.PRS-3SG  
 ‘Oh dear, the beloved’s voice is coming.’
- (10) a. S L                      L L                      L                      L S L                      S L  
*sādā=y                      nāla=w                      āx                      dardadār                      m-ay-o*  
 voice=EZ    wail=and    moanful    diseased    IND-come.PRS-3SG  
 ‘The wailing and groaning of the beloved is coming.’
- b. L L                      L L L                      L    S L                      S L  
*dang=ē                      nālin=iš                      pař                      zigār                      m-ay-o*  
 voice=EZ    doleful=3SG    full    sorrow    IND-come.PRS-3SG  
 ‘(and) it is full of pain and sorrow.’
- (11) a. L L                      L L                      L    L                      L    L                      L L  
*ēšaw                      kayf=ī                      mən    čun                      har    šaw                      n-īyan*  
 tonight    well.being=EZ    1SG    like                      any    night    NEG-exist.3SG  
 ‘My well-being tonight is unlike any other night.’
- b. L    L L                      L L                      L L                      L    L L  
*aw                      dīda=y                      mast=aš                      jūyā=y                      xaw                      n-īyan*  
 3SG    eye=EZ    mesmerizing=3SG    seek=EZ    sleep    NEG-exist.3SG  
 ‘Her mesmerizing eyes aren’t seeking rest.’
- (12) a. L                      L S L                      L L                      L L L  
*ēš                      dīda=š=an                      dīda=m                      bē-kayf=an*  
 pain    eye=3SG=COP.PRS.3SG    eye=1SG    without-joy=COP.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Her eyes are in pain; my dear beloved is desolate.’

- b. L L    L    L L            L L    L            L L  
*dīda=y    baḏ    ēš-o            dīda=y    yār            ḥayf=an*  
 eye=EZ    evil    ache.PRS-3SG    eye=EZ    beloved    pity=COP.PRS.3SG  
 ‘May the evil’s eyes suffer, oh such pity it is that of the beloved’s.’
- (13) a. L    L S L            L            S L L            L L  
*yā    muṣjāza=y    das    masīḥa=y    Maryam*  
 oh    miracle=EZ    hand    messiah=EZ    Mary  
 ‘Oh, by the miracle of Mary’s Messiah,’
- b. L S            L L    L            L L    S L            L  
*ēš=e    dīda=y    yār            ēšaw    bi-b-o            kam*  
 pain=EZ    eye=EZ    beloved    tonight    SUB-be.PRS-3SG    less  
 ‘may the beloved’s pain diminish tonight.’
- (14) a. L L    S L L            L S            S S L  
*šīrīn    ma-nāl-o            ēš=e    čaw=iš=an*  
 PN    IND-wail.PRS-3SG    pain=EZ    eye=3SG=COP.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Shirin is wailing; her eyes are in pain.’
- b. L L    S    L    L    S    L            L S L  
*Saydī    na    řo    xurd    na    šaw    xāw=iš=an*  
 Saydī    not    day    food    not    night    sleep=3SG=COP.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Saydī cannot eat by day nor rest at night.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1 Consonants

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

Table 4: Consonant phonemes.

	labio-		post-					
	bilabial	dental	alveolar	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal glottal
Stop	p <sup>h</sup> b		t <sup>h</sup> d			k <sup>h</sup> g	q	ʔ
Affricate				tʃ <sup>h</sup> dʒ				
Fricative	(v)	f	s z	ʃ ʒ		x	ħ ʕ	h
Nasal	m		n			(ŋ)		

Table 4 (continued)

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

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

/d/: The alveolar plosive /d/ maintains its obstruent articulation in word-initial position and after the tap alveolar /r/. For instance: *daṭa* ‘female dog’; *dəṭ* ‘heart’; *dām* ‘I gave’; *dam* ‘mouth’; *bē\_dang* ‘silent’; *bard* ‘took’; *mard* ‘died’; *kard* ‘did’. This plosive undergoes lenition in postvocalic environments. Examples include *adā* ‘mother’; *sad* ‘hundred’; *ādam* ‘human’; *xudā* ‘God’. Sometimes, the alveolar plosive /d/ is reduced to a semivowel or is absent. See (15):

- (15) min    *zāt=im*    *nīyo*    *bi-(ḏ)ya-w*    *pay*    *mār-ī*  
 1SG    dare=1SG    COP.NEG.3SG    SUB-look.PRS-1SG    to    snake-OBL  
 ‘I don’t dare look at the snake’<sup>3</sup>

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

- (16) a. *dāḏ=əm* [complaint=1SG] ‘my complaint’ (Saydī.131)  
 b. *dīḏa=m* [eye=1SG] ‘my eye (my beloved one)’ (Saydī.131)

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Note that in other Gūrānī varieties, e.g., Pawayana, one would say: *amən zātəm niyan bəḏyaw pay marī* (or *bəḏyao maryara*)

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

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

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

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

## 5.2 Vowels

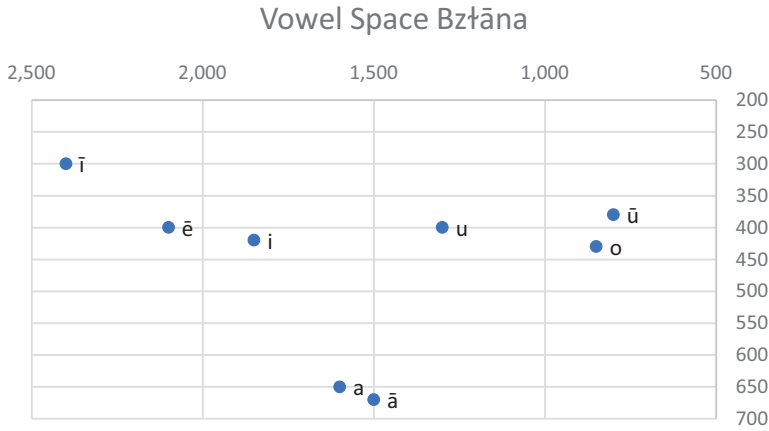
The position of vowels in Bzłāna is shown in Figure 2<sup>4</sup>:

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

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

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





**Figure 2:** Vowel phonemes.

- (18) a. *omāy* ‘to come’  
 b. *yona* ‘house’  
 c. *hona* ‘water spring’  
 d. *mə-son-ī* [buy.PRS-2SG] ‘you buy’  
 e. *wīn-ā* [see.PRS-3SG.PRS] ‘he/she sees’
- (19) a. *nəšāta=w kākā bārom-ī* [Neshat=EZ Mr. Bārām-OBL] ‘Neshat of Kak Bārām’  
 b. *mong* ‘moon’ (Saydī.116)  
 c. *yona* ‘house’ (Saydī.121)  
 e. *omā* ‘she came’ (Saydī.134)  
 f. *zom* ‘wound’ (Saydī.139)

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

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

There are other changes in Saydī which cannot be found in Bzlāna. For example, /y/ or /ī/ occur as /ur/ in Saydī.<sup>5</sup> See (21).

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

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

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

### 5.3 Some morphological features of nouns

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

#### 5.3.1 Grammatical gender

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

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

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

– Feminine Nouns

Unstressed -a: *tawēla* ‘forehead’; *varesa* ‘rope’ (Saydī.116)

Stressed -ē: *yāgē* ‘place’ (Bzlāna);

Unstressed -ī: *makī* ‘salt’; *harsī* ‘tear’ (Saydī.118) *vālī* ‘flower’ (Saydī.139)

-ā: *adā* ‘mother’

### 5.3.2 Definiteness

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

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

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

### 5.3.3 Indefiniteness

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

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

### 5.3.4 Number

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 5.3.5 Case

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

- (27) a. *mən ḥasan-ī šnās-ū*  
1SG PN-OBL.M know.PRS-1SG.PRS  
‘I know Hasan’ (Bzlāna)

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

### 5.3.6 Ezafe constructions

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

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

## 5.4 Pronouns

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

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

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

	Bzlāna	Saydī	Lihon
1SG	<i>min</i>	<i>az/min</i>	<i>min</i>
2SG	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>to</i>
1PL	<i>ēma</i>	?	<i>ēma</i>
2PL	<i>šima</i>	?	<i>šima</i>

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

**Table 6:** Third-person proximal and distal pronouns.

		PROX	DIST
SG	DIR	M	<i>ēđ</i>
		F	<i>ēđa</i>
	OBL	M	<i>āđī</i>
		F	<i>āđē</i>
PL	DIR		<i>ēđē</i>
	OBL		<i>āđiša</i>

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

## 5.5 Enclitic pronouns

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

## 5.6 Affix person markers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (30) a. *šma dēr omā-yē*  
 2PL late come.PST-2PL  
 ‘You (PL) came late’ [2.8] (Bzlāna)
- b. *yāwā*  
 reach.PST-3SG.M  
 ‘he reached’
- c. *hor-ēst-a*  
 up-stand.PST-3SG.F  
 ‘she stood up’ (Bzlāna)
- d. *bur-o darwēš ləv-o sayr=ū waḷāt-o*  
 become.PST-1SG Darwish go.PST-1SG observe=EZ land-OBL  
 ‘I become a Darwish went to observe the land’ (Saydī.131)
- e. *ništ-a*  
 sit.PST-3SG.F  
 ‘she sat’ (Saydī.135)
- f. *ništ*  
 sit.PST  
 ‘he sat’ (Saydī.135)

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

- (31) a. *min ḥasan=im ja bāzār=nā dī-ø*  
 1SG PN=1SG at bazaar=at see.PST-3SG.M.PST  
 I saw Hasan at the bazaar [4.15]
- b. *min parwīna=m ja bāzār=nā dī-ya*  
 1SG PN=1SG at bazaar-at see.PST-3SG.F.PST  
 I saw Parvin at the bazaar [4.16]
- c. *nəšāta šēwnā=š fayš=ū nəšāt=əm*  
 PN destroy.PST=3SG life=and gladness=1SG  
 ‘Neshat destroyed my life and gladness.’ [S:131]



## 5.7 Summary of finite verb constructions

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

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

- (32) a. Present Indicative:

*mi-son-ā*

IND-know.PRS-3SG.PRS

‘(he) buys’

- b. Present Subjunctive

*gāhaz bi-l-ū pay bāzār-ī*

maybe SUB-go.PRS-1SG to market-OBL

‘I may go to the market.’

- c. Imperfect

*min māšīn na-son-ēn-o*

1SG car NEG-buy-PST.IPFV-1SG

‘I was not buying a car’.

- d. Imperative

*māst b-ār-a*

yogurt IMP-bring-PRS.2SG.IMP

‘Bring yoghurt!’ [2.19]

- e. Simple Past (intransitive)  
*ēma dēr omā-y-mā*  
 1PL late come.PST-PL-1PL  
 ‘We came late.’ [2.7]
- f. Simple Past (transitive)  
*ēma māṇāw-ēwa=mā sā*  
 1PL COW-IND.F=1PL buy.PST  
 ‘We bought a cow’ [3.7]
- g. Past Subjunctive (Conditional)  
*min bātī=w ta bī-yā-yno*  
 1SG instead=EZ 2SG be.PST-SUB-1SG  
 ‘I’d be in your place.’ [8.10]

## 6 Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Abbreviations

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

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